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"ALL THINGS UNDER HIS FEET": PSALM 8 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND IN OTHER JEWISH LITERATURE OF LATE ANTIQUITY

by

Mark Stephen Kinzer

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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1995

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Jarl Fossum, Chair
Adjunct Associate Professor Gabriele Boccaccini
Associate Professor Elliot Ginsburg
Professor Ludwig Koenen
Professor Alan Segal, Barnard College

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To Mom and Dad
Who have waited patiently

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CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF THE USE OF PS 8 IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND IN OTHER JEWISH LITERATURE OF LATE ANTIQUITY

Ps 8 is one of the most well-loved of all psalms. It has provided food for popular piety and religious and secular poetry, and the puzzling features of its Hebrew text have given generations of scholars broad scope for ingenious textual emendation. Ps 8 has something for everyone. As befitting the psalm's concern for the vastness of heaven and the divine condescension which exalted human beings above the rest of the created order, the text was even deposited on the moon by one of the Apollo flights.

This appreciation for Ps 8 is also to be found among the early Christians. The psalm ranks among the most theologically important biblical texts utilized in the New Testament.[1] It is quoted in 1 Cor 15:27, Heb 2:6-8, and Matt 21:16, and is alluded to in Eph 1:22, Phil 3:21, and 1 Pet 3:22. Some scholars have also heard echoes of Ps 8 in Rom 3:23, 8:20, and Phil 2:6-11.[2] In many of the above passages the

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[1]When speaking of the "bible" or "scripture" in the context of its use in the New Testament, we are referring of course to what Christians call the Old Testament and Jews Tanakh.

[2]F. J. Moloney, "The Reinterpretation of Psalm VIII and the Son of Man Debate," *NTS* 27 (1981) 658; J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980) 115-118, 307, n. 26; L. D. Hurst, *The*

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psalm is linked with Ps 110:1, which is generally considered to be the most central and influential of all the christological testimonia found in the New Testament.[3]

However, the way Ps 8 is used in the New Testament appears to a modern reader as highly eccentric. First, the psalm, which originally seems to have had as its theme the exalted status accorded human beings by their creator, is usually applied to a particular human being, Jesus the Messiah. Second, it is understood to be speaking eschatologically about the new creation rather than empirically about the present scheme of things. Finally, the "all things" which are placed under "Man's" authority (Ps 8:7) include not only the animal kingdom but also (and even primarily) the angelic powers.[4]

How did these early followers of Jesus arrive at such an interpretation of the psalm? The exploration of this question will be the concern of the present volume.

Psalm 8 in the New Testament

In 1961 A. Vögtle offered three possible answers to this question.[5]

Epistle to the Hebrews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 112, and "Re-enter the Pre-Existent Christ in Philippians 2:5-11?" *NTS* 32 (1986) 453-54, 456, nn. 28, 30, and 31.

[3]See Chapter VI, 211-14.

[4]Throughout this study we will use the word "Man" to translate the Hebrew words אדם and אנוש. Though offensive to many modern ears, the word "Man" has the distinct advantage of capturing the potential ambiguity of the Hebrew terms, which can either refer to an individual or a collective. "Human" is not an adequate translation, for it is mainly used as an adjective; "A human being" is possible, but too cumbersome.

[5]"'Der Menschensohn' und die paulinische Christologie," *Analectica Biblica* 17-18 (Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis

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These three explanations summarize well the avenues which New Testmanent scholars have taken in regard to Ps 8.

First, Vögtle allows for the possibility that Ps 8 was originally applied to Jesus among the early Christians because of its use of the term בן-אדם, "the Son of Man" (vs 5). This is an opinion with a distinguished pedigree. In 1913 W. Bousset claimed that "dieser Psalm wird in der Tat frühzeitig auf Jesus angewandt sein, weil er als ein hymnus auf den Menschensohn verstanden werden konnte."[6] The view was restated by A. E. J. Rawlinson in 1926.[7] In 1954 M. Black confidently affirmed this position:

> The Apostle is still thinking of Christ as the Second Adam [in 1 Cor 15:20-28]...Did he have the Synoptic Son of Man in mind...? Verse 25 removes any doubts...: the closing words of the quotation from Ps. 8.6 speak of "all things" being put "in subjection" beneath Christ's feet, including death. It is not unlikely that these verses (which earlier contain the phrase 'son of man') came from a Book of Testimonies, and were first applied to Jesus as 'Son of Man'...[8]

Vögtle thought that this explanation might apply to 1 Cor 15:27, but not to Heb 2.[9] However, many others have been bolder and have assigned the same significance to the term "Son of Man" in Hebrews.[10]

Catholicus 1961; Rome: Pontifico Instituto Biblico, 1963) 199-218. Vögtle deals with Ps 8 on pp. 206-7.

[6] *Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926 [3d ed.]) 68.

[7] *The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926) 124-25.

[8] "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," *SJT* 7 (1954) 173.

[9] 106.

[10] E. Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984; original German edition, 1939) 122-28; J. Hering, *The Epistle to the*

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Second, Vögtle thinks that another possible explanation for the use of Ps 8 in 1 Cor 15 is the important Pauline parallel between Christ and Adam. Vögtle is cautious here, because, among other things, he holds that "Ps 8 keineswegs direkt vom ersten Menschen = Adam spricht...was er sagt, gilt vom Menschen als solchem wie vom beliebigen Einzelmenschen."[11] Others have been less restrained in their support for this position. The importance of Adam Christology for the New Testament authors and for their use of Ps 8 has been enthusiastically championed by a number of scholars, especially in the English speaking world.[12]

Third, Vögtle considers it possible that Ps 8 received its initial Christological interpretation because of the similarity in wording between vs 7 and Ps 110:1, which was an established messianic text. In the years since Vögtle wrote his article this third view has become the dominant position among New Testament scholars. Of course, the importance of the connection between Pss 8 and 110 in the New Testament has long been recognized among scholars.[13] However, the unique stress in recent scholarship has been on the <u>sufficiency</u> of this connection as an

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Hebrews (London: Epworth, 1970; original French edition, 1954) 15; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959; original German edition, 1957) 188; O, Michel, *Der Brief an Die Hebräer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 138; G. W. Buchanan, *To the Hebrews* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972) 38-51; D. A. Hagner, *Hebrews* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983) 24.

[11]207.

[12]C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (New York: Scribner's, 1953 [publ. originally in 1952]), 121-23; E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957) 95-97; G. B. Caird, "The Exegetical Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *CJT* 5 (1959) 44-52; M. D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark* (Montreal: McGill, 1967), 74, 197-98; Hurst, *Hebrews*, 110-113; Dunn, *Christology*, 107-113; M. de Jonge, *Christology in Context* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 119-20.

[13]See, for example, Bousset, 68, and Dodd, 22, 120.

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explanation for the Christological appropriation of Ps 8. In 1961 B. Lindars emphasized that the use of Ps 8 among the early Christians derived from their use of Ps 110.[14] The clearest and strongest statement of this position came from R. H. Fuller in 1965:

> In view of the atomistic exegesis current at the time...it is a hazardous *argumentum e silentio* to infer that Ps. 8:4 was in Paul's mind when he quoted Ps. 8:6. Indeed Ps. 8:4 plays no role in the Palestinian Son of man tradition or anywhere else prior to Paul. Nor is it quoted until Heb. 2:6. This is well on in the Hellenistic period, when the eschatological origin of the term Son of man had been largely forgotten. However, Ps. 110:1 had been widely used before Paul, both in the Palestinian and in the Hellenistic tradition. Now in both Ps. 110:1 and 8:6 the idea of subjection occurs, and in the LXX the same verb ὑποτάσσειν ("to subject") is used...It would seem, therefore, that Ps. 110:1 led directly to Ps. 8:6. In the process Ps. 8:4 was completely bypassed.[15]

Fuller is arguing especially against Vögtle's first explanation, which had been the accepted view for many years. However, his argument, if valid, also undercuts Vögtle's second explanation, for the "atomistic exegesis" of one verse from Ps 8 would not carry with it the creation imagery found in the psalm as a whole. As we have already noted, the perspective of Lindars and Fuller has won wide acceptance in recent years.[16]

There have been no lengthy treatments of Ps 8 and its use in the New

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[14] *New Testament Apologetic* (London: SCM, 1961) 50-51, 168-69.

[15] *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (New York: Scribner's, 1965) 233-34.

[16] See, for example, W. O. Walker, "The Origin of the Son of Man Concept as Applied to Jesus," *JBL* 91 (1972) 486-89; Dunn, *Christology*, 90-91, 108; B. Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man* (London: SPCK, 1983), 193, n. 40.

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Testament.[17] Those who have commented on this topic have done so in journal articles, commentaries, or monographs concerning christology in general, the son of Man in particular, or the use of the biblical text in the New Testament. Vögtle devoted two pages to the use of Ps 8 in the New Testament; Fuller also dealt with the psalm in two pages; most other treatments are similarly sketchy. It is also striking that little attention has been given to the use of Ps 8 in Jewish literature outside the New Testament. It is assumed that the key to understanding the early Christian interpretation of Ps 8 is found exclusively in internal developments within the Christian community.[18]

Psalm 8 in the Jewish Literature of Late Antiquity

If scholars have expended little energy in the study of the New Testament's use of Ps 8, even less has been invested in the study of its use in other Jewish literature of the same era. New Testament scholars themselves have usually been content to ask one simple question: Was Ps 8 ever understood messianically in this literature? Some scholars, such as Käsemann, Louis, Buchanan, and Conzelmann, have suggested that at times it was or may have been so understood, but they have offered

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[17]The only monograph entirely devoted to the psalm and its later interpretation is *The Theology of Psalm VIII* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1946), a doctoral dissertation by C. Louis. His discussion of the psalm's Hebrew text is valuable, as is his presentation of the patristic interpretation of the psalm. However, his analysis of the New Testament texts and the wider Jewish view of the psalm has little useful to offer.

[18]There are occasional exceptions. See F. J. Moloney, *Reinterpretation*, and W. L. Schutter, "Psalm 8 in Tradition and in Hebrews 2:5-6," read at the *SBL Annual Meeting* 11/21/93 (unpublished).

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little if any evidence to support their view.[19] In an excellent article which both recognizes the significance of Ps 8 in the New Testament and also takes seriously the relevance of Jewish interpretations of the psalm for New Testament scholarship, F. J. Moloney has proposed the Targum on Ps 8 as an illustration of such a messianic interpretation of the psalm.[20] However, his reading of the Targum is far from compelling;[21] difficulty in dating the text also makes the Targum a fragile if not broken reed which cannot bear alone the weight of the argument. Therefore, most New Testament scholars have denied any messianic interpretation of the psalm in non-Christian Jewish literature, and with that denial they have ended their study of the relevant texts.[22]

This is surprising, for the psalm is interpreted in rabbinic literature as dealing with a topic related to its use in the New

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[19]Käsemann, *Wandering People*, 126-27; Louis, *Theology*, 117-18; Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 39; H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 274.

[20]Moloney, 660-68.

[21]For example, Moloney thinks that the translation of להשביח in vs 3 as לבטלא indicates total annihilation rather than a mere subjugation, but it is not clear that the Aramaic word need have such a meaning. He also claims that the Targum's use of the definite article in referring both to the enemies of vs 3 and the son of man in vs 5 serves to individuate these figures in an eschatological direction. However, as noted by W. B. Stevenson, in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic "the emphatic state tends to lose its distinctive definite meaning" (*Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1962 {1st ed. 1924}] 23).

[22]The one text which many admit as a possible exception is 3 *Enoch* 5:10. O. Michel has this text in mind in his oft-quoted summary of the Jewish literature: "Eine messianische Verwendung von Ps 8 ist im Rabbinat nicht nachweisbar, wohl aber in der Apokalyptik" (138; see n. 3). For our treatment of 3 *Enoch* 5:10, see Chapter IV, 133-43. Moloney takes a somewhat broader view, and sees significance in the fact that rabbinic texts do apply the psalm to various <u>individuals</u>, even if these individuals are not messianic (668). As we hope to show, at this point Moloney is on the right track.

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Testament: the superior status of "Man" vis-a-vis the angels. In midrash after midrash the psalm is read in its entirety as though it were originally spoken by an angel or a group of angels who are complaining about the exaltation of Adam, Abraham, Moses, or the people of Israel. This is the case despite the customary understanding of אלהים in vs 6 as meaning "angels." We therefore have a rather striking parallel: in both the New Testament and the rabbinic midrashim vs 6 is usually read as meaning "You set him up to be a little less than the angels,"[23] yet in both bodies of literature the "Man" of the psalm is said to be higher than the angels! It is unlikely that such a correspondence is merely coincidental.

In 1945 A. Altmann wrote a now classic article about the rabbinic Adam legends.[24] In this article he dealt in passing with the midrashic use of Ps 8 to express angelic opposition to the creation of Adam. This topic was treated in much greater detail in P. Schäfer's *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen.*[25] Once again, the primary concern of Schäfer is not the use of Ps 8 in the rabbinic literature; however, this psalm serves as the main starting point for many of the rabbinic discourses which he analyzes. Therefore, Schäfer's painstaking gathering of rabbinic texts opened the way for others to study the sources more easily -- but few have taken advantage of the opportunity.

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[23]The LXX translates אלהים as ἄγγελοι. Its βραχύ τι can be read temporally as "for a little while" rather than qualitatively as "a little less than." However, in the New Testament only the book of Hebrews builds upon this possible rendering of the verse.

[24]"The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," *JQR* 35 (1945) 371-91.

[25](Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975).

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It was only last year (after the present dissertation was well on its way) that an attempt was made to address specifically the Jewish texts dealing with Ps 8, and also to relate them to the New Testament reading of the psalm. In his article, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan in Light of Psalm 8:5," G. A. Anderson examines a wide range of rabbinic, pseudepigraphic, Islamic, and Christian texts which bear upon the interpretation of Ps 8.[26] Anderson recognizes the influence of Ps 8 on early Jewish traditions regarding the glorified status of Adam, Enoch, and Moses, their exaltation above the angelic powers, and the envy which this provoked among some of the angels; he then proposes that this reading of the psalm is in some measure presumed in the New Testament, at least in the book of Hebrews.

Anderson fails to recognize the radical nature of his proposal concerning the New Testament use of Ps 8 -- that is, that the phrase "you placed everything under his feet" of vs 7 was seen in Jewish circles as referring to the subjection of the angels to a human being, and that this interpretation was taken up by the New Testament authors and applied to Jesus.[27] However, he cannot be faulted for this, since he is not a New Testament specialist, and his article is not primarily concerned with the New Testament texts. All in all, Anderson's article

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[26]This paper was read at the *SBL Annual Meeting* of 1994 (November 20). It has not yet been published.

[27]"In the eyes of most New Testament scholars this impressive array of material [i.e., New Testament texts which understand Ps 8 as providing testimony for Christ's elevation above the angels] points to a very ancient tradition, perhaps one that has roots in a Jewish source" (11). To my knowledge few New Testament scholars even consider the possibility, much less the significance, of such "roots in a Jewish source."

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is the most significant contribution so far to the study of the interpretation of Ps 8 in the Judaism of late antiquity.[28]

A more detailed treatment of the material examined by Anderson and other material which he did not take up (e.g., Gnostic literature) is still called for. Of even greater importance is the careful consideration of the relevant New Testament texts in light of the existing Jewish interpretations of the psalm.

The Present Work

The essential thesis of the present work has much in common with conclusions reached by Anderson. The dissertation will contend that the New Testament use of Ps 8 owes much to interpretations of the psalm current in the wider Jewish world. It was not a *creatio ex nihilo.* Though this psalm was undoubtedly associated with Ps 110 at an early stage of the Jesus movement, such an association does not provide the sole explanation for the (to modern minds) unusual way the psalm was employed.

We will argue that Ps 8 was commonly applied by Jewish interpreters to great individuals of Israel's past -- first to Adam, and then to Enoch, Abraham, and Moses. It was not read as referring merely to the authority given to humanity as a whole or to the people of Israel, though it was also read in this way. The psalm was also used to speak of the glorious exaltation (the "crowning with glory" of vs 6) of this individual above the angelic powers (the "all things" of vs 7) and of the jealous response of those powers to this event. Ps 8 was thus

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[28]For a fuller presentation of Anderson's argument, see Chapter III, 69-77.

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seen as portraying a situation of conflict. Finally, the psalm was read not only as a statement of existing fact, but also as a promise of an eschatological hope.

All of these elements of Jewish exegesis shaped the early Christian use of Ps 8. The primary application of the psalm to Adam was of special importance. The Adam christology of Paul and the early church made it especially easy to appropriate Ps 8 as a messianic text. However, we must consider in addition the relationship between this christology and the wider Jewish view of Moses as a second Adam, whose ascent to heaven to receive the Torah was also read into Ps 8. The Adam christology of the New Testament may have at times an unacknowledged polemical slant -- it is *Jesus*, not Moses, who is the new Adam, and it is his death, resurrection, ascension, and return which restores the divine image and glory to humanity, not the heavenly ascent of Moses at Sinai and the Torah which he receives.

We will begin our study in Chapter II by looking at the Hebrew text of Ps 8 and its interpretation among modern biblical scholars. This will familiarize us with the elements of the psalm which will serve as the basis for later Jewish exegesis. In the following three chapters we will survey and analyze Jewish (along with Samaritan and Gnostic) texts external to the New Testament which cite, allude to, or echo Ps 8.[29] In these chapters the following questions will guide our study: 1) Is the psalm applied to an individual or a group (or both)? 2) Is the psalm

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[29]"Quotation, allusion, and echo may be seen as points along a spectrum of intertextual reference, moving from the explicit to the subliminal. As we move farther away from overt citation, the source recedes into the discursive distance, the intertextual relations become less determinate, and the demand on the reader's listening powers grows greater" (R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989] 23).

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used to speak of the relative status of that particular human being or group of human beings and the angels, and, if so, in what way? 3) Is the psalm used to describe an existing state of affairs, a potential state contingent upon the fulfillment of certain conditions, or an assured future state in the age to come? The results of this survey and analysis will then be employed in Chapter VI as we look at the New Testament texts which cite, allude to, or echo the psalm. Do these texts reflect the wider currents of Jewish exegesis? If so, in what way do they do so, and what are the implications of this fact? The final chapter will summarize our findings and the conclusions to be drawn from them.

Our study faces two grave methodological challenges. The first consists of the difficulty in dating rabbinic traditions. This problem is particularly vexing in regard to our area of interest, for there are few *explicit* references to Ps 8 in ancient Jewish literature outside the rabbinic and Christian canon. The accuracy of rabbinic attributions is questionable, and in any case many of the midrashic traditions concerning Ps 8 are of anonymous attribution. The work of scholars such as J. Neusner makes it impossible to assume naively the antiquity of rabbinic tradition, and to posit it as the background and foil of New Testament developments.[30]

The approach we have adopted is as follows. We will begin our

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[30]Neusner has emphasized the creative nature of the rabbinic enterprise; the documents of rabbinic Judaism are not merely collections of ancient traditions, but also represent the innovative vision of their authors. The outworking of Neusner's basic thesis is well-presented in his trilogy on *The Foundations of Judaism: Method, Teleology, Doctrine* (*Midrash in Context* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983]; *Messiah in Context* [1984]; *Torah* [1985]).

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studies of the use of Ps 8 in ancient Jewish literature by focusing our attention on those texts which treat the psalm in an explicit fashion. In most cases, that means that we must begin with rabbinic writings. The antiquity of these traditions will then be probed on the basis of two comparative criteria: 1) Do texts which can be dated to the first century or before appear to presume or reflect the sort of interpretations seen in the later rabbinic material?[31] 2) Do texts which are later than the first century but from alien and antagonistic ideological streams (e.g., Samaritan, Gnostic) appear to presume or reflect the sort of interpretations seen in the rabbinic material? This second criterion assumes that such common traditions should be seen as archaic and traceable to an early period when group boundaries were more permeable.

If our main purpose were the study of these Jewish exegetical traditions, then the New Testament itself would be the most valuable means of dating the rabbinic aggadot. As noted earlier, the parallels between the rabbinic and early Christian use of Ps 8 are striking, and provided the initial stimulus for this project. However, our main purpose is not the study of the exegetical traditions, but of the use made of them in the New Testament. Therefore, it seems advisable to seek first to establish the antiquity of the rabbinic material without the aid of the New Testament, and then to use this material to interpret

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[31]On the importance of this criterion, see the summary of the work of R. Bloch in G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1961) 7-9. For our purposes the key first century texts which will serve as controls are Pseudo-Philo (*LAB*), the Adam Books (e.g., *Vita Adae*, *Apocalypse of Moses*), and 2 *Enoch*. Though scholars disagree on the precise dating of these books, there are weighty reasons for seeing them all as deriving from the first century C.E., and for situating the Adam Books and 2 *Enoch* before the destruction of the second temple.

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the New Testament texts. However, if the interpretation which results is cogent and illuminating, then this further reinforces the validity of the hypothesis concerning the antiquity of the underlying exegetical traditions.

The second methodological challenge concerns the discovering of intertextual relations when explicit signals are lacking, when one is dealing with allusion and echo rather than quotation. As M. Fishbane notes when dealing with inner biblical exegesis, there are no "objective criteria" for detecting these relations:

> Aside from these few instances of *explicit* citation or referral, the vast majority of cases of aggadic exegesis in the Hebrew Bible involve *implicit* or virtual citations. In these cases, it is not by virtue of objective criteria that one may identify aggadic exegesis, but rather by a close comparison of the language of a given text with other, earlier Scriptural dicta or topoi. Where such a text (the putative *traditio*) is dominated by these dicta or topoi (the putative *traditum*), and uses them in new and transformed ways, the likelihood of aggadic exegesis is strong. In other words, the identification of aggadic exegesis where external objective criteria are lacking is proportionally increased to the extent that multiple and sustained lexical linkages between two texts can be recognized, and where the second text (the putative *traditio*) uses a segment of the first (the putative *traditum*) in a lexically reorganized and topically rethematized way.[32]

Thus, we are able to discern the use of Ps 8 when words and/or motifs from the psalm appear in later texts, and when the meaning of these later texts is illumined by perceiving them as echoing the psalm.

R. Hays provides further criteria for testing the presence of an echo, though he recognizes that "precision in such judgment is unattainable."[33] He is concerned specifically with the Pauline corpus,

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[32] *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) 285.

[33] 29.

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but his seven "rules of thumb" are more broadly applicable:

> (1) *Availability.* Was the proposed source of the echo available to the author and/or original readers?...
> (2) *Volume.* The volume of an echo is determined primarily by the degree of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patterns, but other factors may also be relevant: how distinctive or prominent is the precursor text within Scripture...?
> (3) *Recurrence.* How often does Paul elsewhere cite or allude to the same scriptural passage?...
> (4) *Thematic Coherence.* How well does the alleged echo fit into the line of argument that Paul is developing?...
> (5) *Historical Plausibility.* Could Paul have intended the alleged meaning? Could his readers have understood it?...
> (6) *History of Interpretation.* Have other readers, both critical and precritical, heard the same echoes?...
> (7) *Satisfaction.* With or without clear confirmation from the other criteria listed here, does the proposed reading make sense? Does it illuminate the surrounding discourse? Does it produce for the reader a satisfying account of the effect of the intertextual relation?[34]

These are useful criteria. Nevertheless, the process of detecting echoes, as Hays emphasizes, is "a modest imaginative craft, not an exact science."[35] We cannot hope to develop a methodology which will produce results that are universally acceptable. Ultimately, the reader of this work must determine for him- or herself whether the echoes of Ps 8 which the present author hears in the Adam Books, Pseudo-Philo, 2 *Enoch*, etc., are real or imagined.

Even if one concludes that an echo of Ps 8 is to be found in a given text, one must also ask whether the use of the psalm is direct or mediated. Is the author, consciously or subliminally, working with Ps 8, or merely working with a traditional motif which itself may have originated as an exegesis of Ps 8? Sometimes it is impossible to answer this question one way or the other. However, the criteria articulated

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[34] 29-32.

[35] 29.

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by Hays are also useful in establishing whether the use of the biblical text is direct or mediated. The occurrence of isolated phrases or motifs from Ps 8 may reveal a mediated use of the psalm, but the criteria of *volume*, *recurrence*, *thematic coherence*, and *satisfaction* will disclose a direct use of the psalm.

Even if we are correct in the allusions and echoes of Ps 8 which we perceive in the various texts to be considered, our work will suffer from another unavoidable defect: the failure to acknowledge other echoes in the same texts. It is inevitable that our attention to Ps 8 preclude examination of other biblical passages which might in any given case be of equal or greater weight in the author's play of ideas. A thorough and careful exegesis of a text must seek to tease out all the allusions and echoes; the limited nature of our task will prevent us from engaging in such exegesis. Our modest goal is to offer exegetes a thread whose existence or significance has usually gone unnoticed.

It is today a generally accepted proposition among New Testament scholars that early Christianity in general and the New Testament in particular must be considered expressions of first century Jewish life and thought.[36] One cannot understand early Christian tradition apart from its place in the wider Jewish world. This is especially true in regards to the interpretation given to those scriptures which were

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[36]G. Boccaccini even argues that historic Christianity as a whole should be seen as a species of the genus, Judaism (*Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought* 300 *B.C.E. to* 200 *C.E.* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991] 13-21). While this view is controversial, the conviction that first-century Christianity must be studied as a Jewish phenomenon is now axiomatic. Of course, this is not to deny the tremendous impact of Greco-Roman culture on the early Christians; instead, it means that we must consider this impact as part of the broader relationship between Jewish and Greco-Roman society.

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shared and reverenced in all Jewish communities, including those which offered allegiance to Jesus as the risen Messiah. This generally accepted proposition has not always been carried through in practice, and the study of the New Testament use of Ps 8 is a clear case in point. The present dissertation will attempt to correct this failure and make redress.

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CHAPTER II

PSALM 8 AND MODERN EXEGESIS

Our task is to study the use of Ps 8 in the New Testament in the light of that psalm's interpretation in the Jewish world of the time. However, before we begin this task we will look at the psalm itself, in order to understand as well as possible its original meaning and those features of the text which would arouse the interest of later readers.

The Text

Much has been written about Ps 8 in the past half-century. Most of the contributions focus on the formidable textual and source critical issues raised by vss 2b-3.[1] A vast number of competing emendations have been offered, but none of them has proved capable of convincing the majority of scholars in the field.[2] A thorough treatment of the issues

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[1]See, for example, C. Louis, 26-41; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. 1 Teilband* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1966) 65-66; M. Dahood, *Psalms I 1-50* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966) 49-50; H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 324-27; J. Leveen, "Textual Problems in the Psalms," *VT* 21 (1971) 48-49; O. Loretz, "Die Psalmen 8 und 67," *UF* 8 (1976) 117-121; W. Rudolph, "'Aus dem Munde der jungen Kinder und Säuglinge...' (Psalm 8,3)," *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Donner; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977) 388-96.

[2]In regard to only one of the textual difficulties, A. R. Hulst

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involved and the various proposals set forth would be a distraction (though an interesting one!) in the present work. For our purposes it is sufficient to inquire into the meaning, dating, and life-setting of the Hebrew text as it now exists.

Nevertheless, this substantial restriction of scope cannot free us entirely from a brief look at the difficulties posed by vss 2b-3, for the meaning of this unit as it now stands is anything but clear. The consonantal text is as follows:

2b אשר תנה הודך על-השמים:
3 מפי עוללים וינקים יסדת עז למען צורריך
להשבית אויב ומתנקם:

The main problem is raised by the first two words, אשר תנה. The Masoretes vocalized this construction as אֲשֶׁר תְּנָה -- the first word is seen as the relative pronoun, the second word as the imperative of נתן ("to give"). However, this must be incorrect, for the imperative cannot follow the relative pronoun.[3] Most interpretations and translations take one of two courses. The first is to follow some of the ancient versions (Syriac, Targum, Symmachus, Jerome) and see תנה as either a corruption of נָתַתָּה, נָתְנָה, or נִתָּן,[4] or as a form of the infinitive that

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comments, "Über das schwer verständliche תנה in Vs.2 kann in diesem Zusammenhang nicht gesprochen werden; keiner der vielen Interpretationsvorschläge hinsichtlich Vokalisation, Verbalstamm und Konjekturen bietet eine befriedigende Lösung," "Ansatz zu einer Meditation über Ps 8," *Travels in the World of the Old Testament. Studies Presented to M. A. Beek on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday.* (ed. M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss; B.V.-Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974) 104. J. L. Mays likewise acknowledges that "the meaning of the first part of the hymn is uncertain because of problems with the text," *Psalms* (Louisville: John Knox, 1994) 65.

[3]"...in einem Relativsatz kein Imperativ stehen kann," Rudolph, 389.

[4]*BHK*, apparatus to Ps 8:2.

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is being used with a finite sense.[5] The translation would then resemble the NRSV's "You have set your glory above the heavens."[6] The second common way of deciphering the text is to understand תנה as a verbal root meaning "recount" or "sing praise" (Judg 5:11, 11:40).[7] The translation would then approximate the RSV's "Thou whose glory above the heavens is chanted."[8] If one adopts this second rendering, then one can also clarify the meaning of vs 3. Who is chanting YHWH's glory? It must be the עוללים and וינקים. The Masoretic verse arrangement is thus altered as follows:

אשר תנה הודך על-השמים מפי עוללים וינקים
יסדת עז למען צורריך להשבית אויב ומתנקם׃

The resulting translation is illustrated by the RSV:

> Thou whose glory above the heavens is chanted
> by the mouth of babes and infants,
> thou hast founded a bulwark because of thy foes,
> to still the enemy and the avenger.

If, on the other hand, one opts for the first rendering of אשר תנה described above, then one must follow the Masoretic ordering of the verses, and translate the entire unit in the manner of the NRSV:

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[5]This view preserves the Masoretic vocalization. See D. W. Young, "Notes on the Root נתן in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 10 (1960), 459; B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 216, note 105.

[6]NIV; JPS; Kraus; W. Beyerlin, "Psalm 8. Chancen der Überlieferungskritik," *ZTK* 73 (1976) 1-22; E. S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms. Part I.* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988).

[7]BDB, 1072 a; A. Weiser, *The Psalms* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 140; C. Schedl, "Psalm 8 in ugaritischer Sicht," *FF* 38 (1964) 183; R. Tournay, "La Psaume VIII et la Doctrine Biblique du Nom," *RB* 78 (1971) 20-24.

[8]JB and REB; N. M. Sarna, *Songs of the Heart* (New York: Schocken, 1993) 56-57; Mays, 65. With this reading תנה is vocalized as a Pu'al, תֻּנָּה.

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You have set your glory above the heavens.
 Out of the mouths of babes and infants
you have founded a bulwark because of your foes,
 to silence the enemy and the avenger.

This works fine grammatically, but does it make any sense? How can one "found a bulwark...out of the mouths of babes and infants"?[9] The challenge of giving a satisfactory interpretation of this statement has led a few translators to follow the Septuagint and render עז as αἶνος, "praise" (NIV). Such a translation appeals to conservative scholars, for it fits well with the New Testament use of these verses (Matt 21:14-17). However, "you have ordained praise" (NIV) is at best a rather unusual way of understanding the Hebrew phrase יסדת עז.

An entirely different resolution of the problem is to read אשר תנה as one word rather than two. This was proposed already in 1899 by B. Duhm, who suggested that the text be emended to אשרה-נה: "I will sing your glory."[10] More recently M. Dahood offered a similar resolution of the problem without any change in the consonantal text, reading אשרתנה (from the verb שרה): "I will adore your majesty."[11] This way of handling the text has several advantages. First, the first-person form of the verb brings vs 2 into harmony with vs 4. Second, a fitting introduction is provided for the hymn (see, for example, Ps 145:1). Third, the bond

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[9]Valiant attempts at answering this question are made by Weiser, Kraus, K. Gouders ("Gottes Schöpfung und der Auftrag des Menschen," *Bibel und Leben* 14 [1973] 167-68), Beyerlin, Rudolph, and C. Westermann [*The Living Psalms* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989) 262], but none is convincing.

[10]See Donner, 326, and W. H. Schmidt, "Gott und Mensch in Ps. 8," *TZ* 25 (1969) 4-5.

[11]Dahood, 48-9. His reading has been adopted also by P. C. Craigie, *Word Biblical Commentary. Vol.* 19. *Psalms* 1-50 (Waco: Word, 1983) 104-5.

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between vs 2a and 2b is broken, which explains why the words of 2a are repeated as a refrain in vs 10 without 2b. Vs 3a, מפי עוללים וינקים, continues to pose a problem, but the ensuing translation is plausible if not compelling. Dahood translates 2b-3a as follows:

> I will adore your majesty above the heavens,
> With the lips of striplings and sucklings.

In his commentary on the verses, he writes that "Before the majesty of God the psalmist can but babble like an infant."[12] Similarly, Donner (who follows Duhm) explains that "Mit den Worten מפי עוללים וינקים formuliert der Psalmist die Erfahrung, dass er Jahwes Hoheit nur unvollkommen preisen kann."[13]

Most commentators acknowledge that we simply do not know how to understand vss 2b-3a. All attempts at unlocking the mystery are tentative at best. Dahood's approach to the verses seems the least objectionable, and therefore we will follow his lead in our translation. However, it is possible that the text is damaged beyond recovery.[14]

The following is an arrangement of the consonantal Hebrew text of Ps 8 in distichs along with an English translation:[15]

> יהוה אדנינו [2]
> מה-אדיר שמך בכל-הארץ

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[12]Dahood, 49.

[13]Donner, 326.

[14]"Obwohl der Satz eine ziemlich regelmässige Struktur aufweist und von allen alten Textzeugen im grossen und ganzen gleich überliefert wird, ist er höchstwahrsheinlich verderbt" (Schmidt, 5).

[15]In this chapter all translations from the Hebrew bible are my own unless otherwise noted.

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אשרתנה הודך על-השמים
3 מפי עוללים וינקים:
יסדת עז למען צורריך
להשבית אויב ומתנקם:

4 כי-אראה שמיך מעשי אצבעתיך
ירח וכוכבים אשר כוננתה:
5 מה-אנוש כי-תזכרנו
ובן-אדם כי תפקדנו:

6 ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים
וכבוד והדר תעטרהו:
7 תמשילהו במעשי ידיך
כל שתה תחת-רגליו:

8 צנה ואלפים כלם
וגם בהמות שדי:
9 צפור שמים ודגי הים
עבר ארחות ימים:

10 יהוה אדנינו
מה-אדיר שמך בכל-הארץ:

2 O YHWH, our Lord,
how majestic is your name in all the earth!

I 3 will adore your splendor above the heavens
with the lips of children and infants.
You have founded a fortress because of your foes,
to silence the enemy and the avenger.

4 When I look at your heavens, the works of your fingers,
the moon and stars which you have established,
5 [I ask] What is Man, that you are attentive to him,
the Son of Man, that you take concern for him?

6 Yet you have caused him to be only a little less than God,
crowning him with glory and honor.
7 You have made him the ruler over the works of your hands,
placing all things under his feet,

8 all flocks and herds,
and even the beasts of the field,
9 the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea,
whatever travels along the paths of the sea.

10 O YHWH, our Lord,
how majestic is your name in all the earth!

Genre and Structure

Ps 8 is generally recognized to be a hymn of praise, though it has

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many unusual and even unique features.[16] There is no introductory invitation to praise (as in Pss 33:1-3, 96:1-3, 105:1-5).[17] The opening invocation employs a term for God (יהוה אדנינו) found nowhere else in the Psalter, and only once elsewhere in the Hebrew bible (Neh 10:30; see also Neh 8:10). This hymn is also the only psalm of praise which from beginning to end addresses God directly (see, however, 1 Chr 29:10-19).

Ps 8 begins and ends with communal praise of YHWH. This repeated verse thus frames the psalm as a whole, and provides a corporate context for what is otherwise primarily an individual meditation. The body of the hymn consists of four units, each of which is composed of two distichs.[18] The first unit, vss 2b-3, possesses several features which distinguish it from the three which follow. As already noted, it has an array of intractable textual puzzles, whereas the remainder of the psalm is relatively straightforward as regards its text and basic meaning. If one rejects the proposed readings of Duhm and Dahood, then the first-person singular verbal form of vs 4 is unanticipated in vss 2b-3. The motif of conflict and victory over foes which is dominant in the first unit is followed by a more serene and pacific meditation on

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[16]On the difficulties in classifying Ps 8, see H. Graf Reventlow, "Der Psalm 8," *Poetica* 1 (1967) 309-11; Schmidt, 1-15; Beyerlin, 1-22; Craigie, 106.

[17]This anomaly is less marked in the rendering of vss 2-3 which we have drawn from Dahood.

[18]This way of arranging the distichs is proposed by Schedl, 183. "Der Psalm is vom Kehrvers umrahmt. Dazwischen bilden je zwei Verse eine Sinnstrophe -- im ganzen vier, was kein Zufall sein kann; denn die Zahl der Erde und der Gesamtheit is Vier." Such a structural analysis only holds if one connects vs 2b with 3a, as we have done in our presentation of the Hebrew text. Schedl's proposal is also reflected in the JB version of the psalm.

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the exalted role given "Man" in the created order.[19] It therefore cannot be denied that there is some disjunction between the first unit of the body of the hymn and the three subsequent units; however, there is also a natural progression among them which will become clear as we interpret the text.[20]

The three units found in vss 4-9 are tightly constructed. A reflective viewing of the evening sky with its vast army of stars, seen as the workmanship of the powerful God YHWH, leads directly to a meditation on the contrast between the smallness and weakness of "Man" and the noble position assigned him as the delegate of YHWH on earth. The structural center of the psalm, the second distich of unit two (the Psalmist's question about "Man") and the first distich of unit three (the glorification of "Man" as nearly divine), also conveys the heart of its message.

Vss 2-3, 10: YHWH, King of Heaven and Earth

The repeated frame verse of Ps 8 shares a common attribute with the first unit of the hymn's body: both present YHWH in the language of royalty as the King of heaven and earth.

Though Sarna is exaggerating the case when he says that the word אדון appears in the Hebrew bible "predominantly as a royal title," it is

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[19]As we will see, this "pacific" tone is blunted by the aggressive associations of vs 7.

[20]Beyerlin clearly describes the disjunction between vss 2b-3 and 4-9. However, he exaggerates its significance by denying the cosmogonic import of vss 2b-3 and neglecting the connotations of coercion in 7. As we have seen, the disjunction is further diminished if one adopts the Dahood reading of vs 2b.

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nevertheless true that it is often used in such a way.[21] The word can be applied to anyone who has a superior position, and only context allows one to define precisely what that position might be. Since the highest position is that of King, royalty does merit the title in a unique fashion. In the context of Ps 8, it is clear that YHWH is addressed as אדונינו because he is the sovereign of heaven and earth.

The word אדיר, applied to YHWH (or to his "name") in the frame verse, has similar connotations to אדון. It refers to that which is superior and exalted, and is often used to refer to those of the noble class (Judg 5:25; 2 Chr 23:20; Neh 3:5, 10:30). However, as the greatest of the nobles, a king was the most "majestic," and the term thus applied especially to him (Ps 136:18; Jer 30:21).[22] Therefore, the frame verse addresses YHWH as the sovereign Lord whose mighty, majestic presence and power (his שם) are manifested not only in the Jerusalem temple (Deut 12:11, 21; 1 Kgs 8:16-20), his earthly palace, but also in the entire world.

It is also evident that vss 2b-3 present YHWH as the exalted heavenly king. According to vs 2b YHWH possesses הוד, another word with royal connotations.[23] In 1 Chr 29:25 it is said that YHWH made Solomon

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[21]Sarna, 52. Kraus is more precise: "'Unser Herrscher' [אדונינו] ist im AT eine charakteristische Anrede des Königs (1 Kö 1:11, 43, 47)," 67. NRSV emphasizes the royal meaning of the term by translating the opening invocation as "O LORD, our Sovereign." Mays, 65, translates the phrase in the same way.

[22]"En hébreu comme en phénicien, cette épithète qualifie souvent les rois et les grands de la terre," Tournay, 18; J. A. Soggin, "Textkritische Untersuchung von Ps. VIII 2-3 und 6," *VT* 21 (1971) 566; Sarna, 53.

[23]"'Hoheit' (hebräisch hod) wurde, auf irdische Herrscher bezogen, als Königsprädikation gebraucht," Beyerlin, 11; see also Gouders, 167, and Sarna, 55-56.

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great,

> ויתן עליו הוד מלכות
> אשר לא-היה על-כל-מלך לפניו על-ישראל
>
> And he gave him a royal splendor
> such as no previous king of Israel had possessed.

Ps 21:5 describes how YHWH has given הוד והדר, "splendor and honor," to the anointed king of Israel, and these words are similarly paired in the description of the king found in Ps 45:4. When הוד is elsewhere ascribed to YHWH himself, it is often in a context in which his kingship is being acclaimed (Pss 96:6, 10; 145:5, 12-13; 1 Chr 29:11). This is also the case in Ps 8. The psalm's frame verse depicts the sovereign majesty of YHWH's name as filling the earth; the body of the hymn proceeds by emphasizing that YHWH's kingship is also על-השמים, over heaven itself.

Who are the thrice-named enemies of vs 3 (צוריך...איב ומתנקם), and how are they related to YHWH's position as king? A wide range of scholars see here a reference to Israel's version of the ancient Near Eastern creation myth in which YHWH triumphs over the chaotic powers of the primeval waters.[24] Many of the words of vss 2b-3 are common in the biblical allusions to this cosmogonic epic: איב (Pss 89:11, 92:9[25]), עז (Pss 74:13, 89:11, 93:1; Isa 51:9; in Prov 8:28 עזוז is used in the same context), יסד (Pss 89:12, 104:5, 8; Is 51:13, 16;

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[24]A. Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1970) 12; J. Hempel, "Mensch und König," *FF* 35 (1961) 120-121; Schedl, 184; Dahood, 50-51; Donner, 326-7; Soggin, 568-70; Gerstenberger, 69; Sarna, 57-61; Mays, 66. According to Beyerlin (7, note 29), B. Duhm [*Die Psalmen* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1922)] was the first to offer this interpretation of vss 2b-3. For an excellent recent treatment of this theme in the biblical texts, see J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[25]See Sarna, 60.

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Job 38:4). The hiphil of שבת could easily be a synonym for the piel of שבת, which in Ps 89:10 and (in hiphil form) Ps 65:8 refers to the "stilling" of the tumultuous waves. As the biblical references demonstrate, all these words are found together in Ps 89, in a context that deserves to be quoted in full:

6 ויודו שמים פלאך יהוה אף-אמונתך בקהל קדשים
7 כי מי בשחק יערך ליהוה ידמה ליהוה בבני אלהים
8 אל נערץ בסוד-קדשים רבה ונורא על-כל-סביביו
9 יהוה אלהי צבאות מי-כמוך חסין יה ואמונתך סביבותיך
10 אתה מושל בגאות הים בשוא גליו אתה תשבחם
11 אתה דכאת כחלל רהב בזרוע עזך פזרת אויביך
12 לך שמים אף-לך ארץ תבל ומלאה אתה יסדתם

6 The heavens praise your wondrous deeds, O YHWH,
 and your faithfulness in the assembly of the Holy Beings.
7 For who in the skies is like YHWH,
 whom among the Sons of God can be compared to YHWH?
8 A God feared in the council of the Holy Beings,
 great and terrible over all who are gathered around him.
9 YHWH, God of armies, who is like you,
 the powerful YAH, clothed in faithfulness?
10 You ruled the tumultuous swelling of the sea,
 when its waves rose up, you stilled them.
11 You crushed Rahab like one slain,
 with your mighty arm you scattered your enemies.
12 Heaven and earth are both yours,
 the world and all it contains, [for] you founded them.

These verses portray YHWH as a king enthroned in heaven, surrounded by a crowd of attendants, who are themselves mighty beings. His power was definitively displayed when he rebuked and conquered his enemies, the rebellious waters, and thereby founded the earth. These waters are treated in mythological fashion as primordial beings, who try to resist the Creator.

What exactly is the עז which YHWH has "founded"? The verb suggests a building of some sort, and this is why many translators render עז in this context as "fortress" or "bulwark"[26] (Prov 21:22; Jer 16:19; Amos

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[26]RSV; NRSV; JB; REB; Weiser, 39, 141-142; Kraus, 65; Dahood, 48;

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3:11). What is this "fortress"? Once again, given the parallel texts cited above, the verb יסד would lead one to think of "heaven" (or perhaps "heaven and earth") as the "fortress."[27] This is supported by Ps 93, a psalm sharing many common features with Ps 8:1-3:

1 יהוה מלך גאות לבש לבש יהוה עז התאזר
אף-תכון תבל בל-תמוט 2 נכון כסאך מאז מעולם אתה
3 נשאו נהרות יהוה נשאו נהרות קולם ישאו נהרות דכים
4 מקלות מים רבים אדירים משברי-ים אדיר במרום יהוה

1 YHWH reigns, he is clothed in majesty;
YHWH is clothed, he wears strength as a belt.
The world is established and shall never be moved;
2 Your throne is established from the beginning;
You are King from everlasting.
3 The waters have lifted up, O YHWH,
the waters have lifted up their voice,
the waters lift up their pounding waves.
4 Mightier than the voice of surging waters,
mightier than the breakers of the sea.
YHWH is mighty.

Once again, YHWH is hailed as אדיר, he is girded with עז, he has "established" (כון) the world and his throne, he is triumphant over the raging waters, and he reigns as king. The tumultuous motion of the seas is contrasted with the enduring stability of YHWH's throne, a stability which guarantees the preservation of the ordered world against the inimical powers of chaos. The heavenly throne of YHWH is "established" firmly because of his unrivaled עז. In Ps 8 it is עז itself which is "founded" (יסד, a synonym of כנן) by YHWH; it is likely that this עז is heaven itself, the palace of YHWH's throne.[28]

Donner, 326; Gouders, 168; Gerstenberger, 68; R. Tournay, *Seeing and Hearing God with the Psalms* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991) 109.

[27]Bentzen, 12; Hempel, 121; Schedl, 184; Dahood, 50; Donner, 326-7; Soggin, 569-70.

[28]Some scholars agree that vss 2b-3a form a distich and also accept the cosmogonic interpretation of 2b-3, yet prefer to understand עז in vs 2b as an attribute of YHWH, as in Pss 93:1, 74:13-14, 89:11 and Isa 51:9,

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The evidence strongly points to this cosmogonic drama as the background for Ps 8:2b-3. In addition to the parallels already cited, the phrase על-השמים ("over the heavens"), when taken in connection with כל-הארץ of the frame verse, points in the same direction -- the juxtaposition of "earth" and "heaven" calls to mind the creation of the world. It is also no accident that the next verse speaks of the creation of heaven and its evening inhabitants -- the moon and the stars -- and employs the verb כנן (polel of כון), which, as noted above, is regularly used in parallelism with יסד (Ps 24:2; Prov 3:19). Finally, the theme of YHWH's kingship is a common feature in biblical descriptions of his triumph over the ancient waters (Pss 29:3, 10-11; 74:12; 93:1).[29] This last point both confirms the cosmogonic background of these verses and highlights further the emphasis given in them to the kingship of YHWH.

The only remaining difficulty in vss 2b-3 is the identity of the עוללים and ינקים. The view of Donner and Dahood, cited earlier, holds that the praises of "children and infants" are mentioned in order to point out the inadequacy of all attempts to glorify YHWH as he truly deserves. This is a possible reading of the text. Another interpretation that has been proposed fits well with the cosmogonic background explored above. According to this view, the עוללים and ינקים are heavenly beings, the בני אלהים of Ps 89:7, and verses 2b-3a are presenting a highly condensed version of the sort of praise of the

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rather than as a reference to heaven. Thus, Sarna renders Ps 8:3b, "You established [Your] might on account of your foes, to put an end to the vengeful enemy," and Mays translates the distich, "You have established power because of your foes, to quell enemy and avenger."

[29]Day, 21.

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heavenly Creator-King found in Ps 29:1-2, Ps 89:6-8, and Job 38:7 (see also Ps 103:19-22).[30] תנה is read as the verb "to sing praise," and על-השמים is then taken as modifying the verb rather than the noun הודך ("You whose splendor is praised above the heavens" rather than "You whose splendor above the heavens is praised"). There are Ugaritic parallels for this usage of ינקים but not for עוללים, and there are no biblical parallels for either. The interpretation can therefore only be entertained as a possible explanation for a difficult text.

Vss 4-9: "Man," King of Earth

The body of the hymn now changes its focus and tone, yet maintains an overall continuity of theme. The Psalmist ponders the vast heavens, and marvels that the Creator of them all, the Sovereign King, has singled out human beings for special attention. As noted above, vss 5-6 are at the heart of this psalm; they are the hinge on which the hymn turns, shifting from the cosmic reign of YHWH to the terrestrial reign of "Man."

The question of the psalm, "What is Man...and the Son of Man...?" is also asked by biblical scholars in their study of the text. The words אנוש and בן-אדם are singular in number, and the pronominal suffixes which refer to "him" in vss 5-7 are likewise singular. The obvious parallels with Gen 1:26ff would make one think of Adam, the first man. However, it appears that vs 5 is an example of synonymous parallelism, and בן-אדם is an unlikely designation for Adam. Therefore, most scholars treat these terms as collective singulars, or see them as

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[30]See H. Cazelles, "Note Sur Le Psaume 8," *Parole de Dieu et Sacerdoce* (ed. E. Fischer; Paris: Desclée & Cie, 1962) 87-88; Schedl, 183-84.

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speaking of every individual human being considered as the concrete and particular expression of the species.[31] In contrast to this view, some scholars have proposed that these terms referred originally to the anointed king of Israel, and that this psalm was employed in the royal cult. We will defer discussing this matter till later in the chapter when we examine the life-setting and dating of the psalm. At this point it is sufficient to recognize that whatever individual application the terms might have, it is clear that they also have a collective meaning. We will therefore proceed by understanding "Man" and "Son of Man" as "humanity" or as "each individual human being."

As small and limited as "Man" is, yet YHWH has "crowned him with glory and honor" (וכבוד והדר תעטרהו). This phrase portrays the human vocation as a royal one.[32] עטר is a piel denominative verb from the noun עטרה, "crown". The noun commonly refers to a royal crown (2 Sam 12:30; Esth 8:15; Ps 21:4; Zech 6:11-14). Like הוד, the words כבוד and הדר are royal attributes (Pss 21:6, 145:12).

The following verse further elaborates on the kingship bestowed by YHWH on "Man."

> ז תמשילהו במעשי ידיך
> כל שתה תחת-רגליו׃
>
> You have made him the ruler over the works of your hands,
> placing all things under his feet.

"Man" is made a משל, a "ruler," one who has dominion. Once again, this is a word often applied to the authority wielded by kings (Josh 12:2,

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[31]See Reventlow, 319-20.

[32]Kraus, 70; Gouders, 169-72; Beyerlin, 19-20; Görg, 12; Gerstenberger, 70; Sarna, 64-65; Mays, 66-67. Schmidt is often quoted in his assertion that Ps 8 involves a "democratization" of the royal ideology (10-11).

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5; Judg 8:22-23; 2 Sam 23:3; Zech 6:13; Ps 103:19; Isa 19:4; et.al.). The second stich utilizes a vivid image from the realm of warfare and conquest.[33] Josh 10:24 depicts the subjugation of the Canaanite kings, whose necks were literally placed under the feet of Joshua's chief officers. Joshua tells his officers:

> קרבו שימו את-רגליכם על-צוארי המלכים האלה
> ויקרבו וישימו את-רגליהם על-צואריהם
>
> "Come and place your feet on the necks of these kings."
> So they went and placed their feet on their necks.

This symbolic gesture becomes a way of describing the subjection of one's enemies through military force, as seen in Solomon's letter to Hiram of Tyre in 1 Kgs 5:17:

> אתה ידעת את-דוד אבי כי לא יכל לבנות בית לשם יהוה אלהיו
> מפני המלחמה אשר סבבהו עד תת-יהוה אתם תחת כפות רגלו׃
>
> "You know that my father David was unable to build a house for the name of YHWH his God because of the wars which encompassed him, until YHWH put them [that is, his enemies] under the soles of his feet."

Ps 47 acclaims YHWH as the "great King over all the earth," and then speaks of how he demonstrated that fact by "subduing nations under us, and peoples under our feet" (ולאמים תחת רגלינו).[34]

This militaristic image is striking in the context of Ps 8. Some scholars contrast the note of conflict in vss 2b-3 and the pacific tone of vss 4-9.[35] This contrast is accurate to a point, but it can be

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[33]"The two parts of this binary verse correspond one to the other, the first expressing the basic thought straightforwardly, the second metaphorically" (Sarna, 65).

[34]Sarna (65-66, 230) provides further parallels from Babylonian, Sumerian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Phoenician materials.

[35]Beyerlin, 4, 19-20.

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exaggerated. The subjection of the animals to "Man" is presented in vs 7 by means of an image which recalls the tensions of the first unit of the hymn's body. The animals are not seen here as offering their submission joyfully and of their own volition, but as yielding to a superior power, just as the surging waters were compelled to recede by the authority of YHWH the King.[36]

The list of animals concludes with עבר ארחות ימים, "whatever travels along the paths of the sea." Some scholars see this expression as referring to the great sea-monsters, the תנינם גדלים of Gen 1:21.[37] If such is the case, then this could be another allusion to the tensions of the first part of the psalm, for these beasts were often associated with the primeval conflict between YHWH and the watery powers of chaos (Ps 74:13; Isa 27:1, 51:9).

The royal coronation of "Man" and the subjugation of all earthly creatures to his dominion is from the outset explicitly linked to the kingship of YHWH: והחסרהו מעט מאלהים, "Yet you have caused him to be only a little less than God" (vs 6). Many commentators see the word אלהים as here referring to the divine beings who surround the throne of YHWH, the בני אלהים and קדשים of Ps 89:7-8.[38] This is the understanding of the Septuagint, which renders אלהים here as ἄγγελοι. The exclusive use of direct second person address of YHWH in the rest of the psalm is

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[36]Beyerlin's claim that in vss 4-9 "Feinde sind überhaupt nicht in Spiel" is therefore excessive.

[37]"Bei עבר ארחות מים wird man wohl an die grossen Seetiere denken müssen, die in der alten Welt vom Nimbus des Unüberwindbaren umgeben waren" (Kraus, 71). See also Craigie, 108-9, and Sarna, 67.

[38]Kraus, Dahood, Reventlow, B. Childs (*Biblical Theology in Crisis* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970] 153), Soggin, Sarna, Mays (tentatively). See also JB, NIV, REB.

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cited as evidence for this interpretation.[39] Such a reading of vs 6 does fit the flow of thought of vss 4-9: a contemplation of the vast heavens leads to an amazed consideration of the high calling of frail "Man," who though small and weak is yet only a little less in YHWH's administration than the heavenly beings who are associated elsewhere in the biblical literature with the stars (Job 38:7; Ps 148:3; Judg 5:20).

However, within the psalm as a whole it makes more sense to read אלהים in vs 6 as a reference to YHWH himself.[40] The first part of the psalm focuses on the kingship of YHWH over heaven and earth, and the second part presents "Man" as YHWH's royal delegate over the earth. The "crowning him with glory and honor" makes "Man" "only a little less than God," only a little less than King YHWH himself. One thinks of the relationship between Joseph and Pharaoh (Gen 41:40-43) as a possible analogy. This reading of vs 6 is supported by Gen 1:26-27, where "Man" (אדם) is created in the image of אלהים, who is seen throughout Gen 1 as the creator of heaven and earth.[41] The image of אלהים in "Man" is associated with "Man's" authority over the world (Gen 1:28), just as in

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[39]Sarna, 63. Soggin argues further that "im sonst jahwistischen Psalm kann Elohim nicht 'Gott' heissen" (570). This claim seems to ignore the many psalms which use both יהוה and אלהים to refer to the God of Israel. Also, the appearance of יהוה in the frame-verse (the two occurrences of the name in this repeated distich should only be counted as one) hardly qualifies this psalm as "jahwistisch."

