

MATTHIAS REINHARD HOFFMANN

The Destroyer and the Lamb

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Matthias Reinhard Hoffmann

The Destroyer and the Lamb

The Relationship between Angelomorphic and
Lamb Christology in the Book of Revelation

Mohr Siebeck

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Matthias R. Hoffmann

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List of Abbreviations

1 Chr	1 Chronicles
1 Clem	1 Clement
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
1 En.	1 Enoch
1 Kgs	1 Kings
1 Pet	1 Peter
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
1Q32 (=1QNew Jerusalem)	New Jerusalem ms from Qumran Cave 1
1QH (1QHymns ^a)	Hodayot from Qumran Cave 1
1QM (=1QWar Scroll)	Milchamah from Qumran Cave 1
1QpHab	Habakkuk Peshar from Cave 1
1QS	Serek ha-Yahad from Qumran Cave 1
1QSb (1Q28b)	Berakhot from Qumran Cave 1
2 Bar	2 Baruch
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
2 Clem	2 Clement
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
2 En.	2 Enoch
2 Sam	2 Samuel
2Q24 (=2QNew Jerusalem)	New Jerusalem ms from Qumran Cave 2
3 Bar.	3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch
3 En.	3 Enoch
4 Macc	4 Maccabees
4Q161 (=4QpIsa ^a)	Isaiah Peshar from Qumran Cave 4
4Q161	Isaiah Peshar from Qumran Cave 4
4Q174 (=4QFlorilegium)	Florilegium from Qumran Cave 4
4Q252	Genesis Peshar from Cave 4
4Q280	Blessings from Qumran Cave 4
4Q285	War Scroll from Qumran Cave 4
4Q369 (=4QPrayer of Enosh)	Ms 369 from Qumran Cave 4
4Q374	Apocryphon of Moses from Qumran Cave 4
4Q377	Apocryphon of Moses from Qumran Cave 4
4Q381	Ms 381 from Qumran Cave 4
4Q400–407	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice from Qumran Cave 4
4Q436	Ms 436 from Qumran Cave 4
4Q491	War Scroll from Qumran Cave 4
4Q504 (=4QDibHam ^a)	Words of the Luminaries from Qumran Cave 4
4Q511	Songs of the Sage from Qumran Cave 4
4Q530	Ms 530 (Book of Giants) from Qumran Cave 4
4Q554 (=4QNew Jerusalem ^a)	New Jerusalem ms from Qumran Cave 4
4Q555 (=4QNew Jerusalem ^b)	New Jerusalem ms from Qumran Cave 4
5Q15 (=5QNew Jerusalem)	New Jerusalem ms from Qumran Cave 5

