Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

36

Saul M. Olyan

A Thousand Thousands Served Him

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Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

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A Thousand Thousands Served Him

Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism

by

Saul M. Olyan

J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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Φιλος πιστος σκεπη κραταια . . .

Sir 6:14

For John Choly

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As always, it is a pleasure to recognize my debt and express gratitude to friends, colleagues and institutions for contributing to this project. Institutional support came in the form of fellowships and stipends. The University of Winnipeg provided me with a research and travel grant to spend much of the summer of 1986 in Jerusalem where I undertook initial research on this project. I was most fortunate to receive Yale University's generous Morse Junior Faculty Leave Fellowship in October 1988, which released me from all duties during the academic year 1989–90 in order to write the first draft of this monograph. Most recently, Brown University provided a stipend for the purposes of research and publication, a small amount of which was used to pay for a student assistant, Michael Dobbs, to check references in the final draft. I had the opportunity to present some of the material now in this book in papers at the Winnipeg Faculty Seminar in Bible (October 1986), at Yale University (February of 1987 and 1988; November 1990), at York University (March 1988), at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Chicago (November 1988), and at UCLA and Brown during February of 1992. I am pleased to acknowledge especially Baruch Halpern for fruitful conversations during my visit to York. The faculty and graduate student members of the Yale Greco-Roman lunch seminar provided interesting comments and reactions to a paper on angelic names in November 1990. Larry Hurtado made many helpful observations and offered his encouragement enthusiastically, particularly at the early stages of this project during two long Winnipeg winters, but also after my departure to New Haven. I am particularly grateful to Gary Anderson, Bentley Layton, John Collins and Michael Stone, each of whom read all or some of the manuscript in its penultimate form and provided suggestions toward its improvement, as did the editors, Peter Schäfer and Martin Hengel. Finally, I would like to thank Peter Schäfer and Martin Hengel for their interest in my monograph, and for their agreement to publish it in their series.

This project has a long history. It began in 1986 with research into what many scholars call »hypostatization,« and gradually came to focus on the names and designations of angels, which begin to occur in texts of the Second

Temple period but are found mostly in rabbinic and Hekalot materials. Needless to say, I have learned much from this enterprise, and hope that my biblical/Near Eastern perspective has produced results which will prove to be of interest to readers trained in various periods.

New Haven, CT. and Providence, RI., Summer 1992 *Saul M. Olyan*

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
Abod. Zar.	*Abodah Zarah*
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
Alph. R. Aqiba	*Alphabet of Rabbi Aqiba*
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
Apoc. Abr.	*Apocalypse of Abraham*
b.	Babylonian Talmud, followed by tractate
2 Bar.	*2 Baruch*
3 Bar.	*3 Baruch*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
Ber.	*Berakot*
Bib	*Biblica*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BM	S. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CD	Cairo Genizah text of the Damascus Document
Cel. Hier.	Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy*
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
Cowley	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*
CTA	A. Herdner (ed.), *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques*
Deut. Rab.	*Deuteronomy Rabbah*
EJ	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971)
1 En.	*1 Enoch*
2 En.	*2 Enoch*
3 En.	*3 Enoch*
Erub.	*Erubin*
Exod. Rab.	*Exodus Rabbah*
Frg. Tg.	*Fragmentary Targum*
Gen. Rab.	*Genesis Rabbah*
GKC	E. Kautzsch (ed.) and A. E. Cowley (trans.), *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*

Ḥag.	*Ḥagigah*
Hek. Rab.	*Hekalot Rabbati*
Hek. Zut.	*Hekalot Zutarti*
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
Ḥul.	*Ḥullin*
IDB	G. A. Buttrick (ed.), *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
Jub.	*Jubilees*
J. W.	Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*
KB	L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*
Ketub.	*Ketubot*
Kil.	*Kilayim*
KTU	M. Dietrich et al. (eds.), *Die Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit*
LXX	Septuagint
Mas. Aṣil.	*Masseket Aṣilut*
Mas. Hek.	*Masseket Hekalot*
ME	R. Margalioth, *Mal'ake ʿelyon*
Mek. R. Ish.	*Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael*
Midr. Hag.	*Midrash Haggadol*
Midr. Rab.	*Midrash Rabbah*
Midr. Teh.	*Midrash Tehillim*
Midr. Zut.	*Midrash Zuta*
MT	Massoretic Text
Ned.	*Nedarim*
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society Version
NTS	New Testament Studies
Num. Rab.	*Numbers Rabbah*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	J. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*
PE	Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio Evangelica*

