

CRISPIN H. T. FLETCHER-LOUIS

Luke-Acts:
Angels, Christology
and Soteriology

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

94

Mohr Siebeck

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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

94



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For Mary
She's a Superstar Yeah!
(Roy Ayers)

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Advent, 1996
Oxford, England

Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Greek and Latin authors follow LCL conventions. Pseudepigraphical, apocryphal works and Dead Sea Scrolls follow SBL conventions, with the exception of the following.

1En	Enoch (Aramaic, Greek & Ethiopic)
2Bar	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
2En	Slavonic Enoch
3Bar	Greek Apocalypse of Baruch
3En	Hebrew Enoch
ApocAbr	Apocalypse of Abraham
ApocSedr	Apocalypse of Sedrach
ApocZeph	Apocalypse of Zephaniah
ARN	Aboth de Rabbi Nathan
AscIsa	Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah
BGU	Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
EthEn	Ethiopic Enoch only
GenR, ExodR etc..	Genesis Rabbah, Exodus Rabbah etc..
GospPet	Gospel of Peter
GospThom	Gospel of Thomas
HekhR	Hekhalot Rabbati
HistRech	History of the Rechabites
I.Eph.	Die Inschriften von Ephesos (ed. Merkelbach et al.).
MidrTeh	Midrash Tehillim
P.Oslo	Papyri Osloenses (ed. Eitrem & Amundsen).
P.Oxy	The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (ed. Grenfell, Hunt et al.).
MRI	Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael
PR	Pesiqta Rabbati
PRE	Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer
PrJac	Prayer of Jacob
PrJos	Prayer of Joseph
PRK	Pesiqta de Rab Kahana

PsJon	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
PsSol	Psalms of Solomon
QuaestEx	Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum
QuaestGn	Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesis
P.Iand	Papyri Iandanae (ed. Kalbfleisch)
SibOr	Sibylline Oracles
T12Pats	Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs
T3Pats	Testament of the Three Patriarchs
TAdam	Testament of Adam
TanhB	Tanhumer (ed. Buber)
TMos	Testament (Assumption) of Moses
P.Fay	<i>Fayûm Towns and their Papyri</i> (ed. Grenfell & Hunt).
VAE	Vita Adae et Evae

Mishnaic tractates conform to the abbreviations in Danby 1933 with the exception of AZ = Abodah Zarah; Qidd = Qiddushin; Suk = Sukkah.

For standard reference works and series see *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* 2. Auflage. Siegfried M. Schwertner. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 1992, except for the following;

ABC	Anchor Bible Commentary.
AFLN-WG	Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften.
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica.
AV	Authorised King James Version.
<i>Beginnings</i>	Jackson Foakes & Kirsopp Lake 1920-33.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridumtheologicarum Lovaniensium.
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i> .
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series.
ConB	Coniectanea biblica.
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica, New Testament.
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum .
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i> .
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls.
EKK	Evangelische-Katholischer Kommentar.
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>

<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times.</i>
FPG	Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca (ed. Denis)
<i>Grammar</i>	Moulton 1919, 1920, 129.
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
<i>HJPAJC</i>	Schürer et al., <i>History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ.</i>
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament.
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review.</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation.</i>

Introduction

The New History-of-Religions School & Luke-Acts

1. Angelic Categories in the New *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*

In recent years Martin Hengel has spoken of a new *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*.¹ In doing so he describes a collection of scholars with broadly similar aims and methods who are working specifically in the area of early Christology. Indicative of their history-of-religions approach is an interest in Jewish precedents for the early Christian view of Jesus as a mediatorial figure, who, though human, transcends that humanity. Accordingly these scholars are interested in various exalted patriarchs such as Enoch, Melchizedek, Moses, principal angels such as Michael and Gabriel, and other 'Mittelwesen' such as Wisdom, the Logos, the Son of Man, and various isolated characters peculiar to specific Jewish texts.² Not surprisingly much of the discussion has been orientated to the influential work of Wilhelm Bousset, whose name is synonymous with the old *religionsgeschichtliche Schule*.³ Bousset discussed many of the mediatorial figures at the heart of the present debate, though he ultimately saw Christology developing from influences outside a pure Jewish

¹ See back cover of Hurtado 1988 (American edition: Fortress: Philadelphia), cf Fossum 1991.