11Q18 (=11QNew Jerusalem)	<i>New Jerusalem</i> ms from Qumran Cave 11
11QTemple (=11Q19)	<i>Temple Scroll</i> from Qumran Cave 11
<i>Adv. haer.</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus haereses</i>
<i>Agam.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Agamemnon</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
<i>Ant. Bibl.</i>	Pseudo-Philo, <i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>
<i>Apc</i>	Apocalypse
<i>Apc. Abr.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
<i>Apc. Mos.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>
<i>Apc. Petr.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>Apologia</i>
<i>Asc. Isa.</i>	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>
b. (before rabbinic texts)	Babylonian Talmud
<i>Ber.</i>	<i>Berakhot</i>
<i>Comm. in Apoc.</i>	Victorinus, <i>Commentarius in Apocalypsin</i>
<i>Comm. in Dan.</i>	Hippolytus, <i>Commentarius in Daniele</i>
<i>Comm. in Joh.</i>	Origen, <i>Commentarius in Evangelium Johannis</i>
<i>Ctr. Celsum</i>	Origen, <i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>Dan</i>	Daniel
<i>De abstin.</i>	Porphyr, <i>De abstinencia</i>
<i>De cher.</i>	Philo, <i>De cherubim</i>
<i>De conf.</i>	Philo, <i>De confusione linguarum</i>
<i>De migr.</i>	Philo, <i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
<i>De post. Caini</i>	Philo, <i>De posteritate Caini</i>
<i>De princ.</i>	Origen, <i>De principiis</i>
<i>De sac. Abeli et Caini</i>	Philo, <i>De sacrificiis Abeli et Caini</i>
<i>De somn.</i>	Philo, <i>De somniis</i>
<i>De trin.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De trinitate</i>
<i>De vit. Mos.</i>	Philo, <i>De vita Mosi</i>
<i>Descr.</i>	Pausanias, <i>Graeciae descriptio</i>
<i>Deut</i>	Deuteronomy
<i>Deut. Rab.</i>	<i>Deuteronomy Rabbah</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>Dialogus cum Tryphoni</i>
<i>Enn.</i>	Plotinus, <i>Enneads</i>
<i>Eph</i>	Ephesians
<i>Ex</i>	Exodus
<i>Excerpta Theod.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Excerpta ex Theodoto</i>
<i>Exod. Rab.</i>	<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>
<i>Ezek</i>	Ezekiel
<i>Ezek. Trag.</i>	<i>Ezekiel the Tragedian</i>
<i>Gen</i>	Genesis
<i>Gen. Rab.</i>	<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>
<i>Gosp. Barth.</i>	<i>Gospel of Bartholomew</i>
<i>Gosp. Petr.</i>	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>
<i>Gosp. Thom.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
<i>Gr. Apc. Ezra</i>	<i>Greek Apocalypse of Ezra</i>
<i>Hab</i>	Habakkuk
<i>Hag.</i>	<i>Hagigah</i>
<i>Heb</i>	Hebrews
<i>Hier.</i>	Dionysius the Areopagite, <i>De Coelesti Hierarchia</i>

<i>Hom.</i>	Pseudo-Clementines, <i>Homilies</i>
<i>Hom. in Ezek.</i>	Origen, <i>Homiliae in Ezechielem</i>
<i>Hom. in Isa.</i>	Origen, <i>Homiliae in Isaiam</i>
Hos	Hosea
<i>Institut. div.</i>	Lactantius, <i>Institutiones divinae</i>
Isa	Isaiah
j. (before rabbinic texts)	Jerusalem Talmud
Jer	Jeremiah
<i>Jos. Asen.</i>	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>
Josh	Joshua
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
Judg	Judges
<i>Lament. Rab.</i>	<i>Lamentations Rabbah</i>
Lev	Leviticus
Lk	Luke
LXX	Septuagint
Mal	Malachi
<i>Mand.</i>	Shepherd of Hermas, <i>Mandates</i>
<i>Mart. Perp.</i>	<i>The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas</i>
Mic	Micah
Mk	Mark
ms	manuscript
MT	Masoretic Text
Mt	Matthew
Nah	Nahum
NT	New Testament
Num	Numbers
<i>Or. Sib.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
Orat. Contra Arianos	Athanasius, <i>Oratio Contra Arianos</i>
<i>Paid.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Paidagogos</i>
<i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i>
<i>Par. Jer.</i>	<i>Paralipomena Jeremiae</i>
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae (ed. Karl Preisendanz)
Phil	Philippians
<i>Pirque R. El.</i>	<i>Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer</i>
<i>Praep. Evang.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>
Prov	Proverbia
Ps	Psalms
<i>Ps-Philo</i>	<i>Pseudo-Philo</i> (= Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum)
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
<i>Rec.</i>	Pseudo-Clementines, <i>Recognitions</i>
<i>Ref.</i>	Hippolytus, <i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i>
Rev	Revelation
Rom	Romans
<i>Shep. Herm.</i>	Shepherd of Hermas
<i>Sim.</i>	Shepherd of Hermas, <i>Similitudes</i>
STh	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa Theologica</i>
<i>Strom.</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Stromata</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	Methodius, <i>Symposium</i>
<i>Taan.</i>	<i>Taanith</i>

