MATTHEW L. WALSH

Angels Associated with Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Angelology and Sectarian Identity at Qumran

Mohr Siebeck

Matthew L. Walsh, born 1978; 2016 PhD in Religious Studies (Second Temple Period Judaism and Early Christianity) from McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada; since 2016 Assistant Professor of Biblical Studies, Acadia Divinity College in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada.

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For Christine, Elijah, Joseph,
Sarah, and Oliver

Preface

This study is a revision of my doctoral dissertation, which was defended on 24 June 2016 at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. A dissertation/book may be written by one person, but without the wisdom, assistance, and diligence of numerous individuals, it would not have seen the light of day.

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Most of all, I am grateful for my wife, Christine, and our children, Elijah, Joseph, Sarah, and Oliver, who exude love and understanding on a daily basis. They have been a constant source of encouragement, and it is with joy that I dedicate this study to them.

Matthew L. Walsh
Fall River, Nova Scotia
4 November 2019

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Edited by James B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
ANYAS	Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ASORMS	American Schools of Oriental Research Monograph Series
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
AUSDDS	Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BCOTWP	Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BRLJ	Brill Reference Library of Judaism
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZRGG	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Religions – und Geistesgeschichte
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CDSSE	*The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English: Revised Edition.* Géza Vermes. New York: Penguin Books, 2011.
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CJAS	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series

CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CTA	*Corpus des tablettes en cuneiforms alphabetiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939.* Edited by Andrée Herdner. Paris: Geuthner, 1963.
CTU	*The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places.* Edited by Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquin Sanmartin. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DCLY	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook
DDD	*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible.* Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill, 1995. 2nd rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DSSANT	*The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook. New York: Harper Collins, 1996.
DSSSE	*The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997–98.
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientals dans l'empire romain
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FO	*Folia Orientalia*
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
GAP	Guides to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HBAI	*Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
Hen	*Henoch*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies

HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Imm	*Immanuel*
Int	*Interpretation*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
JAAJ	*Judaïsme Ancien – Ancient Judaism*
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBS	*Journal of Biblical Studies*
JCTC	Jewish and Christian Texts in Context and Related Studies
JESOT	*Journal for the Evangelical Study of the Old Testament*
JHebS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPSTC	Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.* Edited by Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquin Sanmartin. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MT	Masoretic Text
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	*New Testaments Studies*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985.
OTS	Old Testament Studies
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*

PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
SB	Sources biblique
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SMSR	*Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
SSU	Studia Semitica Upsaliensia
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature (Lang)
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTG	Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Boatterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green and Douglas W. Scott. 16 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2018.
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by M. E. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997.
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
TWOT	*Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke. 2 vols. Chicago: The Moody Bible Institute, 1980.

TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WLAW	Wisdom Literature from the Ancient World
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Chapter 1

General Introduction, History of Research, and Objectives and Plan of Study

A. General Introduction

Angelic beings are depicted in a variety of ways in the Hebrew Bible: as messengers, as military commanders, and as protectors of the faithful, but for the most part they are unnamed and relatively undeveloped as characters. It is not until the middle of the Second Temple Period that we begin to witness heightened interest in angels. Many developments stem from reflection upon biblical themes and categories, as angels are creatively assigned names, ranks, and duties with ever-increasing specificity.[1]

An aspect of Hebrew Bible angelology[2] that was the subject of considerable speculation in the Second Temple Period – and a main concern of the present study – was the concept that certain angels were closely associated with Israel. These angels are cast as having at least two vocations, though not infrequently there is overlap between them. 1.) Angels who served as the guardians of God's people: while angelic assistance or support for Israel in times of trouble or war has considerable biblical precedent (e.g., Exod 14:19; Josh 5:13–15; 2 Kgs 19:35), the early Jewish expansion of this concept includes the notions that certain angels were warriors who strived against the angels associated with Israel's enemies in the celestial realm and/or were granted a prominent role in the eschatological deliverance of God's people.[3]

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[1] On this development, see Larry W. Hurtado, "Monotheism, Principal Angels, and the Background of Christology," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds., Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 550–551.

