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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE CULT OF THE ANGELS AT COLOSSAE.¹

WHAT was the nature of the teachings against which St Paul directed the polemical parts of his Epistle to the Colossians? Was it of purely heathen, or of purely Jewish, or of heathen-Jewish origin, i.e. the product of thinkers who, consciously or unconsciously, had mingled the two great spheres of thought in one common cup?

i. It has been urged with no little force that the false teaching is essentially Heathen; that it represents belief common at that time in all parts of the known heathen world, but recorded for us chiefly in writings that had their origin in Egypt. This belief was that heavenly Beings, of which the visible sun, moon, and stars were but, so to speak, the materialization, ruled the earth, and that with a rod of iron. Hence the important thing for man was to worship them fittingly, and thus escape as far as possible from all the evil that they might bring upon him.

This, it is said, explains why the false teachers among the Colossians made so much of the observance of times and seasons—for, naturally, times and seasons fell under the special cognizance of the heavenly bodies.²

But a serious, and indeed fatal, objection to this is the direct mention of sabbaths, with the following implication that they had been useful before Christ came (ii 16, 17, see notes), and, above all, of Circumcision (ii 11-13). For it does not appear that any evidence is adduced that the heathen practised circumcision as a means of freeing themselves from the control of the heavenly bodies.

ii. But was it purely Jewish? Much in the Epistle tends to give an affirmative answer. Its dependence on tradition and its estimate of wisdom, its insistence on dietary laws and on the value of circumcision, its refusal to grant the uniqueness of Christ's position and work, point to this. Above all, those who have read the *Book of Enoch* and other Jewish pseudepigraphic writings, and have taken note of the stress laid therein on visions, and especially of the elaborate Angelology to be found there, are inclined to accept this solution.

iii. Yet in one vital particular it is unsatisfactory, that of the worship of angels as contrasted with theories and speculations about them.

¹ Since this article was received, a summary of it has appeared in the author's edition of the *Epistle to the Colossians* (Camb. Univ. Press).

² See in particular Reitzenstein *Poimandres*, 1904, esp. pp. 71-81. On the supposed meaning of *στοιχῆα* in Col. ii 8 see the note in my edition of the Epistle.

This requires more detailed examination than it appears to have received, but it will be seen, I believe, that the facts point to a third solution as preferable; that, in other words, the false teachers derived their teaching from sources mainly Jewish but not entirely so, for on this very important matter, the Cult of the Angels, they had absorbed practices and teaching which did not belong to orthodox Judaism, but only to such a form, or forms, of it as had been influenced by non-Jewish thought.

The distinction between the doctrine and the worship of angels has not been sufficiently regarded by many who have written upon this Epistle, yet it is important that they should be considered separately. For they may stand in all possible grades of relation to each other; both may be equally developed; or the second be frequent in observance, and the first but slight and primitive; or the first be highly developed and the second held in check by other considerations.

I. THE DOCTRINE OF ANGELS AMONG THE JEWS.¹

Perhaps the most convenient summary of the Doctrine of Angels mentioned in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, the Jewish pseudepigraphical writings, and as held by the Essenes (apparently) and by Philo, is to be found in Mr Fairweather's article on 'Development of Doctrine' in Hastings, v pp. 285-290. It will be sufficient here to illustrate by quotations, but without any attempt at completeness, the salient features of the Angelology of the pseudepigraphical writings only, which, written, as they seem to have been, between the second century B. C. and the end of the first century A. D., probably represent the popular beliefs on the subject held by Pharisaic Jews² at the time when St Paul was composing his Epistles.³ By these writings are intended:—

(a) The Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* (its earliest parts before 170 B. C. and its latest before the beginning of the Christian era, and its authors all Palestinian).

¹ On this subject see Everling *Die paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, 1888, and especially Lueken *Michael*, 1898.

² Perhaps some portions of the *Apoc. of Baruch* (§ xi) represent the beliefs of Sadducees. None of the books mentioned appears to be strictly Essene. M. Friedländer, however, argues very strongly that they were composed by none of the three sects, but by leaders of the *Am-ha'arets*, the ordinary people (who might or might not be educated), deeply engrained with Hellenism (see e.g. his *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu*, 1905, pp. 22 sq.).

³ There is, of course, much uncertainty respecting the places of origin and the dates of these books and their various parts. Those preferred by Dr Charles will be accepted here.

(b) The *Book of Jubilees* or the *Little Genesis* (written by a Pharisee between 135 and 105 B.C.).

(c) The Slavonic *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (by an orthodox Hellenistic Jew between 1 and 50 A.D.).

(d) The *Assumption of Moses* (by 'a Pharisaic Quietist' between 7 and 30 A.D.).

(e) The *Ascension of Isaiah*, of which the first part, 'The Martyrdom of Isaiah,' is Jewish, and probably of the first century A.D.; the second, 'The Testament of Hezekiah,' is Christian, between 88 and 100 A.D.; the third, 'The Vision of Isaiah,' Christian, and, in its primitive form, of the end of the first century A.D.

(f) The *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which is said to contain five or six independent writings, mostly by Pharisaic Jews, and in part polemical against Christianity, dating from 50-90 A.D.¹

It is not possible to give a consistent account of the various orders of the angels, for these are stated differently in the different books, and in any case it is not necessary for our purpose, which is rather to shew the general character of the speculations about angels than to arrange and determine them.

i. According to the *Book of Jubilees* (ii 2) there are three well-marked orders, two supreme, viz. the angels of the presence (cf. also *Jub.* ii 18, xv 27, xxxi 14), and the angels of sanctification, and a third inferior order, viz. the angels who preside over natural phenomena. 'On the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar-frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of His creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth' (*Jub.* ii 2).

ii. So we read of 'the spirit' in the thunder, 'the spirit of the sea' who 'is masculine and strong', and how 'the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel'; also of 'the spirit of the snow' and 'the spirit of the mist' and 'the spirit of the dew', and 'the spirit of the rain', and how 'there is a measure for the rain and the angels take it in charge' (*Eth. Enoch* lx 15-22, cf. lxi 10).

So also 'the voice of the Beloved will in wrath rebuke . . . the angel

¹ The quotations from these books are in every case from Dr Charles's editions.

of the sun and that of the moon' (*Asc. Isa.* iv 18, cf. *Apoc. Bar.* xxi 6, lix 11).

iii. The *Ascension of Isaiah* also contains a short description of each of the seven heavens¹ with the angels that belong to each, the principal angels in each sitting on a throne and sometimes, apparently, themselves called thrones.² 'I saw a throne in the midst, and on his right and on his left were angels' (vii 14); 'Worship neither throne nor angel which belongs to the six heavens' (vii 21). 'When I have raised thee to the seventh heaven whence I was sent, to that which is above these, then thou shalt know that there is nothing hidden from the thrones and from those who dwell in the heavens and from the angels' (vii 27).

Similarly in the Slavonic *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* we read that in the sixth heaven Enoch saw 'seven bands of angels very bright and glorious, and their faces shining more than the rays of the sun. They are resplendent, and there is no difference in their countenances, or their manner, or the style of their clothing. And these orders arrange and study the revolutions of the stars, and the changes of the moon, and revolutions of the sun, and superintend the good or evil condition of the world. And they arrange teachings and instructions, and sweet speaking, and singing, and all kinds of glorious praise. These are the archangels who are appointed over the angels. They hold in subjection all living things both in heaven and earth. And there are angels who are over seasons and years, and the angels who are over rivers and the sea, and those who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels over every herb, giving all kinds of nourishment to every living thing. And the angels over all souls of men, who write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord. In the midst of them are seven phoenixes and seven cherubim, and seven six-winged creatures, being as one voice and singing with one voice; and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice before the Lord at His footstool. And these men took me thence and brought me to the seventh heaven, and I saw there a very great light and all the fiery hosts of great archangels, and of incorporeal virtues and dominations, and principalities, and powers; cherubim and seraphim, thrones, and the watchfulness of many eyes' (§§ xix, xx 1).

iv. Again, there are four angels higher than all others:—

'I looked and on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four

¹ A very full account of the seven heavens is presented in the Slavonic *Enoch* §§ iii-xxi. For a critical examination of the various descriptions in Judaism and early Christianity see Dr Charles in his Introduction to that book, pp. xxx-xlvii. Compare also Salmon in Hastings, ii pp. 321 sq.