Pesiq. Rab Kah.	*Pesiqta deRab Kahana*
Pesiq. R.	*Pesiqta Rabbati*
Pirqe R. El.	*Pirqe Rabbi Eliezar*
Q	Qumran sigla:
1QH	*Hodayot* (Thanksgiving Hymns): Qumran, Cave 1
1QIsa[a]	First copy of Isaiah: Qumran, Cave 1
1QM	*Milḥamah* (War Scroll): Qumran, Cave 1
1QS	*Serek Hayyaḥad*: Qumran, Cave 1
1QS[b]	Appendix B (blessings) to 1QS
4QEn[a]	First copy of the Aramaic fragments of Enoch: Qumran, Cave 4
4QEn[c]	Third copy of the Aramaic fragments of Enoch: Qumran, Cave 4
4QŠirŠab	*Serek Širot Olat Haššabbat*: Qumran, Cave 4
Qoh. Rab.	*Qohelet Rabbah*
RAC	T. Klauser et al. (eds.), *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*
RB	*Revue biblique*
Roš. Haš.	*Roš Haššanah*
RS	*Ras Shamra*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Šab.	*Šabbat*
San.	*Sanhedrin*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
Sed. Rab. d. Ber.	*Seder Rabbah deBerešit*
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
Synopse	P. Schäfer et al. (eds.), *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*
T. Abr.	*Testament of Abraham*
T. Jud.	*Testament of Judah*
T. Levi	*Testament of Levi*
T. Sol.	*Testament of Solomon*
T. 12 Patr.	*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Taan.	*Taanit*
Tan.	*Tanḥuma*
Tan. B.	*Tanḥuma*, ed. S. Buber
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TDOT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
Tg.	*Targum*
Tg. Jon.	*Targum Jonathan*
Tg. Neof.	*Targum Neofiti I*
Tg. Onq.	*Targum Onqelos*
Tg. Ps.-Jon.	*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
Ug. VII	*Ugaritica VII*

Vg.	Vulgate
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
Yalq. Šim.	*Yalqut Šimoni*
YJS	Yale Judaica Series

Texts from Qumran are transcribed utilizing the following system:

letter in *italic*	Seriously damaged; the reading is uncertain.
letter in **bold**	Damaged but the reading is fairly certain.

Introduction

Numerous scholarly treatments in this century have touched upon some aspect of the development of notions about angels, but few until recently have been systematic and detailed, and much research remains to be done. Any comprehensive presentation of the angelic beliefs of ancient Jewish circles would be premature at this juncture, even though scholars have noted the lack of such a study for many decades.[1] It was after all only very recently (1985) that the first edition of the Qumran Angelic Liturgy appeared, surely one of the richest extant sources antedating the Hekalot literature.[2] Additional Qumran texts which are forthcoming also contain materials of interest.[3] In the past two decades, a number of important monographic works, articles, and chapters have appeared, contributing much to the increase of our understanding. E. Urbach's chapter in *The Sages* on rabbinic traditions about angels

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[1] H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1951) 101: »Eine umfassende Angelologie des Spätjudentums ist noch nicht geschrieben werden.« The use of the common term »angelology« by scholars is problematic. It implies a single, systematic doctrine of angels, something that may have existed for some specific groups (perhaps the Qumran sectarians), but certainly does not exist in rabbinic texts (see the comments of P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen* [Studia Judaica 8; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975] 9, 233). The evidence for a systematic angelology is lacking also for the Hekalot; *3 Enoch*, for example, appears to have at least three »angelologies.« So it would be misleading to speak of ancient Jewish »angelology« as such. (See the useful comments of L.W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord. Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988] 24–25; even the notion of a Qumran angelology has been challenged in the conclusions of the unpublished Manchester Ph.D. dissertation of S. F. Noll, »Angelology in the Qumran Texts,« [1979] 180, as cited by Hurtado, 138 n.24.) For this reason, I avoid using the term, though terms such as »beliefs in angels,« or »angelic notions« are hardly felicitous; English simply does not have a compact term such as German *Engellehre* or *Engelvorstellung*.

[2] C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars, 1985).

[3] See for example 4Q390, an apocalypse attributed to Ezekiel, where a class of angels called mal'ăkê hammaśṭēmôt (»Angels of the Animosities«) occurs. In the War Scroll (1QM13:11), Belial is called mal'ak maśṭēmâ, and in *Jubilees*, Prince Mastema plays an important role as counterpoint to God. (See also CD 16:5, where mal'ak hammaśṭēmâ occurs.) But mal'ăkê hammaśṭēmôt as a class occur only in the unpublished materials. 4Q390 will be published by John Strugnell.

brings together much valuable and disparate material[4]; recent studies have examined the figure of the »Angel of the Lord« (mal'ak yhwh) and the angel as messenger from a number of vantage points[5]; and P. Schäfer's 1975 monograph focused on the infrequently explored problem of the relationship between humans and angels in rabbinic sources, and also included a survey of materials from the Second Temple period.[6] A number of other recent works examining aspects of angelic belief in ancient Judaism should be noted as well.[7]