² For extensive surveys and discussions of this material see e.g. Dunn 1989 [1980]:13-22, 67-82, 105, 168-176, 215-230; Rowland 1982:94-113; 1985a:35-39; Fossum 1985; de Lacey 1987; Rainbow 1987:66-99; Hurtado 1988; Chester 1991a:17-65, (with specific reference to Pauline Christology pp66-89); Casey 1991:78-96; Blackburn 1991:154-176; Barker 1992; Segal 1992. The impact of the annual U.S. National SBL meeting's 'Divine Mediator Figures in Antiquity Group' is represented by, e.g. Fossum 1991. Note also the contributions of Bühner 1977; Hengel 1976; 1995 to the history-of-religions question.

For the impact on more general studies see e.g. Dahl 1991:113-126, esp. 131.

³ Esp. Bousset-Gressman 1966 [1924]. See particularly his section headed 'Der Monotheismus und die den Monotheismus beschränkenden Unterströmungen' pp302-57. For orientation to Bousset's work see Hurtado 1988:22-27; Stuckenbruck 1995:5-21.

monotheism.⁴ Within the context of a general shift towards an appreciation of the Jewish nature of early Christianity, a defining characteristic of the new history-of-religions school is an emphasis on the extent to which the full breadth of Christological expression is fashioned from Jewish raw materials.⁵

Within this new approach there exists something of a paradox. There is the overwhelming impression that in the Jewish material angels figure particularly prominently as mediatorial beings. In 1941 Martin Werner claimed a thoroughgoing *Engelchristologie* for earliest Christianity. Yet, since Wilhelm Michaelis's rebuttal of Werner's thesis in the following year (1942), several important studies of early Christology have firmly concluded that an angel Christology, though a possibility, was never seriously entertained by the New Testament Church.⁶

In particular the work of Alan Segal, Christopher Rowland and Jarl Fossum, which is devoted in the first instance to the Jewish material, emphasises that where other characteristics are evident these tend to congregate around the angelic category.⁷ In the conclusion to his survey of the mediatorial and messianic background of Pauline Christology, Andrew Chester has commented that 'as we have noted throughout, angelological themes are in many ways the most pervasive and developed, and their

⁴ 1966 [1904]:319-357 esp. p319, cf 1970 *passim*. See also Moore 1922.

⁵ Particularly vociferous in this respect, Hurtado 1988, 1993; Fossum 1985, 1987, 1991. For recent overviews of the issues see Rainbow 1991; Dunn 1994; Stuckenbruck 1995:6-21. As Stuckenbruck's discussion makes clear the new school is roughly divided between those (such as Hurtado, Bauckham and Dunn) who would emphasise the discontinuity between the position given to Jesus in early Christianity, and those (such as Rowland, Fossum and Barker) who are more prepared to see continuity with a Judaism which already provides categories for the fully divine view of Jesus.

The new *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* is not without its detractors. Though to some extent appreciative of recent developments, Casey's work represents the maintenance of the older, Boussetian paradigm for Christological development, as his 1991 title 'From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God', suggests. Without substantiation Rainbow is skeptical as to the importance of angelic, mediator figures, 1987 *passim*, 1991:85.

⁶ Dunn 1989 [1980]:149-159; Hengel 1995:171, 221-2, 377 n.42. *Ibid* p376 Hengel notes as 'curious' this paradox. (Compare Hengel 1976:46-48). A slightly abridged English translation of Werner's contribution appeared in 1957.