² Compare Col. i 16.

presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names : for the angel that came with me made known to me their names, and shewed me all the hidden things. And I heard the voice of those four presences as they gave glory before the Lord of Glory. The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who cleave to the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits. And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to appear before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who shewed me everything that is hidden, "Who are these four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?" And he said to me : "This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering : and the second, who is set over all the diseases and the wounds of the children of men, is Rufael : and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel : and the fourth, who is set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Fanuel." And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days' (Eth. *Enoch* xl).

v. Again, there are seven principal angels¹ :—

'And the Lord called those seven first white ones and commanded that they should bring before Him . . . all the [sinful] stars . . . and He spake to that man who wrote before Him who was one of the seven white ones, and said unto him : "Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep"' (Eth. *Enoch* xc 21, 22 ; cf. for the mention of seven lxxxi 5).

vi. These seventy shepherds appear in this passage and § lxxxix 59 to be angels appointed over Israel, but the *Book of Jubilees* speaks rather of angels over the nations and not over Israel : 'For there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever' (*Jub.* xv 31, 32). Doubtless, as Charles says in his note on *Jub.*, 'according to Eth. *Enoch* lxxxix Israel was placed for purposes of discipline for a time under the charge of seventy angels, who are no doubt the angelic patrons of the seventy nations of the world.'

vii. Further, some angels are the guardians of individuals. So Jacob says to Rebecca, 'Fear thou not on account of Jacob ; for the guardian

¹ And apparently *three* in Eth. *Enoch* lxxxvii 2, 3, xc 31.

of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau' (*Jub.* xxxv 17). Somewhat similarly over the righteous departed souls, 'He will appoint as guardians holy angels to guard them as the apple of an eye until He has made an end of all wickedness and all sin, and though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear' (*Eth. Enoch* c 5).

viii. The two higher classes of angels mentioned in the *Book of Jubilees* (*vide supra*) were created circumsised (*xv* 27), and, as well as God, keep the sabbath, on which the writer enlarges that he may strengthen the observance of the sabbath by Israel. The passage, which is a Midrashic account of the institution of the Sabbath, is too long to quote, but in it occurs these sentences: 'He gave us (the angel of the presence is speaking) a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification—these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth . . . on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth' (*ii* 17, 18, 30).

ix. Parallel to the angelic kingdom is the Démoniac or Satanic kingdom, but, strictly speaking, this is hardly included in our subject. In the *Book of Jubilees* its head is named Mastêmâ, which, Dr Charles says, is 'the equivalent of ὁ Σατανᾶς in point of meaning and derivation' (*x* 8). The evil spirits under him tempt men, accuse them of sin, and destroy those who have sinned (cf. also *Eth. Enoch* lxxix 4-6, xl 7, liii 3, lvi 1; *Asc. Isa.* iv 2-4). 'The sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons' (*x* 2). In Noah's consequent prayer to God he says 'Thou knowest how Thy Watchers,¹ the fathers of these spirits, which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation' (*x* 5). As a result only one-tenth are allowed to act upon the earth (*x* 9).

Through the fallen angels has come to men the knowledge of arts. Thus after giving the names of the twenty-one chief (cf. *vi* 7) fallen angels the author of *Eth. Enoch* mentions the names of, as it seems, other chiefs who seem rather to be Satans. Of these 'the third is called Gâdreël: he it is who has taught the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and shewed to the sons of men the weapons of death and the coat of mail, and the shield, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons, and all the weapons of death to the children of men . . . And the fourth is called Pênêmuê: he

¹ Identified in *Eth. Enoch* (e.g. *xii* 4) with the sons of God mentioned in *Gen.* vi 2.

taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day' (Ixix 6, 8, 9).

x. In particular the Watchers taught their wives 'charms and enchantments, and made them acquainted with the cutting of roots and of woods' (vii 1). But of the good angels, on the contrary, we read: 'One of us He (God) commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines . . . and we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from (hurting) the sons of Noah' (*Jub.* x 10, 12, 13).

xi. The good angels fight [against the evil angels] on behalf of Israel against its foes. 'Then the hands of the angel (i. e. Michael) will be filled (cf. *Ex.* xxviii 41) and he will be appointed chief, and he will forthwith avenge them of their enemies' (*Assumpt. Moses* x 2).

'We ascended to the firmament, I and he, and there I saw Sammael [i. e. the chief of the Satans] and his hosts, and there was great fighting therein and the angels of Satan were envying one another' (*Asc. Isa.* vii 9). They take special interest in Jerusalem, and even when the Chaldeans are capturing it hide many of the sacred vessels, &c. 'Lo! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of Jerusalem. And I beheld, and lo! four angels standing at the four angles of the city, each of them holding a lamp of fire in his hands, &c.' (*Apoc. Bar.* vi 3, 4). 'Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One, that Zion was so delivered up?' (lxvii 2).

xii. They intercede for men. 'The third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits' (*Eth. Enoch* xl 6). 'In those days will the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens unite with one voice and supplicate and intercede and laud and give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits on account of the blood of the righteous which has been shed, and the prayer of the righteous that it may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits, that judgement may be done unto them, and that they may not have to suffer for ever' (xlvii 2). 'I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels are mindful of you for good before the glory of the Great One' (civ 1). Therefore the fallen Watchers are blamed because by their sin they had lost their prerogative: God says to Enoch, 'Go, say to the Watchers of heaven, who have sent thee to intercede for them: you should intercede for men, and not men for you' (xv 2).

2. THE WORSHIP OF ANGELS AMONG THE JEWS.¹

It may be assumed that by this phrase is meant worship paid to angels, and not, as a few commentators have imagined, worship paid by them to God. But, while this is clear, certain questions of interest arise as to the fact of worship being paid to them. For although it is not uncommonly assumed that where there is speculation about the angels, and especially where this speculation busies itself with their various grades, and the nature of the various offices that they perform towards God on the one hand, and man on the other, there must also have been prayer offered to them, this is the very thing that requires proof. We must therefore consider what evidence we possess of the fact of worship being paid to angels at the time when the Epistle to the Colossians was written.

It is proposed now first to examine the evidence for the worship of angels by Jews generally, and secondly to consider the special cases of those Jews who were then living in Colossae or its neighbourhood, when we shall see that they were much exposed to heathen influence in this direction. We shall then be in a position to decide whether the worship of angels spoken of is strictly Jewish, or is due to some admixture of heathenism.

i. *The evidence for the worship of Angels by the Jews generally.* It is hardly to be disputed that such worship is not consistent with either the spirit of the Old Testament or the spirit of orthodox Judaism. As for the former it would take us too far afield to discuss the development of the doctrine of angels in the Old Testament, and there is no need to do so when a satisfactory treatment of the subject may be found in any recent Bible dictionary. It is enough to say that whatever may have been the way in which Old Testament worthies believed in the existence and powers of angels, there is no evidence, even in the latest times, of their offering them worship. Even the sacrifice of Manoah (Jud. xiii 19-21) was not a sacrifice to the angel as such, although it was made into a sacrifice by the angel's action.