[40]See Louis, Weiser, Schedl, Schmidt, Craigie, Westermann, RSV, and NRSV. Also, see F. H. Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967) 114.

[41]Some scholars do read the priestly account of Gen 1 in the light of Gen 3:5, 22, and conclude that the צלם אלהים of Gen 1:26 also refers to the image of the angels (see, for example, Reventlow, 329-30). However, Gen 1:27 (ויברא אלהים את-האדם בצלמו בצלם אלהים ברא אתו), along with the other uses of the word אלהים in Gen 1, make this view unlikely.

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Ps 8 "Man's" being appointed to a position "only a little less than God" and being crowned "with glory and honor" (a possible reference to the divine image[42]) is associated with "Man's" earthly dominion.[43] Scholars generally recognize a close connection between Ps 8 and Gen 1, though the precise nature of this connection is uncertain.[44] Given the use of אלהים in Gen 1 and given the overall context of the psalm, it seems best to understand Ps 8:6a as a reference to YHWH himself. YHWH is the ultimate king, but he has appointed "Man" to be his representative on the earth, and this appointment makes "Man" to be "only a little less than God."

Date and Life-Setting

Ps 8 is considered by most recent scholars to derive from the post-exilic period.[45] A major reason for this dating is the divine invocation, יהוה אדנינו, which, as already noted, has its only biblical parallel in post-exilic literature (Neh 10:30). A second reason is the apparently "universalistic horizon" of the frame verse and of the core

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[42]As already noted, "glory and honor" are characteristics of YHWH's kingly authority. The point of Ps 8:6 is that YHWH is bestowing that authority on "Man." If not a direct allusion to the צלם אלהים, the verse is at least a restatement of its essential meaning. See Louis, 62.

[43]"One could translate 'a little less than a god', or 'a little less than divine', but this could be somewhat misleading. The ideogram in the background is that of Gen 1:26, and the conception of the Man as one in the god's image, ruling in honour just below him, is common elsewhere" (Borsch, 114, note 2).

[44]Kraus, 67; Reventlow, 329-30; Schmidt, 11-12; Childs, 153; Soggin, 569; Hulst, 105-106; Craigie, 106; Westermann, 264; Sarna, 66; Mays, 67.

[45]Schedl, 184-85; Schmidt, 14-15; Gouders, 165; Beyerlin, 15-19; Gerstenberger, 68, 70-72; Tournay, *Seeing and Hearing*, 109.

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meditation on the vocation of "Man." A third reason is the psalm's "frequent echoes of the post-exilic writings."[46] If such a dating is accepted, then אנוש and בן-אדם can only be taken in a corporate sense, for the monarchy was defunct at this time.[47]

A few scholars contend that the psalm is pre-exilic in its origins, and has its background in the Near Eastern notion of "sacral kingship."[48] This view counters the argument for a later dating with its own set of parallel texts. Ps 144 has several links with Ps 8. The most obvious is in vs 3:

> יהוה מה-אדם ותדעהו בן-אנוש ותחשבהו
>
> YHWH, what is Man, that you regard him,
> or the Son of Man, that you think of him?

The previous verse addresses YHWH as the one who "subdues peoples under me" (הרודד עמי תחתי), an image similar to כל שתה תחת-רגליו (Ps 8:7). YHWH is also seen in Ps 144:10 as "the one who gives victory to the kings, who rescues David his servant" (הנותן תשועה למלכים הפוצה את-דוד עבדו). Ps 144 is thus a prayer for help offered by a king in the line of David. Similarly, Ps 89, whose numerous parallels to Ps 8 have already been noted, is a prayer concerning the house of David and God's

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[46]Tournay, *Seeing and Hearing*, 109. In addition to Neh 10:30, Tournay cites Neh 9:5 (יהוה אלהיכם), Joel 1:20, 2:22 (בהמות שדה), 2:16 (עוללים וינקי שדים), 4:15 (שמש וירח קדרו וכוכבים אספו נגהם), 4:16 (ויהוה מחסה לעמו ומעוז לבני ישראל), 4:17 (יהוה אלהיכם), Job 7:17 (מה-אנוש כי תגדלנו וכי-תשית אליו לבך), and Mal 1:11 (גדול שמי בגוים).

[47]Unless, of course, the royal ideology at this point is being applied to the high priest.

[48]A pre-exilic dating is cautiously proposed by Kraus (67) and Soggin (570). The connection of the psalm with "sacral kingship" is advocated by Bentzen (39-44), Hempel (121-22), and Borsch (113-117. Such a connection is forcefully rejected by Schedl (184-185), Kraus (70-71), and Gerstenberger (70).

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promises to it. Finally, Ps 80:18 prays for the king in words reminiscent of Pss 8 and 144:

> תהי-ידך על-איש ימינך על-בן-אדם אמצת לך
>
> Let your hand be on the Man of your right hand,
> on the Son of Man, whom you have strengthened for yourself.

Those scholars who see Ps 8 as pre-exilic thus sometimes assert that its "universalistic" language represents the view common to the Near East that the king is an embodiment and descendant of the First Man. The life-setting of the psalm would then be a temple rite, probably occurring during the New Year's celebration, in which the king participates in a ritual renewal of the creation.[49]

The case for a pre-exilic origin of Ps 8 is not entirely convincing. However, the arguments are weighty enough to make one wary of unqualified claims that the psalm is post-exilic. In fact, as with many psalms, the date and life-setting of Ps 8 are simply unknown and unknowable.[50] In light of this fact, one should lay greatest stress on that which is undisputed -- the psalm speaks about human beings in general. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that it originally was applied both to an individual (the king or the high priest) and to the corporate body which he represented.

Summary

Ps 8 is a hymn of praise to YHWH, whose kingship was demonstrated in his conquest of the primordial powers of chaos when he created the

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[49]Hempel, 120-121.

[50]Hulst, 102-103.

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world. This mighty sovereign, the extent of whose power is evident to all who ponder the heavens which he established, has shown his great grace to frail humanity (and perhaps to its individual representative) by appointing "Man" as king over the earth. All earthly beings -- including the immense and threatening sea monsters of the deep -- are subjugated under the feet of "Man" the conqueror-king. "Man" has on earth a position only a little lower than that of God himself.[51] It is therefore this extraordinary divine favor, even more than his unrivaled power, that evokes the praise of the majestic name of יהוה אדנינו.

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[51]"God has established dominion over chaos and brought forth creation; humankind is given capacity and vocation to master other animals and bring forth civilization" (Mays, 67).

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CHAPTER III

ADAM AND THE ANGELS: THE GLORY OF THE BEGINNING

In the previous chapter we noted the relationship between Ps 8 and and the creation narratives of Gen 1-2. The psalm is composed as a lyric meditation on either the Genesis texts themselves or on the traditions underlying those texts. The exalted status of "Man" and his royal dominion over the created order is the overarching theme in both Ps 8 and Gen 1-2.

There is, however, a difference between the prose narrative and the lyric poem beyond their diverse genres. In Gen 1-2 "Man" is called אדם or האדם, whereas in Ps 8 he is אנוש and בן-אדם. The designation in Genesis points to the dual signification of the story, which refers both to a first-parent and to the human beings which will spring from him. In contrast, the terms employed in the psalm appear to function solely on the second level of meaning, referring to the descendants of the first human. If there is an intended reference to a particular individual, that person would not be Adam but the King of Israel, seen as בן-אדם, the descendant of the "First Man" and "First King."

Nevertheless, this distinction did not prevent early interpreters of Ps 8 from identifying its אנוש with the אדם of Genesis.[1] Such an

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[1]Such an identification may have been facilitated by Ps 144:3, which, while closely resembling Ps 8:5, employs the terms אדם and בן-אנוש

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identification is a commonplace in rabbinic Judaism, and seems to have been an assumption held more widely in Jewish circles at the beginning of the common era. As we begin our study of the interpretation of Ps 8 in ancient Judaism, it is this understanding of the psalm as referring to Adam which will first occupy our attention.

Rabbinic Tradition

The Angelic Complaint and Its Grounds

Ps 8 is a frequently cited text in rabbinic literature. The way it is used is surprising. Vs 5, which expresses astonishment at God's special regard for אנוש and בן-אדם, evokes extensive comment. The verse is consistently seen as complaint rather than praise, and those issuing the complaint are the ministering angels.[2] The primary occasion of the complaint (which, as we will see, is offered on several different occasions) is the creation of Adam.[3]

The earliest rabbinic document to record this tradition is the Tosefta. In *t. Sota* 6:5 the primary focus is Ps 8:3, which is seen as describing the praise of Israel's children after the passage through the Sea of Reeds.[4] God speaks to the ministering angels and draws their

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rather than אנוש and בן-אדם.

[2]For a collection of rabbinic texts which approach Ps 8 in this way, P. Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 85-87, 90-91, 95-96, 101-102, 105, 119-121, 131-132, 161.

[3]The angelic complaint of Ps 8:5 is also found at the giving of the Torah and the construction of the tabernacle. These three occasions are treated together sequentially in *Midr. Teh.* 8:2.

[4]For the complete text of this passage and a fuller discussion of its content, see Chapter VI, 278-80.

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attention to this event. It is then observed that these are the same ministering angels who formerly had complained about the creation of Adam by saying, "What is Man, that you are attentive to him, the Son of Man, that you take concern for him?" (Ps 8:5). There are three noteworthy features about this text. First, the mention of the angelic complaint at the creation of Adam is presumed as an established tradition. The midrash alludes to this tradition, but it is not the primary concern of the text. Apparently this understanding of Ps 8:5 was already taken for granted at the time of the Tosefta's composition. Second, the ministering angels who complained at the creation of Adam are still present when Israel passes through the Sea of Reeds.[5] The importance of this fact will be clear when we cite our next text. Finally, no reason is given for the angelic complaint. The angels are unhappy about God's creating Adam, but it is not clear why.

A similar tradition about the complaint of the ministering angels is found in *b. Sanh.* 38b. The text is as follows:

רב יהודה א"ר
בשעה שבקש הקב"ה לבראות את האדם ברא כת אחת של מלאכי השרת
אמר להם רצונכם נעשה אדם בצלמנו
אמרו לפניו רבש"ע מה מעשיו
אמר להן כך וכך מעשיו
אמרו לפניו רבש"ע מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ובן אדם כי תפקדנו
הושיט אצבעו קטנה ביניהן ושרפם
וכן כת שניה
כת שלישית אמרו לפניו רבש"ע ראשונים שאמרו לפניך מה הועילו
כל העולם כולו שלך הוא כל מה שאתה רוצה לעשות בעולמך עשה

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[5]Altmann (371) sees the reference to the passage through the Sea of Reeds and the praise of the children as a look into the future which God gives to the ministering angels when they complain about Adam's creation. The entire scene is thus set at the creation. However, it is simpler to read the text as speaking of two different occasions, one at the creation, the other at the exodus. This is also the view of Anderson, 26.

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> Rab Judah said in Rab's name:
> When the Holy One, blessed be He, wished to create man, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and said to them: Is it your desire that we make a man in our image?
> They answered: Sovereign of the Universe, what will be his deeds?
> -- Such and such will be his deeds, He replied.
> Thereupon they exclaimed: Sovereign of the Universe, *What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou thinkest of him?*
> Thereupon He stretched out His little finger among them and consumed them with fire. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him: Sovereign of the Universe, what did it avail the former [angels] that they spoke to Thee [as they did]? the whole world is Thine, and whatsoever that Thou wishest to do therein, do it.[6]

As in *t. Sota* 6:5, the ministering angels complain about the creation of Adam by speaking the words of Ps 8:5. However, there are several differences between the two accounts. First, the precise occasion of the complaint is here provided. Gen 1:26 is seen as a question directed by God to his angelic council (רצונכם נעשה אדם בצלמנו), and Ps 8:5 is their response. Second, the reason for the angelic complaint is also provided. They are shown the evil which human beings will do, and they seek to prevent it. Finally, the complaining angels are quickly destroyed. In *b. Sanh.* 38b the angels who recite Ps 8:5 at the creation of Adam, unlike those in *t. Sota* 6:5, will never witness the passage through the Sea of Reeds or the song of the children.

In studying this motif of the angelic complaint at the creation of Adam, scholars generally concentrate on the above texts and the parallels found in later rabbinic literature. A third midrash receives relatively little attention, and yet in our view it is the most important of the three. This tradition is found first in *Pesiqta de Rab*

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[6]Hebrew text and English translation are from the *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud*, *Sanhedrin*, trans. J. Shachter (London: Soncino, 1969).

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Kahana 4:3:[7]

ויחכם מכל האדם זה אדם הרא׳
ומה היתה חכמתו של אדם הראשון
אלא את מוצא בשעה שביקש הקב"ה לבראות את אדם הראשון
נמלך במלאכי השרת א׳ להם נעשה אדם
אמרו לפניו
רבון העולמים מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ובן אדם כי תקפדנו וגי
אמ׳ להם, אדם זה שאני מבקש לבראות בעולמי חכמתו מרובה משלכם
מה עשה, כינס כל בהמה וחיה ועוף והעבירם לפניהם
אמ׳ להם מה שמותן של אילו ולא היו יודעין
וכיון שברא אדם הראשון כינס כל בהמה וחיה ועוף והעבירן לפניו
אמ׳ לו מה שמותן של אילו ואמ׳ לזה נאה לקראותו סוס
ולזה נאה לקרותו אדי ולזה נאה לקרותו גמל ולזה נאה לקרותו שור
לזה נאה לקרותו נשר ולזה נאה לקרותו חמור
הדה היא דכת׳ ויקרא האדם שמות לכל הבהמה ולכל וגי׳
א׳ לו ואתה מה שמך אמ׳ לו אדם
אמ׳ לו למה מפני שנבראתי מן האדמה
אמ׳ לו ומה אני שמי אמ׳ לו יי
אמ׳ לו למה אמ׳ לו שאתה אדון על כל בריותיך

A. *He was wiser than all man* (1 Kgs. 5:11):
B. [Since the verse uses for man the word *Adam*, we conclude that] this refers to the first Man.
C. And what constituted the wisdom of the first Man?
D. You find that when the Holy One, blessed be He, planned to create the first Man, he took counsel with the ministering angels, saying to them, "*Shall we make man*" (Gen. 1:26).
E. They said to him, "*Lord of the ages, what is man that you remember him, and the son of man that you think of him* (Ps. 8:5)."
F. He said to them, "This man whom I am planning to create in my world has wisdom greater than yours."
G. What did he do? He collected all the domesticated beasts and the wild beasts and fowl and brought them before them and said to them, "What are the names of these?"
H. But they did not know.
I. When he created the first Man, he collected all the domesticated beasts and the wild beasts and fowl and brought them and said to him, "What are the names of these?"
J. He said, "This one it is proper to call, 'horse,' and that one it is proper to call, 'lion,' and that one it is proper to call, 'camel,' and that one it is proper to call, 'ox,' and that one it is proper to call, 'eagle,' and that one it is proper to call, 'ass.'"
K. That is in line with this verse: *And Man assigned names to all domesticated beasts and wild beasts and fowl* (Gen. 2:20).

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[7]For parallels, see *Pesiq. R.* 14:9, *Tanh. B.* Huqqat 12, *Num. Rab.* 19:3, *Qoh. Rab.* 7:23, *Mid. Teh.* 8:2.

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L. He said to him, "And as to you, what is your name?"
M. He said to him, "Man."
N. He said to him, "Why?"
O. He said to him, "Because I have been created from the earth [*adam*, *adamah*, respectively]."
P. He said to him, "And what is my name?"
Q. He said to him, "The Lord."
R. He said to him, "Why?"
S. He said to him, "For you are the Lord over all those things that you have created."[8]

The larger unit of *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* has been speaking of the wisdom of Solomon. He is the one who is "wiser than all man" (1 Kgs 5:11). This text from 1 Kings is then interpreted as meaning, "Solomon was wiser than Adam." But how wise was Adam? This question sets the stage for the above midrash on Ps 8.

As in *b. Sanh.* 38b, the midrash begins with Gen 1:26, which is understood as a question addressed by God to the ministering angels. He is consulting them for their advice (נמלך במלאכי השרת). The advice which they give is the same as that found in the talmudic text: "What is Man, that you should favor him in such a way?" What is the reason for their response? Altmann contends that no motive can be discovered in the text.

> In some anonymous sources the protest of the angels is given no motivation at all. God's answer stresses Adam's wisdom as superior to theirs. He will be able, God tells them, to give names to all creatures. From these latter sources it appears that the motive of the angels' opposition is pure enmity towards man. Not the shadow of a moral argument is put forward.[9]

Altmann is correct in observing that the angels here are not motivated

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[8]All selections from the Hebrew text of *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* are from B. Mandelbaum, *Pesikta de Rav Kahana*, 2 vols (New York: Bet HaMidrash, 1962), and all English translations are from J. Neusner, *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana: An Analytical Translation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

[9]372.

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by moral concerns as in *b. Sanh.* 38b. However, he goes too far in his assertion that no motive can be detected apart from "pure enmity." A careful reading of the text leads to a different conclusion.

God responds to the angelic complaint by saying, "This man whom I am planning to create in my world (בעולמי) has wisdom greater than yours." The phrase בעולמי could also in this context be translated as "over my world."[10] In fact, the phrase likely refers to the words of Gen 1:26 which are not explicitly quoted in the midrash:

> ויאמר אלהים נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו
> וירדו בדגת הים ובעוף השמים ובבהמה ובכל-הארץ ובכל-הרמש על-הארץ

> Then God said, "Let us make Man in our image, according to our likeness; and let them rule <u>over</u> the fish of the sea, <u>over</u> birds of heaven, and <u>over</u> the beasts of the earth -- <u>over</u> all the earth -- and <u>over</u> every creeping thing on earth."

We are probably meant to read the brief words of consultation (נעשה אדם) taken from Gen 1:26 as implying the entire verse. Thus, the ministering angels hear not only of God's intention to create Adam, but also of his purpose in doing so: that Adam might have dominion over God's world (עולמי). After the angels reject this idea, God tells them that this Adam, who will rule over the world, will be wiser than they. Why is this response, and the proof that God gives of its truth, relevant to the complaint? How does this assertion of Adam's superior wisdom answer the objections of the ministering angels? It can only be an answer if the point of the angelic complaint is that they themselves -- the ministering angels -- should receive authority over the world in place of Adam. Thus, the motive of their complaint is envy or rivalry. Something is being given to Adam which they believe should be given to

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[10]This is not usually the meaning of the preposition ב when it is used independently; however, ב is the preposition normally used with verbs of ruling, such as מלך, משל, רדה, and שלט.

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them instead.

It is significant that the proof of Adam's superior wisdom is derived from the naming of the animals in Gen 2:19-20. This colorful tale is a dramatic representation of the authority given to Adam, and is thus tied thematically to Gen 1:26b and Ps 8:7-9. In this midrash it is viewed by the interpreter as a prose version of Ps 8:7-9.[11] The midrash is carefully constructed around these three related biblical texts. Its logical sequence is as follows:

1. God consults the angels in the words of Gen 1:26 (the entire verse)
   -"Shall we make Man in our image, and set him over the world?"

2. The angels respond in the words of Ps 8 (not only verse 5, but also the verses which follow it)
   -"What is Man, that you should grant <u>him</u> (rather than us) the privilege of ruling over the world which you have made?"

3. God shows the angels that Man is more suited to this role than they by having Adam name the animals and prove thereby his superior wisdom
   -the angels cannot name the animals, but Adam can

It is clear that the naming of the animals is not seen here as an expression of Adam's authority (i.e., his right to assign whatever names he desires) but as evidence that he knows the names which God has already ordained for them. This is why his name-giving is a sign of his wisdom; it is also why the angels are unable to fulfill the task (they lack the requisite knowledge). Finally, this explains why Adam is allowed to name God himself! Adam knows what it is "proper" (נאה) to call each thing. Rather than serving as an expression of Adam's

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[11]"Gen 2,20 is also nach dem Verständnis des Midraschs ein Kommentar zu Ps 8, 5-10: Durch seine Fähigkeit, den Geschöpfen Namen zu geben, erweist sich der Mensch wirklich als Höhepunkt der Schöpfung." Schäfer, 89.

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authority, the name-giving demonstrates that he is the one who is fit to exercise that authority.

Pesiq. Rab Kah. 4:3 is therefore a skillfully crafted midrash which, binding together Gen 1:26, Ps 8:5-9, and Gen 2:19-20, depicts the complaint of the angels at Adam's creation as rooted in their envy of the exalted position which he was to receive. This must be an earlier tradition than the one seen in *b. Sanh.* 38b, which roots the angelic complaint in moral indignation.[12] Signs of its antiquity can be found in those midrashic traditions which apply Ps 8 to Moses rather than Adam.[13] These traditions portray the angels as complaining about God's intention to give the Torah to Israel. Their complaint includes the words of Ps 8:2b, which are read as meaning, "Give your splendor (i.e., your Torah) to those in heaven rather than to those on earth!" Thus, the angels are envious of a gift which God is bestowing on Israel rather than on them. This tradition transfers the motif seen in *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 4:3 from Adam to Moses and Israel, from creation to Sinai.

The envy of the angels and the wisdom of Adam which is superior to theirs may imply a further conclusion. It is clear that Adam's position is one that the angels covet. Therefore, it must be higher than their own.[14] This is confirmed by the name-giving episode: superior wisdom

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[12]"If we examine these Midrashim more closely, we shall find that the moral argumentation with which they justify the opposition of the angels cannot be the original motive. Otherwise God's reply would have been on the same level of moral argument. Instead, God is said to have silenced the protest of the angels either by consuming them by fire (Sanh. 38b), or by casting the angels of Truth to the ground (Gen. R. 8.5)" (Altmann, 372).

[13]We will treat these midrashic traditions in Chapter V.

[14]It is theoretically possible that they desire Adam's position merely because it would add to their stature, like a despot who covets the

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in Adam makes him fit for a superior role. Thus, Gen 1:26 and Ps 8:6-9 are understood to describe an authority that is more exalted than that possessed by the angels. Might it involve an authority over both heaven and earth? Might the angels be chafing not only at the loss of a promotion, but also at the need to submit to a new boss?[15] Such a tradition may underlie this midrash. However, it is not fully expressed there.

Before leaving this important midrash, we should observe that it does not explicitly develop the notion of the divine image in Adam. There is certainly no idea here of a physical manifestation of the divine image in Adam. If Adam's glory was visible in this way, then God would not have had to prove to the angels that Adam's wisdom was greater than theirs. However, it is possible that this wisdom itself is understood to be an expression of the divine image. It is that quality which sets Adam above the angels, and renders him fit to govern the world.

The Identity of the Complaining Angel(s)

Altmann has argued that these rabbinic traditions of angelic enmity are "a remnant of the motif as it occurs in the Adam legends."[16] In those materials, which we will examine in our next section, the envious angel is Satan, and the refusal to do obeisance before Adam is the cause

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throne of a less powerful neighboring king. However, the demonstration of Adam's superior wisdom leads one to think that more is here implied.

[15]As we will see in Chapter V, the traditions which apply Ps 8 to Moses assert that he has authority over the angels.

[16]376.

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of his expulsion from heaven. Are there any traces within the rabbinic tradition of this view that the complaining angel is Satan?

Altmann has produced two pieces of evidence. First, he translates *t. Sota* 6:5 (מלאכי השרת שקשרו קטיגור לפני הק'ב'ה') as "they bound the accuser."[17] In context it is difficult to make sense of the Hebrew, and Neusner's translation ("the ministering angels who had come together to cavil before the Holy One blessed be He") is closer to the way the text is usually rendered.[18] Regardless, Altmann is correct in his assertion that קטיגור means "accuser," "which is synonymous with Satan."[19] The term may well point to the original identification of the complaining angel as Satan. Second, he points to a tradition reflected in *Gen. Rab.* 8:5 where the objection to Adam's creation comes from the angels of Truth and Peace. God responds by casting the angel of Truth from heaven to earth. Altmann asserts that "The casting down from heaven of the angel of Truth recalls the motif of the Fall of Satan and of the rebellious angels which is familiar from the Adam Books."[20]

Some later rabbinic texts, which are not cited by Altmann, may be more helpful here. *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer* contains the following:

> הקנא והתאוה והכבוד מוציאין את האדם מן העולם
> אמרו מלאכי השרת לפני הב"ה רבון כל העולמים
> מה אדם ותדעהו...
> אמר להם...יכולים אתם לעמוד ולקרות שמות לכל הבריות שבראתי
> ועמדו ולא יכלו מיד עמד אדם וקרא שמות לכל

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[17] "In the Tosefta the 'accuser' (מקטרג) is put in bondage (קשרו קטיגור לפני הקב"ה)" (372).

[18] J. Neusner, *The Tosefta, Third Division, Nashim* (New York: KTAV, 1979).

[19] 375.

[20] 373.

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שנ' ויקרא אדם שמות לכל הבהמה
וכאן כיון שראו מלאכי השרת שבו לאחוריהם
אמרו מלאכי השרת אם אין אנו באים בעצה על אדם זה שיחטא לפני בוראו
אין אנו יכולין בו
והיה סמאל שר גדול בשמים
והחיות מארבע כנפים ושרפים משש כנפים וסמאל משנים עשר כנפים
מה עשה סמאל...מצא...הנחש...ועלה ורכב עליו...
כל מעשים שהוא עושה וכל דברים שהוא מדבר מדעתו הוא מדבר

"Envy, cupidity, and ambition remove man (Adam) from the world" [Avot 4:28]. The ministering angels spake before the Holy One, blessed be He, saying: Sovereign of all Worlds! "What is man, that thou shouldest take note of him?" (Ps. cxliv.3)...(God) answered them:...are you able to stand up and call the names for all the creatures which I have created? They stood up, but were unable (to give the names). Forthwith Adam stood up and called the names for all His creatures, as it is said, "And the man gave names to all cattle" (Gen. ii.20). When the ministering angels saw this they retreated, and the ministering angels said: If we do not take counsel against this man so that he sin before his Creator, we cannot prevail against him.

Sammael was the great prince in heaven; the Chajjoth had four wings and the Seraphim had six wings, and Sammael had twelve wings. What did Sammael do? He...found...the serpent...and he mounted and rode upon it...All the deeds which it did, and all the words which it spake, it did not speak except by the intention of Sammael.[21]

This text provides an illuminating perspective on the tradition reflected in *Pesiq. Rab Kah.*4:3, for the two share many common features. The first point to notice is that the initial quote from *Pirke Avot*

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[21]The Hebrew text is from Chapter 12 in M. Higger, "Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer," *Horeb* 9 (1946) 94-166. The English translation is from Chapter 13 in G. Friedlander, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (New York: Blom, 1971; reprint from 1916) 91-93. This eighth or ninth century text contains many elements hearkening back to the Enochian tradition of the second temple period. For example, Chapter 22 (English text) speaks of the fallen angels of Gen 6 and their intercourse with women (G. Friedlander, 160-162), and Chapter 21 asserts that Sammael had intercourse with Eve and thereby fathered Cain (Friedlander, 150-151). H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger (*Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992] 357) affirm a direct influence of the Pseudepigrapha on *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, but A. Urowitz-Freudenstein ("Pseudepigraphic Support of Pseudepigraphical Sources: The Case of *Pirqe De Rabbi Eliezer*," *Tracing the Threads* [ed. J. C. Reeves; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994] 35-53) denies such an influence, seeing instead a rabbinic mediation of such traditions to *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*. Regardless, the book presents in more concentrated form than other rabbinic writings numerous traditions characteristic of the Enochian literature and its offshoots.

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establishes clearly the motivation of the angelic complaint: it is envy (הקנא) and desire for glory (הכבוד). What is implicit in *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 4:3 is here explicit. Second, the familiar words of complaint are equivalent to Ps 8:5, though the precise source is Ps 144:3. However, the tradition from which this text draws must have originally employed Ps 8, for the reference to the naming of the animals in Gen 2 was connected by the rabbis to Ps 8:7-9, as seen in *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 4:3.[22] Third, the ministering angels are then associated with Sammael, the highest of all the angels, with whom they conspire in order to lead Adam into sin. Sammael in turn recruits the serpent and uses it as his instrument in tempting Adam and Eve. We thus see here a set of evil angels who, out of envy, not only object to the creation of Adam but also seek his downfall after he is created.

Ginzberg recounts a similar story from *Bereshit Rabbati.*[23] In this version, Satan, the greatest of the angels (having twelve wings, like Sammael in *Pirqe R. El.*), refuses to prostrate himself before Adam. God tells Satan that Adam is wiser than he, and so Satan demands a trial of wit. We then have the story of the naming of the animals, with Satan as the one who fails at the task at which Adam succeeds. Nevertheless, Satan still refuses to prostrate himself before Adam. We find here in a single text both the tradition seen in *Pirqe R. El.* and that found in the Adam books (to be discussed soon). Sammael is now Satan, and the

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[22]Ps 144:3 and Ps 8:5 were almost certainly linked at an early stage of the exegetical tradition which we are tracing. While Ps 8:5 provided the essential creation motif, Ps 144:3 (with its use of אדם rather than אנוש) facilitated the application to Adam, the first Man.

[23]L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews, Vol.* I (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1912) 62-64. See also *Vol.* 5 (1925), n. 34, p. 84.

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angelic complaint is now clearly a refusal to worship Adam.

3 *Enoch* also supports the contention of Altmann that in the earliest form of the tradition the angelic complaint of Ps 8:5 was a protest of evil angels.[24] This book records how the evil angels Uzzah, Azzah, and Aza'el[25] oppose the exaltation of Enoch by recalling the counsel of those who told God not to create Adam (4:6; § 6). The text employs the tradition found in *b. Sanh.* 38b, according to which those angels who counselled against creating Adam were destroyed.[26] It therefore cannot equate Uzzah, Azzah, and Aza'el with those angels, but it does associate them with their words. As Alexander recognizes, the phrase used to describe the action of these three evil angels in 4:6 (§ 6), היו מסטינין, also connects them to Sammael, who in 3 *Enoch* 14:2 (§ 17) is called שר המשטינים, "Prince of the Accusers."[27]

It thus appears that Altmann's basic thesis is sound. The angelic complaint against the creation of Adam has its roots in a tradition which speaks of the envy of an evil angel or set of angels who found the exalted position of Adam intolerable. The monistic angelology of

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[24]In our references to 3 *Enoch* we will provide both the chapter and verse numbers as found in P. Alexander's translation in *OTP* 1 and also the paragraph numbers from P. Schäfer's *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981), ms. V228.

[25]The evil nature of these three angels is evident in the next chapter, where they instruct the men of Enosh's generation in sorcery (5:9; § 8). It is also supported by the term used for the "charges" (מסטינין) they bring against Enoch. The root of this word gives us the English "Satan." P. Schäfer states that in general "Diese drei Engel stehen in der rabbinishen Literatur für die Gruppe der gefallenen Engel von Gen 6..." (*Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des Rabbinischen Judentums* [Leiden: Brill, 1978] 142).

[26]See Alexander's note 41 in *OTP* 1:259.

[27]P. Alexander, *OTP* 1:258, n. 4j.

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rabbinic Judaism led to a transformation of this tradition, so that the evil angels simply became ministering angels, and their original motives were downplayed or obscured.[28] However, Altmann is not to be followed in his suggestion that this early motif and its correlate -- the adoration of Adam by the angels -- are both derived from Gnostic sources.[29] It seems much more likely that the Gnostic conception of the evil demiurge is itself a synthesis of this Satan figure and a creator-Angel figure.

The Glory Of Adam

In none of the above midrashic traditions do we find a treatment of Adam's glorious appearance. When his greatness is extolled, it is his divine wisdom which is in view. However, this wisdom, expressed in Adam's ability to name the animals, is elsewhere seen as related to the brilliant light of his countenance.

מי כהחכם זה אדם הראשון דכת'
אתה חותם תכנית מלא חכמה וכליל יופי
ומי יודע פשר דבר שפרש שמות לכל ויקרא האדם שמות וג'
חכמת אדם תאיר פניו ר' לוי בשם ר' שמע' בן מנס'
חפוח עקיבו של אדם הראשון היה מכהה גלגל חמה
ואל תתמה בנוהג שבעולם אדם עושה לו שני דיסקרין
אחד לו ואחד לבן ביתו שלמי הוא עושה נאה לא שלו
כך אדם הראשון נברא להשמיש של הקב"ה

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[28]However, one must allow for the possibility that from the beginning this tradition of the angelic opposition to Adam's creation developed in two distinct streams. When Ps 8 is considered as a whole, the rabbinic angelology actually makes more sense, for the psalm begins and ends with a glorification of God.

[29]The angelic adoration of Adam is a motif which is depicted or presumed in Jewish texts from the first century C.E. (e.g., the Adam Books, 2 *Enoch*). Altmann wrote his article at a time when many scholars assumed that Gnosticism antedated the Common Era, and that certain first century Jewish motifs could be traced back to Gnostic sources. At present most scholars view this assumption as untenable.

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וגלגל חמה נברא להשמישן של בריות
לא כל שכן יהי חפוח עקיבו של אדם הראשון מכהה: גלגל חמה
קלסתר פניו על אחת כמה וכמה

A. Another comment on the verse: *Who is wise enough for all this? [Who knows the meaning of anything? Wisdom lights up a man's face, and the strength of his face is changed]* (Qoh 8:1):
B. *Who is wise enough for all this*: this speaks of the first Man.
C. For it is written, *You seal most accurate, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty* (Ez. 28:12).[30]
D. *And who knows the meaning of anything*: for he explained the names of every creature: *And Man assigned names* (Gen. 2:20).
E. *Wisdom lights up a man's face*:
F. R. Levi in the name of R. Simeon b. Menassia: "The round part of the first Man's heal outshone the orb of the sun.
G. "And do not find that fact surprising, for in ordinary practice a person makes for himself two salvers, one for himself and one for a member of his household. Which of the two is finer? Is it not his own?
H. "So the first Man was created for the service of the Holy One, blessed be He, while the orb of the sun was created only for the service of the created world.
I. "Is it not an argument *a fortiori* that the round part of the first Man's heal outshone the orb of the sun.
J. "And the countenance of his face all the more so!" (*Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 4:4)

Just as Adam's wisdom is superior to that of the heavenly attendants of God, so his face is more radiant than the heavenly orb of the sun. According to another set of midrashic traditions, the brilliant light of Adam's face is forfeited as a result of his sin. This is given biblical support by citing Ps 49:13, ואדם ביקר בל-ילין, which is interpreted as meaning, "Adam did not remain in his glory" (*Pesiq. R.* 23:6). It is significant that Ps 49:13 is sometimes paraphrased by the Rabbis with

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[30]This quote from Ezek 28 is significant. It shows that the glorious figure of Ezek 28:12-14 was understood in rabbinic circles to be Adam. This figure is distinguished both for his wisdom and for his beautiful appearance (יפי). The latter is highlighted by the glistening gems which cover his body (the same gems which were fastened to the breast-piece of the High Priest). As we will see, the connection between Adam's wisdom and his glory recurs in both Jewish and Gnostic texts, and must be traceable in part to the influence of Ezek 28.

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the word כבוד replacing יקר as the designation for the brightness of Adam's countenance (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 11:2, 21:5). In rabbinic Judaism, as in many other currents of ancient Judaism, כבוד was the preferred term for describing Adam's pristine splendor.[31]

Given this fact, and given the application of Ps 8 to Adam, one would expect that Ps 8:6 (וכבוד והדר תעטרהו, "You crowned him with glory and honor") would be used to depict the radiance of Adam's appearance. In fact, one would even assume that Ps 8:6 was the primary reason for choosing the word כבוד to characterize this radiance, since it is the only biblical text dealing with the creation of "Man" which employs this term. It is therefore surprising to find that this verse is not explicitly used in this way in the rabbinic literature.[32] However, there are clear indications that it had been so understood.

One sign that Ps 8:6 was understood to speak of Adam's glorious countenance is the way the verse is used in regard to Moses. In a midrash which applies the phrases of Ps 8:5-9 to various heroes in Israel's history, vs 6b is understood as follows:

> וכבוד והדר תעטרהו, זה משה,
> שנאמר ומשה לא ידע כי קרן עור פניו
>
> In saying, *And crownest him with glory and honor*, they [i.e., the angels] were referring to Moses, of whom it is written, *Moses knew not that the skin of his face sent forth beams by reason of his speaking with him* [i.e., God]. (Ex. 34:29). (*Midr. Teh.* 8:7)[33]

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[31]The special "glory" of Adam was a commonplace of ancient Jewish thought (1QS 4:23; CD 3:20; 1QH 17:15; 2 *Enoch* 30:11; *Apoc. Mos.* 20-21; *Testament of Abraham* 11:8-9 [Recension A]; *Sirach* 49:16 [תפארת]). On the Qumran texts, see Chapter IV, 106-11.

[32]At least, I have not been able to find such a use.

[33]The Hebrew text is from S. Buber, *Midrasch Tehillim* (Wilna, 1891; repr. Jerusalem, 1966), and the translation is from W. G. Braude, *The Midrash*

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In another midrash the glory of Moses' face is contrasted with the glory of Adam.

> מהו ואת עליתם על כולנה מדבר במשה על שנתעלה יותר מן הכל
> כיצד אדם הראשון אומר למשה אני גדול ממך שנבראתי בצלמו של הקב"ה
> מנין שנא' ויברא אלהים את האדם בצלמו
> א" משה אני נתעליתי יותר ממך אתה כבוד שניתן לך ניטל ממך
> שנא' ואדם ביקר בל ילין
> אבל אני זיו הפנים שנתן לי הקב"ה עמי הוא
> מנין שנא' ולא כהתה עינו ולא נס לחה
>
> What is the meaning of, *but thou excellest them all* (Prov 31:29)? This refers to Moses who was far superior to all. How? Adam said to Moses: 'I am greater than you because I have been created in the image of God.' Whence this? For it is said, *And God created man* [Adam] *in His own image* (Gen 1:27). Moses replied to him: 'I am far superior to you, for the honor [כבוד] which was given to you has been taken away from you, as it is said, *But man* [Adam] *abideth not in honor* (Psalm 49:13); but as for me, the radiant countenance which God gave me still remains with me.' Whence? For it is said, *His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated* (Deuteronomy 34:7). (*Deut. Rab.* 11:3)[34]

This midrash seems to equate the divine image in Adam with his glorious appearance. The brilliant light of Moses' face is then seen as superior to the glory of Adam, for Moses' glory endured. From these two midrashic traditions, we can conclude the following: 1) It is likely that Ps 8:6b was applied to Moses as a second Adam, whose glory was superior to Adam's insofar as Moses did not sin and therefore did not forfeit his glory; 2) Ps 8:6b was probably applied first to Adam, and then to Moses; 3) When applied to Adam, Ps 8:6b was understood to be equivalent to Gen 1:27 -- the divine glory with which he was crowned was in fact the divine image.[35]

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on Psalms, Vol 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959).

[34]The Hebrew text is from *Midrash Rabbah* (Wilna, 1887); the English translation is that of J. Rabbinowitz, *Midrash Rabbah: Deuteronomy* (New York: Soncino, 1983).

[35]However, the lateness of the texts in which these traditions are found

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It is noteworthy that Ps 8:6a is also applied to Moses in the rabbinic literature. In fact, the words are interpreted as speaking of Moses' wisdom:

> חכם רב ושמואל דאמרי תרוייהו חמשים שערי בינה נבראו בעולם
> וכולם נתנו למשה חסר אחת שנאמר והחסרהו מעט מאלהים.
>
> Wise: for Rab and Samuel both said, Fifty gates of understanding were created in the world, and all but one was given to Moses, for it is said, *For thou has made him a little lower than God.* (*b. Ned.* 38b)

As seen above, Adam's wisdom was thought of as related to his glorious appearance. It is probable that this application of Ps 8:6a to Moses is also based on its previous application to Adam and his wisdom, and that the interpretation of 6a (referring to Adam's wisdom, which was only a little less than God's) was understood in connection with 6b (referring to Adam's radiant appearance as the image of God). In addition, this talmudic text clearly points to an understanding of אלהים in vs 6a as meaning God rather than angels, for the wisdom of Moses, like that of Adam, was held to be greater than that of the angels.[36]

Another sign of the use of Ps 8:6b to refer to Adam's glorious appearance is found in the Peshitta's rendering of the verse: the verb עטר is translated as "clothe" rather than "crown" ("You clothed him with glory and honor").[37] This is certainly an allusion to the light-garment

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should be acknowledged. On the relationship between "glory" and "image" in rabbinic tradition, see J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen.* 1.26 *f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960) 96-119.

[36]On the superiority of Moses to the angels, see Chapter V, 157-69.

[37]A. D. De Conick and J. Fossum, "Stripped Before God: A New Interpretation of Logion 37 in the Gospel of Thomas," *VG* 45 (1991) 141, n. 9; G. Anderson, 11-12. See also G. M. Lamsa's English translation of the Peshitta, *Holy Bible From the Ancient Eastern Text* (A. J. Holman, 1933; repr., San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1968).

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which Adam wore in the garden. Gen 3:21, which speaks of how God clothed Adam and Eve with "garments of skin" (ויעש יהוה אלהים לאדם ולאשתו כתנות עור וילבשם), is interpreted in *Gen. Rab.* 20:12 as speaking of "garments of light" (reading אור rather than עור), and is thus seen as a description of their attire <u>before</u> their eating from the tree.[38] The antiquity of this tradition is supported by *Targum Neofiti*, which renders Gen 3:21 in a similar way (ועבד ייי אלהים לאדם ולאתתיה לבושין דאוקר, "And the Lord God made clothes of glory for Adam and for his wife").[39] The motif of Adam's garments of glory was taken up by the Syriac tradition and became a popular theme. It is therefore highly likely that the Peshitta's version of Ps 8:6b reflects an antecedent rabbinic midrash or targum.

Though we cannot offer definitive proof, the evidence points clearly to a rabbinic understanding of Ps 8:b as speaking of the glorious appearance of Adam.

<u>"All Things Under His Feet"</u>

We mentioned above the possibility that Ps 8 was used in rabbinic tradition not only to portray the superiority of Adam to the angels but also his direct authority over them. There are rabbinic texts which go so far as to describe the angels as worshiping Adam on the basis of the divine image within him, though such texts have an obvious polemical intent:

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[38]See again De Conick and Fossum, 141, n. 9.

[39]A. D. Macho, *Neophyti* 1, *Tomo* I (Madrid: Consejo Superior De Investigaciones Cientificas, 1968).

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א"ר הושעיא בשעה שברא הקב"ה אדם הראשון
טעו בו מה"ש ובקשו לומר לפניו קדוש
משל למלך ואיפרכוס שהיו בקרונין
והיו בני המדינה מבקשין לומר למלך דומינו
ולא היו יודעין איזהו מה עשה המלך
דחפו והוציאו חוץ לקרונין וידעו הכל שהוא איפרכוס
כך בשעה שברא הקב"ה את אדם הראשון
טעו בו מה"ש ובקשו לומר לפניו קדוש מה עשה הקב"ה
הפיל עליו תרדמה וידעו הכל שהוא אדם
הה"ד חדלו לכם מן האדם אשר נשמה באפו כי במה נחשב הוא

A. Said R. Hoshiah, "When the Holy One, blessed be he, came to create the first man, the ministering angels mistook him [for God, since man was in God's image,] and wanted to say before him, 'Holy, [holy, holy is the Lord of hosts].'
B. "To what may the matter be compared? To the case of a king and a governor who were set in a chariot, and the provincials wanted to greet the king, 'Sovereign!' But they did not know which one of them was which. What did the king do? He turned the governor out and put him away from the chariot, so that people would know who was king.[40]
C. "So too when the Holy One, blessed be he, created the first man, the angels mistook him [for God]. What did the Holy One, blessed be he, do? He put him to sleep, so everyone knew that he was a mere man.
D. "That is in line with the following verse of Scripture: 'Cease you from man, in whose nostrils is a breath, for how little is he to be accounted' (Is. 2:22)."[41]

This midrash opposes a tradition which is seen as going too far in its glorification of Adam. As we will soon see, the rejected position did exist in some Jewish circles in the first-century of the common era. This tradition was probably espoused also in early rabbinic circles, for a corresponding rabbinic midrash concerning the angelic worship of the righteous in the world to come is also found, but now the practice is acceptable to God.

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[40] וידעו את המלך, "[so that people] would recognize the king."

[41] *Gen. Rab.* 8:10. The Hebrew text is from *Midrash Rabbah* (Wilna, 1887); the English translation is from J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* I (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 82-83. See *Abot d'Rabbi Nathan* 18a for another text which speaks in a polemical manner about the desire of the ministering angels to worship Adam.

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ואמר רבה א"ר יוחנן עתידין צדיקים שנקראין על שמו של הקב"ה שנאמר
כל הנקרא בשמי ולכבודי בראתיו יצרתיו אף עשיתיו...
א"ר אלעזר עתידין צדיקים שאומרים לפניהן קדוש
כדרך שאומרים לפני הקב"ה שנאמר
והיה הנשאר בציון והנותר בירושלים קדוש יאמר לו

> Rabbah in the name of R. Johanan further stated: The righteous will in time to come be called by the name of the Holy One, blessed be He; for it is said: *Every one that is called by My name, and whom I have created for My glory, I have formed him, yea, I have made him* [Isa 43:7]...
> R. Eleazar said: There will come a time when "Holy" will be said before the righteous as it is said before the Holy One, blessed be He for it is said: *And it shall come to pass, that he that is left in Zion and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called Holy* [Isa 4:3].[42]

Apparently the developing rabbinic movement saw greater dangers in the teaching that Adam was worshiped than in the teaching that the righteous would be worshiped, and they thus excluded the former view while allowing the later to remain. At an earlier period, before Gnosticism and Christianity were seen as potent threats, some rabbinic teachers apparently also glorified the First Man to the point of positing him as an object of angelic worship.[43]

In the light of all this, let us examine Ps 8:4-7 as a unit:

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[42] *Baba Bathra* 75b. Hebrew text and English translation are from I. Slotki, *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, Baba Bathra* (London: Soncino, 1976).

[43] Morton Smith sees signs of this earlier view "In a later passage in the Tanhuma (Ed. Buber, in the supplement to Shalah, 39a) and in the condensation in Bereshit Rabbati (Ed. Albek, p. 19)" where "this potential divinity and predicted worship are presented as the direct consequences of man's being the image of God." Smith asserts that in the early rabbinic period "the rabbinic tradition sometimes went to the extreme of anthropomorphism" and "took the likeness [to God] as proof of the potential perfection of man and taught that Adam before the fall and the righteous in the world to come realized this perfection and were rightly, therefore, to be worshiped by the angels." Smith sees the opposition to this notion as a later development in rabbinic circles. See "The Image of God," *BJRL* 40 (1958) 477-79.

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[4]When I look at your heavens, the works of your fingers,
the moon and stars which you have established,
[5][I ask] What is Man, that you are attentive to him,
the Son of Man, that you take concern for him?
[6]Yet you have caused him to be only a little less than God,
crowning him with glory and honor.
[7]You have made him the ruler over the works of your hands,
placing all things under his feet.

In the rabbinic interpretation, these words are spoken by angels who are envious of Adam, the "Man" of vs 5, for God has favored him by granting him dominion over the entire world. Vs 6 is understood as a reference to Adam's nearly divine wisdom and glory, both of which are expressions of the divine image which he bears, an image which evokes worship from the angels (or at least from some of the angels). Given this kind of exegesis, how would vs 7 have been read? Would it have been seen merely as affirming Adam's authority over the animals listed in vss 8-9, or would it have been interpreted as applying also to the heavenly realm and to Adam's dominion over the angels?

From the basic approach to the psalm which we have already seen, one would think that the latter view of vs 7 would be adopted. As in vs 6 and its application to Adam's glory, we have no explicit evidence to support that such a view in fact was taken by the rabbis. Once again, however, we do find traces of such an interpretation.

One trace is found in the midrash in which Ps 8:4-9 is read as referring to various figures in the history of Israel. Ps 8:7a is seen as speaking of Joshua:

> והמשילהו במעשי ידיך זה יהושע שהדמים המאורות
> שנאמר שמש בגבעון דום וירח בעמק אילון
> וכתיב וידום השמש וירח עמד

> In saying, *You have made him the ruler over the works of your hands*, they [i.e., the angels] were speaking of Joshua, who caused the heavenly lights to stand still by saying: *Sun, stand still upon Gibeon; moon, stand still in the valley of Aijalon*

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> (Josh 10:12), as it is written, *The sun stood still, and the moon remained in place* (Josh 10:13). (*Mid. Teh.* 8:7)

Why does the midrash interpret Ps 8:7a in this way? The answer must lie in the similar wording found in vss 4a and 7a. Vs 4a characterizes "the heavens" as "the works of your fingers" (מעשי אצבעותיך); therefore, "the works of your hands" (מעשי ידיך) in vs 7a are understood in the same manner. Joshua's authority over the heavenly bodies is an expression of the dominion promised in Ps 8:7a. Given the overall exegesis of this psalm in rabbinic tradition in terms of Adam and his relationship to the angels, it is probable that this view of vs 7a was based on a previous interpretation which applied the verse to Adam and his authority over the heavenly bodies -- understood both as the luminaries and the angels with which they were associated.[44]

Other traces of this interpretation of Ps 8:7 are found in polemical comments which oppose it. For example, Sa'adya Gaon explicitly denies that Ps 8:7 can be read in this way.

> *And You have made him to rule over all those from among your creatures which You have subjected under his feet*...I did not render "You have made him to rule over your creatures" in a general way, because the greater celestial sphere and what is therein is included in God's works, and [yet] man is not ruling over it. Therefore I rendered it as specific.[45]

The dominant Jewish position on Ps 8 in Sa'adya's time was that אלהים in vs 6a referred to the angels, and that the psalm taught that Man was

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[44]Anderson offers the same hypothesis concerning the interpretation of vs 7b: if it were read in the light of 4a, it could easily lead to the conclusion that the angelic powers were subjected to Adam (16). However, he does not note the related interpretation in *Mid. Teh.* 8:7 and the support it provides for the hypothesis.

[45]This translation is from an article by S. Stroumsa, "'What is Man': Psalm 8:4-5 in Jewish, Christian and Muslim Exegesis in Arabic," *Henoch* 14 (1992) 289.

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inferior to the heavenly beings.[46] In his commentary on Ps 8, Qimhi makes the same point as Sa'adya -- that human dominion does not include the heavenly beings or things (העליונים).[47] The position which Sa'adya and Qimhi seek to refute must have been known to them, and, from what we have already seen, they probably knew it as a Jewish tradition and not merely as a Christian one.

At a much earlier period Philo appears to have taken the same position as Sa'adya, and probably from similar polemical concerns.

> On this account too the Father, when he had brought him into existence as a living being naturally adapted for sovereignty, not only in fact but by express mandate appointed him king of all creatures under the moon, those that move on land and swim in the sea and fly in the air. For all things mortal in the three elements of land and water and air did He make subject to men (πάντα ὑπέταττεν αὐτῷ), but exempted the heavenly beings (τὰ κατ᾽ οὐρανόν) as having obtained a portion more divine.[48]

The phrase πάντα ὑπέταττεν must be drawn from the Septuagint of Ps 8:7 -- πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ -- for this verb is not found in the Genesis narrative.[49] Philo, like Sa'adya, wants to make it clear that the "all things" of this verse does not include "the heavenly beings," which likely refers both to the stars and to the angels (see *De*

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[46]As rabbinic Judaism developed the tendency was also to read צלם אלהים in Gen 1:27-27 as meaning "the likeness of the angels" rather than "the likeness of God." "In contrast with this later opposition, the early interpretations of Gen. i.26f and ix.6 show no significant concern to palliate or refute these statements that man is the image of God" (M. Smith, "Image of God," 474-80).

[47]Anderson, 16, n. 33.

[48]*De Opificio* 84. The Greek text and English translation are from F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, *Philo. Vol. I.* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949 [repr. from 1929]).

[49]This has been recognized by G. W. Buchanan, *To the Hebrews* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972) 28, and Anderson, 16, n. 33.

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Opificio 143-4). This interpretation accords well with the Septuagint of Ps 8:6a -- ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ᾽ ἀγγέλους -- and also with Philo's cosmology and anthropology. Might it also be a polemic against those who hold the opposite interpretation of Ps 8:7? In light of the similar assertions found later in Sa'adya and Qimhi, and the rabbinic texts which reflect both a glorification of Adam and a subsequent retreat from what was seen as an extreme form of it -- the angelic worship of Adam -- this conclusion seems probable.

The material to be studied in the remainder of this chapter will provide further support for this conclusion. Both the Adam Books and the Gnostic texts display such an interpretation of Ps 8:7. Its place in these traditions, along with its important use in the New Testament, may account for its conspicuous absence in the extant rabbinic literature.

The glory of Adam, the subjection of the angels to him, and the resultant jealousy of a hostile power (in this case, the serpent) are all combined in a talmudic tradition ascribed in one text to Rabbi Judah ben Bathyra[50] (*Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan* 17b) and in another to Rabbi Judah ben Tema[51] (*b.Sanhedrin* 59b).

> אדם הראשון היה מיסב בגן עדן
> והיו מלאכי השרת עומדין בגן עדן לקראתו
> וצולין לו בשר ומצננין לו יין
> בא נחש וראה אותו והציץ בכבודו ונתקנא בו

> Adam, the first man, was reclining in the Garden of Eden with ministering angels at his service roasting meat and cooling

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[50]A Tanna of the first century.

[51]A Tanna of the third century.

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> wine for him. Then the serpent came and, seeing him in all his glory, at once grew envious of him.[52]

In *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* and in the Adam Books, the serpent is the instrument of the envious prince of the angels, who hates Adam because of the exalted position granted him by God.[53] He is unwilling to serve as one of Adam's attendants. Therefore, he complains to God by saying, "What is Man, that you give him such a position of honor?" However, ultimately his antagonism will be of no avail, for God "has placed all things under his [Adam's] feet."

The Adam Books

These rabbinic traditions of exegesis of Ps 8 are interesting in themselves. However, for one whose task is to study Jewish thought in the first century C.E. and before, they can only be useful if parallel traditions are found in older texts or in texts from a similar date but an antagonistic ideological milieu. We will look at the New Testament parallels in Chapter VI. In our next two sections of the present chapter we will look at two other bodies of literature which support the antiquity of the rabbinic traditions and also illumine certain features of their development.

As we have seen, A. Altmann argues that the motif of the enmity of the angels against Adam as found in the rabbinic interpretation of Ps 8

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[52] *Aboth D'Rabbi Nathan.* The Hebrew text and English translation are from E. Cashdan, in *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Minor Tractates*, (London: Soncino, 1984).

[53] "Die Schlange kann im rabbinischen Judentum auch mit dem Engel Samael identifiziert werden, der seinerseits häufig mit Satan und dem Todesengel gleichgesetzt wird" (P. Schäfer, "Adam in der jüdischen Überlieferung," *Vom alten zum neuen Adam* [Freiburg: Herder, 1986] 78).

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is a remnant of an older Jewish tradition in which Satan resents the creation and exaltation of Adam. This tradition has an early witness in the Adam Books, which are now extant in five versions. These five texts probably derive from a Jewish original of the first or early second century C.E.[54] The story of Satan's fall is found in the Latin, Armenian, and Georgian versions, but according to M. E. Stone it is also presumed in the Greek text.[55]

The Latin version presents the story in this way:

> Et ingemescens diabolus dixit: O Adam, tota inimicitia mea et invidia et dolor ad te est, quoniam propter te expulsus sum et alienatus de gloria mea, quam habui in caelis in medio angelorum, et propter te eiectus sum in terram...quando insufflavit deus spiritum vitae in te et factus est vultus et similitudo tua ad imaginem dei, et adduxit te Michahel et fecit te adorare in conspectu dei, et dixit dominus deus: ecce Adam, feci te ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram...Et ipse Michahel primus adoravit, et vocavit me et dixit: adora imaginem dei Jehova. Et respondo ego: non habeo ego adorare Adam...non adorabo deteriorem et posteriorem meum. in creatura illius prius sum. antequam ille fieret, ego iam factus eram. ille me debet adorare. Hoc audientes ceteri qui sub me erant

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[54]The date, provenance, and original language of these books and the nature of their interrelationship are much disputed among scholars. M. E. Stone (*A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992] 53-61) is exceedingly cautious, agreeing with H. F. D. Sparks (*The Apocryphal Old Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) that "the Adam book was written most probably in the first to third centuries C.E. in Greek using extant Jewish traditions" and that "it is unknown whether the book was written by a Jew or a Christian" (58). G. W. E. Nickelsburg ("Stories of Biblical and Early Post-Biblical Times," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* [ed. M. Stone; CRINT; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984] 110-118) shows similar caution. However, those who use the ideas of the book in order to arrive at a probable date and provenance (a method which Stone sees as "methodologically suspect," 56-7) note its similarities to 2 *Enoch*, 4 *Ezra*, 2 *Baruch*, and the Pauline corpus, and arrive thereby at a first or second century dating (For example, Schürer-Vermes-Millar, *The History of the Jewish People in the age of Jesus Christ, Vol.* III.2 [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987] 757-59; M. D. Johnson,"Life of Adam and Eve," *OTP* [Garden City: Doubleday, 1985] 249-257.) Stone's caution seems to me excessive.