⁷ Segal 1977, cf 1990; Rowland 1982, cf 1980; 1983; 1985b; Fossum 1985, cf 1983; 1987. Segal 1977:208 & Rowland 1985a:251f call for greater examination of the angelic background to Christology.

For the influence of these authors see Hurtado 1988:71-92, esp. 74, the foreword to the second edition of Dunn's *Christology in the Making* 1989:xi-xxxix, and Blackburn 1991.

importance can hardly be exaggerated.⁸ In an article devoted to the categorization of Jewish mediatorial characters Philip G. Davis has also highlighted the conceptual importance and primacy of the angelic.⁹

He offers the distinction between three patterns of mediatorial behaviour segregated with respect to time. First, there is a *legacy* pattern in which a patriarch such as Abraham or David from the past continues to have a mediatorial legacy in the present. Secondly, there is an *interventionist* pattern, exemplified by angels who are able to mediate between God and humanity both in the past and ideal future, but also in the present. Thirdly, there is a *consummation* pattern which looks to the eschatological mediation of a particular character. Since New Testament Christology conforms to all three patterns Davis considers the angelic background, which also admits the triple pattern, to be the most important resource for that Christology.¹⁰

Historically, there are important theological reasons for an emphasis on the 'angelic' category in any investigation of Jewish intermediaries as the context of early Christology. In the first instance, from the beginning of the Pentateuch the biblical belief in one specific angel (מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה / ἄγγελος κυρίου) is used to articulate the belief in the One God's visible presence in history (e.g. Gen 16:7-14; 22:11-15; Exod 3:1-14; Num 22:22-35; Judg 2:1-4 etc..).

Secondly, whilst the Hebrew bible is strongly monotheistic, to the total exclusion of other 'Gods', there is also a sense in which it is weakly henotheistic.¹¹ That is to say that whilst its literature frequently denies the reality of other gods,¹² at other times they are acknowledged as having a reality, albeit one subordinate to the one Living God.¹³ There are various OT texts which speak of many gods (אֱלֹהִים).¹⁴ However, at least by the

⁸ 1991a:62-3, cf generally pp61-5.

⁹ 1994.

¹⁰ 1994:498.

¹¹ For Jewish angelology as essentially pantheistic see Wink 1984; 1986; 1992:3-10. Cf esp. EthEn 39:12 where the spirits (i.e. angels) replace the glory of God of Isa 6:3 in filling the earth.

¹² E.g. Deut 4:32-40; 32:37-9; Isa 43:10-13; 44:6, 8; 45:5-6, 14, 18, 21-3; 46:9; 2En J 33:8; 36:1; SibOr 3:628-31, 760; Orphica 7-16; TAbR A 8:7; AscIsa 4:6-8, cf Aristeas 134-5. Bousset-Gressmann 1966 [1904]:305f; Rainbow 1987:45-6.

¹³ See e.g. Rainbow 1987:34-5, 51-8, who recognises the reality of gods in Paul's language in 1Cor 8:4-5, pp146-9. Also Philo *Spec Leg* 1:53; *Mos* 2:205; Josephus *Ant* 4:207; *Ap* 2:237 (cf Exod 22:28 LXX). Luke knows this tradition: his reference to the 'blaspheming of [pagan] gods' in Acts 19:37 clearly parallels Josephus' language at *Ant* 4:207.