Neither probably will it be disputed that orthodox Jews, orthodox after the pattern of Talmudic rules and practices, have not worshipped angels. Some of the references of the Talmudic teachers to the practice will be mentioned presently. But it is undeniable that they as a whole object to it, and that their followers, if strictly imitating them, cannot practise it.

¹ On the precise connotation of *θησαυρία* in Col. ii 8 (cf. 23) viz. the external, sensuous side of worship, see note there.

It is true, of course, that there have been abnormal developments on the part of Jews who in most respects have been guided by the Talmud. The history of the Kabbala proves that it has been quite possible for Jews to assimilate not a few doctrines current round them, in the endeavour, probably, to obtain additional spiritual help without ceasing to belong to Judaism. Syncretism up to a certain point has never been a difficulty with Jews. But it may be questioned how far even the Kabbalists put their semi-Christian theories into practice, and worshipped those beings whom they placed in close contact with the one true God.

It would be even harder to deny the fact of such strange worship among large numbers of Jews to-day living in Russia. But in the case of these, the Chassidim, it is not so much angels that are the object of their worship as men. But the Chassidim are not orthodox Jews, and, though they illustrate a natural tendency of the human, even the Jewish, mind, they are no proof that Jews in the stricter sense, Pharisaic Jews, give way to the worship of any other beings than the true God.

It seems therefore to be *a priori* improbable that the Pharisaic Jews of New Testament times should have worshipped angels. Neither their Bible history, nor their later history as a whole, suggests it. Yet, notwithstanding, the particular evidence may be such as to override all *a priori* improbability.

Is this the case? Three sources of information are open to us for investigation (besides the New Testament which is itself now under discussion): Jewish apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings dating from the second century B.C. to the end of the first century A.D.; heathen and Christian statements of the first three or four centuries A.D.; and, lastly, writings that are strictly and solely Jewish and have been preserved in Hebrew or Aramaic.

(a) *The Jewish Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic writings.* In examining these there is a fundamental difficulty which at times obtrudes itself, viz. that they have come down to us, with hardly an exception, in a form that has been worked over by Christian thinkers. Indeed if it had not been for the Christian efforts that have been expended upon them it is more than doubtful if they would have been preserved. The result, however, is that there is always some little doubt whether any particular passage is of purely Jewish origin, or whether it represents something at least of Christian thought. The prevalence of this Christian thought in the present forms of these writings renders it the more remarkable that while containing so much speculation about the angels, their nature and their functions, they contain so very few traces of the worship of them.

(a) 4 Mac. iv 10-13, whose date is placed somewhere between

Pompey, 63 B.C., and Vespasian, 70 A.D., relates that when Apollonius (? 187 B.C.) was entering into the temple with his army to plunder the treasures angels appeared on horseback from heaven. Apollonius, half dead with terror, fell down and stretched forth his hands towards heaven entreating the Hebrews with tears to pray for him, and propitiate the heavenly host. Onias the High Priest does in fact pray for him, and he is saved.¹

But this is hardly evidence that the writer of the book knew of worship of angels,² much less that he sympathized with it. It expresses the natural impulse of a frightened tyrant to beg the prayers even of those whom he has oppressed when he sees supernatural powers coming to their aid.

(β) *The Ascension of Isaiah*, which in its present form belongs to the end of the second century A.D., contains the following (c. ix 35 and 36): 'I saw the Lord and the second angel, and they were standing. And the second whom I saw was on the left of my Lord. And I asked: "Who is this?" and he said unto me: "Worship Him, for He is the angel of the Holy Spirit, who speaketh in thee and the rest of the righteous."' But the whole chapter is evidently Christian, and the term 'angel' here refers to the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity. In c. vii 19 we read: 'He who sat on the throne in the second heaven was more glorious than all (the rest). And there was great glory in the second heaven, and the praise also was not like the praise of those who were in the first heaven. And I fell on my face to worship him, but the angel who conducted me did not permit me, but said unto me: "Worship neither throne nor angel which belongs to the six heavens—for for this cause I was sent to conduct thee—until I tell thee in the seventh heaven. For above all the heavens and their angels has thy throne been placed, and thy garments and thy crown which thou shalt see."' Compare also the Greek legend printed at the end of Charles's edition, c. ii 22 καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ θεῖος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄν· Ἄκουσον, Ἥσαϊα προφήτα, υἱὲ Ἀμώς· μὴ προσκυνήσῃς μήτε ἀγγέλους μήτε ἀρχαγγέλους μήτε κυριότητας μήτε θρόνους, ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ σοι εἴπω.

It will be observed that while in the former of these passages worship is to be paid to the Third Person of the Trinity, in the second, worship of other angels is forbidden.

This doubtless points to Christians being exposed to some danger on

¹ καταπεσὼν γὰρ τοὶ ἡμιθανεῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πᾶμφυλον τοῦ ἱεροῦ περίβολον, τὰς χεῖρας ἐξέτεινεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, μετὰ δακρύων τοὺς Ἑβραίους παρεκάλει, ὅπως περὶ αὐτοῦ εὐξόμενοι, τὸν ἐπουράνιον ἐξευμενίσανται στρατὸν . . . τούτοις ἐπαχθεῖς τοῖς λόγοις Ὀνίας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς . . . ἤψατο περὶ αὐτοῦ.

² Lueken *Michael* p. 11 'Vielleicht lässt sich 4 Mac. iv 10 ff. als Zeugnis für ein jüdisches Gebet zu Engeln herbeiziehen'.

this score. But this is all. The book tells us nothing, that is to say, of the worship of angels by Jews.

(γ) *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*

This interesting book is now generally acknowledged to have a very large substratum of original Jewish work, even though in its present form it is undoubtedly Christian (see Charles, Hastings, iv pp. 721-725, *Encycl. Bibl.* pp. 237-241).¹ Perhaps the original was used by an over-zealous Jewish convert to Christianity as a means whereby to attract more of his brethren to the faith. It contains three passages that bear upon our subject.

(1) *Test. Levi* § 3, according to MS R

ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀρχάγγελοι οἱ λειτουργοῦντες καὶ ἐξιλασκόμενοι πρὸς Κύριον ἐπὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἀγνοίαις τῶν δικαίων, προσφέροντες δὲ Κυρίῳ ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν.

But here while angels are said to minister and make propitiation with the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous, there is no direct mention of worship.

(2) *Test. Levi* § 5

Κύριε, εἰπέ μοι τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἵνα ἐπικαλέσωμαί σε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως.

This, no doubt, is direct. The name of the angel, apparently Michael (see Lueken *Michael* pp. 64, 92), is desired in order that Levi may call upon him in the day of trouble. Observe here the emphasis on the name. For, as we shall see, the name plays an important part in later angelolatry. Here the only doubt is whether the passage is entirely Jewish (it must be confessed that in itself there is nothing to suggest the contrary) or whether it has been worked over to some extent by the Christian editor.

(3) *Test. Dan* § 6

ἐγγίετε δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ παραιτουμένῳ (R παρεπομένῳ) ἡμᾶς· ὅτι οὗτός ἐστι μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων (καὶ) ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἰσραήλ.