Few, however, are the studies that focus on the growth of notions about the angelic host in Second Temple, rabbinic and mystical texts. The emergence of angelic names and the designations for angelic divisions, a major aspect of this articulation, remains a topic largely unexplored. It poses a problem for historians attempting to understand developing belief, and has been widely noted as a salient characteristic of ancient and medieval Judaism in contrast to Israelite religion. Where pre-exilic and exilic biblical texts suggest a divine realm populated by thousands of unnamed angels praising God and serving him in war and in judgment, the materials of ancient and medieval Judaism present a very different picture: The angelic host is beyond counting, named and articulated in detail.[8] I intend to investigate the problem of the emergence of angelic names and brigade designations in this monograph.

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[4] E. Urbach, *The Sages. Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1987) 135–83, a translation of *ḤZ"L. Pirqê 'ĕmûnôt wĕdē'ôt* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1969).

[5] V. Hirth, *Gottes Boten im Alten Testament* (Theologische Arbeiten 32; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1975); H. Röttger, *Mal'ak Jahwe–Bote von Gott* (Regensburger Studien zur Theologie 13; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1978); J. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1985).

[6] *Rivalität.*

[7] Other recent works treating aspects of belief about angels include A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven. Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977) and Hurtado, *One God, One Lord.*

[8] Many recent and older treatments note the contrast between the presentation of angels in texts of the First Temple period and in later sources; this is virtually a cliché of scholarship. Such works include W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (HNT 21; 3rd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1926) 320–21, 325–29; G.F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1927) 1:403–404; H.B. Kuhn, »The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses,« *JBL* 67 (1948) 217–24; W.G. Heidt, *Angelology of the Old Testament* (Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology, Second Series, 24; Washington: Catholic University of America, 1949) 101–11; Y. Kaufman, *The Religion of Israel*, trans. and abridged by M. Greenberg (Hebrew ed., 8 vols., 1937–56; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960) 63; G. von Rad, »*Mal'ak* in the OT,« section B. of »*angelos*,« *TDNT* 1:79–80; Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt*, 101; J. Michl, »Engel II (jüdisch),« *RAC* 5 (1962) 64; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (German ed. 1963; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 310–12; J. Guttmann and A. Marmorstein, »Angels, Angelology,« *EJ* 2:961; Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 73.

A number of explanations have been proffered for the striking contrast between early (pre-exilic and exilic) and later descriptions of angels and the heavenly sphere. Critics typically cite one or a number of these theses when attempting to elucidate the growing general interest in things angelic, as well as specific changes in the description of the angelic host and the heavenly sphere. The developments include the emergence of named angels, classes of heavenly beings, angelic hierarchy, archangels, a complex of heavenly temples and cults, conflict between good and bad angels, expanding roles of angels in the human sphere, and characterization of angels. Some of the explanations are meant to account for specific characteristics of Jewish angelic belief; others are asserted more broadly, as interpretive frameworks within which the wider developments of post-exilic angelic belief are to be understood.

(1) Aspects of the articulation of the angelic host, particularly the origin and reasons for the emergence of angelic names, have been left unelucidated, or even called a mystery by some baffled critics.[9]

The compilation of lists of angelic names extant in pre-modern Jewish and/or Christian texts has a long tradition; some of the following treatments include etymologies along with citations. The quality of scholarship varies. M. Schwab, »Vocabulaire de l'angélologie d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la Bibliothèque Nationale,« in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France*, 1.10 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897) 113–430; supplement, 1899. Widely cited and long utilized, this list is still of some utility today, and includes names from Greek and Latin materials (New Testament and inscriptions). Schwab's methodology, as well as his etymologies, have been criticized. See Urbach, *The Sages*, 759 n.22 and Schäfer, ibid., 2 n.8 for citation of Schwab's critics. In 1912, G.A. Barton published a brief and very basic list of angelic and demonic names, though without the unifying theoretical perspective his title would lead one to expect (»The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.,« *JBL* 31 [1912] 156–67). E. Peterson, »Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina Barbara,« *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.S. 75 (1926) 393–421, includes angelic names preserved in Greek sources, but without any comprehensive perspective. R. Margalioth, *Mal'ăkê ʿelyôn* (Jerusalem: Mossad Ha-Rav Kook, 1964), is a helpful alphabetical listing of angelic names in the talmudim, all of the midrashim, targumim, zohar and yalqutim, but without analysis. Again, see the criticisms of Urbach, ibid., 759 n.22. Michl, »Engel V (Engelnamen),« *RAC* 5 (1962) 201–239, is a very useful treatment presented as an initial (incomplete) workup. Materials from Jewish and Christian epigraphic sources are included. M. Margalioth's edition of *Sēper hārāzîm. hûʾ sēper kĕšāpîm mittĕqûpat hattalmûd* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Aḥaronot, 1966) includes an index of angelic names in that work (158–66). Finally, there is G. Davidson's *A Dictionary of Angels* (New York and London: Free Press, 1967), an eclectic work by a non-specialist intended for a popular audience.

