Introduction

The appearance of an *angelos*, usually unnamed but sometimes accorded epithets, in a relatively small number of pagan Greek inscriptions located chiefly in Asia Minor but also on the island of Thera, and dated between the second and fifth centuries CE, has attracted comment from scholars who have been interested in its identity and its source. It has been claimed that the word *angelos* and some other terms 'were borrowed from the Hellenistic Jewish communities of the area,' or even from Christians, though this was done 'without any real understanding of their monotheistic background.'[1] As there is evidence that when cults and religious groups exist together in a community or region, the beliefs and practices of one group can influence another,[2] it is not unreasonable to consider whether external influence may be responsible for the appearance of the angel in these Greek inscriptions during that period..

The aim of our research in this thesis, then, is to look for any evidence which may suggest that Jewish or Christian influence is behind the appearance of the *angelos* in these inscriptions. But we must also consider whether traditional Greek religion exerted an influence on these later texts. We will undertake this reconsideration by surveying the *angelos*—status, appearance, encounters with them by mortals, and functions—in these three cultural traditions: Jewish, Christian, and traditional Greek. In the fourth chapter, which is the heart of the thesis, we will discuss the *angelos* as it appears in several pagan Greek inscriptions, looking for any evidence which would link it with any or all of those three traditions. The conclusion will summarize what has been found as a result of our research, and draw out some consequences. A more detailed description of the chapter contents is as follows.

Part A of the thesis consists of three chapters. In the first we look at three periods in early Hebrew and Jewish literature: pre-Exilic, Exilic and post-Exilic. In the pre-Exilic period first a single *angelos* appears as inextricably associated with God in phrases like 'the angel of the Lord,' who brings a message to mortals from God. These appearances of a single angel are followed by sightings of multiple angels by individuals, either in a dream-vision or an

[1] A.A.R. Sheppard, 'Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor,' *Talanta* 12/13 (1980/81) 77-100, at 77, 85.

[2] For example, in the OT (LXX), Judges 2:11-13, III Kings 11:4-8, IV Kings 17:7-12, 2 Chronicles 33:1-9, Jeremiah 7:30-31.

encounter which may be physical or metaphysical. Angels will be seen as carrying out other functions. The worship of angels, and their fall in Genesis 6, will be taken into account. The messenger role continues to be evident as we move into the Exilic period in such books as Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel. His function as a guide and revealer in Ezekiel occurs also in later Jewish texts such as Tobit and 1 Enoch. We will conclude the first chapter of our discussion with brief consideration of the *angelos* in Philo and Josephus.

The New Testament and a selection of other early Christian writings is the focus of our second chapter. We consider the appearances and other references to the angel in the Gospels, and then in Acts. References to angels in the Pauline letters (including especially Colossians) will be examined, as will his discussion of *archai* and *exousiai* to evaluate whether he regarded the latter as evil agents. After surveying the relevant non-Pauline letters we will conclude the New Testament section of this chapter with selective analysis of the role of the angel in Revelation. Four later, but still early Christian texts and writers will also receive attention: the *Shepherd* of Hermas, *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, Justin Martyr and Origen.

Our final chapter in Part A turns to the figure of the *angelos* in Greek literature. Not surprisingly, we first find heavenly messengers in Homer, two of whom have this as an 'offical' function: Hermes and Iris. The latter appears only in the *Iliad*, and in such later works as Euripides' *Herakles* and Aristophanes' *Birds*. We will also consider how they are represented in Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*. Hermes appears or is at least mentioned in several Greek tragedies. In Plato's *Cratylus* Socrates discusses the meaning of the names of these two *angeloi*, and comments on Hermes' character. Our focus in this thesis excludes messenger speeches in tragedy, since those accounts of events which occur off stage are reported by mortal messengers.

In these three chapters which constitute Part A, our choice of texts to cover has had to be selective in view of the length limitations of an MA thesis. Accordingly, in making the selection of texts and writers for each chapter, some care has been taken to achieve a representative sample.

With our research on the *angelos* in these three traditions completed, we are now able to consider the origins of this figure in the pagan Greek inscriptions; and this constitutes the single chapter 4 in Part B. Our study of these texts moves from one geographical region to another, takes account of their dates, and the presence of Christian and Jewish communities in these areas. On the basis of this research, we will decide what evidence there is for

borrowing from or independence of Jewish, Christian and traditional Greek notions.

This analysis leads us to a conclusion about these texts which may perhaps surprise the reader. There were indeed figures called *angeloi* who were considered divine in some sense in certain localized areas of Asia Minor in the Roman imperial period. Although the attestation, all epigraphic, is sparse, there are enough texts of such a character as to point to an indigenous Anatolian phenomenon independent of earlier Greek culture, yet simply adopting the Greek term *angelos* once Greek became the lingua franca. If these *angeloi* were influenced by Jewish or Christian notions concerning angels, that impact is so difficult to detect as to allow us to draw the reasonable conclusion that it was negligible.

The reader should also be clear what is not included in this thesis. We had initially considered providing another survey chapter, looking at Roman literature just as chapter 3 surveys Classical Greek literature. However, as this is a thesis in Greek we decided to exclude this. In any case, much of the Roman material appears to be derivative from the Greeks in its ideas on such a topic. Similarly, Hellenistic Greek literature would merit a survey chapter in a more extended piece of research than the present thesis. A much more extended thesis dealing with our topic could well include a chapter on representations of divine messengers in Greek sculpture, reliefs, and coin types. This would certainly be desirable, and could yield some additional perspectives. However, it has not been attempted here, both to ensure the length limit of this thesis is adhered to, and to maintain our focus on the literary texts in the three survey chapters which make up Part A.

PART A

Contextualising the issue

1. The ἄγγελος in Ancient Hebrew and Jewish Literature

Introduction

Hebrew and later Jewish literature is a rich source to contextualise our study because the ἄγγελος (Hebrew *mal'âk*) is a figure which is introduced early in these ancient records and continues to appear in the NT and later Jewish and Christian works. As well, there is a discernible development in the function of the ἄγγελος. Both the Hebrew term *mal'âk* and the Greek ἄγγελος are used for the human as well as the divine messenger. Our interest (as already mentioned in the Introduction) is in the latter. For the purpose of this survey, conventionally accepted dates in Israel's history are used. The pre-Exilic period which for our purposes begins with the patriarchal narratives, ends with the deportation of the Jews from Jerusalem in 597 BCE. The Exile is from then to 538 BCE when many Jews returned to Jerusalem. The post-Exilic period follows and extends to the beginning of the Apostolic age which is reckoned as 8/7 BCE.[1]

The methodology followed here has been outlined in the Introduction. In the pre-Exilic period the appearances and references to the ἄγγελος are surveyed in the Pentateuch and Former prophets, then in the prophet of the Exile, Ezekiel. Post-Exilic writings are represented by Zechariah 1-6, and Daniel 7-12. The post-Exilic non-biblical literature surveyed includes the Book of Tobit and some books from the Pseudepigrapha as well as references to angels in Philo and Josephus. The Dead Sea Scrolls are excluded from this study, however, since the relevant texts are not in Greek. A great deal of research has gone into the possible sources from which the OT books came. These sources will not concern us greatly here as the focus in this chapter is on the divine *angelos* appearing in the books in their complete form.

1. The ἄγγελος in the pre-Exilic period

In the pre-Exilic period a number of encounters take place between humans and angels which not only influence the lives of the individuals but also have some influence in

[1] *NBC*, 23-24.

the history of Israel. Generally no description of the physical appearance of these ἄγγελοι is given other than that when they appear in human form they are always male (LXX Ex. 23:21; Judges 6:13,13:6). The encounters are unexpected and usually occur when the individual is alone. Often the divine ἄγγελος is described as ἄγγελος κυρίου (Gen. 16:7, 9, 10, 11; 22:11; Ex. 3:2; Judg. 6:12); less often as ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ (Gen. 21:17; 31:11; Ex. 14:19), and interchangeably in Judg. 13. The same heavenly being is referred to in this last place in v. 3 as ἄγγελος κυρίου, and in v. 9 as ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ.

The reader considering these accounts is faced with a question about the identity of the angel of the Lord. Is he Yahweh or a separate entity? The episodes discussed below will indicate an interchange of identity.

a. Appearances of the 'Angel of the Lord'

i . To individuals

In Gen. 16:6-15 Hagar, the Egyptian slave is running away to Egypt having been mistreated by her mistress, Sarah. An angel of the Lord meets her by a spring in the desert, addressing her by name and asking where she is from, and where she is going. When she answers these questions the angel instructs her to return to Sarah, promising her many descendants and giving a name to her unborn child. Hagar responds to the angel's request. In this account the physical form of the messenger is certainly human as Hagar shows no fear when addressed by name and is questioned.[2] Her ready compliance with the angel's request indicates that she has recognised the supernatural knowledge and power (albeit gradually) of the divine messenger.[3] Here the angel fulfils the function of message bearer but he also speaks as Yahweh himself: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου Πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου, … (16.10). Hagar understands that it is Yahweh who has spoken to her as her comments in vv. 13-14 indicate: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Αγαρ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ λαλοῦντος πρὸς αὐτήν, Σὺ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐπιδών με ὅτι εἶπεν, Καὶ γὰρ ἐνώπιον εἶδον ὀφθέντα μοι. Further comments on Hagar's encounter with the ἄγγελος are made later in the chapter.

The well known story of Abraham's obedience to God in Gen. 22:1-14 also demonstrates the ambiguity existing between the angel of the Lord and Yahweh himself. Reaching the place appointed by God for the sacrifice (v. 9) and having built an altar and bound Isaac to it, Abraham is interrupted in his purpose: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

[2] C. Westermann, *Genesis* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmanns, 1987) 125.
[3] G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 16-50* (*Word Biblical Commentary* vol. 2; Dallas, Word Books, 1994) 9.

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Αβρααμ, Αβρααμ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ (v. 11). The angel's call to Abraham here and the words used in Abraham's response are identical with those used by God and those by Abraham when God calls him in v.1. The apparent interchange of identity between God and the angel is demonstrated in the words of the angel, spoken to Abraham when his obedience has been proved: νῦν γὰρ ἔγνων ὅτι φοβῇ τὸν θεὸν σὺ καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι᾽ ἐμέ (22:12). Abraham's recognition that he has been in the presence of Yahweh is indicated by his words in v. 14: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Αβρααμ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Κύριος εἶδεν, … In this episode the angel fulfils his role as messenger and also speaks as Yahweh.

A later example of the interchange of identity between the angel of the Lord and Yahweh is found in Exodus 3: 1-10. Like Hagar, Moses is alone in a desert place: ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ βάτου, … (3:2). When Moses is attracted to the bush that is burning, it is God, not the angel who calls him by name (v. 4) and who reveals his deity (v. 6). Only then does Moses recognise that he is in the presence of God and turns his face away (v. 6). We do not know in what form the angel appeared in a flame of fire ἐκ τοῦ βάτου, but this appearance and God calling him ἐκ τοῦ βάτου, indicates a merging of one with the other. We will say something more of this later, but simply point out here that fire is often a form in which God reveals himself; e.g. Gen. 15:17-21; Ex. 13:21; 19:18-20; 24:17.[4]

In the birth narrative of Samson in Judges 13:2-24, Manoah and his wife fail initially to recognize that their divine visitor is the angel of the Lord. He is called 'man of God' (13:6, 8) and 'man' (13:10, 11). When their offer of food is refused,[5] the angel says that if they wish to prepare food, it must be offered to God. Only when the angel ascends in the flame from Manoah's offering does the latter realise that their visitor is the angel of the Lord (13:21). Manoah's words to his wife (13:22) indicate that he identifies the angel with God: θανάτῳ ἀποθανούμεθα, ὅτι θεὸν ἑωράκαμεν.[6] We note that in each of these four episodes in which the angel of the Lord is mentioned, whether he is described in human form as in the encounter with Hagar and Manoah and his wife, or as a voice from heaven in the Abraham account or in the fire as in Ex. 3:2, there is a recognition by those concerned that they have encountered the supernatural, and are in communication with God himself.

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[4] D.G.M. Stalker, 'Exodus', in *Peake*, 208-240, at 215.

[5] We note the comment of J.A. Soggin, *Le livre des Juges* (1981; Fr. Transl.: *Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament* 5B; Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1987) 203-04, on the angel's refusal of food here in v. 16, which he contrasts with the angels who eat the food Abraham had prepared for them in Gen. 18:8.

[6] The idea that those who see God will die is expressed in Ex. 33:20. See also Gen. 32:31. In the account in Judges 13 mentioned above, the Angel of the Lord distinguishes himself from God (13:16).

How do we account for the interchange of identity between the angel of the Lord and Yahweh? This question has interested many, and several opinions have been offered.[7] We consider that the following explanation is the most likely. God first dealt with humans directly as in the accounts in Genesis 3; but as humankind became more aware of his transcendence, it was understood that he would not speak directly to humanity. So a medium, was necessary and the angel of the Lord was inserted into some episodes.[8] We have seen that this angel was presented in different ways: in human form, as a voice, and in a flame of fire. In the time of the prophets there are few references to the angel of the Lord. God communicates in that period through human messengers. But the angel of the Lord appears to Elijah in III Kings 19:5-7, and Elijah is given instructions by the same angel in IV Kings 1:3-4.

b. Appearances of multiple angels

i. To Jacob

Rarely in the Pentateuch do individuals encounter more than a single angel, but we find references to multiple angels in the following accounts. In Gen 18:2ff. three men appear suddenly before Abraham as he sits outside his tent. In this episode (Gen. 18:1 -19:1) the visitors to Abraham are described as θεός (v. 1), κύριος (vv. 13, 17, 20, 26, 33) and as τρεῖς ἄνδρες (v. 2), ἄνδρες (vv. 16, 22) and as δύο ἄγγελοι in 19:1. The best explanation of this interchange of wording seems to be that one of the angels is the angel of the Lord who can be, as we saw earlier, the Lord himself, and the other two are his attendants.[9] In two later episodes multiple angels appear to Jacob. In Gen. 28:10-32 there is a description of Jacob's encounter with God at Bethel. On his way to Haran Jacob stops for the night and has a dream vision described in part in v. 12: … καὶ ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς. Above the stairway[10] stands the Lord who promises the land, children and protection to Jacob (vv.13-15).

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[7] P.R. Carrell, *Jesus and the Angels* (New York, CUP, 1997) 27. Carrell mentions four theories. See most recently on this debate A.S. Malone, 'Distinguishing the Angel of the Lord,' *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 21 (2011) 297-314.

[8] *OCB*, 28.

[9] G.J. Wenham in *NBC*, 74. See also D. Kidner, *Genesis* (Leicester, IVP, 1967) 131.

[10] Ibid., 158. Kidner suggests that 'stairway' is a better translation of κλίμαξ than 'ladder' in view of the angels ascending and descending on it.

In the second episode (Gen. 32:1-3) Jacob, in obedience to God (31:3, 11-13), is returning with his wives, children and cattle to the land of his birth with the prospect of first facing a hostile Esau. He is reassured by what he sees before him:

> … καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἶδεν παρεμβολὴν θεοῦ παρεμβεβληκυῖαν, καὶ συνήντησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ. εἶπεν δὲ Ιακωβ, ἡνίκα εἶδεν αὐτούς, Παρεμβολὴ θεοῦ αὕτη· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Παρεμβολαί.

We are not told that this is a dream vision, such as Jacob had at Bethel. The use of συναντάω suggests that this is a meeting face to face with the angels. Jacob calls the place in the Hebrew text, 'Mahanaim,'[11] 'double camp.'[12] Is Jacob taking into account his own company and the angel army?[13] This seems likely. What we are concerned with here is that Jacob meets a host of angels. This is of course an assurance to him of God's presence when he will meet Esau.

ii. To Micaiah

The παρεμβολὴ θεοῦ which Jacob saw is referred to later by the prophet Micaiah. In III Kings 22:19-22 he describes to the Kings of Israel and Judah what he has seen in a vision. Part of this vision includes a description of the Lord and his hosts (v. 19): εἶδον τὸν κύριον θεὸν Ισραηλ καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἱστήκει περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων αὐτοῦ.

Although called ἡ στρατιά here, the community of heaven is given other names elsewhere. In LXX Ps. 81:1 those who make up that company are called θεοί: ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοὺς διακρίνει.

In LXX Ps. 88:6 they are called ἅγιοι, and in v. 7 υἱοὶ θεοῦ as they are also in LXX 28: 1. In LXX Ps. 102: 20 they are called ἄγγελοι, the word by which they are most commonly described in the Old and New Testaments: εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον, πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι ποιοῦντες τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ …[14]

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[11] J.P. Green (ed. and trans.), *The Interlinear Hebrew Aramaic Old Testament* vol. 1 (Peabody, Hendrikson, 1985) 84.

[12] Strong, 65.

[13] Kidner, 167.

[14] These references from the Psalms have been included here as the Psalms are collections from different periods of Israel's history. See *NBD* 1053-54; *NBC* 485-88; *OCB* 626-29.

c. The angel as guardian of Israel

i. The Angel as warrior

There are four references to angel warriors in the pre-Exilic literature.[15] Three of these can be described as protectors of Israel. In Numb. 22:26-35 the angel of the Lord (v. 31) armed with a sword appears to the diviner Balaam. The instructions which he gives to Balaam ensures that Israel is blessed by Balaam instead of cursed, as Balak King of Moab had requested.

A passage in Joshua 5:13-15 describes Joshua's encounter with an armed divine being. When he is in Jericho before its fall, Joshua looks up and sees a man standing before him, … καὶ ἡ ῥομφαία ἐσπασμένη ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. When Joshua enquires where this man's loyalties lie, to Israel or to its enemies, he replies that he has come as ἀρχιστράτηγος δυνάμεως κυρίου (v. 14). Although no word of assistance is given by the divine being the effect of his appearance is to give assurance to Joshua that God is there to assist Israel, an assurance given to Joshua by God himself in 6:2.

The sudden destruction of the Assyrian army when it is encamped outside Jerusalem is described in IV Kings 19:35, and is attributed to the work of the angel of the Lord, who in the night smites the Assyrian company, leaving one hundred and eighty five thousand dead.[16] No physical appearance of the angel is recorded and it may be as Heidt suggests, that the angel 'employed secondary means.'[17] In support of this idea, he points out that Josephus (*Ant.* 10.15.) considers that 'the immediate cause was some sort of plague.'[18] This incident, like those mentioned above in which armed angels appear, is evidence that Israel has divine protection from those opposing her.

ii. The angel as guide and protector of Israel

In Ex. 14:19 the angel of God who goes before the host of Israel moves behind it to protect it from the Egyptian army. There is no physical description of this angel, but for the Israelites his presence is symbolised in ὁ στύλος τῆς νεφέλης (14:19). Other references to ὁ πορευόμενος (14:19), i.e., the one converging or going before the Israelites, are found in Ex.

[15] The fourth reference is in II Kings 24: 15-17. This angel is not engaged in protecting Israel.

[16] *NBC*, 380. The high number may have included those soldiers encamped outside the walls of Jerusalem and all the Assyrian forces throughout Judah.

[17] W.G. Heidt, *Angelology of the Old Testament* (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1949) 51.

[18] ibid.

23:20, 23; 32:34; 33:2. This angel also acts as protector or guard to the host. While this is implied in 14:19, it is stated explicitly in 23:20 when Yahweh promises ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελον μοι πρὸ προσώπου σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃ σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, … Although identified by God as 'my angel,' this divine being is indistinguishable from Yahweh himself; it is God who leads the host in a pillar of cloud in the day and in a pillar of fire at night (13:21; 14:24), it is his voice that Israel must obey (23:21-22), it is God who will bring Israel into the land flowing with milk and honey (33:3), and he will go before Moses (22:14). As we have seen before, it was not fitting for the transcendent God to lead his people, so the angel becomes his representative.

iii. The angel as guide and protector of individuals

In Gen. 24:1-67 we have the account of Abraham instructing his servant to go to Nahor in Mesopotamia with the object of bringing back a bride for Isaac. The servant is reassured by Abraham that κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ … αὐτὸς ἀποστελεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθέν σου … (v. 7). Here the promise is that the angel will go before the servant; but the latter, repeating to Laban Abraham's promise of an angel guide, and speaking now of his own experience, says that Abraham promised that the Lord said ἀποστελεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ *μετὰ* σοῦ καὶ *εὐδώσει* τὴν ὁδόν σου. (v. 40; our emphasis). In Gen. 48:16 when Jacob, while blessing Joseph his son, refers to ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν. The Greek ῥύομαι used here has several meanings: 'guard', 'protect', 'deliver', 'rescue'. Jacob must gave been thinking of the times when he had God's assurance of protection[19] (e.g. Gen. 28:15; 31:3; 32:2) and his experience of this when Laban pursued him (31:22-44) and when he met Esau (33:1-4).

As Heidt points out, this reference to the protecting angel is an example of God manifesting himself through an angel; in the two preceding lines of v. 15 Jacob refers to ὁ θεός of his fathers, and ὁ θεὸς τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητος ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.[20] It is God who promises to protect him (28:15; 31:3) and God who gives Laban instructions warning him that he should speak no evil with Jacob (31:24).

[19] Kidner, 214.
[20] Heidt, 75.

d. Angels and worship

There are verses in the Psalms which encourage the angels to worship Yahweh. In LXX Ps. 28:1-2 sons of God are commanded: προσκυνήσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν αὐλῇ ἁγίᾳ αὐτοῦ. In LXX Ps. 102:20 the angels, the mighty strong ones doing his will are instructed: εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον. In LXX Ps. 148:2ff. angels along with all things created are also exhorted: αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν. In Joshua 5:14, when the divine nature of the man before him is revealed, we read, 'And Joshua fell on his face to the earth and worshipped him …' This translation reflects the wording of the Hebrew text.[21] In the LXX translation, the text simply reads καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν …, without any mention of an act of worship by Joshua. As Soggin points out, 'For the LXX an angel is already a creature distinct from the creator, and consequently to accord it worship is a sin'.[22] The alteration to this Joshua passage in the LXX reflects the view that the passages from the Psalms quoted above and known to the translators of the LXX were testimony to the belief that worship is to be given only to God, and that angels are required to worship him. This conforms to the injunction in the Ten Commandments that God alone is to be worshipped (Ex. 20:3-4).

e. Angels and their fall

These angels are called οἱ υἱοὶ θεοῦ in Gen. 6:1-4. The indications are that they were, before their fall, part of the heavenly assembly. They are mentioned as such in LXX Pss. 28:1 and 88:7 where they are referred to as υἱοὶ θεοῦ, while in the corresponding psalms in the NRSV Pss. 29:1 and 89:6, the reference is to 'heavenly beings'. These angels are mentioned in the NT in 2 Peter 4:1, in Jude 6, and an account of their fall and its consequences is found in the pseudepigraphic I Enoch 6:1-9:11.

The error of these angels is stated in Gen. 6:2 … ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν, ὧν ἐξελέξαντο. From these unions giants were created (v. 5), although giants already existed on the earth (v. 5).[23] In viewing the statement in verse 3 in which God decides to restrict the lifespan of humans, some scholars consider that the actions of the angels was an attempt to confer immortality on humankind.[24] That may be so, but what is clear is that these angels

[21] Green, 1.568.
[22] J.A. Soggin, *Joshua* (London, SCM Press, 1972) 78.
[23] Kidner, 65.
[24] ibid., 85. See also G. von Rad, *Genesis* (1956; E.T.: London, SCM, 1961; 2nd edn rev. 1963, repr. 1970) 110-11.

acted on their own initiative, and as servants of God their action was an affront to his authority.[25]

f. Summary

We have now concluded our survey of the ἄγγελος in the pre-Exilic books, It was found that there were more references to a single angel than to groups of angels. We noted that the angel of the Lord has the primary function of messenger and is often indistinguishable from God himself. We also found that the ἄγγελος can perform other functions, and that Yahweh is Lord of a host of angels who carry out his will. References in Judges 13:6, 8, 11 indicate that angels are male, and that they have free will (Gen. 6:1-4). Angels are not described except for references to those with a sword. Manoah's wife in Judges 13:6 (and cf. vv. 8, 11) attempts to describe what is indescribable: … ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἦλθεν πρός με καὶ ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὅρασις ἀγγέλου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιφανὴς σφόδρα. Worship of angels is not mentioned except for the incident in Joshua 5:14, and was forbidden by the divine instruction in Exodus 20.

2. The ἄγγελος in the Exilic and post-Exilic prophetic books

Introduction

Three prophetic books have been selected as all have references to divine beings which are useful in our study of the ἄγγελος. The books of Ezekiel and Daniel describe the experiences of these prophets during their exile in Babylon. Zechariah writes to the Jews who have returned to Jerusalem from exile in 520 BCE. Daniel claims he was taken with other Jews to Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim, i.e. 605 BCE (Dan. 1:1-4); Ezekiel with the young king Jehoiachin and others were removed to Babylon in 597 BCE and he writes as from the fifth year of his exile, i.e. 593 BCE (Ezek. 1:2).[26]

a. The ἄγγελος in Ezekiel

We begin with Ezekiel. Although Daniel was taken into exile earlier than Ezekiel, there is evidence which we consider later that this book was written after Ezekiel. The latter has raised many questions about authorship, possible additions, and where Ezekiel resided.[27]

[25] Kidner, 85.
[26] The dates in this paragraph are taken from the chronological chart in *NBC*, 23.
[27] H. McKeating, *Ezekiel* (Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1993) 30-61.

M[c]Keating refers to 'a degree of consensus' among some scholars since the 1950s regarding the book. Features of the consensus are that the prophet belongs 'in the context of the exile,' that his ministry was in Babylon, that 'a substantial body of the material' goes back to him or to the Exilic period in which he lived, and that the original material has been added to and expanded at a number of stages over a long period.[28]

i. Vision I, and commission

Ezekiel has his first visionary experience while a priest, receiving a commission from God when he is by the river Chebar with other exiles (1:1-2:8). The vision is preceded by wind, cloud and fire, which are all elements associated with the presence of God (Ex. 13:21; III Kings 19:11-12; Acts 2:2-3). Four living creatures identified in 9:3 as Χερουβιμ with human and animal body parts and who are capable of movement, appear before Ezekiel. As he looks above the cherubim he sees a firmament, and above this a throne with a figure like a man upon it. Brilliance surrounds the figure of this man, which Ezekiel describes in v. 27: καὶ εἶδον ὡς ὄψιν ἠλέκτρου ἀπὸ ὁράσεως ὀσφύος καὶ ἐπάνω, καὶ ἀπὸ ὁράσεως ὀσφύος καὶ ἕως κάτω εἶδον ὡς ὅρασιν πυρός … Aware that he is seeing God in all his glory, Ezekiel falls on his face. God gives him a commission to be a prophet to his own people (2:3-8). No angel messenger appears to Ezekiel. The expanding vision culminates in the part-image of an enthroned human figure surrounded by brilliance, Ezekiel becomes aware that he is seeing a vision of God which overwhelms him.

ii. Vision 2. Idolatry and Destruction in Jerusalem

In the following year Ezekiel has another visionary experience while he sits in his house in the company of the exiled elders of Judah. The image he sees is of the ὁμοίωμα of a man with fire below his loins, and upwards the appearance of amber (8:1-4). Who is the being in this vision? Clements regards it as 'the form of a divine messenger or mediator;'[29] but we follow others[30] and consider it to be the same being as the one seen in 1:26 who is God described in anthropomorphic imagery. As in 1:27, there is fire below the loins of the figure and amber above it. Lifted up by the 'hand' of God, Ezekiel is taken by the Spirit in a

[28] ibid., 43-44.
[29] R.E. Clements, *Ezekiel* (Louisville, Westminster John Knox Press, 1996) 37.
[30] W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel* (E.T.: London, SCM Press, 1970) 122; C.G. Howie, *Ezekiel, Daniel* (London, SCM Press, 1962) 29; P.M. Joyce, *Ezekiel. A Commentary* (New York, T. and T. Clark, 2007) 97-98.

vision to Jerusalem where he is shown four scenes of idol worship within the temple precinct (8:5-18).

Figures of interest for our study of the divine ἄγγελος appear in 9:1-11. In response to God's announcement that the avenging of the city has come (9:1), seven men appear, six of whom are armed with axes, καὶ εἷς ἀνὴρ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ἐνδεδυκὼς ποδήρη, καὶ ξώνη σαπφείρου ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ (v. 2).[31] This seventh man is to mark the foreheads of those who grieve over the idolatry in the city (vv. 3-4), while the six are to kill all who do not have the mark; and this destruction will begin at the sanctuary (vv. 5-6). When the seventh has completed his task, he is instructed to take fire from between the cherubim and to cast it over the city (10:2). Who are these beings who appear at God's announcement, carry out his orders, and who are engaged in acts of saving or destroying? As their tasks are beyond human capacity, they are not human. Some have considered that they are angels.[32] We noted earlier that in III Kings 19:35, the destruction of the Assyrian army is described as the work of the angel of the Lord. Here we are seeing the destruction of the Jews by six executioners who are not identified as ἄγγελοι. We suggest that these seven divine beings prefigure the angels whom we meet in later Jewish and Christian writing. In I Enoch 54:1-6, Michael and other angels are engaged in destroying the evil angels; I Enoch 56:1, refers to 'an army of the angels of punishment.' In Matt. 13:41-42, 49-50 angels will destroy all evildoers at the end of the age. Images of angels engaged in separating the godly from the ungodly are found in Matt. 13:9 and Mark 13:27.

The fact that the heavenly beings are seven in number at 9:2 may be significant. Some see Babylonian influence in this number.[33] Seven angels are listed in Tobit 12:15; and references to seven angels occur in Rev. e.g. 1:20; 8:2; 15:1. As the writer of Revelation has made use of parts of Ezekiel in his work, he may have made use of the number seven under the stimulus of Ezekiel and/or Tobit.

iii. Vision 3. The ἄγγελος as revealer, guide and instructor

In the twenty-fifth year of his exile (i.e. 573 BCE) Ezekiel has a further visionary experience in which he is taken by the Spirit to a very high mountain from where he sees a structure like a city (40:1-2). From the reference to the temple in v. 5, it is evident that he is

[31] Green, vol. 3.1915. In this translation the seventh man is described as being clothed in linen and having a scribe's inkhorn at his loins.

[32] B. Vawter, L.J. Hoppe, *A New Heart* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1991) 69. See also Carrell, 33-34.

[33] Vawter and Hoppe, 69-70; Eichrodt, 130.

on Mt Zion and sees Jerusalem before him. A man comes into view, καὶ ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ ἦν ὡσεὶ ὅρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος (v. 3). The man has in his hand a cord used in building, and a measuring reed. The human-like figure, whom we are to understand as a heavenly being by the brilliance surrounding him, undertakes several functions. First, he informs Ezekiel that he is to observe, listen and to set his mind to all he is shown. He then explains that the purpose in bringing the prophet to the place is so that he can inform the house of Israel of what he has seen (v. 4). As Ezekiel's guide he leads him on a tour of the Temple, and shows him its measurements (40:5-42:30). He conveys God's instructions to him, which include regulations concerning those who serve in the temple (44:9-31), allotments of land for priests, Levites, Israelites and the prince (45:1-8), laws regarding sacrifices (45:13-46:24), and the division of land for the tribes of Israel and for the city (47:13-48:29). The man's frequent statement, λέγει κύριος θεός … (43:18; 44:9, 12, 15, 27; 5:9, 18; 46:1, 16; 47:13, 23; 48:29), underscores his role as a messenger.

Clements refers to the significance of the role of the angel-guide in Ezekiel. He says that from Ezekiel's time, 'a vision in which a heavenly interpreter explains and points out features of the heavenly world becomes a basic feature in Jewish literature.'[34] We would add that this influence extends through into the work of Christian writers.[35] For this reason the book of Ezekiel is important for our study of the ἄγγελος; and as we pointed out earlier, we consider that the seven men appearing in 9:1-7 who are engaged in acts of saving or destroying prefigure the angels in the NT who are engaged in similar actions.

b. The ἄγγελος in Zechariah

The book of Zechariah can be divided into two parts, chapters 1-8 and 9-12. The authorship of the latter has been questioned by several scholars,[36] and accordingly these chapters are not included in our discussion. Chapters 1-6 describe eight visions of Zechariah in which two angels are prominent. Both Zechariah and Haggai in prophesying to the Jews who had returned from exile (Ezra 5:4) address a particular situation in Jerusalem. Though the work of rebuilding the Temple had commenced, opponents had interrupted it. It was now able to recommence, permission and gifts having been given by the Persian king (Ezra 4:1-

[34] Clements, 181.

[35] See I Enoch 17:1-20:7; 21:1-36:4; Test.Levi 2:5-5:7; Test.Abraham 10:1-15:1. The Christian literature includes: Rev. 17:1-18; 21:9-22:8; *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* 6:1-11:35; *Shepherd of Hermas* e.g. *Vis. 5*.

[36] W.S. La Sor, D.A. Hubbard, F.W. Bush, *Old Testament Survey* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmanns, 1982) 491-93; *OCB*, 826-27.

6:12). Zechariah's words to Judah are: τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, Ἐπιστρέψατε πρός με, καὶ ἐπιστραφήσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγει κύριος (1:3). Through a series of visions which he describes, Zechariah assures the people that God has returned to the city and that the Temple will be rebuilt (1:16). Other assurances are that God will protect the city (2:9 LXX; = 2:5 NRSV) and that the priesthood will be restored (3:1-7), evil doers punished (5:3-4) and wickedness removed from the land (5:6-11).

i. Visions

Two visions have been chosen for discussion here. The first vision (1:8-17) introduces two angels, one described by the prophet as ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί (1:9), the second is the angel of the Lord (1:11). The latter appears significantly in vision 4 (3:1-10). Zechariah's first vision occurs at night, but not in a dream. He sees a horseman described in the LXX in this way: οὗτος εἱστήκει ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν δύο ὀρέων τῶν κατασκίων (1:8). Behind the man stand four horses who appear to have riders (v. 11). The unexpected sight of the horsemen prompts the prophet to ask the angel who talks with him about the riders. We note that this angel is introduced without description and creates no sense of awe in Zechariah. The prophet's question is answered by the man standing between the mountains who explains that the horsemen have been sent to patrol the earth (v. 10). Further information is given by the four horsemen who report to the angel of the Lord who stands between the two mountains, that the land is at rest (v. 11). It seems then that the horseman described in v.8 is the angel of the Lord. This angel then becomes an intercessor pleading with God for mercy on Jerusalem (v. 12). God's reply in ῥήματα καλὰ καὶ λόγους παρακλητικούς (v. 13) is directed to the angel who talks with the prophet (v. 13), telling Zechariah to cry out (ἀνάκρατε) God's words to his people (v. 14). These words tell of God's displeasure with the nations that are at ease (v. 15), but give assurance that he has returned to Jerusalem ἐν οἰκτιρμῷ, and that his house will be built (v. 16).