Observe here that the reading of what is usually the better MS (R) attributes less power to the angel than does the ordinary text, although both alike say that he is the mediator between God and men, and set over the peace of Israel. But it may be doubted whether the very phrase does not prove too much, occurring as it does word for word in 1 Tim. ii 5, from which it was perhaps taken. It may very possibly refer not to any angel in our sense of the word at all, but to the Second Person of the Trinity. If it be answered that it doubtless referred originally to Michael, that is just the point under discussion, not to be assumed as proven. Lastly, observe that in any case there is even here

¹ Conybeare considers it proved that the Greek text is 'a paraphrase of an old Aramaic midrash, interpolated by generations of Christians', *Jew. Encycl.* xii p. 113.

no direct mention of prayer. Dan bids them draw near to God, and such drawing near includes nearness to the angel whoever he may be. He as such is not necessarily spoken of as the object of worship.

(8) *The Testament of Solomon*.¹

This curious book virtually escaped the notice of writers upon angelology until Mr Conybeare published a translation in 1898. He places the approximate date of its present form as early as about the end of the first century of our era. It can, indeed, hardly be earlier, for the allusions to Christian doctrine are very marked,² and it may well be at least fifty years later. C. H. Toy thinks that its date is probably about 300 A.D. (*Jew. Encycl.* s.v. xi p. 448).

But it is important for our purpose in that it is in all probability founded upon an earlier distinctively Jewish work, such indeed as Josephus implies in his *Antt.* viii ii 5, where he says that 'God enabled Solomon to learn also the art of overcoming demons for the help and healing of man. And he composed incantations by which diseases are assuaged, and modes of exorcisms, by which persons bound may expel demons so that they shall not return. And this therapy, even up to now, has the greatest power among us'.³ This he proceeds to shew by example. Josephus does not indeed say that a book of such incantations existed in his day, but this is quite consistent with his words, and the method of such incantations forms the greater part of the present *Testament of Solomon*. Its contents are briefly that by means of a ring Solomon has various demons brought before him (cf. some of the tales contained in the *Arabian Nights*), and he compels each to tell him the name of the individual angel that meets and subdues him. For each demon is frustrated by one angel, and if the name of the latter is only known by a person he is able completely to defend himself from the attacks of the demons. Numerous examples are given, of which it must suffice to quote a very few:—

§ 63. 'And having glorified God, I asked the dragon-shaped demon,

¹ The English is given by Mr F. C. Conybeare in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for October 1898, pp. 15 sqq. The Greek may be found most conveniently in Migne *Cedrenus* vol. ii, as an appendix to Psellus's writings (see M. R. James in *Encycl. Bibl.* p. 254).

² e. g. §§ 29, 52, 65 Emmanuel; § 54 Golgotha, 'the angel of the great counsel' (see Isa. ix 6, LXX), the Cross; § 65 'The Son of God is stretched upon the Cross'; § 71 Saviour; § 122 'He that is to be born of a virgin and crucified by the Jews on a cross'.

³ Conybeare's translation, loc. cit. p. 12 *πάρεσχε δ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ἀφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐπὶ φάδας τε συνταξάμενος αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα καὶ τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς οἱ ἐνδοξοῦμενοι τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκέτ' ἐπανελευθίν ἐκδιώξουσι. καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ θεραπεία πλείστον ἰσχύει.*

and said, "Tell me, by what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered, "By the great angel which has its seat in the second heaven, which is called in Hebrew *Bazazath*." And I, Solomon, having heard this, and having invoked his angel, condemned him to saw up marbles for the building of the Temple of God; and I praised God, and commanded another demon to come before me.'

§ 69. 'And I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By *Iameth*." And I glorified God. I commanded the spirit to be thrown into a phial along with ten jugs of sea-water of two measures each. And I sealed them round above with marbles and asphalt and pitch in the mouth of the vessel. And having sealed it with my ring, I ordered it to be deposited in the Temple of God. And I ordered another spirit to come before me.'

§ 73. "'I, O Lord, am called *Ruax* . . . but let me only hear the words, 'Michael, imprison *Ruax*,' and I at once retreat."

§ 74. "'I am called *Barsafael* . . . If only I hear the words, 'Gabriel, imprison *Barsafael*,' at once I retreat."

§ 83. "'I am called *Saphathoraël* . . . If any one will write on paper these names of angels, *Iaëb*, *Iealô*, *Iëelet*, *Sabaôth*, *Ithoth*, *Bae*, and having folded it up, wear it round his neck or against his ear, I at once retreat and dissipate the drunken fit."

§ 101. "'I am called *Hêphêsikireth*, and cause lingering disease. If you throw salt, rubbed in the hand, into oil and smear it on the patient, saying, 'Seraphim, Cherubim, help me!' I at once retire."

It will be observed that in these passages there is no question of any worship of angels in the ordinary meaning of the term, but only of invoking their names as a means of obtaining power against the attacks, chiefly bodily, of evil spirits; in other words, of using their names as exorcisms either to cast out demons that have already obtained entrance, or to ward off their attacks. Such passages illustrate our Lord's words in Matt. xii 27, Luke xi 19 'If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?' and also Acts xix 13, 15 'Certain also of the strolling Jews, exorcists, took upon them to name over them that had the evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, I adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. . . . And the evil spirit answered and said unto them, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?'

It is not denied that certain Jews, even some belonging to the Pharisaic party, used magical incantations, employing the names of angels in exorcising evil spirits; but whether there is any real evidence of the worship of angels, in the usual sense of the word 'worship', appears, thus far, to be exceedingly doubtful.

(b) *Heathen and Christian statements during the first three or four centuries, other than those contained in the New Testament.*¹

We are, of course, bound to take these into our consideration, although, equally of course, we must continually bear in mind the grave difficulty under which persons always lie in recounting the doctrines and practices of a body to which they do not belong. They may not have the slightest intention of misstating facts, but their ignorance of the minutiae and esoteric meaning of words and practices may very easily lead them to convey a wholly false impression and present a statement to which the body referred to would strenuously object.

(a) *The Preaching of Peter.*

Quoted by Origen on John iv 22 (tom. xiii 17) from Heracleon (to be seen most conveniently in A. E. Brooke *The Fragments of Heracleon* § 21, *Texts and Studies*, 1891).

Μὴ δεῖν καθ' Ἑλλήνας προσκυνεῖν, τὰ τῆς ὕλης πράγματα ἀποδεχομένους, καὶ λατρεύοντας ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβειν τὸ θεῖον, ἐπεὶ περ καὶ αὐτοὶ μόνοι οἴομενοι ἐπίστασθαι θεόν, ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτόν, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ μηνί καὶ σελήνῃ.

Μηνί here is usually translated 'month', in which case it would presumably be nearly synonymous with the following σελήνῃ. It is possible, therefore, that Huet (*Orig. Comm.*, 1668, notes, p. 108) is right in connecting it with the great god *Men* whose worship, properly Phrygian, spread over all Asia Minor. He also connects it with M^{eni} of Isaiah lxxv 11, but this is very uncertain.

Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* vi 5 p. 635) has the same quotation from the preaching of Peter, but, besides other small changes, adds κ. ἀρχαγγέλοις after ἀγγέλοις.

(β) *The Apology of Aristides.*²

§ 14 (Syriac recension only), 'In the methods of their actions (i.e. those of the Jews) their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe sabbaths and new moons and the passover and the great fast, and the fast, and circumcision, and cleanness of meats.'

But it will be noticed that this is not a direct statement that they worship angels, but only a deduction from the unsatisfactory nature of their worship of God.³

(γ) Celsus, as quoted by Origen (*c. Cels.* i 26), says that 'they worship angels, and are addicted to sorcery, in which Moses was their

¹ The New Testament references to the subject other than those in the Epistle to the Colossians, will be considered in another paper.

² Ed. J. Armitage Robinson *Texts and Studies*, 1891.