[9] Bousset devoted several pages in his treatment of »angelology« to a general discussion of classes and individual angels (ibid., 325–29). He described the multiplication of named angels as an unsolved problem from the perspective of the history of religions (327). Von Rad, who otherwise followed Bousset closely, added that the emergence of »a veritable angelology« in the post-exilic period is »a strange phenomenon« (ibid., 78–79). Moore

(2) Some of these changes have been explained as a result primarily of contacts with foreign powers, particularly the influence exerted by Babylonian and Persian cultures; the foreign influence thesis has also been used as a paradigm to explain the broad changes in angelic belief of the period after the exile.[10]

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noted that the assignment of names to angels was »a very significant step,« but said little else about it (ibid., 403). Bietenhard stated: »Die religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergründe und Zusammenhänge sind hier noch nicht restlos geklärt; vor allem ist noch unerklärt das starke Umsichgreifen des Engelglaubens seit der Zeit des Exils...« (ibid., 101). H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, in their oft cited multivolume reference work, provided no explanation for these developments, though they are described (*Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* [Munich: C.H. Beck, 1922–28] 2:89–90 on the names of angels; 3:581–84 on classes of angels). Ringgren described the changes of the post-exilic period but offered no helpful explanations for the emergence of personal names and named divisions, or any other aspect of the articulation of the host. He considered the possibility of foreign influence, but was generally unconvinced; in the end, he was content to state that »the other aspects of angelology... can probably be explained on the basis of the ancient concept of the heavenly court« (ibid., 310–12). What he meant specifically is not clear to me. Kuhn's treatment is very general and descriptive, and provides no explanations for the names, though he does invest some effort into a refutation of Bousset's general perspective (ibid., 222–224 on names and classes). Heidt devoted eleven pages to a discussion of »specific characteristics of post-exilic angelology,« but provided no explanation for the developments under consideration, though he considered and then criticized the foreign influence hypothesis as well as the distant God view (*Angelology*, 101–11). R. Yates noted the expansion of notions about angels in the Second Temple period, »especially with regard to their numbers, names, and functions...« but offered no explanations (»Angels in the Old Testament,« *ITQ* 38 [1971] 167). Schäfer's treatment of angelic classes is descriptive, offering no noteworthy interpretive comments; little is said about angelic names (*Rivalität*, 95–97, 132, 169). Many other treatments could be cited in this regard.

[10] The influence of Babylonian and/or Persian ideas on Jewish angelic beliefs has been argued or mentioned in passing in many treatments. Some critics have been convinced that foreign notions exerted a profound influence on the articulation of the angelic host, while others have argued for the foreign etiology of particular beliefs or characteristics of Jewish angelic notions. The idea of foreign influence is very old, and was especially popular earlier in the century, when it was virtually ubiquitous in scholarship. A. Kohut believed that Jewish angelic notions had been influenced by Persian ideas, and produced a major and influential piece of scholarship to that effect in the mid-nineteenth century (*Die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus* [Leipzig, 1866], as cited and discussed by Schäfer, ibid., 1 and n.1). Bousset argued for Babylonian influence in his discussion of the idea of the archangels, the angels of the 12 months of the year and the seven heavens (ibid., 326 and nn., and 499–500); in the wider discussion of foreign contacts (469–524), he asserted Persian influence as well, particularly on apocalyptic dualism; he also considered the possibility of Persian influence on the idea of the archangels (499). G. Hölscher thought foreign influence was to be seen in the emergence of named angels and in the idea of six or seven archangels (*Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion* [Sammlung Töpelmann 7; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1922] 184; his discussion of Persian and Babylonian influences occurs on 163–69). Moore believed Persian influence »probable« on the development of the image of a celestial court (ibid., 401 n.6), but was much more

(3) Magical activities constitute a primary stimulus according to some scholars, particularly in the generation of angelic names.[11]

(4) A considerable number of scholars even up to the present have labored under the influence of notions given their classic and most memorable formulation by Wilhelm Bousset. In these treatments, some or many aspects of the development of angelic belief are explained by a supposed transcendence and resulting inaccessibility of God to his people in the Second Temple period.