¹⁴ E.g. Exod 15:11; Deut 3:24; Ps 82:1, 6; 97:7; 138:1. Cf the OT expression God of gods (אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהִים) see e.g. Deut 10:17; Josh 22:22; Ps 84:7; 136:2; Dan 2:47; 11:36. Cf Song of

turn of the eras these מַלְאָכִים are regarded as God's *angelic* host. This can be seen in particular in the DSS where מַלְאָכִים (or מַלְאִים) is a common way of referring to the angels.¹⁵ Michael Mach's thorough examination of the 'Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit' has highlighted the way the LXX, and other authors, tend to guard against polytheism by translating מַלְאָכִים as ἄγγελοι.¹⁶

These מַלְאָכִים/ἄγγελοι are variously responsible for controlling the natural elements, human institutions, and generally administering interaction between humanity and God. Thus late second Temple *angelology* becomes the primary means by which some recognition of the complexity, and multifarious nature of divine action and presence within creation and history is retained, without selling out to pagan polytheism.¹⁷ There is a sense in which, not only by agency, but also in identity angels participate in the being of the One God.¹⁸ Some Greek speaking Jews were evidently happy to call angels θεοί, thereby recognising the 'divinity' of the angelic pantheon.¹⁹ Yet angels are clearly distinguished from and subordinate to the One Living God.

When we examine the evidence for Jewish mediatorial figures we will find that whereas the Greco-Roman context believed in various θεοί, and θεῖου ἄνδρες, the Jewish one more naturally appeals to the angelic category. As regards putative hypostatic figures such as Wisdom and

Three Young Men 68; LXX addition to Esther 14:12; 1En 9:5; Jub 8:20; 23:1; SibOr 3:278; 5:138-9.

¹⁵ Mach 1992:231 n.236. See Davidson 1992:333-342. *Pace* Mach 1992:231 n.326 it does not appear that the angels are distinguished from מַלְאָכִים מַלְאָכִים: see Newsom 1985:282.

¹⁶ 1992:73-82, 100-105. Cf Ps 8:5; 97:7; 138:1; 4QDeut 32:43; Isa 9:5, with LXX & Dan 2:11 OG. 1Enoch, esp. 1-37, has interpreted the מַלְאָכִים of Gen 5:22, 24 as a reference to angels. Cf Vanderkam 1984:44, '[Jews] when they had recourse to mythological language, would reduce the gods of the other nations to the rank of angels in order to incorporate these traditions or motifs into their monotheistic system'.

¹⁷ Hurtado's work, esp. 1988:22-39, has rightly emphasised that Jewish angelology is intended to express God's activity within creation and history, rather than simply his distance from it. However, his failure to appreciate the interrelationship between ontology and function means he misses the extent to which angels themselves thereby participated in God's being, (cf Chester 1991a:64). There are important philosophical questions here which require further reflection, see e.g. MacKinnon 1976.

¹⁸ Cf Rainbow 1987:57. Hence the frequent suffix -לָּא. An angelophany can function as a theophany, especially in the OT.

¹⁹ JosAs 17:9; 22:3; Pseudo-Phocylides 103. Cf Moses as θεός on basis of Exod 7:1 in Philo (e.g. *Sac* 9) & Josephus *B.J.* 2:154f for the resurrection state of the righteous equivalent to that of ἡμίθεοι.

Logos, it is arguable that these are in fact inseparable from, if not rooted in, an angelic mediator tradition.²⁰

Whilst Bousset was right to recognise a degree of overlap in identity between angels as divine beings, and the One Living God, more recent work has emphasised the exclusivist or unitarian nature of Jewish monotheism. Richard Bauckham and Larry Hurtado have insisted that a defining characteristic of Jewish monotheism is the fact that (cultic) worship is never offered to an angel.²¹ They find no pre-Christian worship of anyone other than the One Jewish God. This is a question which has been taken up in depth by Loren T. Stuckenbruck.²² The results of his study largely support the position of Bauckham and Hurtado; there is no unequivocal example of cultic devotion to an angel which could act as a precedent for the Christian worship of Christ.²³ There is a blessing of the

²⁰ Fossum 1987:237; Chester 1991a:50-2, 61; Gieschen 1995:103-120. For the Angel of the LORD as λόγος see Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* 96-99. For the identification of Wisdom with the Angel of the LORD compare Sirach 24:4 with Exod 14:19. For the constellation of λόγος, σοφία, and Angel of the LORD, compare Wis 18:15-16 with 1Chron 21:16, and Wis 9:1-2. In Wis 10:1-21 Wisdom takes over the role of the angelic character of the biblical text at the Sodom Cycle (Gen 18-19) and the Exodus narrative. For Philo's translation of the more normal Jewish category of ἄγγελοι into Hellenistic λόγοι see e.g. Pfeifer 1967:57-59; Stuckenbruck 1995:137 n.236.