<i>Test. Abr.</i>	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
<i>Test. Dan</i>	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
<i>Test. Job</i>	<i>Testament of Job</i>
<i>Test. Jos.</i>	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>
<i>Test. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>Test. Sol.</i>	<i>Testament of Solomon</i>
<i>Tg. 1 Kgs.</i>	<i>Targum of 1 Kings</i>
<i>Tg. Esth.</i>	<i>Targum of Esther</i>
<i>Tg. Isa.</i>	<i>Targum of Isaiah</i>
<i>Tg. Ps-J.</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>
<i>Tob</i>	<i>Tobit</i>
<i>Vis.</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Visions</i>
<i>Wisd. Sol.</i>	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>
<i>Zech</i>	<i>Zechariah</i>
<i>Zeph</i>	<i>Zephaniah</i>

All abbreviations used in the bibliography are taken from those provided in: Siegfried M. SCHWERTNER, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und ihre Grenzgebiete (IATG²)* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, ²1992).

Part A

Introduction

Chapter I

Introduction

1. The Problem

Apc 14

14 Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη λευκή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δρέπανον ὄξύ.

15 καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ κράζων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης.

The Apocalypse of John displays a major interest in angels. This holds despite the author's ultimate focus on God and Christ. Angels may be portrayed either as accompanying God and Christ (e.g. Apc 5:1–7; 5:11–13; 7:11; 8:1–5) or as acting independently (e.g. Apc 7:1–3; 8:6–13; 9:1–2; 10:1–3). But the distinction between Christ and angels is not always clear-cut, and sometimes angelic and christological categories cannot be differentiated. The passage quoted above offers one of the sharpest examples of such overlapping categories. Angels are mentioned alongside a figure designated as “one like a son of man”. The latter figure echoes the same designation applied to Christ in Apc 1:13. Therefore, the identity of this figure in Apc 14:14 as Christ has often been taken for granted.

This identification, however, is not unproblematic: Firstly, can it simply be assumed that this figure is Christ and if so, why? Do specific features or functions attributed to “one like a son of man” reflect the author's own christological perspective? Secondly, can one assume that the author has distinguished sharply between Christology and angelology, so that identity can be so clearly defined? After all, the author can draw on ideas normally found in angelophanic contexts when describing Christ's function and appearance, a feature which seems obvious in some passages (1:12–20; 10:6; 14:14; 15:6; 16:15; 19:11–20). Thirdly, if we are correct in noting the lack of a thoroughgoing attempt to differentiate between angels and Christ, is it possible to infer that the author of Apocalypse regarded Christ as an angel in some sense? If so, it has to be shown whether the author does this rather “carelessly” (assuming his ultimate attempt to distinguish Christ from other heavenly beings) or if in this apparent mixing we find an expression of his respective christological and angelological convictions. It

is therefore important to compare theophanic and angelophanic traditions in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish sources with the analogous statements on angels and Christ within the Apocalypse.

An analysis of an overlapping of christological and angelic categories by the author may probably not be carried through under the assumption that such a portrait of Christ is aberrant or unusual; such a view would simply impose on Revelation (and the NT) a more dogmatic understanding of Christology which has been predominant in western (Roman Catholic and Protestant) church traditions. If parts of the Christology in the Apocalypse seem to stand in tension with christological dogma, then the articulation of such an inconsistency is in itself little more than the product of a certain confessional belief and does not do justice to the special christological features preserved in the Apocalypse (see also the following chapters).

Accordingly, the purpose of this thesis is to explore passages within Revelation where an angelic portrait of Christ is provided, and to confirm (or deny) Christ's identity. Further, the given context of passages which contain a description of Christ in angelic terms or categories has to be examined. Such an analysis, together with a comparison of other christological features of the Apocalypse (as for instance with the prominent Lamb Christology) might demonstrate the author's awareness and intention to include a Christology which is indebted to angelic categories.

In addition, it will prove useful here to have a closer look at some of the important traditions in the Hebrew Bible (such as Dan 7:9.13; 9:2; 10:5–6; Ezek 9:2; Ex 12:1–28) and early Jewish literature concerning angels which could have fed ideas found in the Apocalypse – or in the NT in general – (e.g. 4 Ezra; 1 En.; 2 Bar.; Test. Abr.) in order to find a possible common background against which such early Christologies were being formulated.

