

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 70

Loren T. Stuckenbruck

# Angel Veneration and Christology



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Herausgegeben von  
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

70

# Angel Veneration and Christology

A Study in Early Judaism and  
in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John

by

Loren T. Stuckenbruck



J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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For my father,  
Earl Roy Stuckenbruck



## FOREWORD

This book represents a slightly revised version of a dissertation submitted to the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary during September of 1993.

I would first like to thank the committee readers of the dissertation, Professors J. Christiaan Beker, Ulrich W. Mauser and James H. Charlesworth (chair) each of whom has contributed to the unfolding of ideas contained here. I shall remain indebted to the learning, criticisms, and patient guidance they have given me. In particular, Professor Charlesworth offered support and insight at pivotal points along the way. It is to him that I owe, to a large extent, my interest in exploring early Jewish traditions and their relation to New Testament writings.

In addition, a basis for this study took shape in the context of dialogue and conversations with several scholars who should be mentioned here. During our two years in Tübingen on a Fulbright Grant (1986-1988), I learned much from Professors Martin Hengel, Otto Betz, and Hans Peter Rieger, as well as from Professor Klaus Beyer in Heidelberg. Professor Hengel graciously recommended the publication of this work in the *WUNT* 2 series.

The specific direction taken in this book was inspired by the reading of articles and monographs by Larry W. Hurtado, Richard Bauckham, and Alan Segal. As the following pages represent an initial attempt to explore an issue vital for religious self-understanding of Jews and Christians in antiquity, I look forward to learning from these and other scholars who share an interest in venerative attitudes and worship in Early Judaism and emerging Christianity.

During the final stages of the dissertation and preparation of this manuscript, I have been surrounded by ideal working conditions at the Christian Albrechts Universität in Kiel, not the least of which has been a consistent show of collegiality and support within the theological faculty and assistance from the library staff headed by Mr. Rolf Langfeldt. A special word of thanks goes to Professor Peter Lampe. During my two years in Kiel, he has been both a tireless source of encouragement and an engaging partner in theological discussion.

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My parents, Earl and Ottie Mearl Stuckenbruck, through their many years of service in ministry and teaching in Germany and the United States, have played an indispensable role in preparing me for theological study and, thus, for this book. It is to my father that this work is dedicated.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife, Lois, who during the course of research, writing, and publication of the book has been a great source of strength. During this time she has helped create a nurturing environment for me and our two children, Nellie and Hanno, in three countries of residence.

Durham, England

1. September, 1994

Loren Stuckenbruck

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 Chr	1 Chronicles
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
1 <i>En</i>	1 <i>Enoch</i>
1 Kgs	1 Kings
IQ21 (=1QTLevi ar)	Ms of <i>Testament of Levi</i> from Qumran Cave 1
IQ36	Ms no. 36 from Qumran Cave 1 ( <i>DJD I</i> , pp. 138-41)
IQapGen	Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran Cave 1
IQH	<i>Hodayoth</i> from Qumran Cave 1
IQIsa <sup>a</sup>	First copy of Isaiah from Qumran Cave 1
IQM	<i>Milchamah</i> from Qumran Cave 1
IQS	<i>Serek ha-Yahad</i> from Qumran Cave 1
IQSa	<i>Serek ha-'edah</i> from Qumran Cave 1, appendix to IQS
IQSb	<i>Berakhoth</i> from Qumran Cave 1, appendix to IQS
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 <i>Bar</i>	2 <i>Baruch</i>
2 <i>En</i>	2 <i>Enoch</i>
2 Kgs	2 Kings
2QJN	New Jerusalem ms from Qumran Cave 2
2 Sam	2 Samuel
3 <i>Bar</i>	3 <i>Baruch</i>
3 <i>En</i>	3 <i>Enoch</i>
3 Macc	3 Maccabees
3Q15	Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3
4 <i>Ez</i>	4 <i>Ezra</i>
4 Macc	4 Maccabees
4Q181	Ms no. 181 from Qumran Cave 4 ( <i>DJD V</i> , pp. 79-80)
4Q186 (=4QCryptic)	Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran Cave 4
4Q196 (=4QpapTob ar <sup>d</sup> )	Fourth copy of Aramaic Tobit from Qumran Cave 4
4Q200 (4QTob heb)	Ms of Hebrew Tobit from Qumran Cave 4
4Q213-214 (4QTLevi ar)	Mss of <i>Testament of Levi</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4Q315 (=4QBront)	Zodiacal document from Qumran Cave 4
4Q400-407	Copies of <i>Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4Q491 (=4QM1)	First copy of <i>War Scroll</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4Q511	Ms no. 511 from Qumran Cave 4 ( <i>DJD VII</i> , pp. 219-62)
4Q534	Birth of Noah ms from Qumran Cave 4
4Q560	Amulet formula from Qumran Cave 4
4QBer (=4Q286)	<i>Berakhoth</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4QD <sup>b</sup> (=4Q267)	Covenant of Damascus, copy 2 from Qumran Cave 4
4QEn <sup>a</sup> (=4Q201)	First copy of 1 <i>Enoch</i> materials from Qumran Cave 4
4QEn <sup>b</sup> (=4Q202)	Second copy of 1 <i>Enoch</i> materials from Qumran Cave 4
4QFlor (=4Q177)	<i>Florilegium</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4QShirShabb (=4Q400-407)	<i>Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat</i> from Qumran Cave 4
4QTest (=4Q175)	<i>Testimonia</i> from Qumran Cave 4
5QJN (=5Q15)	New Jerusalem ms from Qumran Cave 5
11QBer (=11Q14)	<i>Berakhoth</i> from Qumran Cave 11
11QJN (=11Q18)	New Jerusalem ms from Qumran Cave 11
11QMelch (=11Q13)	<i>Melchizedek</i> text from Qumran Cave 11
11QShirShabb (=11Q17)	<i>Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat</i> from Qumran Cave 11
11QTemple (=11Q19)	Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11
AB	Anchor Bible

ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (ed., David N. Freeman)
Abod.Zar.	'Abodah Zarah
Abr.	Philo, <i>De Abrahamo</i>
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
Agr.	Philo, <i>De agricultura</i>
Agric.	Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i>
Akhm	Akhmimic
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AnatSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AnBib	<i>Analecta Biblica</i>
ANRW	Haase, W., and H. Temporini, eds., <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (eds., W. Haase and H. Temporini)
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOSoc	American Oriental Society
Apoc.Abr.	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
Apoc.Elij.	<i>Apocalypse of Elijah</i>
Apoc.Ezek.	<i>Apocalypse of Ezekiel</i>
Apoc.Gosp.Mt.	<i>Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew</i>
Apoc.Mos.	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>
Apoc.Paul	<i>Apocalypse of Paul</i>
Apoc.Sedr.	<i>Apocalypse of Sedrach</i>
Apoc.Zeph.	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>
Apol.	Justin Martyr, <i>Apology</i>
Apost.Const.	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>
OT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> (ed., R.H. Charles)
Aram	Aramaic
ARWAWSONd, PapCol	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensis
Asc.Isa.	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>
b. (before rabb. txt.)	Babylonian Talmud
BaHod.	<i>BaHodesh</i>
BAS	Biblical Archaeology Society
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
Bell.Jud.	Josephus, <i>Bellum Iudaicorum</i>
Ber.	<i>Berakhoth</i>
Ber.R.	<i>Bereshith Rabbah</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BIAAnk	British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibNot	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BJFL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BZNW	Beiheft zur <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CBA	Catholic Biblical Association
CBNTS	Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series
CBQMS	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series</i>

<i>c.Cels.</i>	Origen, <i>contra Celsum</i>
CD	Covenant of Damascus
C. Gen.	Cairo Geniza
<i>Cher.</i>	Philo, <i>De cherubim</i>
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> (ed., Jean-Baptiste Frey)
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
(Cod.) Alex.	Codex Alexandrinus
(Cod.) Sin.	Codex Sinaiticus
(Cod.) Vat.	Codex Vaticanus
Col	Colossians
<i>Comm.Joh.</i>	Origen, <i>Commentary on John</i>
<i>Conc</i>	<i>Concilium</i>
<i>Conf.ling.</i>	Philo, <i>De confusione linguarum</i>
Copt	Coptic
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
Dan	Daniel
<i>DBAT</i>	<i>Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>Deb.R.</i>	<i>Debarim Rabbah</i>
<i>Dec.</i>	Philo, <i>De decalogo</i>
Deut	Deuteronomy
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>
DJD (plus Arab. num.)	Discoveries in the Judean Desert Series (plus vol. no.)
<i>DJD</i> (plus Rom. num.)	<i>Discoveries in the Judean Desert</i> (plus vol. no.)
<i>Ebr.</i>	Philo, <i>De ebrietate</i>
Eccl	Ecclesiastes
<i>EI</i>	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EPGM</i>	<i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> (ed. Hans Dieter Betz)
<i>Ep.Jer.</i>	<i>Epistle of Jeremiah</i>
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain
Esth	Esther
Eth	Ethiopic
Ex	Exodus
<i>Exod.R.</i>	<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>
<i>ExT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
Ezek	Ezekiel
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschung zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>Fug.</i>	Philo, <i>De fuga et inventione</i>
<i>FZPhTh</i>	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i>
<i>Gaium</i>	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
Gal	Galatians
GBTh	Gegenwartsfragen biblischer Theologie
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
Gen	Genesis
<i>Gosp.Pet.</i>	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>
<i>Gosp.Th.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
Grk	Greek
Hag	Haggai
<i>Hag.</i>	<i>Hagigah</i>