The place of 'hypostatic' concepts such as Wisdom and Logos within second Temple Judaism has also been recognised as minimal by Pfeifer 1967. To the extent that they are conceived of as impersonal categories, their relevance for Christology, where we are concerned precisely with a personal being, has rightly been disputed by Davis (1994:491).

²¹ Hurtado 1988, esp. 27-35, 93-124; 1993; Bauckham 1980-1, cf Rainbow 1987:55. Contrast Bousset-Gressmann 1966 [1904]:329-331. Reviews of Hurtado's work by Chester 1991a:63-4; Rainbow 1991 have not challenged the fundamental value of the devotion criterion. Casey's attempt to play down the devotional dimension (1994:700, 704-5) is misguided.

²² 1995.

²³ However Stuckenbruck's work is more sensitive to the possibility of veneration, without outright cultic devotion. The strongest case Stuckenbruck finds for cultic devotion is the text of Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* (LAB) 13:6 which he translates '... the feast of trumpets shall be an offering for your watchers.' However this is one point where his analysis is unlikely.

Several considerations count strongly against any sacrificial offerings to angelic watchers at this point. First, there is the point, with which Stuckenbruck has not satisfactorily dealt (1995:172), that at 34:1ff a similar practice is viewed negatively. Secondly, though there were clearly watchers who did not fall, are we really to expect that a category of angel most commonly associated with the origin of evil (1En 1-37, cf LAB 34:1-3 etc..) was considered deserving of sacrificial offerings? Thirdly, the text itself suggests a far more plausible reading. The Latin reads 'oblationem erit pro speculatoribus',

angels in a couple of texts, but it is not clear that this, any more than God's blessing of humanity, requires an outright sense of 'worship', rather than 'veneration'. Within the New Testament we find a theological position, consistent with the Jewish heritage, in which the worship or veneration of angels is overtly opposed, (e.g. Rev 19:10; 22:8-9, cf Acts 10:25-6; 14:8-20; Col 2:18?; Heb 1:4f). It is not therefore clear how those milder instances of veneration could be relevant for early Christology.²⁴

However, Stuckenbruck's study is significant in that it demonstrates the inadequacy of concentration on 'Angel Veneration'. Stuckenbruck's conclusions are largely negative. He wants to explore the possible implications of the worship of angels for the formation of the Christology of Revelation. The results of his last chapter and conclusion indicate that there is a fundamental disjuncture between the veneration of angels - which the apocalypse firmly resists - and the worship of Jesus.²⁵ Stuckenbruck is not able to make a firm aetiological link between the two, only to note the

which is in parallelism to 'oblationem pro fructibus vestris,' at the end of the previous verse. Now the latter should be translated 'an offering (to God) for your fruits.' It is perfectly natural that the former is meant to be 'an offering (to God) for your watchers,' (*pace* Stuckenbruck 1995:171 n.5). Fourthly, it would be utterly remarkable if the worship of (many) watchers were to be included in a list recounting the OT's prescribed cultic festivals, (cf Lev 23). In anticipation of the results of our history-of-religions work in Part II of this thesis, the oddity of Stuckenbruck's proposal is the more remarkable, given that the only possible evidence of the worship of a divine agent is precisely that - the worship of *one*, rather than *many* divine agents.

The watchers are most probably related in some way to the astral bodies which govern the structure of the cosmos and the annual cycle. Late second Temple Judaism became greatly interested in the harmony with, and maintenance of, that structure. Accordingly, in context, thanksgiving for the watchers should probably be seen as a thanksgiving for those through whom the correct keeping of the festivals (LAB 13) is guaranteed.