Commenting on God's exhortation (v. 15) T. Chary says:

> The response of God at v. 13 supplies the deep feeling in all the book of Zechariah … This word of consolation is nothing other than a declaration of the love of God for his people.[37]

[37] T. Chary, *Agée, Zacharie, Malachie* (Paris, Librarie Lecoffre, 1969) 61 (my translation).

Although it seems that the angel of the Lord appears in human form in this vision, and is in other places understood as God himself, this is not the case here, as this angel intercedes with God for Jerusalem (v. 13). The angel who talks with the prophet is described as the Interpreting angel by some modern commentators,[38] but in this vision, he is the recipient of God's words (v. 13) and mediates these words to Zechariah, instructing him to proclaim them with the authorization, τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράκωρ. Although the angel has no interpretive function in this first vision, interpretation is his function in visions 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Zechariah's fourth vision in 3:1-10 is revealed to him by an unidentified being who is possibly the angel who speaks with the prophet (cf. 3:1, 4:2, 5:2). The central figures shown in a court image are the angel of the Lord, and Joshua the priest. In this scene presided over by the angel, Joshua appears in filthy clothes; and Satan is present as his accuser. As M. Butterworth observes, Satan's accusation is correct:[39] Joshua's clothes indicate that he is unfit to serve as priest. At the instruction of the angel of the Lord Joshua's filthy clothes are removed. At this point the angel seems to speak for God when he says, Ἰδοὺ ἀφῄρηκα τὰς ἀνομίας σου … (3:4); but as we have said above, there can be no interchange of identity for in 1:12 this angel intercedes with God for Jerusalem.

The reclothing of Joshua symbolises his fitness for priesthood, but he can hold that office only as he fulfils conditions imposed by God, and mediated through the angel of the Lord (vv. 6-7). These instructions by God are followed by certain promises of God for Judah, including the removal in one day of the guilt of the land (v. 9).[40]

ii. Female angels?

In one single verse in the LXX, Zech. 5:9, two women with wings carry a basket with the woman Anomia in it to the land of Shinar. They are not explicitly called *angeloi*, but an *angelos* instructs the prophet to observe their actions. We should be cautious about inferring from this passage any idea that there were female *angeloi*. When angels make an appearance to mortals (eg to Abraham in Gen. 18, and to Manoah and his wife in Judges 13:6, 8, 11), they are identified by humans first as fellow men. As well, they are either male as their behaviour indicates (as in Gen. 6), or they have exclusively male names.

[38] C.L. Meyers, E. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah* 1-8 (Garden City, Doubleday, 1987) 114.
[39] M. Butterworth, 'Zechariah', in *NBC*, 869.
[40] A reference in v. 9 to a stone with seven eyes is understood to indicate 'a gem worn in the high-priestly diadem, emphasising his atoning function (Ex. 28:36)': see P.R. Ackroyd, 'Zechariah', in *Peake*, 648.

iii. Summary

We have described the appearances and the functions assigned to two angels in the first and fourth visions of Zechariah. The angel of the Lord appears in human form in 1:10-11, and it is probable that he appeared in this form to Hagar in Gen. 16:7-14. This angel is described as a man in Judges 13:6, 8, 11. In Zech. 1:12 we can see this angel as an intercessor. We find references to angels undertaking a similar function in Test.Levi 5:6 and in Test.Dan 6:2, both written after Zechariah. In Zech. 3 the angel of the Lord presides over the court proceedings. References to angels in court proceedings and in carrying out judgement are found in later works: Daniel 7:10; Test.Abraham 11:1-5, 8-11; 13:1-14. In the NT acts of judgement involving angels are found in Matt. 13:41-42, 49-50; Rev. 16:1-21.

While the chief function of the angel who talks with Zechariah is to interpret, he keeps the prophet focussed by showing him one vision after another (3:1; 4:2; 5:2). This angel as guide and interpreter has an antecedent in the angel in Ezekiel 40-47, and prefigures the angel revealed in Daniel 8:15-17, 19-26; 9:21-27; 10:10-12:4. Other examples of the angel as guide and interpreter are found in Intertestamental Jewish and also Christian texts, including I Enoch 18:14; 19:1-2; 21:1-33:4; Test.Levi 2:5-5:3; Test.Abraham 10:1-14:13 and in the NT, Rev. 17:1-15; 22:1-5.

The sole possible allusion to female angels in ch. 5 does not identify these women as *angeloi*, and we conclude that these latter beings are solely male everywhere in Jewish and Christian thought.

c. The ἄγγελος in Daniel

Although the title of the book may suggest that it was written by Daniel, and there are references to a Daniel in Ezek. 14:14 and 28:13, and also in Matt. 24:15 there is no evidence that it was written by a person of this name. It is rather a book about Daniel. We do not know who its author was, and it is evident that the book has two discrete parts.[41] The first describes the experiences of Daniel and his friends while they are exiles in Babylon in the fifth century BCE; in the second part, Daniel recounts his visionary experiences and their interpretation in the time when the Jews were suffering under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (*c*. 216-164 BCE). The fact that the writer of chapters 7-12 knew of the desecration of the Temple (8:11) which happened in 167 BCE, but not about its reconsecration by the Maccabees in 164 BCE, nor

[41] J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1998) 88–89.

about the death of Antiochus in that year, suggests that these chapters were written at some time between these dates.[42] The older tales, known to the Palestinian writer, were then added to his work.[43] There are some historical discrepancies in the book,[44] and it is noteworthy that it is written in two languages: Hebrew (1:1-2:4a, and ch. 8-12) and Aramaic (2:46-7:28).[45] In genre, the book can be understood as an apocalypse, for it has all the elements necessary for it to be so categorized.[46]

It is in chapters 7-12 that we find new information which is useful in our study of the ἄγγελος. In the episodes described in ch. 1-6, the function of the angel is to protect. We have already seen this angel in Exodus 14:19 and in 23:20, and therefore pass over these incidents quickly. Ch. 3 describes the punishment given to three exiles in Babylon when they refuse to bow to an image. When they are put in an already fired-up furnace the pagan king attributes their deliverance to an angel (LXX 3:95 = NRSV 3:28). In ch. 6 when Daniel fails to obey a king's decree, choosing rather to continue praying to God, he is put in the lions' den. In the NRSV in 6:21-23 Daniel attributes his preservation to God who has sent his angel and shut the mouths of the lions. The two versions (LXX and Theodotion) differ here. The LXX makes no mention of an angel at 6:23), but Theodotion's text speaks of an angel who ἐνέφραξεν τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων.

Ch. 4 is about a dream vision of the Babylonian king. As the dream is described the words ὁ ἄγγελος are used twice in the LXX version (vv. 13, 23), though the Theodotionic text of these verses has *hagios*, 'holy one.'

i. Daniel's three visions

In chapters 7-12, the three visions discussed include a description of the aggressive acts of Antiochus Epiphanes IV, and anticipate his demise.

In 7:2-14 Daniel sees four grotesque beasts emerging in order from the sea, the last being the most terrible, who eliminates the others. It has ten horns and a small one appears, removing

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[42] G.L. Seow, *Daniel* (Louisville, Westminster John Knox Press, 2003) 166.

[43] G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 'Stories of Biblical and early post-Biblical times', in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. M.E. Stone (Assen, Foundation Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, 1984) 34.

[44] Collins, 86.

[45] ibid., 88.

[46] ibid., 85. See also Collins, 5 where he defines an apocalypse in the following way: ' … a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial in so far as it introduces another supernatural world.'

three of the other horns. This small horn has eyes and a mouth speaking loudly (vv. 3-9). The vision changes to a court scene in which thrones are set in place, and the Ancient of Days appears. His throne is described as fiery flames (v. 9) reminiscent of the fire below the figures on the throne in Ezekiel 1:27. This, and the presence of thousands serving him and thousands more standing by him, indicate that the figure is God. We see Yahweh described in a similar way in III Kings 22:19. After the judgement is given and the beast is slain the vision changes, and one ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου appears ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. When this one is presented to the Ancient of Days he is given ἐξουσία and the promise that everyone on earth is to give him glory and serve him (7.14). The identity of this figure has long remained the subject of debate.[47] We consider that it is a divine being, an ἄγγελος because, like Yahweh in Isaiah 19:1, it comes on a cloud.[48] As ἄγγελοι are Yahweh's servants in the heavenly world (III Kings 22:19), it is reasonable to think that such a being associated with the heavens is an ἄγγελος. As well, we have seen that angels can appear in human form e.g. Gen. 18:2; Judges 18:6, 10-11.

An interpretation is given by one of those standing nearby (v. 16), i.e. a member of the heavenly court. In response to Daniel's enquiry about the fourth beast, he is given a further vision in which he sees the beast (referred to as the horn) engaged in an audacious act: τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τροπούμενον αὐτοὺς (v. 21). Further acts of aggression are described by the angelic interpreter (vv. 23-25), who also predicts the end of this fourth beast. Twice Daniel is told that the ἅγιοι ὑψίστου will be given the kingdom (vv. 18, 22), and in v. 27 that to the λαῷ ἁγίῳ ὑψίστου will also be given βασιλείαν αἰώνιον. From the vision and interpretation which leave Daniel distressed (v. 28) three questions arise for us.

i. Who are the 'holy ones of the Most High'? Ps. 88:6-8 indicates that these are part of the assembly of heaven and are therefore ἄγγελοι. We pointed out above that the LXX translators understood 'the holy one' to be an angel (Dan. 4:13, 22).

ii. Who are the 'holy people of the Most High'? These are called δῆμος ἁγίων in 8:24. The use of δῆμος indicates that these are mortals. It is likely then, that these are the Jews who, in the face of oppression, have remained faithful to the law and the prophets.[49] These with

[47] Carrell, 38–39; Collins, 104–07.

[48] Yahweh is associated with clouds in Ps.17:9-11; 96:2; Job 22:14.

[49] The reference cannot be to Israel because 12:1-2 indicates that not all Israel will have everlasting life. For discussion on the 'people of the holy ones' see J. Barr, 'Daniel', in *Peake*, 598; Collins, 104–05; Seow, 112.

the angels and one like a son of man, an angel distinguished from the others, are all to inherit an everlasting kingdom.

iii. The aggression of Antiochus Epiphanes against the holy ones raises the third question: how can a mortal wage war with angels (7:21, 25)? No adequate discussion can be given at this point, but the question will be discussed when we consider information in chapter 10.

In a second vision described in 8:1-14 Daniel sees himself in Susa near the gate of Aclam. Making use again of animal imagery, he witnesses the rise to power of Antiochus Epiphanes who is once again represented as the little horn (v. 9). As in the former vision, his presumption is described: ὑψώθη ἕως τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐρράχθη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν … (v. 10). The interpretation of the vision, given by one who has ἡ ὅρασις ἀνθρώπου (v. 15) and who is called Γαβριηλ, provides no immediate hope for the Jews, predicting the destruction by Antiochus Epiphanes of mighty men and the people of the holy ones (v. 24). Only as he concludes his interpretation does Gabriel mention the death of the aggressor (v. 25). What is most significant about his vision is that for the first time in the OT a name is given to a divine being, a name which we find given later to the ἄγγελος in the NT at Luke 1:19 and 26. Gabriel also appears in Daniel 9:21.

Chapters 10-12 describes Daniel's last otherworldly experience. In the first year of Cyrus (539 BCE),[50] when Daniel stands on the bank of the river Tigris and grieves over the suffering of the Jews in Jerusalem, he sees a man; but this is no human being, for his clothing, face, body and limbs have extraordinary brightness. Daniel's reaction to the sight and to the voice of the man is to fall down prone in sleep. From this he is wakened by the touch of a hand, words of encouragement and the instruction to stand. We may reasonably consider this speaker to be an ἄγγελος for he says he has been sent (vv. 11-12). The ἄγγελος explains that his coming has been delayed: καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς βασιλέως Περσῶν, ἀνθειστήκει ἐναντίον μοῦ εἴκοσι καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ ἰδοὺ Μιχαηλ εἷς τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν πρώτων ἐπῆλθε βοηθῆσαί μοι, … (v.13). This *angelos*, who introduces the second to be identified by name in the OT, tells Daniel that he left Michael there to contend with the commander of the Persians (v. 13), but that he himself will return to fight against the Persian commander, and then with the commander of the Greeks (v. 20).

[50] In the Hebrew text (followed by the NRSV) the date is given as the third year of Cyrus (536 BCE). Perhaps the LXX translators modified the date because some Jews returned to Jerusalem in 538 BCE.

These verses in Daniel provide new information about the function of the ἄγγελοι. Previously we have understood that warrior angels assist Israel in times of national crisis, e.g. the captain of the Lord's army is mentioned in Joshua 5:13-14, and the angel of the Lord in IV Kings 19:35. The passage above reveals that a battle is taking place in heaven between the ἄγγελοι of the God of the Jews and celestial powers representing pagan nations. With this information we are able to understand what Daniel was told in Chapter 7. It is not Antiochus Epiphanes himself who will make war with the holy ones and turn them back (7:21) or who will wear them out (7:25), but his celestial representative who is engaged in a war with the angels of God. The truth (11:2) which is revealed to Daniel by his angel instructor in 11:2-12:4 is about 'time.' Presented as a preview of events, the passage from 11:2-20 is a review of political events from the period of the Persians to the appearance of Antiochus Epiphanes. The verses which follow (11:21-29) describe the events of his reign; and 11:40-45 predict future events which include his death.[51] Daniel is then told that at an indeterminate time, called an 'end time,' Michael will appear. His description as ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ μέγας ὁ ἑστηκὼς ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου (12:1) establishes him as the angelic patron of the Jews.[52] His appearance at a time of trouble for the faithful Jews ensures that there will be a deliverance for those whose names appear in the book of life, a book to which reference is made in Exodus 32:32–33. There will be a resurrection for some of the dead: for some of these everlasting life, for others everlasting disgrace.[53]

ii. Summary

In the book of Daniel, the function of the ἄγγελος is to interpret visions (7:15-18, 23-27; 8:19-26), and also to reveal future events in relation to Jerusalem (9:24-27) and to the nation (11:2-12:4). We have already seen angels performing these functions in earlier OT books: the angel who reveals appears in Ezekiel and the interpreting angel in Zechariah. In Daniel angels appear with names for the first time. Both Gabriel and Michael are specified later in the NT and in the Pseudepigrapha.[54] The book of Daniel introduces the idea of a celestial battle in which the angels of God representing the faithful Jews are engaged in combat with the evil powers of pagan nations. This idea is developed by Paul in the first century CE when

[51] Seow, 166ff.
[52] Michael was described in 10:13 as εἷς τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν πρώτων and in 10:21 as ὁ ἄγγελος.
[53] The idea of a resurrection also appears in Isaiah 26:19.
[54] In the NT Gabriel appears in Luke 1:19, 26, and Michael in both Jude 9 and in Rev. 12:7. Gabriel and Michael appear together in Intertestamental Jewish literature at I Enoch 9:1, 20:5-7, 40:9, 54:6. Gabriel is also mentioned alone in 10:9, Michael in 60:4, 67:12, 68:12, 69:15.

he applies it to the Christian's battle with the powers of evil in Ephesians 6:11-12. The reference to a resurrection mentioned in Daniel is taken up and developed to become one of the great themes of the NT and the Christian church. While there is no evidence to suggest that one like a son of man (7:13) is Messiah, the imagery of this vision is reflected in Christ's description of his coming in Matt. 24:30-31 and in Mark 13:26-27: at a very early stage Christian believers looked back to Daniel and interpreted it in that way.

3. Jewish writing in the post-Exilic period

Large numbers of books were written in the Intertestamental period which are not included in the Hebrew canon. Some of these form the Apocrypha and others are classed as Pseudepigrapha. Angels appear prominently in the books we have included for discussion, the dates of which are generally considered to fall between 250 BCE and 200 CE.

a. The divine ἄγγελος in the Apocrypha

The book of Tobit is particularly relevant to consider here since it introduces new ideas about the status and functions of the angel. The date of the book can be estimated to some extent by the references in 14:4-5 to the destruction of the Temple, the return of the Jews from exile and the rebuilding of the Temple. As there is no reference to the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes nor of the changes brought about in the time of Alexander the Great, M. Barker suggests a date in the late Persian period.[55] Fitzmyer, however, opts for a later date, between 250-175 CE,[56] with the place of writing likely to be Palestine,[57] the work being written in Aramaic[58] and appearing in Greek in the LXX. Evidence that the author is a devout Jew is reflected in his knowledge of the Law and its requirements in matters of feast-keeping (1:6, 2:1), tithing (1:7-9), and marriage laws (1:9; 6:9-11).

The tale describes the suffering and healing of Tobit, who like the book's author is a devout Jew. He with his family and other members of the tribe of Naphtali were taken to Nineveh when Samaria fell to the Assyrians in 722 BCE. Having left money with a relative in Media he is unable to collect it when he loses his sight. A subplot describes the suffering of Sarah,

[55] M. Barker, 'The Archangel Raphael in the Book of Tobit', in *Studies in the Book of Tobit*, ed. M. Bredin (*Library of Biblical Studies*; London, T. and T. Clark, 2006) 118-28, at 118.
[56] J.A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 2003) 51-52.
[57] ibid., 54.
[58] ibid., 25.

the daughter of Raguel who is a relative of Tobit (6:10). She had been married to seven husbands, but each was killed by a jealous demon before the marriage was consummated. When Tobit asks his son Tobias to collect the money from Media, Tobias will need a guide. At this point the angel Raphael enters the story. In the form of a man and with the name Azarias (5:12), he becomes Tobias' guide and adviser, prescribing a formula for banishing the demon and for curing blindness. The tale ends happily when the demon is banished, Sarah marries Tobias, Tobit's money is collected and his eyesight restored.

The angel in Tobit has a twofold role. His earthly task is unique. Other angels have appeared to humans as men (e.g. Joshua 5:13 and Judges 13:6,10); but this angel not only talks but also walks with Tobias as his guide and adviser. At the end of his mission he exhorts Tobit and his son to praise God and to practise godly living (12:6-10). He then reveals his twofold ministry: καὶ νῦν ἀπέστειλέν με ὁ Θεὸς ἰάσασθαί σε καὶ τὴν νύμφην σου Σαρραν. Ἐγώ εἰμι Ραφαηλ, εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, οἳ προσαναφέρουσιν τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου (12:14-15).

Surprisingly, the angel's role on earth includes an unseen guardianship of Tobit while he buries the Jews who had died (12:12-13). His healing function, mentioned in 12:14, involves a knowledge of how to cure blindness and to cast out demons. Raphael's ministry in heaven is also carried out on behalf of the *hagioi* (i.e. humans) when he, as one of a group of seven ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, takes their prayers ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου.

The description of angels as ἅγιοι in the passage is worth comment. This is an early use of the epithet; angels in OT are not usually described in this way. Although angels share the holy nature of God and are therefore divine beings, they are subject to his will (12.14). While the status of the angel in Tobit is never in question, in some respects he has the attributes of Christ in the NT:[59] he appears on earth as a man with the knowledge of power to heal and to expel demons, ascends πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με (12:20; cf. NT Jn 20:17), and makes intercession for the faithful in heaven (12:15; cf. NT Heb. 7:25).

b. The ἄγγελος in the Pseudepigrapha

The books classed as Pseudepigrapha are those written under a 'false superscription,' that is, they are 'falsely attributed to ideal figures in the OT.'[60] The collection includes apocalyptic literature, testaments, additional tales of OT figures, odes and psalms. Angels

[59] Carrell, 63.
[60] *OTP* 1.xxv.

appear in many of these books; ideas about angels already found in the OT books are developed considerably and new ideas are introduced. Given the amount and variety of material available to work from, we have necessarily selected some aspects of angelology which we consider to be important to our study.

i. Journeys to earth's outer boundaries and beyond

The angel guide, interpreter and revealer has appeared in the OT books already mentioned and we have the angels acting in this way in the Pseudepigrapha; but in the examples mentioned below, the journeys undertaken encompass the world or beyond it, and in the account in I Enoch several angels act as interpreters. This book, probably written no later than the first part of the second century BCE,[61] describes Enoch's tour of the earth and Sheol in chapters 17-20.[62] Enoch is accompanied by an angel who points out the place of imprisonment for seven erring stars and for the powers of heaven (18:14). Chapters 21-36 describe a second journey in which Enoch, accompanied by several angels, sees the centre of the earth (26:1), the extreme ends of the earth at the four points of the compass, and even the open gates of heaven at each point (33:1-3; 34:1-3; 35:1; 36:1-3). Angels act as guides (21:5), and named angels as interpreters (21:5, 9; 22:3, 6; 23:4; 24:6).

In the Testament of Levi,[63] written in the second or first century BCE,[64] Levi, third son of Jacob, has a dream-vision in which the heavens open while he is standing on a high mountain. Instructed by an angel of the Lord, he enters the first and then a second heaven (2:5-8). In response to Levi's question about the heavens, the angel promises that he will see another heaven, and when he has arrived there will stand near God (2:9-10). The angel describes the heavens, the occupants of each and their particular functions, with God (called the Great Glory) dwelling in the highest (3:1-8). When the angel opens the gates of heaven Levi sees the Holy Most High who promises him the blessings of the priesthood until he himself will dwell with his people (5:1-2). Levi is then led back by the angel to the earth. We note that the angel is not described, and will not divulge his name (5:5-6), but discloses heavenly secrets to Levi and opens for him the gates of heaven (5:1).

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[61] M.G. Reddish (ed.), *Apocalyptic Literature* (Peabody, Hendrikson, 1955) 146.
[62] The text used is E. Isaac (trans.), *(The Ethiopic Apocalypse of) [1] Enoch*, in *OTP* 1.13-89.
[63] The translation used is H.C. Kee (trans.), *Testament of Levi* in *Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs*, in *OTP* 1.788-95.
[64] Reddish, 189.

ii. Proliferation of angel names and numbers

A notable development in angelology in the Pseudepigrapha is the proliferation of angel names and numbers. Named angels have already been introduced in Daniel and Tobit; these both appear in the Pseudepigrapha, and many more angels are given names there. In I Enoch 20:1-7 six angels--Suru'el, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraga'el and Gabriel--are described as ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι and as 'angels who watch.' These have been described as archangels, although that word is not used in the text.[65] We have already referred to four angels who act as guides and interpreters to Enoch. These are Uriel, Rafael, Raguel and Michael, the last being described in 24:6 as 'the chief of the other angels.' The angel Eremiel appears in the Apocalypse of Zeph.[66] 6:16 and the archangels Dokiel and Purouel in the Test.Abraham, Recension A[67] (13:10-11). We note that all these names have the suffix '-el', linking them etymologically with God or a god. Names of the fallen angels are recorded in I Enoch 6:7-8 and 69:2-3.

How do we account for the origin of angel names? D.S. Russell quotes the *Bereshit Rabbah* on Gen 18:1 where it is recorded that 'the names of angels such as Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, they (the Israelites) brought from Babylon.' Russell goes on to say that although the practice of giving angels names may have come to Palestine from Babylon, the idea probably originated in Zoroastrianism which had influenced the Babylonian religion.[68] Large numbers of angels appear before the Ancient of Days in Dan. 7:10, where we read χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ. Yet Enoch outdoes this image in Daniel in his presentation of vast numbers of angels (I Enoch 40:1; 71:8). Others follow this convention of presenting huge numbers of angels (e.g. Apoc.Zeph. 4:1); and we see the trend continue in early Christian writings in the NT in Hebrews 12:22; Jude 14; Rev. 5:11.

iii. An angel hierarchy

It is evident from several references in the Pseudepigrapha that some angels are of higher status than others. In Jubilees 2:1-2[69] we read that God created on the first day the heavens, the earth, the sea and all spirits who serve him. Of the spirits, the angels of the Presence and those of sanctification are ranked highest (2:2,18). Evidence from Test.Levi

[65] See *I Enoch* in *OTP* 1.23.
[66] O.S. Wintermute (trans.), *Apocalypse of Zephaniah,* in *OTP* 1.508-15.
[67] E.P Sanders (trans.), *Testament of Abraham,* in *OTP* 1.882-95.
[68] D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1964) 258.
[69] O.S. Wintermute (trans.), *Jubilees*, in *OTP* 2.52-142, at 55.

(3:4-7) confirms this. In the reference above God, who is called the Great Glory, occupies the highest heaven. With him are the archangels who have a special function. The messenger angels occupy the heaven below. We have seen that Raphael reveals to Tobit and Tobias that he with six others are angels of the Presence who have a special ministry (Tobit 12:16).

Alongside this evidence we need to consider information which indicates the importance of other, named angels. Several of these have already been mentioned. Michael is called an archangel in I Enoch 71:8, that is, an angel of the Presence (Test.Levi 2:4-5).[70] Apart from Raphael and Michael who are specified with this title, others among the named angels must also make up the group.[71] Numbers of other, unnamed angels appear in the Pseudepigrapha with a variety of functions.[72]

iv. Fallen angels, evil spirits and demons

The account in Gen. 6:2-4 in which angels married mortals is expanded in I Enoch. At 15:8-11 Enoch is told by God that evil spirits have come from the bodies of giants who are the offspring of these unions. These have a 'spiritual foundation', but will dwell on the earth and 'will corrupt' and 'will cause sorrow'. In 19:1 Enoch is told by the angel Uriel that these spirits 'have defiled the people and will lead into error' until the day of judgement. Two angels, Semyaz who encouraged the angels to marry mortals (6:3-8), and Azaz'el who unlawfully disclosed secret arts (8:1-4), are initially responsible for evil amongst humankind.[73] Punishment for both is decreed by God in the form of imprisonment till judgement day (19:4-6, 11-12).

On the basis of the Genesis account and by introducing extra material, the writer of I Enoch was able to give an explanation for the origin of evil and an outcome of evil: suffering. This book, written in the first part of the second century BCE, addresses not only the wider problem of evil manifested in the impact of Hellenization on Jewish belief and custom, but particularly the situation in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes IV (175-164 BCE) when the

[70] Michael the archangel is mentioned in the NT in Jude 9; 1 Thess. 4:16 includes a reference to an archangel.

[71] See M. Barker, *The Great Angel* (Louisville, Westminster John Knox Press. 1992) 84. Barker using a different translation mentions seven angels in I Enoch 20.

[72] e.g. intercession *Test.Levi* 5:6; mediating *Test.Dan* 6:2; recording *Apoc.Zephaniah* 3:5-9; angels set over material elements Jub. 2:2.

[73] G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 'Apocalytic and Myth in I Enoch 6-11', *JBL* 96 (1977) 383-405, at 386. Nickelsburg suggests that two stories have been put together, the older one being about Semihazah (= Semyaz) and his hosts. He identifies Greek influence in both stories. See also J. Barr, 'The question of religious influences: the case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity', *JAAR* 53.2 (1967) 201-35. Barr argues that Iranian influence is possible in the account of the fallen angels (228-29), but that any influence came to the Jews through the Greeks not the Persians (218-19).

faithful Jews suffered – a situation described in 1 Maccabees. The account also offers hope for the righteous (10:17) who will live in a land of abundance and worship God (10:18-22). Evil spirits and demons are also mentioned in Jubilees 10:1-3. When polluted demons attack Noah's grandsons, Noah asks God to shut them up and take them to a place of judgement (10:4-5). Mastema, described as chief of the spirits, asks that a tenth of the demons remain with him so that they can corrupt and lead people astray in obedience to his voice (10:7-8). God allows one tenth to be left, but the rest are to go down to the place of judgement (10:9). Beliar, who is associated with demonic power, is mentioned in Test.Twelve Patriarchs: Reuben 4:7; Levi 18:12; Judah 25:3; Issacher 7:7l; Zebulun 9:8; Dan 5:10l; Naphtali 3:1; Benjamin 3:3. He, too, like the fallen angels and the demons, will be judged, and for punishment be thrown into eternal fire (Test.Judah 25:3). While judgement awaits all of these who brought evil to humankind, we find angels are themselves involved in assisting in judgement. We referred earlier to examples of this in the Test.Abraham (11:1-5, 8-11;13:1-14). In Daniel 7:10 many angels are present in the courtroom. At a later period, the NT also represents angels engaged in carrying out judgement (Matt. 13:41-42, 49-50; Mark 13:27; Rev. 16:1-21).

v. Summary

On the basis of our reviewing the status and function of the divine ἄγγελος in Tobit and the pseudepigraphical books we make the following observations.

First, in accompanying Tobias as his guide, Raphael can be seen as continuing the role of angel as guide which we saw in Ezekiel; but the ἄγγελος in Tobit is presented as a human who comes with a healing mission. Raphael's ministry in heaven is also revealed where he is one of a special group of seven angels, a significant number (cf. Ezek. 9:2; Test.Levi 8:12; Rev. 15:1).

Second, the ἄγγελος in the pseudepigraphical books raised some questions for us, two of which we have already addressed. We mentioned earlier the probability that the Jews after their exile in Babylon adopted the practice of giving names to angels, and this was likely to be due to Zoroastrian influence. It is possible that the same source was responsible for the introduction of the vast numbers of angels which are described in the Pseudepigrapha. We mentioned also, that the Jews who suffered under the imposition of Hellenism, especially in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, needed to articulate for themselves a reason for the origin

of evil and suffering. The account in I Enoch of the fallen angels not only supplied the reason but also promised hope at an unspecified end time.

The third question about why there is so much interest in angels in these books can be answered when we consider the ancient perception that angels provided the link between humankind and the transcendent God and the heavenly world. Angels as guides were able to show humans the extremities of the world and beyond it and, as interpreters to reveal what was formerly hidden--that is, the secret things of God concerning the future--of judgement and of hope for the righteous.

4. The ἄγγελος in Philo and Josephus

We turn finally in this chapter to the way angels are represented in Philo and Josephus, two writers living in the first century CE who, though Jewish, wrote in Greek.

a. Philo

The prolific Philo exhibits a 'remarkable intellectual fusion of Hellenism and Judaism.'[74] He seems able to hold in tension a commitment to the divine hand behind the sacred texts together with great freedom and independence to criticise the traditions they encompass. His discussion of Scripture is central chiefly to his work on the Pentateuch. He regarded its accounts as having two levels of meaning, a literal and an underlying, allegorical one.[75] We will include an example of Philo's interpretation of a particular text in the discussion to follow.

i. The Logos

While it is not possible for human beings to see God in his essential being, he reveals himself through the Logos. 'The Logos is the manifestation of God and the form of the Logos is the form of an angel.'[76] Humans may consider that they have seen God himself as Hagar did (Gen. 16:13); but as Philo explains, οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνα, τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὡς αὐτὸν κατανοοῦσιν 'thus they also perceive the image of God, his angel-Word, as himself' (*Somn*. I.239). Apart from the Logos, Philo refers to other angelic beings. How does he define them? He identifies three classes of living things: animals, people and incorporeal

[74] F.H. Colson, 'General Introduction,' in Colson and G.H. Whitaker, *Philo* vol. 1 (Loeb; London, Heinemann, 1929, repr. 1962) ix.
[75] H.A. Wolfson, *Philo* (Cambridge [Mass.], HarvardUP, 1948) 1.115.
[76] Carrell, 94.

souls.[77] Some of the latter descend into bodies, but others do not (*Gig*. 3.12). These angels (souls) are in the air as Philo points out in *Somn*. I.135, but are invisible to us (*Somn*. 1.136). According to Philo, these are bodiless (*Plant*. 4.16). He explains that God made winged creatures which we see, but ψυχῶν ὁ θίασος 'the company of bodiless souls' are beyond our sense apprehension (*Plant*. 4.14). Angels are described as having different functions. They are messengers (*Somn*. I.141). They also act as servants, caring for the needs of mortals (*Gig*. 3.12). In a reference to the angels who ascended and descended on the stairway to heaven in Jacob's dream (Gen. 28.12), Philo calls them *angeloi mesitai* (*Somn*. I.142). He uses Greek ideas to describe the function of angels. In *Somn*. I.140 the souls (*angeloi*) who have not descended into mortal bodies are ὕπαρχοι δὲ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος 'subordinate officers of the commander-in-chief'. They are called *presbytai* in *Gig*. 4.16. They go back and forth between men and God.

Wolfson notes that Philo divides *angeloi* into two classes, the punitive and the beneficial;[78] the latter are described in *Leg. All*. III.177-78. In his interpretation of Gen. 48.15ff., a passage in which Jacob acknowledges God's care of him and the Angel's deliverance of him from ills, Philo draws a distinction between the action of God and that of the Angel. He interprets God's action as a principal boon, and that of the Angel ('who is the *logos*'), as a secondary one. Thus, God gives the boon of good health to humans, whereas the angels are engaged in riddance of evils, a beneficial but nevertheless secondary boon.[79] Some angels effect punishment, but not indiscriminately or on their own initiative (*Fug*. 13.66). Philo says that *psyche*, *daimon* (used by philosophers) and *angelos* 'are different names for the same underlying thought' (*Gig*. 4.16). Using the first of these terms, he indicates that there are worthy and unworthy angels. Some souls (angels) are consecrated and devoted to God's service of caring for humankind (*Gig*. 3.12). Of those descending into the body, some have returned to the place where they have come from (*Gig*. 3.13). These are the souls of those who give themselves to the pursuit of philosophy (*Gig*. 3.14). There are also unworthy ones, the souls of those who have given themselves to the unstable things of chance (*Gig*. 3.15), and sensual pursuits (*Gig*. 4.17-18). In such beings God's spirit cannot remain forever.

Philo's identification of angels with the *logos* needs to be balanced by another perspective. J. Barbel's influential book on angels refers to a number of other aspects of the *logos*. He

[77] Wolfson, *Philo*, 1.366. We are indebted to Wolfson for pointing out the many references to angels in Philo, which we have made use of in the discussion below.
[78] Ibid., 1.381-83.
[79] Ibid.

acknowledges that the *logos* is also 'angel,' certainly so in distinction to other *dynameis*. Nevertheless, 'the *logos* is the most prominent connecting link between God and the world,'[80] and so has far other roles and relationships both with humans and with God.

ii. Summary

In view of its heavily philosophical focus Philo's discussion may seem abstruse to us following our consideration of the OT and Pseudepigrapha's narrative evidence. Yet it should be noted that he had a marked influence on several of the early Christian writers of high intellect, such as Clement of Alexandria and Origen.[81] Accordingly, we should give his contribution its due. On the other hand, the rarified nature of this intellectualising about angels was a current which may be felt to have passed unnoticed by the vast majority of people in the period, whether of Greek or Jewish culture. In consequence, we may claim that the impact of this kind of discussion was minimal in practice on popular conceptions of angels in the Mediterranean world at the turn of the era and in the first few centuries after that. Philo's orientation is so different from other works and writers being examined for this thesis that he may reasonably be set aside lest his views distort the picture that emerges about popular conceptions of angels in the Graeco-Roman world.

b. Josephus

Of the various works by Josephus preserved for us, the *Antiquities* contains by far the most relevant material for considering his references to the *angelos*, since in it he comments on many passages in the Jewish scriptures. We find, however, that in spite of his promise in 1.17 to set forth precise details of the records, neither adding nor omitting anything, some of his comments on angels do not accord with the Biblical accounts.