³ So even Lueken *Michael* p. 5.

instructor'.¹ Similarly further on (*c. Cels.* v 6) Origen quotes Celsus as saying, 'The first point relating to the Jews which is fitted to excite wonder, is that they should worship the heaven and the angels who dwell therein, and yet pass by and neglect its most venerable and powerful parts, as the sun and moon, and the other heavenly bodies, both fixed stars and planets, as if it were possible that "the whole" could be God, and yet its parts not divine; or [as if it were reasonable] to treat with the greatest respect those who are said to appear to such as are in darkness somewhere, blinded by some crooked sorcery, or dreaming dreams through the influence of shadowy spectres, while those who prophesy so clearly and strikingly to all men, by means of whom rain, and heat, and clouds, and thunder (to which they offer worship), and lightnings, and fruits, and all kinds of productiveness, are brought about—by means of whom God is revealed to them—the most prominent heralds among those beings that are above—those that are truly heavenly angels—are to be regarded as of no account.'²

Upon this Origen remarks truly enough that in making these statements, Celsus appears to have 'fallen into confusion, and to have penned them from false ideas of things which he did not understand',³ but in any case one or two of his statements should be noticed. Celsus expressly says that the Jews do not worship the heavenly bodies, in this contradicting the *Preaching of Peter* as quoted above; and he also connects their worship of angels in some fashion with the practice of sorcery, a fact which is to be taken in connexion with other remarks that must be made later on. Besides these points Origen himself in v 8 calls attention to the fact to which reference has already been made that 'although Celsus considers it to be a Jewish custom to bow down to the heaven and the angels in it, such a practice is not at all Jewish, but is in violation of Judaism, as it is also to do obeisance to sun, moon, and stars, as well as images'.⁴ He also in § 9 points out the

¹ λέγων αὐτοὺς σέβειν ἀγγέλους καὶ γοητεία προσκείσθαι, ἧς ὁ Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς γέγονεν ἐξηγητής. The translation of this and the following passages from the *c. Cels.* is from Crombie (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*).

² πρῶτον οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων θανμάζειν ἄξιον, εἰ τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷδε ἀγγέλους σέβουσι· τὰ σεμνότερα δὲ αὐτοῦ μέρη καὶ δυνατώτατα, ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας, ἀπλανεῖς τε καὶ πλανήτας, ταῦτα παραπέμπουσιν, ὡς ἐνδεχόμενον, τὸ μὲν ὅλον εἶναι Θεόν, τὰ δὲ μέρη αὐτοῦ μὴ θεία· ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἐν σκότῳ που ἐκ γοητείας οὐκ ὀρθῆς τυφλώττουσιν, ἢ δι' ἀμυδρῶν φασμάτων ὄνειράττουσιν, ἐγχρίμπτειν λεγομένους, εὖ μάλᾳ θρησκείαν· τοὺς δ' ἐναργῶς οὕτω καὶ λαμπρῶς ἅπασι προφητεύοντας, δι' ὧν ὑετοὺς τε καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ βροντὰς (ἢς προσκυνούσι), καὶ ἀστραπῆς, καὶ καρποῦς, καὶ γονὰς ἀπάσας ταμεύεσθαι, δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι τὸν Θεόν, τοὺς φανερωτάτους τῶν ἄνω κήρυκας, τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐρανίους ἀγγέλους, τούτους ἠγεῖσθαι τὸ μηδέν.

³ ἐν τούτοις δὲ δοκεῖ μοι συγκεχύσθαι ὁ Κέλσος καὶ ἀπὸ παρακοουσμάτων, ἀ μὴ ᾗδει, γεγραφέναι (*loc. cit.*).

⁴ Κέλσου νομίζοντας Ἰουδαϊκὸν εἶναι τὸ προσκυνεῖν οὐρανῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγγέλοις,

inconsistency of Celsus saying all this when he has for other purposes stated that they keep their law : he ought, therefore, either not to have asserted this of them, or to have added that they did this in violation of their code.

It is clear that although Origen knew of this accusation against the Jews the whole tone of his remarks suggests that he did not believe it, save perhaps in connexion with sorcery (cf. v 9 *supra*).

(δ) Jerome referring to Col. ii 18, 19 (*Ep. ad Algasiam* § 10, Migne xxii 1032) writes, "But God turned, and gave them up to serve the host of heaven" (Acts vii 42). But the host of heaven means not only sun and moon and glowing stars, but also the whole multitude of the angels and their troop . . . God gave them up to serve the host of heaven, which is here called by the Apostle the worship of angels.¹

So again (*in Matt.* v 34 sqq.) he says, 'The Jews in swearing by Angels and the city of Jerusalem and the Temple and the Elements, were worshipping creatures and carnal objects with the honour and obeisance due to God.'² But it is evident that in this last passage he does not refer strictly to the worship of angels but only deduces this by way of argument from the fact of their swearing by them.

And this is all ! All, that is to say, that we know of the accusations brought by heathen and Christians against the Jews in the first four centuries to the effect that they worshipped angels ! One passage, quoted indeed twice, from an obscure book, of which we know neither the date, nor with any certainty the place, much less its trustworthiness as a whole ; one or two envenomed utterances of an unscrupulous opponent of all revealed religion, who did his best to play off Jew and Christian one against another, yet whose testimony as to the subject under discussion is disputed by the writer who quotes him ; and one late witness at the very end of the period, who in the second of the two passages quoted is little more than rhetorical, and in the first shews no sign of possessing that first-hand acquaintance with facts which alone would make his testimony of value.

(ε) Perhaps stronger evidence of the worship of angels is to be found in the admissions of Jews themselves in *purely Jewish books*. Let us now therefore turn to examine these.

οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκὸν μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον, παραβατικὸν δὲ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἐστίν· ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ προσκυβεῖν ἡλίῳ, καὶ σελήνῃ, καὶ ἀστροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν.

¹ 'Conversus autem deus tradidit eos, ut colerent militiam coeli. Militia autem coeli non tantum sol appellatur, et luna, et astra rutilantia ; sed et omnis angelica multitudo, eorumque exercitus . . . tradidit eos deus, ut servirent militiae coeli, quae nunc ab apostolo dicitur religio angelorum.'

² 'Iudaei per angelos et urbem Ierusalem et templum et elementa iurantes, creaturas resque carnales venerabantur honore et obsequio Dei.'

But a difficulty at once presents itself. We possess no purely Jewish evidence that is indubitably early. The literature, that is to say, written in Hebrew or Aramaic (of some kind) is in its present form not of so indubitably early a date that it can be used with absolute certainty. Also it must be noticed that in those parts of this literature that are considered to be the earlier there is less mention of the worship of angels than in those that are later.

In reply to this it has been urged that these later authorities may be, and in some cases professedly are, compilations from earlier works.¹ This is true, but when we are endeavouring to fasten certain religious practices upon Jews of a certain date, it is extremely inconvenient to be obliged to assume that the late evidence is in reality to be considered as early.

It is also asserted, with some degree of probability, that in any case the worship of angels belonged rather to the popular and lower side of Judaism than to its more educated and literary side, and that we do not find, as a historical fact, that the more popular and lower parts in any religion are often mentioned until they are seen to be distinctly at variance with the higher form, or until they are in a state of decay. And it is also asserted that it is just these popular forms of religion that are less liable to change than those followed by the higher and more educated classes.² By these arguments the endeavour has been made to meet the difficulties arising from the fact that most of the Jewish witnesses for the worship of angels by the Jews are of later date than could be desired by the advocates of the opinion that such worship existed.

Let us then examine the strictly Jewish witnesses.