Neither am I satisfied that in 4Q400 2 we have *cultic* veneration of angels (as Stuckenbruck 1995:158). It must be asked whether Stuckenbruck's is the only way to read the key line (line 2). At line 2b **יָנֹכְרִי אֱנֹשִׁים וְנוֹרָאִים** need be no more than a reference to the common pattern of human fear before the angelic or Divine. In 2a it is by no means clear that the **הַמָּוֶה** who are the subject of **נִכְבְּדִים** are necessarily glorified by other angels (**בְּכוֹל מַחְנֵי**), rather than, for example, by God himself. With these caveats, Stuckenbruck's study provides no single incident of unequivocal worship of angels in the (non-magical) Jewish literature.

²⁴ The problem is acute in Revelation, Stuckenbruck's chosen case study, since here there is a strong case for angelic characteristics within Christology.

²⁵ 1995:205-273. Rev 19:10; 22:8-9, cf 5:6-14; 7:9-12; 11:15-18; 12:10-12; 14:1-4; 19:1-16; 20:6; 22:3-4.

curious combination of both and the ‘possibility’ that the former is the appropriate context for the latter.

We suggest that two problems underlie Stuckenbruck’s thesis - problems which have clouded most recent attempts to find an angelic background to Christology.²⁶ First, he assumes throughout a definition of angel in the narrowest sense. That is, he does not allow his field of data to include humans who may be considered angelic.²⁷ Secondly, he freely admits that whilst the risen Christ has angelic characteristics,²⁸ he is not an angel. As Stuckenbruck recognises he is clearly superior to the angels.²⁹ Given that the opening vision of Jesus as the Son of Man also emphasises the fact of his death, (1:18), his identity is also qualified as more fully human than that of an angel. A more fruitful context for elucidation of the worship of Jesus would therefore be found not in traditions where an *angel* receives veneration, but where a figure who is both angelic but also human and fully Divine, receives worship.³⁰ In terms of the debate between Werner and Michaelis, the challenge of any examination of the place of angel traditions behind NT Christology is to explain the ‘Doppelfrage des Verhältnisses des Christus einerseits zu Gott, andererseits zum geschichtliche Jesu von Nazareth.’³¹ This problem is particularly clear with respect to Hebrews. In his 1932 article on the question Adolphine Bakker perceptively highlighted the way in which in the first two chapters the author of Hebrews uses angel traditions to qualify Jesus as both fully human and fully divine over against the angels.³²

Stuckenbruck’s study is also significant in that it blurs an important conceptual distinction for any study of the relevance of angel categories for Christology. Revelation is primarily concerned with the *risen* Christ. In

²⁶ In particular the debate between Werner (1941) and Michaelis (1942). For an overview of the history of discussion of an ‘angel Christology’ see Hurtado 1988:72-74.

²⁷ For example in the History of the Rechabites the blessed are called ‘earthly angels’ (ἄγγελοι ἐπίγειοι). Yet Stuckenbruck denies that they are ‘angels’ in the proper sense’, (p105 n.144). This is an important judgement because in 6:1 they are clearly on the receiving end of some degree of devotion.

²⁸ Cf Rowland 1980; Yarbro Collins 1992; Gundry 1994. See esp Rev 1:13-20 & 14:14f.

²⁹ 1995:232-240. In Rev 1:18, set in the context of a strongly angelomorphic Christological portrait, 1:13-20, Christ’s death may be intended to mark out his humanity over against the angels.

³⁰ Surprisingly little is made of the one example where there is clear worship of one such a figure, Vita Adae et Evae 12-16, Stuckenbruck 1995:179.

³¹ Werner 1941:310. See Michaelis 1942:85-89 for a critique of the claim that an angel-Christology answers this ‘Doppelfrage’.