The following selection of passages demonstrates Josephus' inconsistency. In *Ant*. 1.188-189 Josephus mentions the Gen. 16 incident where the angel of God appears to Hagar by a spring of water. Josephus retains mention of the angel here. In the Biblical record in Gen. 22, it is an angel who tells Abraham not to kill his son; however, when Josephus reports this incident at *Ant*. 1.233 it is God and not an angel who gives this instruction. The account of Moses at the burning bush (Exod. 3:2-6) in which an angel appears to him in the bush and then God calls

[80] J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos. Die Anschauung von Christus als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstumlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums* (*Theophaneia* 3; Bonn, Hanstein, 1941, repr. 1964) 21.

[81] Colson, *Philo* vol. 1.xx-xxi.

to him from it, is changed by Josephus (*Ant.* 2.266-267). He says that the fire spoke to Moses and gave him instructions. As a further example of Josephus' variable renderings of Biblical accounts, he retains the appearance at Numb. 22:23-31 of the angel to Balaam (*Ant*. 4.108-110). In contrast, in the episode in Daniel 8:16 in which the angel Gabriel is instructed to interpret the vision to Daniel, Josephus' account has no mention of Gabriel, but God himself interprets the vision (*Ant*. 10.272). Concerning IV Kings 19:35, when the angel of the Lord destroys the Assyrian army, Josephus says that the army perished because of a plague (*Ant*. 10.21).

How do we account for these changes about angels? Feldman considers that Josephus was acting out of consideration for his readers, both Jews and non-Jews. The former 'would be troubled by the concept of intermediaries between God and humans.' His non-Jewish audience 'would ask what the difference was between such angels and the demi-gods of the pantheon.'[82] Feldman's suggestion is no more than that, and does not take into account the retention of the angel in some episodes and its omission in others. In view of these deliberate alterations to the OT accounts, we found that Josephus is not useful for our survey.

5. Conclusion

In view of the summaries provided above to several sections of this chapter, the concluding comment to the chapter as a whole may be kept brief.

We have seen *angeloi*, both individually and collectively, possessing a variety of functions of which the role of messenger is primary. A small amount of attention is paid to some who rebel against God and are punished for it. The dominant impression gained, however, is one of variety. This is not surprising, in view of the vast time range that the texts cover, and the considerable number of writers involved. Indeed, were this to be an in-depth study of Hebrew and Jewish conceptions of *angeloi*, even greater diversity would emerge (eg in the Qumran material). However, this chapter does not have that purpose; our goal here is different: to provide a summary survey as a preliminary step to the analysis of the epigraphical evidence for *angeloi*.

We may say, in summary, that *angeloi* are thought of in Hebrew texts and later in Jewish writings as individuals or groups of divinely-appointed agents whose role is to convey God's intentions and expectations to his own people.

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[82] L.H. Feldman, *Josephus's interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998) 212-13.

Our next task is to consider in chapter 2 whether *angeloi* mentioned in early Christian texts have a similar set of roles, or whether they are presented differently because the perspective of the Christian writers is at variance with Jewish writers in some respects.

2. The ἄγγελος in the New Testament, and in some other early Christian texts

Introduction

In surveying the earliest Christian literature, we are again looking for any new developments in the concept of the ἄγγελος both in status and in function. This research will assist us in determining later whether the references to angels in the pagan inscriptions may have come from Christian sources.

As the person of Christ is the focus of the gospel writers, we might expect that angels will be associated with him.[1] And this is so, but they also appear to his followers as the latter become messengers of the gospel.

Apart from those in Revelation, angels appearances are recorded only in the Gospels and in Acts; but most writers of the Epistles mention angels, and where these references are important to our study, they are discussed.

With regard to time, where dates are significant these are recorded as the survey proceeds. We mention here that although the events in the Gospels necessarily precede Paul's conversion, they were set down after his death, which is thought to have occurred in the mid 60s CE.[2] A suggested date for Mark's Gospel is between 66-73 CE and a date in the 80s for Matthew and Luke, both these writers having borrowed extensively from Mark's account.[3] A generally preferred date for John's Gospel is about 90 CE.[4]

As well as the NT, this survey will look briefly at how angels are referred to in a small selection of extra-biblical Christian texts and writers: the *Shepherd* of Hermas, the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, Justin Martyr, and Origen.

1. The ἄγγελος in the Gospels

a. Appearances in the birth and resurrection narratives

[1] *TDNT*. I. 85.
[2] *OCB*, 576.
[3] J. Painter, *St Mark's Gospel* (London, Routledge 1997) 7.
[4] *NBC*, 1022.

The angel who appears to Joseph in Matt. 1:20; 2:13,10, and to Zechariah in Luke 1:11 is described as ἄγγελος κυρίου.[5] This angel, appearing to Zechariah reveals himself as Gabriel (1:19), and the same angel visits Mary (v. 26). So it is likely that the angel of the Lord who visited Joseph in Matt. 1:20 and 2:13,19 was Gabriel. Gabriel is an angel of the Presence (v. 19) and as such is an angel of the highest rank.[6] No description of Gabriel is given nor is he named again in the NT. The function of this angel is that of message-bearer. In Luke 1:19 and 1:26 we learn that Gabriel was 'sent' and in 1:19 that he brings 'good news.'[7]

The angel in 2:10 also brings good news. In each case the news is of a special child whose destiny is foretold (Matt. 1:20-21; Luke 1:13-17, 26-33; 2:10-11). In the appearance of the angel host accompanying an angel of the Lord (Luke 2:13), we have the first and only reference in the NT to the activity of ἡ στρατιὰ οὐρανίου. Here it is seen as first ascribing glory to God and then acting as messenger, bringing news of peace to earth (v. 14).[8] The human responses to the angel visits vary. Joseph shows no fear (Matt. 1:19-21, 24; 2:13-14, 19-21) and obeys the orders given, Zechariah (Luke 1:12) and the shepherds (2:9) show φόβος, and Mary (1:29) διεταράχθη. The unexpected nature of the appearances could account for this, but there is little doubt that the divine nature of these messengers is intuitively discerned. We note that in these narratives there is no attempt at angel worship, nor are the angels referred to as 'holy.'

Appearances of angels in the resurrection accounts are recorded in Matt. 28:1-7; Mark 16:5-7; Luke 24:4-7; John 20:11-13, and describe encounters with women followers of Christ at the tomb. These accounts are not consistent in recording the names and numbers of women who visited the tomb (although all mention Mary Magdalene), nor is there consistency in the numbers and descriptions of the angels.[9] There is no doubt in the mind of the writers or of those whom they are writing about that these are all heavenly beings. This is indicated not

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[5] In the NT, ἄγγελος κυρίου is used frequently rather than the ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου. See L.L. Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1992) 28-29.

[6] See *Tobit* 12:15; *Test. Levi.* 3:5-6. Gabriel appears in *Daniel* 8:16; *I Enoch* 9:1; 10:9; and is mentioned in 20:7; 40:9; 54:6; 71:8-9.

[7] εὐαγγελίζομαι 'a verb to be used characteristically of preaching the gospel' L.L. Morris, *Luke*, (Leicester, IVF Press, 1972) 70. See also *New Docs* 3 (1983) 12-13.

[8] This peace is to be restricted, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας. We note that the extraordinary nature of the messages, and in some cases their sensitive content, requires that, to be believed by the recipients, they need to be delivered by supernatural means. In the OT news of the birth of some special children was conveyed by God himself or an angel (Gen. 15:1-5; 18:10; Judges 13:3-5).

[9] An angel of the Lord appears at the tomb in Matt. 28:2-3. John in 20:12 indicates that there were two angels. Both Mark and Luke refer to the messengers as 'men'. Mark has one man (16:5), Luke has two (24:4).

only by the way these beings are described, but by what they say and by the reaction of the women.

Descriptions of the external appearance of angels are rare in the OT, but we have examples in Ezekiel 40:3 and in Daniel 10:5-6, where heavenly beings are described as 'shining.' A divine being is described in 1 Enoch 87:2 as a 'snow-white person.'[10] Angels at the tomb of Jesus are described in similar ways (Matt. 28:3; Mark 16:5; Luke 24:4; John 20:12). As well as having an appearance as 'white as snow,' the angel in Matthew is seen as being ὡς ἀστραπή. Luke refers to two men ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπτούσῃ.

As in the birth narratives these ἄγγελοι are messengers. The women at the tomb became the first recipients of the news that Christ is alive. As we have seen earlier, including in the LXX, the news brought by an angel is sometimes followed by instructions (Judges 13:4; Luke 1:26-31; 2:10-12); and this is so in Matt. 28:7 and Mark 16:7 where the women are given commissions. As in the birth encounters there is no suggestion that angels were worshipped.

In these resurrection narratives the synoptic writers use a variety of words to describe the reaction of those seeing the angels, which suggest that their encounter with the heavenly messengers was deeply disturbing: guards ἐγενήθησαν ὡς νεκροί (Matt. 28:4, cf. 8); women leave the tomb afraid (Mark 16:5, 8); reaction of women ἐμφόβων who κλινουσῶν τα προσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν (Luke 24:5).

b. Other references to angels

As well as carrying out the task of messenger, angels are engaged in a number of functions which we discuss below. Both Matthew (4:1-11) and Mark (1:12-13) mention that the angels served (διηκόνουν) Jesus at the time of the temptation, and both use the imperfect tense. While Matthew makes it clear that the ministry occurred after the temptation ended (v. 11), the use of the imperfect in Mark could imply that the ministry was continuous while Jesus was with the wild beasts (v. 13).[11] The word διακονέω could imply 'protection during the temptation' or at the conclusion of it that Jesus was given food and drink.[12] If the ministry of the angels was continuous during the temptation, then they were witnesses with God to Jesus' triumph over Satan in the wilderness.[13] Another angelic ministry to Jesus is recorded

[10] For the significance of white and shining clothes in NT see R. France *The Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans. 2002) 678-79; TDNT 1.84n. 67.
[11] Painter, 32.
[12] France, 85-87.
[13] E. Schweizer, *Das Evangelium nach Markus, I* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1989) 18.

in Luke 22:43. On this occasion Jesus is alone, this time on the Mt of Olives, having withdrawn from his disciples. He prays that God might take away τὸ ποτήριον from him. Then we are told ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν.[14] Whether this angelic strengthening refers to Jesus emotional or physical condition is left unclear.

Angels are mentioned as a military force in Matt. 26:53. In the OT we have references to ἡ παρεμβολὴ θεοῦ (Gen. 32:1), ἡ στρατιὰ οὐρανίου (III Kings 22:19), and in the NT to πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου (Luke 2:13). Here in Matthew is the only NT reference to λεγιῶνες ἀγγέλων. This kind of angelic ministry, in the form of a figurative military force is available to Jesus, but does not meet God's purposes for him.

Angels are seen as transporters of the dead (Luke 16:22). The well known account of the rich man and Lazarus (vv. 19-13) told by Jesus to his disciples and the Pharisees, may have its basis in an Egyptian folktale.[15] Our interest is in the activity of the angels who at his death carry away the poor man to Abraham's bosom. The idea that Lazarus and Abraham are seated at a feast contrasts well with the imagery in vv. 21-22 where Lazarus in physical distress, desires the scraps from the rich man's table.[16] So also the idea of the angels carrying Lazarus at death to a desirable place contrasts with the statement that the rich man ἀπέθανεν … καὶ ἐτάφη.

In Matt. 18:10 we have an image of angels in heaven. In the verse Jesus warns his disciples about the danger of despising one of the little ones, ὅτι οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς διὰ παντὸς βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. The little ones have been identified with those whose faith is not strong.[17] Jesus claims these are subjects of God's special care because their angels stand in his presence, perhaps interceding for them.

The reference to ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν here introduces the question of whether a guardian angel was divinely appointed for each person. In the OT there are references to angel guardians: in Exod. 23:20, God promises the Israelites that he will send an angel to guard them on their journey to Canaan. Deut. 8:32 indicates that God set an angel over each nation. Allusions to deliverance by angels are found in Gen. 48:16, also in Daniel 3:95 (LXX; = NRSV 3:28) and in the Theodotion text at 6:23. It is difficult to tell if these guardian angels are being referred to in Matt. 18:10.

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[14] A number of MSS do not include these words or the following verse: see I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1978) 831-35.

[15] Marshall. 633, 636.

[16] Morris, *Luke*, 253.

[17] T.G. Long, *Matthew* (Westminster, John Knox Press, 1997) 206-07; Morris, *Matthew*, 464.

Angels also rejoice when the lost is found (Luke 15:1-31). While the three parables told by Jesus in this chapter mention rejoicing when the lost is found (vv. 7, 10, 32), only in the parable of the lost coin are angels mentioned. Here they are seen 'rejoicing along with God' when one sinner repents (v. 10).[18] The group of angels described here as ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, is mentioned in 12:9 where Luke tells us they were present at 'the eschatalogical court.'[19] There is no indication that Luke considers these as a select group of angels like those described in Tobit 12:15.

Functions of angels at the close of the Age have already been mentioned in Chapter 1 above, and are recorded in Matt. 13:24-30, 36-42. The parable of the weeds in vv. 24-30 is given an eschatological meaning when Jesus explains it to his disciples at their request (vv. 36- 42). Our interest is in the function of the angels in vv. 41-42. At the close of the age (v. 40) they will be sent out by the Son of Man, but not as messengers: καὶ συλλέξουσιν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν (v. 41). As well as a gathering role, the angels are also involved with punishment as they throw into the fire what they have gathered (vv. 41-42). In the parable of the net (vv. 47-50) angels are again active at the end of the Age. They will set apart (ἀφοριοῦσιν) the wicked and dispose of them again in the fire.

In Matt. 24:30-31 and in Mark 13:26-27 the role of the angels referred to above is reversed. Describing what most scholars consider to be the *parousia*,[20] Jesus once again mentions the function of the angels. They will be sent out by the Son of Man when he appears. Again the angels are engaged in gathering. But this time it is οἱ ἐκλεκτοί of God, who are scattered (as the imagery suggests) throughout the world, and who will be gathered by the angels in one place (ἐπισυνάγω) at the close of the Age.

The Gospels record a number of references to Satan. He is shown as the tempter (*peirazon*) in Matt. 4:3, is called the *diabolos* in vv. 1, 5, and addressed as *Satanas* in v. 10. Such variation in the way he is referred to occurs throughout the Gospels and in other early Christian texts. He is active in persuading people to do wrong (Matt. 16:23; Luke 22:3; John 13:27), and seen as responsible for illness (Luke 13:16). He and those angels who take his side will be judged at the *parousia* (Matt. 25:41).

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[18] Marshall, 604.

[19] H. Klein, *Das Lukasevanelium* (Göttingen, Vandenoeck and Ruprecht, 2006) 525.

[20] There is no universal agreement that these verses describe the *parousia*. These writers support the idea: A. Cole, *Mark NBC*, 970-71; C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (Cambridge, CUP, 1959, rev. 1977) 406; J. R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2002) 402-04; but France, 500 takes an opposing view.

As we turn now to consider the ἄγγελος in Acts we shall find again that appearances are few, and references to angels even fewer than in the Gospels.

2. The ἄγγελος in Acts

One reason for the few appearances of angels in this book may be partly accounted for by the fact that with the coming of the Holy Spirit in 2:2-4, divine communication is often given through the Spirit as in 8:29; 10:19; 11:12;16:7; 21:4.

a. Appearances

The first appearance of angels is at the Ascension in Acts 1:10-11. This account supplements that in Luke 24:50-53, which does not mention angels. The angels in Acts 1:10-11 are described in a similar way to those in the resurrection accounts. They are messengers as they were in those narratives.[21] Their words are brief, merely a question and a promise, the former hinting at idleness, implied by ἑστήκατε and [ἐμ]βλέποντες (v. 11). Their promise is that Christ's return will be in the manner of his ascension, ἐν νεφέλῃ (v. 9). Having delivered their message the angels disappear.

An ἄγγελος appears as a deliverer in 5:17-21 and in 12:1-11. These two accounts describe the release of the apostles from prison by an angel of the Lord. The first is about Peter and the apostles, who are imprisoned because of the jealousy of the high priest and Sadducees at the success of the apostles' healing ministry (vv. 17-18). The episode is told with few details.[22] An angel of the Lord during the night opens the prison doors, leads the prisoners past the sentries (v. 19), and gives them particular instructions (v. 20). Recognizing their deliverer as divinely appointed, the apostles carry out as soon as possible the orders given.

In the second account we are told in v. 3 that Peter's arrest was the result of Herod's desire to continue to please the Jews.[23] The execution of James had pleased them, and Herod evidently has this in mind for Peter.[24] Peter is well guarded (v. 6): could Herod have heard of his earlier escape from prison? Except for the directions given to Peter by the angel, his deliverance seems to have been accomplished in silence while he is in a trance-like state. When he understands what has happened he attributes this to God, for he says, Νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς ὅτι

[21] Matt. 28:2-3; Mark 16:5; Luke 24:4; John 20:12.

[22] There is no mention of how the prisoners were secured or whether the angel spoke before leading the prisoners out. Luke is not interested in speculation.

[23] For more details concerning Herod see C.K. Barrett, *Acts* (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 2002) 181-82.

[24] ibid., 182.

ἐξαπέστειλεν [ὁ] κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρῴδου καὶ πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (v. 11). The lack of belief on the part of those praying for Peter's release from prison when told he is at the gate is expressed in the words ὁ ἄγγελός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ (Acts 12:15). There appears to be no ancient evidence for the idea proposed by some that, 'There was a belief that a person's spirit or guardian angel could roam around on its own and be mistaken for the person.'[25] The concept of the angel sent as a deliverer and protector is not new. Angelic protectors appear in Ex. 14:19-20; 23:20; Dan. 3:28, 6:22. In Gen. 48:16 Jacob refers to ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενος με ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν. Daniel in the Theodotion version (6:23) attributes his safety in the den of lions to an angel. Jesus' words in Matt. 18:10 suggest that children have angel representatives in heaven. Yet none of these passages imply that each person has an angel accompanying him or her through life. Perhaps the statements in Acts 12:15 should be understood as meaning, 'It is his ghost.'

Communication from angels frequently requires a response of obedience, and this is so in Acts 8:26-27 and in 10:36. No details are given in 8:26 of the circumstances in which Philip receives a message from the angel of the Lord, nor is there any description of the angel. No conversation passes between the two, but Philip's immediate response, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη (v. 27) indicates that he recognizes that the message is from God, and so is to be acted on. Once on the road to Gaza, it is the Spirit who directs him (v. 29). Although a Godfearer (v. 28), the Ethiopian eunuch whom Philip teaches and baptizes, could not have been accepted into the Jewish faith in earlier times because of a regulation in Deut. 23:1; but Bruce points out that the removal of this ban was announced in Isaiah 56:3-5.[26]

The angel in 10:3-6 is described as an ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 3) and also as ἀνὴρ … ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ (v. 30).[27] While Cornelius the centurion is praying in mid-afternoon he sees in a vision an angel who gives him instructions which he follows.[28] Peter, also at prayer (v. 9), recognizes that the vision and the voice instructing him are from God. Cornelius is not told to go himself to Peter, and the reason for this becomes clear as the narrative unfolds. Prompted by the Spirit (v. 19; cf. 8:29), Peter's visit to Cornelius brings about not only Cornelius' conversion but also that of his kinsmen and close friends (44-48).

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[25] C. Gempf. *Acts* in *NBC*, 1084. For other perspectives see F.F. Bruce. *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1951, 3rd ed. rev. and enl. 1990) 286; J. Pelican, *Acts* (London, SCM Press, 2006) 147.

[26] Bruce, 225.

[27] Also as 'holy angel' in v. 22 possibly by the servants or a devout soldier (v. 7).

[28] For appearances of an angel at times of religious observance see Dan. 6:21; Luke 1:8-11.

These two episodes in 8:26-38 and in 10:1-44 show the importance of both the angel and the Spirit as agents of divine communication initiating actions which lead to two outsiders being brought into the early church. In Acts 16:9 Paul has a vision in the night of a man from Macedonia calling to him, Διαβὰς εἰς Μακεδονίαν βοήθησον ἡμῖν. Identified by his words,[29] the man is not described as an angel; but he is nevertheless a messenger from God revealing the latter's purpose to Paul. In these passages, we may be seeing early, faltering attempts by Christian writers to articulate the physical/visionary appearance of an angel as actually the Spirit at work providing guidance to early believers. This connection is latent and not fully articulated in Acts, but 8:26 and 29 implies the link, as does also 10:3 and 19.[30]

The last appearance of an angel to an individual in Acts is recorded in 27:23. Paul's assurance to those on board the ship with him, that no life will be lost in the storm, is based on the promise of an angel. He describes his experience in the following words: παρέστη γάρ μοι ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὗ εἰμι [ἐγὼ] ᾧ καὶ λατρεύω, ἄγγελος λέγων, Μὴ φοβοῦ, Παῦλε, Καίσαρί σε δεῖ παραστῆναι, … (vv. 23-24). Paul was not unfamiliar with divine communication (9:5-7; 16:9; 23:11), but this is the first reference to an angel as a communicator. As no reaction is recorded by those who listened to Paul, we do not know if his words were believed.

In Acts 12:20-23 an angel of the Lord appears as an agent of destruction. When Herod accepts the words of those proclaiming him as God (v. 22), his death is attributed by the writer to the action of an angel. There was OT precedent for such an explanation, eg II Kings 24:16-17, and IV Kings 19:35.

3. The ἄγγελος in the Epistles by or attributed to Paul

a. References to angels

In this survey we have included those Epistles where some doubt exists about Paul's authorship. The dates of all the Epistles discussed here range from 48-62 CE.[31] Most of these references are of limited interest to our study, so are mentioned only briefly. In some cases Paul is merely referring to some action of angels known already to Jewish or Christian groups. For example, in Gal. 3:9 he reminds his readers that the Law was received as the dispensation of angels (cf. Acts 7:53). His reference to the *parousia* in 2 Thess. 1:7-9

[29] Barrett, 248.
[30] Commenting on 8:26, Bruce, 225, hints at this.
[31] F.F. Bruce, 'The Epistles of Paul,' in *Peake*, 927-39, at 930.

resonates to some extent with Christ's words (known in oral tradition at that time and later recorded) in Matt. 13:41-42 and Mark 13:26.

Paul likes to juxtapose men and angels, eg in 1 Cor. 13:1. In the same letter (4:9) he says that the apostles have become a *theatron* to the world, to angels and to people. In rebuking the Galatian Christians for being influenced by Judaizers, he pronounces a most severe punishment for anyone who preaches another gospel, whether it is humans or angels (1:8). Two references to angels are recorded in 1 Tim. The hymn describing Christ in 3:16 states that he 'appeared to angels.' This may refer to the angels present at his glorification.[32] Again in 5:21 he names God and the elect angels as witnesses to his charge to Timothy. The word *eklektos* here indicates a special group, perhaps angels of the Presence.[33]

Mentions of Satan as an evil angel working in opposition to God are found in the Pauline letters: 2 Cor. 2:11; 1 Thess. 2:18. In Rom. 16:20 he states that God will crush Satan. To deliver a member over to Satan (1 Cor. 5:5) may indicate exclusion from the group.[34] There are warnings against Satan in 1 Cor. 7:5, also called *diabolos* in Eph. 4:27, 6:11, etc. At 2 Cor. 11:14 and 12:7 Paul makes it clear that Satan has various strategies to thwart the purposes of God. At 1 Cor. 11:10 women should keep their head covered when praying or prophesying 'because of the angels.' This may allude to Gen. 6:1-4 where angels took human wives and whom Paul may have considered were still active in the world (as the writer of 1 Enoch certainly held). There has been a vast amount of speculative modern discussion about this 1 Cor. passage, but it has led to no consensus. Some have drawn upon material from the Qumran community, again without conclusive result.[35] The fact that Intertestamental Jewish pseudepigrapha is not well known today apart from to the scholarly world is no basis for assuming that it was not familiar to educated Jews at the turn of the era, including to a man like Paul.

b. Powers in Paul's letters

The epistles contain several references to evil powers operating in the world, and we should consider these next. In Col. 1:16 Paul states that everything was created through the agency of Christ and for him, including the *archai* and *exousiai*. Paul mentions these terms in other places. Eph. 3:10 taken in conjunction with 6:12 appears to indicate that these powers

[32] *NBC* 1299-1300.
[33] For this title see §1 above, and ch. 1, §3.b.iii.
[34] See *NBC* 1168-69, 1296.
[35] Eg J.A. Fitzmyer, 'Features of Qumran angelology and the angels of 1 Cor. 11.10,' *NTS* 4 (1958) 55-57.

and authorities are unseen, supernatural presences associated in some sense with God,[36] yet hostile to his purposes. For Paul, although they were created by Christ, they have become evil. In Col. 2:15 Christ as a consequence of the meaning of his crucifixion is represented by a striking metaphor as a victorious general celebrating his triumph over these powers and despoiling these defeated enemies of their armour and weaponry. This passage has attracted divergent understandings, encapsulated by the perspectives of O'Brien and Carr.[37] The latter understands the powers and principalities as part of 'Christ's heavenly host,' and states that the image is of Christ's army whose angelic members adore him after his struggle. However, the meaning of Col. 2:15 depends greatly on the way *apekdusamenos* is understood. This is not a common verb; for the two meanings it can have see LSJ, where this Colossian passage is allocated sense II 'despoil,' as suggested above. In the light of this, the view of O'Brien is clearly to be preferred as making better sense of the passage.

c. Worship of Angels at Colossae

The subject of angel worship is introduced by Paul when he warns the converts at Colossae against unnecessary religious observances. Paul says in Col. 2:18 μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβευέτω θέλων ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ τῶν ἀγγέλων … Much research has been undertaken on the subject of angel worship in Colossae. Two questions have been addressed: 'What evidence is there of angel worship at Colossae?', and 'What did Paul mean by worship of angels?'.

Regarding the first question, finding evidence of angel worship in Paul's time has proved difficult, and discussion has been speculative. Some scholars have suggested that Paul 'was referring to an existing angel cult' which combined 'Jewish, pagan (often Gnostic) elements, or to a mystery cult.'[38] Carr claims he has found 'no direct evidence', except for Paul's statement that a cult of angels in Judaism, Christianity or paganism existed in the first century.[39] In relation to the second question, Francis considers that Paul may have been referring in 2:18 to joining with angels in the worship of God, an observance which the Qumran community considered was possible.[40] Francis' argument was subsequently brought into question, and we are left with no clear evidence of angel worship at Colossae, apart from

[36] See eg C. Forbes, 'Paul's Principalities and Powers: Demythologising Apocalyptic?,' *JSNT* 82 (2001) 69.
[37] *NBC*, 1271, and W. Carr, *Angels and principalities*, (*SNTSMS* 42; New York, CUP, 1981, repr. 2005) 63-66, respectively.
[38] L.T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology* (Tübingen, Mohr-Siebeck, 1995) 115, 113, respectively.
[39] Carr, 70.
[40] F.O. Francis, 'Humility and Angel Worship in Col. 2:18,' *Studia Theologica* 16 (1962-3) 126-29.

Paul's comment.[41] In spite of this, the fact that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews devotes two chapters to pointing out the superiority of Christ over angels, suggests that veneration of angels, if not outright worship, may have been a problem among some early Christian groups.

Here is the place to raise a tentative suggestion. Given gentile converts entered the Christian groups from comparatively early, it may be that they brought with them some ideas which seemed inappropriate to a writer such as Paul. If we can establish in ch. 4 that, unconnected with Judaism or Christianity, there were *angeloi* as divine figures in the thinking and religious practice of rural Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, then it is conceivable that negative comments made about 'angel worship' in Colossians may reflect a concern to ward off such notions being added to expressions of the new Faith.

4. The ἄγγελος in the non-Pauline Epistles of the NT

a. Hebrews

A suggested date for the epistle is in the decade before 70 CE.[42] The following verses refer to the ἀγγελος: 1:5-2:16, and 12:22. We have already indicated that one reason for the author's purpose in the first two chapters is to establish the superiority of the Son to the angels.[43] In the first chapter vv. 5, 6, 8, 10, 13 describe the Son's status in relation to the Father. Four statements in 1:5-6, 13; 2:5, 14-16 describe the inferiority of angels in comparison with the Son. There are also positive statements about the ministry of angels.
They are worshippers of God and Christ, initially of God as indicated in Deut. 32:43 where we read προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ὑιοὶ θεοῦ, and now of the Son (v. 6).[44] Quoting Ps. 103:4 the author points out that angels were created to carry out God's commands (v. 7).[45] They are spirits, sent forth by God to minister to those who are to obtain salvation (v. 14), and they mediated in the giving of the Law (2:2).

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[41] Stuckenbruck, 118-119.
[42] *NBC*, 1322.
[43] See R.G. Gleeson, 'Angels and the Eschatology of Hebrews 1-2,' *NTS* 49 (2003) 90-107. Gleeson points out that during the Second Temple Period, the Jews looked to angels not only for national deliverance, but also as intercessors and protectors. This 'posed a threat to the pre-eminence of Christ among Jewish Christians of the first century' (107). See also Stuckenbruck, 123-25.
[44] *Peake*, 1009.
[45] ibid, 1009. as winds speeding on God's errands and as fire, which render him service.

Apart from these references, the author has little more to say about angels. In 12:22-24 he presents his readers with a view of heaven. Here angels and humans, those whose names are written in heaven (v. 23), join in festal gathering in the presence of God and Jesus.

b. Jude 6, 8-9 and 2 Peter 2:4, 10-11

Dates suggested for these epistles are before 70 C.E. for Jude, and early second century for 2 Peter.[46] Some scholars consider that the writer of 2 Peter used Jude as a source for his work. If this is so, it is not surprising that, just as Jude has some distinctive comments to make about angels, so does 2 Peter.[47] Two classes of angels are distinguished. First, the angels who did not keep their place and their punishment are described in Jude 6 and 2 Peter 2:4. In warning against those described in Jude 4 as ἀσεβεῖς, and in 2 Peter 2:1 as ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, these authors remind their readers that God punishes the unrighteous and, as one example of this, both refer to the angels of Gen. 6:1-4 and the kinds of punishments they received. In Jude 6 they are kept by God δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον till the Great Judgment. Their sin is described in terms of not keeping their own place (v. 6). The imagery of punishment used by Peter in 2:4 has great force. Using the verb ταρταρόω, God is shown hurling these angels into Tartarus, a place below Hades.[48]

The second group of angels described are those who keep their place. Among the evil practices of the errorists, Jude (v. 8) and 2 Peter (v. 10) mention βλασφημέω, slandering the δοξαί--understood as glorious heavenly beings ie angels--and both refer to the restraint shown by angels.[49] In Jude, Michael the archangel refrains from rebuking Satan and, recognizing this as God's prerogative says, ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι κύριος (v. 9).[50] In 2 Peter the angels refrain from speaking against those who have slandered them; though not explicit, if Peter has taken his ideas from Jude, then these angels, too, recognizing God's sovereignty leave the rebuking to God.

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[46] *NBC*, 1415,1387.

[47] G.L. Green, *Jude and Peter* (Grand Rapids, Baker, 2008) 159.

[48] Green, 250-1, who says of Tartarus, that this name 'given to this place of punishment in classical mythology was taken up by the Jewish apocalyptic literature, and appears to have found its way into the Jewish consciousness in general …' (251).

[49] ibid., 78, 270. An alternative view is that δοξαί may be the fallen angels. See *NBC*, 1393; *Peake*, 1033.

[50] The incident mentioned in Jude 9 is taken from the *Assumption of Moses*. See Green, 79.

5. The ἄγγελος in the Revelation

Written as an apocalypse, a prophecy and in letter form, the book sets before its readers future events such as the downfall of Rome, the binding of Satan, a glimpse of the new Jerusalem, and includes angels carrying out different tasks. Not all the references about angels are important to our survey, so discussion is limited to two passages: Rev. 1:12-20 and 14:14-20, especially vv. 14-16.

Is the figure in Rev 1:12-20 Christ or an angel? In describing this figure ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, a phrase borrowed from Dan. 7:13, it is clear that John has used imagery from descriptions of heavenly beings in the OT and particularly from Dan. 7:9 and 10:5-6.[51] But the figure in Revelation is distinct from the descriptions in Daniel, for he has a sharp two-edged sword in his mouth and holds seven stars in his right hand, which we learn in v. 20 are the angels of the seven churches. John's reaction to this heavenly being is to fall at his feet in worship.[52] The conclusion is that the description is that of an angel but it turns out that the figure is Christ whose identity is revealed in what he says of himself in vv. 17-19. Here, then, is an image of the risen, exalted Christ described in similar terms to those in which prominent angels of the OT are presented, yet whose identity is preserved by the writer in vv. 17-20. Worshipped as the Lamb in 5:6-14, Christ (it seems) 'takes up angelomorphic form temporarily' in 1:13-16.[53]

Chapter 14 records the appearances of several angels; three carry messages (vv. 6, 8, 9), before the theme of harvesting is introduced in vv. 14-20. The first harvest (vv. 14-16) is a grain harvest, and the second (vv. 17-20) a gathering and crushing of grapes. Both have a symbolic meaning.[54] The reaper in vv. 14-16 is described as ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον ἐπὶ νεφέλην λευκήν, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δρέπανον ὀξύ. Given an order by an angel to 'send' his sickle (ie start reaping), the one described like a Son of Man obeys. This figure is of interest because the indication from the description is that he is Christ.[55] His reaping may symbolize the gathering-in of the

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[51] For example, in Dan. 10:6 the eyes are like flaming torches, in Rev. 1:14 like a flame of fire. In Dan. 10:6 the arms and legs are like the gleam of burnished bronze, in Rev. 1:15 the feet are like burnished bronze. The use of bronze imagery to describe body parts is also found in Ezek. 1:27; 40:3. The clothing of an angel is first described in the NT at Mark 16:5, John 20:12, Acts 1:10; cf. Rev. 1:13.

[52] For fear when encountering heavenly beings, see Dan. 8:17; Luke 1:12, 29; 2:9; Acts 10:4.

[53] Carrell,172.

[54] Indicated by vv. 19, 20, where the crushing of the grapes symbolizes God's wrath and punishment of evildoers.