Heb	Hebrew
Hebr	Hebrews
Hekh.	Hekhalot
<i>Hellenica</i>	<i>Hellenica. Recueil d'Épigraphie de Numismatique et d'Antiquités Grecques</i> (ed. Louis Robert)
Hermeneia	Heremeia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodotus, <i>Historia</i>
<i>Hist.Rech.</i>	<i>History of the Rechabites</i>
<i>Hist.Rom.</i>	Dio Cassius, <i>Historia Roma</i>
<i>Hist.Eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
Hos	Hosea
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HThKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTRHDR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> Harvard Dissertations in Religion
<i>Hul.</i>	<i>Hullin</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> (ed. Georg A. Buttrick)
<i>ieiun.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De ieiunio</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
Isa	Isaiah
j. (before rabb. txt.)	Jerusalem Talmud
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
Jer	Jeremiah
<i>Jewish Symbols</i>	<i>Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period</i> (ed. E.R. Goodenough)
JKDAI	Jahresbuch des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JÖAI	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien</i>
Jon	Targum Jonathan
Jos	Joshuah
<i>Jos.</i>	Philo, <i>De Iosepho</i>
<i>Jos.Asen.</i>	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSS	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSS	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series</i>
JSPS	<i>Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha, Supplement</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JStJud</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
JU	Judentum und Umwelt
<i>Jub</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>Jud</i>	<i>Judaica</i>
<i>Judg</i>	Judges
<i>Koh.Z.</i>	<i>Midrash Kohelet Zuta</i>
Lat	Latin

LBS	The Library of Biblical Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
<i>Leg.all.</i> 1-3	Philo, <i>Legum allegoriae</i> 1-3
Lev	Leviticus
<i>LexThQ</i>	<i>Lexington Theological Quarterly</i>
Lk	Luke
LLJC	The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization
LXX	Septuagintal tradition
<i>m.</i> (before rabb. txt.)	Mishnah
Mal	Malachi
<i>Mand.</i>	<i>Mandates, Shepherd of Hermas</i>
MasShirShabb	<i>Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat</i> from Masada
<i>Mek.</i>	<i>Mekhilta</i>
MeyerK	H.A.W. Meyer, <i>Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament</i>
Mic	Micah
<i>Midr.Tann.</i>	<i>Midrash Tannaim</i>
<i>Midr.Teh.</i>	<i>Midrash Tehillim</i>
<i>Migr.</i>	Philo, <i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
Mk	Mark
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
MPG	J. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae graecae</i>
MPL	J. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae latinae</i>
Mt	Matthew
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic tradition
<i>Mut.Nom.</i>	Philo, <i>De mutatione nominum</i>
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEB	Die Neue Echter Bibel
Neh	Nehemiah
Neof	Targum Neofiti
<i>New Schürer</i>	Emil Schürer, <i>The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ</i> (eds. Geza Vermes, Martin Goodman, and Fergus Millar)
<i>Nich.Eth.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Nichomachean Ethics</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTA</i>	<i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen</i> (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher)
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTT	New Testament Theology
<i>NTT</i>	<i>Nieuw theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
Num	Numbers
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>OdesSol</i>	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>
Onk	Targum Onkelos
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (ed. James H. Charlesworth)
PAM (+ no.)	Palestinian Archeological Museum photograph number
<i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i>
<i>Paneg.</i>	Pliny the Younger, <i>Panegyricus</i>
<i>Par.Jer.</i>	<i>Paraleipomena Jeremiou</i>
PCSBR	<i>Papers for the Chicago Society of Biblical Research</i>



PGM	Preisendanz, Karl, ed. <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> (ed. Karl Preisendanz)
PMR	James H. Charlesworth, <i>The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research with a Supplement</i>
Pol.	Aristotle, <i>Politica</i>
Post.Cain	Philo, <i>De posteritate Caini</i>
Praep.Ev.	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>
Pr.Jos.	<i>Prayer of Joseph</i>
Prot.Jas.	<i>Protoevangelium James</i>
Prov	Proverbs
Ps(s)	Psalm(s)
PSB	<i>Princeton Seminary Bulletin</i>
Ps-Jon	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Ps-Philo	<i>Pseudo-Philo (=Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum)</i>
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
PVTG	<i>Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece</i>
Quaes.Ex. 1-2	Philo, <i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum 1-2</i>
Quest.Ez.	<i>Questions of Ezra</i>
Quis rer.div.her.	Philo, <i>Quis rerum divinarum Heres sit</i>
QuodDeus	Philo, <i>Quod deus immutabilis sit</i>
rabb.	rabbinic
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
Rec.	recension
Ref.	Hippolytus, <i>Refutatio</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
Rev	Revelation
Rev.Elch.	<i>Revelation of Elchasai</i>
RevEx	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
R.Hash.	<i>Rosh ha-Shanah</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
Rom	Romans
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RSEHA	<i>Revue sémitique d'épigraphie et d'histoire ancienne</i>
Sacr.	Philo, <i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
San.	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBL SBS	Society of Biblical Literature: Sources for Biblical Study
SBLTT, PS	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations, Pseudepigrapha Series
SC	Sources chrétiennes
ScJTh	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana
SCS	Septuagiant and Cognate Studies
SeptGott	Septuaginta Gottingensis
Sg of Sg's	Song of Songs
Shep.Herm.	<i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>
ShirShabb	<i>Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat</i>
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
Sib.Or.	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
Sim.	<i>Similitudes, Shepherd of Hermas</i>
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
Slav	Slavic

SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
Somn. 1-2	Philo, <i>De Somniis</i> 1-2
SPB	Studia postbiblica
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
<i>Spec.Leg.</i>	Philo, <i>De specialibus legibus</i>
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
Strom.	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromata</i>
StudNeot	Studia neotestamentica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
<i>Supp.Ep.Gr.</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SuppNT	Supplements to <i>Novum Testamentum</i>
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
Syr	Syriac
t. (before rabb. txt.)	Tosephta
T12P	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>
T.Abr.	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
Tal	<i>Talanta</i>
Tanh.	<i>Tanhuma</i>
Tarb	<i>Tarbiz</i>
T.Ben.j.	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
T.Is.	<i>Testament of Isaac</i>
T.Jac.	<i>Testament of Jacob</i>
T.Job	<i>Testament of Job</i>
T.Levi	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
T.Sol.	<i>Testament of Solomon</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (eds. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich)
TDOT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, and H.J. Fabry, eds., <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> (eds. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and H.J. Fabry)
TED	Translations of Early Documents
TEH	Theologische Existenz heute
Tg.	Targum
ThBer	<i>Theologische Berichte</i>
Theod.	Theodotianic tradition
THNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThRund	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TLQ	<i>The Lutheran Quarterly</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
Tob	Tobit
TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
UTB	Urban-Taschenbücher
<i>VigChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
Virt.	Philo, <i>De virtutibus</i>
Vis.	<i>Visions, Shepherd of Hermas</i>
Vit	Suetonius, <i>Vitae Caesarorum</i>
Vit.	Josephus, <i>Vita</i>
<i>Vit.Ad.Ev.</i>	<i>Vita Adae et Evae</i>
<i>Vit.Cont.</i>	Philo, <i>De vita contemplativa</i>
<i>Vit.Mos.</i> 1-2	Philo, <i>De vita Mosis</i> 1-2

<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTS</i>	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
<i>Vulg</i>	Latin Vulgate
<i>WBC</i>	Word Bible Commentary
<i>WMATNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WThJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>Yom.</i>	<i>Yoma</i>
<i>Zeph</i>	Zephaniah
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZWT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

## PART ONE

### INTRODUCTION



## I. THE PROBLEM

And there will be nothing accursed any more, for the throne of God and of the Lamb (ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου) will be (ἔστί) in it, and his (αὐτοῦ) servants will worship him (αὐτῷ) and see his (αὐτοῦ) face, and his (αὐτοῦ) name (will be) on their foreheads. (Rev 22:3-4)

The above passage illustrates the theological problem to be investigated in relation to the Apocalypse of John. The expression "the throne of God and of the Lamb" may raise the following question: How "monotheistic" is the New Jerusalem of the seer's vision? As scholars have frequently noted, the Apocalypse, more than any other writing in the New Testament, gives expression to an interest in the worship of Jesus alongside God.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, one may wonder whether the singular pronouns in the passage cited were motivated by a concern that the worship of Christ *not* be misunderstood as a compromise of monotheistic faith. To what extent, then, are the figures of "God" and "the Lamb" identified in the Apocalypse and to what extent can we say that they are distinguished? In this respect, what can be learned from the author's simultaneous application to Christ of characteristics traditionally associated with God, on the one hand, and with angelic figures, on the other, as in Revelation 1:13-17 and 14:14-20? While within "Christian" circles the divine position of Christ could be reinforced through expressions associated with God, is it also possible that the appropriation of Jewish angelological traditions reflects lines of development which explain his exalted status as one who may be worshiped? How are angelology, *Christ*-ology, and *the*-ology ultimately related within the author's monotheistic framework? To what extent does the author, who emphasizes elsewhere the importance of worshiping only "God" (22:8-9; also 19:10), nevertheless produce a vision of something like "two powers" in heaven, a notion which later became the object of rabbinic polemics?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the passage cited above, see esp. Rev 5:6-14; 7:9-12; 11:15-18; 12:10-12; 14:1-4; 19:1-16; and 20:6.

<sup>2</sup> For an analysis of the pertinent rabbinic texts, see Alan F. SEGAL, *Two Powers in Heaven. Early Rabbinic Reports About Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA, 25; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 33-59; some of these passages are evalu-

These questions and their Jewish background in Greco-Roman antiquity constitute the focus of this study. They call for three distinct, yet inter-related, levels of analysis: history of religions, history of traditions, and exegetical considerations in the Apocalypse. Since the expression "monotheism" has served theologians as a comparative category for classifying Christianity among the world religions, the investigation of possible antecedents will be limited to sources that may help delineate "monotheism" as the author of Revelation understood it.