³² Esp. pp259-262.

discussing an angel Christology, Stuckenbruck compares a number of traditions outside the New Testament, in which Jesus is understood as angelic.³³ Yet in most of these, angelic categories are utilised to explain either Jesus' pre-existence,³⁴ or his life on earth.³⁵ (Though the primary focus in texts such as Ascension of Isaiah and the Shepherd of Hermas lies elsewhere, they may secondarily assist in explaining the mode of the risen Christ.³⁶)

That the risen Christ should be described in angelic language is not surprising since it was common in Jewish and Christian thought for the resurrected to be closely related to the angels.³⁷ This comes to the fore in Jesus' debate with the Sadducees, Mk 12:25 and parallels, but is rooted in Old Testament religion (e.g. Dan 12:3), and was a view which came to dominate in the post-biblical period.³⁸ From this perspective it is more surprising that throughout the New Testament Jesus' resurrected and risen state is qualified in a more than angelic direction, such that he receives worship and is merged with the One Jewish God. As far as the wider history-of-religions perspective is concerned, any angelomorphic remnants in the portrayal of the risen Jesus do not need further exploration or justification.³⁹ There remain three questions which do require further

³³ 1995:138-39. Justin *Apol* 6; 63; *Dial* 34; 61; 126 and 128, (cf 56; 58; 60); Hermas *Vis* 5:2; *Mand* 5:1:7; *Sim* 5:4:4; 7:1-5; 8:1:2-18; 8:2:1; 8:3:3; 9:1:3; 10:1:1 and 10:3:1; Ebionites according to Epiphanius *Pan* 30:3:1-6; the Elchasaites according to Hippolytus *Ref* 9:13:1-3; GThom 13; TSol 6:8, cf Slavonic Josephus (Addition 12, LCL 3:648-9).

To these should be added ApostConst 8:12:7; Epistola Apostolorum 14, and the references discussed in Daniélou 1964:117-146 & Trigg 1991.

³⁴ So Justin (cf Stuckenbruck 1995:138 n.238); Hermas (Gieschen 1994), Asclsa, (Knight 1995:79-84: see 3:13; 10:7-11:33); Epistola Apostolorum 14; ApostConst 8:12:7.

³⁵ GThom 13; Slavonic Josephus, (cf *Ant.* 18:63 'If indeed one ought to call him a man'). Both these texts view an 'angel' Christology as ultimately inadequate.

³⁶ Cf Stuckenbruck 1995:138.

³⁷ The point is noted by Dunn 1989 [1980]:154; Hengel 1995:221, cf Werner 1941:313f. With respect to Luke-Acts compare Lk 24:26 with the δόξα in Lk 9:31.

³⁸ For a thorough examination of the numerous relevant Jewish texts see Cavallin 1974:203-211; Mach 1992a:163-173; Smelik 1995. On the question of the origins of this belief see, Hengel 1974:196-202; van der Toorn 1991.

From the discussions in Josephus (*B.J.* 2:162-6; *Ant* 18:12-15), and our examination of Acts 23 (below), it is clear that the Sadducees, who were in the minority over against the Pharisees, Essenes, and other groups, retained the older 'Biblical' view in this respect.

³⁹ Werner 1941:314; Longenecker 1971:26: 'Jean Daniélou has demonstrated that terms borrowed from the vocabulary of angelology were widely used by Jewish Christians up to the fourth century with reference to Christ and the Spirit, and that after this these expressions tended to disappear because of their ambiguity and the use made of them by

elucidation. The first, which Stuckenbruck does not finally answer, asks, 'How are angelic characteristics of the risen Jesus related to his reception of worship, (which defines him over against (other) angels)?'