[55] The figure of Christ in 1:13 is also described in as ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. The appearance of Christ at the end of the age is associated with clouds Matt. 24:30; Mark 13:26; 14:62; Rev. 1:7. The gold crown may identify the figure as judge, king and victor: see A. Wikenhauser, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*

Elect at the end of the Age, as in Matthew 24:31.[56] But there is the problem of an angel giving an instruction to Christ. The difficulty is resolved if, as some suggest, the order comes from God and is conveyed by the angel.[57] But why is an angel mediator required between God and Christ?[58] This difficulty, too, may be resolved if we accept Stuckenbruck's suggestion that 'because of the contextual proximity to angelic beings (vv. 6, 8, 9, 17,18), Christ himself takes on angelic functions.' Stuckenbruck adds,

> This angelic representation of Christ becomes understandable if seen within the framework of growing speculative interest in angels … and of developing angelomorphic Christologies at the turn of the second century CE.[59]

The angelomorphic image of Christ in 1:13-16 and his undertaking of an angelic function in 14:14-16 do not diminish his status in Revelation. He is worshipped as the Lamb, as mentioned above; as a symbol of his authority over them and his care for them he holds the 'angels' as the collective representation of the churches in his right hand (1:20); he rebukes and instructs them with the churches they represent, at the same time showing his concern for the churches (2:1-3:22).[60] Only God and the Lamb are to be worshipped. The angel mediator refuses John's attempts to worship him (19:10, 22:8-9).

6. Summary of the NT perspectives

Since the NT comprises disparate texts in several genres by a number of writers, a brief conspectus is provided now. In reviewing briefly the status and function of the ἄγγελοι in the gospels we note their importance as the supernatural means by which God conveys two messages of great significance, the birth of Christ and his resurrection. Actual appearances of angels are few: Gabriel announces the news that Christ will be born, and other angels, unnamed but described, announce that he is alive following the crucifixion.

Angels carry out some functions not previously encountered in the OT: one of these is a ministry to Jesus at a time of trial. Jesus' own references to angels include his statement about their relationship to children; his description of angels rejoicing over one who repents, of them carrying Lazarus to a place of rest, and as engaged in the separating the godly from

(Regensburg, Friedrich Pustet, 3rd edn 1959) 116.

56 J. Bonsirven, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1951) 246. See also R. Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge, CUP, 1993) 95-98. For an alternative view of this harvest (vv. 15–16) see J. Roloff, *The Revelation of John* (ET: Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 1993) 177–78.

57 Roloff, 177. Stuckenbruck, 243.

58 Stuckenbruck, 243.

59 ibid., 244.

60 Wikenhauser, 33.

the ungodly at an end-time. Angels referred to as a collective group appear to the shepherds, and Jesus mentions a 'legion' of angels. Not all angels are on God's side: we noted references to Satan's activities and his impending punishment.

In Acts the angels continue their primary function as divine messengers. They are also seen as deliverers; and to an angel is attributed Herod's death. Paul's references to *archai* and *exousiai* indicate his belief that evil spiritual forces existed which Christians must continue to resist. Apart from Paul's comment in Col. 2:18 about worship of angels, there is no evidence in the NT to suggest that this was practised, although the emphasis in Heb. 1-2 on Christ's superiority to angels may hint in that direction. The brief allusions in Peter and Jude's letters point to the punishment of fallen angels. In Revelation, finally, we noted that by his appearance and actions Christ is portrayed as an angel; yet his status as Son of God is retained both by what he says and by the worship offered to him.

7. The ἄγγελος in some post-biblical Christian texts

In the second and third centuries written material of different genres was produced in increasing amount by educated Christians. For some like Justin Martyr and Origen, doctrinal issues were important. Other documents were apocalypses like Revelation. A number have something to say about angels. In what can only be one section of a survey chapter in a short thesis, it is not possible to deal with Origen in his entirety, or all of the Apostolic Fathers, to say nothing of the later writers in the fourth and fifth centuries. We have chosen the following for discussion: the *Shepherd* of Hermas, the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* and selections from Justin Martyr and Origen. The rationale for this choice reflects a concern to look at more than one genre, and at material from beyond the first century CE.

a. The ἄγγελος in the Shepherd of Hermas

This work has three parts: visions (four *oraseis* plus a fifth titled an *apokalypsis* which actually introduces the following section; usually referred to as *Visiones*), instructions (twelve *entolai*, usually referred to as *Mandata*), and parables (ten *parabolai*, usually referred to as *Similitudines*). Some editions divide these sections up into chapters: ch. 1-24 for *Vis*., ch. 26-49 for *Mand*., and ch. 50-114 for *Sim*. Chapter 25 is the final vision or *apokalypsis*, which

serves as an introduction to the *Mandata*.[61] A suggested date for the complete work is mid-second century CE; the author was perhaps a freedman living in Rome.[62]

Numbers of angels appear in this document; some unnamed ones are employed in building, others are identified by their special functions. For example, *Mand*. 6.2.1-10 is explicit that two angels live with each person, a righteous one and a wicked one. The dominant angel is the Shepherd who appears as an interpreter to Hermas. Six angels of superior rank are involved in tower construction. They are described in *Vis*. 3.4.1 as οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ πρῶτοι κτισθέντες, οἷς παρέδωκεν ὁ κύριος πᾶσαν τῆν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ … They are to increase, build up and rule creation, but they are not referred to as archangels. They appear with a glorious man in *Sim*. 9.12.7. The figure of most interest for our study is a principal angel who has several titles. In *Mand*. 5.1.7 he is called ὁ σεμνότατος ἄγγελος; in *Sim*. 5.4.4 he is called ὁ ἄγγελος ἅγιος; in *Sim*. 8.3.3 Michael is identified as ὁ ἔνδοξος ἄγγελος, and Christ is also accorded this title at *Sim*. 7.1.1. Six angels with that epithet are charged with supporting 'the glorious man (*endoxos aner*), the Son of God' (*Sim*. 9.12.7-8). In *Sim*. 10.1.1-2 he is described as ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου ἐκεῖνος, 'that angel of the Lord who handed [Hermas] over to the Shepherd.'[63]

Here, then, in the *Shepherd* Christ is described as a glorious angel; but Michael is also described similarly as ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος. This raises the question whether there are two glorious angels, or whether Michael is to be identified with Christ.[64] This question has been much discussed and must be left open here.[65] What we have found in the *Shepherd* of Hermes is that the interest in angels and the tendency to portray Christ as an angel (already seen in Revelation) continues in this second century CE text.

b. The Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah

This document is written in two parts. The first part, 1.1–5.16 is Jewish except for a Christian interpolation from 3.13-4.22. The second part, 6.1–11.43 is Christian.[66] The death of Isaiah is described in 5.1-16, and the second part is an account of a vision in which Isaiah is taken through seven heavens. This journey is described by Isaiah to Hezekiah (6.16).

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[61] M.W. Holmes, *The Shepherd of Hermas* in *The Apostolic Fathers* (Grand Rapids, Baker, 1992, repr. 2007) 445.
[62] ibid., 446-47.
[63] Carrell, 106-07.
[64] ibid., 107.
[65] ibid., 107-08.
[66] *OTP*, 143.

The texts have been difficult to date, but Knibb considers that both sections in 1.1-5.16 were completed by about the end of the first century CE, and 6.1–11.43 in the second century.[67] Like the *Shepherd*, this text includes mention of many angels, and as well has a good deal to say about Satan. The chief interest for us is its portrayal of Christ in 9.27-32, 37-42 and 10.7-31.

i. The ἄγγελοι

The angel guide and interpreter appears as a glorious being whose role is to conduct Isaiah throughout his journey (7.1-6). Angels are seen by the prophet in each of the seven heavens. They are nameless, and their sole function is to offer praise to God. Other angels with specific duties are mentioned including Michael, 'the chief of the holy angels,' (3.16) and the angel of Sheol (10.8).

ii. Satan

Both sections of this work reflect an ongoing interest in Satan. He is introduced in 1.8 as Sammael Malkira (another name for Belial) and referred to in 2.4 as Mantanbukus.[68] In the Christian interpolation (4.1ff.) he is portrayed as a powerful, evil force parading as God in the form of a king who disrupts the cosmic order (4.4-5), and turns aside most of the faithful (4.9). Finally, he and his angels, those in the firmament, are seen worshipping Christ as he ascends to his Father (11.23). At the *parousia*, Satan and his angels will be dragged into Gehenna (4.14).

iii. Images of Christ in 9.27-32 and 10.7-31

Isaiah is in the seventh heaven and tells what he sees.

> And I saw one standing (there) whose glory surpassed that of all … And when they saw him all the righteous whom I had seen and the angels came to him … And he was transformed and became like an angel. Then the angel who led me said 'Worship this one,' and I worshipped … (9.27-32)

The reason for Christ's physical transformation may be, as Knibb suggests, for the sake of Isaiah.[69] Isaiah is overwhelmed by the sight of the Great Glory in v. 37, and would not have

[67] ibid., 149-50. See also Carrell, 104.
[68] *OTP*, 157 n. u, 158 n. e.
[69] ibid., 171 n. o2.

been able to bear looking at the glory of Christ (v. 27). Christ is apparently worshipped in angelic form at 9.31-32, as the angel of the Holy Spirit is in 9.36.

In 10.8, Christ is commissioned by the Most High to descend through the heavens and 'through the world as far as the angel who (is) in Sheol.' A further instruction is that Christ is to make his form like that of all who are in the five heavens, like the angels in the firmament, and like the angel in Sheol. In assuming the likeness of the angels at each level through which he passes, Christ is able to descend to earth without his identity being disclosed. Here again he is taking on an angelic form for the sake of humankind as he descends to earth, and even to Sheol (11.20) to bring about its salvation.

Like Revelation in the NT, this document reflects the view that angels are not to be worshipped (7.18-21). An exception to this is that both Christ and the angel of the Holy Spirit are worshipped in angelic form. We have already mentioned Knibb's suggestion about why Christ is transformed in this way. Carrell points to another when he says that Christ,

> 'becoming like an angel' fits in with the subsequent portrayal of him as worshipping alongside the 'angel of the Holy Spirit,' and the other angels in the Ascension of Isaiah in 9.40-42.[70]

Here they are seen worshipping the Great Glory. As we mentioned earlier, this work demonstrates a continuing interest in angels and Satan. It also shows, like Revelation and the *Shepherd*, that Christ does appear at times in angel form.

c. The ἄγγελος *in Justin Martyr*

Born *c*. 114 and dying as a martyr in 165, Justin Martyr 'studied in the schools of the philosophers' before his conversion to Christianity.[71] The discussion which follows is based on three of his major works: *Apologies* 1 and 2, and *Dialogue with Trypho*. Our focus is on two aspects of his work, his references to angel worship and to Christ as an angel.

In *Apol*. 1.6, when refuting the charge of atheism, Justin Martyr writes:

> But both Him, and the Son (who came forth from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels who follow and are made like to Him), and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore …

[70] Carrell, 106.

[71] A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (rev. C. Coke), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers, The writings of the Fathers down to 325 CE*, vol. 1, (repr. Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1981) 160.

It seems here that Justin is supporting the worship and adoration of angels; and there is also the suggestion that Christ himself has the form of an angel.[72] According to Carrell, there is no evidence elsewhere that Justin supports the worship of angels.[73] Statements about to whom worship is to be directed appear also in *Apol*. 1.13 and 1.16.[74]

In *Apol*. 1.13, Justin claims that Christians are not atheists, 'worshipping as we do the Maker of the universe.' In the same chapter he says of Jesus Christ, 'we reasonably worship Him … holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third …'

When he speaks of Christ in *Apol*. 1.16 Justin says, 'He enjoined us as follows … that we ought to worship God alone.'

An attempt has been made to explain the apparent inconsistency regarding angel worship in Justin's writing, but no satisfactory reason has been found.[75] In several passages he refers to Christ as an angel. In 1.63 he says:

> Now the Word of God is His Son, as we have said before. And He is called Angel and Apostle; for He declares whatever we ought to know, and is sent forth to declare what is revealed …

Other references to Christ being called an angel are found in the *Dialogue with Trypho*. In *Dial*. 56 Justin argues that it was Christ who spoke to Abraham at Mamre in Gen. 18. Here he says,

> … there is said to be another God and Lord, subject to the Maker of all things; who is also called Angel because He announces to men, whatsoever the Maker of all things … wishes to announce to them.

In *Dial*. 76 Justin points out that Christ 'appeared and was man, but not of human seed.' Further in the chapter he says that Isaiah's prophecy in 9:6 (LXX), that the one to come will be called Angel of Mighty Counsel, foretells Christ's ministry as 'Teacher of those truths which he did teach when He came.'

As well as calling him 'Angel,' Justin also considers that Christ took the form of an angel, thus giving 'an angelomorphic interpretation' to the OT theophany in Exodus 3:2-6.[76] In *Apol*. 1.63 he writes concerning Christ,

> who … being the first-begotten Word, is also God. And of old he appeared in the

[72] Carrell, 99.
[73] ibid., 99.
[74] ibid., 99.
[75] ibid., 99-100.
[76] ibid., 98-99.

shape of fire in the likeness of an angel to Moses and to the other prophets …

'Angel' is among the many titles which Justin assigns to Christ, but he is careful to point out that Christ's primary title is Son of God.

Demons feature prominently in Justin's writings. They are the offspring of the angels mentioned in Gen. 6:1-4. Both they and these angels have corrupted humankind (*Apol*. 2.5). Demons strive to make slaves of Christians (*Apol*. 1.14). They imitate Christian baptism by instigating their followers to sprinkle themselves before offering sacrifices and burnt offerings (*Apol.* 1.62). They mislead humankind by promoting myths and reducing what is known of Christ to 'mere marvellous tales' like myths (*Apol*. 1.54), and by raising up false teachers (*Apol*. 1.56, 58).

Apart from the one reference in which Justin appears to indicate that worship should be given to angels, he considers that worship should be directed to God, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He understands that not only can Christ be called an angel but he can also appear in the form of an angel. This may be linked with Rev. 1:12-16 where (as we noted above) Christ appears in angelomorphic form, and engages in activities of angels (Rev. 14:14-20); but his deity is preserved by his words and by the worship given to him.

d. The ἄγγελος *in Origen*

Origen (184-254 CE) was highly educated and very familiar with Classical Greek literature; but the only source of revelation for him was the Bible.[77] Like Justin, his writing includes discussion about angels and their function. We discuss what he says in two of his works, *Contra Celsum* in which he defends aspects of Christianity against the pagan ideas of Celsus, and his *Commentary on John*.

In *Contra Celsum* 5.4 Origen replies to Celsus' query about the nature of angels by quoting Hebrews 1:14 where angels are described as ministering spirits. He then defines their function, which is ἀναβαίνειν μὲν προσάγοντας τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐντεύξεις ἐν τοῖς καθαρωτάτοις τοῦ κόσμου χωρίοις ἐπουρανίοις, 'to ascend bringing the petitions of people in the purest heavenly places of the *kosmos*.'[78] Returning from the heavens, the angels carry the benefits assigned by God to each as he deserves.

In this chapter, Origen makes clear that the prayers, although conveyed by angels to heaven, must pass to God through the High Priest, the Word. The relationship between Christians

[77] H. Chadwick, *The Early Church* (Harmondsworth, Penguin 1967) 100-01.
[78] M. Borret (ed.), *Origène, Contra Celse, Tome III, Livres V et VI* (Paris, Les Editions du CERF, 1969) 20.

and angels is also discussed. He points out here that although angels are sometimes called 'God' in the scriptures, they are not to be honoured or worshipped in the place of God, nor is prayer to be made to them.[79] This comment implies that he is rebutting the views of other Christians, perhaps via his debate with Celsus. In 5.5 he says,

> … αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη, παραστήσασα τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἰσιν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι, οὐκ ἐάσει ἄλλῳ θαρρεῖν εὔχεσθαι ἢ τῷ πρὸς πάντα διαρκεῖ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν υἱοῦ θεοῦ, …
>
> … this knowledge, suggesting (to us) their (ie angels') nature and (the tasks) to which each of them have been assigned, will not permit (us) to be confident to pray to anyone except to God who is over everything and is sufficient for everything, through our Saviour the Son of God ...[80]

As far as Origen is concerned, for Christians it is enough to know that angels are favourable to them and do everything on their behalf. As well, Christians should imitate the example of angels, for the latter follow the example of God. As angels have clearer conceptions of Christ, Christians should strive after these clearer conceptions daily. Like Justin, Origen points out that Christ is at times referred to as 'angel.' In 5.53 Origen replies to Celsus when the latter makes a concession, and says, δοκείτω τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄγγελος οὗτος εἶναι, 'Let someone think that he really is an angel.' But this Origen rejects, regarding Christ's work

> οὐχ ἁπαξαπλῶς ἀγγέλου ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἀγγέλου· ἤγγελλε γὰρ ἀνθρώποις τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων περὶ αὐτῶν βουλήν, …[81]
>
> not simply as that of an angel but of an 'Angel of great counsel;' for he announced to people the great counsel of God, who is the Father of all things, about them.'

Not only is Christ called an angel, but Origen considers that he became an angel. In his *Commentary on John* (1.218) he says,

> No believer will have any doubt that he became a man; and we may be convinced that he became an angel if we observe the appearances and words of the angels (when some angel speaks with authority) in certain passages of scripture when angels speak. For example, 'An angel of the Lord appeared in the fire of a burning bush. And he said, I am the God of Abraham and of Isaac, and of

[79] e.g. Ps. 86.8; 136.2.
[80] Borret, 22-24.
[81] ibid., 148.

Jacob.[82]

Like Justin, Origen is aware of the reality of demons as an evil, supernatural force. He defines them as 'those wicked powers which are freed from the encumbrance of a grosser body.' The particular target of demon attack is humankind, for as Origen states, 'They lead men astray, and fill them with distractions and drag them from God … to things here below' (*Contra Celsum* 5.5).

We have seen that Origen refers to several issues regarding angels. He defines who they are, explains the services they render to humankind and the relationship between the latter and angels. He warns that angels are neither to be worshipped nor prayed to. Like Justin, he acknowledges that Christ is called an angel and that he appeared in the form of an angel.

Conclusion

In concluding this chapter we record the results of our research. Overall we note that in the first and second centuries CE for Jews and Christians alike the ἄγγελοι continue to be conceived as supernatural powers, appearing as messengers of God to humankind and carrying out other functions. The primary role of angels as messengers, already seen in the OT, continues in the birth, resurrection and ascension narratives in the NT. The ἄγγελος as protector and guide of the Israelites in Ex. 14:19; 23:20 and of Daniel in Dan. 6:22 is seen again in the accounts in Acts 5:19-20 and 12:6-11. The angel hosts of the OT are present in the NT, in Luke 2:13-14; Matt. 26:53; Rev. 5:11-13; 12:7 (Michael's angels) and 19:14. With the coming of Christ, new information about angels is given. Apart from their service to him, his teaching reveals new insights about their work. For example, we see evidence of a gentle role in Luke 16:22, in Matt. 18:10 and in Luke 15:10. They will appear and be active at the time of the *parousia*.

After those appearances of angels recorded in Acts, there are no others until Revelation; yet interest in angels not only continues, but increases. This increase of interest is seen in Revelation and in the post-biblical documents. We found that although angels are mentioned in Paul's epistles (including a reference to the worship of angels), the emphasis when he is referring to supernatural beings is on the reality of evil, spiritual powers, τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. These are active in the world opposing God and humankind,

[82] Carrell, 101.

and will continue to do so till the *parousia*. Paul makes few references to demons; most of these are found in 1 Cor. 10.

While no proof of angel worship at Colossae was found, there are indications that angel worship may have been perceived by some as a problem in the first and second centuries CE. So such veneration may have been a reality in some quarters. We found that the writer of Hebrews sets out in chapters 1 and 2 to establish the superiority of the Son to angels. When attempts are made to worship an angel in Rev. 19:10 and in 22:8-9 and in the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* (7:20-21), worship is refused, and in Revelation all worship is to be directed to God. Isaiah is instructed to worship Christ who is in the form of an angel in *Ascension of Isaiah* 9:32 and, strangely, the angel of the Holy Spirit in 9:36. Origen's teaching about angels includes the instruction that they are not to be worshipped.

We noticed that Christ is shown at times as an angel in Revelation, and continues to be seen in this way in the *Shepherd* of Hermas and in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. Justin and Origen refer to Christ as the 'Angel of Mighty Counsel,' and the 'Angel of Great Counsel,' respectively, because they consider that Christ functions in this way, and that in certain passages in the OT that he appears in the form of an angel.

We now turn from the Judaeo-Christian tradition to survey the role of the divine *angelos* in Classical Greek literature. This next chapter in Part A is also a necessary preliminary to the analysis of the epigraphical evidence which will concern us in Part B, chapter 4.

3. The ἄγγελος in ancient Greek literature

Introduction

In researching the divine ἄγγελος in ancient Greek literature we continue to look for evidence which may be helpful in locating the source of the ἄγγελος or ἄγγελοι in the pagan inscriptions to be discussed in the next chapter. As with the two preceding chapters in Part A, this chapter is to be seen as a necessary preliminary to the data presented and analysed in ch. 4. Beginning with the Homeric epics, we will then consider the divine messenger in Hesiod, in the Homeric *Hymns*, in the tragedies of the fifth century BCE, and in what is relevant in Plato. These authors and works cover a period from the eighth century to the fourth century, and provide us with the most significant information about the divine ἄγγελος of the ancient Greeks.[1]

For the Greeks of this period, the unseen world was inhabited by numbers of divinities, with Zeus as the supreme god dwelling at times at Mt Ida, while like most of the other gods, some of whom were related to him by kinship ties, his usual home was on Mt Olympus. Hades ruled the underworld with some gods (eg Persephone) having connections with both the upper and lower world. These were known as chthonian gods. Among the chthonian powers were the *Erinyes* who were engaged particularly in carrying out retribution for wrongs done within the family (see especially Aeschylus, *Eumenides*).

The fact that the Greeks' widespread view was that the gods communicated to mortals reflects their belief that they were interested in humans and their fate. While Homer refers to several means by which the gods, particularly Zeus, communicated with humankind,[2] our interest is in the officially appointed divine messenger.

1. The divine ἄγγελος in Homer

a. Identifying the divine messenger

A statement identifying Iris as an official messenger of the gods appears in *Il.*

[1] G.W. Most, *Hesiod*, (2 vols., LCL; Cambridge MA, Harvard UP, 2006, 2007), vol. 1., Intro., xxv. In Aristophanes Hermes and Iris appear in three plays (the former in *Peace* and *Wealth*, the latter in *Birds*). But they are presented in such a manner that their relevance to our present enquiry is negligible.

[2] eg seers *Il.* 1.62-72; dream *Il.* 2.5-10; omens and portents *Il.* 8.242-252; 12.195-229.

15.143-144:

Ἥρη δ’ Ἀπόλλωνα καλέσσατο δώματος ἐκτὸς

Ἶρίν θ’ , ἥ τε θεοῖσι μετάγγελος ἀθανάτοισι, …

Then Hera called Apollo out of the hall and Iris, who is messenger to the immortal gods, …

Hermes is called a messenger of the gods in *Od.* 5.28-29. There Zeus addressing Hermes as his υἱὸν φίλον says,

Ἑρμεία, σὺ γὰρ αὖτε τὰ τ’ ἄλλα περ ἄγγελός ἐσσι, …

Hermes, for you are in turn on other occasions, very much a messenger …

This is the only explicit reference to Hermes as a messenger in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Everywhere else this function is simply taken for granted, ie well before the Homeric poems his role as the divine messenger must have been fixed. Elsewhere he is given other titles which we shall mention later. Our focus, then, is on these two divine messengers, their status and function, and human responses to them.

b. References to Iris and Hermes

i. Iris

As Iris is mentioned in the *Iliad* only, we begin there and discuss first her status and name. In *Il.* 2.807 she is described as a goddess as she is in *Il.* 3.139-140. In *Il.* 15.205-206 she is addressed by Poseidon as Ἶρι θεά, and in the same way in *Il.* 18.181-182 by Achilles. Her home is with the other gods in Mt Olympus (*Il.* 24.144). Although she is a goddess, Homer tells us nothing about her parentage, and she is not one of the twelve gods who appear in the Parthenon frieze.[3] Iris appears in ten episodes in the *Iliad*, four times to gods, five times to humans and once to the Winds.[4]

Like those on that frieze Iris has a name, which means 'rainbow,' and this may reflect the path of her flight from heaven to earth, in fulfilment of her divinely-appointed function. Iris often points out that she is acting under instructions from Zeus; but her status as a goddess gives her some liberty when both delivering a message, and also at other times, as we shall see.[5] The only restraint placed on her as messenger god is given by Zeus in 15.159 when he says,

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3 *OCD*, 1066.

4 *Il.* 2.786-807, 3.121-140, 5.352-369, 8.397-424, 11.185-210, 15.158-169, 18.165-201, 23.192-211, 24.74-99, 143-188.

5 *Il.* 11.201, 15.175, 24.173. Cf. A. Laird, *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1999) 269 and n. 23.

… μηδὲ ψευδάγγελος εἶναι

… by no means be a false messenger.

It is uncertain what weight should be placed upon this warning: it could imply a divine concern that she may distort or misrepresent the gods, or even tell outright lies.

As a messenger Iris has certain characteristics. First of all she is swift. The conventional address used by Zeus when he summons Iris to take a message is βάσκ' ἴθι, Ἶρι ταχεῖα (8.399; 11.186; 15.158). Other epithets and descriptions with similar sense are given to Iris. In 2.786 she is described as ποδήνεμος ὠκέα, ie one whose feet are swift as the wind, a fast traveller; again, in 8.409 she is ἀελλόπος 'storm-footed' or 'storm-swift.' There is a reference to her as χρυσόπτερος, golden-winged, in 8.398. In 23.201 she is seen running, θέουσα, and in 24.77-79 when taking a message to Thetis she leapt (ἔνθορε) into the sea.

Iris is also reliable and persuasive. In some episodes, when she receives no specifically prescribed message, she is entrusted to convey the god's intentions in her own words. This happens when she is sent by Zeus to Priam and Hector (2.786-806), when she goes to Thetis as a messenger from Zeus (24.77-88), and when Hera sends her to Achilles (18.170-180) to urge him to enter the battle and to take the body of Patroclus from Hector. It is likely that in this case Iris invents the idea that Hector intends to fix Patroclus' head to a stake (18.175-177), for there is no mention in 17.125-127 that Hector intends to do this.[6] This instance shows that Zeus as the chief god is not the only one to send Iris to convey messages. Hera, as another of the senior gods in the Olympus pantheon, also has this right. This implies a 'hierarchy' among the gods: an inner group of senior deities who are the really powerful ones, and others who have particular functions but lack the same influence in a wider dimension.

The words in 18.178-180 are also an addition by Iris to Hera's message when she says,

ἀλλ' ἄνα, μηδ' ἔτι κεῖσο· σέβας δέ σε θυμὸν ἰκέσθω
Πάτροκλον Τρωῇσι κυσὶν μέλπηθρα γενέσθαι·
σοὶ λώβη , αἴ κέν τι νέκυς ᾑσχυμμένος ἔλθῃ.

But arise, don't lie down any longer, and let shame come to you, heart, that Patroclus should become sport to the dogs of Troy. It will be a disgrace to you if he should come back a disfigured corpse.

When a message is dictated word for word by Zeus, Iris at times relays it with little variation as in 11.186-194, 202-209 and in 24.144-158, 175-187. On other occasions she repeats most

6 I.J.F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers* (Amsterdam, Grüner, 1987, repr. 1989) 170.

of the message and also adds some words of rebuke or persuasion.

In 8.397-398 Zeus is angry when he sees Hera and Athene preparing to enter the battle on behalf of the Argives. Iris is sent with a threatening message from Zeus about what he intends to do if they continue with their plan (8.401-408). This Iris repeats (8.415-422), but she also adds a scathing rebuke to Athene:

> ἀλλὰ σύ γ', αἰνοτάτη, κύον ἀδεές, εἰ ἐτεόν γε
> τολμήσεις Διὸς ἄντα πελώριον ἔγχος ἀεῖραι. (8.423-424)
> But you are indeed, most dreadful, audacious, shameless dog, if you dare to raise against Zeus a huge spear.

How can Iris get away with saying this? After all, Athene is no minor deity. But Iris knows that Athene is Zeus' daughter, and so to act against him is to defy her own father. There may, of course, be a comic element in Iris' words as well. Here we can take a little further an observation mentioned earlier concerning 18.170-80. Hera has authority to send Iris to take messages to others, but whereas Zeus can send Iris to Hera or Athena, they cannot send the messenger to him.

The second example is in 15.157-219. Iris receives a dictated message from Zeus to Poseidon (15.160-167) which she delivers (15.176-183), and to Zeus' threats she adds some words of her own.[7] When Poseidon says that he will not obey Zeus' orders 15.194, she persuades him to change his mind:

> οὕτω γὰρ δή τοι, Γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα,
> τόνδε φέρω Διὶ μῦθον ἀπηνέα τε κρατερόν τε,
> ἦ τι μεταστρέψεις; στρεπταὶ μέν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν.
> οἶσθ' ὡς πρεσβυτέροισιν Ἐρινύες αἰὲν ἕπονται. (15.201-04)
> Is it so with you, dark-haired Earth-mover, that I am to carry this word to Zeus both harsh and strong, or will you change somewhat, for the minds of nobles may be changed? You know how the Erinyes ever attend the older ones.[8]

Iris can carry out other functions. When not under instruction she can act as she wills. When Aphrodite is wounded, Iris leads her out of the battle, and in the chariot borrowed from Ares she takes her to Olympia. Here Iris is seen as having compassion for Aphrodite and as a

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[7] Zeus demanded that Poseidon should cease from war and battle and return to the sea.

[8] Zeus claims in 15.165-166 to be more powerful and to have been born before Poseidon, but according to Hesiod in *Theogony* 453-58 Poseidon was born before Zeus. See Most, Intro., xxxi-xxxii. Cronus swallowed Poseidon before he swallowed Zeus. But Zeus was vomited out first, therefore he could claim to be born first.

capable charioteer, with a concern also for the horses (5.352-69). In another episode, when Achilles prays to the North and West Winds asking them to kindle the pyre of the dead Patroclus, Iris, hearing the prayer, sets about answering it by going to the house of the West Wind. Here the four winds have gathered, and Iris conveys Achilles' petition to them (23.192-211).

Iris can change her identity. Like other gods she can assume human form. In 2.786-806 when she is taking messages from Zeus to Priam and to Hector, Iris appears in the form of Polites, Priam's son, and changes her voice.

> ἀγχοῦ δ' ἱσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις·
> εἴσατο δὲ φλογγὴν υἷι Πριάμοιο Πολίτῃ, (2.790-91)
> And standing near at hand, swift-footed Iris spoke. And she made her voice like that of Polites, Priam's son ...

When Iris appears to Helen in 3.121-138 on her own initiative, she assumes the likeness of Helen's sister-in-law, who invites Helen to watch the fight between Alexander and Menelaus. Iris also brings about an emotional change in Helen.

> ὣς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ
> ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκήων· (3.139-140)
> So speaking, the goddess put in her heart a sweet longing for her former husband and city and parents.

In concluding our discussion on Iris we point out that as a messenger of Zeus, and on one occasion of Hera, she is the messenger who is most frequently called upon in the *Iliad*. She is respected by both gods and men. The human reaction to the message she brings is to obey, but Iris is not worshipped nor is prayer offered to her. She is swift and reliable and acts with diplomacy. She can persuade, rebuke, and be gentle (24.169-174). We have pointed out that besides that of messenger she performs other functions, and can assume human form. Recognized by both gods and mortals as a messenger, she holds a unique place among the Olympian gods, even though she is not one of the Twelve.

ii. *Hermes*

Although acknowledged by Zeus as a messenger of the gods, the statement in *Od.* 5.28-29 (already quoted above) indicates that Hermes also has other roles. He appears as messenger-guide in one episode in *Il.* 24.332-469; 677-94, and three times as messenger in

the *Od.* 1.35-43; 5.28-148; 10.274-308. He is mentioned in some places as carrying out other activities, and he is a more cunning character than Iris, for as we shall see, he uses subtle strategies in his approach to those individuals to whom he is sent.

We discuss first Hermes' status and name. As with *Od.* 5.28, so also in *Il.* 24.333 Zeus calls Hermes υἱὸν φίλον. In *Od.* 14.435, we learn that his mother is Maia. He appears among the twelve gods on the Parthenon frieze.[9] It was considered formerly that the name Hermes was derived from ἕρμα, a cairn of stones.[10] Now, the god Hermes 'has no original connection' with this but 'was already attested among the Mycenaean pantheon.'[11] We indicated earlier that Hermes is given other names and epithets in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He is frequently called διάκτορος (conductor, guide) Ἀργεϊφόντης (Argus slayer), but there is no account of the killing of Argus in Homer.[12]

Other epithets given to Hermes are ἐριούνης (helper or luck bringer, *Il.* 20.34; 24.360; *Od.* 8.322-23), ἀκάκητα (guileless or gracious, *Il.* 16.185; *Od.* 24.10) and πομπός (escort, guide *Il.* 24.153,182).

No description of Hermes is given in Homer except that he is equipped with special sandals, 'immortal and golden' which enable him to move over water and land, and a wand with special properties.

> εἵλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
> ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει. (*Il.* 24.343-4)
> And he took a wand with which he bewitches the eyes of men whom he wishes,
> and again, those who are sleeping he rouses.

Hermes, like Iris, is a swift messenger. Once given a message Hermes sets about delivering it quickly. We see this in the description of his flight to Troy and the Hellespont.

> ὣς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης.
> αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα
> ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τά μιν φέρον ἠμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
> ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἅμα πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο· (*Il.* 24.339-42)

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9 *OCD*, 690.
10 W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their gods* (London, Methuen, 1950) 187-88.
11 *OCD*, 690.
12 This legend appears in *Aegimius* (mentioned below), and much later in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but it may have been in oral circulation before Homer and Hesiod.

So he (Zeus) spoke, nor did the messenger Argeiphontes refuse. Immediately he complied, he bound under his feet beautiful sandals immortal, golden, and these carried him over water and over boundless land, along with blasts of wind.

In *Od.* 5.49-51 we read that Hermes flew (πέτετο), swooped (ἔμπεσε), and sped (σεύατ') as he makes his journey to Calypso.

Hermes is reliable and also ingenious, but he is not always successful. When in *Od*. 1.32-43 Zeus sends Hermes to tell Aegisthus that he is not to kill Agamemnon nor marry Clytaemestra, the following lines describe the outcome.

ὣς ἔφαθ' Ἑρμείας, ἀλλ' οὐ φρένας Αἰγίσθοιο
πεῖθ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέων· (*Od.* 1.42-43)
So Hermes spoke, but although he meant well, he did not persuade the mind of Aegisthus.

Three other missions show the ingenuity of Hermes. In *Il*. 24.334-338 he is instructed by Zeus to guide Priam, unnoticed by the Danaans, to their ships in order to recover the body of Hector from Achilles. Left to his own devices, Hermes carries out the instruction with cunning. He approaches Priam in disguise.

βῆ δ' ἰέναι κούρῳ αἰσυμνητῆρι ἐοικώς
πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἥβη. (*Il.* 24.347-348)
He set out to go looking like a regal young man, with his first beard, in whom the freshness of youth is most pleasing.