[55]"The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on *The Books of Adam and Eve*," *JTS* 44 (1993) 153-156.

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angeli noluerunt adorare eum...Et iratus est mihi dominus deus et misit me cum angelis meis foras de gloria nostra, et per tuam causam in hunc mundam expulsi sumus de habitationibus nostris et proiecti sumus in terram. Et statim facti sumus in dolore, quoniam expoliati sumus tanta gloria, et te in tanta laetitia delitiarum videre dolebamus. Et dolo circumveniebam mulierem tuam et feci te expelli per eam de delitiis laetitiae tuae, sicut ego expulsus sum de gloria mea. Haec audiens Adam a diabolo exclamavit cum magno fletu et dixit: domine deus meus, in manibus tuis est vita mea fac ut iste adversarius meus longe sit a me, qui quaerit animam meam perdere, et da mihi gloriam eius, quam ipse perdidit.

And the devil sighed and said, "O Adam, all my enmity and envy and sorrow concern you, since because of you I am expelled and deprived of my glory which I had in the heavens in the midst of angels, and because of you I was cast out onto the earth...When God blew into you the *breath of life* and your countenance and likeness were made *in the image of God*, Michael brought you and made (us) worship you in the sight of God, and the LORD God said, 'Behold Adam! I have made you in our image and likeness.'...And Michael himself worshiped first, and called me and said, 'Worship the image of God, Yahweh.' And I answered, 'I do not worship Adam...I will not worship one inferior and subsequent to me. I am prior to him in creation; before he was made, I was already made. He ought to worship me.' When they heard this, other angels who were under me refused to worship him...And the LORD God was angry with me and sent me with my angels out from our glory; and because of you, we were expelled into this world from our dwellings and have been cast onto the earth. And immediately we were made to grieve, since we had been deprived of so great glory. And we were pained to see you in such bliss of delights. So with deceit I assailed your wife and made you to be expelled through her from the joys of your bliss, as I have been expelled from my glory." Hearing this from the devil, Adam cried out with great weeping and said, "O LORD, my God, my life is in your hands. Remove me from this my opponent, who seeks to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself has forfeited."[56]

There are numerous parallels between this story and the motif of the angelic complaint in the rabbinic literature. The drama begins with the creation of Adam in the divine image. God's intention is to install him in a position superior to the angels. All of the angels are commanded

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[56] *Vita* 12-17. All quotes from The Latin text of the *Vita Adae* and the Greek text of the *Apocalypse of Moses* are from G. A. Anderson and M. E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994). The English translations of these books are from M. D. Johnson in *OTP* 2.

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to worship Adam, because he is the image of God (this recalls the midrash in which the angels spontaneously worship Adam because of the divine image which he bears). One of the angels rejects this summons, and complains about the exaltation of this newcomer. His motivation is said to be envy. In response, this angel and his followers are cast from heaven to earth.

One also finds in the Adam Books the motif of Adam and Eve being clothed with glory, which clothing they lose after their sin. However, at least in the form of the tradition represented by the extant Greek text, this glory is identified not as a physical splendor but instead as a moral perfection.[57]

> Καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἠνεῴχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου καὶ ἔγνων ὅτι γυμνὴ ἦμην τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἧς ἦμην ἐνδεδυμένη. Καὶ ἔκλαυσα λέγουσα· Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας ὅτι ἀπηλλοτριώθην ἐκ τῆς δόξης μου ἧς ἦμην ἐνδεδυμένη;
>
> "And at that very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed. And I wept saying, 'Why have you done this to me, that I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed?'" (*Apoc. Mos.* 20)

This is a similar interpretation of Gen 3:21 to that seen in *Targum Neofiti* and *Gen. Rab.* 20:12. All three texts are also related to the Peshitta version of Ps 8:6b.

In a *tour de force*, G. Anderson turns Altmann's argument on its head, contending that the legend of Satan's fall found in the Adam Books is itself dependent on the type of exegesis of Ps 8 seen in the rabbinic

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[57]Rabbinic parallels for this understanding of the clothing of the first parents are found in *b. Shabb.* 14a, *b. Meg.* 32a, and *Gen. Rab.* 19:6. De Conick and Fossum see this as a "transferred sense," with the primary meaning of the garments of glory being physical (141, n. 8).

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writings.[58] Altmann thought that the midrashic use of the psalm was a secondary development, and thus he made no attempt to find signs of its presence in the Adam Books themselves.[59] In contrast, Anderson claims that the story of Satan's fall was linked with an interpretation of Ps 8 from an early date, and that this linkage can be discovered in the Adam books themselves. Anderson's article is of great importance for our study, and we must therefore examine it in some detail.

Anderson begins by comparing the story of Satan's fall in the Adam Books with three other "units of tradition": the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, the *Koran*, and *b. Sanh.* 38b. His abbreviated translation of the relevant section from the *Cave of Treasures* deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

> On the sixth day...God the Father said to the Son and Holy Spirit: "Come, Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness." When the heavenly host heard this voice they were afraid, saying to one another, "We will see an awesome sight today, the likeness of God our maker"...And God created him by his holy hands in his image and according to his likeness. When the angels saw his image and the glorious appearance of Adam, they trembled at the beauty of his likeness. The wild and domestic animals and birds were assembled and passed before Adam and he gave them their names. They bowed their heads and prostrated themselves before him. The angels heard the voice of God which said: "I have made you king...and I have made you ruler over all which I have created." [And when the heavenly host heard this voice, they all blessed him and prostrated themselves before him.] And when the chief of that lower order saw that great dominion had been given to Adam, he was envious of him from that day and did not wish to worship him with the angels, and said to his host: "Don't worship him or give him praise with the angels. It would be [more] proper that he worship me, for I am made of fire and spirit. I cannot worship dust which is made from soil."[60]

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[58] 11-12.

[59] Altmann, 382.

[60] 4-6.

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This text is significant, for it brings together in one narrative material found in rabbinic sources and the Adam books. The words of Gen 1:26 (addressed now to the Son and Spirit rather than to the angels), the centrality of the scene in which Adam names the animals, the spontaneous worship of Adam because of his glorious appearance, and the emphasis on the dominion given to Adam are all elements familiar to us from the rabbinic material. The importance of the divine image in Adam, the identity of Satan, and his refusal to worship Adam resemble what is seen in the Adam books. Either the *Cave of Treasures* has itself combined these traditions, or else it has preserved elements of an earlier stage in which both traditions were part of a single narrative.

For Anderson, the key feature of the story as told in the *Cave of Treasures* is that the rebellion of Satan occurs after the creation of Adam, at the point at which God is establishing him as the ruler of the world. This incident seems to be located at the name-giving scene.[61] This is important for Anderson, for he argues that in the earliest form of the midrash on Ps 8 the angelic complaint did not arise as a response to the words of Gen 1:26. The issue was not the creation of Adam in God's image and likeness, but his appointment as the lord of the created order, with the angelic powers subjected to him. In the Adam Books the angelic rebellion occurs at this point, not before the creation of Adam. This is also the case in the *Cave of Treasures*.

Why is this significant? Anderson's reasoning is based on the

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[61]"Yet one detail lends the *Cave of Treasures* tradition a degree of singularity. It does not place the prostration scene at the moment of Adam's animation (Gen 2:7) but rather at that time when the animals are paraded before him to receive their names (Gen 2:19-20). In other words, the moment of name-giving becomes the occasion for Adam's elevation as king over all creation" (7).

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wording of Ps 8:5. Is there something about this verse which served as a verbal trigger for early Jewish exegetes? Did the original midrash build upon some secondary meaning of a word, which is treated as primary? If his view of the occasion of the angelic complaint is correct -- that is, after rather than before the creation of Adam -- then it is possible that the word פקד is understood as meaning "appoint" rather than "attend to." Thus, Ps 8:5 would be read as "What is Adam, that you have appointed him to such an exalted position?"[62]

Anderson also sees in the Adam Books a creative interpretation of Ps 8:6a. He assumes that אלהים is understood to mean angels. How then can וחסרהו מעט מאלהים be reconciled with the subjection of the angels to Adam? The key words are those of Satan in his refusal to worship Adam:

> "I will not worship one inferior and subsequent to me. I am prior to him in creation; before he was made, I was already made. He ought to worship me."

Ps 8:6a is therefore understood to mean, "You have made him a little younger than the angels."[63]

Anderson presents various pieces of evidence to support his case.[64]

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[62]"Traditionally the verse has been translated: 'what is man...that you visit him?' Yet the verse, according to Biblical usage could also be rendered: 'What is (this) man that you appoint him!?' If we understood the term this way all the oddities of what we have seen in the evolution of Rabbinic sources would fall into place. The citation from verse 5 is no longer a vague *topos* alluding to angelic discontent; rather it discloses the very reason for this discontent" (37).

[63]34-35, 38-40.

[64]For example, he contends that his view of the original midrash on Ps 8 best explains how the angelic complaint was eventually extended to Moses and the giving of the Torah: "...if the consultation form of our Adam story was the most primitive, how could we account for this scene shifting to Sinai? Nowhere in these materials do we see God taking an inventory of angelic opinion ('shall I give the Torah to Israel?'). The

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Perhaps the most striking argument is based on 3 *Enoch*. Building on the work of M. Idel and M. E. Stone, Anderson shows how the figure of Enoch in the Enochian literature functions as a second Adam and draws from the traditions found in the Adam Books.[65] He then points to signs in 3 *Enoch* of the influence of the midrashic tradition dealing with Ps 8 and the angelic complaint. The parallels in 3 *Enoch* support the three main elements of his essential thesis. First, Enoch is exalted above the angels, who are subjected to him. This corresponds to the way Ps 8 was used in presenting Adam's authority over the angels. Second, he is appointed to rule in the heavenly sanctuary, and the word פקד is used to describe his installation.[66] Third, he is called נער, "lad," for he is younger than the angelic powers over whom he exercises authority, just as Adam was "a little younger than the angels."[67]

Anderson's argument is insightful and persuasive. His case would have been strengthened had he focused his attention on the rabbinic midrash which presents the angelic complaint and its relation to the

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Torah is to be given to Moses and that's that. Indeed it is the (very) arbitrariness of the gift that causes the angelic outrage. We would suggest that the emigration of this verse from the creation story to Sinai occurred during a time when both of the midrashim in question concerned an unexpected act of elevation" (25). However, if my interpretation of the consultation is correct (i.e., Gen 1:26 in its entirety is to be understood), then the consultation and the elevation are closely related. For reasons which will soon become clear, the emphasis on "arbitrariness" is, in the view of the present author, also misguided.

[65]M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990) 220-40; M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan," 146-48.

[66]*OTP* 48C, *Synopse* § 72. Anderson, 36.

[67]3:2, 4:1, 4:10; § 4, 5, 6.

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naming of the animals.[68] Unfortunately, like Altmann he looks instead at *b. Sanhedrin* 38b. Nevertheless, his basic contention -- that Ps 8 was employed in the Adam Books, and was understood to speak of Adam's exaltation above the angels -- is sound.

However, his insistence on the secondary and late nature of the connection between the midrash on Ps 8 and Gen 1:26 is exaggerated. There are several reasons for seeing this connection as integral to the developing tradition, or at least to a segment of that tradition. First, as we saw in our study of *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 4:3, Gen 1:26 in its entirety is in view when God is pictured as consulting with the angels, and therefore the issue from the beginning is Adam's role of government over the world. The elevation of Adam above the angels is the issue, regardless of whether the occasion of the complaint is the pre-creation consultation of Gen 1:26 or a post-creation enthronement. Second, the creation of Adam as the divine image is a central element in the tradition.[69] In the Adam Books it is the basis for the command to the angels instructing them to worship Adam. In the midrash which portrays the angels as spontaneously worshiping Adam, it is again the divine image which is of paramount importance. In the *Cave of Treasures* account, which combines these two traditions, the divine image retains

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[68]It is surprising that he neglects this midrash, for he stresses the importance of the name-giving in the account found in the *Cave of Treasures*.

[69]It is first stated that Adam is created "in the image of God" (ad imaginem dei). This phrase is drawn directly from Gen 1:27 (the Vulgate also renders בצלם אלהים as "ad imaginem dei"). However, when Adam is presented before the angels, he is called simply "the image of God" (adora imaginem dei Jehova). Thus, the underlying tradition seems to understand the preposition ב to mean "as" rather "according to." Adam is the image of God.

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its prominence. It is also highly likely that the tradition underlying Wis 2:23-24 is similar to that seen in the Adam Books:

> [23]ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ᾽ ἀφθαρσίᾳ
> καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἀϊδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν·
> [24]φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
> πειράζουσιν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὄντες.
>
> [23]For God created the Man for incorruption,
> and made him in the image of his own eternity,
> [24]but through the devil's envy death came into the world,
> and those who are of his party experience it.[70]

The envy of the Devil is mentioned here immediately after the divine image; as in the Adam Books, and as in the rabbinic literature, so also in the Wisdom of Solomon it is the creation of Adam in the image and likeness of God and the consequent position he inherits which stirs the envy and enmity of the highest ranking angel.[71] A third and final reason

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[70]The Greek text is from A. Rahlfs' edition of the *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935; repr. 1979). The English translation is mine.

[71]"Sehr explizit is der Verfasser der 'Sapientia Salomonis' nicht. Der Anlass zum Neid oder zur Missgunst wird hier nicht deutlich angegeben, aber im Blick auf den Gegensatz muss man wohl annehmen, dass 'das Bild seiner eigenen Ewigkeit' gemeint ist. Die meisten Ausleger sind der Meinung, dass dieser Neid effectiv geworden ist in der Verführung Evas" (W. C. van Unnik, "Der Neid in der Paradiesgeschichte nach einigen gnostischen Texten," in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhlig*, ed. M. Krause [Leiden: Brill, 1972] 130). C. L. Patton has pointed to Wis 2:23-24 as the closest parallel to the angelic envy of the Adam Books and its immediate result, the sin of Adam and Eve (C. L. Patton, "Adam as the Image of God: An Exploration of the Fall of Satan in the *Life of Adam and Eve*," *SBLSP* [1994] 296). As Patton notes, this text, like the Adam Books, "connects the creation of Adam in the image of God with the subsequent jealousy of the devil." Patton seems inclined to view the account in the Adam Books as an interpretation of the text in Wisdom; in this way the adoration-envy motif in the *Life of Adam and Eve* can be accounted for. However, it seems more likely that the allusive words of Wis 2:23-24 build upon an established tradition of interpreting Gen 3, and that this tradition underlies both the Wisdom text and the account in the Adam Books. Wis 2:24a clearly identifies the serpent with Satan, and also attributes to him a motive that is not evident in Gen 3, and yet this apparently novel reading of the story of the fall is presented only in passing as backdrop to the main point concerning death and immortality. The author must have counted on his

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for tempering Anderson's conclusion regarding Gen 1:26 will be evident in our treatment of the Gnostic texts, for the connection between Ps 8:5 and Gen 1:26 is also found in those writings.

At this point it is difficult to reconstruct the history of this exegetical tradition. Anderson may well be correct in his view that in the earliest stage of the tradition the angelic complaint was placed at Adam's coronation rather than before his creation. However, there are insufficient grounds for seeing this coronation as merely an act of election or appointment, independent of the divine image which Adam bears. The divine image is an integral element in the tradition from its earliest stages. It is possible that the rabbinic (and Gnostic) setting of the midrash before the creation derives from this centrality of the divine image in the exegetical tradition.

The importance of the divine image also calls into question Anderson's view of the early interpretation of Ps 8:6a, והחסרהו מעט מאלהים. Anderson does not question Altmann's opinion that "Ps 8.6 cannot have suggested the idea that is expounded in the above quoted Midrashim, since it is clear from all ancient translations (*Septuagint, Peshitta, Targum*) that the word '*Elohim*' in this verse was understood to mean angels."[72] In fact, this is not the case in <u>all</u> ancient translations: Symmachus, Aquila, Theodotion, and Jerome all translate אלהים in verse 6 as "God." The Adam books clearly understand אלהים in Gen 1:26 to mean "God," for it is the <u>divine</u> image in Adam which renders him a fit object of angelic worship. As Patton notes, if the tradition

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readers' pre-existing knowledge of a tradition similar to that found in the Adam Books.

[72] 382.

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underlying the Adam Books relied on the Hebrew text rather than the LXX, then Ps 8 "could be the biblical warrant for the interpretation of the fall of Satan."[73]

There are two further pieces of supporting evidence for the influence of Ps 8 on the Adam Books, both of which go unmentioned by Anderson. The first is provided by the story of the attack of the wild beast on Seth in the *Apocalypse of Moses* 10-12:

> Ἐπορεύθη δὲ Σὴθ καὶ ἡ Εὔα εἰς τὰ μέρη τοῦ παραδείσου. Καὶ πορευομένων αὐτῶν εἶδεν ἡ Εὔα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ θηρίον πολεμοῦντα αὐτόν...Καὶ εἶπε [Εὔα] πρὸς τὸ θηρίον· Ὦ θηρίον πονηρόν, οὐ φοβήσει τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ πολεμῆσαι αὐτὴν;...πῶς οὐκ ἐμνήσθης τῆς ὑποταγῆς σου ὅτι πρότερον ὑπετάγης τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θεοῦ; Τότε τὸ θηρίον ἐβόησε λέγων· Ὦ Εὔα, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ πλεονεξία σου οὔτε κλαυθμός, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σέ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν θηρίων ἐκ σοῦ ἐγένετο.
>
> And Seth and Eve went into the regions of Paradise. As they were going, Eve saw her son and a wild beast attacking him...And Eve cried out to the beast and said, "O you evil beast, do you not fear to attack the image of God?...How did you not remember your subjection, for you were once subjected to the image of God?"... Then the beast cried out, saying, "O Eve, neither your greed nor your weeping are due to us, but to you, since the rule of the beasts has happened because of you..." (*Apoc. Mos.* 10:1, 3; 11:1)

This text clearly shows the mark of Gen 1:26, which combines the notion of the divine image with that of the rule over the beasts. However, that rule is characterized by means of a term found not in Genesis, but in the Greek text of Ps 8:7: ὑποταγή. As we have already seen, Gen 1:26 and Ps 8:6-9 were commonly combined in early Jewish biblical exegesis. Such seems to be the case here. The important role of Seth, the son of Adam, in this story and throughout the Adam Books might also have been seen by the author as reflecting Ps 8:5's mention of בן-אדם beside

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[73]Patton, 298, n. 18.

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אדם.[74]

The second piece of supporting evidence is found not in the Adam Books themselves but in a text which was influenced by an early form of the tradition found in those books. The *Apocalypse of Sedrach* in its present form dates only from the tenth or eleventh century C.E., but the Jewish document which is at its core was composed sometime between 150-500, and the traditions underlying this document go back still further.[75] Chapters 5 and 6 of this apocalypse contain the following dialogue:

> Λέγει αὐτῷ Σεδράχ· Σοῦ θελήματος ἠπατήθη, δέσποτά μου, ὁ Ἀδάμ· σὺ ἐκέλευσας τοὺς ἀγγέλους σου τὸν Ἀδὰμ προσκυνεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ἀγγέλων παρήκουσέν σου τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ σὺ ἐξώρισας αὐτὸν, διότι παρέβη τὸ πρόσταγμα σου καὶ οὐ προσῆλθεν τῶν χειρῶν σου τὸ πλαστούργημα· ἐὰν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἠγάπησας, τὸν διάβολον διὰ τί οὐκ ἐφόνευσας τὸν τεχνίτην τῆς ἀδικίας;...
> Λέγει αὐτὸν ὁ θεός· Γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι ὅτι πάντα εὐδιάλλακτα ἐπέταξα αὐτόν· ἐποίησα αὐτὸν φρόνιμον καὶ κληρονόμον οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑπέταξα, καὶ πᾶν ζῷον φεύγει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τὰ ἐμὰ λαβὼν ἀλλότριος ἐγένετο μοιχαλὶς καὶ ἁμαρτωλός...
>
> Sedrach said to him [God], "It was by your will that Adam was deceived, my Master. You commanded your angels to worship Adam, but he who was first among the angels disobeyed your order and did not worship him; and so you banished him, because he transgressed your commandment and did not come forth (to worship) the creation of your hands. If you loved man, why did you not kill the devil, the artificer of all iniquity?..." And God said to him, "Be it known to you, that everything which I commanded man to do was within his reach. I made him wise and the heir of heaven and earth, and I subordinated everything under him and every living thing flees from him and from his face. Having received my gifts, however, he became an alien, an adulterer and sinner."[76]

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[74]As we will soon see, this may also be the case in Sethian Gnostic texts.

[75]S. Agourides, *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, *OTP* 1:606; J. H. Charlesworth, "Sedrach, Apocalypse of," *ABD* V:1066-67.

[76]The Greek text is from M. R. James, *Texts and Studies, Vol. II*, no. 3

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In the midst of a narrative which closely parallels the Adam Books, God says of Adam, "I subordinated everything under him" (πάντα αὐτῷ ὑπέταξα). Once again, we detect echoes of the LXX's rendering of Ps 8:7b, πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. The "all things" referred to here must include the angels, for Adam has been made "the heir of heaven and earth," and the angels were commanded to worship him. These echoes of Ps 8 may have been added by the author of *Sedrach.* However, given the many other parallels between the midrashic traditions concerning Ps 8 and the Adam Books, it seems more likely that *Sedrach* preserves material which derived originally from the fluid tradition which underlies the Adam Books.

The Adam Books thus provide important evidence regarding the interpretation of Ps 8 in some Jewish circles at the beginning of the Common Era and before. Together with the rabbinic materials, to which they are related, they demonstrate how Ps 8 was used to portray the divine glory and cosmic rule of Adam and the angelic envy which his exalted stature provoked. They also substantiate the early dating of the traditions underlying the rabbinic motif of the angelic complaint and its connection to Ps 8.

Gnostic Literature

Poimandres

As we stated above, Altmann's contention that the traditions reflected in the Adam Books and the rabbinic interpretation of Ps 8 have a Gnostic background is unlikely. The relationship seems to be the

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893), and the English translation is that of S. Agourides in *OTP* 1.

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reverse -- what we know as Gnosticism in the second century seems to derive largely from ancient Jewish speculations about Satan, the angels, "Man," creation, and the origins and nature of evil.[77] This relationship is illustrated by the dependence of the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Adam* in the Nag Hammadi library on the traditions seen in the Adam Books.[78] This work, like the Adam Books, utilizes the testamentary genre, highlights the role of Seth, son of Adam, depicts Adam and Eve as superior to the angels (1:3) -- at least to the one who created them, who corresponds to Satan in the Adam Books -- and describes the δόξα which Adam lost (1:2, 5, 6).[79]

The exalted, heavenly status of "Man" is an essential feature of

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[77]The thesis that Gnosticsm has its origins in Judaism was advocated vigorously by G. Quispel ("Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 [1953, i.e., 1954] 195-234) in the years immediately following the Nag Hammadi discoveries. It has been taken up and further supported by many recent scholars, especially B. Pearson (see, for example, "The Problem of 'Jewish Gnostic' Literature," *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity* [ed. C. W. Hedrick; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1986] 15-35, and *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990]), and is simply assumed by many others (see, for example, K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* [San Francisco: Harper, 1987] 277-282). The Jewish roots of the Gnostic motif of the envy/jealousy of the demiurge are traced by K. Beyschlag, *Clemens Romanus und der Frükatholizismus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966) 48-67, and W. C. van Unnik, 120-32.

[78]See P. Perkins, "Apocalypse of Adam: The Genre and Function of a Gnostic Apocalypse," *CBQ* 39 (1977) 382-95; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Some Related Traditions in the Apocalypse of Adam, The Books of Adam and Eve, and 1 Enoch," *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, Vol. II* (ed. B. Layton; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 515-539. G. Macrae notes that "Its real importance lies in the absence of any unmistakably Christian influences in its depiction of the Illuminator of knowledge, opening up the possibility that the work reflects a transition from some form of apocalyptic Judaism to Gnosticism," *OTP* I:708.

[79]"The Creator [in the *Apocalypse of Adam*] acts against Adam and Eve out of jealous wrath, in a manner quite reminiscent of the devil in *Adam and Eve*, banished from heaven because of his refusal to worship the newly-created Adam" (B. Pearson, "Problem," 29).

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Gnosticism, and constitutes "an entirely new conception of anthropology."[80] However, this "entirely new conception" seems to be rooted in Jewish ideas which existed before the full-fledged development of Gnosticism.[81] These early Jewish speculations focused on the divine image in "Man," and concluded from Gen 1:26 that "Man" was greater than the angelic powers.[82] The Gnostics, believing that matter was evil and that the creator of matter was an evil god, inferior to the highest God, developed this Jewish speculation by asserting that "Man" was greater than the creator god himself, for he was made in the image of the highest God.[83]

An early development of these Jewish ideas in a Gnostic direction is

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[80]K. Rudolph, 93.

[81]Of course, these Jewish ideas also must be related to currents of thought outside the Jewish sphere. Nevertheless, it was the Jewish version of such currents which directly shaped the development of Gnosticism.

[82]They also concluded from this verse that God himself was a heavenly Man (H.-M. Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962] 36-37, 47-48, 64). Such a conclusion about the humanity of God was apparently also based on speculations concerning the biblical figure of the anthropomorphic Angel of the Lord (A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* [Leiden: Brill, 1977] 265-66; J. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1985]). According to G. Quispel, the most crucial anthropomorphic desciption of God for the development of Gnosticism was the merkavah vision of Ezek 1:26 ("Ezek 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34 [1980] 1-13; see also J. Fossum, "Jewish-Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism," *VC* 37 [1983] 260-287). As O. Procksch pointed out, the portrayal of God in Ezek 1:26 as דמות כמראה אדם is "die Umkehrung zum Gendanken der Priesterschaft, dass der Mensch בצלם אלהים geschaffen ist" ("Die Berufungsvision Hesekiels," *BZAW* 34 [1920] 148).

[83]Rudolph, 92-93. In Manichaeism the role of the good and evil powers in the process of creating the world is more complicated. However, the Manichaens also held that the material component of the world derives from the demonic realm (L. Koenen, "How Dualistic is Mani's Dualism?" *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis*, ed. L. Cirillo [Cosenza: Marra, 1990] 13-19).

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seen in the Hermetic *Poimandres*. Nous, the highest God, gives birth first to "another demiurgic Nous" (ἀπεκύησε λόγῳ ἕτερον Νοῦν δημιουργόν), who then fashions seven "administrators" (ἐδημιούργησε διοκητάς τινας ἑπτά), who are the seven planets (9). The birth of "Man" is then (12) recounted as follows:

> ὁ δὲ πάντων πατὴρ ὁ Νοῦς, ὢν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς, ἀπεκύησεν Ἄνθρωπον αὐτῷ ἴσον, οὗ ἠράσθη ὡς ἰδίου τόκου· περικαλλὴς γάρ, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνα ἔχων· ὄντως γὰρ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐράσθη τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς, παρέδωκε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάντα δημιουργήματα.
>
> Nous, the Father of all things, who is Life and Light, gave birth to "Man," one like himself, whom he loved as his own child; for "Man" was of great beauty, since he bore the image of his Father, and God was in fact loving his own form. God gave to him all of the things which he had fashioned.[84]

The "Man" proceeds to observe those things which had been delivered to him, the works of the demiurge, who is "his brother," and conceives a desire to fashion his own works (13). He then enters his brother's sphere "having all authority" (ἔξων τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν), and this authority is recognized by his brother's "administrators," who "love him" (οἱ δὲ ἠράσθησαν αὐτοῦ) and give him a share in their own powers or nature (ἕκαστος δὲ μετεδίδου τῆς ἰδίας τάξεως).

Poimandres is not fully Gnostic in its doctrine, for the demiurge here is the brother of the "Man," and is not evil. However, it does resemble the Gnostic view of "Man" as a heavenly being, who must recover the "knowledge" of his heavenly origin.[85] Jewish influences on the

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[84]The Greek text is from A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugiere, *Corpus Hermeticum* (2d ed.; Paris: "Les Belles Letteres," 1960) 1.1-31. The English translations are my own.

[85]The heavenly Man of *Poimandres* may be derived from circles of Alexandrian Jews, who, like Philo, saw in the creation account of Gen 1 a picture of a heavenly Adam. The LXX version of Ezek 1:26 (ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁμοιώματος τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοίωμα ὡς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου ἄνωθεν) may reflect a

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anthropology of *Poimandres* are especially striking.[86] The emphasis on the divine image in "Man" reflects the speculations on Gen 1:26 current in the Jewish world of the first century and earlier. The connection made between bearing this divine image and "Man's" position as a divine son rather than a mere creature may itself be based on esoteric exegesis of Gen 5:3. The "authority" of "Man" over τὰ...πάντα δημιουργήματα is of course built on the narratives of Genesis, but may also be influenced in wording by Ps 8:7 (τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου, πάντα...).[87] C. H. Dodd also suggests a connection between the love and gifts given to "Man" by the "administrators" and "the Jewish idea that Adam before his fall was an object of worship to the angels."[88] It is at least clear that *Poimandres* is a development of the type of glorification of Adam seen in the Adam Books.[89]

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similar perspective as that of Philo, for it appears to conceive of Ezekiel's enthroned divine man as the Platonic idea of Man. It is worth noting that the heavenly Man of *Poimandres* embodies or possesses the image of the Father (τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνα ἔχων); he is not merely made "according to" that image. He is himself the Kavod of Ezek 1:26.

[86]C. H. Dodd argues for such an influence in his treatment of *Poimandres* in *The Bible and The Greeks* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935) 99-209. See also Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch,"* 46-48, and B. Pearson, *Gnosticism*, 136-147.

[87]Dodd, *The Bible*, 150.

[88]Dodd, *The Bible*, 156-7. An even closer parallel to this incident in *Poimandres* is found in the rabbinic descriptions of Moses' ascent to heaven and the gifts given him by the angels (see Chapter V, 160-61). However, this midrash may itself be dependent on earlier traditions dealing with Adam and the angels.

[89]Of course, this development takes place in interaction with many non-Jewish currents of thought. "It is, of course, important finally to acknowledge that we are not, after all, dealing with a Jewish text, but with a 'Hermetic' one. For all the obvious Jewish elements in the *Poimandres*, it is not a Jewish document" (Pearson, *Gnosticism*, 146).

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The Apocryphon of John

Of the Gnostic documents proper, that which is most important for our purposes is *the Apocryphon of John*. The document begins with a Christian introduction, portraying the author as the apostle John and the revealer as Christ. However, the main body of the work has few explicit Christian elements, and draws instead on esoteric Jewish speculations concerning the first chapters of Genesis. The book is therefore considered by most scholars to be non-Christian in origin, and to have been adapted later by Christian Gnostics.[90]

In its portrayal of creation, the *Apocryphon* begins with an elaborate presentation of divine emanations. The highest God, called "the Father" or "the Invisible Virginal Spirit," is beyond all description, and can be characterized only in negative terms: "He is not corporeal [nor] is he incorporeal. He is neither large [nor] is he small...He is not someone among (other) [beings, rather he is] far superior" (3:23-24, 27-28).[91] The first to come forth from him is

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[90]For examples, see H.-M. Schenke, "The Phenomenon and Significance of Gnostic Sethianism," in *Rediscovery*, 611-612; B. Pearson, "Problem," 19-25.

[91]The *Apocryphon* is extant in three different versions: CG III, 1 and BG, 2 are two independent Coptic translations of an original short Greek recension, whereas CG II, 1 and IV, 1 are both copies of a single Coptic translation of an original long Greek recension. All quotes from the text will be drawn from CG II, 1 unless otherwise noted. The key passages for our purposes are, however, found in both the long and the short recensions. All English translations of the *Apocryphon* are taken from F. Wisse's version in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (ed. J. M. Robinson; San Francisco: Harper, 1990) 105-123. The Coptic text of CG II, 1 consulted was that of Soren Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis* (Copenhagen: Prostant Apud Munksgaard, 1963). The Coptic text of BG found in W. Till, *Die Gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* (2d ed. rev. H.-M. Schenke; TU 60,2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972) was also consulted.

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Barbelo, who has many titles; the most common among them are "the Image {ⲑⲓⲕⲱⲛ}[92] of the Invisible Virginal Spirit," "the Mother-Father," and "the First Man" {ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ}. The Father looks at Barbelo with a spark of pure light, and she conceives and bears him a Son, who is called "the Only-Begotten of the Father," "the Pure Light," and most commonly "Christ" and "the Autogenes."[93] Through the word of the Invisible Spirit the Autogenes proceeds to create the remainder of the heavenly world, which includes twelve aeons. What follows should be quoted in full:

> And the invisible, virginal Spirit placed the divine Autogenes of truth over everything. And he subjected {ⲁϥⲣ̅ϩⲩⲡ[ⲟⲧⲁ]ⲥⲥⲉ}[94] to him every authority {ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲝⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ},[95] and the truth which is in him, that he may know the All which had been called with a name exalted above every name.[96] (7:22-29)

Then the Invisible Spirit, Barbelo, and the Autogenes together produce

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[92] εἰκών.

[93] The Greek word αὐτογενής, according to Liddell and Scott, means either "self-produced" or "sprung from the same stock, kindred." The latter definition is the one that best suits the context here, and must refer to the common nature shared by "the Only-Begotten," the Father, and Barbelo. Rudolph, however, translates the word as "self-begotten" (77). Regarding the tradition history of this figure, Schenke asserts that for the Sethians the divine Autogenes was "properly and originally the celestial Adam." Only in a later stage of the tradition was the Autogenes "combined with the Christian concept of the preexistence of Christ" ("Gnostic Sethianism," 609).

[94] ὑποτάσσειν.

[95] ἐξουσία.

[96] A similar text, with even stronger allusions to Ps 8, is found in Irenaeus, *Haer.* I, 29: "They also affirm that Autogenes was afterwards sent forth from Ennoea and Logos, to be a representation of the great light, and that he was greatly honored, all things being rendered subject unto him" (Post deinde de Ennoia et de Logo Autogenem emissum dicunt ad repraesentationem magni luminis, et valde honoriticatum dicunt, et omnia huic subiecta) (English translation from A. C. Coxe, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol 1 [1885; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985]).

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"the Perfect Man" {N̄PΩME N̄TEΛEIOC},[97] whom the Virginal Spirit calls Pigera-Adamas {Π̄Ī Γ̄Ē P̄Ā [A]ΔĀM̄Ā N̄},[98] and places over the first aeon. The son of Adamas, Seth, is then placed over the second aeon. At this point we have two heavenly beings called "Man" -- Barbelo and Adamas. We also have two heavenly sons of these "Men" -- the Autogenes and Seth. Adamas and Seth thus mirror on a lower heavenly plane what Barbelo and the Autogenes represent on the higher level.

The creation of the earthly "Man" and his son follow upon a catastrophe in the upper world. One of the aeons, Sophia, desires "to bring forth a likeness out of herself without the consent of the Spirit...and without her consort" (9:28-30). The result is a hideous monster named Yaltabaoth, who corresponds to the biblical YHWH, creator of the material world. Yaltabaoth fashions a host of his own angels, and arrogantly claims to be the highest God.

> And when he saw the creation which surrounds him and the multitude of the angels around him which had come forth from him, he said to them, "I am a jealous God {ANK' OYNOYTE N̄PEϤ'KΩ2} and there is no other God beside me." But by announcing this he indicated to the angels who attended him that there exists another God {OYN KENOYTE ϢOOΠ'}. For if there were no other one, of whom would he be jealous {NIM ΠETϤNAKΩ2 EPOϤ}? (13:5-13)

At this point Sophia repents of her action and weeps profusely, and the other aeons intercede on her behalf with the Invisible, Virginal Spirit. The highest God consents to their request, and the restoration of Sophia begins. Then come the events which culminate in the creation of Adam:

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[97] τέλειος.

[98] Giversen renders this as "The name indeed (γε) is Adamas."

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And a voice came forth[99] from the exalted aeon-heaven: "The Man exists and the son of Man" {AYΩ OYCMH ACEI EBOΛ ϩN̅ TΠE N̅AIΩN ETϪOCE, ϪE, "ϥϕOOΠ N̅ϬI ΠPΩME AYΩ ΠϕHPE M̅ΠPΩME"}. And the chief archon, Yaltabaoth, heard (it) and thought that the voice had come from his mother. And he did not know from where it came. And he taught them {AϥTCEBOOY},[100] the holy and perfect Mother-Father, the complete foreknowledge, the image of the invisible one who is the Father of the all (and) through whom everything came into being, the first Man. For he revealed his likeness in a human form {ϩN̅ OYTYΠOC N̅ANΔPEAC}.[101]

And the whole aeon of the chief archon trembled, and the foundations of the abyss shook. And of the waters which are above matter, the underside was illuminated by the appearance of his image which had been revealed. And when all the authorities and the chief archon looked, they saw the whole region of the underside which was illuminated. And through the light they saw the form of the image {ΠTYΠOC N̅TϩIKΩN}[102] in the water. (14:13-34)

And he said to the authorities which attend him, "Come, let us create a man according to the image of God and according to our likeness, that his image may become a light for us" {ϪEKAAC APETEϥ'ϩIKΩN NAϕΩΠE NAN N̅OYOEIN}. And they created by means of their respective powers in correspondence with the characteristics which were given. And each authority supplied a characteristic in the form of the image which he had seen in its natural (form) {ϩN̅ TEϥ'ΨYXIKH}.[103] He created a being according to the likeness of the first, perfect Man. And they said, "Let us call him Adam, that his name may become a power of light {N̅OYϬOM N̅OYOEIN} for us."

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[99] BG adds here ϕAPOC, "to her," implying that the intended recipient of the heavenly disclosure is Sophia and that Yaltabaoth and his archons merely overhear the words. It is likely that the disclosure in its original form was intended for Yaltabaoth as a response to his arrogant boasting, and that the longer recension is therefore to be followed. This is supported by Irenaeus I.30.6, the *Gospel of the Egyptians* 58:24 - 59:3, and *On the Origin of the World* 103:10-24.

[100] This could also be rendered, "And he showed them," for TCABO can mean either "to teach" or "to show." Here the word carries both meanings, for Barbelo instructs Yaltabaoth and his angels by showing them his/her own image. The instruction allows the archons to fashion Adam, but it does not really "teach" them, for they are still ignorant afterwards.

[101] τύπος ἀνδρός.

[102] τύπος εἰκόνος.

[103] ψυχικός.

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However, the "Man" they create is lifeless, "completely inactive and motionless." Then Barbelo, in response to Sophia's petition, sends messengers incognito to Yaltabaoth, who urge him to blow some of his spirit into Adam -- for this spirit in Yaltabaoth is the power of his mother Sophia which he still possesses. Yaltabaoth ignorantly accepts this advice, and in this way the power of Sophia is liberated, and enters into Adam, bringing him life.

> And the power of the mother went out of Yaltabaoth into the natural body {AΨYXIKOC N̄CΩMA}[104] which they had fashioned after the image of the one who exists from the beginning. The body moved and gained strength, and it was luminous {AϤP̄ OYOEIN'}.
> And in that moment the rest of the powers became jealous {AYKΩϩ}, because he had come into being through all of them and they had given their power to the man, and his intelligence {TEϤMN̄TPMN̄ϩHT}[105] was greater than that of those who had made him, and greater than than of the chief archon. And whey they recognized that he was luminous {ϤO N̄OYOEIN}, and that he could think better than they, and that he was free from wickedness, they took him and threw him into the lowest region of all matter. (19:28 - 20:9)

Now begins the struggle between Adam and the powers that made him. Eventually Adam begets "the likeness of the Son of man," whom he calls "Seth," "according to the way of the race in the aeons" (24:36 - 25:2) There are now three forms of the "Man," and three forms of "the Son of Man."

At the climax of this segment of the myth is the proclamation from the upper world, "The Man exists and the Son of Man" (14:13-15). This refers to Barbelo and the Autogenes, the first "Man" and the first "Son of Man."[106] The importance of the Man / Son of Man pairing in the text is

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[104] ψυχικόν σῶμα.

[105] This word could also be translated "wisdom."

[106] Giversen, 239-240. This is contrary to the view of Pearson (*Gnosticism*, 64), who sees the "Man" as the Highest God and the "Son of

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made evident by its threefold occurrence at the various planes of reality. The proclamation echoes in indicative form the interrogative of Ps 8:5, "What is Man...and the Son of Man..." Is Ps 8 deliberately invoked here?[107] The likelihood that such is the case is increased by the use of the Greek word ὑποτάσσειν earlier in the text to describe the authority given to the Autogenes, who is the first Son of Man.[108] If Ps 8 is deliberately invoked, one must still inquire whether it is part of the original non-Christian tradition underlying our present text, or is added by the Christian-Gnostic redactor. The unit which employs the word ὑποτάσσειν might contain allusions to New Testament texts such as Eph 1:20-22 and Phil 2:9; however, the differences are significant enough to leave this an open question. In any case, if we could demonstrate that *Ap. John* draws upon traditional Jewish interpretations of Ps 8, then the probability that its use of Ps 8 derives from its early non-Christian stage would increase. Similarly, if we could show that the use of Ps 8 is integral to the structure of the myth, then this probability would likewise increase.

Four features of *Ap. John* are especially noteworthy as parallels to Jewish traditions concerning Adam, the Angels, and Ps 8. First of all, the motif of angelic *jealousy* is striking. Yaltabaoth is a jealous god

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Man" as "Adamas/ Pigeradamas," and that of Rudolph (80), who sees the "Man" as the Highest God and the "Son of Man" as the Only-begotten (i.e., the Autogenes).

[107] F. H. Borsch (*The Christian and Gnostic Son of Man* [Naperville: Allenson, 1970] 119-121) argues for such a direct influence. He also contends that the mention here of the "Son of Man" is original to the Jewish-Gnostic form of the myth, and is not a later Christian interpolation (107-121).

[108] πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ (LXX, Ps 8:7b).

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-- he claims to be the only God, the highest God. His assertion, "I am a jealous God, and there is no other God beside me," drawn conspicuously from the Jewish scriptures, reveals his arrogance and his ignorance, and is foundational to the underlying mythological pattern of the text. After he is tricked into breathing his mother's spirit into Adam, Yaltabaoth and his attendant powers become jealous of Adam, for they perceive that he is greater than they are -- a divine power is now in Adam that is not in them.[109] This motif of jealousy resembles impressively the rabbinic traditions of the jealousy towards Adam felt by the angels and the serpent and the Adam Book's tradition of Satan's jealousy of the first Man.[110]

Second, the superiority of Adam to the archons is especially in regard to his *wisdom*. The powers of Yaltabaoth recognize that Adam's wisdom is greater than theirs, and this is what stirs their jealousy. Rabbinic traditions interpreting Ps 8 likewise stress that Adam's wisdom was superior to that of the angels. If the midrash which applies Ps 8:6a to the wisdom of Moses is based on an earlier form which applied it to Adam, then the nearly divine (but super-angelic) wisdom of Adam could be traced in particular to the midrash on this verse.

Third, Adam is presented in *Ap. John* as preeminently a figure of

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[109]Before Yaltabaoth was in effect jealous of the heavenly Man. Now his jealousy is stirred also toward the earthly Man, who is the third in *Ap. John*'s sequence of Men.

[110]Van Unnik recognizes that this motif stems from an underlying Jewish tradition. However, he contends that the "jealousy" of Yaltabaoth (in regard to other gods) and his "envy" should not be confused. In dealing with Yaltabaoth's "jealousy," van Unnik states that "hier ist von Rivalität, nicht von Neid die Rede" (125). But is such a distinction here truly valid? Is not the issue of "rivalität" in view in both cases? In both instances the demiurge is seeking to preserve his delusion of omnipotence.

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light. This links him with the highest God, the Father, who is also called "the pure Light," and with the Autogenes, who is begotten as "a spark of light with a light resembling blessedness" and is also called simply "the light." Adam is formed by the archons in imitation of Barbelo's image, the image of the Father, which was seen by them in the illuminated underside of the upper waters. The association of Adam with light is similar to the rabbinic assertion that Adam was robed in light, and that this light was the glory of God. The glory of Adam was also important in the Adam Books and in the Gnostic *Apoc. Adam.* As seen earlier, emphasis on Adam's glory (understood as a garment of light) was probably associated in ancient Judaism with Ps 8:6b. The connection between Adam's wisdom and his glory was thus expressed in an exegetical tradition which joined the two halves of Ps 8:6.[111]

The final parallel is the most decisive in establishing a connection between the use of Ps 8 in *Ap. John* and in Jewish tradition. As previously explained, Ps 8:5 was in rabbinic circles consistently linked with Gen 1:26 and the creation of Adam in the image of אלהים. God addressed the angels in the words of Gen 1:26, and they responded with the words of Ps 8:5. God then proceeded to make Adam without the aid of his heavenly attendants. In *Ap. John* Barbelo speaks in words that echo Ps 8:5 -- though the "Man" who "exists" is Barbelo him/herself. Immediately afterwards Barbelo lets the archons see the divine image illuminated in the upper waters, and Yaltabaoth responds in a paraphrase of the words of Gen 1:26, which alters their meaning: rather than "in

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[111]Though, as seen earlier, Ezek 28:12-14 must have played a major role in the development of this notion, for it brings together the attributes of wisdom and physical splendor in its description of Adam.

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our image and likeness," we read "according to the image of God [the image of Barbelo seen in the waters] and according to our likeness [the image of Yaltabaoth and his angels]." The two-fold nature of "Man" is thus rooted in the two-fold image in which "Man" is fashioned.[112]

This parallel can be summarized as follows:

Rabbinic midrash --
God: "Let us make 'Man' in our image"
(Gen 1:26)
Angels: "What is 'Man' or the 'Son of Man'?
(Ps 8:5)

Gnostic myth --
Barbelo: "'Man' exists and the 'Son of Man.'
(Paraphrase of Ps 8:5)
Yaltabaoth: "Let us make 'Man' in the image of God and in our likeness"
(Paraphrase of Gen 1:26)

Since Yaltabaoth is equivalent in Gnostic thought to YHWH, the paraphrase of Gen 1:26 is placed in his mouth. However, for the Gnostics Yaltabaoth is also equivalent to Satan, for he is but a created being, inferior to the highest God, and ultimately the enemy of the "Man" whom he creates and who will stir his jealousy.[113] Gen 1:26 thus becomes an arrogant statement issued by an evil being. One would think that this would sever any connection that might have existed with Ps 8:5, which in Jewish tradition was put in the mouth of the ones who were jealous of Adam. However, as is often the case, the Gnostics

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[112]This resembles Philo's interpretation of Gen 1:26, which sees the creation of "Man" as the work of both God himself and of the angels, and uses this two-fold creation in order to explain the two-fold disposition of "Man" to virtue and vice (*De Opificio* 72-75).

[113]N. Dahl notes that "The name Samael [found in 11:15-18 as another name for Yaltabaoth] makes it likely that some features have been transferred from the fallen prince of angels to the arrogant Archon of the gnostics" ("The Arrogant Archon and the Lewd Sophia," *Rediscovery*, 705). However, Dahl thinks that ultimately "the gnostic Archon is not a satanic figure."

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make a surprising and daring interpretive maneuver. Ps 8:5 is removed from connection with the inferior angels, and instead in an indicative mode is placed in the mouth of Barbelo him/herself! As Gen 1:26 is now an arrogant invitation to action, so Ps 8:5 is now a ringing affirmation of spiritual truth! And since the words of the exalted and benevolent God should still precede the words of the envious, inferior powers, the paraphrase of Ps 8:5 is moved from second position in the dialogue to first, and the paraphrase of Gen 1:26 becomes the response to it rather than the reverse.

Though the traditional aggadic linkage of Ps 8:5 and Gen 1:26 is radically altered in meaning, it is nevertheless noteworthy that the essential point of the traditional understanding of Ps 8 is preserved. Adam and his descendants (represented by Seth) are in fact glorious and exalted beings, superior to the angels and deserving of their worship. This is owing to the fact that Adam is made in the image of the highest God, who is himself superior to the angels and preeminently deserving of their worship. However, the angels are envious of Adam, and some of them become his enemies. It thus seems as though *Ap. John* is building upon a Jewish exegetical tradition in this case as it does in many others. It also seems as though this transformation of a Jewish exegetical tradition is central to the basic message of the book. Therefore, we can conclude that in all probability the use of Ps 8 in *Ap. John* can be traced to the earliest non-Christian stages of the book's development.

We have chosen to focus here on *Ap. John*. However, we should not ignore the fact that many of the elements we have examined

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are found elsewhere in Gnostic literature.[114] The use of Ps 8 in connection with Gen 1:26 seems to have been widespread, especially among the Sethian Gnostics. An early dating of this Gnostic exegetical tradition is supported by its appearance in Irenaeus' late second century description of various Gnostic groups. It therefore must have originated no later than the early second century.

If we are correct in seeing this Gnostic use of Ps 8 as building upon an established Jewish interpretive tradition, then this Jewish tradition must originate no later than the end of the first century. The evidence from Gnostic sources thus confirms what we concluded earlier from our study of the rabbinic materials and the Adam Books: an interpretive tradition existed in some segments of first-century Judaism which understood Ps 8 as referring to a particular individual, Adam, and which saw the psalm as celebrating his exaltation not only over the animals but also over the angels.

Conclusion

The interpretation of Ps 8 which developed in some Jewish circles at the turn of the Common Era has obvious differences from that found among modern exegetes of the psalm. However, there are also a few surprising similarities. The relationship between the psalm and the creation texts in Genesis is recognized in both exegetical traditions. The allusions in Ps 8:2-3 to a cosmic conflict are picked up in both interpretations,

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[114]The heavenly disclosure, "The Man exists and the Son of Man," is found also in the Gospel of the Egyptians 59:1-3 and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.6. Another form of the disclosure (without reference to the "Son of Man", but only to "an immortal Man of Light") is found in *On the Origin of the World* 103:19-28. Much material is also added to the disclosure in *On the Origin of the World*, and as a whole it seems to be a later edited form of the tradition seen in the other texts.

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though the ancient interpreters developed the allusions in a novel fashion. The note of conflict which arises again in Ps 8:7 is also sensed by these early exegetes, and is connected to the cosmic conflict in vss 2-3 in clever fashion. Finally, the delegated kingship of Man is emphasized in both traditions, as is its connection to the divine image which he bears.

Nevertheless, a study of modern scholarship on Ps 8 would not prepare one for what he or she would find in the midrashic exposition of the psalm. The words of the psalm are spoken by angels, and not by human beings! And their motive is not to glorify God, but to complain about Adam and his descendants! The exaltation of Man above the angels and the animosity this provokes among the angelic powers is the main theme in Ps 8, according to this ancient exposition. As is now evident, this is also the main theme of the present dissertation.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL HEIRS OF ADAM: THE GLORY OF THE END

In Chapter III we saw how Ps 8 was interpreted in some circles of the Jewish world of late antiquity as referring to the first Man, Adam. This figure from the early pages of Genesis had a special place in ancient Jewish thought.[1] His story was not merely his own, but served as a paradigm. In both his glorification and humiliation he pointed beyond himself. As G. A. Anderson states, "The story of Adam and Eve is always correlated to something beyond it and that very point of correlation must be reckoned with."[2] On the most obvious level, the Adam narrative speaks of the general human condition, and can be applied to all human beings. However, in most of the Jewish literature of late antiquity, the Adam story is related especially to a particular set of human beings, the people of Israel. R. Scroggs sees the primary concern of the Adam traditions as the eschatological destiny of that people, the

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[1]"Although references to Adam in the Hebrew Bible are few...speculation surrounding him increases from the third century B.C.E. on. Such speculation about the figure of Adam constitutes one of the most significant features of intertestamental literature, with much of that discussion focusing upon the restoration of Adam's lost glory" (C. M. Pate, *Adam Christology as the Exegetical and Theological Substructure of 2 Corinthians 4:7 - 5:21* [New York: University Press of America, 1991] 33).

[2]45.

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people of God.[3] Bentzen has stressed the connection between Adam and the king of Israel, and therefore also between Adam and the Messiah.[4] Idel, Stone, and Anderson have pointed to the correlation in the Enochian literature between Adam and Enoch.[5] Meeks emphasizes the understanding of Moses as a second Adam that is prevalent in Jewish and Samaritan literature at the turn of the common era.[6] Jervell has a similar focus, but highlights the importance of the giving of the Torah at Sinai as a reversal of Adam's sin and the curse it provoked.[7]

As a prominent Adam text in ancient Judaism, Ps 8 was subject to the same set of interpretive correlations employed in the reading of Gen 1-3. In the present chapter we will examine the way Ps 8 was read eschatologically and applied both to Israel as a whole and to particular individuals. In the next chapter we will turn our attention to Moses and the events at Sinai. We will then be in a position to study the New Testament texts which apply Ps 8 to Jesus.

That Ps 8 was read eschatologically in the Jewish world of late antiquity should come as no surprise. It has long been recognized that biblical and post-biblical eschatology is often modeled on the

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[3]"What is believed will exist in the eschaton is said to have existed in the *Urzeit*. Just this has happened in the case of Adam" (*The Last Adam*, [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966] 25).

[4]A. Bentzen, 39-47.

[5]Idel, 223-31; Stone, "The Fall of Satan," 145-48; Anderson, 28-38.

[6]W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 222-23, 232-33; "Moses as God and King," *Religions in Antiquity*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 363-65.

[7]83-84, 114-119.

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traditional portrait of primordial beginnings, human and cosmic.[8] The world to come is envisioned as a New Creation.[9] The garden of Eden, with its rivers and its tree(s) of life, is the destiny of the righteous in the coming age. One would therefore expect that the colorful descriptions of Adam's exaltation in Jewish literature which utilize Gen 1-2, Ps 8, and Ezek 28 would provide a basis for related descriptions of the status of the righteous in the world to come.

Unfortunately for our study, Ps 8 is not read in this way in the classic documents of rabbinic Judaism. Therefore, we cannot begin by citing midrashic expositions which are engaged in a self-conscious and easily recognizable process of exegesis of Ps 8. For the most part we must rely on allusions and echoes. In 3 *Enoch* we find a clear quote, but its application to Enoch himself can only be detected through a protracted analysis. However, if our previous chapter was convincing, and it is accepted that Ps 8 was an important text in portraying the glory of Adam and his exaltation above the angels, then our ears should now be attuned to hear and acknowledge those allusions and echoes when they appear.

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[8]Already in 1895 H. Gunkel wrote *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht). On the correspondence between *Urzeit-Endzeit* in the New Testament, see N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*, ed. W. D. Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956) 422-43.

[9]Speaking of the development of the idea of a "New Creation," M. Black points to Second Isaiah as a key source: "Indeed, the one passage Is. 65:17ff., is the Hebrew *locus classicus* for this idea, and might well be held to warrant most of the later tradition in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and rabbinical sources" ("The New Creation in I Enoch," in *Creation, Christ and Culture*, ed. R. W. A. McKinney [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976] 14).

