

DARRELL D. HANNAH

Michael and Christ:  
Michael Traditions  
and Angel Christology  
in Early Christianity

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

109

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von  
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

109





Darrell D. Hannah

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and Angel Christology  
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Mohr Siebeck

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For  
Perry and Charlotte,  
Darla and Daniel



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Holy Week, 1999  
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Darrell D. Hannah

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## Abbreviations

General abbreviations are as follows:

|      |                                       |
|------|---------------------------------------|
| LXX  | Septuagint                            |
| MT   | Masoretic Text                        |
| MajT | Majority Text of Greek NT manuscripts |
| NT   | New Testament                         |
| OT   | Old Testament                         |
| Vg   | Vulgate                               |

All abbreviations of works from the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and NT Apocrypha follow those used by Charlesworth, *OTP* I.xlv-xlvi, except the following:

|                  |                                 |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>AssMos.</i>   | <i>Assumption of Moses</i>      |
| <i>EpApos.</i>   | <i>Epistula Apostolorum</i>     |
| <i>InfGThom.</i> | <i>Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i> |
| <i>Vita Adae</i> | <i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>     |

Abbreviations of Qumran manuscripts follow Vermes *Complete DSS in English*, pp. 601-619. Abbreviations of Philo's works follow those found in the Loeb Classical Library's edition of Philo, I.xxiii-xxiv. Abbreviations of Rabbinic works are according to Strack-Stemberger's *Introduction*, pp. 401-403.

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Reference works, and Serials follows the *Journal of Biblical Literature's* "Instructions for Contributors".





## Introduction: Angels, Michael, and Christology

...ὅτι ἀρχὴν πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων ὁ θεὸς γεγέννηκε δύνάμιν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν, ἥτις καὶ δόξα κυρίου ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου καλεῖται, ποτὲ δὲ υἱός, ποτὲ δὲ σοφία, ποτὲ δὲ ἄγγελος, ποτὲ δὲ θεός, ποτὲ δὲ κύριος καὶ λόγος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀρχιστράτηγον ἑαυτὸν λέγει, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μορφῇ φανέντα τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ Ἰησοῦ (Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 61.1).<sup>1</sup>

This passage from Justin illustrates the ease with which some early Christians identified Christ as an Angel. However, given that Justin adds *θεός* directly after *ἄγγελος* in this list of christological titles, the question arises: What did he mean in asserting that the Holy Spirit, i.e., the inspired Scriptures, called Christ an angel? Did he understand Christ to possess an angelic nature? Or did he believe that Christ shared in the divine nature? Are these categories not mutually exclusive for Justin? Justin was by no means alone in using the appellation *ἄγγελος* to describe the significance of Christ. It was used by very different Christians throughout the first two Christian centuries and beyond. At times, even when the word *ἄγγελος* is not used with reference to Christ, the influence of angelological traditions can be detected. The questions asked above of Justin can, of course, also be asked of the other theologians and authors in early Christianity who described Christ as an angel or used the title *ἄγγελος* for him.

In the past twenty-five years a number of NT scholars have argued that Jewish beliefs and traditions about angels, particularly the principal angel or angels, hold the key to understanding why early Christians came to make such exalted claims about Jesus of Nazareth. This conception is by no

---

<sup>1</sup> God begat from Himself (as a) "Beginning" before all creatures a certain rational power, who is once called by the Holy Spirit "Glory of the Lord", and (in another place) "Son", and then "Wisdom", then "Angel", then "God", then "Lord" and "Word", and once called himself "Commander-in-Chief" when he appeared in the form of a man to Joshua the son of Nun.

means new to New Testament scholarship. As long ago as 1898 Wilhelm Lueken argued that speculations which surrounded the archangel Michael in ancient Judaism greatly influenced the early development of Christology. Lueken was right to focus on Michael, for he is the most significant figure in several ancient Jewish and early Christian angelologies. The present study aims to re-examine Lueken's arguments in light of the current debate, with due attention to the mass of evidence which has come to light in the course of the last century, and with a more rigorous critical methodology than that used by Lueken, especially in regards to late sources.