Hermes' approach in this way, using some flattery (371), and lying about his identity (389-400), enables him to gain the confidence of Priam and to convince him about the physical state of Hector's body (410-23). Hermes' supernatural powers enable him to empower Priam's horses, lull to sleep the watch and gain entry to Achilles' hut. At this point he discloses his identity to Priam, acknowledges that Zeus sent him, and advises Priam about how to approach Achilles (440-67). Hermes' reappearance to Priam, perhaps in a dream (682) occurs after he has been

ὁρμαίνοντ' ἀνὰ θυμὸν ὅπως Πρίαμον βασιλῆα
νηῶν ἐκπέμψειε λαθὼν ἱεροὺς πυλαωροὺς. (680-81)
pondering in his mind how he might send out King Priam, escaping the notice of the holy watchmen of the ships.

Hermes completes his mission as messenger-guide to Priam first creating fear in Priam's mind (683-88), thus arousing him to action, and then using his supernatural powers, enabling Priam and his herald to depart unchallenged from the Argive encampment with the body of Hector.

Hermes again employs a cunning but different approach, when he is sent by Zeus in *Od.* 5.48-148 to secure the release of Odysseus from the goddess Calypso. He allows her to entertain him before he comes to the point of his mission. Knowing she will not wish to release Odysseus, he prefaces his request by explaining that in coming he acted against his own wishes, and pointing out the impossibility of any god disobeying once Zeus has expressed his will (99-104). Although Calypso appears to admit to the truth of Hermes' words about disobedience, repeating them in 137-38, he considers it necessary to reinforce his words with a personal warning to her before he leaves.

οὕτω νῦν ἀπόπεμπε, Διὸς δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν,
μή πώς τοι μετόπισθε κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνῃ. (146-47)
So now send him away and regard with awe the wrath of Zeus lest by any means
afterwards he, bearing malice to you, should become angry.

In his last appearance as messenger in *Od.* 10.275-308, Hermes displays not only his superior knowledge of drugs and their potency but also a certain foreknowledge of events. As this episode is recounted by Odysseus to the Phaeacians, there is no account of Zeus sending Hermes (*Od.* 9.12ff.), nor do we know when Odysseus recognizes his young advisor as Hermes.

Adopting the same disguise as he does when he approaches Priam (*Il.* 24.347-48; cf. *Od.* 10.277-79), Hermes tells Odysseus about the fate of his companions who have been turned into pigs as a result of Circe's powerful drugs and the touch of her wand, and warns him of a similar fate if he proceeds to her house. A drug he gives to Odysseus will counteract Circe's drugs.

ἀλλ' ἄγε δή σε κακῶν ἐκλύσομαι ἠδὲ σαώσω.
τῇ, τόδε φάρμακον ἐσθλὸν ἔχων ἐς δώματα Κίρκης
ἔρχευ, ὅ κέν τοι κρατὸς ἀλαλκῃσιν κακὸν ἦμαρ. (286-88)
But come then, I will set you free from evil and will save you. Go into the house
of Circe taking this lucky drug which will ward from your head the evil day.

Foretelling how Circe will behave when Odysseus meets her, giving him instructions about how he is to act in order to secure the release of his companions, and how to exact an oath

from Circe that she will do no further harm, Hermes' mission is fulfilled and he departs at ll. 289-308.

As we mentioned earlier, the statement in *Od.* 5.28-29 indicates that Hermes had other roles besides that of messenger. One of these is that he is the πομπός, the conductor or guide in the house of Hades. In *Od.* 11.625-26 when Odysseus visits Hades, Hercules tells him that when he was sent to fetch the hound of Hades,

> Ἑρμείας δέ μ' ἔπεμψεν ἰδὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. (626)
>
> And Hermes conducted me and so did gleaming-eyed Athene.

Hermes is seen in this role also in *Od.* 24.1-10. In neither of the above passages does the word πομπός appear, but it is used to describe Hermes' role in conducting Priam to Achilles at *Il.* 24.158,182.

In *Od.* 19.395-98 Hermes is described as granting favours to those who please him by offering sacrifices. Odysseus describes his grandfather Autolycus as excelling all men in oaths and thievery, and adds,

> … θεὸς δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν
> Ἑρμείας· τῷ γὰρ κεχαρισμένα μηρία καῖεν
> ἀρνῶν ἠδ' ἐριφων· (*Od.* 19.396-98)
>
> And the god Hermes himself, gave (the skill to him). For to him he burned pleasing thigh bones of lambs and kids.

On one occasion when a sacrificial ritual is performed, it is likely that prayer is made to him (*Od*. 14.432-36). In this episode, the swineherd Eumaeus prepares food for his fellow swineherds and the disguised Odysseus. Dividing the meat into seven portions, he sets one aside for the nymphs and Hermes, and prays. It is not clear to whom the prayer is directed, whether to the gods in general or to Hermes and the nymphs. The latter seems more likely from the context.

c. Concluding comments

In the Homeric epics, Hermes has special status as we have seen because he is the son of Zeus.On four occasions he is sent as a messenger, and like Iris he is quick and reliable, but he uses more cunning when delivering his messages than she does. Like her, he can change his identity and voice. His supernatural power as a god is seen in his winged sandals and his golden wand. He has superior knowledge of drugs and their properties, and on one

occasion he foretells how events could proceed. He is generally liked by both mortals and gods. He is not above lying, and gives the gift of thievery to a mortal. These latter characteristics make him something of a rogue. Like other gods, he covets sacrifices offered by humans. He is sent as a messenger guide to Priam, and is the guide who takes the souls to Hades.

As we have shown, Hermes is a more complex character than Iris, but in these epics it is Iris who is sent more frequently than Hermes. We note that neither god is called ἅγιος, nor is there any reference in these epics to a group of ἄγγελοι.

2. The divine ἄγγελος in Hesiod, in other early Greek poets, and in the Homeric *Hymns*

a. Introduction

In this section we are considering the epics of Hesiod, some poems formerly ascribed to him, a poem from the Epic Cycle and the Homeric *Hymns*.[13] Whether Hesiod was a contemporary of Homer or whether he wrote later has been much discussed and does not greatly concern us here.[14] The work of both men survived in written form, and both tell us about the ways of gods with humankind. Two epics, *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, can with some certainty be attributed to Hesiod. In the former, which is largely an account of the birth of the gods, Hesiod describes his first encounter with the Muses.[15]

> … ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
> θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τὰ τ᾽ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα,
> καὶ μ᾽ ἐκέλονθ᾽ ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων (31-33)
> And they breathed in me a divine voice in order that I might celebrate the future
> and the past, and they ordered me to sing of the race of eternal blessed ones.

In *Works and Days* which is addressed to his brother Perses, Hesiod reveals details of his life in *ll*. 31-32, 37-41, 633-40, 646-62, and in this epic he also includes advice on farming and on good and bad days, ie days conducive to certain activities and days which are unsuitable. The subject matter of both these epics and their didactic character should alert us not to expect many references to the divine ἄγγελος, and we find there are four only.

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13 *OCD*, 531, 700.
14 Most, vol. 1, Intro., xxiv-xxv.
15 *Theog*. 963-1017 has a list of the progeny born from the union of gods and goddesses with mortals.

b. The divine ἄγγελος in Hesiod

i Parents of Iris and Hermes in the Theogony

Iris' parents are Thaumas and Electra, daughter of deep-flowing Ocean. Iris is not described as a messenger but as ὠκεῖα in ll. 265-69. With the details of his parents, Hermes is described as the herald of the gods.

> Ζηνὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀτλαντὶς Μαίη τέκε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν
> κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων, ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσα. (938-39)
> And then to Zeus Maia, daughter of Atlas, bore famous Hermes, herald of the immortals, when she went to his holy bed.
> .

ii. Other references to Iris and Hermes in Hesiod

In the following episodes we shall see that both Iris and Hermes are identified in Homeric terms as the messengers of the gods. In *Theog.* 780-81 we read that:

> παῦρα δὲ Θαύμαντος θυγάτηρ πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις
> ἀγγελίη πωλεῖται ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.
> Seldom does the daughter of Thaumas, swift-footed Iris, go on a message on the broad back of the sea.[16]

But on rare occasions Zeus does send Iris to bring in a golden jug the great oath of the gods (ie the water from Styx). This happens only when a god tells a lie (*Theog.* 782-86).[17]

Hermes dominates the activity recorded in *Works and Days* 59-85 which describe the creation and adorning of Pandora. Described twice (68, 77) in Homeric terms as διάκτορος Ἀργεϊφόντης and once as θεῶν ταχὺς ἄγγελος (85), he is called upon by Zeus to place in Pandora,

> κύνεόν τε νόον καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος (67)
> a dog's mind and a thievish character.[18]

It is Hermes who names the woman and who, under instruction from Zeus, takes her to Epimetheus. Although Hermes is not compared with Iris here, this episode establishes him as

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[16] Iris is also called πόδας ὠκέα in *Il.* 23.790.

[17] *OCD,* 1450; *Theog.* 383-401. The river Styx was 'located at the bottom of Tartarus.' She was rewarded by Zeus as 'the great oath of the gods' for helping him in the war against the Titans. Any immortal pouring a libation from Styx and then swearing a false oath, was given a terrible punishment (*Theog.* 793-803). Cf. *Hymn 3. To Apollo* ll. 83-88, in which Leto swears by the water of Styx, and *Hymn 2. To Demeter* l. 259.

[18] The creation of these characteristics in Pandora is an appropriate activity for Hermes who is called the prince of thieves and the ruler of animals in *Hymn 4. To Hermes* ll. 291-92, 497-99, 567-68, 571.

the chief messenger of the gods. Epithets describe him as κλυτός (84) and as θεῶν κῆρυξ (80), terms which are never used of Iris.

c. References to Iris and Hermes in other early Greek poetry

Poems which formed part of the Epic Cycle were written, it is thought, 'mainly or wholly in the 7th or 6th centuries BCE' by various men.[19] Among these is the *Cypria*, ascribed to Homer, Stasinus of Cyprus or Hegesias of Salamis on Cyprus.[20] In this epic there are brief references to Hermes and to Iris. When Hera, Athene and Aphrodite dispute about who is the fairest, Zeus commands Hermes to lead them to Mt Olympus to be judged by Alexander (ie Paris). When the latter and Helen sail away to Troy, Iris, probably at the command of Zeus, informs Menelaus of his wife's departure.

Aegimius, a poem formerly ascribed to Hesiod, but now thought to be either by him or by Cercops of Miletus (VIth century BCE),[21] mentions the circumstances in which Hermes received the name Ἀργεϊφόντης. When Zeus seduced Io, a priestess of Hera, he changed her into a white cow.

> καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ σκοπὸν Ἄργον ἴει κρατερόν τε μέγαν τε
> τέτρασιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρώμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, (frag. 230, Most)
> And she (Hera) set over her (Io) a watchman Argus, both strong and tall, with four eyes looking in all directions.

No details are given about how Hermes killed Argus. According to Heraclitus, the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* frag. 74 (Most) simply states that the poet called the god,

> Ἀργεϊφόντην … οὐχὶ τοὺς Ἡσιοδείους μύθους ἐπισταμενος, ὅτι τὸν
> βουκόλον Ἰοῦς ἐφόνευσεν ...
> Slayer of Argus … certainly not because he knew the tales of Hesiod, that he (Hermes) slew (Argus) the herdsman of Io.[22]

d. The divine ἄγγελος in the Homeric Hymns

According to West, each *Hymn* was a προοίμιον, that is, it was a prelude with which

[19] *OCD*, 531.
[20] *Hesiod. The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, trans. H.G. Evelyn-White (LCL; London, Heinemann, 1914 repr. 1970) 488-90. Also *OCD*, 531.
[21] Most, *Hesiod*, vol. 2.302 frag. 230.
[22] This episode gives no reason for Hermes' slaying of Argus. A longer account of the tale appears in Ovid, *Metamorphoses.* 1.508-746.

a rhapsode began his recitation of an epic poem.[23] West considers that the *Hymns* were composed in the period dating from the second half of the 7th century BCE to the 5th century BCE or later.[24] No names are attached to the *Hymns* because rhapsodes did not acknowledge them as their own but rather considered that whatever they recited came to them from their 'supposed ancestor, Homer.'[25] It is thought that originally the Hymns were composed for recitation at a special occasion such as a festival.[26] Not all the thirty-six *Hymns* have references to the divine messenger. Six only are discussed here.

i. Hymn 2. To Demeter

It is thought that this hymn was composed to be recited at the Eleusinian Games and was probably written in the first half of the 6th century BCE.[27] When Hades snatches Persephone, daughter of Demeter, goddess of crops and vegetation, as a punishment to gods and mortals Demeter withholds annual growth and settles away from Olympus at Eleusis where a temple is built for her (268-74). Zeus sends Iris to summon Demeter to return to Olympus; Iris is described in Homeric terms as goldenwinged (314). As usual she goes without delay.

> ὡς ἔφαθ' · ἣ δὲ Ζηνὶ κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι
> πείθετο καὶ τὸ μεσηγὺ διέδραμεν ὦκα πόδεσσιν (316-17)
> So he spoke and she obeyed dark-clouded Zeus (son) of Cronos and ran swiftly on foot through the space between.

Zeus instructs Iris to 'summon' Demeter, but Iris is gracious and persuasive in her approach and speaks of 'father Zeus' and 'the race of the gods,' reminding Demeter that she is speaking as Zeus' messenger, pleads with her.

> Δήμητερ, καλέει σε πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα εἰδώς
> ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.
> ἀλλ' ἴθι, μηδ' ἀτέλεστον ἐμὸν ἔπος ἐκ Διὸς ἔστω. (321-23)
> Demeter, father Zeus, who knows imperishable matters, calls you to come among the tribes of the gods who exist for ever. Well, come, don't let my word from Zeus be unfulfilled.

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[23] *Homeric Hymns*, ed. and trans. M.L. West (LCL; Cambridge MA, Harvard UP, 2008) 3.
[24] ibid., 5.
[25] ibid.
[26] ibid., 5-6. See also *OCD*, 735-36.
[27] West, 7-9.

But Demeter is not persuaded.

On the other hand Hermes' mission to Hades is successful. Sent by Zeus, his instructions are that … μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν (336) he is to bring Persephone back to Olympus. The ancient reader would take it for granted that, since he is a god, Hades is aware of the situation on the earth above him, and of the consequences if Demeter is not appeased. His compliance with the request at ll. 357-69 may be because it comes from his brother Zeus, but also may reflect the point that Hermes indicates that he is under compulsion to return with Persephone, as he states:

> Ζεύς με πατὴρ ἤνωγεν ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν
> ἐξαγαγεῖν Ἐρέβευσφι μετὰ σφέας, … (348-49)
> Father Zeus has commanded me to bring illustrious Persephone out of Erebos to them (the gods) …

Hermes appears to act on his own initiative, for Zeus requested that he should bring Persephone to the gods at Olympus (336-39) and so encourage Demeter to return there. But Hermes does in fact, take Persephone directly to Demeter at Eleusis (380-85).

ii. Hymn 3. To Apollo

This hymn has two parts: one tells of Apollo's birth at Delos and the establishment of the temple there (1-178). The other is about the founding of the oracle at Delphi in Crisa by Apollo, and is thought to have been composed first.[28] With some alteration to the older account, both parts were put together to be recited at a celebration in Apollo's honour at Delos in 523 BCE.[29] Our interest is in the first part because it also has a reference to Iris.

The occasion is when Leto, mother of Apollo, suffers terrible labour pains before his birth and the Olympian goddesses, except for Hera, send Iris to fetch Eileithyia, the goddess of birth labour (89-104). There is nothing remarkable about the incident except that Iris brings with her from the goddesses the promise of a bribe if Eileithyia agrees to come to Leto (102-04).

We notice again the Homeric epithets, ποδήνεμος ὠκέα used to describe Iris (107), her quick response to the request, and her faithfulness in relaying the message, in this her last appearance in the Homeric and associated literature (107-12).[30] Indeed, it is almost her last

[28] ibid., 9-10.
[29] ibid., 11.
[30] Why Iris and Eileithyia should set off τρήρωσι πελειάσιν 'like frightened doves' (114) is explained by the

appearance in Greek literature, for Iris falls into the shadows. In the fifth century she is an object of mockery in one play of Aristophanes (*Birds*), and is presented negatively in one tragedy (Euripides, *Heracles*). It may be that she fades away because there is only one messenger from the gods really needed, and the increasing popularity of Hermes, combined with his varied other functions, maintained his profile.

iii. Hymn 4. To Hermes

This hymn is different from the other hymns in several ways, including its presentation of Hermes, its language and its 'tempo.'[31] It may have been composed for performance at Olympia no earlier than the 5th century BCE.[32] We cannot discuss all the aspects of the hymn, but point out that Hermes is shown as the creator of the lyre, and also of the technique of making fire. Kahn points out that, unlike Prometheus who steals fire, Hermes revealed the way of making it.[33] He is portrayed chiefly in a comic manner as a cunning and unscrupulous character who steals Apollo's cattle, and lies to him and Zeus about the theft. A reconciliation between Hermes and Apollo comes about when the former gives Apollo the lyre he has made.

This hymn introduces into the narrative some ideas about Hermes which may have circulated in early legends, and which also appear in the Homeric epics and in *Hesiod*. Weaving these ideas into the hymn, the writer states that it is Apollo who gives Hermes a goad (497) and a wand (528-32), and who first names him 'prince of thieves' (291-92) and 'ruler of cattle' (497-98). The missing lines following l. 568 probably introduced Zeus as the speaker,[34] who confirms the promises made by Apollo to Hermes in ll. 523-68, and who announces that Hermes alone is to be appointed as ἄγγελον εἰς Ἀΐδην (571-72). It is clear that the noun here indicates Hermes' role as 'conductor' or 'guide' rather than 'messenger.'

In l. 571 he is given the epithet κύδιμος, best translated when applied to Hermes as 'renowned.' The hymn concludes with a description of Hermes as a mischievous god, and a salutation to him.

πᾶσι δ' ὅ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμιλεῖ ·

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fact they wish to evade the eyes of Hera who had sent Eileithyia away, because of her jealousy about the impending birth of Apollo (ll. 97-101).

31 West, 12.

32 Ibid., 14. *OCD*, 690 suggests the last third of the 6th century BCE.

33 C. Kahn, *Hermes passé, ou, Les ambiguities de la communication* (Paris, Maspero, 1978) 52.

34 West, 159, n.41 points out that 'some lines to this effect have fallen out of the text.'

παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνίνησι, … (576-77)

He associates with all mortals and immortals, indeed seldom with profit.

It is not clear what the poet meant by the final word here. He is hardly implying that Hermes is altruistic. Nor is the sense likely to be that mortals complied with his messages only rarely. We note that here Hermes' 'deceiving' activities in the dark night are restricted to humankind (577-78). The reason for this is that of course he could not deceive a god; the deception of Apollo is shortlived, and the incident is designed to highlight the young Hermes' ingenuity rather than any nastiness.

iv. Hymn 5. To Aphrodite

This hymn includes a fabricated account by Aphrodite in which she declares that she, a mortal, has been snatched away from her friends by Hermes and transported to appear before the mortal Anchises, whom Hermes says she is to marry (117-29). A late 7th century BCE date is suggested.[35]

v. Hymn 19. To Pan

West suggests that this hymn was not well known before the early 5th century BCE.[36] It includes an account of the circumstances which led to Pan's birth about which the mountain nymphs sing. As father of Pan, Hermes appears in their celebration of the blessed gods in song.

οἷόν θ' Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων
ἔννεπον, ὡς ὅ γ' ἅπασι θεοῖς θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστιν, … (28-29)

They tell of one Hermes, helper, eminent above others, how he is a swift messenger for all the gods, …

These lines direct our attention to the high esteem in which the nymphs hold Hermes and they reinforce that his chief function is that of messenger.

vi. Hymn 29. To Hestia

Although the title suggests that this hymn is to Hestia goddess of the hearth, to

[35] ibid., 16.
[36] ibid., 18.

whom offerings were made at meal times, the petition is addressed primarily to Hermes, asking for his and Hestia's assistance.[37] It refers to Hermes in a positive way and also reinforces that his primary role is ἄγγελος.

καὶ σύ μοι, Ἀργεϊφόντα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ,
ἄγγελε τῶν μακάρων, χρυσόρραπι, δῶτορ ἐάων,
ἵλαος ὢν ἐπάρηγε σὺν αἰδοίηι τε φίληι τε
Ἱστίηι· … (ll. 7-8,10-11)

And you, Argus-slayer, son of Zeus and Maia, messenger of the blessed gods, golden wand one, giver of good things, being gracious to me, come to assist with the loved and respected Hestia.[38]

e. Concluding comments

Apart from the references to her parentage in *Theog.* Iris is mentioned only four times in what survives of this literature.[39] As she was in the *Iliad*, so she appears here, swift, reliable and on occasions persuasive. But she is not the chief ἄγγελος. That title must go to Hermes. She is not mentioned as often as he, neither does she perform as many functions, nor is she given any other special titles.

Hermes on the other hand, apart from his dominance in *Hymn 4 To Hermes*, appears in five episodes.[40] He performs a variety of functions and continues to be seen as a wily god. He is celebrated in the nymphs' song to Pan and prayer is offered to him in Hymn 29.[41] He is described as ἄγγελος five times and three times as κῆρυξ.[42]

He continues to be called Ἀργεϊφόντης but he is also given other titles.[43] He is 'ruler of animals', messenger to Hades and has the disreputable title of 'prince of thieves'.[44] A number of epithets add prestige to his image. He is described as κύδιμος (κυδάλιμος), 'renowned' or 'glorious', κλυτύς 'famous' and κρατύς 'mighty', as well as δωτὴρ ἐάων 'giver of good things.'[45]

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[37] *OCD*, 701.
[38] In *Od.* 15.319-20 Hermes is described as 'the guide who adds grace and pride to all men's work.'
[39] *Theog.* 780-87; *Cypria*; *Hymn 2. To Demeter*, 314-23; *Hymn 3. To Apollo*, 102-14.
[40] *WD*, 67-85; *Aegimius*; *Cypria*; *Catalogue of women*; *Hom. Hymn to Demeter* (2.334-85).
[41] *Hymn 19. To Pan*, 27-31; *Hymn 29. To Hestia*, 7-11.
[42] As ἄγγελος: *WD* 84-85; *Hymn 4. To Hermes* 1-3, 571-72; *Hymn 19. To Pan* 28-29; *Hymn 29. To Hestia* 7-8. As κηρῦξ: *Theog*. 938-39; *WD* 79-80; *Hymn 4. To Hermes* 330-31
[43] As Ἀργειφόντης in *WD* 77, 84
[44] *Hymn 4. To Hermes* 571, 572, 291-92.
[45] Κύδιμος, *Hymn 4. To Hermes* 298, 571; κλυτύς, *WD* 84; κρατύς, *Hymn To Aphrodite* 129; δωτὴρ ἐάων,

In a final observation on Iris and Hermes in these works, we point out that, as in the epics of Homer, at no time is either god described as ἅγιος, nor is there any mention of either god being one of a group of *angeloi*.

3. The divine ἄγγελος in 5th century tragedies

Tragedies were performed in Athens from the end of the 6th century BCE.[46] These plays introduced a new genre into Greek literature, for while epics were narrated by individual rhapsodes, the tragedies required actors and made use of a chorus. Initially part of the spring festivals held in Athens in honour of the god Dionysus, these plays were submitted in competition, each playwright being required to write three tragedies and a fourth play, not a tragedy but one in which the chorus appeared as satyrs.

Tragedy required a serious subject, so dramatists took their characters mostly from myths of the past.[47] As the tragedy was acted out, the emotions of fear and pity were experienced by the audience, and were, according to Aristotle, to have the effect on the individual of an emotional cleansing.[48] While the plays of others are now lost, there remain still seven plays of Aeschylus (525/4?-465/5), seven of Sophocles (497/6?-406) and more than twice that number of Euripides (485/4-406). The divine ἄγγελος, Hermes, appears in the plays of all three writers. Iris is mentioned once only, in Euripides' *Heracles*. Since a chapter such as this is necessarily a selective survey, we have given no attention to the presence of these gods in fragmentary survivals of tragedies.

a. Hermes in Aeschylus

i. Appearances

Although Hermes is mentioned in all seven plays of Aeschylus, he appears in two only: *Eumenides* and *Prometheus Bound.* His function in the former is as guide or conductor. He is instructed by Apollo to take Orestes from the Temple of Apollo in Delphi where he has come as a suppliant being pursued by the Furies, to the Temple of Athene in Athens.[49] Apollo, with Hermes standing near, addresses Orestes first, then Hermes:

Hymn 29. To Hestia 8.

46 *OCD*, 1538.

47 O. Taplin, 'Emotion and Meaning in Greek Tragedy' in *Oxford Readings in Greek Tragedy*. ed. E. Segal (New York, Oxford, 1983) 4.

48 Aristotle: *On the Art of Poetry in Classical Literary Criticism* trans. and introd. T.S. Dorsch (London, Penguin, 1965) 38-39.

49 We have seen Hermes in the role of conductor or guide to mortals in *Il.* 24. 334-469.

μέμνησο, μη φόβος σε νικάτω φρένας·
σὺ δ' αὐτάδελφον, αἷμα καὶ κοινοῦ πατρός,
Ἑρμῆ, φύλασσε, κάρτα δ' ὢν ἐπώνυμος
πομπαῖος ἴσθι, τόνδε ποιμαίνων ἐμὸν
ἱκέτην … (88-92)

Remember, don't let fear conquer your mind, and you my own brother and blood of a common father Hermes, keep watch, and being true to your name be (his) conductor, guiding this my suppliant …

In *Prometheus Bound,* Hermes' function is that of messenger of Zeus. He has a substantial speaking role in which he employs a number of strategies. Riveted to a rock at Zeus' direction, as a punishment for giving the gift of fire to mortals, Prometheus reveals to the wandering Io that he has knowledge which will bring about Zeus' downfall. Zeus sends Hermes to extract the information from Prometheus, but the attempt fails. Hermes' abrasive approach to Prometheus, calling him 'the clever one' and 'harshly bitter one' (344) develops into nasty exchanges between the two, including the following sarcastic remark from Hermes:

κρεῖσσον γὰρ οἶμαι τῇδε λατρεύειν πέτρᾳ
ἢ πατρὶ φῦναι Ζηνὶ πιστὸν ἄγγελον. (968-69)

For better I think to serve this rock than to be trusted messenger to Father Zeus.

With the threat of the kind of punishment Zeus will deal to Prometheus, Hermes offers the following counsel and departs soon after.

… μηδ' αὐθαδίαν
εὐβουλίας ἀμείνον ἡγήσῃ ποτέ. (1034-35)

… don't suppose at any time that stubbornness is a better thing than good advice.

ii. Other references to Hermes

In both *The Persians* and *The Libation Bearers*, prayer is made to Hermes and other chthonian gods. In the former, Atossa widow of king Darius, having heard of the defeat of the Persians at Salamis and the disasters suffered by the retreating army, asks the chorus of Persian elders to chant and to call up the divine spirit of Darius. The chorus calls upon the gods to assist them:

… χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοί,

Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ᾽ ἐνέρων,
πέμψατ᾽ ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς· (628-30)
… holy gods of the underworld Earth and Hermes, and King of those beneath the earth, send the spirit from beneath to the light.

Hermes here is not in his messenger role, but as the *psychopompus*, the one who leads the dead to the Underworld. This function is visible also in the next passage.

In *The Libation Bearers*, as they approach the tomb of their father Agamemnon, both Orestes and Electra pray to Hermes. Orestes accompanied by Pylades asks:

Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, πατρῷ᾽ ἐποπτεύων κράτη,
σωτὴρ γενοῦ μοι σύμμαχός τ᾽ αἰτουμένῳ·
ἥκω γὰρ εἰς γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι (1-3)
Hermes of the underworld, watching over my father's power, be to me as I plead a saviour and ally, for I have come to this land and I am returning home.

While Orestes seeks Hermes' help as saviour from harm (and perhaps implicitly as his assistant in the planned murders of Clytaemestra and Aegisthus), Electra addresses Hermes as κῆρυξ, giving him a mediatorial role between the living and the spirits below.

κήρυξ μέγιστε τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω,
<ἄρηξον> Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, κηρύξας ἐμοὶ
τοὺς γῆς τ᾽ ἔνερθε δαίμονας κλυεῖν ἐμὰς
εὐχάς, πατρῴων δωμάτων ἐπισκόπους,
καὶ Γαῖαν αὐτήν … (165,124-27)[50]
Greatest herald of those above and those below, Hermes of the nether world, help me and proclaim to the spirits beneath the earth, those watching over my father's house, to hear my prayers and Earth herself …

The chorus of servant women support the mission of Orestes and Pylades. They do not pray directly to Hermes but call on Earth to help (722-25). They point to the need for the deceptive approach of the men to be maintained, and for Hermes to watch over the two as they carry out their murderous task.

νῦν γὰρ ἀκμάζει Πειθὼ δολίαν
ξυγκαταβῆναι χθόνιον δ᾽ Ἑρμῆν
καὶ τὸν νύχιον τούσδ᾽ ἐφορεῦσαι

[50] The conjecture at the start of l. 124 is added from the Loeb's apparatus.

ξιφοδηλήτοισιν ἀγῶσιν. (726-29)

For now it is high time for wily Persuasion to come to help, and Hermes of the underworld and of the night to watch over these men
in the contests with deadly swords.

The title 'Hermes of the night' possibly refers to his night-time activities. One of these activities involving deception was the theft of Apollo's cattle.[51]

Hermes is given special acknowledgement by the herald returning from Troy to Argos in the tragedy *Agamemnon*. Having greeted his land, the light of the sun and Zeus, he addresses the gods, then Hermes his patron as the god of messengers … τόν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάορον Ἑρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα κηρύκων σέβας, (514-15) 'and my tutelary god Hermes, loved and honoured by heralds.'

In *The Suppliant Maidens*, the women seeking asylum in Argos express the hope that the κῆρυξ Hermes will announce that their freedom has been granted when they say, ἐλευθέροις νυν ἐσθλὰ κηρυκευέτω (221).

Hermes is seen performing a new function in *Seven Against Thebes.* When the king of Thebes Eteocles, learns that his brother from Argos is ready to attack Thebes, he places at each of six gates a chieftain who will be fit opponent for an attacking enemy chief. Eteocles selects his Theban chieftains, but considers that it is really Hermes 'who rules over games and the duly ordered contests' who has made the choices.[52]

… Ἑρμῆς δ' εὐλόγως ξυνήγαγεν·
ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξυστήσεται,
ξυνοίσετον δὲ πολεμίους ἐπ' ἀσπίδων
θεούς. (508-11)

And Hermes has matched them with a good rationale; for the man is an enemy to the man he will face, and on their shields the two will bring together gods who are enemies.

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[51] West, 305 n.153. West lists this among several other references in the *Homeric Hymn 4 to Hermes*, which describes Hermes' night-time activities.

[52] Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 6.79. in *The Odes of Pindar*, introd. and trans. J. Sandys (London, Heinemann, 1915 rev. 1937, repr. 1968). Other odes of Pindar which refer to Hermes' control of contests are, *Pythian Ode* 2 in which Hermes is described as 'lord of the wrestling ring,' and *Isthmian Ode* l.60 in which he is called 'Hermes god of contests.'

iii. Concluding comments

This concludes our survey of the divine ἄγγελος in the plays of Aeschylus. Hermes appeared in two plays, in one as guide to a mortal, in the other as messenger. On each occasion he is under orders from another god. Prayer is offered to him as a god of the underworld. He is recognised as the patron of heralds, the one who rules over games and contests (here used as a metaphor for warfare) and as the god of deception. What seems to be a first reference to Hermes as ἀγνός appears in *Persians* 628.

b. Hermes in Sophocles

i. The plays

No appearances of Hermes occur in these plays but five of the seven have references to him. Those near death or in distress call upon Hermes of the underworld. In *Ajax*, the hero in a fit of madness slaughters sheep and cattle thinking they are his compatriots who have cheated him. Returning to sanity and realising what he has done, he decides to take his own life and calls on the gods.

τοσαῦτά σ', ὦ Ζεῦ, προστρέπω, καλῶ δ' ἅμα
πομπαῖον Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον εὖ με κοιμίσαι,
ξὺν ἀσφαδάστῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πηδήματι
πλευρὰν διαρρήξαντα τῷδε φασγάνῳ. (831-34)

These things O Zeus I beg you, and at the same time I call upon Hermes, conductor to the underworld, to lay me well to rest when with a swift movement and without any convulsions, I break asunder my flank with this sword.

Electra, living in the palace at Mycenae, despised by her mother and her mother's unlawful husband, and still mourning her father's murder at their hands, calls upon supernatural powers, including Hermes, to help her.

ὦ δῶμ' Ἄϊδου καὶ Περσεφόνης,
ὦ χθόνι' Ἑρμῆ καὶ πότνι' Ἀρά,
σεμναί τε θεῶν παῖδες Ἐρινύες,
αἳ τοὺς ἀδίκως θνῄσκοντας ὁρᾶθ',
αἳ τοὺς εὐνὰς ὑποκλεπτομένους,
ἔλθετ', ἀρήξατε, τείσασθε πατρὸς
φόνον ἡμετέρου,
καὶ μοι τὸν ἐμὸν πέμψατ' ἀδελφόν· (110-18)

O house of Hades and Persephone, O Hermes of the under-world and awful Curse, and Erinyes, venerable children of gods, who watch those dying unjustly and those stealing secretly the marriage bed, come! Help, avenge the murder of our father, and send my brother to me!

In *Oedipus at Colonus*, blind Oedipus the former king of Thebes, is led by his daughters Antigone and Ismene to Attica where he has been granted protection. Aware that death is approaching, his thoughts turn to Hermes of the underworld. Oedipus addresses his daughters:

χωρεῖτε καὶ μὴ ψαύετ', ἀλλ' ἐᾶτέ με
αὐτὸν τὸν ἱερὸν τύμβον ἐξευρεῖν, ἵνα
μοῖρ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε τῇδε κρυφθῆναι χθονί.
τῇδ' ὧδε, τῇδε βᾶτε· τῇδε γάρ μ' ἄγει
Ἑρμῆς ὁ πομπὸς ἥ τε νερτέρα θεός. (1544-48)

Draw back and don't touch (me), but allow me myself to find the holy tomb where it is the fate for this man [ie me, Oedipus] to be concealed [ie buried] in this land. In this way walk, for in this way Hermes the conductor leads me and she, the goddess of the world below.

Trachiniae is about the unintentional murder of Heracles by his wife Deianira. Learning that Heracles is on his way home, and that his affections are now centred on a captive woman Iole, Deianira in an effort to win back his love sends Lichas, Heracles' trusted servant, to her husband with a robe. Deianira has mistakenly smeared it with a poison, believing it to be a love charm, and Lichas having received his instructions, promises to be a faithful messenger acknowledging Hermes as his example.