(a) Talm. Jerus. *Berachoth* ix 1 (p. 13^a):—

ר' יוחן אמר משמיה דרידיה בשר ודם יש לו פטרון. אם באת לו עת צרה אינו נכנ' אצלו פתאום. אלא בא ועמד לו על פתחו של פטרונו וקורא לעבדו או לבן ביתו והוא אומר איש פלוני עומד על פתח הצירך. שמא מכניסו ושם' מניחו. אבל הב' אינו כן אם באת על אדם צרה לא יצווח לא למיכאל ולא לגבריאל אלא לי יצווח ואני עונה לו מיד הה' כל אשר יקרא בשם י' ימלט.

'R. Judan said in his own name, In human relations a man has a patron. If a time of trouble comes to him he does not come in suddenly to him, but he goes and stands at his patron's door, and calls to his slave or to one of his household, and the latter says, Such and such a man is standing at the door of thy courtyard. Perhaps he lets him in, and perhaps he lets him go! But the Holy One, blessed be

¹ Lucken *Michael* p. 3.

² *Ibid.*

He! is not so. If trouble comes on a man he must not cry either to Michael or to Gabriel but he must cry to Me, and I answer him at once. That is what is written: Every one that calleth on the name of the LORD shall be delivered.'

Observe that here the worship of angels is not only forbidden, but is contemplated as a thing *per se impossibile*. The passage does not even contain a hint that such prayers were ever made. The suggestion indeed occurs, but only to bring out the utter absence of need of any such use of intermediates between man and the living God. It is very hard to see how this passage can be interpreted to mean that any Jews were accustomed to worship angels.

(β) *Mechilta* § 10 (beginning) on Ex. xx 23 (20), (p. 80^b, ed. Weiss, 1865):—

לא תעשו אתי אלהי כסף ואלהי זהב רבי ישמעאל אומר דמות שמשׁי המשמשׁין לפני במרום, לא דמות מלאכים ולא דמות אפנים ולא דמות כרובים.

'Ye shall not make other gods with me, gods of silver and gods of gold.' R. Ishmael used to say, viz. 'a likeness of My servants who serve before Me, i.e. not the likeness of angels, and not the likeness of ophanim, and not the likeness of cherubim.' Cf. Talm. Bab. *Rosh haShanah* 24^b.

It will be observed that here also there is no express mention of worship. The very making of such images was forbidden because of the worship to which they might lead.

(γ) *The Targum of Jerusalem* on the same passage:—

עמי בני ישראל לא תעבדון למסגור דמות שמשא וסׁיחרא וכוכביא ומזליא ומלאכיא רמשמשין קדמוי דחלן דכסף ודחלן דדהב לא תעבדון לבון.

'My people, the children of Israel! Ye shall not make, to worship, the likeness of the sun and of the moon and of the stars and of the planets and of the angels who serve before Me; idols of silver and gold ye shall not make you.'

Here, indeed, worship of angels is mentioned, but only to be excluded.

(δ) Talm. Bab. *Abodah Zarah* 42^b.
Mishna.

המוצא כלים ועליהם צורת חמה צורת לבנה צורת דרכון יוליכם לים המלח רשבג אומר שעל המכובדן אסורין שעל המבוזין מותרין.

Gemara.

למימר' דלהני הוא דפלחי להו למידי אחרינא לא, ורמינהו השוחט לשום ימים
לשום נהרות לשום מרבך לשום חמה לשום לבנה לשום כוכבים ומזלות לשום
מיכאל שר הגדול לשום שילשום קטן הרי אלו זבחי מתים.

Mishna. 'He who findeth vessels upon which is the image of the sun, or of the moon, or of the Dragon, let him cast them into the Salt Sea. R. Simeon, son of R. Gamaliel, saith, When they are on honourable vessels ("whose use is for honour," Rashi) they are forbidden; when on contemptible they are allowed.'

Gemara. It is possible to deduce from this that they (of the heathen) worship only these specified figures, and others they do not worship. But against this I would quote the following: 'He who sacrifices in the name of the seas, or of the rivers, or of the wilderness, or of the sun or of the moon or of the stars and planets, or of Michael the great prince, or of the small worm, lo, these are sacrifices of the dead.'

This passage shews that to the Jews of that time the worship of Michael (and presumably other angels) was as possible (neither less nor more) as that of parts of earth or the heavens. In other words it was a purely heathen practice, to which, of course, Jews were exposed. Hence they could not be too careful to avoid any occasion towards it by retaining in their possession beautiful objects upon which such figures were engraved. How it indicates that angel-worship existed among the Jews it is passing hard to see.

(ε) Talm. Jer. *Kiddushin* 1 end (p. 61^d) on Job xxxiii 23, 24, speaks of angels pleading against or for a man according to his works, and urges that even if 999 are against him and only one for him he will be forgiven; nay, that even if in the pleadings by this one angel 999 of the points enumerated by him are against the man and only one is for him, he will still be forgiven. But there is no hint apparently of men praying to angels for intercession.¹

The same discussion is found also in Talm. Bab. *Sabb.* 32^a, where, however, the advocates (פּרַקְלִיטִין) for the man are repentance and good works, and angels are hardly mentioned.

It is found also in *Pesikta Rabbathi* § 10 (ed. Buber p. 38^b) more elaborately. But here the 'angel' of Job xxxiii 23 is considered to be in a special sense Moses.

Lueken² mentions a prayer for the Day of Atonement found in

¹ But in T. B. *Sanhedrin* 44 b, after speaking of Gabriel this is perhaps implied.

² loc. cit. p. 11. The prayer is not included in the modern Prayer-books, whether Ashkenazic (Warsaw, 1876), or Sephardic (Vienna, 1867). In the latter (Shaharath, p. 18^a) Ps. cxxxvi occurs with the name of an angel prefixed to each

Bartolucci *Bibliotheca Rabb.* i 192 ff., attributed to Eleazar Kalir (probably a Palestinian of the second half of the seventh century A. D.¹), and addressed to twenty-one angels in succession. He also quotes Zunz's translation of the prayer *Maknise rachämim*² (*Die Synagog. Poesie des Mittelalters* pp. 148, 154), asking angels to take prayers to God. But this is of too late a date to weigh with us.

Lueken also says³ that Michael is mentioned in a prayer by R. Juda ha-Chasid (i. e. presumably of Regensburg, who died in 1217⁴).

It is more important that, according to Lueken's own shewing (p. 12, in part from Zunz), Nachmanides (1195-1270), Maimonides (1135-1204), Joseph Albo (1380-1444), and Abarbanel (1437-1508), are all opposed to such prayers. The last appears to state the case with perfect accuracy when he says (*de Capite Fidei* § 12), 'Non est dubium quin hic sit surculus idololatrarum, qui Deo superbiam tribuunt, ideoque ad mediatores preces suas direxerunt. Haec vero sententia permansit inter homines, et hodieque fovetur in fide Christianorum. Nos (sc. Iudaei) vero non sic iudicamus, sed preces ad Deum Dominum nostrum dirigimus, semper eum invocamus.'⁵

The result therefore of our enquiry into the evidence for the Worship of Angels by the Jews generally would appear to be that although there has been among the Jews confessedly much speculation as to the nature and functions of angels, together with some belief in the intercession by angels for them, yet there is almost no evidence of the worship of them being recognized in early times by thoughtful Jews; save indeed in connexion with exorcism and magic.

In these cases observe that the *names* of angels are seen to be of primary importance.

ii. Yet it is evident that *those Jews who lived at Colossae when St Paul was writing his Epistle were accustomed in some degree to worship angels.* To what cause or causes then may we attribute this practice at that time and in that locality? They are probably both general and local.

verse (the rubric warning against all thought of worshipping the angels), but this is not a prayer but an invocation to praise. Cf. the Benedicite.