## 1. Angel Christology: A History of Research

### a. Pre-History

Before embarking, a brief historical survey of the scholarly study of angelic Christology<sup>2</sup> is in order. The year 1898 saw the publication of Lueken's Marburg dissertation in which he took up Bousset's suggestion that in Jewish traditions about Michael might be found "Spekulationen vorbildlich für die Entwicklung (sic) der Christologie".<sup>3</sup> Lueken argued that there was a direct relationship (direkte Beziehungen) between the Jewish portrait of Michael and the Christian belief in the exalted Christ, in that both are depicted as a heavenly advocate for Israel/The Church, as the heavenly high priest, and as the commander of the heavenly hosts.<sup>4</sup> Lueken's work is pioneering, even ground breaking, but suffers from methodological errors. First and foremost, Lueken draws evidence from heterogeneous sources to construct a unified portrait of Michael which may never have existed in ancient Judaism. In addition, Lueken uses both early and extremely late sources with little or no attention to their date. To be sure, all of the elements which Lueken believes constructive for Christology are attested in Jewish Michael traditions. However, a "direct relationship" between Michael speculations and Christology is called into question by the fact that no single pre-Christian document or tradition can be found in

---

<sup>2</sup> Here I use the term "angelic Christology" in the widest sense possible, including as a category within it the currently popular term "angelomorphic Christology". At the end of this chapter I will offer a number of terms and definitions for the different positions which can be subsumed under this umbrella term.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Lueken, *Michael*, v.

<sup>4</sup> Lueken, *Michael*, 164.

which all these motifs are attributed to Michael. Finally, Lueken fails to grapple with the significant differences between early Christian confessions of Christ and beliefs about Michael in ancient Judaism. This leads him to conclude that the *only* significant difference between Jewish Michael speculation and early Christology was that the former originated because of Judaism's emphasis on the transcendence of God, while the latter testifies to the sense of the nearness of God in emerging Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

Between Lueken and the first extensive defence of angelic Christology in early Christianity, that of Martin Werner, there were a couple of voices which suggested that early Christology was in some way indebted to Jewish angelology. First, G. H. Dix in two articles<sup>6</sup> argued that some Jews expected not a human, but an angelic Messiah who was none other than the OT "Angel of Yahweh". This figure was identical with Daniel's "man clothed in linen" (10.5-12.13) and "one like to a son of man" (7.13).<sup>7</sup> This original conception was lost when this figure was transformed, first into Uriel and later Michael. Nonetheless, in its final "Michael" stage it had some influence on early Christology, particularly in the Fourth Gospel and the Revelation of John.<sup>8</sup> Five years after Dix's second article, A. Bakker appealed to an early "Testimony Book" known to Josephus,<sup>9</sup> Hebrews 1-2, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, in order to show that Christ was understood by some Christians as an angel.<sup>10</sup>

#### b. The First Period: Angel Christology

With Martin Werner's *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas*, published in 1941,<sup>11</sup> we have the first sustained argument that early Christology developed out of Jewish angelology. Werner had as his starting point the apocalyptic and eschatological nature of earliest Christianity. On the basis of the then widely accepted interpretation of the Danielic and Enochic Son of Man as a heavenly being, he argued that the earliest Christians

<sup>5</sup> Lueken, *Michael*, 166.

<sup>6</sup> Dix's "Babylonian Ideas" appeared in 1925, his "Seven Archangels" in 1927.

<sup>7</sup> Dix, "Babylonian Ideas", esp. 245-248; and "Seven Archangels", 241.

<sup>8</sup> Dix, "Seven Archangels", 243-244.

<sup>9</sup> Bakker refers here to the Slavonic version of the *Testimonium Flavianum*. For the difficulties in accepting either the Greek or Slavonic versions of the *Testimonium Flavianum* in their entirety as authentic, see Schürer/Vermes, *History*, I.60-61, 428-441.

<sup>10</sup> Bakker, "Christ an Angel?"

<sup>11</sup> A second revised edition appeared in 1954; an English translation in 1957.

understood this title as a reference to an angelic being, whom God had appointed as an eschatological judge. In Werner's words, "for Primitive Christianity, Christ was, in terms of late-Jewish apocalyptic, a being of the high celestial angel-world, who was created and chosen by God for the task of bringing in, at the end of the ages, against the daimonic-powers of the existing world, the new aeon of the Kingdom of God".<sup>12</sup>