ἀλλ' εἴπερ Ἑρμοῦ τήνδε πομπεύω τέχνην
βέβαιον, οὔ τι μὴ σφαλῶ γ' ἐν σοί ποτε,
τὸ μὴ οὐ τόδ' ἄγγος ὡς ἔχει δεῖξαι φέρων,
λόγων τε πίστιν ὧν λέγεις ἐφαρμόσαι. (620-23)

But if I am to boast of this craft of Hermes as a reliable one, I shall never fail you at any time, by not presenting this box I bear as it is, and not faithfully repeating the words you say.

Philoctetes, abandoned by the Greeks on Lemnos, is the victim of a deceitful plot. Odysseus, using Neoptolemus, intends that Philoctetes be taken to Troy under the pretence that he is going back to Greece. Odysseus looks to Hermes, the cunning god, to aid the deception. With

these words he leaves Neoptolemus to make contact with Philoctetes:

ἐγὼ δε πρὸς ναῦν εἶμι, σὸι παρεὶς τάδε·
Ἑρμῆς δ' ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἡγήσαιτο νῷν
Νίκη τ' Ἀθάνα Πολιάς, ἣ σῴζει μ' ἀεί. (132-34)

Passing on these things to you, I myself shall go to the ship. May guileful Hermes who sends us on our way, act as our leader, and Nike, and Athene patron of our city, who always keeps me safe.

ii. Concluding comments

In Sophocles' plays we have seen that prayer is made to Hermes by those in distress. It is his faithfulness as a messenger which is lauded by the human messenger in *Trachiniae* and his powers of deception which are sought by Odysseus and Neoptolemus in *Philoctetes*.

c. Hermes in Euripides

i. Appearances

In eight of Euripides' plays there are references to Hermes, and in *Ion* he appears on stage. Iris appears in the *Heracles.* We begin with Hermes' appearance in *Ion.*

Hermes addresses the audience as the play begins, introducing himself and his background, and tells where the play takes place. His remarks are of particular interest because of the way he describes himself in relation to the gods.

Ἄτλας ὁ νώτοις χαλκέοισιν οὐρανόν,
θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον, ἐκτρίβων θεῶν
μιᾶς ἔφυσε Μαῖαν, ἣ ᾽μ' ἐγείνατο
Ἑρμῆν μεγίστῳ Ζηνί, δαιμόνων λάτριν. (1-4)

Atlas who constantly rubs heaven, ancient home of the gods, with his bronze back, begot Maia by one of the goddesses, who bore to greatest Zeus me, Hermes, servant of the gods.

Hermes' role as λάτρις δαιμόνων (the first time in Greek literature he is called by this term) is exemplified when, having told the audience of Ion's parentage and of the circumstances which followed his birth, he explains that he, Hermes, was asked by Apollo to carry out certain instructions in relation to the infant Ion.

Ὦ σύγγον', ἐλθὼν λαὸν εἰς αὐτόχθονα

κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν (οἶσθα γὰρ θεᾶς πόλιν)
λαβὼν βρέφος νεογνὸν ἐκ κοίλης πέτρας
αὐτῷ σὺν ἄγγει σπαργάνοισί θ’ οἷς ἔχει
ἔνεγκε Δελφῶν τἀμὰ πρὸς χρηστήρια
καὶ θὲς πρὸς αὐταῖς εἰσόδοις δόμων ἐμῶν. (29-34)

O brother, going to the native-born people of renowned Athens (for you know the city of the goddess), and taking a newborn infant out of a hollow rock, bring him with his basket and the wrapping clothes he has to my oracle in Delphi, and place him at the very entrance doors of my temple.

As in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*, Hermes here is ‘under orders’ from Apollo. In the former play, he was conductor of Orestes to Athens; here he may be seen as conducting the infant Ion from Athens to Delphi. At first sight, there is no messenger function; instead, Hermes has a job to do. We might say, however, that he 'enacts a message' that is divinely given. Put this way, it allows us to link his messenger/talking role with his action roles in conducting others, eg Priam to Achilles' tent in *Iliad* 24.

We consider now Iris’ appearance in *Heracles,* and first note the circumstances leading to her mission. The unexpected appearance of Heracles saves his wife, his three sons and his father from death by the hand of Lycus, usurper of the kingdom of Thebes. Hera, seeking revenge on Heracles, sends Iris as her messenger, who commissions Lyssa to afflict Heracles with madness so that he will kill his children. Iris appears true to form; she is reliable, diplomatic when addressing the chorus, and reinforces Hera’s message by adding words of her own, but also reveals her nasty streak. Like Hermes, she describes herself as τὴν λάτριν θεῶν. Accompanied by Lyssa, she addresses the chorus of old men of Thebes:

θαρσεῖτε Νυκτὸς τήνδ’ ὁρῶντες ἔκγονον
Λύσσαν, γέροντες, κἀμὲ τὴν θεῶν λάτριν
Ἶριν. πόλει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἥκομεν βλάβος,
ἑνὸς δ’ ἐπ’ ἀνδρὸς δώματα στρατεύομεν,
ὅν φασιν εἶναι Ζηνὸς Αλκμήνης τ’ ἄπο. (822-26)

Old men, take courage, you are seeing Lyssa sprung from Night and me, the servant of the gods, Iris. For we have come as no harm to the city, but are on campaign against one man’s house who they say is born from Zeus and Alcmene.

Iris then explains that Hera and she were forbidden from harming Heracles before he had

finished his labours, and continues:

ἐπεὶ δὲ μόχθους διεπέρασ' Εὐρυσθέως,
Ἥρα προσάψαι κοινὸν αἷμ' αὐτῷ θέλει
παῖδας κατακτείναντι, συνθέλω δ' ἐγώ. (830-32)
But after he passed through Eurystheus' toils Hera wishes to apply blood of kindred to him (Heracles) in killing his children, and I concur.

Our research has found no other references to Iris, the divine messenger in any of the 5th century tragedies. This is an indication of her decline, at least at Athens, and points to the increasing dominance of Hermes as the divine messenger/ escorter by the fifth century.

ii. Brief references

In the other tragedies of Euripides mentions of Hermes are brief, in some instances mentioning his past activities. For example, in *Andromache* 274-78 and *Iphigeneia at Aulis* there are references to Hermes as the conductor of the three goddesses to the contest on Mt Ida. We quote the passage from the latter. Iphigeneia is the speaker:

ἔνθα ποτὲ Παλλὰς ἔμολε
καὶ δολιόφρων Κύπρις
Ἥρα θ' Ερμᾶς θ',
ὁ Διὸς ἄγγελος, (1300-03)
Here once came Pallas and crafty of mind Cypris, Hera and Hermes messenger of Zeus.

In *Orestes* there is a reference to a golden lamb. According to the legend, Atreus married Aerope who committed adultery with Thyestes his brother, and gave him the golden lamb 'which carried with it the claim to kingship.'[53] When Electra is relating the events in the history of her forebears, she mentions this golden lamb which she claims came originally from Hermes, the Lord of cattle and sheep (*Homeric Hymn 4. To Hermes* 567-71).

ὅθεν δόμοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἦλθ' ἀρὰ πολύστονος,
λόχευμα ποιμνίοισι Μαιάδος τόκου,
τὸ χρυσόμαλλον ἀρνὸς ὁπότ'
ἐγένετο τέρας ὀλοὸν ὀλοὸν

[53] *OCD*, 210.

Ἀτρέος … (995-1000)

… to my family a curse came causing much sorrow, an offspring in the flock of the child of Maia when the golden-fleeced lamb became a destructive portent, destructive of Atreus …

In *Helen* Euripides made use of the version created by the 6th century poet Stesichorus, in which a phantom Helen is taken to Troy by Paris. The real Helen is transported to Egypt and placed under the protection of Proteus the king.[54] But at the king's death, Helen is pursued by his son Theoclymenus, who wishes to take her as his wife. She describes her removal from Sparta by Hermes:

λαβὼν δὲ μ' Ἑρμῆς ἐν πτυχαῖσιν αἰθέρος
νεθέλῃ καλύψας, οὐ γὰρ ἠμέλησέ μου
Ζεύς, τὸνδ' ἐς οἶκον Πρωτέως ἱδρύσατο,
πάντων προκρίνας σωφρονέστατον βροτῶν,
ἀκέραιον ὡς σώσαιμι Μενέλεῳ λέχος. (44-48)

And Hermes, taking me in folds of air and hiding me in a cloud (for Zeus did not neglect me), put me down in this house of Proteus,
judging him most moderate of all men, that I might keep safe the marriage bed for Menelaus.

Helen explains that it was also Hermes who told her that she would live in Sparta with her husband again.

… θεοῦ τόδ' εἰσήκουσ' ἔπος
Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ κλεινόν μ' ἔτι κατοικήσειν πέδον
Σπάρτης σὺν ἀνδρί, γνόντος ὡς ἐς Ἴλιον
οὐκ ἦλθον ἵνα μὴ λέκτρ' ὑποστρώσω τινί. (56-59)

I heard this word from the god Hermes, (who) knew that I did not go to Troy in order that I might not serve another bed, and that I would yet dwell in the famous plain of Sparta with my husband.

Helen repeats to other characters the tale of her removal from Sparta by Hermes, and finally the Dioscuri, the twin gods Castor and Pollux, also repeat it.[55]

There are brief references to Hermes in Euripides' *Suppliant Women* and in *Electra*. In the former, Hermes' heralds are mentioned (121): these are mortals but their patron is Hermes. In

[54] ibid., 675.
[55] ll. 241-45, 670, 910-11, 1670-72.

Electra, the chorus of Argive women describe Achilles' shield which is adorned in its border with Perseus carrying the severed head of the Gorgon, accompanied by Hermes, ἄγγελος of Zeus (458-62).

Our last reference to Hermes in these plays is in *Rhesus*. Although Euripides' authorship of this play is doubtful, that does not mean it is of no relevance to our enquiry. When the Trojans send out Dolon as their spy to ascertain the plans of the Greeks who have been driven back to the sea, the chorus of Trojan sentinels encourage him in his mission with these words:

> ἀλλ' εὖ σ' ὁ Μαίας παῖς ἐκεῖσε καὶ πάλιν
> πέμψειεν Ἑρμῆς, ὅς γε φηλητῶν ἄναξ. (216-17)
> But may the son of Maia send you well, there and back, Hermes, who is indeed the chief of deceivers.

iii. Concluding comments

In these tragedies of Euripides in which Hermes and Iris appear, they are acting under the orders of other gods. There is no evidence in these plays of prayer being offered to Hermes, but there are references to him as a conductor both of mortals and of gods, as chief of deceivers, and perhaps indirectly as lord of flocks. It also emerges that there is in fact very little meriting comment about Hermes and Iris in these plays.

4. The divine ἄγγελος in Plato's *Cratylus*

In Plato's *Cratylus* the origin of names is discussed. The dialogue is of interest because Socrates offers Hermogenes an explanation of how Hermes and Iris may have obtained their names, and he makes a comment on the character of Hermes. As the dialogue proceeds, Socrates suggests that names are instruments of teaching (388C), and that names were given by men whom he calls lawgivers (389A). Those who named the gods were skilled in discussion and subtle reasoning (401B).

Socrates is cautious when he discusses the name Hermes, prefacing his words with ἔοικε. 'It is likely' that the name is connected with speech since Hermes is καὶ τὸ ἑρμηνέα … καὶ τὸ ἄγγελον καὶ τὸ κλοπικόν τε καὶ τὸ ἀπατηλὸν ἐν λόγοις καὶ τὸ ἀγοραστικόν, … (407E-408A).[56]

[56] *OCD*, 690. 'Hermes is also the god of trade (on Delian seals of the Hellenistic age he appears holding a purse)'. As an emphasis here is on Hermes' craftiness in speech, perhaps his connection with commerce

Continuing his argument, Socrates refers to εἴρω the verb denoting speech, and to ἐμήσατο (< μήδομαι), a word used by Homer meaning 'contrive.' Socrates suggests that the lawgiver in naming the god, combined these two words (which reflect Hermes' attributes) into Eiremes, and that this was then modified into Hermes. Iris' name too is derived from εἴρω, 'because she also is a messenger' (408A-408B).

As Hermes appears in the Mycenaean pantheon, he is a very ancient god. There is no evidence to support Socrates' ideas here, but the discussion is of particular interest because it shows how Hermes the divine ἄγγελος was perceived in the 4th century BCE.

Conclusion

We have now finished our research into the divine ἄγγελος in Greek literature from Homer to Plato. The study has been focused on the two appointed messengers Iris and Hermes. Both are gods, and Hermes has special status as the son of Zeus. They do not act in concert, but entirely independently: there is no plurality of *angeloi* at work in Greek conceptions of the divine messenger. In Euripidean tragedy, Iris and Hermes each describe themselves as λάτρις of the gods, and their subordinate status is seen from their carrying out of orders received from other gods. Both have some liberty to interpret the message given to them to pass on. Like other gods, they can change identity. Neither is ever accorded such epithets as ἅγιος or ἀγνός.

Consistently throughout this literature Iris remains only a messenger and carries out her tasks with speed, reliability and at times, persuasiveness. She is received well, by gods and mortals. She does not appear among the twelve gods on the Parthenon frieze and there is no evidence of praise or prayer from mortals being offered to her. It would seem by the near-total lack of references to her in the 5th century tragedies that there is little interest in her, at least at Athens—to the extent that literature offers us a reliable barometer of that.

Hermes on the other hand is a popular god. By this we mean that he continues to be referred to throughout the literature of those centuries, and to be described as having various functions beside that of messenger. As a messenger he, like Iris, is swift and reliable, but he differs from her because he uses more subtle strategies in his approach when delivering messages. This view of Hermes as a subtle or cunning god is first visible especially in *Hymn 4 To Hermes*; and by the early fourth century in Plato he is described as 'both artful and wily in

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refers to bartering.

words,' and in *Rhesus* as 'chief of deceivers.' Hermes has several other titles, as we have noted, which reflect some of his other functions. His primary role remains as messenger, and in second place as guide or conductor. There is a point of connection here. Like Iris, he is well received by gods and mortals: prayer and praise are offered to him.[57] This reflects the widespread norm, of course: no one was ever eternally hostile to any god, although some come in for criticism.

There is much else of interest which we could have presented here concerning Hermes and Iris as divine messengers. This additional material has ben strictly excluded in order to maintain our focus firmly on the question before us in this thesis: whether there is any basis for saying that the epigraphic evidence for 'pagan' angels, to which we now turn in Part B ch. 4, is indebted to Classical Greek mythology and concepts in that period about divine messengers.

Accordingly, in the light of these three foregoing chapters which have surveyed different ancient traditions about divine *angeloi*, we now turn to the second part of this thesis and consider the epigraphic evidence for *angeloi* from the period of the Roman Empire.

[57] Prayer is offered in the following: *Od*. 14. 432-436 (possibly), *Persians* ll. 628-630; *The Libation Bearers* ll. 1-3,165, ll. 124-127, *Ajax* ll. 831-834 and in Sophocles' *Electra* ll. 110-118. In *Hymn 29 To Hestia* ll. 7-11 and Hermes is praised in *Hymn 19 To Pan* ll. 27-31.

PART B

The nub of the issue

4. The divine ἄγγελος in pagan inscriptions

Introduction

Our focus was based in the preceding chapters on the divine ἄγγελος in the Old Testament, and associated writings (ch. 1), in the New Testament and other early Christian Literature (ch. 2), and in the Greek writers from Homer to Plato (ch. 3). Attention now shifts to the pagan angel inscriptions. Most of these belong to the second or third centuries CE. The inscriptions are mostly located in Asia Minor, but those from Thera are also discussed. As the thesis title indicates we are looking for any evidence of 'baggage' in this pagan epigraphy, that is, any borrowings of language (i.e. references to angels) which may be carried over from Jewish or Christian sources. The following broad summary provides a sketch regarding the prevailing attitude of pagans towards the gods in the Roman Imperial period.

a. Widespread worship of pagan gods

'By the reign of Gordian [238-244 CE], the pagan gods could look back across centuries of uninterrupted worship'.[1] Thus Lane Fox, who points out that 'scepticism' about the gods was at times 'expressed by members of the educated class', and that 'past thinkers' had raised serious questions about man's ideas of the gods. He adds that their arguments 'attracted next to no interest and had no practical consequences in the Imperial period'. J.B. Rives, commenting on the philosophers in the Imperial period, says:

> And although philosophers might insist that only philosophy allowed for the true understanding of the divine world and the correct interpretation of traditional cult and myth, they had no authority to compel others to agree; it is likely that most people neither knew nor cared'.[2]

He adds later the claim that, 'for most of the Imperial period the Graeco-Roman tradition remains largely unchanged.[3]

[1] R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1985) 27.
[2] J.B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire* (Malden, Blackwell, 2007) 41.
[3] ibid., 42.

b. Why did people honour the gods?

Certainly people were influenced by tradition. The gods had been worshipped from time immemorial,[4] not just 'because they were there' but primarily because they were recognized as sources of power.[5] The gods, if it pleased them to do so, could use their power on behalf of the city, the group or the individual. People looked for the power of the gods to help them by ensuring their safety in travel, by providing weather conditions favourable to their crops, and for healing from ailments.[6] The power of the god was also sought for advice, and this came by means of the oracle.[7]

c. Where and how did people worship the gods?

People worshipped the gods in places identified as sacred. Temples to gods in cities and shrines in the country towns were not the only places where a god was honored. Features of the landscape such as caves, groves, mountains, rivers and springs were considered holy and attracted tributes.[8] Each of the city states had its patron deity whom the community worshipped.[9] Worship involved the whole community. Festivals in honour of the cities' gods consisted of processions, when images of the gods were carried and hymns were sung. Festivities could last for a week or more and could include athletic contests and drama.[10] These 'holy days' provided pleasurable alternatives to the routines of daily life.[11] 'Cults of the Emperor flourished in the cities' and took various forms, linking the Emperor in different ways 'with the gods and their ceremonies'.[12] Gods were honoured too, with statues and dedicatory inscriptions. Public demonstration was not the only way in which the gods were acknowledged. Voluntary associations had their own patron deities.[13] Members met to share

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[4] Lane Fox, 27.
[5] Rives, 92. See also A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World* ed. Z. Stewart (2 vols; Oxford, Clarendon Press 1972) 1.43.
[6] Rives, 92-97.
[7] ibid., 97.
[8] ibid., 90,92; Lane Fox, 41.
[9] Rives, 108.
[10] Lane Fox, 67-68.
[11] Rives, 112.
[12] Lane Fox, 40.
[13] Rives, 122-124.

a meal and to honour their god by offering a libation or sacrifice.[14] Households, too, had their own altars where the head of the family could perform 'sacrifices on behalf of the household'; and at the hearth the Greeks honoured Hestia, the Romans, Vesta.[15]

In concluding this introduction we point out that so far no references have been made to Jewish communities and Christian groups which existed near their pagan neighbours. These will be mentioned when it is appropriate to do so. We also note the use of ὕψιστος to demonstrate the supremacy of one god above others. In many places in the OT, and especially in the Psalms, this word is used to describe the God of Israel. It is also used in the NT and in the Pseudepigrapha.[16] Roberts, Skeat and Nock mention that as early as the first half of the second century BCE two votive inscriptions were carved for Zeus Hypsistos in Edessa, the ancient capital of Macedonia.[17] This acknowledgement of Zeus as the highest god in these inscriptions reflects a general trend towards monotheism in Greek paganism. In the article mentioned above, the authors point out that 'as national and royal god' in Macedonia, Zeus may also be a mountain god.[18] As several areas of Asia Minor were at times under Macedonian rule--'Caria had its period of Macedonian rule; Stratonicea, Thyatira and Philadelphia in Lydia were Macedonian colonies, and Samaria received a Macedonian settlement'--it is not surprising that we find dedications to Zeus ὕψιστος in some of these places.[19] With this background in mind we now consider the inscriptions in the Carian area.

1. The ἄγγελος at Stratonicea in Caria

The second century CE[20] dedications involving *angeloi* from Caria are of special interest in our search to find any evidence of borrowings from Jewish or Christian sources. For many years there has been a fascination with these inscriptions as scholars have attempted to identify or trace the source of the divine being who appears there. As Zeus is mentioned in two of the four inscriptions, there is little doubt that these are pagan. These four[21] inscriptions printed below follow the most recent edition in *I.Stratonikeia* but none are

[14] ibid., 127.
[15] ibid., 118.
[16] LXX Pss. 7:18; 9:3; 49:14; 90:1; Dan. 4.24; I Enoch 9:3; 10:1; 77:2; 2 Baruch 13:8; 24:2; Mark 5:7; Luke 8:28; Acts 7:48; 16:17.
[17] C. Roberts, T. Skeat, A. Nock, 'The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos,' *HTR* 29 (1936) 60-61.
[18] ibid., 61.
[19] ibid., 62.
[20] A.R.R. Sheppard, 'Pagan Cults of Angels in Roman Asia Minor,' *Talanta* 12/13 (1980/81) 77-100, at 85.
[21] We omit other items discussed by Sheppard in the same context as they do not include mention of an *angelos*, even though he associates those other texts with them for his purpose.

dated there. The form of no. b is not indicated; the other three are *bomoi*. One of the uncertainties about these dedications is their provenance: are they from the city proper, or from a rural part of its territory?

a. Stratonicea; *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1.1117 (text supersedes Sheppard, 78 no. 2)

Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ
καὶ Θείῳ Ἀγ-
γέλῳ Νέον
καὶ Εὐφροσύ-
νη ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἰδίων.

'To Zeus *hypsistos* and to Divine Angelos, Neon and Euphrosyne [dedicated this] on behalf of their own family.'

b. Stratonicea; *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1.1118 (text supersedes Sheppard, 78 no. 1)

Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ
Ἀγαθῷ Ἀνγέλῳ
Κλαύδιος Ἀχιλ-
λεὺς καὶ Γαλατ[ί]-
α ὑπὲρ σωτηρί[ας]
μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων
πάντων χαριστ[ή]-
ριον.

'To Zeus *hypsistos* and to Agathos Angelos, Claudius Achilles and Galatia with all their family [provide] a thank offering for their preservation.'

c. Stratonicea; *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1.1119 (text supersedes Sheppard, 78 no. 3)

Θείῳ Ἀγγε-

λικῷ εὐχα-
ριστοῦμεν
4 ὑπὲρ σωτη-
ρίας.

'We give thanks to the Angelic Divine being for our preservation.'

d. Stratonicea; *I.Stratonikeia* 2.1.1120 (text supersedes Sheppard, 78 no. 4)

Θείῳ Ἀν-
2 γελικῷ
εὐχαρι-
4 στοῦμεν.

'We give thanks to the Angelic Divine being.'

Nos. a. and b. state that an ἄγγελος is honoured along with Zeus. In inscriptions c. and d. honour is given to a single divine being to which the epithet *angelikos* is attached; and there is no mention of Zeus. The word *theion/theios* appears in a, c, and d. In the first of these, it must be an adjective, as also is *agathos*, to go with *angelos*, but in c. and d. it is a noun qualified by the epithet *angelikos*. Even though the translations of these inscriptions will therefore vary slightly,[22] the variant wording amounts to the same thing: that an *angelos* is being envisaged as possessing divine properties. As these inscriptions are all located in Stratonicea the probability is that the reference is to the same divine angelic being. In our search to see if it has any intercultural connections with Jewish or Christian angels we next consider what others have said about it.

F. Sokolowski, taking θείῳ as a dative form of the neuter noun τὸ θεῖον sees two gods present, Zeus and another with angelic power: Theion (*sic*) Angelos (no. a.), Agathos Angelos (no. b.), and Theion Angelicon (nos. c., d.).[23] He identifies this god in the following way.

> I believe that the dedications found in the region of Stratonicea–Lagina were offered to the great divinities of the region, namely Zeus and Hecate.[24]

In defending this statement Sokolowski points out that Hecate is at times identified with

[22] Cf. C. Arnold, *The Colossian Syncretism* (repr. Grand Rapids, Baker Books, 1996) 71.
[23] F. Sokolowski, 'Sur le culte d'Angelos dans le paganisme grec et romain,' *HTR* 53 (1960) 225-29.
[24] ibid., 226.

Artemis and that Artemis had the epithet ἄγγελος at Syracuse, Samos and Didyma.[25] He mentions the imperial-period epigraphical accounts of the treasurers of the sanctuary at Didyma which state that 'they have constructed τὸν περίβολον τῆς Ἀγγέλου (*I.Didyma* 2.405.9-11).' This statement with other evidence had already been accepted as proof by H. Rehm that Artemis-Hecate was given the name ἄγγελος.[26] Certainly, a female *angelos* is in view, at least. Sokolowski also observes that 'imprecatory inscriptions often mention ἄγγελοι καταχθόνιοι, and that other texts inform us that this terminology is attributed to Hermes and Hecate.'[27]

L. Robert also considers the second divine power to be a god called Theion. He says,

> It is certain that at Stratonicea of Caria, one had the dedications to Theion, either alone, or with Zeus, which evidently all came from the same sanctuary.[28]

He quotes several inscriptions in support of his claim, including our nos. a., c. and d. above, plus two further items from Stratonicea in which Theion is mentioned but without explicit reference to any angelic attributes.[29]

e. Stratonicea; *I. Stratonikeia* 2.1.1110

[Διὶ]
Ὑψίστῳ καὶ
Θείῳ Φρό-
νιμος καὶ
Πειθὼ {κα[ὶ]}
ὑπὲρ τῶν [ἰ-]
δίων χαρι-
στήριον.

'To Zeus Most High and Theion, Phronimos and Peitho [provide] a thanksgiving on behalf of their own [family].'

[25] ibid., 227.
[26] ibid.
[27] ibid., 228.
[28] L. Robert, 'Reliefs votifs et cultes d'Anatolie', repr. in *Opera Minora Selecta* vol. 1, (Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1969) 404-35, at 414.
[29] ibid.

f. Stratonicea; *I. Stratonikeia* 2.1.814

[Δ]ιὶ Ὑψίστ[ῳ]
καὶ Θείῳ Εὐ-
τύχης καὶ Σ[υν-]
φιλοῦσα, Ἀν-
δρέας, Ἀν-
τίοχος ὑ-
πὲρ ἑαυτῶν
καὶ τῶν ἰδί-
ων χαριστή-
ριον.

'To Zeus Most High and Theion, Eutyches and Synphilousa, Andre-as, [and?] Antiochus [provide] a thanksgiving on behalf of themselves and their own [family].'

Robert adds this further comment:

> In the dedications at Stratonicea one will see then, … beside a God Most High, there is a divine being who serves as an intermediary, and who could be more or less his emanation.[30]

From this statement, we deduce that Robert regards the *angelos/theion angelikon* as a divine intermediary.

Sheppard takes θεῖον as a neuter noun in the dative form and translates it as 'Divinity' in inscriptions c. and d. above (= his nos. 3, 4), as well as in two other texts (his nos. 5 and 6) which we have not included as they do not mention *angeloi;*[31] yet he considers that all six inscriptions 'certainly' refer to the same being.[32] In his opinion the source of this being and others to whom we shall refer later, is to be found in 'the Hellenistic Jewish communities in the area'. From these communities 'some terms were borrowed and used in the inscriptions by pagans without any real understanding of their original monotheistic background'.[33] He therefore rejects a suggestion by F. Cumont of Syrian pagan influence, and points out that

[30] ibid., 417.
[31] Sheppard, 78-79, 86.
[32] ibid., 79.
[33] ibid., 77.

there is no evidence of a substantial Syrian presence in the area.[34] He disagrees with Sokolowski's theory that the divine being is Hecate,[35] and is unconvinced by his statements that Artemis-Hecate is at times referred to as an ἄγγελος, maintaining that ἄγγελος is a very rare title for Artemis-Hecate.[36]

Sheppard points out that the Magi, a group 'who claimed spiritual descent from the priesthood of the Persian period' was active in Lydia at Hierocaesarea and Hypaepa[37] but dismisses this group as a possible source of influence, noting that the Hellenistic Magi (as far as can be judged) thought of angels in specific groups or in hosts.[38] This would leave the Hellenistic Jews of the area as the most likely group from whom the pagans borrowed the divine being who appears in the inscriptions.[39] But Sheppard also considers that the language in Philo and in Christian authors influenced by him may have been a source from which the Stratonicean cult drew some of its 'language and theology'.[40] As evidence of this, he reminds us that a feature of the cult 'is the identification of the angel with a neuter ''Divinity.'''[41] Sheppard then points to Philo's words in his account of the story of Balaam and the angel in the OT, in which Balaam refers to the angel as divinity (τὸ θεῖον).[42]

In our opinion Sheppard's arguments are unconvincing. From our research into the divine being in the pagan inscriptions in Stratonicea we conclude that it is unlikely that it has any inter-connections with Jewish or Christian angels. We suggest that this being is probably Hecate for the following reasons. First, we understand from Nilsson's observations that Hecate was an indigenous god of Caria and that she was adopted by the Greeks as 'early as the early archaic age.'[43] Nilsson says:

> That Hecate originated in Caria is proved by the fact that proper names compounded with her name are very frequent in this district and rare or absent elsewhere.[44]

Secondly, there was a sanctuary for Hecate at Lagina, where she received cult in the

[34] ibid., 80.
[35] ibid., 79.
[36] ibid., 79.
[37] ibid., 80-81.
[38] ibid., 82.
[39] ibid., 82. Sheppard mentions that organised Jewish communities existed in Caria at Myndus and Hyllarima.
[40] ibid., 83-84. He mentions (85) a Christian community at Tralles and a church in Magnesia-on-Maeander.
[41] ibid., 84.
[42] ibid., 84. The reference is to LXX Numb. 24.13.
[43] M.P. Nilsson, *Greek Folk Religion* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1961) 90.
[44] ibid., 90.

Hellenistic and Roman periods. Lane Fox describes the care of the trees around her shrine which was undertaken by eunuchs and public slaves.[45]

Thirdly, a century later than the dedications under discussion, Hecate is still acknowledged as a powerful goddess in Stratonicea. A third century CE decree which stood in the council chamber of that city stated that:

> the statues of Zeus and Hecate, in this same council chamber, are said to "perform good deeds of divine power," for which all the people sacrifice and burn incense and pray and give thanks.[46]

Hecate then is seen not only as a powerful goddess but as one honoured over many centuries. But if it is she who is the unnamed divine being why is she described as ἄγγελος or as a god with angelic attributes? We have seen that, according to Sokolowski, she is on occasions called ἄγγελος. There is also another reason why she may be called ἄγγελος. In his paper which is largely concerned with the High God in Greek paganism,[47] Nilsson mentions the Stratonicean inscriptions including the dedication which is our no. a. above, Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ θείῳ ἀγγέλῳ, which he translates as offered to 'the Most High Zeus and the Messenger Deity'. He adds, 'Messenger is a fitting name for a Deity who is a Mediator between the High God and man.'[48] In concluding his remarks on the Stratonicean inscriptions, Nilsson refers to St Paul's missionary travels and says, 'Christianity took an earlier and firmer foothold in Asia Minor than elsewhere. Christian influence cannot be excluded.' In our opinion, this comment is too speculative to carry any weight.

Hesiod, *Theogony* 411-52 describes Hecate as honoured by Zeus with gifts, and also describes her dealings with humankind. She assists individuals in numerous activities and hears the prayers of those at sea. In *Homeric Hymn* 2. *To Demeter* she is shown as sympathetic to Demeter (51–58) embracing Persephone when she is united with her mother and becomes her attendant and servant (438-40). Most suggests that Hecate's name may be derived from ἔκητι 'by the will of.' Expounding on this, Most says that '… Hecate could seem by her very name to function as an intermediary between men and any god from whom they sought favour.'[49]

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[45] Lane Fox, 44.
[46] Quoted in ibid., 135.
[47] M. P. Nilsson, 'The High God and the mediator,' *HTR* 56 (1963) 101.
[48] ibid., 116.
[49] G. Most, *Hesiod, Theogony Works and Days Testimonia*, xxx n. 11.

2. Ἄγγελοι at Kidrama in Caria

L. Robert, *La Carie*, 366 no. 191, frag. A; repr. in Sheppard, 86-87 no. 7

A fragmentary curse text probably on a funerary monument from Caria includes some striking wording:

… πάθο-
2 [ι]τε ὑπὸ τῶν πυ-
[ρὸς] ἀνγέλω[ν …
'… may you suffer at the hands of the angels of fire ...'

Many of these imprecations were found in Asia Minor in the Imperial period of the first and second centuries CE.[50] Jewish inscriptions of similar kind appear in Acmonia in Phrygia.[51]

Is the fragment quoted above from a Jewish or a pagan inscription? Sheppard considers it is pagan, with religious language borrowed from the Jews like the Stratonicean inscriptions.[52] He suggests two references from Jewish literature as possible sources, from which pagans may have borrowed. These are Jubilees 2:2 and 2 Enoch 29:1–3.[53] Both are accounts of God's creation of 'angels of fire', but neither reference describes any punitive action by these angels. In 1 Enoch 54:1–6 (dated between II BCE and I CE), Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel take on punitive roles, and on the Day of Judgement will cast Azaz'el and his armies into the furnace.[54] In the Apocalypse of Zephaniah 4:1–7 (dated between I BCE and I CE), 'myriads and myriads of angels with fiery scourges cast the souls of the ungodly men into their eternal punishment.'[55]

If the fragment is Jewish, then the concept of angels of fire as destructive agents may have come from pseudepigraphical sources.

3. The ἄγγελος at Didyma

We mentioned earlier, a reference to the construction of the *peribolos* of the Angel at

[50] J.H.M. Strubbe 'Cursed be he that moves my bones,' in *Magika Hiera, Ancient Greek Magic and Religion.* eds. CA Faraone, D. Obbink (New York, Oxford University Press, 1991) 38-39.
[51] P. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor.* (Cambridge, CUP, 1991), 69–70, 74–77.
[52] Sheppard, 86.
[53] ibid., 86 and n. 47.
[54] On the date see *OTP*. I:5.
[55] On the date see *OTP*. I:497.

the Temple of Apollo at Didyma in Ionia. The inscription below, possibly from the first century CE,[56] extols the good deeds of the benefactors who were responsible for the construction of the enclosure and other works.

ταμίαι πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς Ἀντίγονος
Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ἀντίγονος
Ἀντιγόνου παρήδρευσαν τῷ θεῷ δι'
ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εὐσεβῶς, τοῖς δὲ
ἀνθρώποις εὐαρέστως, ποιήσαντες
παραπράσεις πάντων διηνεκῶς·
οἰκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ τὸν περίβολον
τῆς Ἀγγέλου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ
ἀνέθηκαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι βωμόν·
λιπόντος δὲ ὕδατος τῷ τόπῳ ἤντλησαν
τὰ καινὰ … φρέατα.[57]

'Stewards, father and son, Antigonos son of Apollonius, and Antigonos, son of Antigonos, attended the god through the whole year reverently, and men in a pleasing manner; they regularly made sales of everything below cost price. And they also built the enclosure of the Angel at their own expense, and dedicated an altar to Apollo. And as water was scarce in the place, they excavated new wells.'