The present thesis also proposes to refer to some other early Christian texts (like *Shepherd of Hermas* [Sim. VII–IX], the *Pseudo-Clementines* [Rec. I–II], the *Ascension of Isaiah* [9–12] or Justin Martyr [*Apol.* I 6]) to prepare for a Christology similar to that presented in Apocalypse and, further, to assess the significance of texts offering similar christological concepts held in early Christianity. These and other sources reflect the fact that there was not a fixed system of expressing the belief in Christ for early Christians during the first two centuries. Although attempts were made in the church to impose uniform systems of Christology, diverse christological dogmas continued to persist after the fourth century.¹ We should not, therefore, be surprised if Christologies that include angelic descriptions of

¹ Cp. also GRILLMEIER: *Christus*, or KELLY: *Glaubensbekenntnisse*.

Christ continued to find expression as, for instance, in Dionysius the Areopagite's *Hierarchy of Heaven*, especially chapter IV (5th century²).

Even nowadays the impact of angelological ideas on Christian belief (in general) has aroused attention. We find a good example of this increasing interest in angels and their importance for Christian belief in the systematic theological works by M. WERNER and W. HÄRLE. In a chapter on "Die Wirksamkeit Gottes" in his *Dogmatik* (1995) HÄRLE finds it necessary to include an excursus on angelology, presumably because of an increased interest in the subject during the twentieth century.³ HÄRLE does produce evidence which presents angels as God's messengers,⁴ but wishes to express caution when it comes to angelology as such. He argues against any overemphasis on the importance of angels, and demands that angels and God be clearly distinguished. Hence he states that angels may in no way be the object of religious worship or veneration.⁵

In addition HÄRLE emphasizes that the *nature* of angels ought not be allowed to carry any weight when one attempts to understand their theological significance. On the contrary, he maintains that the literature from the period of "Altprotestantismus" and "Lutheran Orthodoxy" had – in an attempt to reveal the essence of angels according to their nature – clouded their true meaning or even distorted it. According to HÄRLE the significance of angels is more to be rooted in relation to the *functional* expressions "message" and "encounter",⁶ and presumably not in categories in which angels may be understood as analogous to God.

HÄRLE's discussion concerning angels picked up on categories which were being applied to Christology during the Protestant Reformation. The soteriological function could overshadow nature in attempting to formulate Christology. The classic formulation for this view was expressed by Philipp MELANCHTHON (1497–1560) in his *Loci communes* edited in 1521: *Hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia eius cognoscere, non ... eius*

² For the dating of Dionysius the Areopagite and the importance of the later Latin version cp. e.g. HEUSSI: *Kirchengeschichte*, 147.

³ Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 296–300. Before HÄRLE Protestant writings express a certain irrelevance of angels, as can for instance be seen in a passage on angels (§ 51–54) in the influential writing "Der christliche Glaube" (1821/22) by F. D. E. SCHLEIERMACHER. Cp. for the lack of interest in angels also KRAUSS: *Engel*, 90–93.

⁴ HÄRLE mainly points to an amount of biblical references and allusions to angels within the *Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen (BSLK)*. Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 297–298. Additionally the traditional interest in angels may be seen in liturgical practice like the invocation of angels before the communion, the celebration of Michaelmas or even the naming of many churches after Michael. For the increasing interest in angels and their meaning for modern theology see also ROSENAU: *Leben*, 37–50, STUBBE: *Wirklichkeit* and KRAUSS: *Engel*, 7–10.

⁵ Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 298.

⁶ Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 298–299.

naturas, modos incarnationis contueri ("This is the way to understand Christ, to understand his good works, not ... his natures, to look at the mode of his incarnation").⁷

This statement most clearly expresses the Christology of the Reformation: Though adopting the doctrine of Christ's two natures from the old church without modifications, the reformers framed their Christologies with existential and soteriological concerns in view. It is not Christology itself that is the focus of interest, but the *works* of Christ.⁸ A consideration of their nature has not generally played an important role for the understanding of either Christ or angels in Protestant theology, and may not be a decisive factor for differentiating them from each other.