On the level of history of religions, the questions raised by the Apocalypse revolve around the distinctiveness of early forms of Christian veneration of Christ, as opposed to various forms of religiosity within contemporary Judaism and contiguous cultures (Egyptian, Parthian, Nabatean, Phoenician, Syrian, Greek, and Roman). In contrast to the emphasis during the early part of this century on the formative significance of Hellenistic and Oriental religions for expressions of Christian conviction, a growing number of scholars have attempted more recently to account for Christ's exalted status by appealing to the diverse matrix of contemporary Judaism. This perspective has been accompanied by a tendency to assign significant christological developments not only to later second- and third-generation communities, but especially to groups of devotees during the first two or three decades after Jesus' crucifixion.<sup>3</sup> Studies of this sort, beginning with the strong probability of antecedents to Christology in Early Judaism, have provided a fresh impetus to address a theological problem that continues to confront contemporary interpreters of the New Testament writings: While it seems clear that Christians, unlike much of their environment in which the worship of a plu-

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ated in Part Two (section II.A.1, pp. 52-75 below. What SEGAL analyzed under the "two powers" heresy constitutes a broader and, for the most part, later problem than the one addressed here. Whereas the polemics against "two powers" in rabbinic literature may have included developed Christologies within "Christian" circles as well as dualistic patterns known through "gnostic" sources, the study here takes its departure on the more specific problem of complementary, angelic beings and the question of whether a veneration of them can be detected within early Jewish literature; see *ibid.*, pp. 265-66.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. the collection of essays by Martin HENGEL, *Between Jesus and Paul. Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); idem, *Der Sohn Gottes. Die Entstehung der Christologie und die jüdisch-hellenistische Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1977<sup>2</sup>); and the important study of Larry W. HURTADO, *One God, One Lord. Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). This development in scholarship has led HENGEL and Jarl E. FOSSUM to speak of a "new" History of Religions School; see n. 23 below.

rality of deities was observed among many religions, retained the notion of "one God," their belief in the exaltation of Christ was apparently regarded by at least some Jews as inconsistent--or even incompatible--with such monotheistic claims. In other words, upon what basis could Christians accommodate a devotion to "one Lord, Jesus Christ" with their belief in "one God, the Father" (1 Cor 8:5-6)?

An explanation for such an accommodation encounters difficulties which emerge more clearly as one considers ways in which scholars have applied early Jewish concepts and motifs in relation to this problem. Thus, before discussing major questions which have arisen in studies of the Christology of the Apocalypse of John and the approach to be followed in this study, it is pertinent to comment on the state of scholarly discussion in two areas: (1) the contribution of early Jewish ideas to convictions among early Christians concerning the exalted Jesus, and (2) problems and prospects related to the usefulness of the term "monotheism" as a category for investigating this contribution.

## II. JEWISH CONCEPTS AND EARLY CHRISTOLOGY: CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY

What are some of the factors which gave rise to or shaped a devotion to the exalted Jesus in the first-century Christian communities? In order to reconstruct a plausible scenario, scholars have drawn on *religions-* and *traditionsgeschichtliche* approaches since the late nineteenth century. By focusing on hypotheses of some key figures in early and recent discussion, we shall find ourselves in a better position to propose a further area for investigation and, thereby, to delineate the basic parameters for this study.

Just after the turn of this century, Wilhelm BOUSSET, an influential proponent of the "history of religions school," argued that the worship of Jesus in early Christianity is only explicable by a context in which the strict monotheism of the Old Testament was being significantly compromised.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Concerning aspects of Judaism to which early Christian thought fell heir, see esp. the chapter entitled "Der Monotheismus und die den Monotheismus Beschränkenden Unterströmungen," in BOUSSET, with Hugo GRESSMANN, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (HNT, 21; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1926<sup>3</sup>) 302-357, which concludes as follows: "Wir können das, was hier vor sich gegangen ist und was namentlich in der Theologie des Paulus wirksam wird, eine gewisse Erweichung des Monotheismus nennen, der Jesus selbst fremd gegenübersteht. In der Engellehre, dem Dualismus und



Bousset attributed this development to "paganizing" elements which had meanwhile infiltrated post-exilic Judaism. These elements, which posed a threat to a purer form of monotheism proclaimed by the prophets, included the following: dualistic tendencies as exhibited in apocalyptic writings and growing speculations concerning divine agents, such as angelic and "hypostatic" beings.<sup>5</sup>

By ascribing these ostensible developments in Judaism to pagan influence and by stressing a necessary distinction between Palestinian Judaism, on the one hand, and Hellenism (including Diaspora Judaism), on the other, BOUSSET reasoned that post-exilic Jewish thought must have been infiltrated by a weakened sense of God's presence in the world, a caricature which he further associated with an intensified legalism among pious Jews. Though still generally characteristic of Judaism as a whole, an exclusive devotion to God had

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der Dämonologie und letztlich in der Hypostasenlehre hat das Judentum dem Christentum ein nicht in jeder Beziehung heilvolles Geschenk gemacht." BOUSSET's classic expression concerning the origins of early cultic worship of Christ is *Kyrios Christos. Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965<sup>5</sup>, orig. pub. 1913) and *Jesus der Herr. Nachträge und Auseinandersetzungen zu Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1916), in which he sharpened his emphasis on a distinction between Palestinian Judaism and Hellenism, the latter of which he concluded played the decisive role in the deification of Jesus.