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We will begin by looking at texts in which Ps 8 is seen to point to the destiny of the people of God in the age to come. We will then take up material which applies Ps 8 to particular individuals who are depicted as having special eschatological functions -- the Son of Man, Enoch, and Abel.

Eschatological Israel

Adam Books

In Chapter III we examined the story of the fall of Satan in the Adam Books. We saw how the newly created Adam was conceived of as a glorious being, bearing the image of God, and worthy of the worship of the angels. After disobeying the commandment of God, Adam and Eve were stripped of their garments of glory, which were equated with their original state of righteousness (*Apoc. Mos.* 20).[10] Though they maintained the image of God, the dominion over the wild animals associated with that image was diminished (*Apoc. Mos.* 10:1, 3; 11:1).[11] Even more, their dominion over Satan and his angels was nullified. As the rest of the story makes evident, Adam, Eve, and their descendants also become subject to disease and death. Thus, the words of Ps 8 are treated as applicable to the pre-fallen Adam and Eve, but not to their condition after their expulsion from the garden.

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[10]See Chapter III, 67-69.

[11]As we saw in Chapter III (77), this particular text reflects the terminology of the LXX version of Ps 8:7. It is significant that the parallel account in the *Vita* presents this wild beast as a *serpens*; the dominion over the animals found in Gen 1:26-27 and Ps 8:7-9 is thereby considered primarily as a dominion over the tempter, the instrument of Satan.

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Of course, this story is not meant to be read as a tragedy. Its basic purpose is twofold: to explain the present state of things, and to offer hope for the future.[12] The glory and dominion of Adam in the garden are a picture of what lies in store for those who obey the commandments of God. After the devil has recounted how he fell from heaven because of his refusal to worship the image of God, Adam responds in prayer:

> Domine deus meus, in manibus tuis est vita mea. fac ut iste adversarius meus longe sit a me, qui quaerit animam meam perdere, et da mihi gloriam eius, quam ipse perdidit.
>
> O LORD, my God, my life is in your hands. Remove far from me this my opponent, who seeks to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself has forfeited. (*Vita* 17:1)

The devil had lost his heavenly glory. He then succeeded in causing Adam and Eve in similar fashion to lose their own glory (*Vita* 16:3). Adam now prays not only to regain his own forfeited position, but also to inherit the glory which the devil had possessed as the highest of the angels in heaven. The reader is assured later that God intends to answer this prayer. After the death of Adam, God addresses his corpse:

> Ἀδάμ, τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; εἰ ἐφύλαξας τὴν ἐντολήν μου, οὐκ ἂν ἔχαιρον οἱ καταγόντες σε εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον. πλὴν οὖν λέγω σοι ὅτι τὴν χαρὰν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψω εἰς λύπην, τὴν δὲ σου λύπην ἐπιστρέψω εἰς χαράν· καὶ ἐπιστρέψας καθίσω σε εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν σου ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἀπατήσαντός σε· ἐκεῖνος δὲ βληθήσεται εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὅπως η καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. τότε κατακριθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ λυπηθήσεται καὶ κλαύσουσιν ὁρῶντες σε καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τιμίου αὐτου θρόνου.[13]

---

[12]"So in the *Apoc. Mos.* the figure Adam serves a two-fold purpose: first, the story of man's present state, derived from Gen 1, is restated...; second, the salvation of the 'holy people' is assured in the promise of the resurrection and the restoration of the exalted Adam" (J. L. Sharpe, "The Second Adam in the Apocalypse of Moses," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 35.

[13]The Greek text is from J. L. Sharpe, III, *Prolegomena to the Establishment of the Critical Text of the Greek Apocalypse of Moses*,

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> Adam, why did you do this? If you had kept my commandment, those who brought you down into this place would not have rejoiced. Yet now I tell you that their joy shall be turned into sorrow, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy; and when that happens, I will establish you in your dominion on the throne of your seducer. But that one shall be cast into this place, so that you might sit above him. Then he himself and those who listen to him shall be condemned, and they shall greatly mourn and weep when they see you sitting on his glorious throne. (*Apoc. Mos.* 39:1-3; see also *Vita* 47:3)

Adam's life in this world was a tragedy. However, his death is not the end of the story. As these divine words make clear, there is a happy ending. Adam's destiny is to be enthroned in heaven.

Sharpe notes that "here Adam functions as the father of Israel," that nation which consists of "those who adhere to the Covenant."[14] This is evident from the words of Michael to Seth regarding the resurrection:

> τότε ἀναστήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἀπὸ Ἀδαμ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τῆς μεγάλης ὅσοι ἔσονται λαὸς ἅγιος. Τότε αὐτοῖς δοθήσεται πᾶσα εὐφροσύνη τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ ἔσται ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.
>
> Then all flesh from Adam up to that great day shall be raised, such as shall be the holy people; then to them shall be given every joy of Paradise and God shall be in their midst. (*Apoc. Mos.* 13:3-5)

It is also clear from a later promise extended by God to Adam's corpse:

> εἶπόν σοι ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσει. Πάλιν τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπαγγέλομαί σοι· ἀναστήσω σε ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει μετὰ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός σου.
>
> I told you that *you are dust and to dust you shall return.* Now I promise you the resurrection; I shall raise you on the last day in the resurrection with every man of your seed. (*Apoc. Mos.* 41:2-3)

In both of these texts Adam is treated together with his legitimate descendants; thus, the point of the previous texts was not to glorify Adam as an individual, but to assure his seed of their future

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(Docotral dissertation: Duke, 1969) pt II, 260.

[14]Ibid., 38-39, n. 13.

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enthronement. Moreover, the rightful heirs are not human beings in general, but the elect people of God.

The original glory of Adam was lost through sin, and instead of living eternally in paradise Adam and his descendants must die and return to the dust. However, the point of the Adam Books is to emphasize that the original glory will be restored to Adam and his righteous descendants at the resurrection. Then they will be enthroned as the highest of the angels, taking the position lost by the devil, who will lie humbled beneath their feet. An eschatological interpretation of Gen 1 and Ps 8 is evident.

Pseudo-Philo

In our next chapter we will devote much attention to Pseudo-Philo, also known as *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (or *LAB*).[15] Ps 8 is mainly used in *LAB* to speak of Moses and the giving of the Torah. However, the first allusion to the psalm is found in a context which is both eschatological and Mosaic.

After the incident of the golden calf and the construction of the tabernacle, God instructs Moses in regard to the sacrifices and the festivals. After an obscure sentence which ends by referring to the "place of creation and the serpent," the instruction continues as follows:

> Et dixit: Hic locus est quem docui protoplastum dicens: Si non transgredieris que tibi mandavi, omnia sub te erunt. Ille autem transgressus est vias meas, et suasus est de muliere sua; et hec seducta est de colubro. Et tunc constituta est mors in generationes hominum. Et adiecit Dominus adhuc ostendere vias

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[15]See 189-206.

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> paradysi, et dixit: Hec sunt vie quas perdiderunt homines, non ambulantes in eis, quoniam peccaverunt in me.
>
> And he said, "This is the place concerning which I taught the first man, saying, 'If you do not transgress what I have commanded you, all things will be subject to you.' But that man transgressed my ways and was persuaded by his wife, and she was deceived by the serpent. And then death was ordained for the generations of men." And the LORD continued to show him the ways of paradise and said to him, "These are the ways that men have lost by not walking in them, because they have sinned against me." (13:8-9)

In this unit the Sinai covenant and its provisions are clearly juxtaposed with the garden of Eden, the command to Adam, and the consequences of his obedience and disobedience. We will look more at this juxtaposition in the next chapter. At this point our interest is in the eschatological implications of the text.

For our purposes the crucial words of this text are those spoken by God to Adam: *Si non transgredieris que tibi mandavi, omnia sub te erunt.* In this sentence Pseudo-Philo seeks to summarize all of the essential communications of God to Adam which are reported in Gen 1-2 -- the promises of dominion in Gen 1 and the command and warning of Gen 2. The summary is striking for three reasons. First, the promise is formulated in words which are closer to Ps 8:7 than to anything in Gen 1: *omnia* = כל, *sub* = תחת. Second, the fulfillment of this promise is contingent upon Adam's obedience to God's command. This is similar to what we just saw in the Adam Books, but it is not at all obvious from Gen 1 or Ps 8. Thus, Pseudo-Philo, like the Adam Books, is reading Ps 8 not as a statement of the present status of human beings in the world, but as a promise of what human beings can attain if they do not transgress the divine commandments. If Israel were faithful to the Sinai covenant, it would experience the dominion described in the psalm. However, since total conformity to the covenant will not occur before the end, Ps 8

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will only be perfectly realized in the eschaton. Third, the promise of immortality, linked in Gen 2 with the command concerning the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and clearly contingent on obedience to that command, appears to be joined in Pseudo-Philo to the promise of dominion in Gen 1, so that the *omnia* of Ps 8:6 now includes not only the animals but also the power of death. In the eschaton this aspect of human dominion will be realized (see *LAB* 3:10, 19:12, 23:13).

It is possible that eschatological echoes of Ps 8:5 are also to be heard in Pseudo-Philo's standard formula for describing the final intervention of God in the world. God speaks in *LAB* of how the present order will remain "until I remember the world" (*remorabor*, 16:3; *memorabor*, 48:1); the "world" here is not the physical universe, though that also is to be renewed (16:3), but its human inhabitants, as is clear from the parallel construction, "until I remember (*remorabor*) those who inhabit the earth" (3:9). A synonym for "remember" in Pseudo-Philo's eschatological vocabulary is "visit": "until I visit (*visitem*) the world" (19:12-13). In 26:13 we find a perfect example of synonymous parallelism:

> ...quousque memor sim seculi,
> et visitabo habitantes terram.
>
> ...until I remember the world
> and visit those inhabiting the earth.

These Latin words almost certainly translate the Hebrew words זכר and פקד which are used in Ps 8:5. Given the allusions to Ps 8 elsewhere in *LAB*, it is not farfetched to believe that the author is reading Ps 8:5 eschatologically: "What are your people, that you intend to reward them with such a rich inheritance, which they do not deserve?" In fact, given the connection between Ps 8 and Abraham and Isaac in rabbinic tradition and in Pseudo-Philo, and given *LAB*'s view of the importance

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of these patriarchs and God's promises to them, there may even be an eschatological version of the rabbinic midrash which sees Abraham as the "Man," Isaac as "the Son of Man," and the jealous angels as the speakers: "What is Abraham, that you will remember him and his seed in the coming age, or Isaac, that you will visit his offspring in mercy?"[16]

Qumran

The Qumran texts which refer to the eschatological glory of Adam are well known.[17] Unfortunately, few have recognized the echo of Ps 8:6.[18] However, as we have already noted, this is the only biblical text which connects the word כבוד with the creation of Man (and, in traditional Jewish exegesis, more specifically with the creation of Adam, the first Man).

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[16]On this rabbinic midrash and its use in Pseudo-Philo, see Chapter V, 198-200. On the importance for Pseudo-Philo of the patriarchs and God's promises to them, F. W. Murphy comments that "God's covenant with Israel is one of the central symbols of the *Biblical Antiquities*...Because Abraham resisted humanity's idolatry and trusted in God, God established a special relationship with him and his seed...God creates an unconditional relationship with Abraham and his posterity in which God gives them land and blessings forever...no matter how angry God is, God will always preserve the people because of the covenant with the fathers" (*Pseudo-Philo*, [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993] 244-45).

[17]These references to Adam's glory have been dismissed by a few scholars as merely meaning "humanity's glory." For example, E. Lohse (*Die Texte Aus Qumran* [München: Kösel, 1971]) translates the phrase as "alle Herrlichkeit des Menschen," while J. R. Levison's *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988) alludes to them in passing as "the questionable references to 'the glory of *adam*' in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (19), and pays them no further attention. As all the major translations of the scrolls into English demonstrate, this view carries little weight. The texts speak of a new creation, and within such a context a reference to the glory of אדם must be understood as referring to Adam's nature in Paradise.

[18]One scholar who has made the connection is H. C. Kee, *Community of the New Age* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977) 72, n. 61, 194.

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The Rule of the Community (1QS), in its section dealing with the two spirits (Col 4), speaks of the blessings to be inherited by those who walk according to the Spirit of Truth:

> אלה סודי רוח לבני אמת תבל
> ופקודת כול הולכי בה למרפא ורוב שלום באורך ימים ופרות זרע
> עם כול ברכות עד ושמחת עולמים בחיי נצח וכליל כבוד
> עם מדת הדר באור עולמים
>
> [6]The (preceding) are the principles of the spirit for the Sons of Truth (in) the world. The visitation of all those who walk in it (will be) healing [7]and great peace in a long life, multiplication of progeny together with all everlasting blessings, endless joy in everlasting life, and a crown of glory [8]together with a resplendent attire in eternal light.[19]

The "crown of glory" recalls Ps 8:6, and while the word for crown here (כליל) and the verb used in the psalm (עטר) are from different roots, the two terms were interchangeable in the Hebrew of the period, and the Targum rendered העטרהו as תכלליניה.[20] The author may have chosen כליל in order to recall the picture of the glorious Adam in Ezek 28:12 who was כליל יפי (usually translated "perfect in beauty"). The "resplendent attire in eternal light" is a reference to Adam's garments of glory, allusions to which, as seen in our previous chapter, were also detected by ancient readers in Ps 8:6.[21] The term "visitation" (פקודת) may not have been chosen here because of its use in Ps 8:5, but its secondary echoes would have been appreciated by the reader.

After treating the works of the Spirit of Deceit (רוח עולה) and the

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[19]The Hebrew text and English translation of 1QS used here is that J. H. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Vol 1* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994).

[20]P. de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice* (Lipsiae: Teubneri, 1873) 4.

[21]See 54-59.

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punishment received by those who walk in them, the document returns to the topic of how "at the appointed time for visitation" (במועד פקודה) God will renew human nature:

> ואז יברר אל באמתו כול מעשי גבר יזקק לו מבני איש
> להתם כול רוח עולה מתכמי בשרו
> ולטהרו ברוח קודש מכול עלילות רשעה
> ויז עליו רוח אמת כמי נדה מכול תועבות שקר והתגולל ברוח נדה
> להבין ישרים בדעת עליון וחכמת בני שמים להשכיל תמימי דרכ
> כיא בם בחר אל לברית עולמים ולהם כול כבוד אדם ואין עולה
>
> [20]Then God will purify by his truth all the works of man and purge for himself the sons of man. He will utterly destroy the spirit of deceit from the veins of [21]his flesh. He will purify him by the Holy Spirit from all ungodly acts and sprinkle upon him the Spirit of Truth like waters of purification, (to purify him) from all the abominations of falsehood and from being polluted [22]by a spirit of impurity, so that upright ones may have insight into the knowledge of the Most High and the wisdom of the sons of heaven, and the perfect in the Way may receive understanding. For those God has chosen for an eternal covenant, [23]and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs without deceit:

Even the godly require purification, for the Spirit of Deceit has also operated in their own hearts (4:15-16). The Holy Spirit will accomplish this purification of the human frame. As a result of it, the upright will receive the wisdom of the angels and "all the glory of Adam." The two are connected, for Adam in his pristine glory was exalted among the angels. Once again, we find allusions here both to Ezek 28 and Ps 8. The Man of Ezek 28:12 is both מלא חכמה ("filled with wisdom") and כליל יפי ("perfect in beauty"). He loses his glorious position in "Eden, the garden of God" (28:13) by falling into עול (28:15, 18), that unrighteousness or deceit which will not tarnish the elect of the eternal covenant in the world to come. The connection between the wisdom and glory of Adam was also a common feature in the rabbinic interpretation of Ps 8:6. Adam's wisdom was only a little less than God's (Ps 8:6a) when he named the animals and even named God himself, and he was crowned or clothed with a glory which radiated from his face

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more brightly than the sun (Ps 8:6b).

This section of the rule concludes with a summary:

> כיא בד בבד שמן אל עד קצ נחרצה ועשות חדשה
>
> [25]For God has set them [i.e., the two spirits] apart until the time of that which has been decided, and the making of the new.

Black translates these last words as "the New Creation," and claims that the Hebrew phrase is "virtually identical with that used by the Ethiopic translator at 1 En. 72:1" (i.e., geber hadis).[22] The summary thus underlines for the reader what has just been described: a picture of the New Creation, concentrating on the New Humanity, which will again possess Adam's glory.

Only those who are forgiven and purified are worthy to receive this glory. This theme is also taken up in the Damascus Rule (CD), which tells the story of the community's foundation (Col 3):

> ואל ברזי פלאו כפר בעד עונם וישא לפשעם
> ויבן להם בית נאמן בישראל אשר לא עמד כמהו למלפנים ועד הנה
> המחזיקים בו לחיי נצח וכל כבוד אדם להם
>
> [18]But God, in his wonderful mysteries, forgave them their sin and pardoned their wickedness;[19] and He built them a sure house in Israel whose like has never existed from former times till now.[20] Those who hold fast to it are destined to live for ever and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs.[23]

Adam sinned and lost thereby both his immortality and his glory. In contrast, the forgiven and renewed congregation which holds fast to what God has given it will live forever in Adam's original glory. A similar train of thought is found in the Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH Col 17):

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[22]"The New Creation," 13.

[23]The translations of CD and 1QH are from G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1987). The Hebrew text for all Qumran writings other than 1QS is from Lohse.

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[כאשר ד]ברתה ביד מושה
ומעל [ ] [לשאת פשע] עון וחטאה ולכפר בע
ה בשאול תחתיה [ ]מוסדי הרים ואש [ ]
ה[ ] במשפטיך [ ]ואת הנו
לעובדיך באמונה [לה]יות זרעם לפניך כול הימים
ושם[ ] הקימותה [ ]שע ולהשליך כול ע[ונותיה]ם
ולהנחילם בכול כבוד אדם [ב]רוב ימים

[12]As Thou has said by the hand of Moses,
Thou forgivest transgression, iniquity, and sin,
and pardonest rebellion and unfaithfulness.
[13]For the bases of the mountains shall melt
and fire shall consume the deep places of Hell,
but Thou wilt deliver
all those that are corrected by Thy judgments,
[14]that they may serve Thee faithfully
and that their seed may be before Thee for ever.
Thou wilt keep Thine oath
and wilt pardon their transgression;
[15]Thou wilt cast away all their sins.
Thou wilt cause them to inherit all the glory of Adam
and abundance of days.

We again see the connection between forgiveness, Adam's glory, and length of days (רוב ימים, which is probably a poetic equivalent for חיי נצח). Inheritance terminology was standard in eschatological discourse of this period, and it probably originates in an association between the promised land of Canaan and the earth as a whole.[24] When one inherits "all the glory of Adam," one also receives what Adam possessed -- the world.[25]

The Commentary on Ps 37 (4Q171 Col 3) displays the same pattern:

ל[וא י]בוש בנעת רעה
פשרו על] שבי המדבר אשר יחיו אלף דור בישרה
ולהם כול נחלת אדם ולזרעם עד עולם

["The LORD knows the days of the perfect,
and their inheritance will last for ever];

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[24]For further discussion of this terminology in Qumran and the Jewish literature of the period, see H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 72-75.

[25]See *Apoc. Sedr.* 6: ἐποίησα αὐτὸν φρόνιμον καὶ κληρονόμον οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑπέταξα.

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> they [will] n[ot] be put to shame
> in [the time of evil." (Ps 37:18-19)
> Its interpretation concerns...] the converts of the
> wilderness who will live for a thousand generations in
> saf[ety]; to them will belong all the inheritance of Adam, and
> to their descendants for ever.[26]

It is those who have repented (the community) who will receive the eternal inheritance of Adam. Ps 37 repeats five times (verses 9, 11, 22, 29, 34) the promise of possessing the land (יירשו־ארץ). The Qumran commentary, like Matthew's beatitudes (5:5), interprets this promise eschatologically, and sees it as referring not merely to the land of Canaan but to the entire world, and as including the renewal of human nature, for only one as glorious as Adam can inherit Adam's world. We are clearly dealing with an eschatological appropriation of Gen 1-2, and the linkage between Adam's inheritance and his glory makes it likely that we are also dealing with an eschatological appropriation of Ps 8.

For the Qumran community, as for many other Jews at the turn of the common era, Gen 1 and Ps 8 were not read as descriptions of the present human position before God and the created order. Both texts were read in the light of Ezek 28, which presents the Man in Eden as a divine or angelic being who fell from his exalted position. They were read protologically and eschatologically. Ps 8 was thus seen to promise heavenly wisdom, glory, and immortality for those who were cleansed from the polluting sin of Adam and his descendants.

A Common Underlying Pattern

The Adam Books, Pseudo-Philo, and the Qumran texts view Adam as a patriarch of Israel, whose legitimate descendants are righteous

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[26]This translation is from M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 251.

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Israelites (rather than humanity as a whole), and whose inheritance of glory and dominion will be given to those descendants in the eschaton. This provides the interpretive framework for reading Gen 1-2 and Ps 8. Such a framework is manifest in many other Jewish writings from the same period.[27] In his eulogy of Israel's heroes Sirach assigns a special place to Adam (49:16).[28] *Jubilees* sees Jacob as the completion of Adam, even as the Sabbath was the completion of creation (2:23), and presents Abraham as the true descendant of Adam (19:24). The promise to Abraham of a land and a multitude of progeny is seen as the fulfillment of the promise to Adam, and is interpreted eschatologically: Jacob's seed will fill and inherit the entire earth (19:21, 22:14, 32:19), and will "serve to establish heaven and to strengthen the earth and to renew all of the lights which are above the firmament" (19:25). The *Testament of Moses* states clearly that God created the world for the sake of his people Israel (1:12-13), and views the ultimate inheritance of Israel not as earthly but as heavenly:

> Et altabit te Deus,
> Et faciet te herere caelo stellarum
> Loco habitationis eorum.
> Et conspicies a summo
> et videbis inimicos tuos in Ge(henna),
>
> And God will raise you to the heights.
> Yea, he will fix you firmly in the heaven of the stars,
> in the place of their habitations.
> And you will behold from on high.
> Yea, you will see your enemies on the earth.[29] (10:9-10)

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[27]See Jervell, 41-42, 51, 78-84, 119; Scroggs, 22-31, 38-46, 54-58; Sharpe, 38-39, n. 13.

[28]Sirach views Adam as a patriarch of Israel. He does not, however, interpret his significance eschatologically.

[29]This translation is from J. Priest in *OTP* Vol 1. The Latin text

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This notion is taken up and expanded in 2 *Baruch*, where it is said that both this world and the next are created for the righteous (14:17-19, 15:5-7), who will receive "a crown with great glory" (15:8). These righteous ones, for whom both worlds are created, consist of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all who are like them (21:23-25), and the inheritance they receive is not earthly but heavenly:

> [10]For they will live in the heights of that world and they will be like the angels and be equal to the stars. [11]For the extents of Paradise will be spread out for them, and to them will be shown the beauty of the majesty of the living beings under the throne, as well as all the hosts of the angels... [12]And the excellence of the righteous will then be greater than that of the angels.[30]

We find a similar interpretation of Adam and his inheritance in 4 Ezra (6:53-59) and Paul's letter to the Romans (4:13). The Rabbinic literature, like Sirach, sees Adam as the patriarch of Israel, and righteous Jews as Adam's true descendants, but is more restrained in its eschatological speculations. However, the parallel between the angelic worship of Adam and the worship of the righteous in the age to come seen in the previous chapter points to the existence of a similar tradition.[31]

The national and eschatological appropriation of Adam and his inheritance was thus characteristic of many Jewish writings at the turn of the common era. The motif varies in its meaning and significance in the different works, depending on the overall ideology of the author(s) in question. The motif itself, however, can be found in diverse systems, and was apparently widespread. When Ps 8 was read in the light

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consulted is from R. H. Charles, *The Assumption of Moses* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1897).

[30]English translation is from A. F. J. Klijn in *OTP* Vol. 1.

[31]See Chapter III, 59-61.

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of Gen 1-2 as referring to Adam himself, then naturally it would also be read by many as referring to righteous Israelites in the world to come.

An Anthropomorphic Angel: The Son of Man

Daniel 7

Ps 8, Gen 1-2, and Ezek 28 were all understood in various Jewish circles of late antiquity as painting a picture of what awaited faithful Israelites in the eschaton. Was Ps 8 also applied to a particular individual who would play a special role in the outworking of the eschatological plan?

It is possible that Dan 7 provides us with just such a figure. In order to support this thesis, we must demonstrate two disputed points: first, that Dan 7 utilizes Ps 8, and second, that Daniel's "one like a son of Man" refers to an existing individual being and is not merely a cipher for the "holy ones of the Most High."

Paul Mosca has argued that the Son of Man in Dan 7 refers to the King of Israel, and draws from the imagery of Pss 89 and 8.[32] All three texts reflect the same underlying Canaanite mythological pattern, in which Baal defeats the rebellious Yamm (the Sea) and is then enthroned as king by the high God El.[33] This background is obvious for the hymn of Ps 89:5-18, but less obvious for the Davidic oracle of Ps 89:19-37. Mosca's argument for a messianic interpretation of Dan 7 hinges on the Davidic oracle, so he must show that the hymn and the oracle have the

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[32]"Ugarit and Daniel 7: A Missing Link," *Biblica* 67 (1986) 496-517.

[33]See Chapter II, 27-30.

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same Canaanite background. His attempt to do so is unsuccessful.[34] Therefore, his application of Dan 7 to the King of Israel is unsubstantiated.

Mosca's argument for Dan 7's dependence on Ps 8 is more impressive.[35] He points to several significant parallels: 1) the enemies of God in Ps 8:3 are "the primeval waters and/or associated monsters," and are therefore related to the four great beasts of Dan 7 which emerge "from the sea" (מן-ימא) after it has been stirred up by the four winds;[36] 2) the term "Son of Man" is found in both texts (בן-אדם in Ps 8, בר אנש in Dan 7); 3) in both texts the Son of Man is a royal figure, to whom glory and dominion are given;[37] 4) in both texts the humanity of this royal

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[34]He sees the mythological pattern in the following verses of the oracle (see 512-13): 1) Vs 26: "I will set his hand upon the sea, his right hand upon the rivers"; 2) Vs 27: "He shall cry to me, 'You are my Father'"; 3) Vs 28: "I will make him...the highest (עליון) of the kings of the earth"; 4) Vss 29-38 (eternal dominion). However, the background for these verses can be found for the most part in Nathan's oracle as reported in 2 Sam 7 (divine sonship, eternal dynasty) or in the expectation that the promises to Abraham would be fulfilled through the Davidic monarchy (dominion over the "sea" and the "river" is a reference to the geographic extension of the kingdom, as seen from Ex 23:31 and Ps 72:8). The application of the term *'elyon* to David may in similar fashion reflect the use of the term in Deut 26:19, where it is said that YHWH will make Israel high (עליון) above all other nations.

[35]Mosca is not the first to see such a connection. Such a relationship had been suggested by E. W. Heaton, *The Book of Daniel* (London: SCM, 1956) 185-86, D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964) 341, Hooker, *The Son of Man*, 18-19, 26-27 n.1, and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (New York: Doubleday, 1978) 98.

[36]Mosca's treatment of Ps 8 is found on 516-17. All quotes from Mosca in this paragraph are drawn from these pages.

[37]Mosca is not suggesting that Ps 8 is referring to the king of Israel. "I do not, of course, mean to imply that Psalm 8 was ever a 'royal psalm' in any technical sense, nor that *ben 'adam* was ever a royal title. Rather, the psalmist has 'democratized' the office of king." (516, n. 63.)

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figure is contrasted with the bestiality of others who are subjugated to him; 5) "the positioning of the 'one like a son of man' among 'the clouds of heaven' echoes the status of the 'son of man' in Ps 8,6: 'little less than divine'"; 6) the meditation on the royal dignity of the Son of Man in Ps 8 begins with the words "When I look at your heavens" (Ps 8:4); "this is in effect what Daniel is doing in his vision, looking at the heavens and seeing there not the defeat of the primeval foe, but the execution of the apocalyptic enemy."[38]

Collins dismisses the notion that Dan 7 depends upon Ps 8: "The gap [between Canaanite mythology and Dan 7] cannot be bridged by appeal to Ps 8, where בן אדם...is given supremacy over all creatures of land and sea, as the context there is reminiscent of Genesis 2 rather than of the *Chaoskampf*."[39] However, Mosca's argument cannot be evaded so easily. As our treatment of the modern interpretation of Ps 8 demonstrated, the *Chaoskampf* is clearly in view in vss 2-3, while the phrase כל שתה תחת-רגליו ("placing everything under his feet") raises the conflict motif in that part of the psalm which is also "reminiscent of Genesis 2." If, as some scholars contend, the phrase עבר ארחות ימים ("whatever travels along the the paths of the sea") in vs 9 refers to Leviathan,[40] then the conflict motif is further heightened, and the parallel to Dan 7 is strengthened.[41]

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[38]All of these features characterize the vision itself. The interpretation of the vision is less evocative of Ps 8.

[39]J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 293, n.137.

[40]See Chapter II, 34.

[41]The beasts of Dan 7 are sometimes compared with Leviathan. "The four

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As noted above, Mosca sees the "clouds of heaven" of Dan 7:13 as signifying the near-divine status of the Son of Man in Ps 8:6, where he renders אלהים as "God" rather than "angels." Many interpreters have also seen the plural "thrones" (כרסון) of Dan 7:9 as implying the heavenly enthronement of the Son of Man beside the Ancient of Days.[42] Rather than sitting, the multitudes of angelic beings stand in attention before the divine throne (Dan 7:10). Thus, the Son of Man appears to be greater than the angels. However, this superiority to the angels is not the focus of the vision or of its interpretation. Rather, the focus is on the subjection of all human authorities to the Son of Man. Dan 7:14a (the vision) and 7:27 (its interpretation) make this clear:

> ולה יהיב שלטן ויקר ומלכו
> וכל עממיא אמיא ולשניא לה יפלחון
>
> To him was given dominion, glory, and kingship,
> that all peoples, nations, and languages
> should serve/worship him.
>
> ומלכותה ושלטנא ורבותה די מלכות תחות כל-שמיא
> יתיבת לעם קדישי עליונין
> מלכותה מלכות עלם וכל שלטניא לה יפלחון וישתמעון:
>
> The kingship, dominion, and greatness of the kingdoms
> under all of heaven shall be given
> to the people of the holy ones of the Most High;
> their kingship shall be an everlasting kingship,
> and all dominions shall serve/worship and obey them.

The כל of these verses, referring to the nations of the earth, may be an echo of Ps 8:7, כל שתה תחת-רגליו. The verb פלח, which elsewhere in

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beasts are variants of Leviathan and Rahab and the monsters which inhabit or are associated with the sea" (J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* [Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977] 99). See also Gunkel, 328-29, 29-90; Hooker, 20, n. 1; Mosca, 500, n. 21; Collins, *Daniel* 288.

[42]For example, see A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1979) 142, and Collins, 301.

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Daniel always means "worship" (3:12, 14, 17, 18, 28; 6:16, 20), may likewise have the prostrate position of Ps 8:7 in view.[43] Thus, the Son of Man in Dan 7 is exalted above the angels of the divine court, but the text is mainly concerned with the subjugation of the human kingdoms which have resisted the divine rule. At the same time, the mythological imagery of the mighty beasts and the raging sea may also imply that there are rebellious spiritual powers behind these rebellious kingdoms, powers which also must be brought to subjection to the Son of Man and the people he represents.[44]

Having presented the arguments for detecting an echo of Ps 8 in Dan 7, we must now move on to our second disputed point. Who is this Son of Man, and who are the "the holy ones" and "the people of the holy ones" whom he represents? Has he a distinct individual existence, or is he merely a corporate symbol? The traditional view, espoused also by Mosca, holds that the Son of Man is the king of Israel, the Messiah, and the holy ones are his people.[45] This is supported by the fact that the four beasts are said in Dan 7:17 to be four kings, whereas in 7:23-24 the fourth beast is seen as a kingdom, and its horns are kings. The visionary figures thus seem to function as both individual and

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[43]In Dan 3:12, 14, 18, and 28 פלח is used in synonymous parallelism with סגד, which means "to fall prostrate" or "to worship."

[44]"Both Daniel 7 and 8 can be understood in the light of the heavenly battle explicitly described in 10:12-11:1 and in 12:1" (Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 142).

[45]Collins summarizes the present state of scholarly opinion: "...the traditional interpretation of the figure as the messiah...was still widely held down to the end of the nineteenth century but has been defended only occasionally in more recent times" (*Daniel*, 308). For another example of a modern exponent of the traditional position, see G. R. Beasley-Murray, "The Interpretation of Daniel 7," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 44-58.

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collective symbols. This is similar to the vision of Dan 2, which Dan 7 builds upon. In that vision the golden head of the statue stands for an individual king, Nebuchadnezzar (2:37-38), whereas the other metals and body parts are said to be kingdoms (2:39-45). It is Mosca's opinion that Dan 7 then develops the messianic imagery of Ps 89, and, assigning a messianic meaning to Ps 8, portrays the King of Israel as an exalted divine being.

Few scholars today accept such an interpretation. As we have seen, Mosca's argument for the messianic use of Ps 89 in Dan 7 is unconvincing. It is also noteworthy that there is no clear sign elsewhere in Daniel of a special eschatological role for the King of Israel. Finally, many point to the fact that the Son of Man appears only in Daniel's vision, whereas in the angelic interpretation of the vision (7:18, 27) it is the "holy ones of the Most High" or the "people of the holy ones of the Most High" who receive authority to govern the earth. The Son of Man is therefore merely a collective symbol for the people of Israel, and has no real individual existence.[46]

A growing number of scholars argue for an individual interpretation of the figure of the Son of Man, but see him as an angelic being such as Michael or Gabriel rather than as the human king of Israel.[47] This

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[46]Collins observes that "the collective interpretation...came to be the standard view by the end of the nineteenth century" and "has remained the standard view in the commentaries, e.g., Charles, Montgomery, Bentzen, Porteous, Plöger, Hartman and DiLella, Delcor" (*Daniel*, 309, n. 285).

[47]N. Schmidt proposed Michael in "The Son of Man in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 19 (1900) 22-28. He has been followed by many scholars, including Collins (*Apocalyptic Vision*, 144-146; *The Apocalyptic Imagination* [New York: Crossroad, 1992] 81-83; *Daniel*, 304-310). Z. Zevit argued for Gabriel in "The Structure and Individual Elements of Daniel 7," *ZAW* 80

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opinion is often joined to a similar angelic interpretation of the "holy ones of the Most High."[48] Advocates of this position accept the messianic argument that the visionary figures function simultaneously on an individual and collective level, but assert that the heavenly figure is "like a Son of Man" rather than simply being equated with a human being. Similar descriptions in Daniel refer to angels (10:16). In the Book of Dream Visions of 1 *Enoch*, written in the same period as Dan 7, animals represent human beings and men represent angels. In Dan 10:20-21, each nation is said to have an angelic prince, and earthly conflicts correspond to heavenly ones. Therefore, the one "like a Son of Man" may be the angelic Prince of Israel who represents God's people in the heavenly world.

Collins offers a persuasive argument against the common notion that because the Son of Man figure appears only in the vision and not in its interpretation, he must be merely symbolic:

> In the context of Daniel 7, it is quite clear that the four beasts are viewed as allegorical symbols...Because there is an evident contrast between the beasts from the sea and the human figure who comes with the clouds, many scholars have assumed that this figure too must be an allegorical symbol. However, the apparition of the "one like a human being" is separated from the beasts in the text by the description of the Ancient of Days, which is generally accepted as a mythic-realistic symbol for God. The Ancient One is assumed to exist outside the dream, and there is no more appropriate or familiar language by which he might be described. Accordingly, we are subsequently given no identification of the Ancient of Days by the angel. It is highly significant that the "one like a human being" is not interpreted either. He is associated with "the holy ones of the Most High" insofar as they too are said to

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(1968) 394-96.

[48]This was advocated initially by O. Procksch in "Der Menschensohn als Gottessohn," *Christentum und Wissenschaft* 3 (1927) 429. Collins argues vigorously for the angelic interpretation of "holy ones" (*Daniel*, 313-318).

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> receive the kingdom, but there is no one-to-one equation, such as we have with the beasts and the kings. If an argument is to be drawn from the nature of the symbolism, then, it should favor the view that the "one like a human being" is a symbol of the same order as the Ancient of Days -- a mythic-realistic depiction of a being who was believed to exist outside the vision.[49]

Thus, at this point the weight of the evidence is on the side of those who see Daniel's Son of Man as an anthropomorphic angel with a distinct individual existence.

This third interpretation is sometimes combined with the previous one by observing that Dan 12:2-3 implies an angelic transformation of the righteous in the world to come.[50] The one "like a Son of Man" in Daniel's vision is thus an angelic being, but he is not entirely distinct from Israel, but rather represents Israel's future glorified status. The vision is therefore again read in terms of the interpretation given by the angel in 7:18 and 7:27. The "holy ones of the Most High" and "the people of the holy ones of the Most High" are the elect people of Israel considered from the perspective of their eschatological angelomorphic existence.[51]

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[49] *Daniel*, 305.

[50] Lacocque, while asserting that the Son of Man in Daniel 7 is Michael, at the same time stresses the implications this has for the people he represents: "Already in Daniel 7, the people of the Holy Ones are, in the image of their head, the son of man, celestial as much as earthly" (131). "The assimilation of this people of Israelite Saints to divine stature is clearly expressed in the eternity of their reign, and in the cultic reverence and obedience of a religious order which is rendered to them by the nations" (154-55). The "doctrine of resurrection of the martyrs (12:2-3) follows naturally on the steps of the merger of heavens and earth. The resurrection is no consolation prize...It in fact realizes and manifests what has been historically true always and ever..." (132). This is also the view of M. Black ("The Messianism of the Parables of Enoch," in *The Messiah*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992] 147).

[51] It is also possible that the two phrases are not exactly equivalent:

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This latter version of the third interpretation is probably correct. If so, we find that a Jew of the second century B.C.E. could read Ps 8 as referring simultaneously to the legitimate descendants of Adam, who receive authority over the world, and to the angelic prince of Israel, who is enthroned in heaven over all other angelic powers. This is possible because the descendants of Adam are themselves destined to become angelic in nature. In fact, as seen in the Adam Books, the legitimate descendants of Adam -- that is, the elect covenant people -- are themselves to be enthroned above the angels. Thus, when Ps 8 was read eschatologically it could be seen as referring both to an individual and to the people whom he represents.

Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37-71)

The Parables of Enoch (1 *Enoch* 37-71) bring us forward some two hundred years. The central figure of the Parables is the Elect Son of Man, who is enthroned above the heavenly powers, and who will judge both human beings and angels in the eschatological denouement of history. In its description of this figure and that of the Ancient of Days (46:1-5), the Parables are unquestionably dependent on Dan 7. We are dealing with another anthropomorphic angel, who is both a distinct individual and a representative of the elect people of God. Therefore, the Parables have been influenced at least indirectly by Ps 8 through its eschatological and individual use in Dan 7. Is there also a more direct and conscious allusion to the psalm? By this point a rather

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"the holy ones of the Most High" may be the angels, and "the people of the holy ones of the Most High" may be Israel. Another possibility is that "the holy ones" originally referred to the angels, and that the addition of "the people" to the phrase was a gloss which was intended to indicate that it should be understood as referring to Israel.

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developed interpretation of Ps 8 has emerged in various Jewish circles.[52] Has this interpretation in any way affected the Parables?

The Elect Son of Man in 1 *Enoch* is a composite character based not only on Dan 7, but also on the Servant of YHWH (Isa 40-53), the Davidic Messiah (Isa 11, Pss 2, 110), and the enthroned Kavod of Ezekiel 1:26-28.[53] His heavenly enthronement has been explained by the influence of Dan 7, Ps 110, and Ezek 1. The possibility of dependence on the traditions of the enthroned Adam has been neglected by most scholars and rejected outright by others.[54] However, we will see that as the tradition develops and this heavenly figure is identified with particular men (e.g., Enoch, Abel), the allusions to Adam become

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[52]The ideology of the Adam Books has much in common with the ideology of the Enochian literature, and both sets of texts were likely read in the same circles. This is demonstrably true in regard to the early Christians, who preserved both sets of texts. As we will soon see, 2 *Enoch* and 3 *Enoch* also know and utilize both 1 *Enoch* and the Adam Books. It is possible that both sets of texts should be seen as emanating from related Jewish movements.

[53]M. Black ("Messianism") provides a helpful summary of scholarly opinion regarding the biblical background of the figure of the Elect Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch. He gives special attention to the work of J. Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter* (SEUNT Göttingen, 1975). In his article Black neglects the influence of the figure of Ezekiel's Kavod. However, in his commentary on 1 *Enoch* he does note that when the Elect Son of Man is introduced in 46:1 the phrase used to describe him ("the appearance of a man") is identical to that found in Ezek 1:26 (כמראה אדם) (*The Book of Enoch* [Leiden: Brill, 1985] 206). His throne is also called "the throne of glory" (55:4, 61:8, 62:5, 69:29), which may allude to Ezek 1:26-28. C. Rowland discusses the impact of Ezekiel's vision on the development of the Son of Man figure in both Dan 7 and the Parables of 1 *Enoch* (*The Open Heaven* [London: SPCK, 1982] 94-106).

[54]"Denn der Menschensohn in I Hen. hat nichts mit Adam zu tun. Es besteht nicht die geringste Spur einer Verbindung zwischen ihnen" (E. J. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch* [Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946] 193).

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difficult to dismiss.[55] If a primary antecedent of the Elect Son of Man (i.e., the angelic Prince of Israel of Dan 7) was depicted against the backdrop of the Adam tradition, and if the successor to his position (i.e., the transformed Enoch or Abel) was similarly described, is it not foolish to disregard the influence of the figure of the exalted Adam in the description of the Elect Son of Man himself?

There are several features of the Elect Son of Man in the Parables which could point in the direction of a dependence on the Adam tradition: 1) He is both a distinct individual and a representative of a people, just as the "Man" of Ps 8 was seen simultaneously as an individual and collective figure; 2) He is seated on "a glorious throne" (61:8), the throne of God himself (51:3). This could well reflect Ps 110:1, but it could also show the influence of the Adam traditions examined in the previous chapter.[56] The Son of Man of the Parables is truly "only a little less than God"; 3) From his throne he judges not only the human sphere, but also the angelic -- "He placed the Elect One on the throne of glory; and he shall judge *all* the works of the holy ones in heaven above, weighing in the balance their deeds" (61:8). The interpretation of Ps 8:7, according to which "the works of your hands"

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[55]As noted above, some scholars do recognize the influence of Ezek 1:26 on the figure of the Elect Son of Man in 1 *Enoch*. It is possible that the כבוד of Ezek 1 may also have played a significant role in the development of the figure of the glorious Adam. In the Targum to Ezek 1:26 the word אדם is retained, even though in Aramaic it only has meaning as a proper name: "above the likeness of the throne there was the likeness of the appearance of *Adam*" (see S. H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel* [Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1987] 22-23). If Ezek 1 and Gen 1 were read together in the first century, and if one accepts the influence of Ezek 1 on the figure of the Elect Son of Man, then one must also be open to the potential influence of the Adam traditions.

[56]On the impact of Ps 110:1 on the Parables, see Black, "Messianism," 153-155.

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and "everything" includes the angelic world, has much in common with this image of cosmic sovereignty; 4) The rulers of the earth "fall down before him on their faces, and worship...that Son of Man." This is usually seen as an illustration of the influence of the Servant of YHWH texts on the Parables (Isa 49:7), and such may be the case.[57] However, one must also point to Dan 7:14, 27 and Ps 8:7 as possible sources for this aspect of the Parables; 5) The Lord of the Spirits has "glorified" the Son of Man. In isolation, this would be insignificant, for the term is common. In context, the term could echo Ps 8:6; 6) Finally, in him resides perfect wisdom (49:3), and that wisdom is associated with his glory (49:2-3, 51:3), just as wisdom and glory are connected in Ezek 28 and in the interpretation of Ps 8.

Like the Son of Man of Dan 7, the Elect One of the Parables is a glorious angelic being. His glory is even more explicit in the Parables, for he is enthroned in heaven, his throne is that of God himself, and he is entrusted with the judgment of both human beings and angels. He was also named by the "Lord of the Spirits" before the creation of the world (48:2-3), and from that point he was concealed in his presence (48:6, 62:7). At the same time, his human features are also heightened through the application to him of messianic, servant of YHWH, and Adamic texts. In and through this glorious being humanity will attain its exalted end, which is to be like the angels (69:11), wearing the garments of eternal glory (62:15-16). Given the possible impact of Ps 8 on Dan 7, the way Ps 8 is interpreted in literature roughly contemporary with the Parables, and the future trajectory of the

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[57]Black, "Messianism," 156-161.

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tradition, it is also possible that Ps 8 has left its mark on 1 *Enoch* 37-71. However, we can assert with greater confidence the more general thesis that the figure of the Son of Man in *Enoch* has been influenced by the developing tradition of the exalted Adam.

An Angelomorphic Man: Enoch

2 Enoch

The Son of Man in Dan 7 and in the Parables of 1 *Enoch* is an angelic or divine being who is human in appearance and in representative function. This heavenly figure is portrayed in both documents with elements drawn from the developing exegetical and aggadic tradition related to Gen 1-2, Ps 8, and Ezek 28.

In contrast, 2 *Enoch*, 1 *Enoch* 71, and 3 *Enoch* present a different picture: we see here a human being, Enoch, descended from Adam, who is taken to heaven and becomes an angel. The Son of Man motif is thereby transformed along with Enoch. There is, however, a constant: the Adam texts and traditions, interpreted eschatologically, continue to supply a framework for understanding the role of the heavenly Man.

2 *Enoch* probably dates from the first century C.E. The book is part of the Enochian tradition, but it also has much in common with the Adam Books. Adam is an important figure in 2 *Enoch*. In 30:11-12 (J)[58] we hear of God's original purpose for him:

> And on the earth I assigned him to be a second angel, honored and great and glorious. And I assigned him to be a king, to reign [on] the earth, [and] to have my wisdom. And there was

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[58]The long recension used by Andersen is called ms. J, and the short recension is called ms. A.

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> nothing comparable to him on the earth, even among my creatures that exist.

The glory and wisdom of Adam are once again linked, recalling Ezek 28:12 and Ps 8:6. His wisdom is God's own wisdom, wisdom beyond that of even the angels (as is dramatized in the rabbinic version of the name-giving scene). What is the meaning of the strange phrase, "a second angel"? It could mean that Adam was created to serve "on the earth" in a manner corresponding to the service of the angels in heaven. The ordinal modifier could refer to the temporal sequence of creation -- the angels were brought into being on the second day (2 *Enoch* 29), whereas Adam was created on the sixth day. Another possibility is that "a second angel" means an angel with a rank second only to the first angel, Michael. In this case we must presume that Adam, like Enoch, was created to be enthroned at God's left hand with Gabriel (24:1). A third possibility should also be considered. If the phrase can be traced to a Hebrew original,[59] then perhaps the underlying noun was אלהים (rather than מלאך), a term which could easily have been rendered by ancient translators as "angel" on the analogy of Ps 8:6, to which it could be alluding.[60] The original meaning, therefore, would have been "a second God" -- just as Ps 8 presents Man as the delegated King of creation, and just as Ezek 28:14 refers to Adam as an אלהים.[61]

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[59]Scholars are undecided on the original language of 2 *Enoch*. See Stone, "Fall of Satan," 145, and F. I. Anderson's introduction to 2 *Enoch* in *OTP* 1:94. Anderson does state that "an original Semitic composition can still be suspected."

[60]It could also be alluding to Gen 1:26 and the צלם אלהים; if so, the text, like the Adam books, definitely sees Adam as <u>being</u> the image of God, not as created <u>according to</u> the image of God. See 2 *Enoch* 30:10 ("And [as my] image he knows the word like [no] other creature").

[61]It is possible that the term derives from Gen 41:43, where Joseph is

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In 58:1-2 (J & A) the story of the naming of the animals is recounted, and is followed by a statement of Adam's dominion which alludes to Ps 8:7b: "And he [the LORD] subjected everything beneath him" (58:3, A). A similar allusion to Ps 8:7b is found in 31:3 (J), where we read of the devil's awareness of Adam's exalted position:

> And the devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it.

As Stone comments, "Satan rebelled in some unspecified way against the creation of Adam," and it appears as if 2 *Enoch* "reflects the idea of a rivalry between Adam and Satan."[62] Though 2 *Enoch* remains opaque in its description of the occasion, motive, and form of Satan's disobedience, it is nevertheless significant that his fall is referred to in connection with Ps 8:7b, just as the naming of the animals is narrated in connection with the same verse. Though the actual account of Satan's fall is obscure in 2 *Enoch*, there are good reasons, as we shall soon see, for believing that the author knew the traditions reflected in the Adam Books.

Despite his important role in 2 *Enoch*, the central figure of the book is not Adam but Enoch himself. This is not surprising, for the entire Enochian tradition reflects the special honor given to this heavenly traveler. In the second century B.C.E. the book of *Jubilees*

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seated on the chariot of Pharaoh's "second (in command)" (וירכב אתו במרכבת המשנה אשר-לו). In apocalyptic circles the "chariot" of Joseph may have been understood as a throne. Thus, Adam is to God what Joseph was to Pharaoh. See Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 234, for an expression with similar meaning in Samaritan literature which is applied to Moses. On Philo's use of the phrase δεύτερος θεός as a title for the Logos, see A. Segal, *Two Powers*, 159-170, 261.

[62] 146.

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already portrays the translated Enoch as living in the garden of Eden and serving as an eternal scribe "writing condemnation and judgment of the world, and all of the evils of the children of men" (*Jub.* 4:23). By placing him in Eden, *Jubilees* implicitly makes Enoch a second Adam figure; he was born in the seventh generation from Adam, and, in his obedience to God, his escape from death, and his residence in the paradise that his ancestor forfeited, he shows himself to be the embodiment of what Adam was meant to be.[63] The picture of Enoch in *Jubilees* is also that of an eschatological figure, for he is recording the evil deeds which human beings are doing, and that record will be read at the final judgment.

As exalted as this picture is, it is far less exalted than that found in 2 *Enoch*. In this book the scribal role of Enoch in the final judgment is again emphasized (36:3, A), but now his habitation is no longer paradise, which is located merely in the third heaven; instead, he stands "in front of the face of the Lord forever" in the seventh heaven (21:3, 22:5-7, 67:2). This places him higher than most of the angels. At one point God even enthrones him at his left hand with Gabriel (24:1),[64] and reveals to him mysteries which none of the angels has known (24:3). In order to attain this exalted position, Enoch must put off his mortal nature and be transformed so that his body becomes

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[63]The Adam-Enoch correlation is pointed out clearly by A. J. M. Wedderburn: "Of those figures who are individually contrasted with Adam the first is Enoch; on his translation he was brought into paradise whence Adam and Eve had lately been expelled (Jub. iv 23, cf. ii 29)" (*Adam and Christ: An Investigation into the Background of 1 Corinthians xv and Romans v 12-21* [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1970] 78).

[64]J: "...and he said to me, 'Enoch, sit to the left of me with Gabriel.'" A: "...he placed me to the left of himself closer than Gabriel."

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angelic. This process is described as a divesting of "earthly clothing" and an investiture with "clothes of glory" (22:8). This is, as Himmelfarb contends, a priestly installation, but the garments also recall the clothes of glory which Adam lost.[65]

The investiture of Enoch in 2 *Enoch* deserves more attention. The text reads as follows:

> I saw the view of the face of the LORD...And I fell down flat and did obeisance to the LORD. And the LORD, with his own mouth, said to me, "Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and stand in front of my face forever." And Michael, the LORD's archistratig, lifted me up and brought me in front of the face of the LORD. And the LORD said to his servants, sounding them out [*iskusiti*], "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" And the LORD's glorious ones did obeisance and said, "Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O LORD. And the LORD said to Michael, "Go, and extract Enoch from [his] earthly clothing. And anoint him with my delightful oil, and put him into the clothes of my glory." And so Michael did, just as the LORD had said to him. He anointed me and he clothed me. And the appearance of that oil is greater than the greatest light, and its ointment is like sweet dew, and its fragrance myrrh; and it is like the rays of the glittering sun. And I looked at myself, and I had become like one of his glorious ones, and there was no observable difference.[66] (22:1, 4-10, J)

In a footnote, Andersen points out that the verb *iskusiti*, found in both the short and the long recension, literally means "test" or "tempt."[67] This sense of the word is highlighted by M. E. Stone, who argues that in

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[65]M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 40-41. M. Idel sees Enoch's new garments in 2 *Enoch* as "reminiscent of Adam's lost garments of light" (224). The connection between priestly investiture and the light-garments of Adam is found in Ezek 28, which describes the "beauty" of Adam as consisting of his possession of the twelve brilliant gems (see the LXX) which were part of the high-priest's breast plate.

[66]All English translations of 2 *Enoch* are taken from F. I. Andersen's version in *OTP* 1.

[67]*OTP* 1:138, n. 22j.

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this heavenly interaction "God is testing the angels."[68] Stone continues:

> The words "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" imply clearly that it is the angels' obedience that is being tested. God is going to turn Enoch into an archangel, and indeed, in vv. 8-10 his metamorphosis is described...God tests the archangels' reaction to this decision of his to change Enoch's role and status from an ordinary human to a heavenly, angelic being.

Stone makes clear the reason for the test: the situation is parallel to what happened at the creation of Adam (according to the Adam Books), when some of the angels rejected God's purpose; now they are given another test to see if they will submit. The parallels, as Stone points out, are striking:[69]

Adam is created	--	Enoch is brought to heaven
Michael brings Adam to God and Adam does obeisance	--	Michael brings Enoch to God and Enoch does obeisance
God commands the angels to prostrate themselves, and Satan refuses	--	God tests the angels, sounding them out; the angels bow before Enoch

G. A. Anderson draws out some of the implications of this parallel:

> ...the angels (or a portion of them) failed such a test the first time and did not show honor toward the angelic potentiality of the human creation. In the Enoch materials the angels relent and accord the human figure the honor that he is due. Indeed one cannot imagine that the tradition in the Enoch materials was created independently from the tradition found in the Vita. The Vita presents the opening scene of a tradition whose final act, at least according to one level of its development, takes place during the era of Enoch.[70]

The author of 2 *Enoch* knew the traditions found in the Adam Books, and

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[68] 147.

[69] 148. The essential parallel was already noted by Wedderburn: "in Slavonic Enoch he [Enoch] inherits the blessings forfeited by the first man, including the reverence of the angels" (78).

[70] Anderson, 28-29.

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presumably he also understood their midrashic underpinnings. This is certainly supported by the allusions to Ps 8 found elsewhere in the book. The transformed angelomorphic Enoch is thus being presented as the new Adam, who enters into the eschatological inheritance of the righteous in advance of the final visitation of God. He is a pledge of what awaits all who are faithful.

Though Enoch is portrayed in 2 *Enoch* as a new Adam, and though he is exalted to the seventh heaven, will function as a scribe in the final judgment, and even for a time is enthroned at God's left hand, he is not himself the agent of the final judgment, like the Son of Man in the Parables. He is also not the highest of the angels, for Michael, "the LORD's greatest archangel" (22:6), has a higher position than he.[71] We have here an application of Ps 8 to a particular human being, Enoch, who has a role in the outworking of the eschatological plan. Still, he is not himself at the heart of that plan.

Parables of Enoch

In the final version of the Parables of Enoch, however, we find that Enoch has obtained the ultimate stage of exaltation: in 71:14 he himself is declared to be the Son of Man. This probably represents a redactor's addition to the book which carries the trajectory of 2 *Enoch* to its logical end.[72] Now Enoch, the son of Adam, who on the human

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[71]"Aber er wird nicht der Höchste im Himmel nächst Gott. Er sitzt mit Gabriel auf der linken Seite Gottes -- die rechte is sicher, obgleich dies nicht ausdrücklich gesagt wird, Michael vorgehalten. Das ist ein Unterschied im Verhältnis zu I Hen. 71" (Sjöberg, 171).