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restrained in his views on this matter than other early critics. Kuhn believed that Persian ideas were behind the emergence of hierarchy in the angelic host (ibid., 222). Likewise Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt*, 11–17 on cosmology.

Others have been more skeptical about the extent of foreign influence. Michl considered the possibility of such influence in passing, noting the rabbinic tradition that the names of the angels were brought to Judah after the exile in Babylon (»Engel II [jüdisch],« 64). Von Rad acknowledged some foreign influence, but insisted it cannot in itself explain the developments of the post-exilic period (ibid., 79). In contrast to von Rad in section B, G. Kittel traced apocalyptic dualism and the »associated development of the doctrine of angels,« to foreign, especially Persian sources in a very general discussion in section C of the *TDNT* article *»angelos«* (»The Doctrine of Angels in Judaism,« 81). Additional early treatments advocating foreign influence on developing notions about angels were cited by Heidt, *Angelology*, 102 n.99. Recently, L. H. Schiffman speculated that foreign influence might have been a factor in the emergence of named angels in merkābâ speculation (»*Merkavah* Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q *Serekh Shirot ʿOlat ha-Shabbat*,« in *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians. Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of Alexander Altmann*, ed. J. Reinharz and D. Swetschinski with K.P. Bland [Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 5; Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1982] 46).

[11] G. Scholem, noting the opaque character of numerous angelic names in Hekalot sources such as *3 Enoch* argued that these names were secret, and had their origin in magic. This he related to Josephus's oft cited remark about the Essenes keeping angelic names secret (*J. W.* 2.8.7 par. 142), speculating that such traditions may well go back to the Essenes (*Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1960] 48). In light of this argument, it is interesting to note that the Qumran Angelic Liturgy (4QŠirŠab) does not mention the personal name of any angel, though other Qumran texts do (eg. Michael, 1QM 9:15, 16; 17:6, 7; Gabriel, 1QM 9:16; Raphael, 1QM 9:15; Sariel, 1QM 9:15). Just how secret was the secret? P. Alexander has pointed out that some angelic names in mystical texts had their origin in glossolalia, others in theurgical activities such as gematria, notarikon and temurah. The general interest in angelic names in Hekalot texts is to be explained partially by their magical value (»3 [Hebrew Apocalypse of] Enoch,« *OTP* 1:234, 242; see also the remarks of Guttmann and Marmorstein in »Angels, Angelology,« 965, and I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* [Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 14; Leiden: Brill, 1980] 229–31). The names of angels are used in incantations and exorcisms in the *Testament of Solomon*, as well as in such magical works as *Seper Ha-Razim* (Margalioth, *Sēper hārāzîm*, intro, 8–9; Gruenwald, ibid., 226–27, on Margalioth's edition and its limitations). Gruenwald characterized the angelic names in *Seper Ha-Razim* as »rather unusual and mostly incomprehensible... « (ibid., 229). See also the comments of Schiffman, ibid., 46: »One of the prime stimuli for the development of a multitude of [angelic] names is their magical use, either to bring about the vision or for other purposes,« citing Scholem.

Angels, along with the so-called »hypostases,« become the primary or even exclusive conduit to God (*Mittelwesen*); naturally interest in them would increase dramatically, giving rise to new beliefs about them. Like the foreign influence thesis, this view has been presented as a paradigm intended to explain the broader changes in angelic belief after the exile of the sixth century BCE.[12]

(5) The influence of gnostic ideas on Jewish angelic belief, particularly on the idea of angelic opposition to humans, has been asserted.[13]

(6) »Internal Jewish developments« are sometimes presented as a vague and not particularly helpful category of explanations for some or most of these changes.[14] Often, however, specific changes or motives initiating change are presented and argued. An example is Urbach's thesis that the avoidance of anthropomorphism is the major thrust behind the addition of angels to Amoraic stories[15]; another is Kadushin's view that angels aid in the elabora-

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[12] Bousset and Gressmann, *Religion*, 319–21, 329–31; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (3 vols.; Stuttgart and Berlin: J.G. Cotta'sche, 1921) 111; E. Sellin, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1933) 47: the angels »werden genau klassifiziert und erhalten sogar Eigennamen. Sie müssen die immer grösser werdende Kluft zwischen dem ganz überweltlichen Gott und der Erde ausfüllen«; Michl, »Engel II (jüdisch),« 64; Von Rad, »*Mal'ak* in the OT,« 79. Numerous others could be cited. The idea of a distant God and the need for intermediaries such as angels was not Bousset's; it appears in earlier formulations, for example that of A.F. Gfrörer (1831) and F. Weber (1880). See the detailed discussion of G.F. Moore, »Christian Writers on Judaism,« *HTR* 14 (1921) 227–254 (227 on Gfrörer and 228–37 on Weber; Bousset is discussed on 241–48). A more recent discussion of the work of these men and their influence is found in A.M. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Schekhinah in der rabbinischen Literatur* (Studia Judaica 5; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) 1–2.