<sup>5</sup> In positing such a development, BOUSSET was not alone. With respect to the theological significance of angelology, he was dependent on the work of his student, Wilhelm LUEKEN, *Michael* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898) 4-12 (see also p. 166). Furthermore, his assertion of a belief within Second Temple Judaism in independent "hypostatic" beings betrays his debt to his contemporaries such as Ferdinand WEBER, *System der Altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch, und Talmud* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1886); Alfred EDERSHEIM, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (2 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960<sup>3</sup>, repr. from 1890) esp. 2.748-55; and, with respect to Philo's thought, Emil SCHÜRER, *The Literature of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus*, trans. Peter CHRISTIE and Sophia TAYLOR (New York: Schocken Books, 1972) esp. pp. 371-73. SCHÜRER's understanding of Philo is essentially retained in the *New Schürer* edition, 3.880-85.

The notion of hypostasized beings, as entertained by these scholars, was soon vigorously contested by George Foot MOORE, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology," *HTR* 15 (1922) 41-85 and "Christian Writers on Judaism," *HTR* 14 (1921) 197-254, esp. pp. 237-41. Nevertheless, the view which links the notions of divine transcendence, a gulf between God and the world, and intermediary figures (as the resulting development) has persisted as an assumption among writers such as D.S. RUSSELL, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic 200 B.C.-A.D. 100* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964) 235-49, 257-62 (angelology arose under the influence of Persian thought); H. RINGGREN, *The Faith of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1963) 81; and H.C. KEE, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *OTP*, 1.790 n. a.

receded to the extent that intermediary beings were allowed to function as compensating objects of "cultic" veneration. These considerations led BOUSSET to explain the rise of the "Christ-cultus" on the basis of certain "foreign" elements in Judaism which were threatening to undermine the essential Jewish belief in monotheism.<sup>6</sup> Hence, BOUSSET concluded that the early Christians, in their worship and veneration of Jesus, were putting into effect a ready-made paradigm that was diametrically opposed both to the message of the prophets and the teaching of Jesus.

Both BOUSSET's assumption of an era of "purity" in Judaism and his corresponding historical explanation for the evolution of Christology among early Christians have been justly questioned<sup>7</sup> by scholars, and with increasing frequency since World War II.<sup>8</sup> Among most recent critics, few have opposed the "Boussetian" paradigm as vigorously as Larry W. HURTADO, in his recently published monograph on *One God, One Lord* (1988).<sup>9</sup> HURTADO's critique of BOUS-

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<sup>6</sup> BOUSSET stressed, in particular, the indebtedness of Jewish preoccupation with intermediary beings to Persian ideas; see *Die Religion des Judentums*, pp. 469-524. Originally for BOUSSET, angelic and hypostatic beings were a means by which Jews sought to overcome polytheistic tendencies of popular religion (by transforming pagan gods into beings which could be subordinated to Israel's God). This attempt to preserve monotheism, however, soon degenerated to the point that, with respect to angelology, BOUSSET could even speak of a "cult" which had penetrated into the lower classes, especially in the Diaspora; *ibid.*, pp. 330 and 343.

<sup>7</sup> The understanding of Second Temple Judaism has evolved significantly during the course of this century. Among the many factors involved, one may mention two of the most important reasons: (1) The application of sociological and anthropological sensitivities, in their stress on formative patterns from an environment as *intrinsic* to the phenomenology of religion, has led to a growing awareness of and empathy toward extraneous influences on Judaism. (2) The discovery and study of documents in Egypt (Elephantine papyri, Oxyrhynchus, Cairo Geniza, Nag Hammadi) and in Palestine (esp. the "Dead Sea Scrolls") have yielded roughly contemporary materials that underscore the diversity of post-exilic and rabbinic Judaism, sometimes even with respect to the religious praxis of observant Jews.

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of these critiques, see esp. HURTADO, "New Testament Christology: A Critique of Bousset's Influence," *TS* 40 (1979) 306-317. Perhaps the most definitive statement against any simple equation of Palestinian Judaism with an unhellenized religiosity is HENGEL's *Judaism and Hellenism*, trans. John BOWDEN (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974). Though HENGEL's work deals primarily with evidence in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, it has significant implications for the influence of Hellenism in first-century Palestine; see now HENGEL, *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*, trans. John BOWDEN (Philadelphia/London: Trinity International and SCM, 1989).