¹ *Jewish Encyclopaedia* vii p. 418.

² To be found in Ashkenazic *Selichoth* (Vienna, 1870, p. 8^b); compare also the prayer *Maläke rachämim* *ib.* p. 10^a.

³ *loc. cit.* p. 11.

⁴ According to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* vii p. 356 sq., the authenticity of the liturgical songs attributed to him is uncertain. Also 'it was really he who introduced theosophy among the Jews of Germany'.

⁵ Quoted by Lueken *loc. cit.* p. 12.

(a) *General causes.* Asia Minor was by geographical position, and still more by commercial intercourse, so closely connected with Persia, that it is probable that the beliefs and practices of Persia would spread to it. And Persia was confessedly the heir of the beliefs and practices of Babylonia.

(a) We shall therefore hardly go wrong in seeing the influence of ancient Babylonian thought in this later worship of angels. And this in at least two directions. For the Babylonians of old worshipped sun and moon and planets, and also 'at an early period in the history of their religion', imagined 'a divine messenger or angel who carried the orders of the higher god from heaven to earth, and interpreted his will to men'.¹ Nebo was thus regarded as 'the angel or interpreter of the will of Merodach',² and of course was worshipped.

(β) Whatever the relation of Parsism may be to the Babylonian religion, its doctrine of angels is much more elaborate and developed. Every power of nature, as well as every individual, and every nation, has its own angel.³ Not only the Jews (Dan. iv 17, x 13; Tob. xii 15) will have known, and to some degree accepted the doctrine, but also, it may be presumed, the inhabitants of many parts of Asia Minor.

But the Persians not only had an elaborate angelology; they also directly worshipped angels.

The Jews (and in particular those who lived in their native land) may have been protected from such worship to a great extent by the peculiar nature of their own religion, but other nations living under less favourable conditions would hardly escape its influence. It certainly would fall in extremely well with the animistic religion that prevailed in the greater part of Asia Minor.

(γ) But besides the influence of Persian thought, the Hellenism that was now spreading over Asia Minor would tend to promote such worship. Not indeed directly, but indirectly. For the philosophical thought of the time was inclined to lay increasing stress on the existence of one supreme God who was in reality far too exalted to have any contact with earth. On Greeks indeed the old polytheistic gods had lost their hold. They were regarded as taking, at the most, but little interest in the affairs of this world. But men needed to believe in something which could form a connecting link between themselves and the most high God, and they therefore readily came to believe in intermediate beings to which they gave the name of 'demons', i. e. semi-supernatural beings affecting everything. Thus while the thinkers laid

¹ Sayce *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* p. 361, cf. p. 496.

² *Ibid.* p. 456, cf. p. 496.

³ A succinct account may be seen in Dr J. H. Moulton's article on Zoroastrianism in *Hastings D. B.* iv p. 991.

more stress upon the supreme God, the populace thought chiefly of the demons.

Thus Bp Davenant on Col. ii 18 says, 'Plato, in 4 *De Legibus*, prescribes that, after the tutelary gods, daemons are to be worshipped. And, in *Epinomide*, he says, *that daemons ought to be worshipped because they hold the middle place between the gods and men; and discharge the office of interpreters*: they are therefore to be worshipped *χάρῳ τῆς εὐθόμου διαπορείας, for their propitious and happy intercession between God and men.*'¹ So Plutarch speaks of a threefold Providence, first the spirit and will of the original Godhead, secondly the gods of second rank, and thirdly the daemons. These last bring down gifts from above and carry up men's prayers.² Again Maximus of Tyre (c. 150 A. D.), after speaking of the one supreme God, Creator and Ruler, source of all good, says that He cannot come into direct relation with the material and therefore evil world. Hence He needs the daemons, immortal beings dwelling between heaven and earth, mediators between human weakness and Divine omnipotence, each possessing his own sphere of activity and form of usefulness.³ The statements of Apuleius Africanus (second century A. D.) are very similar.⁴

Philo appears already to have taught something of the same kind, though his phrases are very difficult to reconcile with each other. Edersheim describes his teaching thus: 'When God would create the world, He recognized that there must be an ideal archetype of every work, and He formed the supersensuous world of ideas. But these ideas were not only models; they were also the productive causes, the potencies, which brought order into the material that existed, and to each thing its properties. The archetypal world then is also those invisible Potencies (*δυνάμεις*), which surround the Deity as His train, and by which He works in the world that which, owing to His separation from it, He could not otherwise have wrought. The Potencies are the viceregents of God, His legates, and intermediaries to things finite. . . . On the one hand, these "Potencies" were ministering spirits—what the Greeks called "demons", and Moses "angels"⁵—and as such to be invoked.⁶ On the other hand they were "ideas", Potencies of which

¹ Allport's translation of Davenant, 1831, i p. 498.

² See Lucius *Die Anfänge des Heiligen Kults*, 1904, p. 7, who refers to Plutarch's *De fato* 9; *de defect. orac.* 13; *Isis and Osiris* 26.

³ Lucius op. cit. p. 8, who refers to Max. Tyr. *Dissertt.* xiv 8.

⁴ Lucius loc. cit., quoting from his *De Deo Socrat.* vi.

⁵ ταῦτα δαίμονας μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι, ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς λόγος ἀγγέλους εἶπωε καλεῖν προσφυστήρων χρώμενος ὀνόματι (*De Somniis* i 22 § 141, Wendland).

οὗς ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἀγγέλους Μωσῆς εἶωθεν ὀνομάζειν· ψυχὰς δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄερα πετόμεναι (*De Gigant.* 2 § 6, Wendland).

⁶ *De Gigant.* 4 § 16.

the higher always included the lower, and they existed only in the Divine thinking (*De Mundi Opif.* § 4). Besides, it was God Himself who in His Potencies was present in things.¹

(b) *Local causes.*

It is remarkable, and surely not accidental, that at a Council held so close to Colossae as Laodicea about 360 A. D. the worship of angels should be expressly forbidden. Canon 35, 'It is not right for Christians to abandon the Church of God and go away and invoke angels and hold conventicles; for these things are forbidden. If, therefore, any one is found devoting himself to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, because he abandoned our Lord Jesus Christ and went after idolatry.'² Similarly Theodoret complains (c. 425 A. D.), commenting on Col. ii 18 that 'this disease long remained in Phrygia and Pisidia. For this reason also a synod in Laodicea of Phrygia forbade by a decree the offering prayer to angels; and even to the present time oratories of the holy Michael may be seen among them and their neighbours'.³

The development and persistence of angel-worship in this locality indicates a special cause, especially when we bear in mind the permanence of local superstitions under varying forms of religion. Nor is there in this case much room for doubt. The remarkable natural phenomena at and near Colossae must from remote ages have appealed to the human mind, and provided material to which both primitive and later religions could cling.

These phenomena are of two kinds:—

(a) Springs. 'The great road from the west (from Ephesus and from Miletus) ascends the Maeander Valley due eastwards, until it enters

¹ In Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* iv p. 379. See also Schürer, E. T. II iii 371 sqq.

² Lightfoot's translation (*Colossians* p. 68). οὐ δεῖ χριστιανὸς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπύνασι καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν, ἅπερ ἀπηγόρευται· εἴ τις οὖν εὐρέθῃ ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπε τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ προσῆλθεν.