[13] See for example A. Altmann, »The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends,« *JQR* 35 (1944/45) 371–91; J. Schultz, »Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Moses and the Revelation of the Law,« *JQR* 61 (1970/71) 282–307 (as cited by Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 3 and 220 nn.6–7). Scholarly use of terms such as »gnostic« or »Gnosticism« can be problematic; see the methodological discussion of B. Layton in his review of G.A.G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology*, in *RB* 94 (1987) 608–13. (An introduction to the various corpora of gnostic and related writings can be found in B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures* [Garden City: Doubleday, 1987], including historical essays and bibliography.)

[14] Moore wondered whether developments such as the elaboration of angelic orders and the emergence of a complex hierarchy of named angels were due to internal Jewish developments or to foreign influence or both. Unfortunately, he did not elaborate (*Judaism* 1:404). Similarly, Ringgren asserted that the idea of a divine council could likely explain many if not most of the changes in angelic belief. Just how he did not say (*Israelite Religion*, 312). In contrast, Schäfer begins his book with the programmatic assertion that the inner-Jewish/Canaanite matrix must be the focus of the study of developing ideas about angels (ibid., 1).

[15] *The Sages*, 149–50, 152–57. See Schäfer's critique of Urbach's argument (ibid., 5).

tion of God's activities in relation to Israel and the world.[16] The role played by changing ideas about God in the elaboration of angelic beliefs has occasionally been noted. In some Jewish sources from the Second Temple period, God tends to become dissociated from any actions perceived as evil or questionable; angels emerge as actors in God's place in the retelling of biblical stories. Examples of this include the role of the Prince Mastema in the *Jubilees* version of the Binding of Isaac, or Satan in the Chronicles version of David's census. In both cases, the angelic figure is accorded responsibility for actions of God in the biblical text that must have seemed questionable to the writer of *Jubilees* and the Chronicler.[17] This and other types of exegesis have their place within the rubric of internal Jewish developments. Scholars have frequently alluded to exegesis or occasionally mentioned it outright as the source of specific angelic names or more commonly, the names of angelic classes or the names of heaven.[18] In the rare

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[16] Angels, for the rabbis, »serve as background to bring out the more prominently, in concrete fashion, God's active love for mankind and for the world...they enhance the vividness with which God's justice is apprehended, both in reward and punishment ... they serve to underline the vast importance of Torah...they bring into relief God's concern for Israel...« (*The Rabbinic Mind* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1952] 186–87). A version of this position has been defended recently by Hurtado (*One God, One Lord*, 27).

[17] *Jub.* 17:15–18:19, cp. Genesis 22; 1 Chron 21:1: wayyaʿămōd śāṭān ʿal-yiśrāʾēl wayyāset ʾet-dāwîd limnôt ʾet-yiśrāʾēl, cp. 2 Sam 24:1: wayyōsep ʾap-yhwh laḥărôt bĕyiśrāʾēl wayyāset ʾet-dāwīd bāhem lēʾmōr lēk mĕnēh ʾet-yiśrāʾēl wĕʾet-yĕhûdâ. See Michl, »Engel II (jüdisch),« 66–67 who mentions some of the later treatments of difficult biblical stories. In *Jub.* 48:2, it is Mastema who attempts to kill Moses (cp. Exod 4:24, where it is God); in the LXX of Exod 4:24, as in the *Tg. Onq.* and the *Tg. Ps.-Jon.*, it is the angel of the Lord. Many similar examples could be cited. God has not become distant and inaccessible; only dissociated from ethically questionable acts in certain sources.

[18] See Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt*, 8–10, and J. Strugnell, »The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran- 4Q Serek Šîrôt ʿÔlat Haššabbāt,« *Congress Volume: Oxford, 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960) 328 and n.3, on the names of heaven derived exegetically. Strugnell acknowledged the importance of the exegesis of Ezekiel's vision and other theophanic texts in the elaboration of the angelic host and the heavens: »The method by which such an increase in detail is gained seems to be a very often tenuous biblical exegesis...« (ibid., 344). Michl, »Engel (jüdisch),« 78, commented on the angelic class Ophannim: »Die eigenartigen Räder am Thronwagen Jahwes bei Ez. 1, 15/21; 10, 6/13 wurden weiterentwickelt zu einer Klasse himmlischer Wesen.« This type of brief remark on angelic divisions is common in the literature. Gruenwald, in his treatment of the mystical work *Reuyot Yeḥezqel*, argued that the names of the merkābâ were derived exegetically from theophanic texts in the Hebrew Bible (*Apocalyptic*, 137). Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 25 commented on rûḥôt/rûḥê: »One of the most common designations for angels at Qumran, [they are] exegetically based on biblical passages such as Num 16:22; 27:16; Ps 104:4 (LXX 103:4).« Schiffman, »*Merkavah* Speculation,« 45–47 emphasized the importance of exegesis in deriving information about angels and the

instance, exegesis has received careful attention as a mode of developing belief in angels.[19]