<sup>9</sup> See n. 3 above. HURTADO's basic argument was already epitomized in "The Binitarian Shape of Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monothe-

SET has two primary components: First, he contends that the distinctive character of early Christian worship evolved out of a Jewish Palestinian setting and not, as BOUSSET suggested, from Hellenism or Diaspora Judaism. Thus, in accordance with the growing scholarly recognition that virtually all forms of Judaism came under the influence of non-Jewish cultures,<sup>10</sup> he locates the rapid growth of Christology after Jesus' death within a Palestinian Jewish milieu.<sup>11</sup> Second, and of particular relevance to this study, HURTADO also draws a clear line of *discontinuity* between Jewish concepts underlying the Palestinian Jesus Movement and the latter's "cultic" veneration of Christ.<sup>12</sup> According to this schema, it is no longer necessary to argue that Jewish monotheism was significantly compromised or accommodated during the Second Temple period.

Whereas HURTADO and BOUSSET would agree in principle that early Christians made use of Jewish ideas to express their convictions about Jesus, they no doubt disagree concerning the extent.<sup>13</sup> Ironically, though BOUSSET is pri-

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ism," in *SBL 1985 Seminar Papers*, ed. K.H. RICHARDS (Atlanta: Scholars, 1985) 377-91; from HURTADO, see most recently his essay, "What Do We Mean by 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism'?", in *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers*, ed. David LULL (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 348-68.

<sup>10</sup> For a concise summary of this development, see now "Diversity in Post-biblical Judaism" by Gary C. PORTON, in eds. Robert A. KRAFT and George W.E. NICKELSBURG, *Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia/Atlanta: Fortress and Scholars, 1986) 57-80.

<sup>11</sup> HURTADO, *One God, One Lord*, pp. 3-9. In this respect, HURTADO echoes Joseph A. FITZMYER, "The Semitic Background of the New Testament Kyrios-Title," in *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS, 25; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979) 115-42 and HENGEL, "Christology and New Testament Chronology," in *Between Jesus and Paul*, pp. 30-47.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-39 and "The Binitarian Shape of Early Christian Devotion," in which HURTADO's major theses show the influence of formulations by Harold B. KUHN, "The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses," *JBL* 67 (1948) 217-32: "Angels do not appear to have been objects of veneration ..." (221) and "It appears that at this time there was room within Judaism for great diversity of doctrine [concerning angels], and that its monotheism was in no sense outraged by the popular conception of the existence of a vast multitude of super-human beings" (232). HURTADO has most recently rehearsed this view in "What Do We Mean by 'First-Century Jewish Monotheism'?", in *SBL 1993 Seminar Papers*, ed. David J. LULL (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 348-68. HURTADO's thesis seems also reminiscent of MOORE's criticisms of BOUSSET (see "Intermediaries" 62-79 and "Christian Writers" 243-8), though, of course, one of MOORE's main criticisms, unlike HURTADO, was BOUSSET's choice of so-called "unorthodox" sources.

<sup>13</sup> It is important to keep in mind that the comparison which follows is confined to their respective views concerning the role of *Judaism* in early Palestinian Christianity; here we do not address the specific influence of

marily known for his later stress on the debt of pre-Pauline Christianity to Hellenism, he drew a more direct line between Christology and modifications of monotheism within Jewish circles than HURTADO, who instead ascribes the rapid development of devotion to Christ to the teaching of Jesus himself<sup>14</sup> and, especially, to the various worship experiences of his followers.<sup>15</sup>

These different historical reconstructions by HURTADO and BOUSSET, concerned as they were with the continuity and discontinuity of early Christologies with contemporary Judaism, illustrate an as yet unresolved problem in the history of religions. In recent discussion, debate has centered around the nature and function of angelic and other intermediary figures in Jewish thought. HURTADO has certainly not taken an anomalous position in drawing a firm line of discontinuity between the early worship of Jesus and paradigms of devotion inherited from Judaism during the infant stages of "Christianity." Similarly, there are others who emphasize that a christological modification of monotheism occurred primarily within the setting of the early Christian communities; they include Richard BAUCKHAM,<sup>16</sup> Nils A. DAHL,<sup>17</sup> James

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Hellenistic religion on early Christianity which BOUSSET emphasized in *Kyrios Christos* (see n. 4 above).

<sup>14</sup> BOUSSET, in line with the Protestant "liberalism" of his day, almost entirely left out a discussion of the historical Jesus in *Kyrios Christos*, thereby exonerating Jesus from any religious expressions in his environment which would have posed a threat to monotheism.

<sup>15</sup> See HURTADO's chapter on "The Early Christian Mutation" in *One God, One Lord*, pp. 93-124. His stress on "inner" developments hence tends to overlook the possibility that contemporary Jewish ideas continued to be of significance for the area of devotion to Christ.