[72]Whether the identification of Enoch as the Son of Man was originally part of the Parables or was a later addition has been much discussed and disputed. Among recent scholars, Collins sees it as an addition

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level fulfills the vocation of Adam, living forever in the garden of Eden, is identified with the Son of Man, who on the highest heavenly level fulfills the vocation of Adam, representing God (as his image) and sitting enthroned above the angels.

The figure of Enoch in the Parables apart from chapter 71 fits the picture seen in *Jubilees*. In the opening verse of the Parables, the genealogy of Enoch is given:

> ...Enoch, son of Jared, son of Mahalalel, son of Kenan, son of Enosh, son of Seth, son of Adam. (37:1)

Later in the book he is described as "the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of the Spirits created" (60:8).[73] As a righteous man born in the seventh generation after Adam, descended from the first man through Enosh and Seth, the son of Adam (see Ps 8:5), Enoch is the one who fulfills key aspects of Adam's true vocation. Enoch never dies, and thus his righteousness enables him to experience the immortality which Adam forfeited. His dwelling place -- paradise (60:8)[74] -- is the blessed abode lost by Adam. It is also noteworthy that the same verses which speak of Enoch as the seventh from Adam and as having been taken

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(*Apocalyptic Imagination*, 151-53), whereas J. VanderKam argues for its originality ("The Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71," in *The Messiah*, 182-85).

[73]See 1 *Enoch* 93:3, where, in the Apocalypse of Weeks, Enoch states "I was born the seventh during the first week." Enoch thus corresponds to the Sabbath, which prefigures the world to come. In *Aristobulus*, Fragment 5, the Alexandrian writes: "According to the laws of nature, the seventh day might be called first also, as the genesis of light in which all things are contemplated. And the same thing might be said metaphorically about wisdom also. For all light has its origin in it" (English translation by A. Yarbro Collins, *OTP* 2). Thus, the seventh member in a sequence has a special identification with the first member.

[74]See also *Jub.* 4:23-26. This differs from 2 *Enoch* and also from the view of 1 *Enoch* 71, which would place Enoch not in paradise but on the throne of glory.

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to the garden of Eden also speak of the great mythological monsters of the *Urzeit-Endzeit*, Leviathan and Behemoth (60:7-8, 24-25), the former of which is probably also referred to in Ps 8:9. Therefore, even before one encounters the more exalted Enoch of 2 *Enoch*, or reconsiders the Son of Man of 1 *Enoch* 36-70 in the light of chapter 71, one recognizes in the person of Enoch the true Son of Adam, בן-אדם, who is worthy to receive the eschatological inheritance promised in Ps 8.

However, the revelation of 1 *Enoch* 71 provides a new perspective. Now Enoch is not only a scribe assisting in the final judgment; he is himself the judge. He does not dwell in paradise, nor does he stand perpetually before the Lord of the Spirits, nor does he even sit at God's left hand and behold the mysteries of the universe; instead, he sits on the throne of glory itself, the divine throne, and reigns over human beings and angels. This picture is close to that found in the Adam Books, and thus fits well with the traditional interpretation of Ps 8. However, it even transcends that exalted vision of human glory. Enoch has become not only the highest of the angels; he has become the vicegerent of God, the heavenly Man, perhaps even the anthropomorphic Glory (כבוד) of God himself.

3 Enoch

In 3 *Enoch* the thorough reconstitution of the Son of Man figure of 1 *Enoch* 37-70 is carried out in line with the revelation of 1 *Enoch* 71. The Elect Son of Man of the Parables is now Metatron, the one "greater than all the princes, more exalted than all the angels" (גדול מכל השרים וגבוה מכל המלאכים) (4:1, §5), who sits on "a throne like the throne of glory" (10:1, §13), is clothed in "a glorious cloak in which brightness,

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brilliance, splendor, and luster of every kind were fixed" (מעיל כבוד שכל מיני תאר זיו זהר הדר קבועין בו) (12:2, §15), and is crowned with a "glorious crown" (כתר כבוד) (14:5, §18) which is inscribed with the name of God (12:4, §15; 13:1-2, §16). He is called "The lesser YHWH," and the key biblical text referring to the Angel of the Lord (Ex 23:21) is applied to him.[75] All the angelic princes fall prostrate before Metatron because of the "radiance of the glorious crown which was on my head" (14:5, §18). Metatron sits upon his throne, which is positioned at the entrance to the seventh heavenly palace, and judges "all the denizens of the heights on the authority of the Holy One" (16:1, §20). The equation between this figure and Enoch, which is introduced only at the end of the Parables of 1 *Enoch*, is here made clear from the outset (4:2-5, §5). The description of his investiture (12:1-2, §15), coronation (12:4, §15), enthronement (10:1, §13), and angelomorphic transformation into a being of fire (15:1-2, §19) are a colorful expansion of 2 *Enoch* 22.[76] 3 *Enoch* has therefore combined the traditions of 1 *Enoch* and 2 *Enoch* in its depiction of Enoch-Metatron.

In its initial presentation of Enoch's heavenly exaltation 3 *Enoch* also draws upon the rabbinic midrashic treatment of Ps 8, though it eliminates the actual words of the psalm.

> נתני [וזיווגי] ה'ב'ה' במרום לשר ולנגיד בין מלאכי השרת[77]
> באותה שעה באו שלשה מלאכים ממלאכי השרת עזה עזה ועזאל

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[75]"He set it upon my head and he called me, 'The lesser YHWH' (יהוה הקטן) in the presence of his whole household in the height, as it is written, 'My name is in him'" (12:5, §15).

[76]See Alexander's introduction, *OTP* 1:247-48.

[77]נתני, based on the Musajoff manuscript, is the reading preferred by Alexander. *Synopse* §5 has זיווגי, which is difficult to translate; Alexander suggests "took me into partnership" (*OTP* 1:258, n. 4i).

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והיו מסטינין עלי בשמי מרום
ואמרו לפני ה'ב'ה'
לא יפה אמרו ראשונים לפניך לא לא תברא אדם
עוד משיב ה'ב'ה' ואומר להם
אני עשיתי ואני אשא אני אסבול ואמלט
וכיון שראו אותי אמרו לפניו
רבונו של עולם מה טיבו של זה שעולה למרום מרומים
לא מבני בניהם של הללו שאבדו בימי המבול הוא מה טיבו ברקיע
עוד משיב ה'ב'ה' ואומר להם
מה טבכם שאתם נכנסים לדברי
שאני הפצתי בזה יותר מכולכם להיות שר ולנגיד עליכם בשמי מרום
מיד עמדו כולם ויצאו לקראתי והשתחוו לפני ואמרו
אשריך ואשרי הוריך שרצה בך קונך

And the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of the ministering angels, 'Uzzah, 'Azzah, and 'Aza'el, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be he, 'Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, Do not create man!' The Holy One, blessed be he, replied, 'I have made and will sustain him; I will carry and deliver him.'[78] When they saw me they said before him, 'Lord of the Universe, what right has this one to ascend to the height of heights? Is he not descended from those who perished in the waters of the Flood? What right has he[79] to be in heaven? Again the Holy One, blessed be he, replied, and said to them, 'What right have you to interrupt me? I have chosen this one in preference to all of you, to be a prince and a ruler over you in the heavenly heights.' At once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying 'Happy are

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[78]As Alexander observes *OTP* 1:259 n. 4k), this reference to the "primeval ones" (לא יפה אמרו ראשונים לפניך) and the divine response drawn from Is 46:4 is a reworking of the midrash on Ps 8 found in *b. Sanh.* 38b. (Note: the section from *b. Sanh.* 38b which is reworked forms the conclusion of the unit which we cited in Chapter III, 38-39. Since it refers to the generation of the flood rather than to Adam, it was not relevant to that chapter, and so was not included in the quoted text. The Hebrew is as follows: כיון שהגיע לאצל דור המבול ואצל דור הפלגה שמעשיהן מקולקלין אמרו לפניו רבש"ע לא יפה אמרו ראשונים לפניך אמר להן... אני אסבול וגו'.)

[79]Anderson translates this as "What is the <u>nature</u> of this one who has ascended..." (31-32). He similarly translates the divine response as "What is your nature that you interrupt my words?" Anderson's translation is more literal, as טיב is a noun meaning "form, nature, character, peculiarity," and the question מה טיב can mean "what is the nature of..." However, it can also mean "Who is this person, that he...", and thus "What right has he..." See M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1985) 529a.

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> you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you.' (4:5b-9, §5-6)

We clearly recognize here the angelic complaint in regard to Adam's creation, which elsewhere in rabbinic material is almost universally tied to Ps 8. The complaint of the angels in regard to Enoch's presence in heaven also resembles the rabbinic application of this psalm to Moses and his ascent to heaven, to be discussed in our next chapter.[80] As seen in our previous chapter, the angels who oppose Enoch's ascent, 'Uzzah, 'Azzah, and 'Aza'el, are evil beings.[81] This relates the text to Ps 8's early interpretive tradition found in *Pirqe R. El.* and the Adam Books. The true motivation for the complaint is envy, for Enoch, like Adam and Moses-Israel, is chosen "in preference to all of you, to be a prince and a ruler over you in the heavenly heights." However, in contrast to the earlier traditions, the "evil" angels readily worship the man who has been set over them.[82] It is significant that the ultimate angelic submission to the divine will is expressed through prostration before Enoch, even as the angels were beckoned to give up their envy and worship Adam, the image of God. 3 *Enoch* thus seems to be sewing together rabbinic, Adam, and Enochian traditions in its portrayal of the ascended and glorified Enoch. It is likely that

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[80]Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 98.

[81]See Chapter III, 53.

[82]We see a similar tendency at work here as seen in the rabbinic tradition as a whole. The complaining angels were originally evil and envious, but within rabbinic circles they are somewhat rehabilitated. 3 *Enoch* reveals both the original and the later notions. A similar phenomenon is seen regarding the angelic worship of Adam-Enoch. The rabbinic tradition seeks to undermine this motif; 3 *Enoch* preserves it in an extravagant form, but then undermines it in a different way. See the final paragraph of our treatment of this book, 145-46.

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Ps 8 was important in the development of all three sets of traditions.

Why does 3 *Enoch* remove the angelic complaint from its original rabbinic context, a midrash on Ps 8? When one examines chapter 4 in relation to chapters 5 and 6 of 3 *Enoch*, it becomes clear that this motif has not been completely severed from its original midrashic setting. These three chapters provide three sets of angelic complaints -- the first and the third are both uttered in response to Enoch's ascent to heaven. The third is as follows:

> וכיון שהגעתי לשמי מרום והיו
> חיות הקדש ואופנים ושרפים וכרובים וגלגלי המרכבה ומשרתי אש אוכלה
> מריחין את ריחי בריחוק שלש מאות וששים וחמשת אלפים רבבות פרסאות
> ואומרים מה ריח ילוד אשה ומה טעם טיפת לבן
> שהיא עולה לשמי מרום וישמש בין חוצבי שלהבת
> משיב ה'ב'ה' ואומר להם
> משרתיי צבאיי כרוביי ואופנייי ושרפיי אל ידע לכם בדבר זה
> שכל בני אדם כפרו בי ובמלכותי הגדולה והלכו ועבדו ע'ז'
> ו{?}סלקתי שכינתי מביניהם והעליתיה למרום
> וזה שנטלתי מביניהם מובחר שבכולם
> וזה שקול כנגד כולם באמו(נה) ובצדקה ובכשרון מעש
> וזה שנטלתי שכרי בעולמי תחת כל השמי(ם)
>
> As soon as I reached the heavenly heights, the holy creatures, the ophanim, the seraphim, the cherubim, the wheels of the chariot and the ministers of consuming fire, smelled my odor 365,000 myriads of parasangs off; they said, "What is this smell of one born of woman? Why does a white drop ascend on high and serve among those who cleave the flames?" The Holy One, blessed be he, replied and said to them, "My ministers, my hosts, my cherubim, my ophanim, and my seraphim, do not be displeased at this, for all mankind has rejected me and my great kingdom and has gone off and worshiped idols. So I have taken up my Shekinah from their midst and brought it up to the height. And this one whom I have removed from them is the choicest of them all and worth them all in faith, righteousness, and fitting conduct. This one whom I have taken is my sole reward from my whole world under heaven." (6:2-3, §9)

We have here another version of the same story told in chapter 4. However, there are many differences. First, the angels who complain are not the evil beings of chapter 4, but the holy ones most intimately tied to the merkavah. Second, the nature of their complaint differs. Here it is the *humanity* of Enoch which is at issue, not his sin or the sin of

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his family. They are not accusing Enoch of anything, but only pointing out what kind of being he is. Third, the motive of the complaint here seems genuine. Part of their job is to guard the heavenly throne; their response to Enoch is reasonable, for it is inappropriate that a mortal should worship among the ministering angels before the heavenly throne of God.[83] Fourth and finally, the divine answer to the question of the holy beings is courteous in tone. There is no rebuke here, as in chapter 4, but only an explanation of YHWH's apparently unseemly action. Among the many differences between the angelic complaints of chapters 4 and 6, one should not miss a striking similarity: they are both described apart from the standard rabbinic text of angelic complaint, Ps 8.

The wording of the angelic complaint in 3 *Enoch* 6 is drawn from Job 15:14-16, a biblical text which is itself a reworking of Ps 8:5.[84]

מה-אנוש כי-יזכה וכי-יצדק ילוד אשה:
הן בקדשו לא יאמין ושמים לא-זכו בעיניו:
אף כי-נתעב ונאלח איש-שתה כמים עולה:

What is man, that he can be clean?
  Or he that is born of a woman, that he can be righteous?
Behold, God puts no trust in his holy ones,
  and the heavens are not clean in his sight;
how much less one who is abominable and corrupt,
  a man who drinks iniquity like water! (RSV)

In the chiasm of vs 14 "he that is born of woman" (ילוד אשה) is parallel to "man" (אנוש). As אנוש here corresponds to אנוש in Ps 8:5, so ילוד אשה corresponds to בן-אדם. Because of the mention of the angels and

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[83]"The question about the nature of these human intruders...concerns the proper role of angels as the guardians of the sancta" (Anderson, 34).

[84]For an excellent discussion of how Job 7:17-18 and 15:14-16 play off of Ps 8, see Fishbane, 285-86.

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the heavens, the Job text was especially appropriate to expressions of angelic disapproval at a human heavenly ascent. As we will see in our next chapter, it was joined to Ps 8:5 in rabbinic depictions of the angelic response to the ascent of Moses. Just as 3 *Enoch* 4 draws upon the rabbinic midrash of Ps 8 as it relates to the creation of Adam, so 3 *Enoch* 6 builds upon the rabbinic use of Ps 8 and Job 15 to portray the angelic rejection of Moses as he ascends to receive the Torah. However, in both cases the explicit reference to Ps 8 is eliminated.

As already noted, the middle chapter of this unit, chapter 5, also depicts a scene of angelic complaint. At first this scene appears unrelated to those contained in the chapters which frame it. Enoch is not in view. The issue is not whether a man can ascend to heaven, but rather whether the Shekinah should continue to dwell on earth in the garden of Eden, where it remained even after Adam was banished from its immediate presence. Also, the angelic plea actually receives a favorable response. As a result of the idolatry of the generation of Enosh, God heeds the counsel of his ministering angels and removes his Shekinah from the earth and sets it in heaven. However, the most important unique feature of this central narrative for our purpose is the fact that this time the words of the angels <u>are</u> drawn from Ps 8. The midrashic context of the motif is preserved.

באותה שעה קשרו מלאכי השרת[85] קטיגור לפני ה'ב'ה' ואמרו לפניו
רבונו של עולם מה לך אצל בני אדם שנא'
מה אנוש כי תזכרונה
מה אדם לא נאמר כאן אלא מה אנוש שהוא ראש לע'ז'
מפני מה הנחת את שמי שמים העליונים מלון כבוד שמך
וכסא רם ונשא שברום ערבות

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[85]The expression קשרו...קטיגור is drawn from *T. Sota* 6:5, the earliest recorded version of the angelic complaint about the creation of Adam. See 41-42, 50.

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וכסא רם ונשא שברום ערבות
ובאת ולנת עם בני אדם שעבדים ע'ז' והשו אותך בע'ז'
עכשו אתה בארץ וע'ז' בארץ מה טיבך בין דרי הארץ עובדי ע'ז'
מיד סילק ה'ב'ה' שכינתו מן הארץ מביניהם

Thereupon the ministering angels conspired to bring a complaint before the Holy One, blessed be he. They said in his presence, "Lord of the Universe, what business have you with man, as it is written, 'What is man (*enosh*) that you should spare a thought for him?' It does not say here, 'What is Adam?' but, 'What is Enosh?' because Enosh is the chief of the idolaters. Why did you leave the heaven of heavens above, the abode of your glory, the high and exalted throne which is in the height of 'Arabot, and come and lodge with men who worship idols? Now you are on the earth, and the idols are on the earth; what is your business among the idolatrous inhabitants of the earth?" Immediately the Holy One, blessed be he, took up his Shekinah from the earth, from their midst. (5:10-12, §8)

This treatment of Ps 8:5a builds upon the two biblical uses of the word אנוש, as a term referring to human beings in general and as a proper name for the son of Seth. As earlier midrashim on Ps 8 had seen אנוש as referring to a particular individual -- Adam -- so this midrash, building upon the earlier exegetical tradition, sees אנוש as referring to a particular individual and also to the people of his generation.[86]

Is 3 *Enoch* 5 merely providing a midrash of one verse from Ps 8, or is it seeking to interpret the entire psalm? A careful examination of the chapter as a whole leads to the latter conclusion. The great blessings given to אנוש and בן-אדם in Ps 8:6-9 -- dominion over the created order -- correspond to the blessings bestowed by the presence of the Shekinah on earth:

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[86]The contrast between Adam and Enosh in chapter 5 explains the absence of Ps 8 in chapter 4, where the angels complain about both Adam and Enoch. The author wants to say that אנוש in Ps 8:3a refers to Enosh, not to Adam. This is obviously an attempted correction of an earlier tradition in which אנוש *was* understood as referring to Adam. On early Jewish traditions regarding the sin and punishment of Enosh and his generation, see Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte*, 134-152.

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ואדם הראשון ודורו יושבין על פתח גן עדן
להסתכל בדמות תואר של זיו השכינה
לפי שזיו השכינה היה מהלך מסוף העולם ועד סופו
על אחת ששים וחמשה אלפים בגלגל חמה
שכל המשתמש בזיו אותה השכינה אין זבובין ויתושין שורין בו
ואינו חולה ואינו מצטער ואין מזיקין יכולין להזיק אותו
ולא עוד אלא אפי' מלאכים אין שולטין בו

> The first man and his generation dwelt at the gate of the garden of Eden so that they might gaze at the bright image of the Shekinah, for the brilliance of the Shekinah radiated from one end of the world to the other, 365,000 times more brightly than the sun; anyone who made use of the brightness of the Shekinah was not troubled by flies or gnats, by sickness or pain; malicious demons were not able to harm him, and even the angels had no power over him. (5:3-4, §7)

By making use of the "glory" of the divine radiance, Adam and his generation, even after being expelled from the garden, are able to experience a limited dominion over insects, demons, and angels. We once again encounter a reading of Ps 8 which sees it as speaking about human authority over angelic powers. What heinous act of Enosh and his generation forfeits these blessings? Through the instruction of the evil angels these men use magic to bring the sun, moon, and stars to earth, and set them before idols so that they might serve those false gods in the same way as they previously worshiped the true God. When the complaining angels appeal to God in the words of Ps 8:5, one can thus read 8:4 as part of their complaint:

> When I look at your heavens, the works of your fingers,
> the moon and stars which you have established
> [now brought to earth and perverted by Enosh and his generation]
> What is Enosh, or the generation of Enosh, that you care for them [by allowing them to enjoy the blessings of the Shekinah].

As in *Midr. Teh.* 8:7, the "works" of Ps 8:4 may be seen as linked to the "works" of Ps 8:8 -- the generation of Enosh has exercised dominion even

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over the heavenly works of God.[87]

A close reading of chapters 5 and 6 together shows that, contrary to first impressions, the two stories are intimately connected. The description of Enoch's ascent in chapter 6 is instructive: "he brought me up with the Shekinah to the heavenly heights" (6:1, §9). Enoch's ascent is thereby associated with the ascent of the Shekinah portrayed in the verses immediately preceding it (5:12-14, §8).[88] The linking of these two events is further demonstrated in the divine justification of Enoch's presence in heaven:

> ...all mankind has rejected me and my great kingdom and has gone off and worshiped idols. So I have taken up my Shekinah from their midst and brought it up to the height. And this one whom I have removed from them is the choicest of them all...This one whom I have taken is my sole reward from my whole world under heaven." (6:2-3, §9)

Enoch is the only man of his generation who truly belongs in the presence of the Shekinah. All of the blessings described by Ps 8, which had been enjoyed by Adam and his generation in some measure even after the expulsion from the garden, belong rightfully to Enoch. Therefore, when the Shekinah is removed from earth, Enoch is removed with it, and is given not limited but full access to the Shekinah and the glory and dominion portrayed in Ps 8. The narrative of chapter 5 thus provides the rationale for Enoch's ascent. The success of the angelic appeal in chapter 5 is thus responsible for the failure of the angelic complaint in chapter 6.[89]

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[87]See Chapter III, 62-65, and Chapter V, 203-205.

[88]See Sjöberg, 184, n. 93.

[89]As the angelic unrest at the ascent of Enoch resembles the opposition to the ascent of Moses (which in rabbinic tradition is associated with Ps 8), so the objection to the continued presence of the Shekinah on

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Thus, 3 *Enoch* agrees with the midrashic tradition in seeing Ps 8 as describing the glory of Adam and his superiority to the angels. As was apparently common, it also applies this to a later figure, Enoch, who is presented as a second Adam. However, it modifies the traditional reading of the complaint motif in Ps 8:5, and sees it as referring only to Enosh and his idolatrous generation. Nevertheless, 3 *Enoch* maintains the angelic complaint in regard to Adam and Enoch while severing it from its original midrashic context.

Signs of Ps 8's influence on 3 *Enoch* are thus evident in the use of the angelic complaint motif. This influence is also seen in Enoch's clothes and crown of glory (a combining of the two traditional interpretations of Ps 8:6b) and the subjection of the angels to him, expressed physically through their prostration. The latter is significant, for it offers a striking parallel to the angelic worship of Adam in the Adam and Eve literature, and provides further evidence for the application of the word כל in Ps 8:7b to angelic powers. In addition, one of Enoch-Metatron's titles -- "the glory of highest heaven" (הדר מרום כל) (13:1, §16; 15:1, §19; 16:1, §20) -- may derive from the second element of the crown (כבוד והדר) given to בן-אדם in Ps 8:6.

As seen in our previous chapter, Anderson has pointed to two other examples of Ps 8's impact on 3 *Enoch*. He argues first that Ps 8 may

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earth corresponds to the motif of angelic opposition to the earthly construction of the tabernacle, in which the Shekinah would again abide among human beings (also associated in rabbinic tradition with Ps 8). As a mystical text, 3 *Enoch* is not concerned with the earthly sanctuary but with the heavenly one, where the merkavah adept desires to go, following in the steps of Enoch and Ishmael. Thus the angelic opposition to the Shekinah remaining on earth is successful, but their attempt at blocking the way of Enoch is thwarted.

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explain the fact that Metatron is called "Youth" in the heavenly heights (4:1).[90] Just as the Adam Books stress the fact that Adam is created after the angels, and though younger than them is still fit to receive their worship, so Metatron is the newcomer to heaven who is promoted above those with greater seniority. Anderson contends that both texts may be based on Ps 8:6, where "Man" is said to be "a little less than אלהים." If אלהים is understood to refer to angels, then the "little less" could refer to the lower position in the family birth order, and the exaltation of "Man" over the angels would resemble the Old Testament motif of the younger being chosen above the elder.[91]

Anderson also contends that a text in another section of 3 *Enoch* may reflect the wording of Ps 8:5.[92]

> אלף אמר ה'ב'ה' איברתיו לקחתיו פקדתיו
> למטטרון עבדי שהוא אחד מכל בני מרומים כולן...
> ופקדתיו על כל גנזים ואוצרות שיש לי בכל רקיע ורקיע
> ומפתחי של כל אחד ואחד מסרתים בידו
> ושר על כל השרים עשיתיו משרת לכסא כבודי
>
> The Holy One, blessed be he, said: I made him strong, I took him, I appointed him, namely, Metatron my servant, who is unique among all the denizens of the heights...[93] "I appointed him" -- over all the storehouses and treasuries which I have in every heaven, and I entrusted to him the keys of each of them. I set him as a prince over all the princes, and made him a minister of the throne of glory. (48C:1, 3-4a, §72)

The Hebrew word used for appointing, פקד, is that which is found in Ps 8:5:

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[90]Anderson, 34-35, 37 n. 69.

[91]Ibid., 38-40.

[92]Ibid., 36-38.

[93]Anderson translates this as "that he be one among all the heavenly beings."

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מה-אנוש כי-תזכרנו ובן-אדם כי תפקדנו

What is Man, that you are attentive to him,
the Son of Man, that you take concern for him?

In the context of Ps 8 the word is usually understood as referring to God's care for human beings; Anderson thinks that the verse is interpreted in 3 *Enoch* as referring to the gracious divine election which has exalted Enoch, the son of Adam, above all the angelic hosts. His argument is persuasive, for פקד was not the normal word for appointment when 3 *Enoch* was written;[94] its use here indicates an allusion to a biblical text.

3 *Enoch* therefore brings together the motifs developed in rabbinic circles with those which had emerged in the Enochian and Adam literature, and, with Ps 8 clearly in view, applies them to Enoch-Metatron. In a sense 3 *Enoch* is the summit of these traditions. In another sense, however, the book undercuts those very traditions. The chapters which depict the near-divine position of Metatron (3-15) are immediately succeeded by the story of Elisha ben Abuya's ascent to heaven and confession of Metatron as a second divine power, and the subsequent punishment and dethroning of Metatron (16). In the chapters that follow Metatron is the angelic agent of revelation for Ishmael, showing him the mysteries of the heavenly palaces and of the future judgment. However, Metatron himself is no longer the object of revelation. His place within the heavenly palaces is not again described. More importantly, when the judgment scene is presented (28-33), and when the final events of history are surveyed (45:5-6, 48A), Metatron has no role in them. The heavenly Son of Man of Daniel

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[94]The normal term in Rabbinic Hebrew for "appointment" is מנה.

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and of the Parables of Enoch is essentially an eschatological figure. Metatron, on the contrary, is merely a dethroned agent of revelation. We have therefore in 3 *Enoch* a witness to earlier traditions which applied Ps 8 in an individual and eschatological manner; however, the book itself does not affirm and continue these traditions.

An Angelomorphic Man: Abel

Testament of Abraham

Having traced the trajectory of the Enochian tradition to its conclusion, we can return to the first-century and to a text, the *Testament of Abraham*, which presents us with another enthroned angelomorphic man. In this book we find a curious vision of the judgment of individual human beings after death. Michael first shows Abraham "a man upon a throne of glory. And a multitude of angels encircled him" (8:5, B).[95] In the long recension the man is described as "adorned in such glory" (11:8). This is Adam, and he sits and watches as his descendants meet their appointed destinies, rejoicing for those who enter life and mourning for those who merit punishment. Then Michael shows Abraham a second enthroned figure:

> καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἵστατο θρόνος φοβερὸς ἐν εἴδει κρυστάλλου φοβεροῦ ἐξαστράπτων ὡς πῦρ. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκάθητο ἀνὴρ θαύμαστος ἡλιόρατος ὅμοιος υἱῷ θεοῦ...καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ὁ θαυμάσιος ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν καὶ ἀπεφήνατο τὰς ψυχάς.
>
> And between the two gates there stood a terrifying throne with

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[95]All English translations are taken from E. P. Sanders' version in *OTP* 1. The Greek text consulted is that edited by M. R. James and found in *Texts and Studies* (ed. J. A. Robinson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892) 77-119. Ms. A is the long recension, ms. B is the short recension.

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> the appearance of terrifying crystal, flashing like fire. And upon it sat a wondrous man, bright as the sun, like unto a son of God ...And the wondrous man who sat on the throne was the one who judged and sentenced the souls.
> (12:4-5, 11, A)

Abraham asks about the identity of this man, and Michael answers:

> οὗτός ἐστιν υἱὸς Αδὰμ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου, ὁ ἐπιλεγόμενος Ἄβελ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινε Κάϊν ὁ πονηρός· καὶ κάθηται ὧδε κρῖναι πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν καὶ ἐλέγχων δικαίους καὶ ἁμαρτωλούς.
>
> This is the son of Adam, the first-formed, who is called Abel, whom Cain the wicked killed. And he sits here to judge the entire creation, examining both righteous and sinners.
> (13:2-3, A)

In the short recension Enoch also is present as "the one who produces (the evidence)" (11:3), assuming a similar role to that which is assigned him in *Jubilees* and 2 *Enoch*.[96] However, the role he plays in 1 *Enoch* 71 and 3 *Enoch* is now taken by another Son of Man, Abel.[97]

This vision of judgment resembles the Adam Books, in which Adam and his son Seth figure so prominently. A promise is given there that Adam will be raised from the dead and seated on the throne of the one who seduced him -- apparently the highest throne in heaven after the divine throne. However, in the Adam Books the person of Adam represents all of his righteous descendants. In *T. Abr.*, in contrast, Adam and Abel are distinct individuals rather than representative figures. Here

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[96]Many commentators note similarities between the ideological perspective of the *Testament of Abraham* and that of 2 *Enoch* (e.g., Sanders, *OTP* Vol 1, 875; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* 204).

[97]C. Rowland, 108. The primary thesis of P. Munoa's unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Four Powers in Heaven: The Interpretation of Daniel* 7 *in the "Testament of Abraham"* (University of Michigan, 1993), is that this judgment scene is modeled on the one found in Dan 7, with Adam now taking the role of the Ancient of Days and Abel acting as the Son of Man. According to this view, the enthroned Son of Man figure of Dan 7 and 1 *Enoch* was definitely seen in some circles of ancient Judaism as the glorified eschatological Adam.

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we have Adam and his son Abel gloriously enthroned; Abel is the primary figure, whose countenance is "bright as the sun" and who judges all human beings. It is possible that we have here an interpretation of Dan 7's Son of Man in light of Ps 8's "Man...and the Son of Man" and of the use made of it in the Adam books.[98] The Son of Man is exalted above the angels who surround his throne, but as in Dan 7 (and in contrast to the Parables of Enoch) he judges only human beings. We therefore may have here another instance of an individual and eschatological use of Ps 8, though the eschatology is purely individual rather than historical and cosmic.

Conclusion

The basic eschatological interpretation of Ps 8 is that which is seen in the Adam Books, Pseudo-Philo, and the Qumran literture: אדם and בן-אדם both refer to renewed humanity, and thus to Israel, which is Adam's legitimate heir. In the age to come Israel will be exalted among the angels and will reign over the new creation; in this way Ps 8 will find its true fulfillment.

However, the fact that Ps 8 was also understood as referring to a particular protological individual -- Adam, the first Man -- made it natural to apply the psalm as well to individuals who were seen to have

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[98]However, Nickelsburg thinks that Abel's judicial role in The Testament of Abraham derives from "his status as proto-martyr" ("Stories of Biblical and Early Post-Biblical Times," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* [ed. M. E. Stone; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984] 62). This explanation goes back to M. James (see Munoa, 131). Munoa rejects this view, noting that "the *Testament of Abraham* does not say anything which suggests that Abel judges because he is a martyr" (132). Munoa argues that the explanation must be found rather in Abel's status as a "Son of Adam/Man," just as Seth is glorified in certain Gnostic groups as "the Son of Adam/Man" (134-35).

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a special function in the eschaton. Since this individual was to have dominion over creation and was to be a second God, crowned with heavenly glory and exalted over the angelic world, he could be no ordinary person. In Dan 7 and the Parables of 1 *Enoch*, he is himself an angelic and even divine figure, enthroned beside or with God. In 2 *Enoch*, 1 *Enoch* 71, 3 *Enoch*, and *T. Abr.* he is a human being who is transformed into this enthroned divine figure. Like Adam in the Adam books, he represents the transcendent God, being his image, and also represents divinized humanity, brought to the ultimate realization of its created potential.

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CHAPTER V

MOSES AND SINAI: THE GLORY OF THE TORAH

In Chapter III we saw that Ps 8 was read in many Jewish circles at the turn of the common era as speaking of Adam, the first Man, and his relationship to the angels. The rabbinic writings are a prominent witness to this exegetical perspective, but it is found in other bodies of ancient Jewish literature as well. In Chapter IV we examined texts which appear to interpret the same psalm eschatologically. Rabbinic material was conspicuously absent. This is not surprising, for in the overall ideology of the rabbinic tradition eschatological concerns are at best secondary.[1]

In the present chapter we will study the way Ps 8 was applied in ancient Jewish literature to Moses and the giving of the Torah at Sinai. As in Chapter III, the rabbinic writings will play a crucial role in our discussion. We will begin with them, for they again provide us with an explicit exposition of the psalm. We will then look at two texts which show that similar views on the ascent of Moses and his exaltation above the angels existed among various Jewish groups at the turn of the common era. We will conclude by looking at Pseudo-Philo, a first-century document which represents a type of Judaism which was eventually

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[1]See the argument of J. Neusner in *Messiah in Context*.

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incorporated into the rabbinic movement. In this document we can see how in the first century Moses' ascent was already understood in terms of Ps 8.

Rabbinic Literature

Urzeit and Sinai

The primary focus of rabbinic literature is not the glory of the *Endzeit*, but the glory of the Torah. While one can find the *Urzeit-Endzeit* motif in rabbinic writings, of far greater importance is the correspondence between *Urzeit* and Sinai.[2] The Torah given on Sinai existed before the world and was the "instrument" used by God in its creation (*m. Aboth* 3:15). The Torah is itself the tree of life which nourishes Israel (*Tg. Onq.* 3:24, *m. Aboth* 6:7). Moses' face on Sinai shines with the glory that Adam lost. The Shekinah departed from the earth with Adam's sin, but is restored to earth at Sinai with the construction of the tabernacle (*Gen. Rab.* 19:7).

This *Urzeit*-Sinai correlation is illustrated dramatically in the following midrash:

הנה אנכי שלח מלאך
הה"ד אני אמרתי אלהים אתם
אילו המתינו ישראל למשה ולא היו עושים אותו מעשה
לא היתה עכו"ם ולא מלאך המות שולט בהן
וכה"א והמכתב מכתב אלהים הוא חרות על הלוחות
מהו חרות
ר' יהודה ור' נחמיה
ר"י אומר חירות מן הגליות ור"נ אומר חירות ממלאך המות
בשעה שאמרו ישראל כל אשר דבר ה' נעשה ונשמע

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[2]"Der Exodus und die Gesetzgebung sind nun als eine neue Schöpfung verstanden" (J. Jervell, 115; see also 91-91, 114-119). R. Scroggs disagrees with Jervell, and argues that the *Urzeit-Endzeit* correspondence is predominant also in Rabbinic literature (34-38, 52-58). For more on the view of Scroggs, see note 6.

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אמר הקב"ה אדה"ר צויתי אותו מצוה אחת כדי שיקיימנה
והשויתיו למלה"ש שנא' הן האדם היה כאחד ממנו
אלו שהן עושין ומקיימין תרי"ג מצות
חוץ מן הכללים ומן הפרטים ומן הדקדוקים
אינו דין שהן חיים וקיימין לעולם
וכה"א וממתנה נחליאל שנתלו מהקב"ה שיהו חיים וקיימים לעולם
כיון שאמרו אלה אלהיך ישראל בא מות עליהן
אמר הקב"ה בשיטתו של אדה"ר הלכתם
שלא עמד בנסיונו ג' שעות ובט' שעות נקנסה עליו מיתה
אני אמרתי אלהים אתם
והלכתם אחר מדותיו של אדה"ר אכן כאדם תמותון
מהו וכאחד השרים תפולו
א"ר יהודה או כאדם או כחוה
ד"א וכאחד השרים תפולו
א"ר פנחס הכהן ב"ר חמא א"ל הקב"ה הפלתם עצמכם
לשעבר הייתם משתמשים על ידי רוח הקודש
עכשיו אין אתם משתמשים אלא על ידי מלאך
הוי הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך

Behold, I send an angel before thee (Ex 23:20).

Thus it is written, *I said: Ye are godlike beings* {lit. "You are gods"} (Ps 82:6). Had Israel waited for Moses and not perpetrated that act {i.e., worshiped the golden calf}, there would have been no exile {lit. "worship of stars and planets," idolatry}, neither would the Angel of Death have had any power over them.

And thus it says, *And the writing was the writing of God, graven* (*haruth*) *upon the tables* (Ex 32:16). What is the meaning of '*haruth*'? R. Judah and R. Nehemiah each explained it. R. Judah says: Free (*heruth*) from captivity; and R. Nehemiah says: Free from the Angel of Death.

When Israel exclaimed: '*All that the Lord hath spoken we will do, and hearken*' (Ex 24:7), the Holy One, blessed be He, said: 'If I gave but one commandment to Adam, that he might fulfill it, and I made him equal to the ministering angels, -- for it says, *Behold, the man was as one of us* (Gen 3:22) -- how much more so should those who practice and fulfill all the six hundred and thirteen commandments -- not to mention their general principles, details, and minutiae -- be deserving of eternal life ?'

This is the meaning of *And from Mattanah* {lit. "giving"} *to Nahaliel* {taken to mean "inheritance of El"} -- nahalu (Num 21:19); for they had *inherited* [through the Torah, given as a gift], from God eternal life.

As soon, however, as they said, '*This is thy god, O Israel*' (Ex 32:4), death came upon them. God said: 'You have followed the course of Adam who did not withstand his trials for more than three hours, and at nine hours death was decreed upon him. '*I said: Ye are godlike beings* {gods}," but since you have followed the footsteps of Adam, *Nevertheless ye shall die like men* {lit. "like Adam"}.'

What is the meaning of *And fall like one of the princes*? R. Judah said: Either as Adam or as Eve. Another explanation of '*And fall like one of the princes*': R. Phinehas b. R. Hama the priest said: God said to them: 'You have brought about your

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> own downfall. In the past, you were served by direct inspiration {lit. "by the Holy Spirit}; now, however, you will be served only by an angel' --
> as it says, *Behold, I send an angel before thee.*[3]

The tablets of the Torah promised freedom from death, which would have divinized Israel, imparting to it an immortal angelic nature. The "you are gods" of Ps 82:6 is thus applied to the giving of the Torah on Sinai, and is juxtaposed with Gen 3:22, which is seen as referring to the glorious nature of Adam which he forfeited through his sin.[4] The 613 commandments of the Torah are parallel to the single command given to Adam and Eve, and the speedy disobedience of Israel at Sinai parallels the rapid demise of the first parents. Schäfer suggests that R. Nehemiah "nicht nur an die einmalige historische Situation am Sinai, sondern auch an die ständige Überwindung der Sünde (und damit letztlich des Todes) durch die Torah denkt."[5] The sin of the golden calf did not cancel the gift of the Torah nor remove the reward promised for its observance. The Torah is still the tree of life, and all who eat from it will live forever.[6]

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[3]*Ex. Rab.* 32:1. The Hebrew text for all quotes from *Midrash Rabbah* is from the Vilna edition of 1887. The English translation is from S. M. Lehrman, *Midrash Rabbah: Exodus* (New York: Soncino, 1983). All material within double brackets -- { } -- is from the present author, as are the paragraph divisions. For parallel Rabbinic texts and a brief discussion of them, see P. Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 149-156.

[4]On the rabbinic use of Gen 3:22, see Scroggs, 47-48.

[5]Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 154.

[6]Scroggs denies the significance of this text for an *Urzeit*-Sinai correspondence: "It is true that according to some traditions God at Sinai recreates Israel into that perfect humanity once given to Adam. But just as Adam sinned and lost this nature, so Israel sins (specifically in the worship of the golden calf) and again loses the nature. This means that Adam's original nature or image is no more a possibility *in this world* for the Jew after Sinai than it is for the

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Given this *Urzeit*-Sinai motif, one would expect Ps 8 to be applied in rabbinic literature to Moses and the gift of the Torah. As we will see, such an expectation is entirely justified. Just as Adam was exalted above the angels at his creation, so Moses -- and Israel -- were placed above the angels through the Sinai experience. When Israel obeys the Torah, it participates in the blessings of the garden of Eden.

The Greatness of Moses: Ps 8:6

In Chapter III we cited rabbinic texts which applied the two halves of Ps 8:6 to Moses. The first stich is understood to refer to Moses' wisdom, which is only "a little lower" than God's wisdom (*b. Ned.* 38b, *b. Rosh Hash.* 21b). The second stich is related to Moses' shining face at Sinai, which is considered a divine crown of glory (*Midr. Teh.* 8:7). In that chapter we also presented reasons for thinking that both of these interpretations are derived from earlier applications of the verse to Adam.[7]

Thus, the application of Ps 8 to Moses follows from an identification of him as a second Adam. As Adam possessed divine

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heathen...The fact is that no particular relationship or typology of Adam with Sinai is created by the rabbis because the two motifs serve different functions. While Sinai and Torah traditions explain how man is to live so that God will grant him eternal life, the Adamic-eschatological traditions describe this future gift and how it will come" (53). Such a divorce between the ultimate gift and the means of attaining it is highly artificial and not justified by the sources. Also, the Torah is not merely a *means* for the Rabbis -- it is itself an *end*. Israel will continue to observe it in some form in the age to come. Scrogg's observations must also be qualified by the traditions discussed in this chapter which portray the wisdom and glory of Moses and his exaltation over the angels in terms which are clearly modeled on similar descriptions of Adam before his sin.

[7]See Chapter III, 54-59.

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wisdom, a wisdom greater than that possessed by the angels, which allowed him to name the animals and even God himself, so Moses shared in the divine wisdom on Sinai to such an extent that he was only a little less wise than God. As Adam received the divine crown of glory, which was the radiant splendor of his countenance and was also equated with the divine image, so Moses received a crown of glory on Sinai that surpassed that of Adam, for Adam's glory was taken from him, whereas Moses retained his crown (*Deut. Rab.* 11:3). The linkage established here between the divine wisdom and glory which is imparted to Adam is also seen in rabbinic expositions of Qoh 8:1 and Ezek 28:12 (*Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 4:4).[8]

In the midrash cited above from *Ex. Rab.* 32:1, both Adam and Eve (before they ate from the prohibited fruit) and Israel at Sinai (before the sin of the golden calf) are called אלהים -- gods, divine beings. In that text, the word אלהים refers to the immortal nature shared by God and the angels. In the following text, Moses is said to share in the glory of YHWH, to the point of being called אלהים. Here the word refers to God himself, the "King of Glory":

מהו ה' צבאות הוא מלך הכבוד
שהוא חולק מכבודו ליראיו ככבודו
כיצד
הוא נקרא אלהים וקרא למשה אלהים...
שנו רבותינו מלך בשר ודם אין רוכבין על סוסו
ואין לובשין לבושו ואין משתמשין בכתרו ואין יושבין על כסאו
ובכולם חלק הקב"ה ליראיו ונתן להם...
ואין משתמשין בכתרו
מה כתיב במשה ומשה לא ידע כי קרן עור פניו...
ואין משתמשין בשרביטו
ונתנו למשה שנאמר ואת המטה הזה תקח בידך וגו'

What (does this mean): *The Lord of hosts, he is the King of Glory*? (This means that) he apportions some of his glory to those who fear him according to his glory. How so? He is

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[8]See Chapter III, 54-55.

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> called "God," and he called Moses "god" (Ex 7:1)...Our rabbis teach us that no mortal king rides on God's steed or puts on his robes or uses his crown or sits on his throne, but the Holy One, blessed be He, apportions all these to those who fear him, and gives them to them...None [i.e., no mortal king] makes use of his [i.e., God's] crown. [But] What is written of Moses? *And Moses did not know that his face beamed with light* (Ex 34:29)...And none [i.e., no mortal king] makes use of his [i.e., God's] scepter, for it was given to Moses, as scripture says, *Take this rod in your hand* (Ex 4:17).[9]

The heavenly radiance of Moses' face at Sinai is again called a crown.[10] It is likely that this expression presumes the application of Ps 8:6b to Moses, for in no other way can the connection be established between his luminous countenance and a kingly crown. Thus, the crown of glory in Ps 8:6b is seen as God's own royal crown which he shares with his servant, just as he also allows him to use his name and his scepter.

This view of Ps 8:6b was probably derived in part from its close connection to Ps 8:6a. Moses was only a little less than God in his wisdom, and he was also only a little less than God in his glory. In both cases Moses appears to be participating in the divine attributes. Needless to say, these midrashic traditions interpret אלהים in Ps 8:6a to mean "God," not "angels."

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[9] *Tanh.B.* IV, 51f. The Hebrew text is from S. Buber, *Midrasch Tanhuma, vol* 2 (Vilna, 1885; repr. New York, 1946). The English translation is that of W. Meeks in "Moses as God and King," 356. The material in parenthesis is from Meeks; that which is in brackets is added by the present author.

[10] This becomes a common motif in rabbinic literature. It is reflected in the fourth benediction of the Sabbath morning Amidah prayer, which states that "You set on his head a crown of glory as he stood before you on Mount Sinai" (כליל תפארת בראשו נתת בעמדו לפניך על הר-סיני). See S. Singer, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962) 188.

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Moses and the Angelic Complaint: b. Shabb. 88b-89a

The rabbinic writings do not merely apply a single isolated verse of Ps 8 to Moses. Instead, they adapt the entire angelic complaint motif, which was originally formulated in connection with the creation and exaltation of Adam, and employ it in their descriptions of Moses' ascent to obtain the Torah. Once again, the psalm is placed on the lips of the angels, who have a new reason to complain. A talmudic text (*b. Shabb.* 88b-89a) is representative of this haggadic tradition:

וא"ר יב"ל בשעה שעלה משה למרום אמרו מלאכי השרת לפני הקב"ה
רבש"ע מה לילוד אשה בינינו
אמר להן לקבל תורה בא
אמרו לפניו חמודה גנוזה שגנוזה לך
תשע מאות ושבעים וארבעה דורות קודם שנברא העולם
אתה מבקש ליתנה לבשר ודם
מה אנוש כי תזכרנו ובן אדם כי תפקדנו
ה' אדונינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ אשר תנה הודך על השמים
אמר לו הקב"ה למשה החזיר להן השובה
אמר לפניו רבש"ע מתירא אני שמא ישרפוני בהבל שבפיהם
אמר לו אחוז בכסא כבודי וחזור להן השובה
שנאמר מאחז פני כסא פרשו עליו עננו
ואמר ר' נחום מלמד שפירש שדי מזיו שכינתו וענו עליו
אמר לפניו רבונו של עולם
תורה שאתה נותן לי מה כתיב בה
אנכי ה' אלהיך אשר הוצאתיך מארץ מצרים
אמר להן למצרים ירדתם לפרעה השתעבדתם
תורה למה הדא לכם...
מיד הודו לו להקב"ה שנאמר ה' אדונינו מה אדיר שמך וגו'
ואילו תנה הודך על השמים לא כתיב
מיד כל אחד ואחד נעשה לו אוהב ומסר לו דבר
שנאמר עלית למרום שביתה שבי לקחת מתנות באדם
בשכר שקראוך אדם לקחת מתנות
אף מלאך המות מסר לו דבר
שנאמר ויתן את הקטרת ויכפר על העם
ואומר ויעמוד בין המתים ובין החיים וגו'
אי לאו דאמר ליה מי הוה ידע

R. Joshua b. Levi also said: When Moses ascended on high, the angels said to God: "Master of the world, what is this offspring of a woman doing among us?"

"He has come to get the torah," he answered.

They said to him: "Do you really intend to give this precious treasure, which was your treasure for nine hundred and seventy four generations before the world was created, to flesh and blood? *Why should you keep humans in mind, or pay attention to men*? [Psalm 8:5]. *Lord our master, your name is very great in*

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all the earth -- so give your glory to heaven [Psalm 8:2]."

God said to Moses: "Give them an answer."

"Master of the world," he said to him, "I am afraid they will burn me up with their breath."

"Take hold of my throne of glory," [God] replied, "and give them an answer."

So it is written: *When he seized the front of the throne,* [God] *spread over him the splendor of his cloud* {פרשׂ עליו ענן} [Job 26:9]. R. Nahum said: This {that is, the word פרשׂ} teaches that the Almighty {שדי} spread over {פרשׂ} him some of the splendor {זיו} of his Shechinah and his cloud.

Moses said to him: "Master of the world, what is in the Torah that you are about to give me? *I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt.*" He said to [the angels]: "Were you in Egypt? Were you Pharaoh's slaves? What use is the Torah to you?...[And so on, through the first eight commandments.]"

Thereupon they conceded to God. So it is written: *Lord our master, your name is very great in all the earth* [Psalm 8:10] -- this time, however, without adding *so give your glory to heaven.*[11]

Immediately each one was moved to love him [Moses] and transmitted something to him, for it is said, *Thou hast ascended on high, Thou hast taken spoils* [the Torah]*; Thou hast received gifts on account of man* [Ps 68:19]: as a recompense for their calling thee man [*adam*] thou didst receive gifts. The Angel of Death too confided his secret to him, for it is said, *and he put on the incense, and made atonement for the people;* and it is said, *and he stood between the dead and the living,* etc. Had he not told it to him, whence had he known it?[12]

This text begins with the familiar rabbinic description of Moses' ascent on Sinai: "Moses ascended on high" (עלה משה למרום). This phrase is drawn from another text quoted in the same midrash, Ps 68:19: "You ascended on high" (עליתָ למרום). In the psalm God is the one who

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[11]The English translation to this point is from D. J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988) 298-99.

[12]The Hebrew text and the final paragraph of the English translation are from H. Freedman, *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, Shabbath* (New York: Soncino, 1971). For discussions of this important text, see J. P. Schultz, "Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Moses and the Revelation of the Law," *JQR* 61 (1971) 284-300; Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 127-131; K.-E. Grözinger, *Ich bin der Herr, dein Gott!* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1976) 130-34; Halperin, 289-322, especially 298-301.

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ascends; in the midrash it is Moses who ascends. The place to which Moses ascends is not Sinai, but heaven itself, as is evident both by the term used to describe it (מרום) and by the events which transpire there.

The angels object to Moses' presence in heaven even as they object to Enoch's ascent in 3 *Enoch*. In both cases the intruder is described by the angels in the words of Job 15:14 (which themselves allude to Ps 8:5) as a mere ילוד אשה, "one born of woman" (3 *Enoch* 6:2, §9).[13] As the guardians of the holy precincts, the angels complain about the presence of a mortal creature in heaven. However, their hostility is truly aroused when they learn that Moses has come to receive the Torah. It is then that they utter the words of Ps 8:5 and 8:2 -- "What is Man, that you are attentive to him, the Son of Man, that you take concern for him? O YHWH, our Lord, how majestic is your name in all the earth! Therefore, give your glory (הוד), that is, your Torah, to those in heaven!" Ostensibly the angels are still doing their job as they understand it -- protecting the holy things from being profaned. In fact, their motive is the same as in the midrashic treatment of the creation story: envy of human beings who are being raised above them. They want the Torah for themselves. This is clear from the debate which Moses has with them concerning the proper recipients of the Torah. Just as Adam's creation in the image of God set him over the angels, so Israel's reception of the Torah allows Israel to become what Adam was intended to be. The promotion of Adam/Moses/Israel means the demotion of the Angels.

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[13]There are other parallels between this midrash and 3 *Enoch*. As we already noted in Chapter IV, 138-139, it is likely that 3 *Enoch* has taken materials originally used in connection with Moses and applied them to Enoch.

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In the midrash which applies Ps 8 to Adam, God refutes the angels by showing them that Adam's wisdom is superior to their own. He brings the animals before Adam, and tells Adam to give them names. The same pattern is followed in this midrash which applies the psalm to Moses and Israel. In this case God tells Moses to answer the angels directly. Moses proceeds to convince them that the Torah belongs on earth with human beings rather than in heaven with the angels. The victory in this disputation shows that the wisdom of Moses is greater than that of the angels, even as Adam's wisdom was greater than theirs.[14] Once again, we recall *b. Ned.* 38a, which interpreted Ps 8:6a as speaking about the divine wisdom of Moses -- a wisdom higher than that of the angels.

The angels acknowledge their defeat by citing the final verse of Ps 8: "O YHWH, our Lord, how majestic is your name in all the earth!" This is identical to the first verse of the psalm minus the words which had formed the nucleus of the angels' former complaint, "But give your glory to those in heaven!" They are thereby recognizing that it is right for the Torah to be given to the earthly people of Israel. This acknowledgement of defeat is followed by their bestowing gifts on Moses. We see here a short midrash on Ps 68:19, which has three noteworthy features. First, the wording -- "each one loved him and gave something to him" (אחד ואחד נעשה לו אוהב ומסר לו דבר) -- is remarkably similar to *Poimandres* 13 which describes how the angelic "governors" respond to the heavenly Man: "the governors loved the man, and each gave a share of his own order" (οἱ δὲ ἠράσθησαν αὐτοῦ, ἕκαστος δὲ μετεδίδου τῆς ἰδίας

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[14]Grözinger, 181-185.

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τάξεως).[15] This similarity supports Dodd's suggestion that the *Poimandres* text reflects a Jewish tradition about the angelic worship of Adam.[16] It also points to a similar background for this way of describing the angelic submission to Moses. Second, the word אדם is of special importance in the Ps 68:19 quote. In the talmudic form of this tradition it is connected to the angelic complaint lodged initially against Moses as ילוד אשה, אנוש, and בן-אדם. Because they had called him "Adam" in a derogatory manner, they would have to make amends by giving him gifts. In other forms of this tradition such a connection is not made, and באדם is taken at face value as meaning "for Adam/humanity" and as referring to Israel as the true heir of Adam.[17] In any case, we have another indication of the *Urzeit*-Sinai correspondence, and further support for the relationship between the traditions underlying this rabbinic text and those underlying *Poimandres* 13. Finally, the mention of the Angel of Death and his gift to Moses is reminiscent of the midrash quoted at the beginning of this chapter which stated that at Sinai God gave Israel freedom from the Angel of Death. All three of these observations point to the same conclusion: Ps 8 is applied to Moses and his ascent to heaven at Sinai to receive the Torah because

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[15]Schultz (298) sees here a broader parallel to the Gnostic literature: "An analogy to this motif can be found in Gnostic imagery where the soul bearing the pneuma descends to earth and the hostile planets seek to endow it with part of their own evil nature in order to ensnare it. In its description of the angels bestowing gifts upon Moses, the Talmud reworks the Gnostic image." Schultz does not note the particularly close verbal parallels in *Poimandres*. If the angelic governors of *Poimandres* are benign in their offering of gifts, the midrash and its *Poimandres* parallel may represent an earlier form of the tradition than that found in Gnostic literature.

[16]Dodd, *The Bible*, 156-57. See our comments in Chapter III, 83.

[17]Halperin, 302.

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Moses is seen as a second Adam, Israel as a new humanity, and the Torah as the tree of life which brings immortality. The gift of the Torah elevates Moses and Israel above the angels.

The way God protects Moses in this talmudic midrash is noteworthy. He instructs Moses to grasp hold of the throne of Glory (אחוז בכסא כבודי), and he spreads over him "the splendor of His Shekinah" (זיו שכינתו). Schultz has contended that the mention of the throne here reflects an earlier tradition in which Moses is enthroned in heaven at his ascension.[18] He supports this view by citing texts from Ezekiel the Dramatist and Marqah the Samaritan which present such a tradition. We will examine these texts shortly. At this point it is worth noting that such an enthronement of Moses would suit the use of Ps 8 as portraying the kingship of Moses, and would also recall the enthronement of Adam above the angels as seen in the Adam Books.[19] Schultz also sees the reference here to "the splendor of the Shekinah" as related to "another prominent motif in the literature describing the heavenly ascent," that is, "the robing of the hero in royal or heavenly garments."[20] As seen earlier, the term זיו could be used to refer to the radiant appearance of Moses resulting from his ascension. Just as the enthronement of

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[18]Schultz, 289-90. Halperin (321) agrees with Schultz.