What is of interest to our study in this inscription is the ἄγγελος. The feminine article with the masculine form of ἄγγελος is probably not an error on the part of the engraver. Instead, it appears to denote a female of distinction, perhaps a goddess with messenger or mediatorial functions who could be called ἄγγελος. We pointed out earlier that the ἄγγελος in the Stratonicean inscriptions is most likely to be Hecate, and that Rehm commenting on the ἄγγελος in this inscription at Didyma, considers the reference to be to Artemis-Hecate. In support of a close relationship between Artemis and Hecate Fontenrose says, 'Hecate and

[56] J. Fontenrose, *Didyma. Apollo's oracle, cult and companions* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988) 159.
[57] Arnold, 77.

Artemis were often identified; they were either originally the same goddess or closely related;'[58] but he disagrees with the idea that the ἄγγελος at Didyma is Hecate.[59] In his opinion, had this been so, the name of the Angel would have been mentioned by the two Antigoni.[60]

Whatever the significance of the ἄγγελος in this first century CE inscription, whether the word refers to a particular goddess or not, there can be no question of Jewish or Christian influence behind its use. The ancient oracle of Zeus at Didyma, possibly with sixth century BCE origins,[61] was flourishing still in the second and third centuries CE when those who came with questions could find accommodation in the housing provided, while they waited for the god's response.[62]

4. *Angelos* in two confession inscriptions from Lydia

a. Petzl, *Beichtinschriften* no. 3 (Köleköy in the territory of Saittai, in Lydia, 164/5 CE); E. Lane, *CMRDM* 1 (1971) 45-46 no. 69; Sheppard, 92-94 no. 10; *TAM* 5.1.159; *New Docs* 3.28 no. 6; *New Docs* 5.73

Μέγας Μεὶς Ἀξιοττηνὸς Ταρσι βα-
σιλεύων. ἐπεὶ ἐπεστάθη σκῆ-
πτρον, εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου τι
κλέψι - κλαπέντος οὖν εἱματίου
ὁ θεὸς ἐνεμέσησε τὸν κλέπτην
καὶ ἐπόησε μετὰ χρόνον τὸ εἱμά-
τιον ἐνενκῖν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἐ-
ξωμολογήσατο. ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἐκέλευ-
σε δι' ἀνγέλου πραθῆναι τὸ εἱμά-
τιν καὶ στηλλογραφῆσαι τὰς δυ-
νάμεις. ἔτους σμθ΄.

'Great is Men Axiottenos who rules as king at Tarsi! When a sceptre was set in

[58] Fontenrose, 134.
[59] ibid., 159. See also Arnold, 77, who says that 'a number of scholars have identified this "angel" with Hecate.'
[60] Fontenrose, 159.
[61] ibid., 8.
[62] Lane Fox, 182-183.

place in case anyone stole anything from the bathhouse, after a cloak was stolen the god took vengeance on the thief and made him bring the cloak to the god after some time, and he confessed (what he had done). So the god gave instructions through an *angelos* that the cloak be sold, and that his powers be recorded on a stele. Year 249.'

This is a very typical instance of a confession inscription, a type of text whose geographical spread is confined quite locally to non-urban areas of western Asia Minor in the Roman Imperial period. The local people rely on the gods for justice as they have no other recourse; so when a perpetrator of a wrong act is found out, the god's achievement in exposing the wrongdoer is advertised. Who the *angelos* was, or how he was manifested is left quite unclear in this text: perhaps an appearance to someone in a dream?

b. Petzl, *Beichtinschriften* no. 38 (provenance unknown, probably in Lydia, perhaps from a shrine, perhaps III CE); E. Varinlioğlou, *EA* 18 (1991) 92-93 no. 2

ἠρώτησαν Χρυσέρως κὲ
Στρατόνεικος ἐξ εἰδό-
των καὶ μὴ εἰδότων τοὺ-
ς πατρίους θεοὺς καθὼς
ἡμῖν ἐδηλώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀν-
γέλου τοῦ θεοῦ Μηνὸς Πε-
τραείτου Ἀξετηνοῦ· εὐ-
χαριστῶ οὖν Ἀμμιας ὑπ-
ὲρ Διονυσιάδος, καὶ ἐθήκομ-
εν * ἑκατὸν καθὼς ἐπε-
ζήτησαν οἱ πάτριοι θεοί.

'Chryseros and Stratonicus asked the ancestral gods (regarding the guilt) of those they know and those they do not know, just as it was revealed to us by the *angelos* of the god Men Petraeites Axetenos; therefore I Ammias give thanks on behalf of Dionysias, and we have provided one hundred denarii just as the ancestral gods sought.'

As with the other confession inscription just quoted (4a), this one is quite oblique. Two women responded with a payment to the local cult of Men because they had done something

wrong to the two men. The men sought help from the gods to identify the persons, whether known or unknown to them, who were responsible; and an *angelos* of Men provided the answer.

In both these inscriptions Men, as an Iranian god in origin who was adopted widely in Asia Minor, uses an *angelos* to carry out his purposes. According to Mitchell, an inscription from the same area (unpublished at the time his book was being prepared, but possibly our text (b) above) confirms that the *angelos* in text (a) above (to which he alludes) was a divine being, not a human messenger.[63] It is not to be ruled out that the two *angeloi* in the inscriptions quoted may have been gods of lower status than Men; but this is not confirmed explicitly in these two texts. It is highly unlikely that there was any borrowing of the *angelos* here under Jewish or Christian influence. So, whatever their exact status may have been perceived to be by those who paid attention to them in the rural village setting, we conclude that these two inscriptions are decisive evidence for the existence of pagan angels.

5. Ἄγγελοι at Kalecık in Galatia: pagan or Jewish?

S. Mitchell, *I.North Galatia* 209b; Sheppard 94-99 no. 11 (Kalecık in Galatia, NE of Ankara, late II or III CE, as indicated by the letter forms)[64]

τῷ μεγάλῳ
θεῷ ὑψίστῳ καὶ
ἐπουρανίῳ καὶ
4 τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ
ἀνγέλοις καὶ τῇ
προσκυνητῇ αὐ-
τοῦ προσευχῇ τὰ
8 ὧδε ἔργα γείνεται [65]
…
'For the great God Most High and in heaven, and for his holy angels
and for his respected house of prayer, the works here are set forth …'

This incomplete inscription tells us nothing about the nature of the works or why they have

[63] S. Mitchell, *Anatolia, Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor* (2 vols; New York, OUP, 1995) 2.46.
[64] Sheppard, 94.
[65] ibid., 94.

been set in place. Sheppard mentions a number of reasons which lead him to suggest that the inscription is either pagan with 'some borrowing from Judaism'[66] or as 'Jewish but heterodox.'[67] We mention some of these. Sheppard notes that the use of the article with Θεὸς Ὕψιστος is uncommon 'in inscribed dedications', but that it does occur in the LXX;[68] but this observation does not take us far. He points out, too, that the 'combination of epithets' with Θεὸς Ὕψιστος is also unusual, i.e. μέγας and ἐπουράνιος, the latter word being 'very rare' as a divine epithet.[69] He finds that, while the expression 'holy angels' is 'not a feature of the LXX or Philonic usage,'[70] προσευχή indicating 'a place for prayer' is only found in what he calls Jewish Greek.[71] In our opinion, the inscription is Jewish, for the following reasons:

First, as Sheppard has indicated, the article with Θεὸς Ὕψιστος is found in some places in the LXX. It appears in Genesis, in Ps. 77 and Daniel.[72]

Secondly, although the combination of epithets describing Θεὸς Ὕψιστος may be unusual, the God/Lord of the Jews is at times referred to as μέγας in the LXX;[73] and while ἐπουράνιος may be a rare word to describe him, in the LXX he is at times mentioned as ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,[74] in Deut. 4:39 as ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ and in Josh. 2:11 as ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄνω.

The reference to 'holy angels' also can indicate a Jewish context. Although the epithet *hagios* used of angels is not common, it appears in one apocryphal book of the LXX and in Jewish pseudepigraphical writing: Tobit 11:14, and 12:15; in I Enoch, there are several references to single angels who are part of a group of holy angels.[75]

The word προσευχή, as Sheppard has mentioned, also is consistent with a Jewish milieu. It is used in Acts 16:13 and 16 meaning 'a place of or for prayer.' The dedication is not only to Θεὸς Ὕψιστος but also to his holy angels. We do not know why the angels are included in the dedication. The teaching in some Jewish literature is that worship or praise is to be directed to God alone.[76] Even so, we consider that this inscription is Jewish, not pagan; perhaps a distinctive or eccentric expression of Jewish belief.

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[66] ibid., 96.
[67] ibid., 97.
[68] ibid., 94.
[69] ibid., 94, 96.
[70] ibid., 96.
[71] ibid., 96.
[72] Genesis 14:18, 19, 20, 22; Ps. 77:56; Dan. 2:18, 19.
[73] I Chron. 16.25; Ps. 47:2; 76:14; 95:4; 146:5.
[74] III Kings 8:32, 34, 36, 45, 49; Ps. 13:2; 52:3.
[75] *OTP* 1. I Enoch. 20:1-7; 21:5,9; 22:3; 23:4; 24:6; 32:6; See also 71:9.
[76] Exod. 20:3; Judges 13:15-16; Tobit 12:6,15-18; Apocalypse of Zephaniah 6:11-15.

6. Ἄγγελοι at Oenoanda

L. Robert, *CRAI* (1971) 597-619; A.S. Hall, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 263-68; Horsley, *New Docs* 2 (1981) 39 (with further bibliography), a verse inscription from Oenoanda in Lycia dated late II or III CE.

[α]ὐτοφυής, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος,
οὔνομα μὴ χωρῶν, πολυώνυμος, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων·
τοῦτο θεός, μεικρὰ δὲ θεοῦ μερὶς ἄνγελοι ἡμεῖς.
τοῦτο πευθομένοισι θεοῦ πέρι ὅστις ὑπάρχει,
Αἰ[θ]έ[ρ]α πανδερκ[ῆ θε]ὸν ἔννεπεν, εἰς ὃν ὁρῶντας
εὔχεσθ' ἠῴους πρὸς ἀντολίην ἐσορῶ[ν]τα[ς].

'Self-existent, untaught, motherless, unshaken, although not spreading abroad its name, (yet) with many names, dwelling in fire: this is God, and we angels are a small portion of God. To those making this enquiry about God, who he is, [the oracle] said that, 'God is all-seeing Ether, to whom looking, pray at dawn, as you look towards the east.'

This text mentions pagan angels and records the answer given by Apollo of Klaros in response to an enquirer's question. The inscription has attracted considerable comment, chiefly because of the philosophical question asked and the god's reply to it. The words appear on the outline of an altar shaped in the walls of the city.[77] According to Hall, the altar was carved at the point 'where the rising sun first touches the city when it has climbed above the rim of the mountains which ring the Seki valley.'[78] Facing this direction, the enquirer is instructed to pray at dawn.

The question 'What is God?' reflects the enquirer's recognition that one God, who is unnamed, is supreme above all the other gods of the pantheon, and the question also reflects the increasing acceptance in general of monotheism. Of interest to us is the way Apollo describes himself and the other gods in relation to the Supreme God. He and they (ἄνγελοι ἡμεῖς) are μεικρὰ δὲ θεοῦ μερίς. The word μερίς translated as 'portion' informs the enquirer that these lesser gods are of the same substance as the supreme God, but as his ἄγγελοι are

[77] Lane Fox, 169.

[78] A.S. Hall, 'The Klarian oracle at Oenoanda,' *ZPE* 32 (1978) 265. Repr. with discussion in *New Docs* 2 (1982) 39; cf. Arnold, 78-79.

subservient.

Commenting on the oracle L. Robert says,

> Finally, this is a main statement, that the gods, the ordinary gods, and first Apollo, are a part of God, that they are emanations of him, a little part (μικρὰ μερίς), the messengers, the intermediaries, the angels …
> The term 'Angels' is significant. In all the religions of the time, the angels play a role, a great role, with the Jews, with the Christians, in paganism.[79]

In this inscription, there is no suggestion of any borrowings of angels from the Jews or Christians; but the description of the gods who are also messengers, as a 'portion' of a supreme God, raises two questions for us. Do we find any similar statements about angels in the Bible? No. Are they a 'small portion' of the God of the Jews and Christians? No: the difference is that these pagan angels are perceived as gods, while the angels of the OT and the NT are not. Although the Angel of the Lord appears at times to be indistinguishable from God himself,[80] the Bible does not consider the question of the substance of angels. A statement in Jubilees records that the divine ἄγγελοι are part of God's creation. In 2.2 we read that 'on the first day he created the heavens … the earth, and the waters and all of the spirits which minister before him.'

7. Ἄγγελοι and the cult of Holy and Just

In support of his argument that pagans borrowed some of their terms from 'the Hellenistic Jewish communities of the area,'[81] Sheppard introduces two inscriptions from the Holy and Just cult which, he suggests, provide evidence of 'borrowing'. What is known of the cult comes only from epigraphical evidence.[82]

The home of these gods was Phrygia, but they are also found in Lydia and other places. The cults of Zeus, of the Mother Goddesses, of Men, and of 'the several champions of divine justice and vengeance' each had their own followers.[83]

The prominence of the Holy and Just cult in parts of Anatolia is described by S. Mitchell in

[79] L. Robert, 'Un oracle gravé à Oinoanda,' *CRAI* (1971) 613.
[80] Gen. 16: 7-14; 22:11-18., Ex. 3:2-6.
[81] Sheppard. op. cit., 77.
[82] M. Ricl, 'HOSIOS KAI DIKAIOS. 1. Catalogue des inscriptions; 2. Analyse,' *Epig.Anat.* 18 (1991) 1-70; 19 (1992) 71-103. Further examples in Horsley, *I.BurdurMus* (BIAA Monograph 34; London, 2007) 62.
[83] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 2.19.

this way:

> The gods, Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος, or the abstracted divine beings of Justice and Holiness, Ὅσιον καὶ Δίκαιον, including a female counterpart Ὁσία, appear throughout Phrygia and the neighbouring parts of central Anatolia, usually in rural contexts. The principal deity of Phrygian Prymnessus was the goddess of Justice, *Dikaiosyne*, …[84]

Holy and Just and the other cults reflect the 'pre-occupation' of the Phrygians with morality based on justice, proper conduct, piety to, and respect for, the gods, and a 'fear of divine vengeance.'[85]

Mitchell says of these gods that

> There is no evidence that any of these cults was introduced to Anatolia from elsewhere, and it is an economical and convincing hypothesis that they make up the central core [of the religious culture] of the indigenous Anatolian population, whose traditions reach far back into the prehistoric period.[86]

Before discussing the two inscriptions mentioned above, and bearing in mind Sheppard's suggestion that some terms were borrowed by pagans from the Jews, we consider the locations of Jewish communities in Phrygia and Lydia.

The early settlement of Jews in these places is attested in Josephus. A letter by Antiochus III (*Ant*. 12. 147-153) when he was present in the east between 212 and 205/4 BCE, to Zeuxis, governor of Lydia, instructs him to remove 2000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylon to Phrygia to ensure peace in the area.[87] In a decree issued in 50/49 BCE (*Ant*. 14.235) the magistrates, senate and people of Sardis are advised by Lucius Antonius, proquaestor of Asia, that he has granted certain requests made by the Jews. Following this, a decree by the senate and people of Sardis (*Ant*. 14.259-261) guaranteed particular rights to the Jews, without interference. By 270 CE the Jews at Sardis had a synagogue which was used until its destruction in 616 CE.[88] Trebilco refers to a Jewish inscription in the synagogue dated after 270 CE, a date indicated by coins found beneath it, whose donor was both a citizen and city-councillor of Sardis. He mentions that other members of the Jewish

[84] ibid., 1.191.
[85] ibid., 189–191.
[86] ibid., 2. 19.
[87] See Trebilco, 5-6.
[88] Trebilco, 40-43.

community were citizens and that a further eight Jews had the title of βουλευτής.[89] In Phrygia by mid-first century BCE, some of the largest groups of Jews had settled in 'cities which belonged to the assize districts of Amarea'.[90] In Acmonia the Jews had a synagogue built in the first century CE by Julia Severa, which in the same century underwent some restoration.[91] In the city there was 'a Jewish quarter near to one of the gates'.[92] Jews were present also in Eumenea, but in smaller numbers.[93]

Returning now to the epigraphical evidence that Holy and Just were honoured as gods, we find them attested in a variety of texts.

Five inscriptions now in the Burdur Museum provide evidence that Holy and Just were worshipped as gods.

a. Dedication (*IBurdurMus* 92) at Hadrianoi, II or early III CE

Ὁσίῳ κ<<α>>ὶ Δικ-
αί{δ}ῳ Νουδε-
ις ἀνέθεν<τ>ο ε-
4 (*vac.*) ὐχήν (*leaf*)
'To Holy and Just, Noudeis set up a vow.'

b. Dedication (*IBurdurMus* 19) from Pisidia, II CE

This damaged inscription has three relief registers, but indicates that Holy and Just are sometimes worshipped with other gods. In the top is a rider on horseback who is almost certainly Apollo, and below are two figures showing head, shoulders and chest, each with the right hand extended across the chest. In the third relief at the base are two dogs facing each other.[94] Horsley suggests that a restoration of the text (which is split between the left and right edges of the stone) might be as follows:

[89] ibid., 46.
[90] Mitchell, 2.33.
[91] Trebilco, 59.
[92] Mitchell, 2. 35.
[93] ibid., 35.
[94] ibid., 23.

	Left edge		Right edge
			[καὶ]
	[- -]	8	Ὁc[ί-]
	.H		ῳ
2	Ἀ-	10	κα-
	[π]ό-		ὶ Δι-
4	λλ-	12	κα-
	ω-		ίῳ
6	νι	14	εὐ-
	(*vac.*)		χή-
		16	ν

N. (fulfilled) his vow to Apollo (and) to Hosios and Dikaios.

c. Holy and Just as one or as two gods

Explaining the appearance of Holy and Just in some inscriptions as a single god, and in others as two gods, M. Ricl compares them with Nemesis. Since Nemesis appears in inscriptions in Smyrna as two identical goddesses, but on municipal coins as a single Nemesis, so Holy and Just are depicted as one god in 'a little group of sanctuaries' and as two gods in other places.[95]

d. Holy and Just as ἄγγελος / ἄγγελοι.

The two inscriptions below are considered by Sheppard to contain language which is 'strongly reminiscent of Judaism'.[96] We follow the order in which Sheppard (1980/1) introduces them (his no. 8, and no. 9) but use Ricl's texts.

(i) The first inscription, Ricl, 'Catalogue' no. 48 (superseding Sheppard's text no. 8), from Yaylababa Köyü in Phrygia, is fragmentary, carved on white limestone.

Φιλανγέλων cυνβί-
ωcιc Ὁcίῳ Δικέῳ εὐ-
χήν.

[95] Ricl, (1992) 94-95.
[96] Sheppard, 91.

4 Αὐρ(ήλιος) …….. Y [97]

'The association of lovers of angels [made] a vow to Holy Just. Aur(elius) ... '

In the triangular pediment decorated with acroteria is a bust with a solar crown. Below on the stele between two columns are Holy and Just, 'holding respectively scales and a baton.'[98] This inscription conveys the impression that Holy and Just are angels or a single angel. This is also the opinion of Ricl who asks 'whether this association directed itself solely to Holy and Just', or if … 'its activities included some other *angels* of pagan cults'[99] In a further comment on this inscription Ricl says that in Phrygia Holy and Just 'rarely have a defined status'.

> Without the monuments no. 48 (above) and 53, we would not know that, as in Maeonia, they were considered as angels in the sanctuary of Yaylababa Köyü.[100]

(ii) The second inscription, is Ricl, 'Catalogue,' no. 1 (superseding text in Sheppard (1980/1) no. 9, derived from *TAM* 5.1.185), from the village of Temrek, SW of Saittae in Maeonia in NE Lydia; II-III CE. Altar of white marble damaged on all sides.

[ἡ - -]νῶν κα[τ]οικία
[……] καὶ Ἀνγέλῳ Ὁσίῳ
[Δικ]αίῳ εὐχαριστοῦντε[c]
4 [ἀν]έστηcαν διὰ προφήτο[υ]
[Ἀ]λεξάνδρου Cαϊττηνο[ῦ].

'The community of …neis(?), giving thanks to … and to *Angelos* Holy [and?]
Just set this up, through the prophet Alexander of Saittae.'

Ricl considers that this inscription is probably unique, in that it is the only one known to her in which a community makes a dedication. All others are by private dedicants. She also points out that it is the only inscription which mentions a prophet.[101] In defending his argument that pagans borrowed some terms from 'the Hellenistic Jewish communities'[102] and noting the association of angels with the Holy and Just cult, Sheppard points out that on

[97] Ricl (1991) 25. Ricl explains in 24 n. 10 that the cloth of Helios' garments and the two hooks on his coat give a false impression that the letters AYP have been engraved on the bust. 'This explains the mention of these letters above the principal part of the inscription' in Sheppard's text.
[98] Ricl (1991) 24-25.
[99] Ricl (1992) 90 n.85.
[100] ibid., 98.
[101] (1992) 84, 88.
[102] Sheppard, 77.

the evidence of the above inscription Holy and Just were probably seen 'as angel(s) of a higher god by some of their worshippers.'[103] This god may have been Men, who is 'found associated with Hosion-Dikaion.'[104]

As we mentioned earlier, Sheppard considers that some of the language in these inscriptions is 'strongly reminiscent of Judaism.'[105] Referring particularly to the words *hosios* and *dikaios* which occur in both these inscriptions and which are epithets of the ἄγγελος in the Lydian inscription, he notes that these are 'two of the standard attributes of God in the Septuagint.'[106] This is a doubtful basis for inferring Jewish influence on these inscriptions. In Sheppard's opinion Holy and Just are 'vaguely conceptualised' in the Anatolian cult, being referred to in texts as neuter, masculine or feminine, in singular or plural forms, or 'even in combinations of genders'. He mentions also that in the iconography Holy and Just are often associated with other Anatolian gods.[107]

As further evidence of the possibility that pagans borrowed language from the Jews Sheppard introduces a quotation by Clement of Alexandria criticising the Jews because 'They adore angels, archangels, the months, and the moon.'[108] This statement, Sheppard suggests, may have persuaded some pagans to think that 'Jews worshipped a supreme "One" god of the moon,' and then consequently 'made use of other Jewish language in their cults.'[109]

By way of a response to Sheppard's argument we make the following comments. First, Sheppard is correct when he says that Holy and Just can appear as angels of a higher god. This does not in any way alter their primary status as gods.[110] We note that in inscription d(ii) above (= no. 1 in Ricl's 'Catalogue') the thanksgiving is directed first to a deity whose name is missing, and who in view of the word order is likely to be a principal god. The idea of one god serving a higher god as messenger-mediator is not new. We have already seen that Hecate is seen as an ἄγγελος in the Stratonicean inscriptions, and also that early Greek literature has several such examples of gods serving higher gods in such roles. The god in the

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[103] ibid., 90.
[104] ibid., 92 with n. 64.
[105] ibid., 91.
[106] ibid., 91.
[107] ibid., 91.
[108] ibid., 93. See *Clement d'Alexandrie, Stromate VI*, ed. P. Descourtieux (Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1999) 145. Clement is quoting a work called the *Preaching of Peter*.
[109] Sheppard, 93.
[110] Mitchell, 1.191. See Sokolowski, 226, also A.T. Kraabel, '῾Υψιστος and the Synagogue at Sardis,' *GRBS* 10 (1969) 83.

inscription above could not be Men, but Apollo or Helios would suit the six-letter space.[111]

In pointing out that *hosios* and *dikaios* are two of the standard attributes of God in the LXX (eg LXX Deut. 32:4; Ps. 144 (145):13, 17) Sheppard is again correct; but ἅγιος is used far more frequently than ὅσιος as an epithet for God.[112] Sheppard is of course suggesting that pagans have borrowed these words from the Jews. It is more likely that, as the Greek language was increasingly adopted with the spread of Hellenism in Asia Minor, the ancient god was given Greek names appropriate to his nature and function.[113] In stating that Holy and Just are 'vaguely conceptualised' in the Anatolian cult because they are presented in texts in several varied ways, Sheppard is again seeking to add weight to his argument that these words have been borrowed from the Jews.

Yet we noted earlier that Holy and Just appear in the epigraphic material as either one or two gods and sometimes are worshipped with another god. Mitchell's description of the cult was also mentioned, in which he shows that these gods appeared in a variety of genders.[114] We see no evidence that they are 'vaguely conceptualised.'

To conclude our comments on the cult of Hosios and Dikaios we state that we have found no evidence of language borrowed from the Jews. As we have said, we consider that these deities were given Greek names which best reflected their nature and function. When they served as messengers of a higher god, they necessarily retained those attributes which describe them: 'Holy and Just.'[115] At least one of the inscriptions above explicitly uses *angelos* of them, another associates them closely with Apollo, and a third is set up by an association of *philangeloi*. These texts fortify strongly our view that we are glimpsing pagan angels here.[116]

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[111] L. Robert, 'Reliefs votifs,' 420. In his comments on the appearance in the inscription from Temrek of the term 'Angel,' Robert points out 'that the Holy and Just god is often an assistant to a great god like Apollo or Helios …'

[112] E. Hatch and H. Redpath, *A Concordance for the Septuagint* (repr. Grand Rapids, Baker Bookhouse Co. 1998) 12-15 s.v. ἅγιος; 1018 s.v. ὅσιος.

[113] G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1996) 19.

[114] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1. 191.

[115] V. Hirschmann, 'Zwischen Menschen und Gottern. Die kleinasiatischen Engel,' *Epig. Anat*. 40 (2007) 135-46, at 146, In discussing the possible origin of the cult Holy and Just and how the god could be provided with the attribute ἄγγελος, she considers that an explanation may be found in the Persian religions of Zoroastrianism or Mazdaism. This assertion falls outside the scope of the present enquiry, but we may note that her observation is too brief and speculative to be persuasive.

[116] Cf. Mitchell, 2.46, with n. 264.

8. Dioscuri as εὐαγγέλιοι

Among the inscriptions in the Burdur Archaeological Museum are several which honour the Dioscuri. The majority of these inscriptions are votive and belong to the second–third century CE.[117] The Dioscuri are often represented on steles and rock reliefs as horsemen, one on the right side and one on the left of a central female figure who is possibly Helen. Each horseman is clothed in a tunic and has a cape flying out behind.[118]

These inscriptions refer to three different attributes of these gods. In no. 31 the Dioscuri are described as ἐπήκοοι,[119] ie, those who listen or those who hear. In no. 32 they are described as εὐαγγέλιοι, givers of glad tidings, and in nos. 33 and 34 as σωτῆρες, saviours. While the epithets ἐπήκοοι and σωτῆρες can be explained, the reference to the Dioscuri as εὐαγγέλιοι is more difficult. Although the cult of the Dioscuri appears to have originated in Laconia[120] it was widespread over the ancient world, and not least in southern Anatolia where several rural sanctuaries have been found in Pisidia, Kabalia and Lykia.[121] Both Homer and Hesiod have references to these gods.

In *Iliad* 3.236-38 we learn the names of the Dioscuri, their particular skills and that they are brothers of Helen. While she is watching the armies of the Achaeans and the Trojans with Priam, from the walls of Troy, she says,

> δοιὼ δ' οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν,
> Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα,
> αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τώ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ.
> 'I cannot see two directors of the people, Castor tamer of horses, and Polydeuces
> good at boxing, my own brothers whom one mother begot.'

Leda, wife of the King of Sparta, Tyndareos is always acknowledged as the mother of Helen, the Dioscuri and Clytaemnestra, but there is some ambiguity about the father of the twin gods.

In *Odyssey* 11.298-300 when Odysseus is describing those whom he saw when he was visiting Hades, and among them the Dioscuri, he says that Tyndareos is their father:

> καὶ Λήδην εἶδον, τὴν Τυνδαρέου παράκοιτιν,

[117] *IBurdurMus* 29-34.
[118] ibid., 29-31.
[119] In fact, the stone has the singular instead of the plural needed to agree with the Dioscuri.
[120] L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and ideas of Immortality* (London, Oxford University Press, 1921) 191.
[121] *IBurdurMus* 30.

ἥ ῥ’ ὑπὸ Τυνδαρέῳ κρατερόφρονε γείνατο παῖδε,
Κάστορά θ’ ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα, ...
‘And Leda I saw, the wife of Tyndareos, who by Tandareos bore the two stout-hearted children, Castor tamer of horses, and Polydeuces good at boxing.’

The presence of these gods in Hades is explained in Pindar’s *Nemean Ode* 10.73-90. When Polydeuces, described as the son of Tyndareos (l. 73), finds Castor mortally wounded in battle, he calls to Zeus and asks to be allowed to die with his brother (ll. 75–77). Zeus then explains that he is the father of Polydeuces and Tyndareos of Castor (ll. 80–81). When Polydeuces is given the choice by Zeus of living in Olympus or spending half the time beneath the earth with Castor and half the time above with Castor, he chooses the latter (ll. 82–90).

a. Dioscuri as ἐπήκοοι and σωτῆρες

Homeric Hymn 33 describes these special functions of the Dioscuri. Called the sons of Zeus (l. 1) and Tyndarids (l. 2) we learn that Zeus is their father (l. 5) and that Leda,

σωτῆρας τέκε παῖδας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ὠκυπόρων τε νεῶν, ὅτε τε σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι
χειμέριαι κατὰ πόντον ἀμείλιχον· οἳ δ’ ἀπὸ νηῶν
εὐχόμενοι καλέουσι Διὸς κούρους μεγάλοιο
ἄρνεσσιν λευκοῖσιν, … ll. 6–10
‘… bore children, saviours of men on earth and of swift passing ships, when stormy winter winds move rapidly over a cruel sea. And the men from the ships praying, call on the sons of great Zeus with white lambs, …’

When the ship is in danger,

… οἳ δ’ ἐξαπίνης ἐφάνησαν
ξουθῆισι πτερύγεσσι δὶ αἰθέρος ἀΐξαντες,
αὐτίκα δ’ ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων κατέπαυσαν ἀέλλας,
κύματα δ’ ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν,
… ll. 12-15
‘… they suddenly appear with tawny wings, moving quickly through the air, and at once they stop the whirling of the troublesome winds, and they calm the swell of the white furrows in the sea …’

In Euripides' play *Helen*, as saviours from the perils of the sea, the Dioscuri promise that their sister Helen will have a safe passage home as she returns from Egypt to Sparta (ll. 1662-65).

b. Dioscuri as εὐαγγέλιοι

The complete text of *IBurdurMus* 32 reads:

> Διοσκόροις εὐαγγελί[οις]
> Λούκιος Πρ[είμου εὐχήν]
>
> 'To the Dioscuri, the bringers of good news, Lucius son of(?) Primus, (fulfilled) his vow.'

We mention first that this word is unusual in classical Greek usage, with LSJ recording only one entry in the singular form which is used to describe Zeus. The meaning of the word is 'giver of glad tidings.'[122] Another word, εὐαγγελιστής 'bringer of good tidings' (whence Engl. 'evangelist'), is used in the NT in singular form in Acts 21:8; 2 Tim. 4:5 and in plural form in Eph. 4:11. We have seen that the Dioscuri are gods who listen, and are saviours of men and ships when they subdue wind and water. But how do they qualify as εὐαγγέλιοι, 'givers of glad tidings,' an attribute which involves not only communication but communication which includes conveying good news?

In two tragedies by Euripides which we referred to in Chapter 3, *Helen*, mentioned above and *Electra,* the Dioscuri can be seen in this role. In *Helen*, the twin gods appear in the final scene, rebuking Theoclymenus, son of Proteus King of Egypt (ll. 1642-49) and restraining him from his intention of killing his sister (ll. 1656-57, 1680-82). Their address to their sister Helen, includes the promise of immortality after death (ll. 1666-69). In *Electra,* the Dioscuri appear at the end of the play, with Castor as the spokesperson. Addressing Orestes, he points out that Apollo's oracle which advised him to kill his mother, was not wise (ll. 1241-46). Given instructions by Castor, Orestes is promised that if he follows these, he will be found 'not guilty' at his trial, will then be released from pursuit by the Furies (ll. 1249-75), and when he has fulfilled the due requirements for murder, being free from distress, he will be happy (ll. 1290-91).

[122]LSJ, s.v. The verb εὐαγγελίζω = εὐαγγελίζομαι, 'I bring good news' is used by classical Greek writers and also by LXX and NT writers. The noun εὐαγγέλιον appears early in Greek literature at *Odyssey* 14.152, 166. For documentary examples of the word group see *New Docs* vol. 3.10-15.

But are the communications by the Dioscuri to mortals in these fourth century BCE plays a sufficient basis for the dedicant to refer to them as εὐαγγέλιοι in a second–third century CE inscription? Alternately, did the dedicant receive some good news about the safety of a ship and its crew at sea, and attributing the deliverance to the Dioscuri see them as 'giving good news' to the sailors?

And why the use of εὐαγγέλιοι? Was it a term borrowed from Christian sources? For example, in Luke 1:19 we see the divine messenger Gabriel, who was sent εὐαγγελίσασθαι to Zechariah. In Luke 2:10 a divine messenger appears to the shepherds telling them good news (εὐαγγελίζομαι). We have no firm way of knowing why the dedicant chose εὐαγγέλιοι to describe the Dioscuri in the inscription (8b). It may be that there was an independent, parallel development: divine messengers have wings (Iris, Hermes on his sandals and sometimes on his hat). The Dioscuri can possess wings, too (*Hom. Hymn* 33.13, quoted above). *Angeloi* in Jewish and Christian literature are portrayed similarly by implication (they appear in the sky). Just as in the OT and NT *angeloi* bring (good) news because they are conveying announcements from God, so the Dioscuri are similarly described in this inscription (8b).

9. Ἄγγελος inscriptions at Thera

On the island of Thera, some 45 epitaphs have been found belonging to the third or fourth centuries CE.[123] Most of the stelae have the word ἄγγελος inscribed on them, and this is usually followed by a name, masculine or feminine, in the genitive.[124] They are designed with a pediment enclosing a rosette, and each has a column on either side, creating the appearance of the façade of a temple.[125]

There is no general agreement among scholars about the source of these inscriptions. L. Robert considers that they are Christian,[126] Emil Schürer as Jewish or Christian,[127] W. Grundmann as syncretistic with possible 'Christian Jewish influence'[128] and M. Guarducci as pagan.[129]

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[123] M. Guarducci, 'Gli "angeli" di Tera,' in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* (Paris, 1974) 147-57, at 147.
[124] ibid., 147.
[125] ibid., 147.
[126] L. Robert, 'Reliefs votifs,' 421 n. 71.
[127] E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–135 AD)*, vol. 3 .1, rev. ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman (London, T. and T. Clark, 1993) 71.
[128] W. Grundmann, 'ἄγγελος in the Greek Hellenistic World,' *TDNT* vol. 1.75
[129] Guarducci, 148.