<sup>16</sup> "The Worship of Jesus in Apocalyptic Christianity," *NTS* 27 (1980-81) 322-41: "Since the early church remained - or at least professed to remain - faithful to Jewish monotheism, the acknowledgement of Jesus as worthy of worship is a remarkable development" (322); cf. also idem, "Jesus, Worship of," in *ABD*, 3.812-19. BAUCKHAM's own perspective is, however, not entirely onesided; though the Jewish or Christian provenance and date of the *Asc. Isa.* is not clear, a comparison of the Eth, Slav, and Lat versions of this apocalypse with the shorter "Greek Legend" (2:21-22) suggests for him a deliberate rejection of "a form of *Merkabah* mysticism (whether Jewish or Christian is not clear) in which angels were revered and invoked both as obstacles and as aids in the mystical ascent to heaven" ("The Worship of Jesus" 332). See also *ibid.* 338 n. 33, where in discussing rabbinic and Hekhalot texts concerning Metatron, he admits that "the warnings against the danger of this [worshipping Metatron] presuppose that the danger was sometimes realised, though perhaps those who did 'worship' Metatron would not have regarded it as worship."

<sup>17</sup> See DAHL, "Sources of Christological Language," in *Jesus the Christ. The Historical Origins of Christological Doctrine*, ed. Donald H. JUEL (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 113-36, esp. pp. 121 and 131.

D.G. DUNN,<sup>18</sup> R.T. FRANCIS,<sup>19</sup> Martin HENGEL,<sup>20</sup> Paul A. RAINBOW,<sup>21</sup> and Michael THEOBALD.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Christology in the Making* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980) 149-62; "Was Christianity a Monotheistic Faith from the Beginning?," *ScJTh* 35 (1981) 303-336. In the latter publication, DUNN finds an exception in Merkabah mysticism, but dismisses its "lasting impact on either Christianity or Judaism," being tolerated within the "redefined monotheism" of the former and rejected within the strict monotheism of the latter (i.e., rabbinic Judaism; p. 334). See further DUNN's essay, "Let John be John," in ed. Peter STUHLMACHER, *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien. Vorträge zum Tübinger Symposium 1982* (WUNT, 28; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983) 322-25. This view is reiterated and elaborated by DUNN in response to HURTADO and ROWLAND (bibl. below) in *The Partings of the Ways* (London/Philadelphia: SCM and Trinity International, 1991) 207-229.

<sup>19</sup> "The Worship of Jesus: A Neglected Factor in Christological Debate?," in *Christ the Lord. Studies in Christology presented to Donald Guthrie*, ed. H.H. ROWDON (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1982) 17-36, esp. pp. 24-25.

<sup>20</sup> "Hymns and Christology," in *Between Jesus and Paul*, pp. 78-96; *Der Sohn Gottes*, pp. 90-93: "Grundsätzlich ist zu bedenken, daß es sich hier nicht einfach um die simple Reproduktion älterer jüdischer Hypostasen- und Mittlerspekulationen handeln kann, sondern daß die früheste Christologie ein durchaus originäres Gepräge trägt und letztlich in dem kontingenten Ereignis der Wirksamkeit Jesu, seines Todes und der Auferstehungserscheinungen wurzelt: Der religionsgeschichtliche Vergleich kann nur die Herkunft einzelner Motive, Traditionen, Sprachelemente und Funktionen, nicht dagegen das Phänomen der Entstehung der Christologie als Ganzes erklären" (p. 92). However, in the same work HENGEL does acknowledge the potential significance of "Jewish Hekhalot and Merkabah literature for early Christian Christology" (*Der Sohn Gottes*, pp. 137-38 and n. 151). Furthermore, fully aware of the diversity of Early Judaism, he can admit, on the basis of an inscription at Delos, the *Kerygma Petrou*, rabbinic polemics, Hekhalot texts, magical papyri, and some NT passages (Col 2:8,18; Gal 3:19 with 4:9), the existence of a "jüdischer Engelskult" in "Der alte und der neue Schürer," *JSS* 35 (1990) 20 (also n. 44) and "Psalm 110 und die Erhöhung des Auferstandenen zur Rechten Gottes," in eds. Cilliers BREYTENBACH and Henning PAULSEN, *Anfänge der Christologie. Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 65 ("Anrufung und Verehrung [of angels] waren streng untersagt, wobei das Verbot [in rabb. lit.] und die jüdische Mystik und Magie zeigen, daß sie doch eine große Rolle spielten"), but does not consider in these publications its possible significance for Christology. Since the term "Kultus" is not defined by HENGEL, it is not clear whether this claim is to be understood as a shift from his previous position; see further "Die Synagogeninschrift von Stobi," *ZNW* 57 (1966) 156 n. 32.

<sup>21</sup> "Jewish Monotheism as the Matrix for New Testament Christology: A Review Article," *NT* 33 (1991) 78-91.

<sup>22</sup> "Gott, Logos und Pneuma," in ed. Hans-Josef KLAUCK, *Monotheismus und Christologie. Zur Gottesfrage im hellenistischen Judentum und im Urchristentum* (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna: Herder, 1992) 41-87; see esp. pp. 46-50 and 56-64.

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