[19]Such an enthronement of Moses on Sinai (that is, in heaven) appears to be reflected in an unusual text from *Midrash Tannaim Deut.*: "*Go up to the top of Pisgah* (Deut 3:27). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him [Moses]: I have exalted you above the ministering angels. For I have only permitted the ministering angels to stand before me, but not to sit before me, as it is written: *Above him stood the Seraphim* (Is 6:2). But of you it is written: *I sat* (ואשב) *on the mountain forty days* (Deut 9:9)." See Schäfer, *Rivalität*, 213.

[20]Schultz, 291-92.

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Moses hearkens back to Adam's enthronement above the angels, so the covering of Moses with God's זיו, while protecting him from angelic attack, also demonstrates that he is inheriting the glory forfeited by Adam.

Schultz's interpretation is further supported by a similar text in 3 *Enoch* 10:1 (§13):

> אמר רבי ישמעאל אמר לי מטטרון מלאך שר הפנים
> כל זאת עשה לי ה'ב'ה' כסא מעין כסא הכבוד
> ופרש עלי פרש של זיו ושל זהר ותואר וכבוד ויפי וחן וחסד
> מעין פרש של כסא הכבוד...
>
> R. Ishmael said:
> Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, said to me:
> After all this, the Holy One, blessed be he,
> made for me a throne like the throne of glory,
> and he spread over it a coverlet of splendor, brilliance,
> brightness, beauty, loveliness, and grace,
> like the coverlet of the throne of glory...

This is to be compared with the words of the above midrash:

> אמר לו אחוז בכסא כבודי והזור להן תשובה
> שנאמר מאחז פני כסא פרשז עליו עננו
> ואמר ר' נחום מלמד שפירש שדי מזיו שכינתו ועננו עליו
>
> "Take hold of my throne of glory," [God] replied, "and give them an answer."
> So it is written: *When he seized the front of the throne,* [God] *spread over him the splendor of his cloud* [Job 26:9]. R. Nahum said: This {that is, the word פרשז} teaches that the Almighty {שדי} spread over {פרש} him some of the splendor {זיו} of his Shechinah and his cloud.

In both texts a man has just ascended to heaven; in both texts the angels have complained about this fact; in both texts God has nevertheless chosen to exalt this man above the angels. In this setting, we find in *b.* Shabb. that Moses is to "take hold of the throne of glory," and that God proceeds to "spread over (פרש) him the splendor of his cloud"; in 3 *Enoch* God makes for Enoch "a throne like the throne of glory" and "spreads over (פרש) it a coverlet (פרש) of splendor." It is likely that the author of this text in 3 *Enoch* knows the midrash we

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have before us and has modified it to suit his purposes. It is also likely, in line with Schultz's hypothesis, that he understood that the midrash was intending to speak not only of Moses' laying hold of the throne, but also of his being seated upon it. This would explain the way the midrash is then applied to the enthroned Enoch-Metatron.

The text in 3 *Enoch* continues as follows:

> והכרוז יצא עלי בכל רקיע ורקיע לאמר
> מטטרון עבדי שמתיו לשר ולנגיד על כל שדי מלכותי
> ועל כל בני מרומים
>
> And the herald went out into every heaven and announced concerning me: "I have appointed Metatron my servant as a prince and a ruler over [all the princes of my kingdom and] all the denizens of the heights..." [21] (10:3, §13)

Enoch is now set over all the powers of heaven. We find the same motif in the Mosaic midrash -- the angels concede defeat, and submit to Moses, who is seated on the throne of glory, as their superior.

Moses the Warrior: Pesiqta Rabbati 20:4

A lengthier version of this midrash is found in *Pesiqta Rabbati* 20:4.[22] This detailed portrayal of Moses' heavenly ascent begins as follows:

> בשעה שעלה משה למרום באותה שעה באתה ענן ורבצה כנגדו
> לא היה יודע משה אם לרכב עליה אם לאחוז בה
> מיד פחדה ונכנס בחוכה שנאמר ויבא משה בתוך הענן ויכס הענן
> ונשאתו ענן
> והיה מהלך ברקיע ופגע בו קמואל המלאך
> שהיה ממונה על שנים עשר אלפים מלאכי חבלה שהם יושבים בשער הרקיע
> גער במשה ואמר מה לך בקדוש עליון
> אתה ממקום הטנופות באת ומהלך במקום טהרה
> ילוד אשה מהלך במקום אש

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[21]The words in brackets are found in V228 but are not translated by Alexander. I have therefore added them.

[22]Grözinger's book is entirely devoted to the study of this chapter of *Pesiqta Rabbati*.

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אמר לו משה בן עמרם אני שבאתי לקבל תורה לישראל
כיון שלא הניאו [הכבה] משה פצע [אחד ואבדו] מן העולם

> At the time that Moses was to go up on high, a cloud came and lay down in front of him. Moses did not know whether he was to mount it or to take hold of it. Thereupon the mouth of the cloud flew open and he entered it, as is said *And Moses entered into the midst of the cloud* (Ex 24:18) -- *into the cloud which covered the Mount* (Ex 24:15). And the cloud covered Moses and carried him up.
>
> As he was preparing to walk on the firmament, the angel Kemuel, he that is in charge of the twelve thousand destroying angels that are seated at the gate of the firmament, met him. He rebuked Moses and said to him:
>
> "What dost thou among the holy ones of the Most High? Thou comest from a place of all foulnesses; what wouldest thou in a place of purity? Born of a woman in heat, what wouldst thou in a place of fire that is pure?"[23]
>
> Moses replied: "I am Amram's son -- I am he who has come to receive the Torah for Israel." When Kemuel still would not let him pass, Moses struck him one blow and made him perish out of the world.[24]

Halperin describes the cloud as an "express elevator," and points out the connection between the role of the cloud in this midrash and in the Exodus text which the midrash cites:

> The three sources [of this midrash] also agree in deriving the image of the elevator-cloud from Exodus 24:18: *Moses went into the cloud and ascended to the mountain, and Moses was on the mountain forty days and forty nights.* We can see how an expositor who came to the text with a prior belief in Moses' heavenly ascent could have understood *the mountain* as heaven and *the cloud* as Moses' way of getting there. Still, this seems to read a lot into the text.[25]

Is it in fact reading "a lot into the text"? Or, to be more precise, is

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[23]A better translation would be as follows: "What are you doing among the holy ones of the Most High? You come from a place of all defilement; what are you doing in a place of purity? Born of a woman, what are you doing in a place of fire?" Once again, we see the use of Job 15:14 as an angelic complaint at the heavenly ascent of a chosen human being.

[24]The Hebrew text is from M. Friedmann, *Pesikta Rabbati* (Vienna, 1880). The translation is that of W. G. Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

[25]Halperin, 292.

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it reading into the text more than would have been natural in the world of late antiquity? As van der Horst notes, "In the ancient Near East God's throne was often envisaged as occupying the top of a high mountain."[26] The motif of a cloud serving as a means of rapid transport to heaven was also common.[27] Therefore, the exegesis of Ex 24:18 seen above should not be surprising.

Halperin does not recognize this fact. Thus, he looks for an exegetical explanation for the elevator cloud and Moses' ascent to heaven. He proceeds to argue that this image of the elevator cloud, along with the entire Mosaic ascent motif, derives from a daring application of Isa 14:13-14 to Moses.[28] In these verses, the King of Babylon is described as the Day Star who seeks for himself a heavenly throne:

ואתה אמרת בלבבך השמים אעלה[13]
ממעל לכוכבי-אל ארים כסאי
ואשב בהר-מועד בירכתי צפון:
אעלה על-במתי עב אדמה לעליון:[14]

[13]You said in your heart, 'I will ascend to heaven;
above the stars of God I will set my throne on high;
I will sit on the mount of assembly in the far north;
[14]I will ascend above the heights of the clouds,
I will make myself like the Most High.' (RSV)

The correspondence between the imagery of these verses and that of the Mosaic ascent motif is striking: the ascent to heaven, the enthronement above the angels, and the resemblance to God. And, as Halperin notes,

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[26]P. W. van der Horst, "Some Notes on the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel," *Mnemosyne* 37 (1984) 367. This is presumed in biblical texts such as Isa 14:13 and Ezek 28:14.

[27]See 1 *Enoch* 39:3 (M. Black translation), Acts 1:9, Rev 11:12. For further references, see H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987; trans. 2nd German edit., 1972) 7, n. 26.

[28]Halperin, 319-22.

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in *Mekilta, Shirah* 6:49-53 the Isaiah text is also interpreted as speaking of an elevator cloud.[29] Though in fact Isa 14 is unnecessary in order to explain how Ex 24 was seen to refer to a heavenly ascent, Halperin may be on the mark in his claim that the text was important in the development of the Mosaic ascent tradition. We will have cause to return to Isa 14 later in this chapter.

The cloud brings Moses to the firmament, where he meets his first obstacle: the angel Kemuel. Moses disposes of Kemuel with a single blow. In this case Moses triumphs over an angel by force rather than by wisdom. This is a common motif in rabbinic literature. In a frequently cited midrash, the wicked angel Sammael is sent by God to take the soul of Moses, for all the good angels have refused the task. Before rebuking him and sending him away,[30] Moses tells Sammael of his heavenly ascent to get the Torah, depicting it as a victorious military expedition:

> ועליתי ודרכתי דרך בשמים
> והייתי תופס במלחמתן של מלאכים
> וקבלתי תורה של אש
> ודרתי תחת כסא אש
> וסוכתי תחת עמוד אש
> ודברתי עמו פנים בפנים
> ונצחתי בפמליא של מעלה
> וגליתי רזיהם לבני אדם
> וקבלתי תורה מימינו של הקב"ה
> ולמדתי אותה לישראל
>
> I ascended heaven and trod out a path there,
> and engaged in battle with the angels,
> and received the law of fire,
> and sojourned under [God's] Throne of fire,
> and took shelter under the pillar of fire,

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[29] 320.

[30] Sammael returns after Moses has dismissed him, and this time Moses strikes him with a devastating blow.

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and spoke with God face to face;
and I prevailed over the heavenly Familia,
and revealed unto the sons of man their secrets,
and received the Law from the right hand of God,
and taught it to Israel.[31]

In many midrashic texts this aggressive action of Moses is related in connection with Ps 68:19, which, when applied to Moses rather than God, yields a martial image of the one who ascends to heaven. Though Ps 68 is the primary text behind this portrayal of Moses, one must also allow the possibility that the eschatological interpretation of Ps 8 (and especially Ps 8:7b with its militaristic connotations) has contributed to the final picture.

The rabbinic literature thus presents Moses as a second Adam and perhaps also as an eschatological Man who ascends to heaven, conquers the angels, receives the Torah, and brings it to Israel so that Israel might in this world eat from the tree of life. He is crowned with glory and shares in the divine kingship over the world. As the angels complained about the creation of Adam in the divine likeness, so they complain about the giving of the Torah to Moses, but their protest is again to no avail. Moses and the people of Israel are exalted above the angels through their reception of the Torah. In this way Ps 8 is read as speaking of Moses.[32] One must assume, therefore, that the "all

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[31] *Deut. Rab.* 11:10. The English translation is that of Rabinowitz.

[32] The material which we have presented refutes the contention of Scroggs that "there seems not to be any significant amount of comparison" in the rabbinic literature between Adam and Moses (53-54). Scroggs dismisses the traditions that do exist as "demonstrably late." The view of W. Meeks, based on a comparison of the Rabbinic and non-Rabbinic material, is far more judicious: "In this constellation of traditions Moses' elevation at Sinai was treated not only as a heavenly enthronement, but also as a restoration of the glory lost by Adam. Moses, crowned with both God's name and his image, became in some sense a "second Adam," the prototype of a new humanity" ("Moses as God and King," 364-65).

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things" of Ps 8:7b were seen as including the angelic powers who had been truly placed "under his feet."

The Exagoge of Ezekiel the Dramatist

The rabbinic traditions concerning Moses and his heavenly exaltation represent one stream of a wider current in the Judaism of late antiquity. Even higher estimations of Moses' position are found in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Dramatist and in the writings of Marqah the Samaritan. These works help us to date the core of the Moses' ascent motif well before the beginning of the Common Era.

The *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Dramatist is a play written in Greek for the Alexandrian stage during the second century B.C.E.[33] It tells the story of Moses and the Exodus. While still a shepherd in the household of his father-in-law and before his encounter with God at the burning bush, Moses has a dream which depicts what will happen when he ascends Sinai to receive the Law.

68 Ἔ<δο>ξ' ὄρους κατ' ἄκρα Σιν<αί>ου θρόνον
69 μέγαν τιν' εἶναι μέχρι 'ς οὐρανοῦ πτύχας.
70 ἐν τῷ καθῆσθαι φῶτα γενναῖόν τινα
71 διάδημ' ἔχοντα καὶ μέγα σκῆπτρον χερὶ
72 εὐωνύμῳ μάλιστα. δεξιᾷ δέ μοι
73 ἔνευσε, κἀγὼ πρόσθεν ἐστάθην θρόνου.
74 σκῆπτρον δέ μοι πάρδωκε καὶ εἰς θρόνον μέγαν
75 εἶπεν καθῆσθαι· βασιλικὸν δ' ἔδωκέ μοι
76 διάδημα καὶ αὐτος ἐκ θρόνων χωρίζεται.
77 ἐγὼ δ' ἐσεῖδον γῆν ἅπασαν ἔγκυκλον
78 καὶ ἔνερθε γαίας καὶ ἐξύπερθεν οὐρανοῦ,
79 καί μοί τι πλῆθος ἀστέρων πρὸς γούνατα
80 ἔπιπτ', ἐγὼ δὲ πάντας ἠριθμησάμην,
81 κἀμοῦ παρῆγεν ὡς παρεμβολὴ βροτῶν.
82 εἶτ' ἐμφοβηθεὶς ἐξανίσταμ' ἐξ ὕπνου.

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[33]On the question of whether the play was ever actually performed, see H. Jacobson, "Two Studies on Ezekiel the Tragedian," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 167-75.

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68 I dreamed that on the summit of mount Sinai
69 was a great throne which reached to the corners of heaven.
70 On it was seated a noble man,
71 who had a diadem (on his head) and a great sceptre
72 in his left hand. And with his right hand
73 he beckoned me, and I took my stand before the throne.
74 He handed me the scepter and he summoned me
75 to sit upon the great throne. He also gave me
76 the royal diadem, and he himself descended from the throne.
77 And I saw the full circle of the earth
78 and what was below the earth and above heaven.
79 And a multitude of heavenly bodies fell on their knees
80 before me and I counted all of them.
81 And they moved past me like a host of mortals.
82 Thereafter I awoke from my sleep in a frightened state.

The dream is then interpreted by the father-in-law of Moses:

83 ὁ δὲ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄνειρον ἐπικρίνει οὕτως·
84 Ὦ ξένε, καλόν σοι τοῦτ' ἐσήμηνεν θεός·
85 ζῴην δ', ὅταν σοι ταῦτα συμβαί<ν>ῃ ποτέ.
86 ἆρά γε μέγαν τιν' ἐξαναστήσεις θρόνον
87 καὶ αὐτὸς βραβεύσει καὶ καθηγήσῃ βροτῶν.
88 τὸ δ' εἰσθεᾶσθαι γῆν ὅλην τ' οἰκουμένην
89 καὶ τὰ ὑπένερθε καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐρανὸν θεοῦ·
ὄφει τά τ' ὄντα τά τε πρὸ τοῦ τά θ' ὕστερον.

83 Moses' father-in-law then interprets the dream:
84 Stranger, it is a good thing that God has shown to you.
85 I hope to be still alive when these things happen to you.
86 For behold you will raise a great throne
87 and you will sit in judgment and be a leader of mortals.
88 And that you saw the earth and the whole inhabited world
89 and the things below it and the things above God's heaven,
(this means that) you will see what is, and what was before,
and what will be hereafter.[34]

Many commentators point to differences in emphasis and tone between the dream and its interpretation.[35] We will begin our discussion by examining the dream itself; we will return later to the question of the

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[34]The English translation of the dream and its interpretation are from P. W. van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision in Ezekiel the Dramatist," *JJS* 34 (1983) 23. The Greek text is from van der Horst, "Some Notes," 363-64.

[35]C. R. Holladay, "The Portrait of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian," *SBL.SP* (1976) 448-49; H. Jacobson, "Mysticism and Apocalyptic in Ezekiel's Exagoge," *Illinois Classical Studies* 6.2 (1981) 278, 288; P. W. van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision," 27-28, "Some Notes," 366-67.

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relationship between the dream and its interpretation.

There are four key elements of this dream which deserve comment. First, the throne is set on Sinai, yet it reaches to the corners of heaven. As noted earlier, in ancient Near Eastern imagery the heavenly dwelling of a god is often set on a high mountain.[36] Moses' ascent of Sinai brings him to heaven itself. Thus, already in the second century B.C.E. traditions existed concerning Moses' heavenly ascent. The rabbinic and Samaritan depictions of this ascent develop from a motif apparently shared by many during the Second Temple period.[37] Second, Moses receives divine kingship. He is enthroned, crowned, and given a sceptre, and the throne, crown, and sceptre are those of God himself. The imagery resembles that found in the Joseph story (Gen 41:40-43), though the throne of Pharaoh is the one thing witheld from Joseph.[38] Many scholars have pointed to parallels between the enthronement of Moses in the *Exagoge* and the implicit enthronement of the Son of Man in Dan 7.[39] However, given the linguistic and geographic distance

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[36]See 165-66.

[37]"One of the most widespread of the legendary motifs connected with Moses' mission is that which interprets his meeting with God on Mount Sinai as an enthronement in heaven" (W. Meeks, *The Prophet-King*, 295). The earliest recorded Jewish ascent traditions are those concerning the figure of Enoch in the Book of the Watchers (1 *Enoch* 1-36), which can be traced to the third century B.C.E. at the latest. Van der Horst surmises that rival traditions circulated in pre-Christian times about Enoch and Moses ("Moses' Throne Vision," 27, "Some Notes," 365). Both are seen not only to have ascended to heaven, but also to have been enthroned there.

[38]H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 91.

[39]C. R. Holladay, "Portrait of Moses," 449; van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision," 24; H. Jacobson, *Exagoge*, 91; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Bible

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separating Ezekiel from Daniel, and their chronological proximity, it is hazardous to assume direct borrowing; it is nevertheless clear that both writers are drawing upon similar traditions.[40] The motif of Moses' enthronement is again found in rabbinic and Samaritan texts, and also in Philo, though the imagery of Moses replacing God is unique.[41] It appears that Moses is being appointed to act as the vicegerent of God, assuming the role ascribed in some Second Temple traditions to the the Son of Man, Michael, Metatron, Melchizedek, or Yahoel.[42] Third, once enthroned Moses can see the entire cosmos, including heaven itself. This recalls the picture of Enoch in the Enochian tradition.[43] Finally, an army of stars parade before him and kneel at his feet, while he numbers them as their rightful commander. This certainly represents the angels and their submission to Moses the heavenly king. The obedience of the angels demonstrates that Moses truly is God's vicegerent.

The ascent and enthronement of Moses in the *Exagoge* therefore shows a significant new development. It is one that will be paralleled in the Enochian tradition in 2 *Enoch*, the final version of the Parables of 1

Rewritten and Expanded," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, 127; R. G. Robertson, *OTP* 2:812, n. b2.

[40]If one follows Jacobson, who dates the *Exagoge* in the late second century B.C.E., then a direct dependence on Daniel is possible (*Exagoge*, 9-12). Van der Horst ("Some Notes," 356-57) and Robertson (*OTP* 2:803-4) favor an early or mid-second century dating of the book.

[41]For the rabbinic, Samaritan, and Philonic parallels, see W. A. Meeks, "Moses as God and King," 354-65. Van der Horst suggests that "With this bold and almost shocking scene, he probably meant to convey that it is only in and through Moses that we can know God" ("Moses' Throne Vision," 27).

[42]See van der Horst, "Moses' Throne Vision," 25-27.

[43]1 *Enoch* 17-18. See C. R. Holladay, "The Portrait of Moses," 450.

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Enoch, and 3 *Enoch*. A man ascends to heaven and is there enthroned.[44] What biblical texts may have contributed to this new development? At this point we must again consider Isa 14.[45] Halperin suggested that this text was applied to Moses in the rabbinic tradition and thus influenced the Mosaic ascent tradition. It is possible that Isa 14 was read in this way in other Jewish circles far before the destruction of the Second Temple and the consolidation of the rabbinic tradition. The words of *Exagoge* 74-76, 79 bear a strong resemblance to the Isaian text:

> 74 σκῆπτρον δέ μοι πάρδωκε καὶ εἰς θρόνον μέγαν
> 75 εἶπεν καθῆσθαι· βασιλικὸν δ' ἔδωκέ μοι
> 76 διάδημα καὶ αὐτος ἐκ θρόνων χωρίζεται.
> 79 καί μοί τι πλῆθος ἀστέρων πρὸς γούνατα

> 74 He handed me the scepter and he summoned me
> 75 to sit upon the great throne. He also gave me
> 76 the royal diadem, and he himself descended from the throne.
> 79 And a multitude of heavenly bodies fell on their knees

> 13 ...ἐπάνω τῶν ἄστρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου,
> καθιῶ ἐν ὄρει ὑψηλῷ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ τὰ πρὸ Βορρᾶν...
> 14 ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ.

> 13 ...above the stars of heaven I will set my throne,
> I will sit on a high mountain,
> on the high mountains towards the north...
> 14 I will be like the Most High.'

The main difference between the two texts -- and it is a formidable difference indeed -- is that the King of Babylon seeks the heavenly glory through his own power wielded in arrogance, whereas Moses

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[44]F. T. Fallon describes the dream in the *Exagoge* as a conflation of "the tradition concerning heavenly enthronement with that of the ascent of the apocalyptic visionary," a conflation which he also sees in the figure of the Elect One in the Parables of 1 Enoch and in Philo's picture of Moses in *De vita Mosis* 1.158 (*The Enthronement of Sabaoth* [Leiden: Brill, 1978] 42-54).

[45]This is not a text which scholars customarily cite in connection with the *Exagoge*.

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in his meekness receives divine honors as a gift. It is possible that Jewish exegetes at the time of Ezekiel the Dramatist thought that Moses in his humble obedience attained the royal position in heaven to which the proud King of Babylon foolishly and vainly aspired.

Another biblical text, Gen 37:9-11, is recognized by all commentators as underlying Ezekiel's description of Moses' dream:

> Then he [Joseph] dreamed another dream, and told it to his brothers, and said, "Behold, I have dreamed another dream; and behold, the sun, the moon, and eleven stars were bowing down to me." But when he told it to his father and to his brothers, his father rebuked him, and said to him, "What is this dream that you have dreamed? Shall I and your mother and your brothers indeed come to bow ourselves to the ground before you?" And his brothers were jealous of him, but his father kept the saying in mind. (RSV)

In the fulfillment of this dream Joseph is enthroned as the vicegerent of Pharaoh in Egypt and his brothers pay homage to him in their quest for grain. The tradition drawn upon by Ezekiel may have portrayed Moses as a greater Joseph, who, though adopted into the family of Pharaoh, renounces his high position, and is thereby prepared for a more literal fulfillment of Joseph's dream: the stars no longer represent people, but angelic powers.[46]

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[46] In Chapter IV, 126-27, n. 61, we proposed that Joseph's position as Pharaoh's "Second (in command)" may have served in 2 *Enoch* as a model for Adam's relationship to God. At this point we should also note the exalted picture of Joseph found in *Joseph and Asenath*, another Alexandrian work of biblical fiction from the period of the Second Temple. Joseph is portrayed as wearing a golden crown (5:5), and when he journeys to the home of Asenath he is compared to the sun traveling on its chariot (6:2), a probable allusion to his riding in the chariot assigned to Pharaoh's "Second" (Gen 41:43). More importantly, the chief angel of God, the heavenly vicegerent, is portrayed as being "a man in every respect similar to Joseph, by the robe and the crown and the royal staff, except that his face was like lightning" (14:9; translation by C. Burchard in *OTP* 2). Thus, the chief angel, who can be compared with Moses in the *Exagoge*, also corresponds to the earthly figure of Joseph. M. Hengel, commenting on the fact that Joseph is called "son of God" in *Joseph and Asenath*, states that "one might even talk of his 'angelic' character" (*The Son of God* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976] 43). If such

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There is no evidence for the direct influence of Ps 8 on the contents of Moses' dream, nor is there here any clear allusion to Moses as a second Adam. However, there is a parallel in imagery between the mdirashic use of the psalm and Moses' dream. As we have seen, Ps 8:7a ("you have made him the ruler over the works of your hands") was read in light of Ps 8:4 ("When I look at your heavens, the works of your fingers, the moon and stars which you have established), and therefore the "all things" placed under the "Man's" feet included the heavenly bodies. It is possible that the application of Isa 14 to Moses had some influence over the development of this interpretation of Ps 8. Regardless, at a later point Ps 8 will be interpreted in the light of the tradition of Moses' installation as a heavenly king, and the stars who kneel before him will be viewed as the angelic powers who are part of the "all things" which are "placed under his feet."

In the past decade H. Jacobson and P. W. van der Horst have debated about whether the dream itself should be taken at face value as an apocalyptic vision (van der Horst) or should be seen as a subtle polemic against the apocalyptic tradition (Jacobson). Jacobson has stressed the fact that the ascent is a dream, an "imaginary event," rather than a reality, and argues that this fact points to Ezekiel's underlying intention:

> ...nowhere else in ancient Jewish literature is Moses said to have had a significant dream...The reason is not hard to find: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known to him in a vision and will speak to him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so. He is faithful in all my house. With him I will speak mouth to mouth, openly, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord he will behold" (Numbers 12:6-8). In spite of this explicit declaration in

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an understanding of Joseph existed in the time of Ezekiel the Dramatist, then his reasons for using the Joseph story become much clearer.

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> the Bible, Ezekiel felt compelled to turn Moses' ascension into a dream. Is this not then a conscious rejection on Ezekiel's part of the legend that Moses actually ascended to heaven, beheld God, and perhaps sat on the heavenly throne, etc.?[47]

Van der Horst counters in the following way:

> In the play itself, so far as we have it, there is not the slightest indication that this scene should be interpreted in this way. Only the Jewish part of Ezekiel's audience (or of his reading public), if well acquainted with the book of Numbers, might have caught the subtle hint. For his non-Jewish, Greek public, which -- as Jacobson himself says -- must have been the most important part of his addressees, this dream would have been nothing else than a vision of Moses' future exaltation to cosmic rulership, to be exercised from God's throne.[48]

Jacobson's argument is further weakened by the following considerations. 1) The play ends before Israel comes to Sinai, and therefore the only way to portray the Sinai event was through a prophetic anticipation; 2) The dream does not replace the Sinai ascent, but only anticipates it; 3) Such dreams are conventional in Greek drama; 4) How could one do justice to a heavenly ascent on the stage? First-person narration of an anticipatory dream is a clever technique for overcoming this obstacle. The fact that Moses' ascent is conveyed through a dream does not therefore imply an undercutting of its reality or its importance in the intention of the dramatist.

Jacobson also is unjustified in his claim that "In Moses' dream the stars, though in a sense personified, are never anything but stars."[49]

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[47] H. Jacobson, "Mysticism," 277-78.

[48] P. W. van der Horst, "Some Notes," 366. The contrasting views of Jacobson and van der Horst are summarized by Holladay, *Fragments From Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Vol. II* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 438.

[49] "Mysticism," 275.

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He even goes so far as to suggest that "Ezekiel's account, rather than representing the astral mystery, is polemic against the deification or angelization of the stars." Jacobson does not support these assertions, which are contradicted by the conventional association of stars and angels in the world of his time. The only possible basis for such a view is in the interpretation of Moses' father-in-law -- which brings us to the question of the relationship between the dream and its interpretation.

According to Jethro, the stars represent "humankind" (βροτοί, which is used in the singular in classical Greek as the opposite of ἀθάνατος or θεός), and the spatial perception of all things in heaven and on earth signify Moses' prophetic grasp of "things present, past, and future." The dream is intended to prefigure Moses' role as judge and prophet, and to authenticate the writings which circulated under his name.[50]

Van der Horst acknowledges a difference between the dream and its interpretation. In his words, "The seeming discrepancy between vision and interpretation is probably due to Ezekiel's making use of two different traditions about Moses, that of king of the universe on the one hand, and of great prophet on the other, traditions which were already merging in this period."[51] This is probably an accurate assessment. However, van der Horst does not deal directly with the fact that, in the play as it stands, the "great prophet" tradition is used to

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[50]"If the dominant image of the dream is Moses the king, the dominant image of Raguel's interpretation is Moses the prophet" (Holladay, "The Portrait of Moses," 448).

[51]"Moses' Throne Vision," 28.

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interpret the "king of the universe" tradition. Apparently van der Horst sees Jethro's interpretation as pointing out only some of the implications of the images with which it deals; these images have a broader reference than the interpretation might convey. Therefore, on the basis of the dream van der Horst claims that for Ezekiel the Dramatist Moses "is not merely a personage from the distant past but still present and ruling over the universe."[52]

Jacobson adopts a very different position. Although he does not view Jethro's interpretation as exhaustive,[53] he does see it as having a limiting force in the images which it choses to explicate. For example, the interpretation presents Moses' spatial vision of all things in temporal categories:

> ...other texts distinguish between the mystical knowledge of "above and below" and that of "past and future." Ezekiel, by virtue of the symbolic nature of the dream, can have Moses see (in the dream) what is above and what is below and then have it interpreted temporally, as knowledge of past and future, thus granting Moses the gift of prophecy but denying him knowledge of the divine mysteries of the universe.[54]

One could take a similar approach to the stars. In the dream they are paraded before Moses "like a host of mortals." In the interpretation it is said that Moses "will be a leader of mortals." Thus, it seems as though the stars are representing human beings, as in Joseph's dream, rather than angels.

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[52]"Moses' Throne Vision," 29.

[53]"Why is Raguel's interpretation so skimpy on the 'royal' side and perhaps more heavily weighted in the mantic area, when the opposite seems to be true in the dream itself? The answer is patent. The royal aspect of the dream is straightforward and simple and requires no elaborate interpretation. The mantic aspect is not so clearcut and demands more detailed attention" ("Mysticism," 288).

[54]"Mysticism," 278.

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Jacobson has the better of van der Horst in this debate. Van der Horst is correct in recognizing that the picture of Moses' ascent given by Ezekiel reflects a tradition which associates Moses with the vicegerent Angel of the Lord. However, this does not seem to be the view of the dramatist himself. The interpretation of the dream should be attributed to the author, and indicates a this-worldly re-reading of an originally apocalyptic description of a heavenly ascent. Moses is still a king and prophet, and he still sits on a great throne and beholds mysteries; but the throne is on earth, his subjects are human beings rather than angels, and the mysteries revealed to him involve human events rather than heavenly realities.

The *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Dramatist therefore witnesses to the existence of a Moses' ascent-enthronement tradition in the second-century B.C.E. His recounting of Moses' dream is important background to the rabbinic material with which we began our chapter. However, he does not himself espouse this heavenly enthronement tradition, nor does he provide direct testimony to the use of Ps 8 in the explication of this tradition.

Memar Marqah

Memar Marqah ("The Teaching of Marqah") is a Samaritan text from the third or fourth century. It contains midrashic expositions on the career of Moses, who is the central figure of Samaritan religion. As with the rabbinic midrashic collections, many of the traditions found in *Memar Marqah* are far older than the date of the book's composition. This is evident from parallels with Jewish materials from the Second

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Temple period.[55]

The Samaritans did not treat the Prophets and the Writings of the Hebrew bible as authoritative, but accepted only the Pentateuch as their canonical text. Therefore, we cannot expect to find an explicit use of Ps 8 in their literature. However, similarities between Jewish and Samaritan aggadah show that there was a flow of influence between the two groups, and it is possible that Jewish views which were originally rooted in an exposition of Ps 8 were adopted by the Samaritans and severed from their exegetical context.

Memar Marqah's presentation of Moses has much in common with what we have already seen in Jewish writings. First, the ascent of Moses at Mount Sinai is seen as a heavenly ascent. Moses enters the ranks of the angels, and himself takes on an angelic nature.

> האן הקד משה ומן מדמי למשה עבדה דאלה ומהימנה דביתה
> דדער ביני קעימיה לגו משכן כסיאתה
> ויקרוה כהלון במדורה עמון
> מהאד מן מאדון והוה מלוא בכן
> והקרב ביניון והוה כהן קדיש תרתי כנשאן
>
> Where is there the like of Moses and who can compare with Moses the servant of God, the faithful one of His House, who dwelt among the angels in the Sanctuary of the Unseen? They all honoured him when he abode with them. He was supplied from their provisions, satisfied from them. He was brought right in among them. He was a holy priest in two sanctuaries. (IV §6 II:155, I:95)[56]

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[55]For example, see S. Olyan, "The Israelites Debate Their Options at the Sea of Reeds," *JBL* 110 (1991) 75-91. For further support, see Meeks (*Prophet-King*) 216-17 (he provides additional references on 217, notes 2-4).

[56]The Aramaic text and English translation are from J. Macdonald, *Memar Marqah* (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1963) Volumes I (The Text) and II (The Translation). References will be given here to the chapter and section, the page number in the translation (II:), and the page number in Macdonald's Aramaic text (I:). A new edition of the Aramaic text along with a Hebrew translation is now also available: Z. ben-Hayyim, *Tibat*

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ובזבן דאמר לה אלהים אסק לידי אל טורה
וסלק לידה וכסנה עננה אשתה יומין
פגרה הוה קדיש ואתוזף קדש
וסלק מן מיתוביתה ברנשיתה אל מיתוביתה מלאכיה
מתחנן לגו אשתתי יומיה ומשתעבד קדם מלכון דכל מלכיה
וחזה משכן כסיאתה מתפשט באשתה לגו עננה
אזדעק ביומה שביעה ממציע עננה ועמה סדרי מלאכיה על יחובון

At the time God said to him, *"Come up to me on the mountain"* (Deut 10:1), when he went up to Him and cloud covered him for six days, his body was holy and holiness was (thereby) increased. He ascended from human status to that of the angels. He was making supplication during the six days and prostrating before the King of all kings; he saw the Sanctuary of the Unseen spread out in the fire within the cloud. He was called on the seventh day from the midst of the cloud and he saw the ranks of the angels in their array.
(V §3 II:206, I:126)

In both texts we have reference to the "Sanctuary of the Unseen" (משכן כסיאתה). Meeks asserts that "this term is the equivalent to 'heaven.'"[57] Moses does not only see the angels and enter into their presence; he becomes one of them. In fact, the words והוה כהן קדיש תרתי כנשאן appear to indicate that Moses becomes the highest of the angels. Macdonald translates the sentence as "he was a holy priest in two sanctuaries." The word כנשאן is not the same as the word translated properly elsewhere by Macdonald as "sanctuary" (משכן), but would be better translated as "congregations."[58] Thus, Moses functions as priest both among the people of Israel (the earthly congregation) and among the angels (the heavenly congregation).

The preeminence of Moses among the angels is expressed in *Memar*

Marqe: A Collection of Samaritan Midrashim (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1988).

[57] *Prophet-King*, 242.

[58] See Jastrow, 651b and 652a.

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Marqah in various ways. The angels magnify (רבונה)[59] and honor (ויקרה)[60] him. They assemble before him to hear what he says and to do it (מזדמנין קמיו למשמע ולמעבד).[61] When Moses speaks, the unseen (and thus heavenly) powers are astonished or dismayed (תמהה כסיאתה).[62] As Moses reaches the summit of Mount Nebo and prepares to die he sees the angels gathered to honor him, "standing about him, on his right and on his left, behind and before him" (מלאכיה קעמי עלויו ומימינה ומסמאלה ומאחרי ומקבלה).[63] Thus, as courtiers surround their sovereign, so the angels surround Moses.

As in the Jewish texts examined earlier, the greatness of Moses is especially evident in the gleaming splendor of his face as he descends from his heavenly journey. This is not surprising. What is surprising is that this splendor is also seen by Marqah as a crown.

> ירום נביה רבה משה דלבשה מרה שמה
> ודער בכסיאתה והכלל באורה
>
> Exalted is the great prophet Moses whom his Lord vested with His name. He dwelt in the mysteries and was crowned with the light. (II §12 II:80, I:50)

"The mysteries" (כסיאתה) might well refer to "the hidden powers," as in the above phrase from IV §6 (תמהה כסיאתה). One could then translate this sentence as "he dwelt among the heavenly beings and was crowned with the light." The crown of light is thus an expression of Moses'

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[59] e.g., IV §3 II:143, I:88.

[60] e.g., IV §6 II:155, I:95.

[61] IV §3 II:144, I:89.

[62] IV §6 II:155 (see note 126), I:95.

[63] V §3 II:206, I:126.

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angelic transformation.

> מבתר מה דתכם עסרתי נביותה
> פרס כפיו קמי מרה וכרז בקל רם ולבה ונפשה מליאן מן דחלתה
> אה מן כללני בנהרה ורבה יתי בסימניה
> ויקרני בכבודה וכסני בכפה ואעלני בגו משכן כסיאתה
> ואלבשתני שמך דבראת בה עלמה...
>
> After he had expounded the ten prophecies, he spread out his hands before his Lord and proclaimed aloud with heart and soul filled with fear, "O Thou who hast crowned me with Thy light and magnified me with wonders and honoured me with Thy glory and hid me in Thy palm and brought be into the Sanctuary of the Unseen and vested me with Thy name, by which Thou didst create the world..." (IV §7 II:158, I:96)

In both of the above texts, as in many others, the crowning with light is related to a vesting with the divine name. As seen earlier in our study of Adam, Ps 8:6 was read as referring both to a crown and to a garment. It is also worth recalling that in 3 *Enoch* Metatron receives a crown whose glory derives from its being inscribed with the divine name. Since 3 *Enoch* seems to be combining traditions of Moses' ascent with those of Enoch's ascent, the crown of glory in Ps 8:6 which was given to Moses may also have been associated with the divine name.[64]

In one passage Moses' luminous countenance is mentioned in the same context as his great throne:

> נעמי נביה רבה משה נתח מן טור סיני ביומה דצומה
> ואורה שרי על צלמה ותרי לוחיה על אדיו
> יתב על כרסי גדיל כתב מה אלפה מרה
> ביספר מן אקרה דקעימין אלף
> מן מידון המאר על פתודון יתב ומן לחמון סבע
> ובכיורון צבע ובמשכנון הקבע
>
> Let us observe the great prophet Moses descend from Mount Sinai on the day of the fast, the light dwelling on his face and the two tablets in his hands. He sat on a great throne and wrote what his Lord had taught him. He had learned at a schoolhouse among the angels. From their store he had been

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[64]This is supported by the fact that some midrashim portray Moses' as fighting against the angels with his "horns (of light)" (see Halperin, 293-94, 320) whereas others show him conquering through the power of the divine name (e.g., *Deut. Rab.* 11:10).

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> supplied. At their table he had sat and with their bread he had been satisfied. He had washed in their trough and he had been established in their dwelling place. (IV §6 II:156, I:95)

The great throne of Moses is associated here with the writing of the Torah. The authority and glory of Moses and that of the Torah which he wrote are thus inseparable. There is a parallel here to the tradition seen in Ezekiel the Dramatist. Moses' "great throne" is among the angels, and apparently they attend to him as he writes, providing him with the bread and water of heaven. However, as in the interpretation provided in Ezekiel by Moses' father-in-law, the focus in this text is on Moses' authority among human beings, not among the angels.

As in Jewish tradition, Moses' crown of light did not fade until his death.

> וסלק נביה רבה משה ברבו רבה אל טור נבא מכלל באורה
> וכל חילי מלאכיה רומה מזדינין לזימונה

> The great prophet Moses ascended Mount Nebo with great majesty, crowned with light, and[65] all the hosts of the heavenly angels gathered to meet him. (V §3 II:202, I:123)

Thus, at the end of his life, forty years after his Sinai ascent, Moses is still crowned with light. In a striking parallel with a Jewish midrashic tradition seen above, a parallel which is only explicable through direct dependence, Deut 34:7 is interpreted as referring to the light of Moses' face which endured to the day of his death, and is contrasted with the fading glory of Adam.[66]

> ומשה בן מאה ועשרים שנה במותו...
> לא כמעת עיניו ולא ערק דטובה לא כמעת...

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[65]Macdonald does not have this "and," but I assume that the lack of a conjunction in his translation is a typographical error.

[66]See Chapter III, 57.

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דו הוה לבוש צלמה דאשלעה אדם בגן עדן
והוה מניר על צלמה עד יום מותה

> *Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died* (Deut 34:7)... *His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated...*for he was vested with the Form which Adam cast off in the Garden of Eden; and his face shone up to the day of his death. (V §4 II:208-9, I:128)

The glory which Adam lost is thus the same glory which Moses gained and kept. This radiance is here identified with the divine image (though Macdonald's translation of צלמה as "Form" obscures the connection). The rabbinic midrash draws a similar contrast between the glory of Moses which was preserved and that of Adam which was forfeited, and also identifies Adam's lost glory with the divine image, but it does not explicitly assert that the two crowns of glory were one and the same. However, the application to Moses of a psalm which was previously understood as Adamic (i.e., Ps 8) implies that such an understanding was presumed.

The comparison between the splendor of Adam and that of Moses is only one aspect of a broader contrast between these two figures in *Memar Marqah*.[67] In an important text, Adam and Moses are contrasted in six ways:[68]

אלהותה אתחזית ואקימת בריתה וכבודה הגלה ורבה טובה
ומלאכיה אתו למרבה איקרה ואתון כהלון אזדמנו ליד אדם

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[67]For other texts glorifying Adam and juxtaposing him with Moses, see II §8,§10; IV §2. On the Adam-Moses correspondence in Samaritan literature, see W. Meeks, *Prophet-King*, 222-23, "Moses as God and King," 363-65,and J. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1985) 90-92.

[68]As Meeks notes, "the basic structure of the passage...[is] obscured by Macdonald's translation and punctuation" (*Prophet-King*, 232, n.4). Therefore, the Aramaic text will be presented here with a modified version of Macdonald's translation and punctuation. For the most part this translation follows the suggested meaning of Meeks, though there are some small differences.

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אלהותה צערת יתה והנפחת בה נשמת חיין וכבודה כללה ברותה גדילה
והלבשו תריון תרי כלילין מן אורה רבה
אלהותה יהבת בה מדע שלם וכבודה יהב לה נהירו חיולה
ואף אלהותה יקרת יתה בממללה וכבודה יקר בחכמה שלמו

1. The Divine One appeared and established the covenant [with Moses];
   The Glory appeared and magnified what was good [i.e., Adam, the creation -- see Genesis 1:31]
2. The angels came to magnify the glorious one [i.e., Moses]
   They [i.e., the angels] were all assembled for Adam.
3. The Divine One formed him [i.e., Adam] and the breath of life was breathed into him;
   The Glory made him [i.e., Moses] complete with a great spirit.
4. The two of them were clad in two crowns of great light.
5. The Divine One gave him [i.e., Adam] a perfect mind;
   The Glory gave him [i.e., Moses] powerful illumination.
6. The Divine One also glorified him [i.e., Adam] with speech;
   The Glory glorified him [i.e., Moses] with perfect wisdom.

(VI §3 II:221, I:135-136; Meeks 232)

This text has numerous similarities to the Jewish traditions we have explored concerning Ps 8 and its application to Adam and Moses. First, the glorious appearance of both Adam and Moses is referred to as a "crown of light," and the crown is seen as something they are "clad in" (that is, clothed or robed in). Second, the assembly of angels which magnifies Moses is compared to the assembly of angels which gathered in the presence of Adam. This presumes a tradition in which Adam is magnified or honored by the angels. Third, the perfect wisdom of Moses is compared to Adam's gift of speech. This recalls the midrash on Ps 8 in which the angels are convinced of Adam's wisdom when he is able to name the animals and even God himself. As with the midrash on Deut 34:7, this text depends on traditions which were common to both Jews and Samaritans. An original connection to Ps 8 is highly likely.

There are other examples in *Memar Marqah* of this view of Moses as a second Adam. In a midrashic treatment of Deut 30:19, Marqah compares Adam and Moses:

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וכן אמר אלה חיין ומות
תעתיד אדם ותעתיד משה
אדם אכל למותה עתד
משה צעם לחייה עתד

Thus God said, *"Life and death"* (Deut 30:19) -- one prepared for Adam and one prepared for Moses. Adam tasted death prepared; Moses fasted for life prepared. (IV §5 II:149, I:92)

Adam's eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is contrasted with Moses' fast, in which he was sustained with the food of the angels, and through which the Torah, the tree of life, was given to Israel. The connection between the Torah and the garden of Eden is explicit elsewhere in *Memar Marqah*:

אדכיר לטב עד לעלם נביה רבה משה
אשר פתח לנו גן עדן התורה...

Ever commemorate well the great prophet Moses, who opened for us the Garden of Eden of the law... (II §2 II:47, I:31)

This is probably the garden in which Moses is said to dwell when he ascends on high to receive the Torah:

האן דקי משה ומן מדמי למשה בעלמה
תרחי גנתה לה הפתחו ובה דער
עננה כסה לה ומלאכיה רבונה

Where is there the like of Moses and who can compare with Moses in the world? The gates of the Garden were opened for him; within the Garden he dwelt. The cloud enveloped him and the angels magnified him. (IV §3 II:143, I:88)

It is no accident that the angelic glorification of Moses is narrated in the context of garden imagery; the comparison with the angelic glorification of Adam, noted in the earlier text, is here also in the background.[69]

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[69]This motif also recalls Ezek 28:13-14, which speaks of the first Man as a King who dwells in the garden of Eden on the summit of the mountain of God. On the locating of the garden of Eden on the top of Mount Sinai, see also the *Defter* in A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy, Vol. I*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909) 51, lines 26-27.

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Therefore, in *Memar Marqah* we find numerous parallels to the picture of Moses found in rabbinic literature: 1) His ascent on Sinai is a heavenly ascent; 2) He is exalted by and among the angels, and the honor given to him by the angels is compared to that given to Adam; 3) He is "crowned" or "clothed" with glory, receiving the radiance which had been lost by Adam; 4) He opens the way to the garden of Eden, which is associated or equated with the Torah; 5) He is enthroned in heaven. The mention of the crown of light and the portrayal of Moses as a second Adam, along with elements found both in Marqah and in rabbinic midrashim on Ps 8, point to reflection on this psalm as one important source of these traditions.

As already noted, *Memar Marqah* was written in the third or fourth century. Most of the material is traditional, and must pre-date the compositional labors of Marqah. It had likely existed in Samaritan circles for some time. Before that, some of the material must have been derived from Jewish traditions, for one would not expect Samaritan commentaries on a text -- Ps 8 -- which was outside their canon. The parallels between *Memar Marqah* and the rabbinic literature thus push back the dating of the application of Ps 8 to Moses towards the Second Temple period. The presence of the Moses' ascent motif already in Ezekiel the Dramatist makes this dating probable. Our next text to be considered makes it nearly certain.

Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo)

The *Biblical Antiquities* (*LAB*) of Pseudo-Philo retells the biblical story from the creation to the death of Saul. According to the scholarly consensus, it was written in Hebrew in the first century of

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the common era, just before or after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70.[70] It was then translated into Greek, and from Greek into Latin. The Latin version is the only text extant.

There have been and continue to be many proposals for locating the author within the diverse religious currents of first century Judaism.[71] However we assess the author's identifications and loyalties, one fact is indisputable: *LAB* contains a vast number of aggadic traditions which appear later in rabbinic literature.[72] As Harrington comments, "it is the earliest witness for motifs frequently repeated in the Jewish tradition."[73] Therefore, as we seek to know whether the Rabbinic traditions which apply Ps 8 to Moses and the giving of the Torah can be traced back to the period of the Second Temple, the testimony of Pseudo-Philo is especially valuable.

Glorification of Moses and the Torah

Before we look for signs of Ps 8's influence on *LAB*, we should observe the overall similarity between its portrayal of Moses and the giving of the Torah and that which is found in rabbinic writings and in *Memar Marqah*. First, Moses is the central character in the book, and fidelity to the Torah is the central theme. As Murphy points out,

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[70]See D. J. Harrington's introduction in *OTP* 2:297-303.

[71]See F. J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 7.

[72]See F. J. Murphy, "Divine Plan, Human Plan: A Structuring Theme in Pseudo-Philo," *JQR* 77 (1986) 5-14; S. Olyan, 75-91; D. J. Harrington, *OTP* 2:300.

[73]*OTP*, 2:300. Apparently Harrington is referring to rabbinic Judaism when he speaks here of "the Jewish tradition."

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"Moses is the most dominant figure in *Biblical Antiquities*, as is evident in the sheer number of chapters devoted to him."[74] And, as we will see, some of the most important treatments of Moses and the Sinai event are not even found in these chapters, but occur in later flashbacks.

Second, Moses' ascent of Sinai is really an ascent to heaven, and this transfer to the heavenly sphere leaves his face shining with the radiance of another world.

> Et descendit Moyses. Et cum perfusus esset lumine invisibili, descendit in locum ubi lumen solis et lune est; vicit lumen faciel sue splendorem solis et lune, et hoc *nesciebat* ipse.
>
> And Moses came down. And when he had been bathed with invisible light, he went down to the place where the light of the sun and the moon are; and the light of his face surpassed the splendor of the sun and the moon, and he did not even know this.[75] (12:1)

Thus Moses' face was shining not only because "he had been talking with God" (Ex 35:29), but because he had been doing so in the super-celestial courts, whose "invisible light" was higher than the visible luminaries of this world. In order to return to his people at the foot of the mountain, he needed first to descend "to the place where the light of the sun and the moon are." The tradition that "the light of his face surpassed the splendor of the sun and the moon" is also found in *Memar Marqah*:

> ובעקב צומה אופע אפיו באורה דשרא עליו
> סגי מן אור שמשה וזהרה

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[74]Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 52.

[75]The English translation of Pseudo-Philo is that of D. J. Harrington in *OTP* 2. The Latin text is also edited by Harrington, *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques, Tome I* (Paris: Les Éditions Du Cerf, 1976).

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> ...at the end of his fast his face shone with the light that appeared on it -- more than the light of the sun and moon. (II §12 II:83, I:51)

In both Marqah and Pseudo-Philo this stress on the fact that Moses' face was brighter than the brightest objects in this world is a way of underlining the reality of his journey to the highest heaven and its lasting transformative impact on his nature. It also glorifies the Torah, which is identified with this otherworldly light.

Finally, Moses is presented in *LAB* as what C. T. R. Hayward calls "the antithesis of Adam":

> ...for the author of *LAB*, Moses is the one who acquires for a time all the privileges initially granted to Adam. He is certainly the antithesis of Adam, who...is regarded as having lost for the race of men those very things which Moses is shown at the institution of Israel's worship, at the giving of the Torah, and at his death.[76]

One example of these "things which Moses is shown" is found in *LAB* 11:15, where we learn that God "showed him the tree of life" on Sinai. Pseudo-Philo also presents the giving of the Torah as a renewal of the work of creation.

> ...et eduxit eos inde et duxit in montem Syna et protulit eis fundamentum intellectus quod preparavit ex nativitate seculi. Et tunc commoto fundamento, militie festinaverunt fulgura in cursus suos, et venti sonum reddiderunt de promptuariis suis, et terra mota est de firmamento suo, et tremuerunt montes et rupes in compaginibus suis, et nubes elevaverunt fluctas suos contra flammam ignis, ut non exurerent seculum. Tunc expergefactus est abyssus de venis suis, et omnes fluctus maris convenerunt in unum. Tunc paradisus reddita inspiratione fructus sui, et cedri Libani moti sunt de radicibus suis, et bestie campi commote sunt in habitationibus silvarum, et omnia opera eius convenerunt simul, ut viderent testamentum disponentem Dominum ad filios Israel.
>
> ...he brought them out of there and brought them to Mount Sinai and brought forth for them the foundation of understanding

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[76]"The Figure of Adam in Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities," *JSJ* 23 (1992) 14.

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> that he had prepared from the creation of the world. And then when the world's foundation was moved, the heavenly hosts speeded the lightnings on their courses, and the winds brought forth noise from their chambers, and the earth was shaken from its firmament, and the mountains and cliffs trembled in their joints, and the clouds lifted up their floods against the flame of fire so that it would not burn up the world. Then the abyss was aroused from its very springs, and all the waves of the sea gathered together. Then Paradise gave off the scent of its fruit, and the cedars of Lebanon were shaken from their roots, and the beasts of the field were moved in their dwelling places in the forest; and all his creatures came together to see the LORD establishing a covenant with the sons of Israel. (32:7-8)

The massive cosmic shaking that attends the giving of the Torah is described several times in Pseudo-Philo (in addition to the above text, see 11:4-5 and 23:10). It is probably intended as a way of comparing the Sinai event both with the eschaton and with the act of creation. Sinai involves the judment of the old world and the inauguration of a new one. This is especially evident in *LAB* 32:7-8, where this cosmic shaking is also accompanied by the fragrance of Paradise's fruit (the fruit of the tree of life?) and the assembling of all creatures (as when they were gathered before Adam to be named), and where the Torah itself is described as "the foundation of understanding that he had prepared from the creation of the world." Since the Torah had been "prepared from the creation of the world," the creation can only attain its fulfillment with the giving of the Torah.

The first allusion to Ps 8 in Pseudo-Philo is found in 13:8-9, a text which we examined in our previous chapter.[77] This passage links Adam and Moses by narrating a scene in which God recalls his promise to Adam, a promise which, as we saw, includes a paraphrase of Ps 8:7b: "If you do not transgress what I have commanded you, all things will be

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[77]See 102-104.

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subject to you" (*Si non transgredieris que tibi mandavi, omnia sub te erunt*). This same half-verse of Ps 8 will be paraphrased on more than one occasion in the chapters which follow. At this point in the story the original creation context of the promise to Adam is explicitly in view. As we stated in Chapter IV, this unit of Pseudo-Philo implies that the promise of Ps 8 can only be completely fulfilled in the eschaton. Nevertheless, the fact that God is telling Moses about the promise to Adam, and is doing so in the context of instructions concerning the tabernacle and the sacrifices of the cult, suggests that the blessings of the creation-promise of Ps 8 can be experienced at least partially through Israel's worship of God under the Torah. Hayward draws the same conclusion in his comments on *LAB* 13:

> If Adam had obeyed God, the ways of Paradise would still be accessible; as it is, these are the ways which men have lost, like Adam, by not walking in God's ways. The final part of the text seems to suggest that God's ways are now available to men in the commands given to Moses, particularly those relating to the cult... It would therefore seem as if, in some measure, the cult provides those *ways* of God which, should they be observed, might undo Adam's curse and lead men to the ways of Paradise which Adam lost, incurring thereby for the earth a curse and a legacy of thorns and thistles.[78]

Perhaps the words "in some measure" should be stressed, for Pseudo-Philo shows a clear awareness of the fact that the gravest result of Adam's sin -- i.e., death -- will not be undone until God visits the earth.

The Story of Deborah: LAB 30-33

This understanding of Ps 8 and of the association of Adam and Moses, Eden and Sinai, is foundational for the section of Pseudo-Philo which we will now examine. As noted earlier, some of the most important

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[78] 6.

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references to Moses in *LAB* are found not in the chapters which are primarily concerned with him (9-19) but in later chapters. The section dealing with the story of Deborah (30-33) is particularly significant in this regard. It contains several flashback descriptions of the Sinai event, and portrays this event and its consequences in words closely resembling those found in Ps 8. The passage as a whole can be outlined as follows: 1) Israel falls into idolatry and is punished by being subjected to Jabin the king of Hazor and Sisera, his military commander (30:1-4); 2) Deborah's speaks to the people, recalling the past actions of God on behalf of Israel and his covenant faithfulness (30:5-7); 3) The stars fight on behalf of Israel, and Sisera is defeated (31); 4) Deborah sings a victory hymn, which sets the warfare of the stars and the defeat of Sisera in the context of the binding of Isaac, the covenant at Sinai, and the obedience of the sun and moon to Joshua (32); 5) Deborah delivers a farewell speech, and dies (33).