[2] Kevin P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (AJEC 55; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 7, echoes the oft-noted warning that the term "angelology" be used with caution as it can misleadingly suggest that a given text or corpus is systematic in its presentation of angelic beings. I use "angelology" here and elsewhere mindful of the diversity with which angels are portrayed both in the Hebrew Bible and in the literature of the Second Temple Period.

[3] For an introduction, see Darrell D. Hannah, "Guardian Angels and Angelic National Patrons in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity," in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings – Origins, Development and Reception* (eds., Friedrich V. Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, and Karen Schöpflin; DCLY; New York: de Gruyter, 2007), 413–435.

2.) Angels who served as priests: a notion that is implicit at best in the Hebrew Bible yet a topic of interest in the Second Temple period literature is that there were angelic priests who ministered in a heavenly temple. In this scenario, the celestial sanctuary and its celebrants seemed to have been understood as the archetypes for Israel's sanctuary and priesthood.[4] A crucial component of the presentation of both angelic guardians and priests was that they were envisioned within apocalyptic worldviews that assumed that "earthly realities reflect and mirror heavenly ones,"[5] and a related development was that there was thought to be some kind of connection, correspondence, or parallel relationship between the realms. While angels associated with Israel could be a named or titled individual, another development – and one often found side-by-side with the notion of an angelic leader-figure – was that the existence, actions, and fates of the angelic host collectively were connected to the Jewish people on earth.

Certain texts will be key to my discussion and will form the basis of much of the analysis in subsequent chapters. Deuteronomy 32:8–9 is an obvious starting point, as according to this text Yhwh has assigned celestial beings a guardian-like role over other nations, but he rules Israel directly. In contrast, the Enochic *Book of Watchers* suggests that, at least by the 3rd cent. BCE, there were those who thought there were named angels in heaven such as Michael, who is said to have a special relationship with God's people (cf. 1 En. 20:5). Similarly, the Book of Daniel (2nd cent. BCE) portrays Michael as exemplary among the angelic host, whose struggles and victories in the heavenly realm are paralleled in the lives of God's people on earth (cf. Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1). While Jubilees (also 2nd cent. BCE) contains no angels with proper names,[6] a titled angelic class – "the angels of the presence" – and its eponymous leader are clearly marked as Israel's heavenly counterparts and serve as priests before God (cf. Jub. 2:2–30; 6:18; 15:27–28; 30:18; 31:14).[7]

But a parallel relationship between the realms does not sufficiently explain some of the claims of the Qumran texts, which speak of eschatological and even present interaction or communion between angels and humans. As I will discuss at length in later chapters, the Qumran movement[8] anticipated that they would fight in conjunction with the angels at the eschaton, as the

[4] On the concept of heaven as a temple and suggestions for this development, see Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 19–20, who comments that in early Jewish literature heaven is depicted as the "the true temple, of which the Jerusalem temple is merely a copy."

[5] Hannah, "Guardian Angels and Angelic National Patrons," 420.

[6] The exception is the wicked Mastema. Cf. O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," *OTP* 2:47.

[7] "The angels of presence" and "the angels of holiness" are created circumcised, keep the Sabbath, and celebrate Shavuot; see Chapter 3, below.

[8] I will review how scholars refer to the group(s) associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls later in this chapter.

War Scroll predicts that Michael would lead an angel-human coterie known as the "Sons of Light" or "God's lot," and together they would take their stand against the "Sons of Darkness" at the great eschatological battle (cf. 1QM XVII, 4–9). Scholars have also suggested that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were employed liturgically by the sect to achieve fellowship with angelic priests in the present time, a feat celebrated in the sectarian hymns (cf. 1QH[a] XI, 20–24; XIX, 13–17; 1QS XI, 7–9).