According to Werner's reconstruction, the earliest stage of Christology was adoptionistic. On the basis of passages like Acts 2.32-36 and *1 Enoch* 71, Werner concludes that the man Jesus was understood to have been exalted to the heavenly position of Christ and Son of Man because of his death and resurrection.<sup>13</sup> At a later stage, the Apostle Paul introduced the idea of pre-existence into Christology.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, this pre-existence is not to be understood as an eternal pre-existence, but the pre-existence of an angel who was a creature of God. Werner argues from James 1.7 that for the Judaism of the period a transformation of divine nature into human was impossible. However, "the possibility of such a transformation was truly the peculiar property of the angels".<sup>15</sup> It is only with the "process of de-eschatologising" that the Church moved away from its conviction that the Messiah is a created and angelic being. With this process came a new Christology which took the title "Son of God" literally and thus held that the "Son" must be "in some manner...generated by the Father and like to Him in Nature and substance".<sup>16</sup> This new Christology coincided with, and was dependent, upon the Hellenization of the early Church.<sup>17</sup> Werner's angel Christology, then, can be seen as the identification of Christ with an angel. At an earlier stage Christ was held to be a human who had been exalted to angelic status. Later this developed into the view that he was an angel who had been incarnated in the man Jesus of Nazareth.

The response to Werner was swift and decisive. A year after the publication of *Entstehung*, Wilhelm Michaelis released a monograph entitled *Zur Engelchristologie im Urchristentum: Abbau der Konstruktion Martin Werners*. As the title indicates, Michaelis set out to overthrow Werner's theory. Concentrating on the NT passages appealed to by Werner, Michaelis opposes his exegesis point by point and concludes, "early Christianity had known no angel Christology".<sup>18</sup> Although Michaelis has

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<sup>12</sup> Werner, *Formation*, 125.

<sup>13</sup> Werner, *Formation*, 126.

<sup>14</sup> Werner, *Formation*, 127-128.

<sup>15</sup> Werner, *Formation*, 127-128.

<sup>16</sup> Werner, *Formation*, 131-132.

<sup>17</sup> Werner, *Formation*, vii.

<sup>18</sup> Michaelis, *Engelchristologie*, 187.

been criticized for "over-shooting his goal" and for not always perceiving the "full weight" of his evidence,<sup>19</sup> his position won the day, at least in regard to the earliest christological formulations.<sup>20</sup>

In the same year as Werner's *Entstehung*, Joseph Barbel published a thorough examination of the "angel Christology" of the early Fathers.<sup>21</sup> His purpose differed from that of Werner or Michaelis. He did not examine the NT evidence and was not concerned with the earliest attempts at Christology. Rather, he sought to understand the Patristic christological usage of the term ἄγγελος. In 1964 Barbel added an appendix<sup>22</sup> in which he addresses the question of "Engelchristologie" in the NT. He is impressed with the evidence Werner marshals for the influence of "the conceptions and notions of late Jewish beliefs about angels on Christology",<sup>23</sup> but in the end Barbel concludes that no angel Christology can be detected in the NT itself.<sup>24</sup>

### c. Interlude

Werner's argument, then, that the earliest Christians understood Christ to have been an angel by nature and that the original Christology was an angel Christology, was almost universally rejected. Twenty years after Barbel's appendix, James Dunn could dismiss Werner's thesis as a curiosity of NT scholarship.<sup>25</sup> For Dunn the debate is a settled issue:

In short, the thesis that an angel christology was entertained in some parts of earliest Christianity has little or nothing to sustain it, and the suggestion that any NT author maintained an angel christology runs clearly counter to the evidence.<sup>26</sup>

However, Dunn oversimplifies matters. Barbel was not the only scholar who, while rejecting Werner's main thesis, also expressed admiration for

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<sup>19</sup> Barbel, *Christos Angelos*, 342-343.

<sup>20</sup> Barbel, *Christos Angelos*, 343; Daniélou, *Theology*, 118, n.3.

<sup>21</sup> Barbel, *Christos Angelos*.

<sup>22</sup> "Die frühchristliche und patristische Engelchristologie im Licht der neueren Forschung".

<sup>23</sup> Barbel, *Christos Angelos*, 343.

<sup>24</sup> Barbel, *Christos Angelos*, 348-349.

<sup>25</sup> Dunn, *Christology*, 322-323, n.106.