These explanations, characteristic of the literature, vary in terms of their relative merit. The first provides no answers, and so requires no discussion. The second, foreign influence, has been justly criticized for some of its applications (eg. the derivation of the archangels and their number, as well as the Cherubim, from Babylon)[20]; it is however recognized to have some validity, particularly for explaining aspects of Qumran apocalyptic dualism.[21] The third explanation, the influence of magic, has been shown to be useful for elucidating many of the more obscure angelic names occurring in Hekalot texts and Jewish theurgical materials from the first millennium CE.[22] The fourth, the inaccessible God and the resulting need for intermediaries (*Mittelwesen*), is now widely discredited, both for the anti-Jewish bias underlying its classic formulations and for a lack of supporting evidence.[23] The fifth position, the influence of gnostic ideas, may explain certain

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heavenly realm in 4QŠirŠab, though he speculated that »only later, perhaps under foreign influence, did magical and incubation elements and angelic names become part of the speculation...« (46).

[19] See D.J. Halperin, »The Exegetical Character of Ezek. X 9–17,« *VT* 26 (1976) 129–41, who argued that the Opannim are already viewed as a brigade of angels in Ezekiel 10; idem., »Merkabah Midrash in the Septuagint,« *JBL* 101 (1982) 351–63; and idem., *The Faces of the Chariot. Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (TSAJ 16; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1988) 39–48, 57–58, 75–76, and passim. I shall consider Halperin's treatments in my discussions ahead. He has much to say of importance. See also Schiffman, ibid.

[20] See the treatment of Heidt, *Angelology*, 102, 105, 107–109, who refuted assertions of the foreign origin of the Cherubim and the idea of the seven who stand before God (Tobit 12:15); Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, 312; Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 1; Von Rad, »*Mal'ak* in the OT,« 79, asserted the limited usefulness of the foreign influence hypothesis.

[21] See the discussion of S. Shaked, »Qumran and Iran: Further Considerations,« *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972) 443–46; R.N. Frye, »Qumran and Iran: The State of Studies,« in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, ed. J. Neusner (SJLA 12; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 3: 167–74, cited and discussed in the survey of J.J. Collins, »Apocalyptic Literature,« in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters*, ed. R.A. Kraft and G.W.E. Nickelsburg (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986) 354. Hellenistic ideas influencing apocalypticism, as well as astrology, are also discussed.

[22] For example, the name 'azbôgâ, *3 En.* 18:22 (=*Synopse*, sec. 863>27 M1 118b/3), equals the number eight by means of gematria (Alexander, »3[Hebrew Apocalypse of] Enoch,« 242); but note the (folk) etymology provided in *3 En.* 18:22, relating the name to the verb 'āzar and to bĕgādîm. Such folk etymologies have a long tradition; they are rather common in the earliest traditions of the Pentateuch. Azbogah occurs in earlier Hekalot materials such as *Hekalot Zutarti* and *Hekalot Rabbati* (eg. *Synopse*, sec. 364 N 18a/25; 415 N 23b/18; 302 N 14b/28).

[23] Critiques of this position are now commonplace, though the viewpoint persists in certain circles (see n.12). See especially Moore, »Christian Writers on Judaism,« 241–48 for a detailed critique of Bousset et al. and *Judaism*, 404–405, for an alternative thesis

features of angelic belief, though this remains unproven.[24] The sixth explanation, the idea that internal developments in the religion of Israel are responsible for changes witnessed in the Second Temple period and later, must now be considered. Urbach's thesis (the avoidance of anthropomorphism) may have some validity, but is intended only to explain features of Amoraic texts in contrast to the materials of the Tannaim. Kadushin's view has appeal, but it is also restricted in scope to rabbinica. Neither of these positions illustrates mechanisms by which the angelic host became articulated. Finally, exegesis remains relatively unexamined. An adequate framework for understanding the general trends under discussion is still lacking, though certain explanations are applicable to specific cases.