It is therefore surprising that, even in Protestant theologies, the opposite view could find expression.⁹ Differences between the natures of Christ and angels are frequently discussed, especially in relation to categories such as "pre-existence" or "being created". This becomes clear if we have a closer look at the history of research of matters of angel Christology, especially the debates which have emerged as a result of the work of M. WERNER in his magnum opus *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* (1941).¹⁰ The thesis of WERNER, as is well known, involved the claim that an angel Christology was the oldest form of early Christianity's way of expressing Christology. In attempts to refute the views of WERNER, a consideration of natures played a decisive role – an argument which drew on a medieval understanding of angelology, as instanced in the categorical system of Thomas Aquinas.¹¹ Scholars have asked whether one can safely concur with WERNER that these ideas are already expressed within the NT. Likewise, it has been assumed that the development of christological dogma in the church's history essentially came to an end at a certain time (Nicea), and that there subsequently was no need to dispute issues which had already been settled. This assumption is quite dubious (see the example of Dionysius mentioned above). Finally, the vehemence with which numerous scholars have sought to refute WERNER's thesis has, until recently, been accompanied by a categorical avoidance of relating Christ to angelic beings. Not only among WERNER's opponents, but also in the discussion of Christology in general, any comparison of Christ and angels has frequently been considered taboo (see especially the arguments of WERNER's opponents).

⁷ Cp. MELANCHTHON: *Loci*, 22–23.

⁸ Cp. e.g. PÖHLMANN: *Dogmatik*, 194. See also SCHWÖBEL: "Christology", 118–119 on the relationship of the work and the person of Christ.

⁹ Cp. the following discussion on WERNER, MICHAELIS and HARNACK in this thesis.

¹⁰ WERNER: *Entstehung*, esp. 302–388.

¹¹ Cp. e.g. *STh*, I, *Questions* 54–58 or partly the *Exposition of the Angelic Salutation* (*Ave Maria*), where angels are described in metaphysical categories.

A question arises as to whether there are *other* criteria for distinguishing Christ from the angels and whether we can find evidence in NT-literature in support of those conclusions without referring to differences in nature. Initially, however, it is necessary to have a closer look at the history of research concerning the relationship between angels and Christology in order to identify and subsequently avoid certain mistakes made up to now.

2. The History of Research

An overview of the history of research concerning the relation between Christology and angelology within the NT is presented in a number of recent scholarly discussions.¹² These overviews have tended to address the question of whether or not the NT documents preserve features of either an “angel” or “angelomorphic” Christology. What often goes ignored, however, are systematic-theological underpinnings of the problem which may be observed in the history of interpretation. Unfortunately, some recent treatments restrict themselves to describing other works in chronological order of their publication rather than offering thoroughgoing discussions that consider the question of theological significance.¹³

The beginning of modern research concerning the importance of angels or other intermediary beings for Christology has been commonly associated with W. BOUSSET and his so-called *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. BOUSSET claimed *inter alia* that Jewish angelology played a formative role among religious-historical developments within Judaism which help explain the rise of early Christian worship of Jesus (1924). These developments involved a process of softening the “strict” monotheism – known, for example, through the Deuteronomistic history of the Hebrew scriptures – and included a growing interest in angels (and other “hypostatic” figures) in “Spätjudentum”.¹⁴

BOUSSET's most thoroughgoing discussion of Judaism as the matrix for compromising forms of monotheism near the turn of the common era was largely based on a detailed study published by W. LUEKEN, one of his students, in 1898: *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleich der jüdischen und morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael*.¹⁵ LUEKEN, in turn, had no doubt been encouraged to address the significance of the

¹² Cp. e.g. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 1–13, STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 5–14, HORBURY: *Messianism*, 122–152, KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 75–78 or FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 1–10.

¹³ See e.g. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 7–25: GIESCHEN offers a valuable assessment of data, but does not reflect on the theological importance of the debate.