However, the designations scholars have coined to express this relationship between heaven and earth can be employed without technical precision. For example, an individual angelic leader charged with the guardianship of a people or nation is often called a "patron."[9] Given that figures such as Michael wage war against the angels of other nations and have a role in securing eschatological salvation for the people of God, "patron" is not an inappropriate classificatory term. "Counterpart" is also used in reference to individual angelic guardians,[10] and though this term is quite helpful in that it expresses the thought that the people have a chief angelic complement in the heavenly realm, it is not without difficulties. First, "counterpart" may be less apt than "patron" to convey that the referenced angel is a benefactor, let alone one who leads the angelic host, protects God's people, and fights with them and on their behalf. Second, the plural, "counterparts," is often used as a descriptor for the collective angelic host associated with Israel, be it "the angels of the presence" and "the angels of holiness," who according to Jubilees bear the marks of the covenant and carry out priestly roles in the heavenly sanctuary,[11] or the Danielic "holy ones of the Most High," whose fates are closely intertwined with "the *people* of the holy ones of the Most High."[12] As with the singular, scholars use the plural "patrons" interchangeably with "counter-

[9] E.g., Michael is referred to as a "patron" by Hannah, "Guardian Angels and Angelic National Patrons," 420; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 295; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 103.

[10] John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 310, 317, dubs Michael the "heavenly counterpart of Israel," and similarly refers to the angel-like benefactor of the *Similitudes of Enoch*, "that Son of Man," as both the people's "patron" and their "counterpart."

[11] E.g., Devorah Dimant, "Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East* (ed., Adele Berlin; Bethesda: University of Maryland Press, 1996), 99, who writes, "the angels of presence and angels of holiness … were created circumcised (cf. *Jub.* 15:27–28). A sign of the divine covenant, it marks them as partakers of this covenant, and as heavenly counterparts of earthly Israel." Cf. R. M. M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy: A Study of the Development in Syria and Palestine from the Qumran Texts to Ephrem the Syrian* (STAC 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 119.

[12] E.g., Collins, *Daniel*, 318, in a discussion of Dan 7: "There is … a synergism between the faithful Israelites on earth and their angelic counterparts in heaven … ."

parts,"[13] and it is therefore important to specify the function of the counterparts under discussion. Another term that has been used by scholars to refer to a chief angel figure is "Doppelgänger,"[14] in the sense that Israel has a heavenly "double," whose exaltation and power in heaven will ultimately mean salvation for the suffering community this figure represents. Not surprisingly, the designation angelic "representatives"[15] is also used, and in light of the fact that the English word "representative(s)" can convey the concepts of "standing for" or "defending" someone (as per the role of angelic guardians) and "epitomizing" or "corresponding to" someone (as per the role of priestly angels) it is not an inappropriate term.

While I will make careful use of the above terms, the general designation I prefer is *angels associated with Israel*. Moreover, I will highlight whether these angels serve as Israel's guardians, who were expected to defend God's people against the nation's aggressors (angelic and human), or as priests in the heavenly temple, though it needs to be reiterated that angels are sometimes portrayed as fulfilling more than one vocation or role.

Thus, angels associated with Israel and the worldviews which envisioned these angels as connected to the people of God are the primary foci of this study. In short, I will examine the relevant Dead Sea Scrolls widely considered to be of a non-sectarian provenance (i.e., works not composed by the Qumran movement). I will also examine sectarian writings, and I will endeavor to show that the well-known angelic fellowship assertions of the sect made a significant contribution to how it viewed itself vis-à-vis other Jews. To provide a rationale for this study and to frame it in the context of modern critical scholarship, I will now present a brief history of research, which will be primarily focused on the intersection of angelology and Qumran studies.