Many characteristics of the development of ideas about angels in Second Temple, rabbinic and mystical texts fit squarely within the wider exegetical framework characteristic of Jewish literature from the late Second Temple period on. As collections of sacred literature emerged in the latter half of the Second Temple period in various Jewish communities (»canons« of Hebrew Scripture in modern usage),[25] so apparently did the priority of exegesis as a mode of increasing knowledge about the divine realm. The literature of the late first millennium BCE and early first millennium CE (including the late biblical books) is replete with rewritings of biblical stories which address exegetical needs directly (eg. Chronicles, *Jubilees*, Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, the Qumran Genesis Apocryphon)[26]; in addition, close

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(developing beliefs in angels represent »a naive way of imagining the mediation of God's word and will in the universe by personal agents,« not an especially useful alternative); Kuhn, »Angelology,« 228–30; Heidt, *Angelology*, 109–11; Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt*, 103–104; E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 212–17; Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 22–27. For a critique of Bousset et al. on »hypostases,« see Goldberg, *Untersuchungen*, 1–7.

[24] See n.13, and Schäfer's discussion (*Rivalität*, 219–220). Schäfer has argued that the extent of gnostic influence on rabbinic notions about angels remains to be demonstrated, and this seems to be an apt assessment in my view.

[25] The process of canonization was gradual and must have occurred simultaneously in various communities. The best extant evidence comes from Qumran. See J.A. Sanders, *Canon and Community* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); I.H. Eybers, »Some Light on the Canon of the Qumran Sect,« in *The Canon and the Masorah of the Hebrew Bible. An Introductory Reader*, ed. S.A. Leiman (New York: KTAV, 1974) 23–36. S.A. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture* (Hamden: Archon, 1976) is a general analysis with some valuable material, especially the collection of disparate rabbinic evidence, and the insight regarding levels of canonicity. The book must, however, be used with care, because Leiman's methodology is not always sound.

[26] The »rewritten Bible« (Vermes) was a popular literary type of the Second Temple period, much studied in recent years. See D.J. Harrington's review article, »The Bible Rewritten (Narratives),« in *Early Judaism*, 239–47, and Nickelsburg, »The Bible Rewritten

word-by-word exegeses of Scriptural texts are extant (the pĕšārîm; 11QMelchizedek; passages in CD and 1QS).[27] Stories were amplified, details were filled in or adjusted, textual and theological difficulties (cruces) were addressed creatively, since the biblical text was alive and the font of continuing revelation to Jews.[28] In a word, Scripture was contemporized. After a short hiatus in the extant sources, this creative tendency reappeared in the Tannaitic midrashim, and then in later rabbinic sources. Many of the aggadic traditions of the rabbis in fact go back well into the Second Temple period, as numerous studies have now demonstrated.[29] I argue that this tendency to fill in the gaps, to increase knowledge, to derive information from the biblical text, so well described by a number of scholars with respect to midrash,[30] is precisely what was at work from the beginning in the gradual articulation of the angelic host. The biblical text became the focus of intense exegetical scrutiny. Through careful study of the text, ancient and medieval exegetes discovered new information about angels: their names, the designations of their orders, their functions, their appearance, even their personalities. The picture of the wider heavenly sphere was filled out in great detail, especially in the Hekalot corpus.

It is within this wider exegetical framework that I wish to examine specifically the emergence of angelic names and brigade designations in Second

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and Expanded,« in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. M.E. Stone (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 89–156.

[27] See M.P. Horgan's review article, »The Bible Explained (Prophecies),« in *Early Judaism*, 247–53 on the pĕšārîm; D. Dimant, »Qumran Sectarian Literature,« in *Jewish Writings*, 503–514.

[28] Countless examples of biblical interpretation from the New Testament could be mentioned here in this review of ancient Jewish exegesis. See for example Gal 3:6–14; 4:21–31; Rom 4:1–25. On less obvious scriptural exegesis in Paul, see the recent work of R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University, 1989).

[29] J. Heinemann, *'Aggādôt wĕtôlĕdôtêhen* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974); for recent examples, see F.J. Murphy, »Divine Plan, Human Plan: A Structuring Theme in Pseudo-Philo,« *JQR* 77 (1986) 5–14, on the story of Amram and the elders; G.A. Anderson, »Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden, « *HTR* 82 (1989) 121–48; and S.M. Olyan, »The Israelites Debate their Options at the Sea Of Reeds: *LAB* 10:3, its Parallels, and Pseudo-Philo's Ideology and Background,« *JBL* 110 (1991) 75–91.

[30] I. Heinemann, *Darkê hā'aggādâ* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1970) on the notion of creative philology; J. Heinemann, ibid., passim; J. Kugel, »Two Introductions to Midrash,« *Prooftexts* 3 (1981) 131–55. Kugel discusses the acrostic Psalm 145 with missing »n« verse as the focus of midrashic exposition. Gary A. Anderson directed me to the work of I. and J. Heinemann and Kugel on this subject when we discussed an early formulation of my ideas about the role of exegesis, and particularly the importance of textual cruces, in the generation of angelic names (February, 1988).

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