¹⁴ Cp. BOUSSET; GRESSMANN: *Religion*, 302–357.

¹⁵ LUEKEN: *Michael*.

archangel Michael (as well as that of other angelic figures) for Christology by BOUSSET's prior claim that early developments in Christology were probably indebted to contemporary Jewish ideas, especially those which were concerned with Michael.¹⁶

LUEKEN was probably the first to gather evidence pertaining to the possible influence of angelological ideas on Christology.¹⁷ In addition, he dealt with further angelological ideas¹⁸ or categories¹⁹ which are worthy of reconsideration in the current study of the Apocalypse and other NT passages in which such motifs occur.²⁰

To his credit, LUEKEN remained cautious in the way he formulated his views. Among the primary sources he found what he considered to be sufficient evidence in early Christianity for the influence of Jewish beliefs about angels on three categories of Christology; these were references to Christ's (a) pre-existence (so 1 Cor 8:6; 11:3.7; 2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15; Heb 1:6,8; *Shep. Herm. Sim. IX* 12:2); (b) earthly existence (e.g. in Origen, *Hom. in Ezek. I* 7 [on Ezek 1:1]); and (c) "post-existent" or exalted state (Phil 2:6–11; Heb 1:4, 2:16–18, 4:14–16, 7:25–27, 8:2, 9:11–12, 9:24, 10:10–14, and 13:15; 1 Pet 2:25 and 5:1–4; Justin Martyr, *Apol. I* 6; *Shep. Herm. Sim. IX* and *Vis. VI*; Novatian, *De trin.* 11).²¹

BOUSSET, in taking LUEKEN's analysis as his point of departure, attempted to characterize the sort of Judaism that could foster widespread speculative ideas about angels. He concluded that the early Jewish interest in intermediary beings was due to "foreign" influences (in both thought and practice) which were threatening to undermine the strict Israelite monotheism of the pre-exilic and exilic periods. Only such external influences could make the worship of Christ an explicable phenomenon.²² For BOUSSET there was an unbroken line of continuity between "Spätjudentum" and the early Christian devotion to Christ.

¹⁶ Cp. BOUSSET: *Antichrist*, 151.

¹⁷ Cp. LUEKEN: *Michael*, 133–166.

¹⁸ Cp. LUEKEN: *Michael*, 52–56: LUEKEN offers some material here on the early Jewish idea of nature-angels and the connection of angels to a certain kind of element. This investigation seems to be most interesting for further comparisons with the angel having charge of the fire in Apc 14:18 or the angels related to earth, water and air in Apc 16:8–15. See also YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 565.

¹⁹ Cp. LUEKEN: *Michael*, 30–32 and 91–100: Here LUEKEN provides some motifs of Michael as a high priest. See also the increasing interest in the angelic category of high priesthood, e.g. in: FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 118–129 and 214.

²⁰ E.g. the idea of the Christology of Hebrews as one opposing a veneration of Christ as an angel. See LUEKEN: *Michael*, 145.

²¹ Cp. LUEKEN: *Michael*, 163–166.

²² Cp. BOUSSET; GRESSMANN: *Religion*, 469–524: BOUSSET sees esp. Hellenism, Diaspora Jewism and Persian ideas being responsible for this development.

This aspect of BOUSSET's religious-historical reconstruction has, of course, not gone without criticism.²³ One recent scholarly discussion which rejects his ideas is that of L. W. HURTADO. Despite his insistence that Jewish ideas help explain a number of conceptual christological developments arising from the Palestinian Jesus movement, HURTADO nevertheless maintains that there was an essential discontinuity between these and the practice of worshipping Christ among early Jewish Christian communities.²⁴

It is not the ultimate purpose of this thesis to deal with the problems relating to a continuity or discontinuity and consequently this receives only brief mention here.²⁵ However, it should be noted that the studies of BOUSSET and LUEKEN, in paving the way for further analysis, have not outworn their importance for current research. The same may be said of the less well known publication of F. J. DÖLGER (1910), who derived the connection between angelology and Christology from second century Gnostic sources which, in turn, relied on earlier traditions.²⁶