³ Lightfoot's *Coloss.* p. 68 n. ἔμεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ· οὐ δὴ χάριν καὶ συνελθοῦσα σύνοδος ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας νόμῳ κεκόλυκε τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι· καὶ μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν εὐκτήρια τοῦ ἀγίου Μιχαὴλ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὄμοιροις ἐκείνων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. The original in these notes 3 and 4 is quoted from Lueken *Michael* p. 73. Ramsay *Cities and Bishoprics* p. 541, quotes an inscription (date not given but apparently not later than the fourth century) at Thionta, which was subject to Hierapolis (though judging from Anderson's map some twenty miles north-east of it), κυριε βοηθι ΑΑΑΑΑ Μιχαηλ Ε Γαβριηλ ισραηλ ραφαηλ. He adds 'five names of angels seem to be required to correspond to the five Α(γίος)'.
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“the Gate of Phrygia”. In the Gate¹ are a remarkable series of hot springs, and warm mud-baths, some in the bed of the Maeander, others on its banks.²

(β) There is at Colossae a narrow gorge through which the Lycus flows, and the Lycus itself appears to have most of its course underground, coming ultimately from lake Anava, some twenty miles east of Colossae, appearing near Dere Kelli, some five miles away from Colossae, then losing itself in the lake Kodja Bash, out of which it flows for about two miles before passing through the gorge.³

(γ) These phenomena of hot springs, and a river issuing not very far away, from a cavern, together with the earthquakes to which the whole district is liable, might readily suggest to primitive minds directly Divine operation.⁴ Hence it is not remarkable that between Laodicea and the ‘Gate of Phrygia’, some thirteen miles west of Laodicea and in the territory of the city Attouda, lay a famous temple, the home of the Phrygian god Men Karou, the Carian Men, the original god of the valley.⁵ He seems to have later been identified with Poseidon, who is said to have made the hot springs at Laodicea,⁶ or with Zeus,⁷ and perhaps Asklepios, whose cult was bound up with that of the serpent,⁸ and even, as it seems, with Osiris-Serapis.⁹

We have unhappily no direct evidence whereby to bridge over the interval between the heathen worship at or near Colossae and that of later times when we find Colossae-Chonae a centre of the worship of St Michael. The tradition, however, of St Michael’s activity there is that the heathen had determined to overwhelm the Ayasma, or sacred fountain there, by the united waters of the rivers Lykokapros and Kouphos. ‘But when they opened the dams and let the waters run into the new channel which they had cut to divert the rivers into the Ayasma, Michael himself came down to defend the holy fountain. He stood upon a rock beside the sanctuary, and, after bidding the waters stand still until they were as deep as the height of ten men, he caused the rock to open, and leave a path for the united streams to flow

¹ [Some thirty miles west indeed of Colossae itself. A. L. W.]

² Ramsay *Letters to the Seven Churches* p. 413; cf. *Cities and Bishoprics* pp. 2, 3.

³ See Ramsay *Cities and Bishoprics* pp. 209–211.

⁴ On this, the belief in Asia Minor generally, see Ramsay in Hastings *D. B.* v p. 119 (‘The religion of Greece and Asia Minor’).

⁵ Ramsay *Letters to the Seven Churches* p. 417; *Cities and Bishoprics* pp. 169, 414.

⁶ Lucius *Die Anfänge des Heiligen Kults* p. 268.

⁷ See Ramsay *Letters to the Seven Churches* p. 417.

⁸ See Ramsay, Hastings v p. 118.

⁹ Lueken *Michael* p. 79.

through. And the rock split open with a noise like thunder and a shock as of an earthquake ; and the waters flow through the cleft to the present day.'¹

It seems probable that in this case, as in so many others, the Christian saint took over the traditional worship of a heathen deity, and that what was attributed to the saint had formerly been attributed to the god. If so we must suppose that in addition to general reasons for the worship of Men at or near Colossae there was this special reason, that he was supposed to have delivered the city in some great and sudden inundation.

(δ) Be this as it may there is ample evidence on the one hand that the local heathen deities enjoyed great respect at and near Colossae, and on the other that the worship of an Angel held a very high place there some centuries afterwards. It is only reasonable to suppose that in the intervening time, say about the time of St Paul, the inhabitants of Colossae and its neighbourhood were inclined to pay special honour to their local deities, and, while not able absolutely to close their ears to higher teaching brought either by Jews or by Christians, would be likely to admit any compromise by which they might still retain their old worship in a different form.

(ε) How far this would react upon the Jews in their midst is little more than a matter of speculation. It might be said *a priori* that the presence of heathen worship would make Jews only the more decided in the worship of the one true God, as apparently was the case during the Exile in Babylon. But on the other hand Jews have often shewn a certain amount of syncretism and may not have been disinclined, the more educated from philosophical and the poorer from superstitious motives, to attribute power to the deities whom their neighbours worshipped, but regarding these not in any sense as independent powers, but rather as beings wholly under the direction of the one God and acting in some sort as His intermediaries. The doctrine of the existence of such beings and of their use to men was already well known among Jews. It only needed certain local influences to draw them on to some sort of worship.

The result therefore of our investigation of the subject would appear to be, not that the Jews, or even the poorer classes of Jews, generally

¹ Ramsay *The Church in the Roman Empire* p. 470. According to a ninth-century legend published in 1890 by M. Bonnet used by Lucius, op. cit. p. 267, there was a famous spring at Chaeretopa, a place between Hierapolis and Colossae, but Ramsay has shewn (*The Church in the Roman Empire* pp. 468, 479) that this is due to a confusion of place with *Chonae* the city that succeeded to the traditions of Colossae. 'The real Keretapa is not far from the watershed of the Indos Valley.' In Anderson's map of Asia Minor it is called Ceretapa Diocaesareia and placed some thirty miles south-east of Colossae.

paid worship to angels, but that under certain conditions they might be tempted to do so, especially in attempts to ward off disease by the use of magic formulae.

Hence of the two theories ; the first, that the worship of angels was at that time common among Jews, including such Jews as were not exposed to any specially foreign conditions and forms of thought, e. g. the Pharisaic party ; the second, that it was only to be found among Jews in a few circles and these removed from more orthodox influences, the latter appears to be the more probable. In other words, not Dr Hort,¹ but Bp Lightfoot, the more truly represents the matter. It is however to be observed that Bp Lightfoot's opinion is very frequently misunderstood, as though he derived the angel worship of Jews who lived at Colossae from Essene influence, the objection being evident that the Essenes lived chiefly only in the south-east of Palestine very far from Colossae in Asia Minor.² But his own words ought to have guarded his readers against such a misinterpretation. He says, ' When I speak of the Judaism in the Colossian Church as Essene, I do not assume a precise identity of origin, but only an essential affinity of type, with the Essenes of the mother country. As a matter of history, it may or may not have sprung from the colonies on the shores of the Dead Sea ; but as this can neither be proved nor disproved, so also it is immaterial to my main purpose. All along its frontier, wherever Judaism became enamoured of and was wedded to Oriental mysticism, the same union would produce substantially the same results. In a country where Phrygia, Persia, Syria, all in turn had moulded religious thought, it would be strange indeed if Judaism entirely escaped these influences.'³

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

¹ *Judaistic Christianity* p. 122 ' The worship of angels was assuredly a widely-spread Jewish habit of mind at this time ' ; p. 125 ' In enquiring about the origin of the special form of Judaistic Christianity which was gaining ground among the Colossians, we are dispensed from the need of trying to discover for it any peculiar or extraneous sources. We are apparently on common Jewish ground.'

² Some, however, lived in many towns and villages in Judaea, and as it seems in ' Palestine and Syria', Philo *Quod omn. prob. lib.* 12 (cf. Josephus *B. J.* II viii 4).

³ *Colossians* pp. 94 sq.