<sup>26</sup> Dunn, *Christology*, 158-159.

the many parallels between Jewish angelology and early Christology that Werner put forward. Kretschmar, for example, asserts that while Werner "has made irrefutably clear" that notions and conceptions from the "late Jewish doctrine of angels" influenced Christology, "he was unable to show that (it) was the intention of the New Testament authors" to identify Christ with an angel.<sup>27</sup> In other words, although scholars are united in rejecting Werner's assertion that the NT authors attributed to Christ an angelic nature, a number suggested that speculations about angels may have influenced the NT authors, and other early Christians, as they sought to express their faith in the exalted Christ. In addition to Barbel and Kretschmar, Daniélou speaks of Jewish Christians borrowing "terms...from the vocabulary of (Jewish) angelology to designate the Word".<sup>28</sup> Daniélou, who appears to have been the first to use the term "angelomorphic Christology",<sup>29</sup> asserts that while this terminology often implied a "subordinationist tendency", it "in no way" suggested that Christ was understood to possess an angelic nature. On the contrary, the term "angel" was "the old-fashioned equivalent" of what later theologians meant by *πρόσωπον* and *persona*.<sup>30</sup>

#### d. The Second Period: Angelomorphic Christology

Kretschmar and Daniélou,<sup>31</sup> like Barbel, were chiefly concerned with post-NT evidence. From 1968 to the present there has been an increasing interest in the question of Jewish speculation about angels influencing the Christology of the NT authors. Richard Longenecker finds such influence in Gal. 4.14, as well as in the groups opposed at Col. 2.18 and Heb. 1-2.<sup>32</sup> Martin Hengel, in his essay *The Son of God*, points to the angelic Metatron in 3 *Enoch*, Israel in the *Prayer of Joseph*, and Michael-Melchizedek in sectarian literature from Qumran as possible Jewish preparations for the early Christian understanding of the pre-existent and exalted Christ.<sup>33</sup> A

<sup>27</sup> See esp. Kretschmar, *Trinitätstheologie*, 221-222.

<sup>28</sup> Daniélou, *Theology*, 117.

<sup>29</sup> Daniélou, *Theology*, 146.

<sup>30</sup> Daniélou, *Theology*, 118-119.

<sup>31</sup> Kretschmar's work was published in 1956; Daniélou's in 1958 and then again, in a revised English translation, in 1964.

<sup>32</sup> Longenecker, "Distinctive" 528; and *Christology*, 26-32. The article was published in 1968, the book in 1970.

<sup>33</sup> Hengel, "Son", 44-46, 75-81. The German original dates from 1975, the English version followed a year later.

year after Hengel's work appeared in English, Alan Segal published a comprehensive study of the "Two Powers heresy" in Rabbinic Judaism. In his argument that elements within NT Christianity represent one of the earliest examples of the "Two Powers heresy", Segal concludes that early Christians identified a number of "human figures in heaven and angelic mediators" with Jesus.<sup>34</sup> In a manner approaching that of Werner, Segal places a great deal of emphasis on the use of the "Son of Man" title in both Jewish apocalypses and the Gospel tradition.<sup>35</sup> Even more Werner-like, Segal at times appears to suggest that Jesus was held to possess an angelic nature.<sup>36</sup>

The same year that Segal's Yale dissertation appeared also saw the publication of Bühner's Tübingen dissertation.<sup>37</sup> An examination of the conceptions of agency and mission in Johannine Christology, Bühner finds behind the Fourth Gospel's *ἐγὼ εἰμι* and *ἡλθον*-statements Ancient Near Eastern assumptions concerning the role and practice of a messenger, conceptions which also inform Jewish angelology (e.g. Raphael in Tobit). Bühner argues that Johannine Christology is indebted to Jewish notions of agency and mediation, particularly the rabbinic concept of the *מליך*.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Bühner finds behind the Johannine Son of Man the Danielic and apocalyptic Son of Man. Postulating a two-part development, Bühner argues that the Johannine community first, on the model of Enoch traditions, identified Jesus as a human exalted to become the angelic Son of Man. Later there evolved the complimentary conceptions of pre-existence and Jesus as a heavenly angel incarnated in a human being, on the model of the angel Israel in the *Prayer of Joseph*. This, according to Bühner, places Johannine Christianity in the same trajectory as Jewish Christianity. Clearly, at the very least, shades of Werner are to be found in Bühner's interpretation of Johannine Christology; indeed it would appear that Bühner has returned to the position of Martin Werner with the important difference that Werner's claims were made for the whole of NT Christology, while Bühner's concern is merely Johannine Christology.