However, at the turn of the twentieth century, the association of angelic figures and emerging Christology was not treated as a solely historical concern, that is, in relation to the question of *how* Christology developed at an early stage. Systematic-theological concerns were also in play. A. HARNACK, in his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (1909, 4th ed.), reached a conclusion which dismisses the theological import of Christ being designated as an angel. He argued that the christological use of the title "angelus" in early Christian literature is to be understood as a description of *function*, not of *nature*.²⁷ Similarly, F. CAVALLERA has subsequently

²³ The same may be said of LUEKEN's work, as is already the case, e.g. in BARBEL: *Christos*, 339–340: In the appendix of the reprint of his book, BARBEL refers to LUEKEN's focus as being set too narrowly to get more valuable results.

²⁴ Cp. HURTADO: *God*, 3–9 and esp. 24–27. Cp. also HURTADO: "Mean", 348–368 and HURTADO: "Monotheism", 3–26.

²⁵ For a full description of this conflict of continuity and discontinuity cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 5–14.

²⁶ Analogous to LUEKEN (and to some extent to BOUSSET as well) F. J. DÖLGER has collected some material which took the offspring of angel-christological ideas into account, considering the roots to be in Gnosticism. Cp. DÖLGER: *Ichthys*, 273–297. DÖLGER mainly referred to *Shepherd of Hermas* (Vis. V 2; Sim. VIII–IX), Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I 6), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*), Tertullian (*De carne Christi*, *De trin.*), Origen (*Ctr. Celsum*, *De princ.*), Lactantius (*Institut. div.*), Methodius (*Symp.* 1–3), Philo of Alexandria (*De somn.* 1.239; *De conf.* 146; *De cher.* 27–28; *De migr.* 102), *Or. Sib.* 8:456–473, *Pistis Sophia* (11–12), *Pseudoevangelium of James* and the *Epistula Apostolorum* (of uncertain date, but possibly mid-second century C.E.).

²⁷ See HARNACK: *Dogmengeschichte*, 204–205, n. 4. HARNACK gives evidence for the designation of Christ as an angel and further states that some Christians probably understood this as a description of Christ's nature. This misinterpretation, however, vanished at the advent of the doctrine of the logos.

claimed that the “heresy” of Christ as an angel according to his *nature* ought simply to be eliminated from the history of development of doctrine.²⁸ Such a convenient distinction runs up against the emphasis on soteriology originally expressed among the early Reformers (see above). Thus, from a systematic theological point of view, the precise way in which Christology can be related to angelology bears further exploration.

It is conspicuous that little of the research carried out near the turn of the twentieth century – for example that of LUEKEN, BOUSSET, and DÖLGER – was picked up in contemporary studies which referred to the relationship between Christ and angels in the Apocalypse of John. Such is, for instance, the case in the treatment by F. BÜCHSEL about Christology in Revelation (1907) whose statement on the issue is rather meagre: there is at best a dubious proximity as far as a connection of Christ and angels is concerned. He found himself unable to draw any more conclusions.²⁹ R. H. CHARLES, who was thoroughly familiar with the then known Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, was able to go a little further in his observations (1920). However, though acknowledging the influence of angelology on the representation of Christ in the Apocalypse, he nevertheless emphasized that Christ is nowhere actually designated as “angel” on any level of the tradition.³⁰

Until the 1940s – for a period of some twenty years – this topic was largely ignored, and references to angelological roots of Christology were mostly downplayed in importance. For instance, according to F. LOOFS (1932) “... die dogmengeschichtliche Bedeutung der Verbindung der Christologie mit der Engellehre [ist] nicht zu überschätzen.”³¹

A more serious study which acknowledges the significance of angelology was published in an article by A. BAKKER (1933).³² On the basis of a passage in the *Antiquities* of Josephus in which the activity of Jesus is described (18.63–64, the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum*), BAKKER identifies an early Jewish Christian tradition which equated Christ with angels. She correlated this tradition with other tendencies in the NT which warn against worshipping angels or mistaking Christ for an angel, e.g. in Hebrews 1–2,³³ Colossians 2:18, and Apc 19:10 or 22:8.³⁴ In particular,

²⁸ Cp. CAVALLERA: “Christ-Änge”, 56–59, who refers to the view of HARNACK.