In the opening unit the punishment of Israel is declared in this way:

> Et iratus est eis Dominus, et misit angelum suum et dixit: Ecce unum populum elegeram ex omni tribu terre et dixi ut permaneret gloria mea in hoc seculo cum eo, et misi eis Moysen famulum meum qui mandaret superexcellentiam meam et iusticias, et transgressus est vias meas. Et nunc ecce ego suscitabo *inimicos eius*, et dominabuntur ei.
>
> And the LORD was angry at them and sent his angel and said, "Behold I have chosen one people from every tribe of the earth, and I said that my glory would reside in this world with it; and I sent to them Moses my servant, who would declare my laws and statutes; and they transgressed my ways. And behold now I will arouse their enemies, and they will rule over them." (30:2)

We see terms and themes repeated here that were noted earlier in *LAB* 13:8-9 in connection with Adam: the command of God, its transgression, and the alternatives of ruling or being ruled. Israel

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has been chosen from all the nations of the earth to fulfill the original purpose of Adam, and God's glory had been given to it at Sinai. Nevertheless, Israel has followed in the ways of Adam, transgressing God's commandments and experiencing his judgment.

The people then confess their sins and fast, and in response the LORD sends Deborah to them, who begins her speech by recalling Israel's encounter with God at Sinai:

> Et nunc vos nati estis in gregem in conspectu Domini nostri, et perduxit vos in altitudinem nubium, et angelos subiecit sub pedibus vestris, et disposuit vobis legem et mandavit vobis per prophetas, et castigavit vos per duces, et ostendit vobis mirabilia non pauca, et propter vos precepit luminaribus et *steterunt in locis* iussis...
>
> And now you were like a flock before the LORD, and he led you into the height of the clouds and set the angels beneath your feet and established for you the Law and commanded you through the prophets and corrected you through the leaders and showed you not a few wonders; and on your account he commanded the luminaries, and they stood still in their assigned places... (30:5)

Here it is asserted that all Israel, and not only Moses, were "led into the height of the clouds." Presumably Moses is seen here as a representative figure, through whom the entire people ascended to heaven. It is clear that this ascent occurs at Sinai, for three clauses are parallel:

> (1) he led you into the height of the clouds
> (2) and set the angels beneath your feet
> (3) and established for you the Law.

The subjugation of the angels to Israel, asserted here, is then illustrated by the obedience of the luminaries to Joshua -- the stars being understood here as angelic powers (as in Job 38:7, Isa 14:12-13, Rev 1:20, 12:4, 9, and apocalyptic literature as a whole). The service of the luminaries/angels to Israel will be a major theme of this entire unit, and its connection to the Sinai event is of crucial importance for

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Pseudo-Philo.[79]

Given the Adam-Moses / Eden-Sinai correspondence of Pseudo-Philo, and its earlier use of Ps 8 as a statement of the dominion promised to those who obey the commandments of God, it is highly likely that the phrase "set beneath your feet" (*subiecit sub pedibus vestris*) is an allusion to Ps 8:7. That the "all things" of this verse could be interpreted as including angelic powers is consistent with the allusions to the psalm found in the Adam Books and the *Apocryphon of John*, and also with the rabbinic use of the psalm to describe the angelic envy and the superiority of Adam, Moses, and Israel to the angelic hosts. The close connection in Pseudo-Philo between the subjection of the angels to Israel and the service of the luminaries could be explained by the midrashic exposition of Ps 8:7a ("You have made him ruler over the works of your hands") in the light of Ps 8:4 ("When I look at your heavens, the works of your fingers, the moon and the stars which you have established").

Is there an echo of a biblical text in the phrase "into the height of the clouds" (*in altitudinem nubium*)? The phrase is very similar to one found in a text discussed earlier in this chapter, Isa 14:13-14:

> [13]You said in your heart, 'I will ascend to heaven;
> above the stars of God I will set my throne on high;
> I will sit on the mount of assembly in the far north;
> [14]I will ascend <u>above the heights of the clouds</u>
> I will make myself like the Most High.' (RSV)

---

[79]The same phrase (*et subieci angelos sub pedibus eorum*) is found in *LAB* 15:5 in reference to the Exodus: "And I fulfilled by words and made their enemies melt away and set the angels beneath their feet and placed the cloud as the covering for their head." The subjection of the angels is once again associated with the defeat of Israel's enemies, but here it is also linked to the overshadowing presence of the cloud of Glory. The Exodus is the prologue to the giving of the Torah at Sinai, and as such illustrates in advance the benefits which obedience to the Torah will bestow.

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Given the echoes of these verses heard in other texts dealing with the ascent of Moses, it seems likely that the parallel in Pseudo-Philo is deliberate. Here is further support for the view that Isa 14 was used to describe the heavenly ascent and enthronement of Moses and Israel, and for an early linkage between Isa 14 and Psa 8.

The next chapter of Pseudo-Philo (31) describes the victory of Israel over Sisera. It highlights the role of the luminaries in the battle.

> *Et misit Debbora et vocavit Barach, et dixit ad eum:* Surge et *precinge lumbos tuos tamquam vir,* et descende et expugna Sisaram, quoniam video *astra* conturbari in dispositione sua et *parari in pugnam* vobiscum...
> Et his dictis, profecta sunt astra sicut preceptum fuerat eis et incenderunt inimicos eorum.
>
> And Deborah sent and summoned Barak, and she said to him, "Rise and gird your loins like a man, and go down and attack Sisera, because I see the stars moved from their course and ready for battle on your side..." (31:1)
> And when these words had been said, the stars went forth as had been commanded them and burned up their enemies. (31:2)

This intervention of the heavens on behalf of Israel is based on one poetic verse in the biblical song of Deborah:

> מן-שמים נלחמו הכוכבים
> ממסלותם נלחמו עם-סיסרא׃
>
> From heaven fought the stars,
> from their courses they fought against Sisera. (Judg 5:20)

The warfare of the stars for Israel is seen as a renewal of the blessings of the covenant at Sinai, when God "set the angels beneath your feet" and "commanded the luminaries" on behalf of Israel (30:5).

In chapter 32 Pseudo-Philo recounts Deborah's hymn after the victory. She begins by telling of Abraham's election and the birth of Isaac. In this context an apparently extraneous story of the envy of the angels is reported:

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> Et elegit gentem nostram, et eiecit de igne Abraham patrem nostrum, et elegit eum pre omnibus fratribus suis...Et dedit ei filium in novissimo senectutis eius, et eiecit eium de metra sterili. Et zelati sunt eum omnes angeli, et invisi sunt ei cultores militiarum. Et factum est cum zelarent eum, dixit ad eum Deus: Occide fructum ventris tui pro me, et offer pro me sacrificium quod donatum est tibi a me.
>
> And he chose our nation and took Abraham our father out of the fire and chose him over all his brothers...And he gave him a son at the end of his old age and took him out of a sterile womb. And all the angels were jealous of him, and the worshiping hosts envied him. And since they were jealous of him, God said to him, "Kill the fruit of your body for me, and offer for me as a sacrifice what has been given to you by me." (32:1-2)[80]

The ensuing depiction of the binding of Isaac focuses more on Isaac's voluntary sacrifice than on Abraham's obedience.[81] As a result of their joint action, which exemplifies the truth that "the LORD has made the soul of a man worthy to be a sacrifice" (32:3), God spares Isaac and silences the accusing angels:

> Non interficias filium tuum...Nunc enim manifestavi ut appareres ignorantibus te, et clausi ora maledicentium semper adversus te. Erit autem memoria tua in conspectu meo in sempiternum, et erit nomen tuum et huius in generationem et generationem.
>
> You shall not slay your son...For now I have appeared so as to reveal you to those who do not know you and have shut the mouths of those who are always speaking evil against you. Now your memory will be before me always, and your name and his will remain from one generation to another. (32:4)

Can we detect echoes of Ps 8 in *LAB* 32:1-4? The angelic envy of Abraham

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[80]A similar tale is also found in rabbinic literature. The angels accuse Abraham before God, alleging that at the banquet held by him in honor of Isaac's weaning (Gen 21:8), Abraham failed to set aside a bullock or ram as an offering to God. God replies by saying, "Even if we tell him to offer his own son, he will not refuse" (*Gen. Rab.* 55:4). In Pseudo-Philo, however, the angelic envy is focused not on something Abraham fails to do, but on the election of Abraham and Isaac in itself.

[81]On this version of the binding of Isaac in Pseudo-Philo and its relationship to the wider haggadic tradition, see G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 193-227 (esp. 199-202).

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reminds us of a similar response toward Adam and Moses in the traditions we have studied. God's reward for Abraham's act of obedience is also significant: "Now your memory will be before me always, and your name and his will remain from one generation to another."[82] In Chapter IV we suggested that Pseudo-Philo's eschatological use of the terms "remember" and "visit" may be based on Ps 8:5, and may focus particularly on the rememberance of the patriarchs. Could such a use of Ps 8 lie behind *LAB* 32:1-4?

The likelihood of this hypothesis is increased by a similar rabbinic tradition. The earliest recorded midrash on Ps 8 which contains a reference to the angelic complaint is found in *t. Sotah* 6:5.[83] The midrash begins by speaking of the recitation of Ps 8:5-9 by the angels on the occasion of the creation of Adam. It then shows how the praises of the Israelite children at the Sea of Reeds silenced the antagonism of the angels. The final sentence offers an alternative application of the psalm and the angelic complaint:

> ר' שמעון בן מנסיא אומר
> לא נאמרה פרשה זו אלא על יצחק בן אברהם לעניין עקד'
>
> R. Simeon b. Menassia says, "This pericope was stated only with reference to Isaac, the son of Abraham, in the matter of the Binding.[84]

A later midrash makes clear that the "Man" in Ps 8:5 is Abraham, the "Son of Man" is Isaac, and the event which is remembered is the Akedah,

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[82]The notion of God "remembering" the binding of Isaac and thereby having mercy on Israel has a long history in the targums, midrashim, and liturgy of the Jewish people. For a good summary of this material, see Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 206-218.

[83]See Chapter III, 41-42, and Chapter VI, 278-80.

[84]Neusner, *The Tosefta, Nashim.*

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the binding of Isaac (*Tanch. wayyera* §18). Thus, given these close parallels, and given the importance of Ps 8 in this entire section of Pseudo-Philo, it is highly likely that in *LAB* 32 we are seeing another first-century witness to the antiquity of the angelic complaint motif and its grounding in Ps 8.

Deborah then summarizes briefly the history of Israel from Isaac to the revelation at Sinai (32:5-6). It is here that we find the Sinai event characterized as a cosmic shaking in which "Paradise gave off the scent of its fruit" (32:8) and God "brought forth for them the foundation of understanding that he had prepared from the creation of the world" (32:7). The gift of the covenant and the law are thus presented as a renewal of the creation, a return to the Garden of Eden.

Deborah moves on to the events immediately preceding Moses' death.

> Et cum moreretur, disposuit ei firmamentum, et ostendit ei tunc quos nunc habemus testes dicens: Sit testis inter me et te et populum meum celum in quo ingressus es, et terra in qua ambulasti usque nunc. Ministri enim erant vobis sol et luna et astra.
>
> And when he [Moses] was dying, God established for him a platform[85] and showed him then what we now have as witnesses, saying, "Let there be as a witness between me and you and my people that heaven that you have entered and the earth on which you walk until now. For the sun and the moon and the stars were servants to you."[86] (32:9)

This apparently is a reference to the end of Moses' final discourse in Deut 30:

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[85] *Memar Marqah* also describes a platform on which Moses stood before his death (V. §2). However, in the Samaritan text Moses builds the platform for himself, and its purpose is to enable him to see the people as he addresses them for the last time.

[86] Harrington translates the verb tenses differently: "that heaven that you <u>are</u> <u>to</u> <u>enter</u>.." and "for the sun and the moon and the stars <u>are</u> servants to you." The verbal form and the context favor our translation.

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> I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse; therefore choose life, that you and your descendants may live. (30:19) (RSV)

It might also allude to the beginning of the song of Moses in Deut 32:

> Give ear, O heavens, and I will speak;
> and let the earth hear the words of my mouth. (32:1) (RSV)

But what event is it describing? It must be Pseudo-Philo's interpretation of Deut 32:48-50, 34:1-5, which recounts how Moses ascended Mount Nebo, that he might see from there the land of promise, and then die. Thus, just as Moses' ascension of Mount Sinai is seen as a heavenly ascent, so also is his climb of Mount Nebo at the end of his life.[87] God builds for him there a *firmamentum* -- a platform, but obviously one suspended in the heavens. From this *firmamentum* God shows Moses *celum in quo ingressus es* -- "the heaven that you have entered". This is probably the heaven Moses entered when he ascended on Sinai, but it might refer also to the heaven he has just entered by climbing Mount Nebo.

Of special interest is the reference to the luminaries: *Ministri enim erant vobis sol et luna et astra* ("For the sun and the moon and the stars were servants to you" -- perhaps meaning "have been made your servants"). As in *LAB* 12:1, the superiority of Moses (and the people of Israel -- note the second person plural *vobis*) to the sun and moon is emphasized, with here the "stars" added to the list of heavenly servants. And once again, this superiority to the luminaries is

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[87]See also *LAB* 19:10. Meeks points out how this verse (19:10) is part of a wider tendency in ancient Jewish writings "to assimilate traditions of Moses' ...mystical ascent on Sinai with his translation at the end of his life" (*Prophet-King*, 159).

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connected to a heavenly ascent and a spatial position of precedence. The servant role of the sun, moon, and stars also recalls Deborah's words in 30:5, in which she stated that God "led you into the height of the clouds and set the angels beneath your feet and established for you the Law." The subjugation of the angels and of the luminaries to Israel is thus equated, and they are both tied to the ascent to heaven.

The ministerial role of the sun and moon is then illustrated in the following verse by Deborah's recalling of the way they obeyed Joshua's summons in his battle with the Amorites (Josh 10:12-14):

> Et cum exsurgeret Ihesus regere populum, factum est ut die in qua expugnabat inimicos appropinquaret vespera, pugna adhuc superante. Dixit Ihesus soli et lune: Vos ministri qui facti estis inter Fortissimum et filios eius, ecce nunc pugna adhuc superest, et vos derelinquitis officia vestra? State ergo hodie et lucete filiis eius et intenebrificate inimicos eius. Et fecerunt ita.
>
> And when Joshua arose to rule the people, on the day when he was fighting the enemies, the evening approached while the battle was still going on. Joshua said to the sun and moon, "You who have been made servants between the Most Powerful and his sons, behold now the battle is still going on, and do you abandon your duties? Therefore stand still today and give light to his sons and darkness to his enemies." And they did so.

This reference to the subjugation of the luminaries to Moses and Israel at Sinai followed by a description of Joshua's command to those same luminaries parallels Deborah's statements in 30:5, in which she recounts how the angels were "set...beneath your feet" and then speaks of Joshua's victory through the obedient service of the luminaries.

Deborah then proceeds to tell of the role of the stars in the recent victory over Sisera (32:11). Three events are thus consistently linked in these chapters: 1) Moses' and Israel's ascent to heaven at Sinai and their authority over the angels/luminaries; 2) Joshua's victory over the Amorites and the obedience of the luminaries to his command; and 3)

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the victory over Sisera through the intervention of the stars. In addition, the subjection of the angels at Sinai is presented after recalling their envy of Abraham and their being silenced through the offering of Isaac. In this way Pseudo-Philo reminds Israel that whenever it is obedient to the covenant given at Sinai, offering itself to God as did Isaac, God will respond by silencing the complaints of the envious angels and placing them at Israel's disposal. It is also worth noting that the next incident recounted by Pseudo-Philo involves a magician who imitates Joshua's miracle through his magic arts and the angels to whom he sacrifices (chapter 34). Israel is seduced by his magic, and is unfaithful to God. Pseudo-Philo thereby makes his point through contrast as well as through repetition: true authority over the angels/luminaries comes through obedience to the covenant of Sinai, not through magic.

Chapters 30-33 of Pseudo-Philo thus show many signs of the influence of Ps 8. The following excerpt of a particular rabbinic midrash (which we have already looked at piecemeal) brings together several of the strands seen in these chapters of *LAB*:

אמר ר' ברכיה כשברא הקב"ה את עולמו
בקש להראות למלאכים שבח מעשה הצדיקים
אמרו לו מה אנוש כי תזכרנו וגו'
דבר אחר] מה אנוש כי תזכרנו
(מר) זה אברהם
שנאמר ויזכור אלהים את אברהם
ובן אדם כי תפקדנו
זה יצחק שנולד מפקידה שנאמר וה' פקד את שרה...
וכבוד והדר תעטרהו
זה משה שנאמר ומשה לא ידע כי קרן עור פניו
תמשילהו במעשי ידיך
זה יהושע שהדמים המאורות שנאמר שמש בגבעון דום וירח בעמק
אילון וכתיב וידום השמש וירח עמד...
ה' אדונינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ
(נב) אמרו המלאכים כבודך הוא לדור עם עמך ובניך

R. Berechiah taught: As the Holy One, blessed be He, was creating His universe, he sought to show the angels the

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excellence of the deeds of the righteous.

But the angels said to God: *What is man that Thou art mindful of Him? and the son of man that Thou rememberest him?,* etc. (Ps 8:5). {That is, the angels also use Ps 8:6-9 in their complaint}

In saying *What is man that Thou art mindful of Him?* (Ps. 8:5), they were referring to Abraham, of whom it is said "God was mindful of Abraham (Gen. 19:29).

In saying *And the son of man that Thou rememberest him?* (Ps. 8:5), they were referring to Isaac who was begotten by God's remembering Sarah, as it is said "And the Lord thought of Sarah" (Gen. 21:1)...

In saying *And crownest him with glory and honor* (Ps 8:6), they were referring to Moses, of whom it is said "Moses knew not that the skin of his face sent forth beams by reason of His speaking with him? (Ex. 34:29).

In saying *And makest him to have dominion over the work of Thy hands* (Ps. 8:7), they were referring to Joshua who caused the luminaries to stand still by saying: "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, moon, in the valley of Aijalon" (Josh. 10:12), and as it is written that "The sun stood still, and the moon stayed" (Josh. 10:13)...

Finally, in saying *O Lord, our Lord, how glorious is Thy name in all the earth* (Ps. 8:10), the angels meant: [Do what pleaseth Thee!] Thy glory is to sojourn with Thy people and with Thy children.[88]

First, we see that the dialogue is set before creation; it is therefore modeled on the midrash concerning the creation of Adam. However, the focus here is not on Adam, but on "the righteous" -- that is, the heroes in the history of the people of Israel. Israel is the true heir of Adam. Second, the angelic complaint begins with Abraham and Isaac ("Man" and "The Son of Man"). In Pseudo-Philo the angelic complaint is also focused on Abraham and Isaac, and thus on the election of Israel. The patriarchs are the ones whom God will "remember," and for whose sake he will "visit" his people. Third, the radiance of Moses' face is seen as a crown, and the angels are jealous of this, just as they are jealous of the election of Abraham and Isaac. We must read each line, the midrash is telling us, as though it ran, "What is....that you

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[88] *Midr. Teh.* 8:7. The English translation is that of Braude; the Hebrew text is from S. Buber.

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should...?" Thus this line is to be understood as saying, "What is Moses, that you should crown him with glory and honor?" Once again, this suits Pseudo-Philo well, with its emphasis on the glory of Moses and the application of Ps 8 to the Sinai event. Fourth, this midrash applies Ps 8:7 ("You have made him the ruler over the works of your hands") to Joshua, who exercised dominion over the heavenly bodies. As we have already seen, this conclusion is reached by interpreting Ps 8:7 in light of Ps 8:4. Finally, the last line, in which the angels submit to the divine will by saying, "Let your glory reside with your people and your children" (כבודך הוא לדור עם עמך ובניך), is remarkably similar to the statement of the divine purpose at the beginning of the Deborah section of Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 30:2): "I have chosen (*elegeram*) one people from every tribe of the earth, and I said that my glory would reside (*dixi ut permaneret gloria mea*) in this world with it."

The point here is not that the above midrash should be dated to the first century and was known to the author of *LAB*. Instead, the point is that an interpretation of Ps 8 as referring to Abraham and his descendants probably existed that early and that several of the motifs found in *LAB* 30-33 -- such as the angelic jealousy toward Abraham and Isaac, the exaltation of Moses and Israel above the angels, and the obedient service rendered to Israel by the sun, moon, and stars -- can be traced to an understanding of Ps 8 which existed in the period of the Second Temple.

Conclusion

We began this chapter by considering the rabbinic use of Ps 8 in relation to Moses. Our examination of the Rabbinic material produced

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the following results: 1) Moses is viewed in relation to Adam, and Sinai in relation to Eden; therefore, any application of Ps 8 to Moses and Sinai in the rabbinic writings builds upon earlier interpretations of that psalm which applied it to Adam and the angels; 2) Moses ascent of Sinai is seen as a heavenly ascent, and Ps 8:5 and 8:2 are viewed as a complaint of the angels, protesting Moses' presence in heaven and the divine intention of giving the Torah to an earthly people, Israel, rather than giving it to them, the heavenly hosts; 3) Ps 8:6a ("You have set him up to be only a little less than God") is applied to the nearly divine wisdom of Moses, which is demonstrated in his debate with the angels just as Adam's wisdom is shown in his naming of the animals; 4) Ps 8:6b ("crowning him with glory and honor") is applied to the heavenly radiance of Moses' face, which is seen as a divine crown; 5) Ps 8:7a ("You have made him the ruler over the works of your hands") is applied to Moses' successor, Joshua, and the meaning of the term "works" is ascertained from Ps 8:4, which speaks of the heavenly bodies as God's "works"; 6) Though Ps 8:7b ("placing everything under his feet") is not explicitly interpreted as speaking of the angels, the midrashim which interpret Ps 8 emphasize that the angelic complaint is based on envy of Moses and Israel who are being exalted above them, and contain references both to Moses' defeat of the angels through argument or force, and the gifts which the angels give him as a sign of their submission; 7) Ps 8:10 is seen as a statement of the angels' acceptance of God's intention to give the Torah to Moses and Israel.

The *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Dramatist shows that a tradition of Moses' heavenly ascent, coronation, and enthronement above the stars/angels existed as early as the second century B.C.E. Nevertheless, this tradition shows no clear signs of an Adam-Moses

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typology, nor does it display any verbal linkages with Ps 8. What is lacking in the *Exagoge*, however, is to be found in *Memar Marqah*. The angels gather before Moses at his heavenly ascent and honor him even as they did Adam, and he is crowned with the same light that crowned Adam. Still, the motif of the angelic envy and complaint is not present in Marqah.

Pseudo-Philo provides the most significant confirmation of the antiquity of the core Rabbinic traditions concerning Ps 8 and its application to Moses and Sinai. Ps 8 is presented in Pseudo-Philo as a contingent promise rather than as a statement of an existing fact, and the promise to Adam that he should rule over all things is still available to Israel through the Torah. The "all things" include both the astral bodies and the angels. This extraordinary authority is confirmed through Moses' heavenly ascent at Sinai, where he is raised up above the luminaries and above the angels. The motif of the angelic envy of Israel is introduced in relation to Abraham and Isaac rather than to Moses, but the place in the narrative taken by this motif makes it serve as a prologue to the authority over the stars and angels given at Sinai and manifested in the military victories of Joshua and Deborah. This fact, plus the later rabbinic use of Ps 8 in relation to the angelic jeasousy toward Abraham and Isaac, make it almost certain that Ps 8 also underlies Pseudo-Philo's report of the Akedah.

We conclude therefore that in certain circles of Second Temple Judaism Ps 8 was applied not only to Adam and his relation to the angels, and to eschatological Israel and various heavenly eschatological figures, but also to Moses and to historical Israel and their relation to the angels. In Abraham Israel was chosen to inherit the position of

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Adam, and at Sinai this choice was actualized. The vocation of Israel is to be exalted above the angels and to have dominion over all things.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SON AND THE SONS: THE GLORY OF THE SECOND ADAM

Having completed our survey of the use of Ps 8 in ancient Jewish literature outside the New Testament, we are now ready to examine the New Testament interpretations of the psalm. Our questions are simple: Did the early Jesus movement develop its understanding of Ps 8 in dialogue with other current Jewish interpretations of the text, or was its reading an entirely unprecedented innovation based on the novel experiences and convictions of its members? Did this movement read this psalm in its entirety as referring to its triumphant Messiah, or did it merely appropriate isolated fragments of the psalm and interpret them outside their original context?

Scholars have generally viewed the New Testament use of Ps 8 apart from wider Jewish exegesis. The one question asked of Jewish sources has been: is Ps 8 ever applied to the Messiah? Having answered negatively, the New Testament perspective on the psalm is then assumed to be a uniquely Christian development, and other Jewish sources are dismissed as irrelevant. Our work will question this assumption.

Most scholars have also seen the use of Ps 8 in the New Testament as piecemeal and without regard for the psalm's overall intent and meaning. One half-verse -- Ps 8:7b -- is of overwhelming importance, and (apart from Heb 2) the remainder of the psalm is not cited.

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Some scholars affirm that the psalm was influential among the first Christians and was applied by them in its entirety to Jesus;[1] however, their failure to take account of wider Jewish exegesis of the psalm means they do not appreciate the full meaning and significance of this application.

In this chapter we will examine seven texts which cite, allude to, or echo Ps 8: 1 Cor 15:20-28, Phil 3:20-21, Rom 8:18-21, Eph 1:18-23, 1 Pet 3:18-22, Heb 2, and Matt 21:14-16. We will also look briefly at a text (2 Cor 3-4) which serves as helpful background to the other passages considered. In addition, we will digress slightly and discuss the New Testament view of Christ as the enthroned Kavod of Ezek 1, and what impact this view may have had on the early Christian interpretation of Ps 8. In our survey of these texts we intend to show that the New Testament use of Ps 8 cannot be understood properly unless it is viewed within the broader context of Jewish exegesis of the psalm.

1 Cor 15:20-28

Written in the mid-50's, Paul's first letter to the Corinthians contains the earliest Christian citation of Ps 8:

20 Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν
ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.
21 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι᾽ ἀνθρώπου θάνατος,
καὶ δι᾽ ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.
22 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνῄσκουσιν,
οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζῳοποιηθήσονται.
23 Ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι·
ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ,
24 εἶτα τὸ τέλος, ὅταν παραδιδῷ τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί,
ὅταν καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν.

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[1]See, for example, Dunn, *Christology*, 108-21, and L. D. Hurst, "The Christology of Hebrews 1 and 2," *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament*, ed. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987) 151-64.

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[25]δεῖ γάρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν
ἄχρι οὗ θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.
[26]ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος·
[27]πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.
ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ὅτι πάντα ὑποτέτακται,
δῆλον ὅτι ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.
[28]ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα,
τότε [καὶ] αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται
τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα,
ἵνα ᾖ ὁ θεὸς [τὰ] πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

[20]But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead,
the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep.
[21]For as by a man came death,
by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead.
[22]For as in Adam all die,
so also in Christ shall all be made alive.
[23]but each in his own order:
Christ the first fruits,
then at his coming those who belong to Christ.
[24]Then comes the end,
when he delivers the kingdom to God the Father
after destroying every rule and every authority and power.
[25]For he must reign
until he has put all his enemies under his feet.
[26]The last enemy to be destroyed is death.
[27]"For God has put all things in subjection under his feet."
But when it says,
"All things are put in subjection under him,"
it is plain that he is excepted
who put all things under him.
[28]When all things are subjected to him,
then the Son himself will also be subjected
to him who put all things under him,
that God may be everything to every one.[2]

Vs 27a quotes Ps 8:7b in a form similar but not identical to the LXX, which has πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. The verb is changed from the second person to the third to suit the context, and the short form of the preposition (ὑπό) is used rather than the long form (ὑποκάτω). One might think at first that this change of preposition was made in order to harmonize with the preposition used in vs 25's paraphrase of Ps 110:1b. However, that paraphrase is even more distant

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[2]All English translations of the New Testament in this chapter will be from the RSV unless otherwise noted.

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from the LXX, which has the noun phrase ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου rather than the prepositional phrase ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. It therefore seems more likely that the paraphrase of Ps 110:1b was formulated to harmonize with Paul's version of Ps 8:7b than the reverse.

The linkage seen here between Ps 110:1 and Ps 8:7 is also found in Eph 1:20-23 and 1 Pet 3:22.[3] It is further evident in Mark 12:36, which alters the wording of its quote from Ps 110:1 to bring it into conformity with the LXX of Ps 8:7. Most scholars conclude from this data that these texts were linked at an early stage of the Christian tradition, and that in his use of these texts in 1 Cor 15 Paul is acting as a tradent rather than a creative theologian.[4] This conclusion seems sound.

Other conclusions sometimes drawn about this linkage are less substantiated by the data. It has been asserted that the connection between the verses is only possible on the basis of the LXX, and that it therefore must have occurred in the Hellenistic wing of the church.[5] This is not the case. The Greek and Hebrew texts are as follows:

πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ (Ps 8:7b)
ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου (Ps 110:1b)

כל שתה תחת-רגליו (Ps 8:7b)
עד-אשית איביך הדם לרגליך (Ps 110:1b)

Walker is wrong in his claim that "the similarities are much less

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[3]And to a more limited extent in Heb 1-2. See 257, n. 81.

[4]Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 120; B. Lindars, *Apologetic*, 50; A. Vögtle, 206-7; Michel, 138; P. Siber, *Mit Christus leben* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1971) 130; Dunn, *Christology*, 108-9.

[5]Walker, 489.

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striking [in the Hebrew] than in the Greek."[6] In the Hebrew text the same verb is used in both verses (שית), whereas the verbs in Greek are different. As in the Greek, the object of the prepositional phrases in the Hebrew is the same (רגלים). The correspondence between ὑποκάτω and ὑποπόδιον is closer in sound than that between the translated Hebrew words (תחת and הדם), but the grammatical distinction between preposition and noun is preserved. It is significant that the wording of both half-verses in 1 Cor 15 differs from the LXX, with the result that the formulations are more harmonious. Apparently the similarities in the LXX were not striking enough! If one can conclude anything from this comparison of Hebrew and Greek texts, it is the opposite of what Walker asserts -- the correspondence is somewhat stronger in the Hebrew than in the Greek. However, the difference is not substantial enough to justify a firm conclusion. The linkage between Ps 110:1 and Ps 8:7 could easily have occurred in either the Aramaic or Greek speaking church, or even in both.[7]

It has also been asserted that Ps 8 was first applied to Jesus by the early Christians as a result of this linkage with Ps 110.

> Apparently, then, the early Christians initially used Ps 110:1, particularly the first half of the verse, to interpret the resurrection of Jesus as an exaltation to the right hand of God as "Lord," but the second half of the verse, which served the purpose of explaining the delay of the *parousia*, subsequently led them to Ps 8:6 with its strikingly similar ending, with the result that Psalm 8 was then also applied to Jesus.[8]

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[6]489, n. 38.

[7]A. J. B. Higgins (*The Son of Man in the Teaching of Jesus* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980] 146-47, n. 96.) draws the same conclusion on other grounds.

[8]Walker, 488. See also Lindars, *Apologetic*, 50-51, 168-69, and *Jesus Son of Man* (London: SPCK, 1983) 193 n. 40; Dunn, *Christology*, 90-91,

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This inference gains much of its credibility from the unquestioned importance of Ps 110 in the New Testament and the certain antiquity of its use among the first Christians.[9] Ps 110 may be of greater importance and antiquity than Ps 8 as a Christological text within the early Jesus movement. However, that fact does not demonstrate that Ps 8 was initially applied to Jesus only because of its linkage with Ps 110. In fact, as we will soon see, the way the psalm is actually used in the New Testament points in another direction. In the earliest texts themselves Ps 8 has already attained an independent significance, and is interpreted as a whole and in light of a broader Jewish exegetical tradition.

There are four elements in the use of Ps 8 in 1 Cor 15 which are especially noteworthy. First, though only a half-verse is quoted, and that half-verse itself is linked to Ps 110:1b, the quote is inserted in the midst of a passage which presents Christ as the second Adam. Since Ps 8 was understood in most Jewish circles as speaking of Adam and his position of authority, and the psalm is employed in 1 Cor 15 to speak of Christ's position of authority, and the wider context in this chapter is a contrast between Adam and Christ, it makes sense to conclude that the psalm in its entirety and as understood in Judaism as a whole forms the backdrop of its use here.[10]

108.

[9]Hengel calls Ps 110:1 "the most important Old Testament proof passage for the development of christology" (80). For a full treatment of the use of Ps 110 among the early Christians, see D. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand* (SBLMS 18; Nashville: Abingdon, 1973). For a shorter and more recent look at this topic, see D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 135-150.

[10]Dunn recognizes that "Ps. 8.6 provided a ready vehicle for Adam

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Second, the psalm is read as referring to a particular individual, namely, the Messiah, who is "the last Adam" (ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ) (1 Cor 15:45). As we have seen, a messianic interpretation of Ps 8 is not known in ancient Judaism, but the psalm was applied to various individuals (e.g., Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Moses), and when it was applied to individuals other than Adam, those individuals were usually presented as in some way fulfilling the vocation of Adam.

Third, the psalm is interpreted eschatologically. Ps 8:7b does not describe a present reality, but one that will be realized at the end of this age. "For God has put all things in subjection under his feet" is thus understood to mean "For God <u>will</u> put all things in subjection under his feet."

Finally, the "all things" (τὰ πάντα) which are to be subjected do not refer exclusively or even primarily to the animal kingdom. Included in its scope are "every rule and every authority and power" (πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν), and these terms clearly refer to angelic beings.[11] Moreover, the linkage between Ps 8:7b (πάντα) and 110:1b (πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς) makes evident that τὰ πάντα especially has inimical angelic powers in view. Of these inimical angelic powers, the last and most formidable is "Death" (ὁ θάνατος). This brings the

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christology" (*Christology*, 109). However, he does not see that it could only serve as such a vehicle within an existing exegetical tradition which applied the psalm to Adam, the first Man, and not merely to his descendants. See also Ellis, 95-97.

[11]W. Carr argues that these terms refer to human authorities (*Angels and Principalities* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981] 91-92). Few scholars agree with his conclusions, and with good reason. For a presentation of the generally accepted position, see C. Arnold, *Powers of Darkness* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1992) 89-99, 161-65, and "Principalities and Powers," *ABD* V:467.

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pericope back to its beginning, which contrasted the fruit of Adam's defeat -- death -- with the fruit of Christ's victory -- the resurrection of the dead. It is likely that here the immortality promised to Adam in Gen 2, which he forfeited through his disobedience, is being connected to the promise of dominion in Gen 1; thus, the dominion of the last Adam, which is described in Ps 8, includes power over death.

These four elements, which characterize the use of Ps 8 in 1 Cor 15, bear a remarkable similarity to the use of Ps 8 which we observed in Pseudo-Philo. In *LAB* 13:8-9 Ps 8 is read as containing a contingent promise which would only be fulfilled in the eschaton. The promise was first given to Adam, and then to Moses and Israel. The promise of dominion is also combined with the promise of immortality. Later in the book Pseudo-Philo stresses the importance of Ps 8:7b, and interprets the "all things" of that verse as including not only death, but also the angelic hosts. In contrast to Paul and the early Christian tradition, Pseudo-Philo sees those angels as the servants of God rather than as demonic powers. Nevertheless, the parallels are impressive. They imply that Paul and/or the Christian tradition he is drawing upon knew of various Jewish interpretations of Ps 8, and were influenced by those interpretations in their own use of that psalm.

An examination of Ps 8's place in the argument of 1 Cor 15:20-28 thus calls into question the contention that Ps 8 was applied to Jesus by the first generation of Christians merely because of the similarities between one of its phrases and a phrase in Ps 110. The earliest text which builds upon this similarity in phraseology also reflects a deep and wide-ranging consideration of Ps 8 in the light of contemporary Jewish exegesis and the resurrection of the Messiah. The two texts were

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linked with one another from an early stage of the Christian exegetical tradition, but it is unlikely that Ps 8 was first brought into the orbit of Christological reflection through this linkage.

Phil 3:20-21

An allusion to Ps 8 is found in Phil 3:21. In order to appreciate its context, we will begin our citation with 3:17:

> [17]Συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί,
> καὶ σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτω περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς.
> [18]πολλοὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦσιν
> οὓς πολλάκις ἔλεγον ὑμῖν, νῦν δὲ καὶ κλαίων λέγω,
> τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
> [19]ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια,
> ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν,
> οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες.
> [20]ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει,
> ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
> [21]ὃς μετασχηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν
> σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ
> κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν
> καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα.

> [17]Brethren, join in imitating me, and mark those who so live as you have an example in us.
> [18]For many, of whom I have often told you, and now tell you even with tears, live as enemies of the cross of Christ.
> [19]Their end is destruction, their god is the belly, and they glory in their shame, with minds set on earthly things.
> [20]But our commonwealth is in heaven, and from it we await a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ,
> [21]who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself.

The "enemies of the cross" are of uncertain identity. References to "the belly," "their shame," and "earthly things" may point to licentious antinomians.[12] However, they may just as easily be seen as polemical designations for the preoccupations of Torah enthusiasts, with "the

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[12]R. P. Martin, *Philippians* (London: Oliphants, 1976) 145; F. F. Bruce, *Philippians* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983) 104-7.

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belly" standing for the dietary laws, "their shame" for circumcision, and "earthly things" for the physical sphere governed by the ritual law.[13] Favoring this latter interpretation is the polemic of the previous vss (3:2-16).

It is generally recognized that vss 20-21 contain traditional material which Paul employs for his own purposes.[14] Many of the terms used are atypical for Paul.[15] It is also generally recognized that these verses are closely related to the pre-Pauline hymn of Phil 2:6-11. Güttgemanns has laid out the terminological parallels as follows:

μορφή (2:6, 6)	-- σύμμορφος (3:21)
ὑπάρχων (2:6)	-- ὑπάρχει (3:20)
σχῆμα (2:7)	-- μετασχηματίσει (3:21)
πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ κτλ. (2:10)	-- τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα (3:21)
κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (2:11)	-- κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (3:20)

Güttgemanns concludes that "Diese terminologisch-sachliche Übereinstimmung macht wahrscheinlich, dass Phil. 3,20f. und 2,6-11 aus dem gleichen sprachlichen, vorstellungsmässigen und religionsgeschichtlichen Milieu stammen."[16] We will return to this

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[13]This view is advocated by J. Behm (*TDNT* 3:788), A. T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 95-97, and G. F. Hawthorne (*Word Biblical Commentary, Volume 43: Philippians* [Waco: Word, 1983] 165-67).

[14]E. Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 240-47; Siber, 122-26; Hawthorne, 168-70; Martin, 146-47.

[15]In addition to the terms in the chart below, one should note the un-Pauline title σωτήρ and the New Testament hapax legomenon πολίτευμα.

[16]241. Some scholars, such as Güttgemanns, thus see this parallel as indicating that the two texts are both traditional fragments deriving from a similar pre-Pauline milieu (e.g., Hawthorne, 169). Others, however, accept the Phil 2 hymn as pre-Pauline, but look upon Phil 3:20-21 as a Pauline application of this hymn (e.g., M. D. Hooker, "Interchange in Christ," *JTS* 22 (1971) 355-357; Lincoln, *Paradise*,

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point, for it has implications for our study.

Phil 3:21 clearly reflects the influence of Ps 8:7b: ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα is formulated in the light of the LXX's πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.[17] In Philippians Christ is the subject of the verb, whereas in the LXX and in the Hebrew text God is the subject, and the Son of Man is the beneficiary of the divine action. In the version of the psalm found in 1 Cor 15:27, Christ may also be the subject of the verb (πάντα γὰρ ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ), though the reference is ambiguous.[18] By making Christ the subject, the tradition transmitted or adapted by Paul portrays the Messiah in a more active and militant role, overcoming opposition and establishing his dominion. However, it presumes that God is the ultimate source of the Messiah's power; the way God places all things under the Messiah's feet is by granting him the power to subjugate his own foes.

As in 1 Cor 15:26-27, τὰ πάντα in Phil 3:21 is seen as including far more than the animal creation of Ps 8:8-9: it refers to the spiritual foes of the Messiah, the preeminent of which is the power of death. Christ exercises his authority over τὰ πάντα by transforming mortal nature into immortal nature. On this point the similarity between the

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87-88). This latter view is similar to the one advocated by those who find in Phil 3:20-21 a combination of pre-Pauline and Pauline material (e.g., Siber, 122-26; Martin, 149-50). S. Kim takes the most radical position, arguing that both passages are original Pauline compositions (*The Origin of Paul's Gospel* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1981] 147-56).

[17]Dodd, 33; Lindars, *Apologetic*, 50; Dunn, *Christology*, 109-10; Lincoln, *Paradise*, 103; Bruce, 111.

[18]The RSV eliminates the ambiguity by rendering the citation as "For God has put all things in subjection under his feet." Conzelmann (*1 Corinthians*, 274) argues that Christ is the subject of the verb, but his opinion is in the minority.

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use of Ps 8:7 in Phil 3, 1 Cor 15, and *LAB* 13 is striking.

The influence of Ps 8 on Phil 3:21 does not end with ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα. The phrase τὸ σῶμα τῆς δόξης, which depicts the glorious body of the risen Messiah, also reflects Ps 8:6b: δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν.[19] This half-verse, which was the probable source of the expression "the glory of Adam" as a designation for the powerful and luminescent brilliance of Adam's pre-lapsarian body, and which in rabbinic circles was also used to describe the radiance of Moses' countenance after he descended from heaven with the Torah, is now employed to characterize the resurrection glory of Jesus.[20]

Phil 3:21 thus alludes to two verses of Ps 8 (6b, 7b). However, it also interprets one verse in the light of the other. Jesus has been crowned with glory, as Ps 8:6b states. He also has been given authority over all things, as one learns from Ps 8:7b. What is the ultimate expression of this authority as it is exercised on behalf of believers? It is in the conquest of death and the transforming of believers' mortal existence so that they also are "crowned with glory and honor" even as he is. In this way Ps 8 becomes a description not only of Christ, the first-born, but also of the "many brethren" who follow after him.

The contrast in Phil 3:21 between τὸ σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ("his glorious body") and τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν ("our lowly body") recalls Paul's contrast in 1 Cor 15:42-44a between present bodily existence and resurrection glory:

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[19]On the question of whether this phrase should be taken as a description of Christ as the Kavod, see our Excursus, 225-234.

[20]Because scholars rarely recognize the connection between Ps 8:6 and the Jewish motif of "the glory of Adam," they also fail to recognize the allusion to this verse in Phil 3:20-21.

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42 Οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν.
σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ·
43 σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ·
σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει·
44 σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν.

42 So is it with the resurrection of the dead.
What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable.
43 It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory.
It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power.
44 It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body.

Similarly, the role of the risen Messiah as the agent who effects the transformation of the perishable, dishonorable, weak, and physical into the imperishable, glorious, powerful, and spiritual is emphasized in both Phil 3:21 and in the continuation of the passage from 1 Cor 15:

44 Εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν.
45 οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται·
ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν,
ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζῳοποιοῦν.
46 ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικὸν
ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν.
47 ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός,
ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.
48 οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί,
καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι·
49 καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ,
φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου.

44 If there is a physical body, there is also a spiritual body.
45 Thus it is written,
"The first man Adam became a living being" [Gen 2:7];
the last Adam became a life-giving spirit.
46 But it is not the spiritual which is first but the physical,
and then the spiritual.
47 The first man was from the earth, a man of dust;
the second man is from heaven.
48 As was the man of dust, so are those who are of the dust;
and as is the man of heaven, so are those who are of heaven.
49 Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust,
we shall also bear the image of the man of heaven.

This text from 1 Cor 15 makes clear that Jesus' role as the agent of glorification is a function of his being the life-giving Last Adam, who in his own resurrection experienced glorification from God. He is the head and source of a new glorified humanity, even as the first Adam was

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the head and source of the weak and perishable nature of pre-resurrection humanity. Phil 3:21 is thus portraying the glorious Last Adam, who has not only been himself "crowned with glory and honor," but also has been given the authority to impart this glory and honor to those who belong to him.[21]

This connection in Phil 3:21 between Christ's present glory, the believer's future glory, and Christ's role as Last Adam is further supported by Rom 8:29-30:

> 29ὅτι οὓς προέγνω,
> καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ,
> εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς·
> 30οὓς δὲ προώρισεν, τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσεν·
> καὶ οὓς ἐκάλεσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν·
> οὓς δὲ ἐδικαίωσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδόξασεν.
>
> 29For those whom he [God] foreknew
> he also predestined
> to be conformed to the image of his Son,
> in order that he might be the first-born
> among many brethren.
> 30And those whom he predestined he also called;
> and those whom he called he also justified;
> and those whom he justified he also glorified.

As in 1 Cor 15:44-49 and Phil 3:21, the resurrected and glorified Jesus is the pattern according to which the believer is to be refashioned. The term σύμμορφος is used in both the Romans' and the Philippians' texts to describe this relationship: "The compound, σύμμορφος, suggests here that the eschatological nature of the believer will be identical in

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[21]"The thought here [i.e., in Philippians 3:20-21] is very like that of 1 Corinthians 15:45-49. The glory which Christ received on exaltation was not for himself alone. By virtue of his exaltation Christ not only became a glorious body, received the glory that Adam lacks (Rom. 3:23), but also he received that power over all things which was intended for man/Adam in the beginning (Ps. 8.6) and which now enables him to transform believers into his image (Phil. 3.21)" (Dunn, *Christology*, 109-10).

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respect of its μορφή with that of the resurrected Christ."[22] In both 1 Cor 15:49 and in Rom 8:29 we find the additional term εἰκῶν, which alludes to Gen 1:26 and makes clear that in both passages Jesus is being presented as the Last Adam.[23] The similarity between these three texts demonstrates that Phil 3:21, like the other two, presents Jesus as the Last Adam who has inherited the crown of glory which the first Adam lost.[24]

There is still one last piece of evidence to consider which supports the Adamic interpretation of Phil 3:21: the close connection between this verse and the hymn of Phil 2:6-11. According to many scholars, this hymn depicts Jesus as the second Adam, who succeeds where Adam failed.[25] The prostration of all creation, including the angelic powers, before the risen Christ, who shares the μορφή of God (understood, in this interpretation, as the equivalent of ὁ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ), may recall the Jewish traditions examined earlier which describe the angelic worship of Adam.[26] If this understanding of Phil 2:6-11 is correct, then

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[22]Scroggs, 103.

[23]In Phil 3:21 the phrase "his glorious body" has the same meaning as "the <u>image</u> of his Son" in Rom 8:29 and "the <u>image</u> of the heavenly Man" in 1 Cor 15:49.

[24]"...the verses in Philippians [i.e., 3:21], Romans [i.e., 8:29], and 1 Corinthians [i.e., 15:49] differ little if at all in content from one another" (Scroggs, 104).

[25]Some advocates of this position are Cullmann, 176; C. K. Barrett, *From First Adam to Last* (New York: Scribner's, 1962) 16, 69-72; Scroggs, 89-90; R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 119, 161-64; Dunn, *Christology*, 114-21; de Jonge, 121; Hooker, "Interchange," 355-57.

[26]Thus, the hymn itself may owe something to Ps 8. This possibility is increased by its connection to Phil 3:21, which certainly owes much to Ps 8. On the relationship betweeh Phil 2:6-11 and Ps 8, see Dunn,

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the portrayal of Jesus as a new Adam in Phil 3:21 is definitively established.

To summarize, Phil 3:21 alludes to Ps 8 in its portrayal of Christ's resurrection glory and in its description of his authority over all things. This allusion displays an awareness both of the context of the psalm as a whole and of some Jewish exegetical traditions, for Philippians applies the psalm to Jesus as the second Adam, even as the psalm was applied in other circles to the first Adam and to others who were seen as fulfilling Adam's original vocation.

Before leaving Phil 3:21, several concluding observations are in order. First, in this important verse Ps 8 is employed apart from Ps 110:1.[27] This supports our earlier contention that the psalm was likely used within the early Jesus movement before it was combined with Ps 110.[28] Second, Paul's reference to Christ's glorious body in this text is tied to his use of Ps 8. Therefore, in other passages where Paul alludes to the glory of the second Adam one cannot exclude the

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Christology, 115-18, and L. D. Hurst, "Re-enter the Pre-Existent Christ in Philippians 2:5-11?" *NTS* 32 (1986) 453-54, 456 nn. 28, 30, and 31.

[27]Lindars acknowledges this fact, but attempts to avoid its consequences by claiming that Phil 3:21 "depends on the christology formulated by means of linking both these passages [i.e., Psalms 110 and 8]" (*Apologetic*, 50). However, it is not at all evident that the understanding of Ps 8 presumed in Phil 3:21 is dependent on a connection to Ps 110.

[28]Unlike Lindars, Dunn accepts that in Phil 3:20-21 there is a genuine independence of Ps 8 from Ps 110. However, because he follows Lindars in the claim that Ps 8 was initially applied to Jesus only because of its link to Ps 110, he draws a false conclusion from this independence: "The independence from Ps. 110:1 of the Phil. 3.21 allusion to Ps. 8.6, and its coherence with these other typically Pauline themes, strongly suggest that Phil. 3.21 is Paul's own formulation..." (*Christology*, 110). Phil 3:21 might be Paul's own formulation, but that still would not demonstrate that he was the first to apply Ps 8 to Jesus apart from Ps 110.

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possibility that he has Ps 8 in view. Finally, if Phil 3:18-19 refers to opponents of Paul who are Torah enthusiasts, then perhaps the characterization of Jesus in terms of Ps 8 in the following verses also has a polemical slant: Jesus, rather than Moses, is the new Adam who has ascended to heaven and who will fulfill Ps 8.

Excursus: Christ and the Kavod

In our exposition of Phil 3:21 in the light of 1 Cor 15:42-49 and Rom 8:29-30, we have argued that Paul (or the traditions he draws from) sees in the risen Messiah the fulfillment of Ps 8. Christ has been "crowned with glory" -- that is, has received a transformed, glorified nature -- and has become the paradigm and agent for the glorification of the elect in the parousia. As sinful and mortal humanity has borne the image of the first Adam, so the transformed humanity of the age to come will bear the image of the last Adam, the resurrected and glorified Messiah.

However, we must also reckon with another element in Paul's thinking. The apostle does not conceive of Christ simply as another exalted man, like the glorious pre-fall Adam. Christ shares in the divine nature, and is called by the divine name. He is not "created in the image of God," he <u>is</u> the image of God (2 Cor 4:4; see Col 1:15, Phil 2:6). He is an appropriate object of prayer and worship (Rom 10:13, 2 Cor 12:8, Phil 2:6-11). Moreover, this participation in divinity does not begin with the resurrection. He was in the form of God before the world came to be, and the world was created through him (Phil 2:6, 1 Cor 8:6; see Col 1:15-17). Paul does not emphasize Christ's pre-existence, but he obviously assumes it.

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Several recent interpreters of Paul have sought to understand his Christology in terms of merkavah mysticism and the enthroned human form of God which appeared to Ezekiel (1:26).[29] As we noted in Chapter IV, the Son of Man in 1 *Enoch* has assumed certain features of the Kavod. Such seems also to be the case for Paul's Christ. The Damascus Road experience is best understood as a throne-vision of Christ the Kavod, who calls Paul to be his apostle and prophet (as in the prophetic calls of Ezek 1, Is 6, 1 *Enoch* 14).[30] These scholars have stressed the profound impact that this Christophany had on Paul's theology. Thus, in dealing with Paul's Adam christology, one must recognize that for Paul Christ is not merely a new and improved version of a defective product, the fallen Adam; instead, he is the heavenly prototype according to which Adam was created. As such, he is able to serve as the paradigm for the refashioning of the human race.[31]

This emphasis on Ezek 1 has been fruitful in opening up new vistas in Pauline scholarship. It also offers an important balancing perspective for our study. As it happens, many of the scholars who have appreciated the significance of Ps 8 in the New Testament have fit their insights into a theological framework which has magnified Christ's representative humanity and down played his divinity.[32] Hopefully our

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[29]S. Kim, 223-33, 240-57; A. Segal, *Paul the Convert* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) 9-11, 39-67; C. C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 164, 187-93, 202-3, 211, 244.

[30]Kim, 79-80; Segal, *Paul*, 9-11, 39; Newman, 203, 211, 220-22.

[31]Segal, 62-3.

[32]For example, see Dunn, *Christology*, and Hurst, "The Christology of Hebrews 1 and 2," 151-164.

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examination of the use of Ps 8 in other ancient Jewish literature has already cautioned us about such a view. The first Adam, who was understood to be the hero of in Ps 8, was himself the object of angelic worship. Furthermore, Ps 8 could also be used in depicting the angelic or divine beings envisioned in Dan 7, 1 *Enoch* 37-71, and 3 *Enoch*. Still, the notion that for Paul and for many other early Christians Christ is the Kavod, the enthroned human form of God, provides an even greater check on inordinate naturalizing of the New Testament's picture of Christ.

However, some exegetical conclusions can be drawn from this new insight which are unfounded. For example, it has been suggested that τὸ σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ in Phil 3: 21 should be understood as a reference to the Kavod, which in later Jewish mystical texts can be called the "body of the Glory" (גוף הכבוד) or the "body of the Shekinah" (גוף השכינה).[33] If this equation (τὸ σῶμα τῆς δόξης = גוף הכבוד) is strictly adhered to, τὸ σῶμα refers not to the resurrection body of Christ, but to the heavenly enthroned form which he had even before the world was made, and τῆς δόξης is not a descriptive genitive meaning "glorious" but a possessive ("the body which <u>belongs</u> <u>to</u> the Glory") or epexegetical ("the body which <u>is</u> the Glory") genitive which expresses the identification of Christ with the Kavod, "the Glory." This is unlikely for several reasons. First, τῆς δόξης in Phil 3:21 must be construed as an adjectival or descriptive genitive -- "his glorious

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[33]G. Scholem seems to have been the first to note this possible terminological parallel (*On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead* [New York: Schocken, 1991] 278, n. 19). Segal refers to Scholem's suggestion, and then comments that "Scholem did not exploit the implications of this perceptive intuition" (*Paul*, 309, n. 14). However, Segal does not actually argue that Paul is employing a technical term drawn from the realm of Jewish mysticism.

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body." This is clear both from the possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ (the phrases "his body of the Kavod" and "the body of his Kavod" are redundant if "he" equals "Kavod") and from the perfect parallelism between τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν and τὸ σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. If ἡ δόξα here means "the Kavod," the enthroned human form of God, and the genitive is possessive, then what entity does ἡ ταπείνωσις depict? If, on the other hand, τῆς ταπεινώσεως can only be a descriptive or adjectival genitive meaning "lowly, humble," should not its opposite correlate, "τῆς δόξης," be treated in the same way, and be translated as "glorious"?

The second reason for rejecting this interpretation of Phil 3:21 is drawn from the Pauline parallels to the verse. The closest parallel is found in 1 Cor 15:42-44. Both texts speak about the transformation of mortal into immortal human beings at the parousia. Both texts contrast the mortal nature with the immortal. In 1 Cor 15:42-44 φθορά, ἀτιμία, and ἀσθένεια, are set over against ἀφθαρσία, δόξα, and δύναμις. In Phil 3:21 ταπείνωσις is contrasted with δόξα. If δόξα in 1 Cor 15 clearly refers to the exalted nature of the resurrected body, should not the same word in Phil 3:21 be taken in the same way? Another, though more remote, parallel is found in Rom 6:4. Paul there tells us that "Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father" (ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς δκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρός). "Glory" is roughly equivalent to "power" in this text (as in 1 Cor 15:43).[34] It is associated with the resurrection of the dead (again, as in 1 Cor 15:43), but this time with

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[34]"...δόξα here can only refer to the eschatological (resurrection) power of God which infused, animated and now characterizes Jesus" (Newman, 218).