Secondly, we need to reflect more seriously on the possible connection between angelic categories and the portrayal of Christ *during his life and ministry*. That so human a figure as the Jesus of the Synoptic gospels could be considered angelic is far more contentious than is the case for the risen Jesus.⁴⁰ However, from these introductory reflections, we may rightly wonder whether, since early Christians ultimately deemed the angelic too narrow a category with respect both to Jesus' humanity and his Divinity, it was not a more basic building block, which survives as an erratic boulder amidst later theological expression. Certainly in the case of GThom 13, the angelic is viewed as one step on the rung to a full understanding of Jesus' identity.⁴¹ There is an important tradition which understands the Son of Man title with reference to precisely this category. The Son of Man question is in a state of scholarly disarray, and without substantial clarification of the issues and their resolution there will be no firm basis for the claim that angelic categories have influenced early understandings of the life of Christ. In any case it remains to be seen how an angelic Son of Man (identified with Michael, Gabriel or whoever), could be integrated with the very human Jesus of the gospels.

Thirdly, arising out of the necessary distinction between the earthly and risen Jesus, it must be asked whether or not there is any essential continuity in identity between the two phases of existence. Werner's thesis was built on the assumption that early Christians believed in a transformation of the earthly Jesus into an angelic state and identity upon his resurrection (and ascension).⁴² However, it is not immediately clear whether the NT understood an essential transformation in identity and status upon Christ's resurrection.⁴³ If the earthly Jesus was already angelic in some way, how might this category facilitate the expression of a kind of identity-indifference between the earthly Jesus, and the risen Lord, between the

expressions tended to disappear because of their ambiguity and the use made of them by the Arians.'

⁴⁰ John's gospel is perhaps another matter. For the recent utilisation of angel(omorph)ic categories for the elucidation of Johannine Christology see Bühner 1977; Fossum 1992; Ashton 1994:71-89.

⁴¹ Stuckenbruck 1995:139 n.239 errs in claiming the angelic confession is 'rejected'. Cf Slavonic Addition to Josephus (12).

⁴² 1941:313f.

⁴³ Cf Michaelis 1942:99-108.

present Son of Man of the gospels, and the exalted Son of Man of Acts 7:54f?

This review of the present state of discussion, with particular attention to Stuckenbruck's study, has orientated our study to issues which need further examination. If the angelic category is too narrow, and in any case unfruitful for the clarification of early Christian devotion to Christ, is there a broader one, which nevertheless retains the recognition of the centrality of the angelic?

After the abortive attempt of M. Werner in the early 40's to argue for a primitive angel Christology, there was little further study of the subject. However one advance was made by Jean Daniélou's study of Jewish Christianity. Though he concentrated on traditions no earlier than the second century he made a significant advance by coining the phrase 'angelomorphic'.⁴⁴ Though he provided no clear definition of this word, only the general regard for a representation of Christ 'by means of the imagery of various angelic beings', his study recognises that Jesus need not be regarded as an angel, without remainder, for angelic categories to have been regarded as appropriate and useful in articulating a particular Christology. Though taken up by Richard Longenecker's study of Jewish Christology,⁴⁵ Daniélou's technical nuancing of vocabulary has not been treated seriously with regard to the first century context.⁴⁶ However, various conceptual advances have been made in recent studies which open up the possibility of a serious study of the relevance of angelomorphic categories within an essentially apocalyptic christological context. To these investigations we will turn shortly. However before we do so, some reflections on the way the apocalyptic worldview has been understood will help to explain the lack of scholarly interest in an 'angelomorphic' Christology.

⁴⁴ 1964:117-146. Daniélou's work for the patristic period was reliant on earlier studies of Barbel 1941; Bakker 1933 & Kretschmar 1956.

⁴⁵ 1970:26-32. Longenecker covers similar ground to Daniélou and earlier patristic studies, and also lacks a clear definition of the word 'angelomorphic.'

⁴⁶ Stuckenbruck does use the word 'angelomorphic' on a number of occasions, though as we have seen he is not fully sensitive to the conceptual importance of a distinction between angelic and angelomorphic.

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