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[13] Collins, *Daniel*, 318, again in reference to "the holy ones of the Most High," writes, "to the pious Jews of the Maccabean era, who had a lively belief in supernatural beings, nothing could be more relevant than that their angelic patrons should 'receive the kingdom.'"

[14] John J. Collins, "The Heavenly Representative: The 'Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (eds., George W. E. Nickelsburg and John J. Collins; SCS 12; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1980), 116, applies the term to the "Son of Man" of the *Similitudes of Enoch*.

[15] E.g., I. P. Culianu, "The Angels of the Nations and the Origins of Gnostic Dualism," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions: Presented to Gilles Quispel on the occasion of His 65th Birthday* (eds., R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 186. Also see, George Caird, *Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1956), 16–17, whose discussion rightly implies that to the ancient mind, humans could also be considered the earthly representatives of heavenly realities.

B. History of Research

Studies of early Jewish angelology have often been conducted in the course of investigating other topics, and it has been relatively rare for Second Temple Period angelology to be studied for its own sake.[16] Recent monographs and compilations have begun to address this void and rightly take into account the prominence of angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls. But angels associated with Israel and the worldviews within which these angels are presented have still not received the attention they deserve, especially as it pertains to investigating the religious identity of the Qumran movement. In this section, I will review relevant scholarship according to topic; I will then summarize the significance of this research for investigating angels associated with Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Angelology and Christology

Much angelological research has taken shape within New Testament scholarship on Christology. The intersection of angelology and Christology was, initially, an area of interest for German scholarship. Lueken's study appeared at the end of the 19th cent. and was followed by an intensified interest in the topic in the early 1940s.[17] These German works were the beginnings of research into "angel Christology" and "angelmorphic Christology," which have been the subjects of numerous studies in the last twenty-five years.

That ancient Judaism provided the earliest followers of Jesus with traditions of divine agency – the idea that the God of Israel, while maintaining his uniqueness, granted to a heavenly figure the role of chief vizier or agent – is central to the Christological thesis of Hurtado.[18] The diversity of Greco-

[16] Cf. Aleksander R. Michalak, *Angels as Warriors in Late Second Temple Period Literature* (WUNT 2/330; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 4, who observes that angelology often functions as a "springboard" for other scholarly pursuits.

[17] Wilhelm Lueken, *Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzenglel Michael* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898). The earlier German research was continued and expanded by Joseph Barbel, *Christos Angelos: Die Anschauung von Christus als Bote und Engel in der gelehrten und volkstümlichen Literatur des christlichen Altertums* (Bonn: Hanstien, 1941), 1. Cf. Martin Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogma* (Tübingen: Katzmann, 1941); Wilhelm Michaelis, *Zur Engelchristologie im Urchristentum: Abbau der Konstruktion Martin Werners* (Basel: Heinrich Majer, 1942).

[18] Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (2nd ed.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 12, 39. Examples include Michael (Dan 7–12) and Melchizedek (11Q13), who are pictured as having heavenly origins, exalted in heaven, and/or attributed with power and authority that approximate divine prerogatives. Thus, Hurtado argues that principal angel figures have more in common with the status ac-

Roman Judaism ensured that this chief agent could be envisioned in a variety of ways including that of a "principal angel,"[19] and the conclusion of Hurtado and others is that the elevated profiles of these divine agents did not compromise Jewish monotheism. Moreover, since the existence and even veneration[20] of these heavenly agents of mediation[21] and protection[22] did not impinge on the kind of devotion that was due God alone, early Christians found the language used to honour angels helpful in formulating their worship of Jesus, an act which the Church insisted did not contradict the oneness of the God of Israel.[23] The worship of Jesus should thus be seen as a distinctive modification or mutation of Jewish divine agency traditions.[24] As I will point out, it is not only true that Jewish monotheism was generally considered uncompromised by high-profile angelic leader-figures:[25] it was also considered a defining characteristic of God's people to have the support of these angels.