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<sup>34</sup> Segal, *Two Powers*, 208.

<sup>35</sup> Segal, *Two Powers*, 205-210.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., "Jesus is not called an angel in the New Testament because he was not believed to be *merely* an angel" (*Two Powers*, 210; emphasis is Segal's); and "...it seems safe to consider that many Christians identified the Christ with God's principal angel, who carried the divine name, because of his resurrection" (213). In a later publication ("Risen Christ", 1992), Segal is more circumspect in this regard.

<sup>37</sup> *Der Gesandte*.

<sup>38</sup> John Ashton, for one, has been greatly influenced by Bühner's reading of the Fourth Gospel. See Ashton, *Understanding*, 101, 184-189, and esp. 308-328.



In a monograph<sup>39</sup> and a series of articles,<sup>40</sup> Christopher Rowland has drawn attention to the imagery used to describe angels and other heavenly beings. He sees great significance in the similarity of the imagery used to describe the risen Christ in Rev. 1.12-18, the angelic figure of Dan. 10.5-9, the divine figure(s) of Ezek 1.26-28 and 8.2-4, the angel in *JosAsen*. 14.1-10, and Yahoel in *ApAb*. 11.1-3. This similarity of imagery, according to Rowland, demonstrates that angelological conceptions influenced the Christology of the Apocalypse. In keeping with this emphasis on imagery, Rowland, in his last and most carefully worded contribution on the subject, rejects the term "angel Christology" for "angelomorphic Christology". Contrary to Werner, he argues that the use of angelomorphic imagery "in no way implies that Christ was identified entirely with the created order".<sup>41</sup>

In 1985, Jarl Fossum published his monograph on the origin of Gnosticism, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord*. Here Fossum emphasizes the role of speculation surrounding the Name of God and the angel of the Name (Ex 23.20-21) in early Christology. He suggests that Christianity was only one of many Jewish sects which identified its "hero" with God's principal angel.<sup>42</sup> Fossum equates possessing the divine name with possessing the divine nature or mode of being.<sup>43</sup> Fossum thus sees in the angel of the Name, a figure around whom revolved no little speculation in Second Temple Judaism, an implicit binitarianism already evolving either prior to, or simultaneous with, the beginnings of Christianity.<sup>44</sup>

Not long after Fossum's work, Larry Hurtado produced a slender monograph in which he examined the development of early Christology in light of Jewish beliefs about "divine agents", including, in addition to angels, exalted patriarchs and personified divine attributes.<sup>45</sup> Hurtado believes that early Christians found in Jewish speculation on divine agents "a conceptual framework" for understanding the exalted Christ.<sup>46</sup> In line with Segal, Hurtado emphasizes early Christianity's borrowing from various Jewish traditions. Nowhere in pre-Christian Judaism do we find a divine agent with such an accumulation of divine honours. The subtitle of Hurtado's work, *Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*,

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<sup>39</sup> *Open Heaven* (1982).

<sup>40</sup> "Visions of God" (1979); "Vision of the Risen Christ" (1980); and "Man Clothed in Linen" (1985).

<sup>41</sup> Rowland, "Man Clothed in Linen", 100.

<sup>42</sup> Fossum, *Name of God*, 333.

<sup>43</sup> Fossum, *Name of God*, 310, 333.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also Fossum's "Jewish-Christian Christology".

<sup>45</sup> Hurtado, *One God* (1988).

<sup>46</sup> Hurtado, *One God*, 21.

shows the other pole around which Hurtado's argument revolves. The "cultic devotion" which early Christians directed to the risen and exalted Christ constitutes an innovation, in Hurtado's words "a mutation", of ancient Jewish Monotheism. He contends that in the ancient world, and especially in Judaism, the difference between a heavenly being, such as an angel, and a divine being (or the Divine Being) was most clearly expressed in the realm of cultic devotion. In Judaism--Hurtado argues--God was worshipped, while divine agents were not. In early Christianity, however, Christ was an object of worship and consequently must not be understood as merely a divine agent.<sup>47</sup> This mutation allowed the first Christians to worship Christ as God's chief agent without compromising their monotheism.<sup>48</sup>

Hurtado's work has occasioned a number of responses. Paul Rainbow, for example, while accepting the main thrust of his position, criticizes Hurtado for placing the "mutation" within early Christians' post-resurrection experiences, rather than in the teachings of Jesus himself.<sup>49</sup> Another contribution indebted to Hurtado is a recent article by P. G. Davis.<sup>50</sup> He examines divine agents and mediators in Jewish literature of the Second Temple period "on the basis of whether they operate in the past, present or future with respect to the writers of the literature in question and their intended audiences".<sup>51</sup> Significantly for the argument of this thesis, he finds only three, other than the Christ of the NT, which function in past, present, and future: Michael in the "Book of Watchers" and the Adam literature, the Prince of Light in the sectarian works from Qumran, and Enoch in the literature associated with his name.