Some who maintain that the inscriptions are Christian, consider the angel to be 'the soul of the deceased', some as 'the protector of the single individual in life and in death' i.e. a guardian angel, and others as 'Christian guardian of the tomb'.[130]

The rosette has been understood by some commentators to be a circle with a cross inside it; and from this it has been inferred that the cross is Christian, or at least 'crypto-Christian.'[131] However, since similar rosettes appear on funerary steles which depict banquets for the deceased, and on which occasionally the pagan word ἀφηρωΐζειν (pay honours to the deceased as a 'hero') appears, Guarducci argues that the cross in the circle is not a Christian symbol.[132] Earlier, Deissmann had already expressed the same opinion.[133] One rosette appeared to him to have a monogram cross, which could indicate that the epitaph was Christian; but Guarducci is as unconvinced as is Deissmann, who considered it 'highly probable that the rosette was given its Christian character subsequently.'[134]

a. Πρεσβῦτις Christian or pagan?

One epitaph from Thera has been seen by some scholars as distinctive evidence that these inscriptions on the island are Christian. They consider that it refers to Erikto as an elder of the church.[135]

ἄνγε -
λος
Ἐρι-
4 κτοῦς
πρεσβύ-
τιδος. [136]
'Angel of Erikto, elder (*or*, old woman).'

Arguing still against the idea that the epitaphs are Christian, Guarducci nevertheless allows that there are alternate uses of the word πρεσβῦτις which could indicate that Erikto was 'an

[130] ibid., 148.
[131] ibid., 149. cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1941) 254 #106.
[132] Guarducci, 149.
[133] G.A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*. (1908; ET, 3rd edn: London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), 280 n. 1.
[134] Guarducci, 149-150; Deissmann, 280.n.1.
[135] Guarducci, 151; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1941) 254.
[136] Guarducci, 150.

old woman', or 'widow' or 'a leading and respectable woman who attended church with a particular zeal.'[137] The *presbytides* in the NT at Tit. 2:3 may have seniority in respect rather than age.

b. Pagan heroes and pagan angels

Continuing her defence that the ἄγγελος in the inscriptions is pagan, Guarducci draws attention to certain words which appear on the steles. The word ἄβατον, indicating an inaccessible or sacred place,[138]can be found with the word ἀφηρωΐζειν, indicating that the tomb is a sacred place because the deceased person is now canonized as a hero, i.e. is participating in a heroic banquet for the dead.[139] As an example of this combination of words, Guarducci includes this inscription: ἄβατον ἡρώισσας Φερεβώλας, 'inviolate place [ie tomb] of the deceased heroine Pherebola.'[140] The word ἄβατον at Thera, then, is associated with pagan inscriptions. As the inscriptions with ἄβατον belong to the same period as those with ἄγγελος and were recovered in places where some ἄγγελος inscriptions were found, it follows (according to Guarducci) that these words 'are closely related' contextually.[141] In view of this relationship, because 'the formula with ἄβατον is pagan,' then *in such a context* 'it leads us to think that the formula with ἄγγελος is also pagan'.[142] To affirm the 'pagan' nature of the ἄγγελος Guarducci quotes the Theran inscription below.[143]

ἄνγελος
Ζωσίμου·
ἀφηρόϊσα
4 Ῥουφεῖνα
τὸ(ν) ἴδιον υἱόν.
'Angel of Zosimos. I Rufina heroized my own son.'

Here, Rufina provides the tomb for her son. The verb suggests an undoubted pagan inclination; and in that case we would have an instance of *angelos* in a pagan epitaph. Yet this example invites further consideration. Were we to consider that *angelos* indicates that the text

[137] ibid., 151.
[138] ibid., 152.
[139] ibid., 152–153.
[140] ibid., 153.
[141] ibid., 153.
[142]ibid., 153.
[143]ibid., 153.

is Christian, at first sight it does look like *angelos* = *heros* here, with the latter avoided as distinctively pagan. The presence of the verb, however, may reflect a 'twilight zone' in unconscious mentality between Christian and pagan, ie a Christian text with terminology not yet fully differentiated from pagan usage. This approximates to the views of H. Grégoire and A. Ferrua, with whom Guarducci disagrees. But a third way may have some credence. We may grant Guarducci's view that the text is indeed pagan due to the presence of the distinctive verb. Perhaps, however, the 'twilight zone' notion may be applied to a pagan who uses *angelos* instead of *heros* in memorialising her son. Normally we find *heros* in the same case as the name of the dead person, whereas here *angelos* (nom.) is followed by Zosimos' name in the genitive case; and this change in grammatical idiom takes us a little further than the 'mere' adoption of the word.

c. Pagan Angels and the dead

(i) Having argued that the ἄγγελος in the inscriptions is pagan, Guarducci sets about demonstrating that angels were associated with the dead in pagan thought, using the second century CE inscription below.

καταγράφω καὶ κατα-
[τί]θω ἀνγέλης [= -λοις] κατα-
χθονίοις, Ἑρμῆ κατα-
χθονίῳ καὶ Ἑκάτῃ κα[τα]-
χθονίᾳ, Πλούτω-
νι κα(ὶ) Κόρῃ κ(αὶ) Περσιφόν-
{ν}η καὶ Μοίραις κατα[χθονί]-
[α]ις καὶ πάντοις [*sic*] τοῖ[ς θε]-
[οῖ]ς καὶ τῷ Κερ[β]έρῳ, κτλ.[144]

'I consign and I dedicate to the underworld angels, to underworld Her- mes and to underworld Hecate, to Pluto and to Kore and to Persephone and to the underworld Fates and to all the gods and to Cerberus,' etc.

Guarducci considers that the angel of Thera should be understood 'as a subterranean demon' (like the underworld angels), 'a demon that has close connections with a particular tomb of

[144] ibid., 155.

which it was the intransigent guardian.'[145] The word ἄβατον on the tomb makes obvious 'the necessity of not violating the place where the hero lies,'[146] and the ἄγγελος has the same purpose, 'declaring that the tomb is entrusted to the protection of a subterranean demon'.[147]

Sokolowski, had already pointed out that the reference to an ἄγγελος on the inscriptions at Thera, does not prove that they are Christian. 'Hermes and Hecate bear this description in certain places.' Many funeral steles at Thessaly include the phrase Ἑρμάου Χθονίου, signifying 'that the tomb was put under the protection of a god of the dead'; and he considers it possible that Hermes or Hecate are also in mind for the Theran epitaphs.[148]

Despite the different opinions about the nature of the epitaphs at Thera, their mostly III-IV century date seems not to be disputed (except by Guarducci), though a few may well be II CE. If they are Christian, then the ἄγγελος can be understood as the divine protector or guardian of the tomb and the deceased. The two inscriptions quoted in part below are Christian, and show the *angelos* in the role of guardian.

(ii) The first of these, from Eumenia in Phrygia, contains the 'Eumenian Formula,' and is dated third century CE.[149] The first part of the inscription indicates that the Christian builder of the tomb, Lycidas, is still living and had built the tomb as a burial place for his sisters. Roubes (Reuben), now deceased, mentioned in the last line of the inscription, must have been a Christian convert from Judaism. The final lines of the inscription are printed below.[150]

17 … εἴ τις δὲ
ἕτερον θήσει, ἔσ-
τε αὐτῷ πρὸς
20 τὸν Θεὸν καὶ
τὸν ἄνγελον
τὸν Ρουβῆ-
δος.

[145] ibid., 155.
[146] ibid., 156.
[147] ibid., 156.
[148] Sokolowski, 229.
[149] A.R.R. Sheppard, 'Jews, Christians and Heretics in Acmonia and Eumeneia. R.E.C.A.M. notes and studies No. 6,' *AnatStud* 29 (1979) 169-80, at 172. On this formula see W. Tabbernee in *New Docs* vol. 3 (1983) 136.
[150] ibid., 175–176. Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* vols. 11-12, p. 430.

'… If anyone places another (body here), he will have to reckon with the God and the angel of Roubes.'

(iii) Next, Horsley cites an early fourth century CE inscription from Melos which includes an angel guardian of the tomb. A mother and six children are interred, the latter are all identified as Christian by their titles which indicate their status in the church.[151]

7 ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν ὧδε ἐφεστῶτα ἄνγελον
μή τίς ποτε τολμῇ ἐνθάδε τινὰ κατάθεσθε.

'I adjure you by the angel standing over (the place) here, let no one ever dare to deposit anyone [else] here.'

The wording here implies the presence of a statue of an *angelos* adjacent to or upon the funerary monument; the guardian role is not being left to the imagination of the viewer.

To conclude this section, if the inscriptions at Thera are pagan, we cannot altogether dismiss the possibility that the word ἄγγελος appearing on the steles from there have been borrowed from Christians with the idea that the divine being is guarding the tomb against intruders. Deissmann mentions the close proximity of Crete to Thera, and that the preliminary conditions for a Christian mission from island to island were very favourable.[152] The connection implied here is very speculative, however; and lacking any basis in the evidence it should be dismissed.

On balance, the Theran texts are probably Christian, but some at least may reflect the 'twilight zone' in the pagan language used. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that in which direction the influence ran is not ascertainable; and it should be no surprise that the currents were flowing in both directions simultaneously in III and IV CE: some Christians influencing their pagan neighbours, and vice versa, as well as some pagans who converted taking some time to make appropriate adjustments in the wording chosen for public monuments such as these. The potency of conventional terminology should not be underestimated.

[151] *New Docs* vol. 4 (1987) 240. See also Guarducci, 156–57.
[152] Deissmann, 280 n.1.

10. The Ἄγγελος inscription at Miletus

CIG 2895, known as the 'planetary' inscription because of its symbols, was found on the NW corner of a building which was formerly a theatre in Miletus.[153] Interest has been focused on its content and origins, including the mention of angels. The traditional opinion that it is 'pagan, Judaeo-pagan',[154] or perhaps Jewish,[155] was challenged by Deissmann who argues that it is probably Christian.[156] Subsequently, Sheppard proposed anew the 'perhaps Jewish' inter- pretation.[157] The date is uncertain but it may be fourth or fifth century CE.[158]

The inscription (which has damage to one side) needs to be described in detail[159] so that Deissmann's comments, referred to later, can be understood. At the top are five symbols; before the damage there were probably seven. Below the symbols, across the face of the stone are 37 large letters, with possibly up to 14 others now broken away.

ΙƐΟΥΑΗΩΙΑΩΑΙƐΟΥΑΗΩΙΩΑƐΗΟΥΙΑΩΙΗƐΟΥƐΝΟΝ

Below the letters are five and one half (originally seven), oval shapes. Each oval is placed exactly below the corresponding symbol at the top of the inscription. Within each oval are seven vowels, αεηιουω, εηιουωα, ηιουωαε, ιουωαεη, ουωαεηι with those from the now-missing ovals being υωαεηιο, ωαεηιου. Under the vowels in each oval are the words,

Ἅγιε, φύλαξον τὴν πόλιν Μιλησίων καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας.

'Holy One, guard the city of the Milesians and all those inhabiting (it).'

Across the bottom, below the ovals is inscribed:

Ἀρχάγγελοι. φυλάσσεται ἡ πόλις Μιλησίων καὶ πάντες οἱ κατ[οικοῦντες.]

'Archangels. The city of the Milesians is guarded and (so are) all those inhabiting (it).'

Deissmann proposed that the form φυλάσσεται in the second part of the inscription is to be read as the active imperative φυλάσσετε.[160] This would be quite possible linguistically, but does not allow for the adjacent singular subject which determines the number of the verb over the following 'add-on' plural subject. His suggestion that the nominative *polis* is a vulgar error

[153] Deissmann, 453.
[154] ibid., 454.
[155] Sheppard (1980/81) 82.
[156] Deissmann, 459.
[157] Sheppard (1980/81) 82.
[158] Deissmann, 455-456. This date is partly dependent on his argument that British Museum Papyrus no. 124 provides the clues to the meaning of the symbolism in the Miletus inscription.
[159] The description which follows is adapted from that of Deissmann, 454-455. See also Arnold, 83-85.
[160] 455 n. 2.

is not the obvious interpretation of the text. The text can be understood quite grammatically without appeal to these implied changes.

Further, Deissmann considered this inscription to be probably Christian, and based his opinion to some extent on evidence from *PGM* 1.10.36-50 written in the fourth or fifth century CE. This papyrus which he saw in the British Museum, has 'four parallel columns each containing seven magical names.' In column 1 is a series of vowels; in column 3 are the names of the seven archangels which match horizontally the seven vowels in column 1.[161]

	αεηιουω	Μιχαηλ
	εηιουωα	Ραφαηλ
	ηιουωαε	Γαβριηλ
4	ιουωαεη	Σουριηλ
	ουωαεηι	Ζαζιηλ
	υωαεηιο	Βαδακιηλ
	ωαεηιου	Συλιηλ

He points out that the series of vowels in this papyrus from Egypt are the same as those carved 'in regular alphabetic succession' in the five ovals, which were originally seven.[162] He concludes that as the bottom line of the inscription lists archangels (and as he has just shown, the letters in the ovals represent archangels), then the symbols above the ovals are not planetary ones but stand for the seven archangels.[163] In his opinion, the prayer for the city and its inhabitants in the Miletus inscription is made more powerful by the use of the magic symbols.[164]

Ruling out both pagans and Jews as responsible for the inscription at Miletus— '… the contents of the inscription do not in the least point to paganism', and as the Jews were a minority group in Miletus it is unlikely that they would be responsible for it[165]—Deissmann notes that Christian worship in early times in Anatolia included prayer for the city.[166] He considers that the inscription was put in the wall at the time when the theatre was converted into a citadel, 'a Christian stronghold,' and that guards or watchmen of the building were the most likely group to be responsible for the words and symbols in the inscription, and for

[161] ibid., 455-456.
[162] ibid., 456.
[163] ibid., 456.
[164] ibid., 458.
[165] ibid., 458.
[166] ibid., 458-459.

having it placed in the wall.[167]

Since there is no evidence in the inscription that it is Christian, and since as well Deissmann's connection of the inscription with the change in function of the theatre is quite speculative, the strength of his argument depends solely on the date on which it was set in place. If it was put in the wall when the 'theatre was converted into a citadel' as he suggests, i.e. in the Christian Roman period, then we can expect that it was placed there by Christians. His basis for its date comes from *PGM* 1.10.36-50 (quoted above) which provides the key for his interpretation of the series of vowels and the symbols. As well, we note his opinion that the inscription had a 'late look.'[168] This approach to dating the inscription is tenuous: to date a fragmentary inscription from Asia Minor by a fragmentary papyrus from Egypt, both of whose dates are uncertain on internal grounds, is not persuasive. Without these considerations the inscription could be Jewish, or even pagan with the archangels being borrowed from the Jews.[169]

The text and its translation merit closer scrutiny. Arnold is one who renders the second invocation to parallel the first.[170] In fact, they are saying different things. The verb in the second text must be passive and it is singular; and so this text is announcing that the city is being watched over, guarded. It is not a request to the archangels to undertake this task. Rather, it identifies them as the ones who will provide this role; and accordingly we have repunctuated the Greek to reflect this. This avoids the awkwardness of the *archangeloi* being perceived as hostile to the city, and as the ones being warned away; for otherwise they would remind us of Guarducci's claim that *angeloi* may be demonic beings. The upper inscription addresses the Holy One, whether the Christian God, or the pagan tutelary deity of the city, requesting help to guard it. The lower inscription, in contrast, identifies the divine beings by whom the city is being guarded.

There are, too, some problems associated with the idea that the inscription is Christian. The first concerns the guardsmen who, Deissmann considers, may have been responsible for putting the inscription in the wall. Would they have been permitted to put an inscription in the wall? Would permission have had to be obtained, and from whom? We might imagine that the clergy would be unlikely to approve it. Two decrees of the Council of Laodicea issued in

[167] ibid., 459.
[168] ibid., 453.
[169] Arnold. op. cit., 84.
[170] ibid.

350 CE, forbade Christians from calling on (ὀνομάζειν) angels, and the clergy from being involved in magical practices.[171] Although Jewish literature has examples of angels as protectors,[172] we might expect that Christians would look to God and not to angels to protect their city. Yet the very assumption of considerable influence being exercised in a civic context by Christians at this period is questionable. The Miletus inscription is not a graffito, so we should conclude that its making was officially sanctioned by the city council. The Peace of the Church may have been inaugurated, but traditional religion still had influential adherents among elite families.

Related to this is the original position of the inscription, on the exterior wall of the theatre. We should expect that such a text was placed on an exterior city wall, in the same way that statues of patron gods of a city were set into the exterior city walls in Late Antiquity. One instance of this is provided by the northern Greek city of Dion, where a statue of Isis still holds its position in an outside face of the city wall, placed there, apparently, when external invasion was feared.[173] Its apotropaic function is obvious: the tutelary deity of the city will face down attackers and ward them off. If it can be ascertained that the inscription was originally placed similarly, we should interpret the Miletus inscription as having a similar function.

There is, moreover, the difficulty with the use of the magic formulae and symbols in the inscription. These are widely used in the Greek magical papyri, and in the case of the Miletus inscription indicate a borrowing from pagans. Conversely, we find many examples in the *PGM* texts of pagans invoking Jewish archangels.[174] Against the interpretation put forward by Deissmann, then, we argue that this inscription is probably reflective of a traditional religious outlook, but allow that it *may* incorporate a fusion of Jewish and even Christian elements. However, there are more than enough uncertainties concerning the date and context in which this inscription was erected; so we should allow that its interpretation must remain open, even though we have argued for one understanding of it above.

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[171] ibid., 84-85. No. 35 forbids Christians to 'turn to the worship of angels'. No. 26 forbids clergy from being 'magicians, conjurors, mathematicians or astrologers.' A.L. Williams, 'The cult of the angels at Colossae,' *JTS* 10 (1909) 413-38, dates the Council 'about 360 A.D.', p. 435.

[172] Exodus 14:19-20; 2 Kings 19:35; Daniel 10:20-21; Tobit 12:11-15; 2 Maccabees 3:18-26; 3 Maccabees 6:16-21; 4 Maccabees 4:9-10.

[173] We owe information about this to G.H.R. Horsley, who has seen the wall with the statue still *in situ*.

[174] *The Greek Magical Papyri in translation* ed. H.D. Betz (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992) For the use of magical formulae or words see *PGM* iv. 296-466(385-95); *PGM* xiii. 734-1077(765-770). For the inclusion of archangels see *PGM* xc. 1-13(1-10).

Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed inscriptions from several areas in Anatolia and also from Thera. Each has a reference to an ἄγγελος or ἄγγελοι or to a divine angelic being. We can now summarize what we have found as a result of our search for evidence whether angels were a conception borrowed by traditional Graeco-Roman religion in the Imperial period from Jewish or Christian sources.

At Stratonicea (**1**) we found no evidence of borrowing. We have argued that the divine angelic being there is Hecate. We reached the same conclusion about the ἄγγελος for whom the enclosure was built at Didyma (**3**), and consider that the ἄγγελος in question is also Hecate or Artemis-Hecate. At Oenoanda (**6**) in replying to the enquiry 'What is god?', Apollo includes with his oracular response a statement about the nature of himself and other gods. He and they are ἄγγελοι of the supreme god. We have met this idea much earlier in Homer, when the gods Hermes and Iris serve the high god Zeus. What sets it apart now, however, is the implicitly monotheistic outlook: there is one God, and those previously considered as gods are now understood to be his *angeloi*: divine beings in some sense, but not gods. This conception is present also in the Holy and Just cult (**7**) known to us only from inscriptions from Asia Minor. Holy and Just are themselves gods, appearing in epigraphic texts either as a single, 'conflated' god or two gods, and then as an ἄγγελος, possibly of Apollo or Helios. In the Oenoanda inscription (**6**) and in the Holy and Just cult (**7**) we found no evidence of 'borrowed' angels, ie notions of divine beings 'borrowed' from other religious traditions. The inscription at Kalecık (**5**) has, in our opinion, several indications that it emanates from a Jewish context—or, at least, reflects awareness of some Jewish ideas. The honouring of angels or worship of them, as portrayed in this inscription, was forbidden; nevertheless there were, as Arnold points out, references in Daniel and in the pseudepigraphical literature which could encourage invocation of angels.[175] This in turn could encourage worship. The interpretation of the inscription at Miletus (**10**) is problematic; but we have proposed, against the view of Deissmann, that it is probably pagan, though may have incorporated some features reflective of Jewish or Christian influence—though this is not a necessary influence to be claimed.

There may also be evidence of the portrayal of angels borrowed from Jewish or Christian

[175]Arnold, 33-34. Daniel 12:1; 10:13, 20; 8:16. *Testament of Dan* 6:1-2; *Testament of Levi* 5:5.

conceptions in three of the inscriptions which we have examined. From Kidrama (**2**), the fragment which contains a reference to the angels of fire is likely to be part of a curse inscription which could be either Jewish or pagan. If it is pagan, then it is possible that the angels of fire have been borrowed from Jewish pseudepigraphical literature. This is not likely to reflect direct knowledge of those texts, but to be mediated via what we may call 'neighbourly contact.'

The ἄγγελος mentioned in the inscriptions at Thera (**9**) could also have been borrowed from Christian sources. We mentioned two Christian inscriptions which warn the would-be grave intruder of an angel guarding the dead.

Although we cannot rule out that the epithet εὐαγγέλιοι to describe the Dioscuri (**8**) in a unique instance from Pisidia was adopted as a result of awareness of Christian use of the term, the likelihood is extremely remote. It is far more likely to be an independent, 'one-off' occurrence.

Finally, the two confession inscriptions (**4**) deserve particular emphasis. These texts are rural, and—like the Holy and Just dedications (**7**)—decisively pagan. They reflect indigenous beliefs of long standing, but now in the time of the Roman Empire being given expression in Greek. There must have been a considerable prior history which we can no longer trace because of the lack of texts in local, indigenous languages. This has consequences for our overall conclusion, as we shall see.

General Conclusion

The claim by Sheppard, that the word *angelos* which appears in some pagan Greek texts in Anatolia may have been borrowed from the Hellenic Jews of the area, provided the incentive for our reconsideration of the matter. What was the source of the *angelos* in these inscriptions? Did it come from Jewish or Christian texts or from classical Greek literature? We are now able to offer a conclusion about our reconsideration of the sources of the *angelos* in the pagan inscriptions. In order to contextualise the whole investigation, the thesis was divided into two Parts, A and B. Part A provided in three chapters the necessary precursor to the fourth chapter which constituted the entirety of Part B. This latter is the intellectual focus of this study. Chapters 1-3 are primarily surveys, although analytical comment is added at times.

In **Chapter 1** our focus was on a selection of early Hebrew and later Jewish texts, which took us from the Bible on into Intertestamental texts, and then to Philo and Josephus. It is not surprising that we found changes in the way the *angelos* is presented when we take into account the timespan covered, and the circumstances under which the various books were written. Differences of genre cannot be ignored, either. In the Bible, our survey was divided into three periods: pre-Exilic texts, and prophets from the Exilic and post-Exilic periods. In the early Hebrew literature we found that the first appearances of the *angelos* establish its status and function. Described as an angel of God or of the Lord, and bringing a message to individuals, the *angelos* is ultimately always recognised as divine, and is sometimes identified with God himself. From these early references to a single figure, the idea of multiple beings is introduced, and later on, an angelic host. The function of the angel never ceases to be that of messenger, but it now expands to embrace other roles: guardian of Israel, and guide and protector of the nation and of individuals. Heaven is the home of the *angeloi* where they are to praise God; and he alone is to be worshipped. The account in Genesis 6:1-4 of the *angeloi* who, acting without God's sanction, took human wives from whom giants were born, is given greater significance in later Jewish literature.

In the prophetic books of Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel, each purporting to be written at a critical time in the history of the Jews, the *angelos* appears to the prophets in visions.

Although having other functions, it can in each book be viewed as bringing a message of hope to faithful members of the nation. Guided by an angel, Ezekiel is taken on a tour of the reconstructed Temple, and through the angel received instructions from God. Zechariah sees two angels, the angel of the Lord and the angel who talks to the prophet, the latter of whom acts as interpreter to the prophet of a series of visions. In Daniel the angel interpreter reveals a future which promises freedom at last from oppression and, for some, the hope of a resurrection. The heavenly messenger in Ezekiel and Daniel is described as a man in shining apparel, and in Daniel two angels are named. In this book the notion of an unseen battle is introduced between the angels of the Jewish nation and those of neighbouring peoples such as the Persians. The post-Exilic book of Tobit presents an *angelos* who has some of the attributes which are later seen by early Christian writers to be characteristics of Christ. Whether this is coincidental is difficult to determine. This angel has a twofold task assigned, one on earth when, taking human form, he acts as guide and advisor to Tobias, and a heavenly one where as one of the seven angels of the Presence he offers the prayers of the *hagioi* to God. The concept of the *angelos* as guide continues in the pseudepigraphical books of 1 Enoch and Test. Levi. In the former, accompanied by angel interpreters, Enoch sees and learns of things formerly hidden from humankind as he travels to the gates of heaven. Levi, too, with an angel guide as interpreter, sees and learns the secrets of three heavens. Features of significance in 1 Enoch are the increase in angel names and numbers, and the expansion of the Genesis account of fallen angels. This provides an explanation of the origin of evil to the Jews who suffered under Antiochus Epiphanes IV. An alternate explanation of the origin of evil appears in Jubilees. This shows that there was in this period a contesting among Jewish writers of how to explain the problem of evil in the world. Tobit and 1 Enoch as well as Test. Levi also reflect the conceptualising of a hierarchy of angels.

Our survey of the *angelos* in Philo and Josephus proved of no real help to our investigation. This is because, apart from his definitions of the categories of angels, Philo bases his comments on incidents involving angels in the Pentateuch, but while acknowledging these as part of Scripture, gives them an allegorical meaning. Josephus, although promising to present the precise details of the Scripture records, does the opposite, retaining in some instances the Biblical accounts of angels, and omitting the appearance of them in others. Finally, this chapter contained a comment on angel worship. Joshua's worship of the angelic captain of the

Lord's host is reflected in the Hebrew text; but the LXX removes this, presumably to avoid conflict with the Exodus injunction to worship none except God.

Chapter 2 concentrated on Christian texts in Greek from the earliest records in the New Testament through to Revelation and then on to some post-Biblical texts. As several writers again were involved in producing this literature, we should not be surprised at there being variety in the presentation of the *angelos*. We need to take into account whether these authors depended solely on the Jewish sources, whether there was some independent thinking, or whether other influences from the Graeco-Roman milieu were at work. We found that New Testament writers drew heavily on Old Testament conceptions of the *angelos*. So, unsurprisingly, the *angelos* continues to function as a divine messenger in the birth and resurrection announcements in the Gospels and also in Acts, when Christ's return is promised. Another parallel to be noted is the role of the angel as deliverer. In the Gospels, however, *angeloi* are also carrying out functions not known from the Old Testament. These seem to reflect the writers' view that God is now on earth in human form, and therefore the angels serve him in ways which include additional roles not hitherto seen in earlier writings by Jews. Furthermore, following the Ascension and the bestowing of the Spirit, the latter appears to take over increasingly those roles once attributed to *angeloi*. This suggests a significant connection between the two, and a development in thinking by early Jewish Christian believers: previous attempts to interpret God's leading and advice are now being attributed directly to the Spirit who aids individuals faithful to God. The work that *angeloi* did was now being recognised as the work of the Spirit.

The idea of a warfare between spiritual forces, first introduced in Daniel, also figures in the NT letters, but again a notable shift is visible: what was previously a contest between angelic figures has become one between spiritual powers. References to Satan in the epistles, as in the gospels, show that he continues to thwart God's divine purposes. Angel worship, emerging in the OT, also makes a brief appearance in the NT (Col. 2:18). In the light of our findings in chapter 4 about pagan angels attested in some inscriptions, it may be reasonable to understand the hostility to angel worship in Colossians as a reaction against divine honours accorded to them in some parts of Western Asia Minor, an attitude brought into the Christian group(s) in that city by recent indigenous converts from paganism. We suggested that the emphasis in Hebrews 1-2 on Christ's superiority to angels may indicate that angel worship was becoming a problem for some in the new Christian communities. We found that in the

references in 2 Peter 2:4 and Jude 6 which describe the punishment given to the fallen angels, Peter's use of the word *tartaroo* 'hurl into Tartarus' may reflect an awareness (whether conscious or not) of Classical mythology. The tendency to portray Christ as an angel, seen first in Rev. 1:13-16 and in 14:14-16, continues in post-biblical Christian literature. Many *angeloi* are mentioned in Hermas, and Christ is called there a 'glorious angel'. Michael, too, has such a descriptive epithet. *The Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* and Justin and Origen all refer to Christ as angel. Such a description is fitting. Christ refers to himself as being 'sent' and 'declaring' what he has heard from God (John 8:26; cf. 7.16, 17:25-26). In the texts mentioned in this chapter, descriptions of the physical appearance of the *angelos* are minimal.

Chapter 3 took us to the Greek world where we surveyed the *angelos* in texts from Homer to the fourth century BCE. In Homer, two gods are identified as messengers, Iris and Hermes, the former appearing only in the *Iliad*. Both these gods are seen on occasions in human form. We found that Iris is reliable, and can be persuasive—even scathing. Hermes is also reliable. When delivering a message he displays a certain craftiness in his approach to people. He has other roles: as πομπός he conducts Priam to Achilles, and is guide in the house of Hades. He has several titles which reflect his activities. Both Iris and Hermes appear in Hesiod as messengers. Iris appears in one of the fifth century tragedies where she is seen as a faithful messenger to Hera but concurring with her evil design on Heracles.

With these chapters in Part A each providing distinctive information about the nature of the *angelos* in diverse yet interlinked cultural zones, we then turned to the heart of the thesis: an analysis of the relevant epigraphic texts.

In Part B (**chapter 4**) all the inscriptions which mention an *angelos* were examined. We found that these are brief, belong to the period from the first to the fifth centuries CE and come from a small area in Western Asia Minor, except for those from Thera. The geographical location of these texts was an important guide in helping us to reach a final conclusion.

This thesis contends that in the light of our examination, and contrary to the views of earlier writers like Sheppard, the majority of the inscriptions in Asia Minor show no evidence of any borrowings from either the Jews or Christians.

At Stratonicea (**1**) we concluded that the *angelos* mentioned in the inscriptions was Hecate, an ancient indigenous god of the area. Holy and Just (**7**) are also ancient indigenous gods of Phrygia and Lydia, who appear as one or two gods in inscriptions. A reference to these gods as '*angelos*' describes their function of serving a higher god, and their Greek names reflect their concern for justice. There is no mention of any borrowed words in these inscriptions nor in the confession texts from Lydia (**4**) in which an *angelos* employed by Men in the divine application of justice in a rural context may have been a god of lower rank.

The *angelos* for whom the *peribolos* was erected in the temple of Apollo at Didyma (**3**) may be, as some have suggested, Artemis-Hecate. Whether this is so or not, we considered that in this ancient temple of the Greek god no Jewish or Christian influence could be behind the use of the word *angelos* in the inscription.

Similarly, in the Oenoanda inscription (**6**) there is no possibility of the word *angelos* being 'borrowed'. Here Apollo describes himself and other gods as *angeloi* of a higher god, a concept present in Classical Greek literature and seen in the Holy and Just cult.

The inscription from Kalecık in Galatia (**5**) described by Sheppard as either pagan or Jewish but heterodox, has many features which lead us to conclude (agreeing with Sheppard's alternate suggestion), that the inscription is Jewish but heterodox. References in both the Old and New Testaments preclude any honouring of angels such as we see in this inscription (Exodus 20:3).

The description of the Dioscuri as εὐαγγέλιοι (**8**) was not easily explained. Angels in both the OT and NT are seen as bearers of good news but whether the word in the Greek inscription was borrowed is uncertain. We suggested that its use in the text may have some reference to the saving action of these gods in stormy weather or to their appearance in the sky (*Homeric Hymn* 33.12-13), like those of the angels in the NT (Luke 2:13-14; Rev. 10:1; 14:6).
If the fragmentary curse text at Kidrama in Caria (**2**) is pagan, we concluded that it is possible that the reference to οἱ ἄγγελοι πυρός has been borrowed either from the pseudigraphical texts if these were known, or from Jewish references to angels of fire which may have appeared in other texts.

We reached the conclusion that the *angeloi* inscriptions on the island of Thera (**9**) are probably Christian but they display some pagan elements. This inconsistency can be explained if we take into account that some pagan converts to Christianity, unaware of all that the decision required, continued to use some pagan terms in their epitaphs. Possibly but less likely, the *angelos* may have been included by some pagans in the epitaphs, without any real understanding of its Christian significance.

Finally, **w**e disagreed with Deissmann's view about the Miletos inscription (**10**), arguing that it is most likely to be pagan rather than Christian. That said, we stress that in the final analysis the interpretation of that inscription and its context should remain open, even though we have argued for one position about it.

In the light of our analysis of the epigraphic material, after setting it in the context of Jewish, early Christian and traditional Greek religious outlooks, we concluded as follows. The evidence from these inscriptions is not large in amount, yet it is mostly quite localised to Western Asia Minor (not **5**, **6**, **8**; **9** from Thera), rarely from urban contexts (**3**; perhaps **1** and **6**), it displays quite rudimentary Greek in several cases (eg **7**), and it occurs within a relatively brief period (mostly II-III CE) under the Roman Empire. The Theran group (**9**) is the one most likely to be Christian, though it exhibits some pagan verbal features. This combination of factors leads us to state that we witness in these texts an indigenous Asia Minor phenomenon which may possibly have originated in Iran or elsewhere but had become native to Asia Minor over time. It is quite a likely hypothesis that these *angeloi* were part of the religious consciousness of villagers well before Alexander's campaigns brought Greek language and culture in its wake to the region. Only some centuries after Alexander did inscriptions dedicated to the *angeloi* or mentioning them in other contexts (such as confession inscriptions) begin to be produced, and then it was in Greek as the lingua franca; for it took time for rural inhabitants to come to terms with the new, dominant culture and to embrace it. It was not only in language that Greek culture was adopted by indigenous peoples of the region, even though they reflected something distinctive of their own culture in the relief depictions which sometimes accompanied those texts. If we ask why these dedications and other epigraphic testimonies to angels disappear, an answer is to be found, in part at least, in the increasing Christianisation of the region, especially from the fourth century CE.

Sheppard's discussion thirty years ago was the stimulating starting point for this thesis. As a result of our investigation, we conclude that his views are largely to be dismissed, for he

gives far too much weight to Jewish influence on the epigraphic evidence for *angeloi* in Asia Minor.

The *angeloi* of Asia Minor, then, owe as little or nothing to traditional Greek religious ideas as to Judaism or early Christianity, even though we should grant that under the Empire there was increasing cross-fertilisation which was not uni-directional, nor occurring at the same pace everywhere. These angel inscriptions are for the most part pagan and indigenous, we submit, even though there is the occasional possibility of some influence from other cultural streams.

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NB: Items included in the Abbreviations list at the beginning of this thesis are not repeated here.

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