II. Angelology and Anthropology

A second area in which angelological investigation has taken place is the study of early Jewish anthropology, which includes attempts to explain hu-

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corded the risen Jesus by the early Church than earthly agents of God such as prophets, priests, kings, and messiahs.

[19] Hurtado, *One God*, 17–18, 71–92.

[20] So Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'God': Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism," in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism* (eds., idem and Wendy E. S. North; JSNTSup 263; London: T & T Clark, 2005), 69–70, who points out that while some early Jewish sources "could tolerate language of prayer and praise as directed towards angels" (e.g., Tob 11:14; 4Q418 [*=4QIntstruction*] 81 1–15; T. Levi 5:5–6; Jos. Asen. 11–12), … "even where the venerative language towards angelic beings is allowed, the authors ensure that it does not come at the price of reflection and focus on God. The logical tension remains, but the uniqueness of God continues to be asserted against any other possibility." Also see idem, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (WUNT 2/70; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995). Cf. Peter R. Carrell, *Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (SNTSMS 95; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[21] Philip G. Davis, "Divine Agents, Mediators, and New Testament Christology," *JTS* 45 (1994): 479–503, emphasizes the influence divine agency traditions had on the Church's understanding of the mediatorial role of Christ.

[22] Darrell D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (WUNT 2/109; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 218, explores the connections between Michael and Christology, concluding that the early Church "utilized Michael traditions to illustrate the heavenly significance of Christ, particularly his protection of and intercession for Christians."

[23] Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'God,'" 70.

[24] So Hurtado, *One God*, 12, 93–124.

[25] As Hannah, *Michael and Christ*, 217, observes: Michael traditions had more Christological usefulness than other principal angel traditions because "they were the most pervasive and the most multifarious" in the Second Temple Period.

mans with an exalted status. While many scholars have insisted on maintaining a distinction between angels and humans,[26] the most ardent proponent of the juxtaposition of angelology and anthropology is Fletcher-Louis, who has claimed the original and eschatological-redeemed state of humanity envisioned by the Qumran sect included an exalted anthropology, which he describes as "divine (and/or angelic)."[27] The Qumran movement attained this true humanity through their worship, which transcended not only time and space but also human ontology. The notion of angelic humanity traditions has been criticized, however, for seeing an ontological ambiguity between angels and humans when the evidence suggests only the "possibility of crossing the boundary between the earthly and heavenly sphere, especially by angels and on rare occasions by very righteous humans."[28] Fletcher-Louis has clarified and supplemented his approach,[29] and I will briefly return to some of his more controversial assertions in subsequent chapters. But it needs to be said here that the present study is, in part, a response to his observation that there is a need for more detailed investigations of the intersection of angelology and the sectarian identity of the Qumran movement.[30]

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[26] So, e.g., Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*.

[27] Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2003). Cf. idem, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology, and Soteriology* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997). Also see Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelmorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (AGJU 42; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 152–183. For a classic investigation of seven Pseudepigrapha, which are either later than the Second Temple Period or are notoriously difficult to date, see James H. Charlesworth, "The Portrayal of Righteous as an Angel," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (eds., George W. E. Nickelsburg and John J. Collins; SCS 12; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 135–151.

[28] Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, 232. Cf. J. O'Neill, review of Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology, and Soteriology*, *JTS* 50 (1999), 225–230; Carol A. Newsom, review of Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *DSD* 10 (2003): 431–435.

[29] Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "Further Reflections on a Divine and Angelic Humanity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (eds., Esther G. Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 183–198, here 197, has sought to explain his "divine and/or angelic" anthropology thesis by further recourse to the *War Scroll*, which he sees as espousing a "thoroughgoing image-of-God-in-humanity theology." For example, the standards of Israel's army, which were dedicated to the people of God, Israel, Aaron, and the twelve tribes (cf. 1QM III, 13–14), were not promoting idolatry but countering the idolatrous military equipment of the Romans, whose standards made use of zoomorphic images. Thus, Fletcher-Louis argues that the sectarians were convinced of the following: "[I]n order to cleanse the world of idolatrous man-made images and gods who are no gods, God intends to use his true image, Adam-in-Israel, to fill creation with his Glory."