Hurtado's assertions of the complete absence of veneration directed toward angels in the Second Temple period has been recently challenged in a monograph and an article by Loren Stuckenbruck.<sup>52</sup> Stuckenbruck concludes that while Hurtado may be right in asserting that there was no "angel cult" in ancient Judaism, some texts "suggest that, to a lesser degree, angels could be made objects of veneration as beings aligned with and subordinate to God".<sup>53</sup> This "lesser" veneration of angels may have provided a model

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<sup>47</sup> Hurtado is here building on the argument of Richard Bauckham's article "Worship of Jesus". Cf. also "Jesus".

<sup>48</sup> Hurtado, *One God*, 82.

<sup>49</sup> Rainbow, "Jewish Monotheism", 88.

<sup>50</sup> "Divine Agents".

<sup>51</sup> Davis, "Divine Agents", 502.

<sup>52</sup> *Angel Veneration*; and "Angelic Refusal".

<sup>53</sup> Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration*, 270.

for the worship of Christ in the Book of Revelation.<sup>54</sup> Following Rowland's exegesis of Rev. 1.12-18, Stuckenbruck argues that Revelation may be a subtle critique of a "shared tradition" which understood Christ in terms of an angel: although Christ appears in the opening vision in the form of an angel he is not an angel, for he is worthy of worship while angels must refuse it (19.10, 22.8-9).<sup>55</sup>

Another recent work on angelic Christology which focuses on the Book of Revelation is Peter Carrell's monograph *Jesus and the Angels*.<sup>56</sup> Carrell takes as his starting point Rowland's suggestion that since the imagery surrounding the Risen Christ in Rev. 1.12-18 is dependent on the description of the principal angel found Dan. 10.5-9, the Apocalypse's Christology must be indebted to Jewish angelology. After examining in detail the Christophanies in Rev. 1.12-18, 14.14, and 19.11-16, Carrell concludes that an angelomorphic Christology is to be found in the Book of Revelation. On the basis of an interesting parallel in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, Carrell makes the intriguing suggestion that in these three visions Christ temporarily takes on the outward form of an angel.<sup>57</sup> Carrell, however, also emphasizes that Revelation portrays Christ as an ontologically divine figure, who "participates in the eternal being of God".<sup>58</sup>

In addition, Andrew Chester,<sup>59</sup> Michael Mach,<sup>60</sup> Robert Gundry,<sup>61</sup> Crispin Fletcher-Louis<sup>62</sup> and John Ashton,<sup>63</sup> to name just a few of the more important other recent contributions, have all found Jewish angelic categories behind the Christologies of various NT authors. All of the above works since Barbel, Kretschmar and Daniélou, although differing in many respects, agree that traditions about angelic figures in Second Temple Judaism were useful to early Christians in their attempt to understand and elucidate the significance of Christ. With the possible exceptions of Bühner and Fossum, they all differ from Werner in that they do not find in early Christianity the belief that Christ possessed an angelic nature. Many of these scholars, then, prefer the term "angelomorphic Christology" to Werner's "angel Christology". One exception to this trend, however,

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<sup>54</sup> Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration*, 272-273.

<sup>55</sup> Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration*, 258-261, 271-272.

<sup>56</sup> Published in 1997.

<sup>57</sup> Carrell, *Jesus*, 172-173, 192-195, 224-226.

<sup>58</sup> Carrell, *Jesus*, 117-118.

<sup>59</sup> "Messianic Expectations", esp. 75-78.

<sup>60</sup> *Entwicklungsstadien*, 287-291.

<sup>61</sup> "Angelomorphic".

<sup>62</sup> *Luke-Acts*.

<sup>63</sup> "Bridging Ambiguities", esp. 87-89.

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