²⁹ Cp. BÜCHSEL: *Christologie*, 27.

³⁰ Cp. CHARLES: *Revelation* I, 259. CHARLES dissociates the phrase ἄλλος ἄγγελος in Apc 14:15 from the figure representing “one like a son of man” in verse 14 by translating it as “another, an angel” (as in verses 6, 8, 9, 15, 17, 18), not as “another angel” (so CHARLES: *Revelation* II, 12–26).

³¹ LOOFS: *Theophilus*, 125, n. 1.

³² Cp. BAKKER: “Christ”, 255–265.

³³ Cp. also WINDISCH: *Hebräerbrief*, 17, who influenced BAKKER in this idea. For a more recent discussion see KARRER: *Hebräer*, 134.

she considered Hebrews to be of importance because of its “anti-docetic” polemic.³⁵

With the publication of M. WERNER’s thesis on the development of the Christian dogma (1941), the history of research on the connection of christological and angelological ideas probably reached its climax. WERNER believed that a so-called Jewish Christian *Engelchristologie* was the oldest form of Christology of early Christianity.³⁶ He sought to justify his thesis by discussing texts that involve messianic eschatological figures such as an angelic “Elect One” or “Son of Man” in the *Similitudes of 1 Enoch* 37–71.³⁷ He also tried to recover evidence for the representation of Christ as an angel in NT texts as well. In his opinion the belief that Christ is an angelic being is assumed by the Gospels and Paul’s writings.³⁸ In particular, he focused on Paul’s use of the title κύριος (probably in misapprehension of its meaning as a substitute of the Tetragrammaton³⁹). WERNER observed that the designation κυριοί refers frequently to angels in apocalyptic literature and argued that therefore Christ himself, as κύριος, may be understood as an angel.⁴⁰ WERNER argued further that traces of an angel Christology lay behind Arianism and, because of association with the “heresy”, was banished afterwards.⁴¹ WERNER’s thesis caused quite a stir and was contradicted almost immediately and vehemently by W. MICHAELIS (1942).⁴²

³⁴ Cp. BAKKER: “Christ”, 258–259.

³⁵ Cp. BAKKER: “Christ”, 262–263: BAKKER compares Heb to texts that reflect the insignificance of human needs for angel-like beings, e.g. Tob 6:6 (and the remarkable differences of the text of Ⲭ to the other variants, explicitly excluding the angel from eating), Tob 12:19 or in contrast Lk 24:37–43 in order to prove her thesis.

³⁶ WERNER: *Entstehung*. (See for his position also the abbreviated version of *Die Entstehung des Christlichen Dogmas*.)

³⁷ Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 303–321.

³⁸ Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 304–305: WERNER made his assumptions mainly on the basis of the “Son of Man”-title and conclusions on his hierarchical position. His comparison of the use of the “Son of Man” in early Jewish writings, such as *1 Enoch* 46:3, and his superior position above the *other* angels (as described in *1 En.* 46:1) led him to the result that the same idea must have been reflected in the Gospels (e.g. in Mk 8:38; Mt 16:27; Lk 9:26; Mt 13:41–42; Mk 13:26–27). He found this scheme of Christ being described as having an exalted position above *other* angels similarly reflected by Paul’s writings (e.g. in Phil 2:6–9; 1 Cor 15:28). It is noteworthy that WERNER does not refer to this possibility in relation to the Apocalypse of John.

³⁹ Cp. e.g. HENGEL: *Christology*, 380.

⁴⁰ Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, esp. 307–310. WERNER believed that κύριος in 1 Cor 8:6 had to be understood in angelic dimensions, and therefore Christ was described in angelic features.

⁴¹ Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 371–388.

⁴² MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*. The subtitle, *Abbau der Konstruktion Martin Werners*, reveals the main intention of his work.

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