[30] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory*, 88–89.

III. Angelology and Mysticism

Given the fascination with the heavenly realm in mystical texts, angelological investigation has also occurred in studies of mysticism. A particular focus of recent scholarship is the attempt to trace the development of Jewish and Christian mysticism, and often included in these investigations is a survey of the apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple Period, as this addresses a perceived weakness of the foundational work of Scholem,[31] who could only allude to the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls given their slow publication process. Access to the complete Qumran corpus has, not surprisingly, prompted explorations of the relationship between the Scrolls and the later *Merkavah* and *Hekhalot* literature.[32] A particularly ambitious and controversial monograph is that of Elior,[33] and though her work has been criticized for positing a centuries-spanning continuum of priestly ideology and for implying that the diverse texts of the Second Temple Period are univocal on a number of issues, she draws attention to an important theme in the early Jewish literature: the correspondence between heaven and earth, particularly the correlation between angels and the priests.[34] Texts like Jubilees and *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* testify to the belief that the priesthood has angelic ori-

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[31] Cf. Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1954); idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1960).

[32] E.g., Michael D. Swartz, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Later Jewish Magic and Mysticism," *DSD* 8 (2001): 182–190; Ra'anan Abusch, "Sevenfold Hymns in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Hekhalot Literature: Formalism, Hierarchy and the Limits of Human Participation," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed., James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 220–247; Elisabeth Hamacher, "Die Sabbatopferlieder im Streit um Ursrung und Anfänge der jüdischen Mystik," *JJS* 27 (1996): 119–154.

[33] Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004).

[34] See the chapter entitled "Priests and Angels" in Elior, *The Three Temples*, 165–200. But even on this point, see the critique of Martha Himmelfarb, "Merkavah Mysticism since Scholem: Rachel Elior's *The Three Temples*," in *Mystical Approaches to God: Judaism, Christianity, Islam* (ed., Peter Schäfer; München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006), 24–30, 34–36, who suggests that Elior either does not pay sufficient attention to the important differences between texts or obscures significant details. For example, in an effort to bolster her claim that mystical traditions were valued and transmitted in priestly circles, Elior obscures a key claim of Jubilees: *all* Israel (i.e., not just the priests) are represented by the priestly angels. Cf. eadem, "The Book of Jubilees and Early Jewish Mysticism," in *Enoch and Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (eds., Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 389–390.

gins, and thus the angelic priesthood served as both a role model and a source of heavenly validity for the earthly priesthood.[35]

Key features of mysticism for which the Dead Sea Scrolls are studied are the goal of the mystic and how mystical experience was achieved. Schäfer contends that ascent was the means by which the mystic bridged the gap between heaven and earth, an experience resulting in a vision of God on his throne and communion – not union[36] – with the divine, and that the *Self-Glorification Hymn* and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were used to achieve this communion.[37] Schäfer also makes the important observation that mystical ascent was, with few exceptions, not an end in itself but the experience of a worthy individual for the sake of his community.[38]

In addition to situating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the history of Jewish and Christian mysticism, Alexander wrestles with two issues: how to define "mysticism" and whether mysticism was present at Qumran.[39] In so doing, Alexander articulates an undercurrent in many discussions of mysticism and the Scrolls: there is no universally accepted definition of mysticism, and it is therefore a "hugely contested" term, a consequence of which is that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* become a lightning rod of sorts.[40] Alexander con-

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[35] Elior, *The Three Temples*, 173, 180. Cf. Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), 444–447, who makes the general observation that a connection with the "world beyond" as found in the apocalyptic literature was not just a source of future hope but also assurance in midst of present circumstances.

[36] Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 349–350, 353, stresses the distinction between "*communion* with God" (i.e., experiencing nearness to God in some sense) and "*union* with God" (i.e., "*absorption into* God" or "deification"). According to Schäfer, Jewish mysticism testifies to the former and not the latter.

[37] Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 151–152.

[38] Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 345, 353–354.

[39] Philip S. Alexander, *Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* (LSTS 61; CQS 7; London: T & T Clark, 2006). Cf. idem, "Qumran and the Genealogy of Western Mysticism," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts*, 213–245, in which the author expands aspects of his earlier work.

[40] Alexander, "Qumran and the Genealogy," 219. Cf. Bilhah Nitzan, "Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics in Poetic and Liturgical Writings from Qumran," *JQR* 85 (1994): 183, who posits that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* "may have been considered as a medium for creating an experience of *mystic communion* [emphasis added] between the earthly and the heavenly worshippers, each one of which kept the Sabbath law in their respective dwellings." However, Eliott Wolfson, "Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical Compositions from Qumran: A Response to Bilhah Nitzan," *JQR* 85 (1994): 201, argues that unless ascension and enthronement of the mystic occur, a text should not be considered "mystical." Thus, as per Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 153, 349, the only proper mystical text from Qumran is the *Self-Glorification Hymn*. Cf. Esther G. Chazon, "Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study*

cludes that mysticism was indeed present at Qumran and defines it as the longing for a closer relationship with a transcendent presence.[41] The transcendent presence longed for at Qumran was, of course, the God of Israel. But as Alexander notes, "the closest relationship to God which the texts envisage the mystic attaining is that enjoyed by the angels in heaven, who perpetually offer to him worship and adoration in the celestial Temple. … The Qumran mystics long to join the angels in their liturgy, to form with them one worshipping community."[42] An indispensable component of Alexander's understanding of "mysticism" is *praxis*: a *via mystica* is always necessary.[43] It is for this reason that the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* is a key text, since many scholars consider it to be liturgical: the chanting of the *Songs* within the context of worship likely brought about a "communal ascent"[44] and communion with the angelic host for which the sectarians longed.

In sum, this brief discussion of angelology and mysticism has highlighted an important point to which I will return in Chapter 5: though scholars disagree as to the appropriateness of labeling the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and other documents as "mystical," they are in general agreement that certain texts were used by the Qumran movement in the context of worship to facilitate communion with the angels.

IV. Studies Focused on Angels

As noted above, recent scholarship has begun to take into consideration the prominence of angels in the Qumran literature. In 1950, Bietenhard did not have the luxury of incorporating the Dead Sea Scrolls into his study,[45] but his

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of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature (ed., eadem; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 36, who cites Wolfson in her reluctance to use the term "mystic."

[41] Alexander, "Qumran and the Genealogy," 220.

[42] Though Alexander, "Qumran and the Genealogy," 220–221, uses the term *unio mystica* to describe the consummation of relationship to God envisaged by the texts, he suggests that a more appropriate term for theistic systems is *communion*. However, Alexander also contends that "the *language* of union" is common in theistic systems, a claim that appears to be a justification for using *unio mystica* to describe mystical experiences of the Qumran texts. Cf. idem, *Mystical Texts*, 101–110. Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 349–350, would prefer that Alexander use "communion" and "union" more carefully.

[43] Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 110–122; idem, "Qumran and the Genealogy," 226.

[44] Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 119; idem, "Qumran and the Genealogy," 226 n. 23, concedes that the language of later "ascents" is not found in the *Songs* (cf. Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 144; Wolfson, "Mysticism and the Poetic-Liturgical," 194; Nitzan, "Harmonic and Mystical Characteristics," 183). Alexander claims that the lack of ascent language is "probably less significant than some have supposed" because mystical texts do not universally use the language of ascents, and because he is using *ascent*, not in a technical sense, but as a "useful shorthand" for mystical communion with the angels.

[45] Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1951).

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