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the resurrection of Jesus. It is definitely not another term for Christ On the other hand, one cannot find parallel texts in the Pauline literature which would support the translation "the body of the Kavod."[35] Segal acknowledges that "Paul does not explicitly call Christ the Glory of God."[36] In similar fashion, Newman notes that "Though Paul never made the surface argument that Christ = δόξα, one can still deduce that such an identification occurred at the convictional level for Paul."[37] Given close parallels supporting one meaning, and a lack of parallels to support the other, the burden of proof must fall on the side of those who would argue for the unique usage.

The third and final reason comes from external parallels. The only instances of the term "the body of the Kavod" which have been brought forward are from later Jewish mystical texts. This does not mean that the term was unknown in first-century mystical circles; however, we lack definitive proof. On the other side, the first-century parallels for the use of "glory" as a characteristic of the renewed angelomorphic human nature in the eschaton are too numerous to cite. We have already encountered many of them (e.g., 1 *Enoch* 62:15-16, *Vita* 17:1). Especially relevant is the description of the transformation of Enoch in 2 *Enoch* 22, where Enoch becomes "like one of the glorious ones" by putting on "the clothes of glory." Therefore, the context in which the phrase is found, the Pauline parallels, and the contemporary Jewish

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[35]The primary candidates for texts which use δόξα in the technical sense of Kavod are 1 Cor 2:8 (ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης; Newman, 235-39) and 2 Cor 3:18 (ἡ δόξα κυρίου; Segal, *Paul*, 60-61).

[36]47.

[37]211.

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parallels all point to a translation and interpretation of Phil 3:21 like the one we have given in our previous section.

However, there may be another sense in which the understanding of τὸ σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ as a reference to the Kavod is correct. The phrase is probably not a technical term equivalent to the later גוף הכבוד, nor is δόξα here to be taken as a title for Christ. However, the referent of the term -- the glorious human form of Christ -- is seen by Paul as enthroned in heaven and as expressing visibly the invisible nature of God. From the point of view of the Damascus Road Christophany and Paul's other mystical experiences, this figure is in fact the Kavod. However, he is also the <u>risen</u> Christ, whose "glorious body" is clearly a <u>resurrection body</u>. On the relationship between this resurrection body and the pre-incarnate form of the Kavod, Paul does not speculate.

Paul does think of Christ as the enthroned human form of God written of in Ezek 1, and, though he does not use δόξα as a title or a technical mystical term for this form, the word does describe for him the heavenly and even divine nature which Christ possesses. The same is true for two other words whose meaning closely resembles δόξα: μορφή and εἰκών.[38] In Phil 2:6 μορφή may well refer to Christ's identity with the Kavod.[39] In

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[38]On the related meaning of these words, see R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi*, 102-20. Newman notes that Paul's use of εἰκών and μορφή is a result of his "appropriation of the language of Jewish mysticism" (202). This point is substantiated by Kim (205-233). At times Paul's use of δόξα and εἰκων renders them "virtually synonymous" (Kim, 230). However, as Newman's careful analysis of Paul's usage of δόξα demonstrates, it would be an oversimplification to suggest that the two words have in general a common field of meaning.

[39]R. P. Martin quotes J. Weiss as maintaining that "'the divine form' which he possessed before becoming man (Phil. ii. 6) was nothing less than the divine *Doxa*, and may we not understand this statement to mean, in the Pauline sense, Christ was from the beginning no other than the *Kabod*, the *Doxa*, of God himself, the glory and radiation of his being,

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2 Cor 3:18 and 4:4 (see also Col 1:15) Paul may use εἰκών in the same way. All of these words are also connected to the biblical descriptions of Adam as the one created in the image and likeness of God, and who was crowned with glory. However, for Paul Adam is only an imperfect analog for Christ, since Christ is not created "according to the image of God"; he is the image of God.[40] He is the Kavod who both manifests the invisible God and also serves as the prototype for human beings.

Nevertheless, as we have seen in Phil 3:21, a verbal form of μορφή can be used in a context which appears to deal in particular with Christ's risen body. In similar fashion, the word εἰκών in 1 Cor 15:49 (and probably also in Rom 8:29) is used to refer to resurrection glory. In 1 Cor 15:49 Paul speaks about the eschatological transformation of believers as the future bearing of "the image of the man of heaven" (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου). It is possible to take this as referring to Christ as the Kavod, and in a certain sense this is correct. However, it is probably not referring to Christ primarily in his pre-incarnate state, but to his risen and glorified human presence on the throne. Thus, if we are correct, the image that believers are to bear is not simply the image of the Kavod, but the image of the risen and enthroned Man, Jesus the Messiah.

There are three reasons for adopting this reading of 1 Cor 15:44-49. First, the temporal order of the two men is stressed.[41] Adam is the

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which appears almost as an independent hypostasis of God and yet is connected intimately with God?" (*Carmen Christ*, 104-5).

[40]This distinction between the image itself and that which is made according to the image is found in Philo, *De. Opif.* 25. For Philo, the image of God is the Logos (see also *Conf. Ling.* 62-63).

[41]Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 287.

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first man, the psychic man, and then comes Christ, the second or last man, the spiritual man. If the focus is on Christ as the Kavod, in whose image Adam was created, how can he be seen as Adam's temporal successor? It is thus more likely that the risen Christ is in view. Second, when does "the last Adam become a life-giving spirit" (45b)? One would presume that it is after "the first Adam became a living being" (45a), for "it is not the spiritual which is first but the physical, and then the spiritual." In Paul's teaching when does Christ begin to provide the spiritual life of the new creation? Certainly it is after his death and resurrection (Rom 5:10, 6:4, 8:2, 2 Cor 4:10-12).[42] Third, the context of 1 Cor 15 provides a weighty argument in favor of this interpretation. The point of the chapter is to persuade the Corinthians that Christ will return and there will be a resurrection from the dead. To make this point, Paul begins by speaking of the resurrection of Christ (1-11). He then draws out the implications of this fact: "Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (15:20). The resurrection of Christ is the beginning of the final resurrection, the proleptic inauguration of the coming age. Paul then makes his first reference to Adam: "as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (22). Thus, when we return to Adam at the end of the chapter, with the same argument continuing, we should expect the same perspective to

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[42]"Paul emphasizes that Christ *became* life-giving Spirit, for the verb ἐγένετο belongs to both clauses, and it is clear from his whole discussion that this occurred at the resurrection...Verse 22 of this chapter underlines this, for in the Adam-Christ contrast there the being made alive (ζῳοποιηθήσονται) which takes place in Christ is grounded in his resurrection" (A. T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981] 44).

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dominate. It is the risen Christ who is the heavenly Man, who has become a life-giving spirit, and whose image the elect will bear when they also have been raised from the dead and transformed.[43]

However, as we noted earlier, Paul apparently thought of this risen and enthroned Jesus as the Kavod.[44] It was the risen Christ who appeared to him on the Damascus Road (1 Cor 15:8), probably as the glorious human form on the heavenly throne. We might think of the Parables of 1 *Enoch* or 3 *Enoch* and the transformation of the patriarch into the enthroned manifestation of God. How did Paul conceive of the relation between the pre-incarnate, incarnate, and resurrected Lord? We do not know. However, the Man on the heavenly throne seen by Paul was the risen Jesus, and this was the experience which shaped his thinking.

To conclude, we must remember as we study the use of Ps 8 in the New Testament, especially in Paul, that these early Christian interpreters did not consider Christ to be merely a new and superior version of Adam. For them he was the visible manifestation of God himself appearing in human form. However, he was also a man who came "in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin" (Rom 8:3), and whose resurrection from the

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[43]What is the meaning of ἐκ in 1 Cor 15:47b (ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ)? If it refers primarily to source or origin, then one must reckon with the view that Christ is the image of God because he is the Kavod, the heavenly Man, who has come from heaven. However, it seems more likely that ἐξ οὐρανοῦ is a qualitative expression meaning "of a heavenly nature." The parallel expression, ἐκ γῆς (1 Cor 47a), refers not so much to the place from which the first Man comes but more to the material source of his physical composition; because his body was "from the earth," his bodily nature is "earthly" (χοϊκός, 1 Cor 47a). Thus, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ makes clear that the glorified resurrected body of the Messiah is not derived from this earth but from heaven, and is thus of a heavenly quality. For further support of this position, see A. Vögtle, 209-10, and A. T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now*, 45-46.

[44]This appears to be the view of Kim, 226. Lincoln's perspective is similar, 47-48.

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dead made him "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor 15:20).

Rom 8:18-21

Our third key Pauline text, Rom 8:18-21, is found only a few verses before the passage considered above (Rom 8:29-30) which speaks of the glorification of the elect as conformity to the image of the Son.

> [18]Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ
> πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.
> [19]ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως
> τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται·
> [20]τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ κτίσις ὑπετάγη,
> οὐχ ἑκοῦσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα ἐφ' ἐλπίδι
> [21]ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται
> ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς
> εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ.
>
> [18]I consider that the sufferings of this present time
> are not worth comparing
> with the glory that is to be revealed to us.
> [19]For the creation waits with eager longing
> for the revealing of the sons of God;
> [20]for the creation was subjected to futility,
> not of its own will
> but by the will of him who subjected it in hope;
> [21]because the creation itself will be set free
> from its bondage to decay
> and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God.

Few commentators see here an allusion to Ps 8.[45] We will attempt to show that this is an oversight.

Rom 8:18-21 and the larger unit of which it is a part form the climax of a set of themes carefully worked out by Paul in the previous

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[45]Dunn mentions (following a suggestion from C. B. Caird) that Romans 8:20 is "perhaps an allusion to Ps. 8" (*Christology*, 307, n. 26). L. D. Hurst, who studied under Caird, also sees in Romans 8:21 "an echo of Ps. 8" (*Hebrews*, 112). In his commentary on Rom 8:20-21, C. E. B. Cranfield (*The Epistle to the Romans, Volume 1* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975] 416) refers parenthetically to Ps 8 (along with Gen 1:26, 28), but he does not explicitly claim that Paul is referring to that psalm.

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chapters of the book. In Rom 3:23 Paul summarizes the argument of chapters 1 and 2 in the following words: "all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ). Many justly see this as a reference to the glory which Adam lost through sin and which all his descendants forfeit through imitating his conduct.[46] Paul then proceeds to explain how God restores sinful human beings to a right relationship with himself through the grace of Christ. He summarizes this restored condition in Rom 5:1-2:

> [1]Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
> διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
> [2]δι᾽ οὗ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν
> εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην ἐν ᾗ ἑστήκαμεν
> καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ.
>
> [1]Therefore, since we are justified by faith,
> we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.
> [2]Through him we have obtained access
> to this grace in which we stand,
> and we rejoice in our hope of sharing the glory of God.

Those who formerly fell short of the glory of God now have a confident hope that in the coming age they will possess it. After speaking of the contrast between Adam and Christ, and the freedom believers have from sin and the law, Paul brings this section of his argument to a climax in Rom 8 by returning to the theme of the future glory of the children of God and the consequences that glory will have for the rest of the created order.

In Rom 8:18 Paul sets out before his readers the hope of "the glory that is to be revealed to us" (τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι

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[46]J. Jervell, 181-83; Scroggs, 73; Cranfield, 204-5; Dunn, *Christology*, 102-3, and *Word Biblical Commentary, Vol. 38a, Romans 1-8* (Dallas: Word, 1988) 167-68, 178; L. Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 177; J. R. Edwards, *Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992) 102; P. Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Louisville: Westminster / John Knox, 1994) 58. This view is rejected by J. A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 347.

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εἰς ἡμᾶς). The RSV rendering of εἰς as "to" is overly restrictive in its external connotations. Rom 8:17 speaks of suffering with Christ in the hope "that we might be glorified with him" (ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν). Rom 8:30 likewise presents the ultimate glorification of the children of God. As noted above, this was also the import of Romans 5:2, and Romans 3:23 alludes to both protological and eschatological Adamic glory. The translations of Rom 8:18 found in the NEB ("the splendor ...which is in store for us") and the JB ("the glory...which is waiting for us") better capture the transformative impact of the glory which is to be revealed in the eschaton.[47] In similar manner, the RSV rendering of Rom 8:21, "the glorious liberty of the children of God," obscures another reference to the glorified condition of believers in the coming age. The Greek phrase τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ should in this context be translated as "the liberty which is characteristic of the glory given to the children of God."[48] The point of these verses, as elsewhere in Romans and in Paul's other letters, is

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[47]Some interpreters go so far as to argue that εἰς in this case should be translated as "in," as is done by the KJV and the NIV: "The words εἰς ἡμᾶς are hardly to be understood as equivalent to the simple dative whether in the sense 'for us' (cf. 1 Pet 1.4) or in the sense 'to us'. They are naturally understood as indicating where the revelation of the glory is to occur, the persons whose condition will be transformed by it" (Cranfield, 410). See also Morris, 320, and Fitzmyer 504. F. F. Bruce is more cautious. Commenting on the RSV translation, he writes, "Perhaps the idea of its being 'in us' (*eis hemas*) is also present" (*Romans*, 163).

[48]Scroggs renders the verse thus: "For the creation itself will be liberated from the bondage of corruption to the freedom of that glory which the children of God possess" (71). Cranfield aptly notes that "As the δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς is a bondage to corruption, a bondage which corruption may be said to impose, so the ἐλευθερία τῆς δόξης, κ.τ.λ. is a liberty which results from, is the necessary accompaniment of, the (revelation of the) glory of the children of God" (416).

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to describe the transformed and glorified nature which the resurrected people of the Messiah will receive in the age to come.

Rom 8:19 alters somewhat the focus of attention. The topic is not merely the future glorified condition of the children of God, but the consequences that this new condition will have for the rest of the created order.[49] As the children of God eagerly await the revealing of the glorious Messiah (ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor 1:7), so the rest of creation eagerly awaits the revealing of the glorious children of God, which the Messiah's coming will bring. Behind this notion is the teaching of Gen 1-2 and Ps 8 about the ordering of creation under the authority of Adam and his descendants, and the view of Gen 3, amplified extravagantly in Jewish tradition, that the fall of Adam and his loss of glory led to a similar loss of glory in the rest of creation.[50]

Rom 8:20 continues this focus on the creation by speaking further about its present unhappy condition. We learn that "the creation was subjected to futility" (τῇ ματαιότητι ἡ κτίσις ὑπετάγη). In the eschatological reading of Ps 8 shared by Paul and Pseudo-Philo, the subjection of "all things" -- including the angelic hosts and the power of Death -- to Adam and his descendants can only occur when the human recipients of the promise are themselves subjected to God. But Adam and

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[49]Most commentators concur in understanding ἡ κτίσις here as the entire non-human creation. A helpful summary of ancient and modern opinion on the meaning of the term in this context is found in O. Christoffersson, *The Earnest Expectation of the Creature* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990) 19-21,33-36. A similar summary, with references to literature before 1975, is found in Cranfield, 411-12.

[50]Scroggs, 91; Cranfield, 413; Dunn, *Christology*, 104, and *Romans*, 469-70; Stuhlmacher, 132.

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his descendants "have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (Rom 3:23). As a result, the material creation is subjected, not to a glorious humanity, but to "futility," a term used earlier in Romans to characterize the darkened mind of human beings immediately after their initial rejection of God (Rom 1:21).[51] This "subjection to futility" is in the next verse described as "bondage to decay" (τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς). The noun φθορά and its related adjective φθαρτός are the key terms used by Paul in 1 Cor 15 to contrast the corrupt, perishable nature of human beings in this world with the resurrection glory of the age to come (1 Cor 15:42, 50, 53, 54). Rather than ruling over the angels and over death, Adam and his descendants become the slaves of death, and in its subjection to them the material creation is likewise brought under the "bondage to decay."

Rom 8:21 returns to the theme of vs 20, the future glory that is awaited. In the coming age the creation will be "set free (ἐλευθερωθήσεται) from its bondage to decay" and will receive "the liberty which comes from the glory given to the children of God" (τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ). In place of "slavery" and "subjection" the creation obtains "liberty." However, this "liberty" is not *independence*, for it is given through the glorious transformation of *humanity*. Thus, the material creation only gains its true liberty, which is the freedom from "futility" and frustration, the freedom to fulfill all of its inherent potential for good, when the humanity to

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[51]"There is probably [in Romans 8:19-22] a deliberate harking back to the description of Adam's/man's fallenness in Rom 1. Like Adam, creation became futile, empty, ineffective (1.21 -- ματαιόομαι; 8.20 -- ματαιότης), like Adam in bondage to corruption and decay...This is the plight of Adam, of man and his world (cf. 1 Cor. 15.42-50)" (Dunn, *Christology*, 104). See also Hooker, *From Adam to Christ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 80.

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which it is ever subjected also gains its liberty and enters into its glory.[52] In similar fashion, humanity only gains its liberty when it is itself subjected to the one who is its proper Master -- God who is the creator of all.

Rom 8:18-21 thus makes most sense when viewed as an eschatological meditation on Ps 8. The "glory" of the children of God is that promised in Ps 8:6. The "corruption" or "decay" which now characterizes both humanity and the entire material creation is Paul's negative correlate for "glory";[53] it now holds sway because the conditions for the realization of the promises contained in Ps 8 were not fulfilled by Adam and his descendants. However, in Rom 8:18-21 it appears that one aspect of the promises of Ps 8 was *not* conditional: the material creation (though not the angelic powers) is in a sense still subject to humanity, for its bondage to "futility" and "decay" results from humanity's bondage to the same. The creation will obtain its liberty from these powers only when the children of God are "crowned with glory and honor" in the age to come.

In Rom 8:18-21 Paul is interpreting Ps 8 corporately -- he is applying it not to the Messiah as the Last Adam, but to the new humanity of which the Messiah is the head and source. As in Phil 3:21, they are to be crowned with glory along with Christ; unlike the Philippians text, however, they are also established as the lords of the material creation. Phil 3:21 focuses instead on the subjection of the spiritual powers, especially death, to the glorified Messiah.

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[52]See Cranfield, 413-14; Stuhlmacher, 134.

[53]Scroggs, 71-72; Cranfield, 415.

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We can offer here a set of concluding observations similar to those in the preceding section. First, once again Ps 8 is employed *apart from Ps* 110:1. The use of one text by Paul does not seem to be totally dependant upon the use of the other. Second, Paul's mention of the glory of the resurrected bodies of the saints in this text (as in Phil 3:20-21) is tied to his use of Ps 8. This is further support for the view that Ps 8 is in the background in other Pauline texts where this glory is mentioned. Finally, the overall argument of Rom 1-8 involves a contrast between the effectiveness of the good news of Jesus' death and resurrection and that of the Torah of Moses. As in Phil 3:21, the possibility exists that Paul knew of interpretations of Ps 8 which applied it to Moses as a second Adam, and deliberately employs it so as to make clear that the promises of the psalm can only be fulfilled in Christ.

2 Cor 3:7 - 4:6

The three Pauline texts considered to this point show that Paul presents the resurrected Messiah as the one who, in fulfillment of Ps 8, is crowned and robed with the glorious body lost by Adam, and who will transform those who belong to him so that they may share in his glory. The authority which Ps 8 assigns to the Son of Man is preeminently this power: to overcome death and renew humanity in the pristine splendor of Adam. The last two passages, given their contexts and their parallels to Pseudo-Philo, have also suggested that Paul may have been aware of traditions which viewed Moses as the second Adam who fulfilled Ps 8, and that he may have implicitly attacked these interpretations of the psalm when he presented Jesus in this role.

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Our final Pauline text, while only drawing indirectly on the exegetical traditions concerning Ps 8, confirms that the picture of Moses as a glorious second Adam, seen in later Rabbinic and Samaritan writings, was known to Paul, and forms an essential part of the background to his notions of the glory of Christ. It thus supports the earlier suggestion that a polemical Christ-Moses contrast might underlie the Pauline use of Ps 8. This text is also foundational for the view that Paul saw Christ (both in his pre-incarnate and his resurrected form) as the Kavod.

2 Cor 3:7 - 4:6 is a convoluted text with many obscurities, and therefore it has attracted much scholarly attention.[54] However, some features of the passage seem clear enough. The main concern is with the superiority of the New Covenant and its ministry to that of the Old. This concern is expressed in the form of a midrashic treatment of Ex 34:29-35, the pericope which tells of Moses' shining face and his donning of a veil. Paul concludes from this text that the veil is in some way related to the fact that the glory of Moses' countenance was temporary. This is contrasted with the permanence of the glory of the New Covenant, which is the glory of God shining in the face of the Messiah (4:6) and then reflected in the face of his apostolic ministers (3:12-13, 18). The permanence of the Messiah's glory is a consequence of the fact that he is the image of God (τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ [4:4]). The light which radiates from the face of the Messiah and which illumines the hearts of the apostles and of believers

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[54]See L. L. Belleville, *Reflections of Glory* (JSNTS 52; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991) for a thorough bibliography.

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in general is the hidden light of the first day of creation (4:6).[55] The association of Messiah's glory with the light of the first day and with his being the image of God recall Jewish traditions concerning the glory of the first Adam.[56] More importantly, however, the connection between the image and glory of God and the light of the first day resemble traditions which portray this light as the Kavod.[57]

The comparison between the light of Moses' face and that of Adam, witnessed to in the rabbinic application of Ps 8:6b to Moses and in the Samaritan traditions found in *Memar Marqah*, is therefore evident also in Paul. It is likely that the midrashic tradition, found in both rabbinic and Samaritan texts, which saw Deut 34:7 as referring to the abiding nature of Moses' splendor in contrast to the transient glory of Adam, was also known to Paul. His emphasis on the *temporary nature* of Moses' glory in contrast to the permanent glory of Christ can then be seen as a

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[55]J. Murphy-O'Connor (*The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991] 43), following J. F. Collange (*Enigmes de la Deuxieme Epitre de Paul aux Corinthiens* [SNTSMS 18; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972] 138-40) and E. Richard ("Polemics, Old Testament and Theology," *RB* 88 [1981] 359-61) denies that 2 Corinthians 4:6 is a reference to Genesis 1:3. The majority of scholars, however, assert what these deny. See W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955) 37; M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," *SJT* 7 (1954) 174 (note that there is a typo on this page which designates 2 Corinthians 4:6 as "2 Cor. 6.4"); Jervell, 174; Scroggs, 96; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians* (London: Oliphants, 1971) 196; V. P. Furnish, *2 Corinthians* (New York: Doubleday, 1984) 223-24.

[56]Black, 174; N. A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," 434-35; Jervell, 176; Scroggs, 95-100; Dunn, "'A Light to the Gentiles': The Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul," in *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament*, 262.

[57]In *Pesiq. Rab.* 36:1 the Messiah is seen as the light created on the first day. However, in Philo this light is the Logos, who is the image of God, and in Gnostic literature it is the Heavenly Light-Adam, in whose image the earthly man is made (see Fossum, "Jewish-Christian Christology," 266-67).

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twist on an existing midrash: the radiant countenance of Moses is like rather than unlike that of Adam.[58] Only in and through Messiah Jesus, the image of God, is the glory of God an enduring possession.

As in Rom 8:29-30, Phil 3:21, and 1 Cor 15:49-55, Paul speaks in 2 Cor 3:18 of a transformation of believers in accordance with the image and glory of the risen Messiah. The texts all work with a similar set of concepts and underlying traditions. However, there is also a substantial difference between them. In Romans and Philippians the transformation is one that will occur at the return of the Messiah, and which will entail a reconstituting of the believers' physical mode of existence. In 2 Corinthians, on the other hand, the transformation has already begun: "we...are being changed" (ἡμεῖς...μεταμορφούμεθα) (3:17). The sphere in which it operates is that of the heart (ἡ καρδία) (3:15, 4:6) or the mind (τὸ νόημα) (4:4). The fact that it involves an ongoing process of increasing glory allows for the possibility that Paul sees it as culminating in the physical transformation envisioned in Romans, Philippians, and 1 Corinthians.[59] However, the fact that neither the resurrection of Christ nor that of the believer is explicitly in view supports the thesis that Paul is here concerned with Christ as the Kavod whose visible human form manifests the invisible God both before

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[58]B. Childs thought it unlikely that Paul was the first to speak of the temporary nature of Moses' radiant appearance, though he could cite no evidence for earlier Jewish interpretations along this line (*The Book of Exodus* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974] 621). L. L. Belleville argues that several rabbinic texts presume the fading nature of Moses' splendor, but the texts she cites are not unambiguous (67). The view that Moses' glory was permanent, in contrast to that of Adam, was certainly the dominant Jewish opinion of the first-century, if not the only one. See Furnish, 227.

[59]This is the view of Furnish, 242.

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the incarnation and after the resurrection. In fact, in speaking of the glory that shone on Moses' face Paul may presume that it was Christ himself whose form appeared to Moses on Sinai.[60]

In conclusion, for our purposes 2 Cor 3:7 - 4:6 is noteworthy for several reasons. First, it shows that Paul was aware of the tradition which portrayed Moses as a second Adam. Second, he was aware in particular of such a tradition which viewed Moses' glorious countenance at Sinai as a restoration of Adam's pristine splendor. Third, the 2 Corinthians passage illustrates how Paul could adjust existing midrashic traditions portraying Moses as a second Adam (with Ex 34 and Deut 34 as the base texts) so that they instead undergirded his view of Jesus as fulfilling this role.[61] He and other early Christians may have done the same with exegetical traditions concerning Ps 8. Fourth, this passage demonstrates that Paul at times conceived of the "glory of Christ" as a facial radiance similar to that possessed, according to many contemporary streams of Jewish thought, by Adam and Moses. Finally, 2 Cor 3-4 implies that Paul saw the Messiah not only as a new Adam, but also as the pre-existent image of God, the Kavod, who served both as the model for the first Adam's creation and also as the manifestation of the divine glory to Moses.

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[60]An argument for this position is found in A. T. Hanson, "The Midrash in II Corinthians 3: A Reconsideration," *JSNT* 9 (1980) 2-28.

[61]It is true that in 2 Cor 3:7 - 4:6 Paul primarily contrasts Moses with himself and with Christians in general. Still, the contrast between Moses and Jesus is also present, as is clear from 4:6.

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Eph 1:18-23

The Letter to the Ephesians is generally considered to be a pseudepigraphic composition written around 80-90 C.E.[62] The author knows the Pauline corpus, and draws especially on the Letter to the Colossians. While he liberally employs material from the Pauline letters, the author at the same time refashions that material to produce something new.

The passage which concerns us is part of a prayer which the writer offers on behalf of his recipients:

18 πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας [ὑμῶν]
εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ,
τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ
ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις,
19 καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ
εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας
κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ
20 ἣν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ
ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν,
καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις
21 ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος
καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου
οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι·
22 καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ,
καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
23 ἥτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ,
τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου.

18 having the eyes of your hearts enlightened,
that you may know what is the hope
to which he has called you,
what are the riches of his glorious inheritance
in the saints,
19 and what is the immeasurable greatness of his power
in us who believe,
according to the working of his great might
20 which he accomplished in Christ
when he raised him from the dead

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[62] For an excellent recent discussion of the date and authorship of Ephesians and its relationship to the undisputed Pauline letters and Colossions, see A. T. Lincoln, *Word Biblical Commentary 42: Ephesians* (Dallas: Word, 1990), xlvii-lxxiii.

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and made him sit at his right hand in the heavenly places,
21 far above all rule and authority and power and dominion,
and above every name that is named,
not only in this age but also in that which is to come;
22 and he has put all things under his feet
and has made him the head over all things for the church,
23 which is his body,
the fullness of him who fills all in all.

Ps 8:7b is cited in vd 22 in wording that differs from the LXX but is identical to that found in 1 Cor 15:27. The author is thus not only alluding to the psalm; he is also working with the interpretation of the psalm seen in the earlier Pauline text.'[63]

Vss 20-23 present the ascension and enthronement of the Messiah in terms drawn from both the Psalms and the Pauline corpus. Vs 20 follows the early Christian tradition by describing this event in the words of Ps 110:1a (κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου). Vs 21a then asserts that this ascension and enthronement exalted the Messiah above all the angelic powers, whose ranks are listed in the language of 1 Cor 15:24 (πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν), with the order of κυριότης added from Col 1:16. However, the content here is substantially different from 1 Cor 15:24, where these angelic powers are to be destroyed or disabled (καταργέω) at the Messiah's return, and where Ps 110b (θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου) is cited rather than Ps 110a. Vs 21b further elaborates on this list of angelic powers, in accordance with the distinctive style of Ephesians, in which synonymous terms and phrases are heaped upon one another with evident relish. The new phrase used, ὑπεράνω...παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, is probably an adaptation of Phil 2:9's ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, which also characterizes the supremacy of the Messiah over the angels at his

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[63] A. T. Lincoln, "The use of the Old Testament in Ephesians," *JSNT* 14 (1982) 42, and *Ephesians* 65-66.

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ascension.[64] Finally, vs 22a summarizes what has already been affirmed by citing Ps 8:7b. In 1 Cor 15:25-27 this half-verse from the psalm, like the list of angelic ranks which expands on its πάντα, had been employed in connection with Ps 110:1b to portray Christ's future conquest of his enemies at the eschaton; here it is used with Ps 110:1a to portray Christ's present authority over all the angelic powers.[65]

Thus, Eph 1:20-22 clearly draws upon 1 Cor 15 and its use of Pss 110 and 8, and at the same time effects a significant alteration of its meaning. The subjection of the powers is associated in Ephesians with the ascension and enthronement of the Messiah, and is therefore a present rather than merely a future reality. This reinterpretation is in keeping with Ephesians' overall emphasis on realized eschatology, and may originate with the author. However, it is also noteworthy that this view of the ascension is nearly identical to that seen in the hymn of Phil 2:6-11, and that this pre-Pauline hymn is itself tied to Phil 3:20-21 and its treatment of Ps 8.[66] The main focus of Phil 3:20-21, as we have seen, is on the future work of the Messiah as he returns to glorify his servants. Nevertheless, the power which that text ascribes to the returning Messiah seems to be a power which he *possesses in the present* (κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα), though he will only exercise it to the full at the end of the age. Therefore, it is possible that the author of Ephesians was

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[64]Arnold, *Ephesians*, 65.

[65]Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 66; R. P. Martin, *Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1991) 22-23.

[66]Lincoln, "OT in Ephesians," 42, and *Ephesians*, 66.

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familiar with an early Christian tradition which interpreted Ps 8 in a somewhat different manner than is seen in 1 Cor 15, and that this tradition influenced his use of the psalm.

Even though important differences exist, it is clear that Ephesians is dependent upon 1 Cor 15 in its use of Ps 8 and the linkage of this psalm to Ps 110. The identical wording of the text of Ps 8:7b and the common ranking of the angelic powers make this point difficult to dispute. Given this fact, it would be possible to argue that Ps 8:7a is used in Eph 1 in only a semi-conscious manner, without concern for the overall meaning of the psalm or its various traditional Jewish interpretations. According to this view, the psalm fragment has become a stock expression in early Christian hymnic and/or creedal formulas, and has lost any connection to its original context.[67]

However, there are several reasons why this argument cannot be sustained. First, the Letter to the Ephesians stresses the Messiah's role as the new Adam who is the head of a new humanity. In 2:15 Christ is presented as the one who "create[s] in himself one new Man" (κτίσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον). The New Man is the body of Messiah, complete with its head.[68] The verb "create" and the noun "new Man" echo unambiguously the first chapters of Genesis. The same verb and noun phrase are found again in 4:24, where the Ephesians are exhorted to "put

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[67]This view is articulated by Lincoln as follows: "The use of the OT in the last part of Eph. 1 then appears not to be direct but to be mediated via traditional formulations and 1 Cor. 15:24-28" ("OT in Ephesians," 42).

[68]M. Barth (*Ephesians* [Garden City: Doubleday, 1974] 309-10) relates this verse to 1 Cor 15:45-47 and the view of Christ as the last Adam or the Second Man, but thinks that here the "one new man" refers to a person distinct from Christ; it is his body, which is in effect the New Eve.

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on the new Man created to be like God" (ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν κατὰ θεὸν κτισθέντα).[69] The addition of "like God" (κατὰ θεόν) offers another allusion to Gen 1:26-27 (κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ). Once again, the new Man is not only Christ, but also his body which is robed in him. In 5:31-32 the author cites Gen 2:24 and applies it to "Christ and the church":

> [31]ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος [τὸν] πατέρα καὶ [τὴν] μητέρα καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, και ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. [32]τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν· ἐγω δε λεγώ εις' Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
>
> [31]"For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh." [32]This mystery is a profound one, and I am saying that it refers to Christ and the church...

The "mystery" here unfolded is that the Genesis text, which originally spoke of Adam and Eve, is actually referring in typological manner to the Messiah and his body.[70] The head-body imagery of 5:22-33 is thus linked to Gen 2:24. This same head-body imagery is found in Eph 1:22b-23a, immediately following the allusion to Ps 8 in 1:22a.[71]

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[69]The translation is mine. The RSV, like most modern translations of this verse, fails to convey the resonant echoes of Gen 1. The translation used here is similar to that of Barth, who renders the exhortation as "put on the New Man created after God['s image]" (498). He defends the Adamic interpretation of the verse on 537-39.

[70]"*Mysterion*, as employed in Ephesians 5:32, refers to a Scripture passage which contains a deeper meaning than that which appears at first sight" (R. Brown, *The Semitic Background of the Term "Mystery" in the New Testament* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968] 65). In a similar vein see G. Bornkamm, "μυστήριον," *TDNT* 4:823 and Barth, 642-44. Lincoln ("OT in Ephesians," 32-33) disagrees, claiming that the word has the same meaning here as elsewhere in Ephesians, namely, as involving "the once hidden purpose of God which has now been revealed in Christ, particularly the coming together in Christ of Jews and Gentiles in the one Church."

[71]"Christ has already been seen as the last Adam in Eph. 1:22, the Church is his body and so a text that refers to Adam's bodily union can now be claimed for Christ's union with the Church" (Lincoln, "OT in Ephesians,"

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Therefore, it is highly likely that the author in 1:22a is conscious that he is employing a verse from a psalm, and that he is also conscious that that psalm was understood in traditional Jewish exegesis to refer to Adam.

A second reason for affirming that Ephesians uses Ps 8:7a in a way that is aware of context and of Jewish exegetical traditions is the parallel that exists between its application of the psalm to Jesus and the application of the psalm to Enoch or Moses in other streams of Judaism. It is remarkable that the author of this letter has modified the interpretation of Ps 8 found in 1 Cor 15 so that it is *closer* to many of the contemporary Jewish interpretations. As we have seen, Ps 8 was read in rabbinic circles and apparently in Pseudo-Philo as referring to Moses' ascent to heaven to receive the Torah. As a result of this ascent Moses was exalted above the angels and given authority over them. There is some evidence that he was even thought to have been enthroned in heaven. A similar application of the psalm to an exalted and enthroned Enoch is found in 3 *Enoch*. The use of Ps 8 in 1 Cor 15 to speak of the final victory of the Messiah bears only a distant resemblance to these Moses-Enoch traditions. However, the use of Ps 8 in Eph 1 to speak of an ascended and enthroned Messiah, exalted above the angels, seems perfectly aligned with these other Jewish ascent traditions. It would be farfetched to claim that this striking parallel, carefully wrought through redaction of earlier Christian material, is merely coincidental.

A third and final argument to consider is in fact only a confirmation of the second. An extraordinary midrash on Ps 68:19 is

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found in Eph 4:7-11, the other key text in Ephesians (in addition to 1:20-23) which speaks of the ascension of the Messiah:

> 7 Ἑνὶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις
> κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
> 8 διὸ λέγει·
> ἀναβὰς εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν,
> ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
> 9 τὸ δὲ ἀνέβη τί ἐστιν,
> εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα [μέρη] τῆς γῆς;
> 10 ὁ καταβὰς αὐτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς
> ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν,
> ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα.
> 11 Καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν...
>
> 7 But grace was given to each of us
> according to the measure of Christ's gift.
> 8 Therefore it is said,
> "When he ascended on high, he led a host of captives,
> and he gave gifts to men."
> 9 (In saying, "He ascended," what does it mean
> but that he had also descended
> into the lower parts of the earth?
> 10 He who descended is he who also ascended
> far above all the heavens,
> that he might fill all things.)
> 11 And his gifts were...

This midrash is extraordinary for two reasons. First, the psalm, which seems to be speaking of YHWH, is applied to the ascent of Christ, his victory over the evil powers, and his bestowal of spiritual gifts, just as in rabbinic tradition the psalm is uniformly applied to the ascent of Moses, his defeat of the angels, and his receiving of the Torah from God and his giving of it to Israel. Second, the text of the psalm is itself modified to conform to this interpretation (ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ becomes ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), and the identical textual change is found in the Targum, which, like the rabbinic midrashic tradition, applies the verse to Moses.[72] Thus, the evidence strongly favors the

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[72]Barth, 475-76; Lincoln, "OT in Ephesians," 18-20, and *Ephesians*, 242-44.

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view that one of the two key passages in Ephesians on the ascension of Christ makes its point by adapting an important Jewish exegetical tradition regarding the ascent of Moses and applying it to Jesus.

It is remarkable that the other key passage in Ephesians on the ascension of Christ, Eph 1:20-23, makes its point by applying to Jesus a text which is commonly joined to Ps 68:19 in the rabbinic treatments of Moses' ascension to heaven.[73] As already noted, in order to use the psalm in this way the author is compelled to alter deliberately an existing Pauline interpretation with which he is working.[74] In light of these facts, the conclusion seems unavoidable: as in Eph 4, so in Eph 1 the author has employed a Jewish exegetical tradition which applied Ps 8 to the ascent of Moses and his exaltation above the angels, and has substituted Christ for Moses.

Such a move fits well with the purposes of this letter. Ephesians emphasizes the unity of Jew and Gentile in the new Messianic community (2:11 - 3:6), and this unity could only be accomplished through a transformation of the Mosaic constitution (see 2:15). Yet, the letter is not polemical in tone, and therefore a direct attack on Torah enthusiasts would be inappropriate. The author thus affirms the superiority of Christ to Moses indirectly rather than directly, by adapting midrashic traditions which glorified Moses and applying them to Jesus.

In conclusion, we find in Eph 1:20-23 a use of Ps 8 which differs

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[73]Lincoln (*Ephesians*, 242) astutely notes the correspondence between Eph 1:20ff and 4:8ff, but, like other commentators, fails to see the significance of this fact for the use of Ps 8 in the earlier text.

[74]Though, as we have seen, this change may be in accordance with another stream of tradition witnessed to in Phil 2.

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from that seen in 1 Cor 15, but which has similarities to the probable use of the psalm in Phil 2-3. The psalm as a whole is implicitly invoked, for the risen Messiah is being presented as the second Adam who is the head of a new humanity. The corporate dimensions of the psalm are thus also recognized, for the ascension and enthronement of the Messiah is the pattern for and proleptic enactment of the ascension and enthronement of his people (2:5-6). Jewish traditions which applied the psalm to Moses as a second Adam are known to the author, and help to shape the way the psalm is applied to Christ. Finally, in common with 1 Cor 15 and contemporary Jewish exegesis, the psalm is seen as teaching the exaltation of its hero -- in this case Jesus -- over angelic powers. Unlike 1 Cor 15, however, the focus is on Christ's present supremacy over the angels rather than on his ultimate conquest of the power of death.

1 Pet 3:18-22

The majority of scholars hold that 1 Peter is a pseudepigraphon from the latter part of the first century. The letter has many similarities to the Pauline (and Deutero-Pauline) corpus. These similarities may derive from common traditions, but they also may reflect a direct literary dependance on the letters written by and ascribed to Paul.[75]

The text which concerns us is from the third chapter of the letter:

18 ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν,
δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων,
ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ θεῷ,
θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ
ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι·
19 ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν,

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[75]See J. H. Elliott, "First Epistle of Peter," *ABD* V:269-278.

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[20]ἀπειθήσασίν ποτε
ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε
κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ,
εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ὀκτὼ ψυχαί,
διεσώθησαν δι᾽ ὕδατος.
[21]ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σῴζει βάπτισμα,
οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου
ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν,
δι᾽ ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
[22]ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ [τοῦ] θεοῦ, πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν,
ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων.

[18]For Christ also died for sins once for all,
the righteous for the unrighteous,
that he might bring us to God,
being put to death in the flesh
but made alive in the spirit;
[19]in which he went and preached to the spirits in prison,
[20]who formerly did not obey,
when God's patience waited in the days of Noah,
during the building of the ark,
in which a few, that is, eight persons,
were saved through water.
[21]Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves you,
not as a removal of dirt from the body
but as an appeal to God for a clear conscience,
through the resurrection of Jesus Christ,
[22]who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God,
with angels, authorities, and powers subject to him.

The passage as a whole bristles with exegetical difficulties. Fortunately, the verse which alludes to Ps 8 (1 Pet 3:22) is in itself perspicuous.

Vss 18 and 22 may be a pre-existing liturgical fragment.[76] In its use of Ps 8 the fragment bears a striking resemblance to Eph 1. The ranking of the angelic hierarchy includes ἐξουσίαι and δυνάμεις (this is parallel not only to Eph 1 but also to 1 Cor 15). Ps 8:7b is linked with Ps 110:1a rather than 110:1b, and is thereby employed as part of a confession or hymn on the ascension of Christ. The subjection of the powers is an accomplished fact rather than a future hope.

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[76]J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1969) 146-147.

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Once again, we must consider the possibility that the allusion to Ps 8 in 1 Pet 3:22 has reached the stage where the author is more aware of the church's traditional liturgical formula than of the original biblical ground for that formula. In this case the data are insufficient to argue decisively on either side. However, there is one telling feature of the overall text which must be taken into account. Most scholars recognize in vss 19-20a an echo of the Enochian tales in which Enoch ascends to heaven and is commissioned to proclaim judgment to the imprisoned spirits who had intercourse with the "daughters of men" (Gen 6:1-4).[77] As we have seen, the ascension of Enoch, like that of Moses, was found by some Jewish exegetes in Ps 8. The proximity of these two allusions (i.e., to Enoch's ascent and to Ps 8) in the text of 1 Pet 3:18-22 may point to the author's awareness of them both and of the contemporary Jewish exegetical traditions concerning Ps 8. If, however, both allusions were already linked in the liturgical or confessional material upon which the author drew, then this awareness must be pushed back a stage earlier in the development of the tradition.

1 Pet 3:18-22 thus portrays Jesus in his ascension and exaltation above the angels as the true Enoch who fulfills Ps 8, just as Eph 1 and 4 present him as as the true Moses who fulfills Pss 8 and 68.[78] Though in both cases Ps 8 is utilized in connection with Ps 110, an awareness of the overall context of the Adamic psalm and its interpretation among various Jewish groups is also preserved.

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[77]E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (London: Macmillan, 1947) 198-200; B. Reicke, *The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964) 109; Kelly, 152-57.

[78]Kelly comments that the author of 1 Pet was "viewing Christ as the new Enoch" (156).

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Heb 2

The dating and authorship of the letter to the Hebrews is uncertain. All that can be safely asserted is that the letter was written between 60-100 C.E. by a well-educated Jewish Christian who was not himself an eyewitness to the events narrated in the gospels.[79] The letter is distinguished by its extensive citation and exposition of scripture.

Ps 8:5-7 is quoted in Heb 2:6-8, and much of the remainder of Heb 2 should be seen as commentary on the psalm. Hebrews' use of Ps 8 is unique in the New Testament. As just indicated, the psalm is not merely alluded to, but is actually the focus of a sustained examination. Whereas in the texts we have already studied only Ps 8:7b is cited and 8:6b is alluded to, here we see an explicit quotation from three verses of the psalm. Whereas the psalm is used elsewhere to interpret the parousia or ascension of the Messiah, here it is used also to present his incarnation. This distinctive emphasis is based on a similarly distinctive exposition of the LXX's rendering of מעט as βραχύ τι and אלהים as ἄγγελοι (Ps 8:6a). While the author builds upon an established tradition of interpretation of Ps 8, he also branches off into uncharted territory.[80]

Heb 2 is part of the letter's introductory argument in which the Son

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[79]H. W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989) 5.

[80]A question often rasied concerns the author's knowledge or ignorance of the Son of Man title as used in the gospels, and its impact on his use of Ps 8:5. Like many other points related to the issue of the Son of Man, the discussion has reached an impasse. For our purposes resolution of the question is unnecessary.

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of God's superiority to the angels is affirmed. The exordium of the letter concludes by asserting that in his heavenly ascension and enthronement the Son has "become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs" (τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα) (1:4). The rest of chapter 1 consists of a catena of biblical texts which seeks to demonstrate the unique dignity of the Son (Ps 2:7, 2 Sam 7:14, Deut 32:43 [LXX], Pss 45:7-8, 102:26-28, 110:1) and the subordinate ministerial role of the angels (Deut 32:43 [LXX], Ps 104:4). The catena ends with a reference to Ps 110:1, which most commentators see as preparing the way for the citation of Ps 8 several verses later.[81] The author then adds to the catena the observation that the angels are but "ministering spirits sent forth to serve, for the sake of those who are to obtain salvation" (λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα διὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν). This description of the angels, based on the earlier quoted text from Ps 104:4, makes clear that they are not only subordinate to the Son, but also in some sense to the people who will "inherit (κληρονομέω) salvation."

The first four verses of chapter 2 are an exhortation based on the previous exposition. Here the angels are associated with the Sinai revelation, which is characterized as "the message declared by angels" (ὁ δι᾽ ἀγγέλων λαληθεὶς λόγος). This is contrasted with the "salvation"

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[81]Lindars, *Apologetic*, 50; Attridge, 62; de Jonge, 229 n. 2; P. Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 129-32, 151. There is a linkage between Pss 8 and 110 in Heb 1-2, but it is of a far different order than that found in 1 Cor 15, Eph 1, and 1 Pet 3, where verses from the two psalm are conflated and treated as one. In Hebrews the distinct identity of the two texts is preserved.

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declared by "the Lord." The superiority of "the Lord" to the angels is thus used as an argument for the superiority of the "New Covenant" (see 8:6-13) to the Sinai dispensation.[82]

At this point Ps 8 is introduced and discussed:

5 Οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξεν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν,
περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν.
6 διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων,
Τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μιμνῇσκῃ αὐτοῦ,
ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπτῃ αὐτόν;
7 ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ᾽ ἀγγέλους,
δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν,
8 πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.
ἐν τῷ γὰρ ὑποτάξαι [αὐτῷ] τὰ πάντα
οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ ἀνυπότακτον.
νῦν δὲ οὔπω ὁρῶμεν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα·
9 τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ᾽ ἀγγέλους ἠλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν
διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον,
ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου.
10 Ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι᾽ ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι᾽ οὗ τὰ πάντα,
πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα
τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι.
11 ὅ τε γὰρ ἁγιάζων καὶ οἱ ἁγιαζόμενοι ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες·
δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐπαισχύνεται ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν
12 λέγων· ἀπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,
ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε,
13 καὶ πάλιν· ἐγω ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ,
καὶ πάλιν· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.
14 Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παιδία κεκοινώνηκεν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός,
καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετέσχεν τῶν αὐτῶν,
ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ
τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου,
τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον,
15 καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους,
ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας.
16 οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται
ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται.
17 ὅθεν ὤφειλεν κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι,
ἵνα ἐλεήμων γένηται καὶ πιστὸς ἀρχιερεύς....

5 For it was not to angels
that God subjected the world to come,
of which we are speaking.
6 It has been testified somewhere,
"What is man that you are mindful of him,
or the son of man, that you care for him?
7 You did make him for a little while lower than the angels,

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[82]Hurst, *Hebrews*, 45; B. Lindars, *The Theology of the Letter to the Hebrews* (Cambrdige: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 38.

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8 you have crowned him with glory and honor,
putting everything in subjection under his feet."
Now in putting everything in subjection to him,
he left nothing outside his control.
9 As it is, we do not yet see everything in subjection to him.
But we see Jesus,
who for a little while was made lower than the angels,
crowned with glory and honor
because of the suffering of death,
so that by the grace of God he might taste death
for every one.
10 For it was fitting that he,
for whom and by whom all things exist,
in bringing many sons to glory,
should make the pioneer of their salvation
perfect through suffering.
11 For he who sanctifies and those who are sanctified
have all one origin.
That is why he is not ashamed to call them brethren,
12 saying, "I will proclaim thy name to my brethren,
in the midst of the congregation I will praise thee."
13 And again, "I will put my trust in him."
And again, "Here am I, and the children God has given me."
14 Since therefore the children share in flesh and blood,
he himself likewise partook of the same nature,
that through death
he might destroy him who has the power of death,
that is, the devil,
15 and deliver all those who through fear of death
were subject to lifelong bondage.
16 For surely it is not with angels that he is concerned
but with the descendants of Abraham.
17 Therefore he had to be made like his brethren
in every respect,
so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest...

It is clear that vss 8-10 are an exposition of Ps 8. A closer examination of the chapter shows that vss 11-17, though adding three other texts to aid in the exposition, are still drawing out the full implications that the author sees in the psalm.[83]

The meaning which the author of this letter finds hidden in Ps 8 can

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[83]This often goes unrecognized. For example, Attridge comments on vs 9 that "The exegetical discussion of Ps 8 thus ends with a view of Christ's suffering that will then form the focus of the following section" (77). However, one cannot appreciate fully the author's use of Ps 8 unless one takes account of the entire second chapter of the letter.

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be summarized in the following four points:

1. The psalm speaks of the authority given to "Man," not in this age, but in the age to come.

2. Though Jesus is this "Man" *par excellence*, the authority of which the psalm speaks is destined not only for him but for a body of people who belong to him.

3. The great obstacle impeding the granting of this authority to the descendants of Adam is the power of the Devil, which he exercises through death, the penalty for Adam's sin.

4. This obstacle has been overcome through the incarnation, death, and resurrection of the Son of God, who, because he willingly became "less than the angels" and suffered and died, has now in his ascension been "crowned with glory and honor" and exalted above the angels so that all who belong to him might share in that glory.

We will now look at each of these points in detail.

1. *The Psalm speaks of the authority given to "Man," not in this age, but in the age to come.* This is evident from the author's introduction to the psalm: "For it was not to angels that God subjected the world to come (τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν), of which we are speaking" (5). It is also the first point made after the psalm is cited.

> [8]Now in putting everything in subjection to him,
> he left nothing outside his control.
> As it is, we do not yet see everything in subjection to him.

Kistemaker sees here "an exegetical syllogism."

> For in that God subjected all things to man, he left nothing of that which is created unsubjected to him -- this is the *propositio major*. But now at the present time all created things are not yet subjected to man -- this is the *propositio minor*. Man in his present state does not function as lord over all that is created; thus the psalm citation is given a prophetic character.[84]

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[84]S. Kistemaker, *The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Amsterdam: Van Soest, 1961) 102. Kistemaker sees the *conclusio* of the syllogism in the assertion that Jesus has fulfilled this prophecy. Such a conclusion certainly does not follow from the premises. It makes more sense to see the *conclusio* as the application of the psalm to an

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The psalm must be intended for the eschaton, for it does not describe the current state of affairs.[85]

This eschatological reading of Ps 8 is a common feature of early Christian exegesis. It is seen in 1 Cor 15, Rom 8, and Phil 3. It is also reflected in Eph 1 and 1 Pet 3, whose application of the psalm to the present time is an example of realized eschatology. As we have seen, however, this eschatological interpretation of the psalm was not invented by the early Christians. It has deep roots in the Adam Books and in the apocalyptic literature, and is also evident in Pseudo-Philo.

2. *Though Jesus is this "Man" par excellence, the authority of which the psalm speaks is destined not only for him but for a body of people who belong to him.* Some scholars have argued that Hebrews sees the psalm as speaking only of Jesus; he and he only is the "Man" and "Son of Man" to whom all things will be subjected in the eschaton.[86] However, a careful reading of Heb 2 points in another direction: though Jesus is the one who principally fulfills the psalm, he does this in order to enable others who belong to him to share in his dominion.[87] The

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eschatological state of affairs. The role of Jesus is a new element added to the author's argument.

[85]Except insofar as the eschaton has already been realized proleptically through the death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus (see Attridge, 70).

[86]Käsemann, 122-128; Buchanan, 28; Attridge, 72. Ellignworth (143) notes that this is the dominant view among German scholars.

[87]As Ellingworth further notes, this is the main view among English-speaking scholars (143). For example, see Dodd, 32-34; Kistemaker, 102-8; Hooker, *The Son of Man* 31, 74, 197-198; C. F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 94-95; R. Jewett, *Letter to Pilgrims* (New York: Pilgrim, 1981) 43; Hagner, 24-25; Hurst, *Hebrews*, 110-111, and "Christology of Hebrews," 151-164; Dunn, *Christology*, 110-11; Lindars, *Hebrews* 38-41;

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corporate meaning of the psalm is thus preserved.

As we have seen, Heb 2:5 introduces the discussion of Ps 8 by stating that "it was not to angels (Οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις) that God subjected the world to come." To whom did he subject that world? The scripture catena of Heb 1, which focuses on the superiority of Jesus to the angels, might lead one to conclude that the author again has the Son of God in mind. However, the verse which concludes that catena stresses not only angelic subordination to Jesus, but also to "those who are to obtain (κληρονομεῖν, lit. 'inherit') salvation" (1:14).[88] Later in chapter 2, when speaking of the incarnation of the Son of God, the meaning of the οὐ ἀγγέλοις of 2:5 is clarified: "For surely it is not with angels (οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων) that he is concerned but with <u>the descendants of Abraham</u>" (2:16).[89] It is clear that the "descendants of Abraham" here are identical to "those who are to inherit salvation" in 1:14. The contrast in Heb 2 is therefore not only between the angels and Jesus, but also between those spirits and the people who belong to the Son of God.

Why does the author speak in 2:16 of "the descendants of Abraham"? As we saw in chapter IV, it was common for Jews of the Second Temple period to believe that the promised world dominion implicit in the

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Ellingworth, 143, 150-52.

[88]Hurst, *Hebrews*, 111.

[89]A. Vanhoye finds in Heb 2:5 and 2:16 an inclusion, with 2:16 providing the explicit positive statement which corresponds to the negation of 2:5 (*Situation du Christ: Hebreux 1-2* [Paris: Les Editions Du Cerf, 1969] 256, 356). J. Kögel has a similar view of the two verses (*Der Sohn und die Söhne: Eine exegetische Studie zu Hebräer 2, 5-18* [Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904] 7, 82-83).

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command of Gen 1:28 (and thus also in Ps 8) had passed from Adam to the promised seed of Abraham, rather than to humanity as a whole. From the perspective of God, Israel is humanity.[90] This view is reflected in the midrash on Ps 8 presented at the end of our previous chapter, in which Abraham is the "Man" of Ps 8:5 and Isaac is the "Son of Man." As seen there, this interpretation is also implicit in Pseudo-Philo. The role of Abraham and Isaac receives a similar stress in Heb 11, where the promise given to them by God is not merely that of an earthly city or country, but is a promise of a heavenly (and thus eschatological) inheritance (11:8-10, 13-16). Such a typological perspective on the land of promise is also found in Heb 3-4, where both Canaan and the Sabbath represent the world to come. Therefore, the "descendants of Abraham" are mentioned in Heb 2 because they are the ultimate heirs of the promise contained in Ps 8; it is to them "that God subjected the world to come."[91]

This approach to Heb 2 is confirmed by vs 10:

> 10 Ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα,
> πολλοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα
> τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι.
>
> 10 For it was fitting that he,
> for whom and by whom all things exist,
> in bringing many sons to glory,
> should make the pioneer of their salvation
> perfect through suffering.

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[90] See 110-112.

[91] Commenting on κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν in Heb 1:14, Vanhoye states: "Les Israélites dans le désert étaient tendus vers la possession de 'la terre'. Dieu avait promis à Abraham que sa race obtiendrait cette terre en héritage (cf. Heb 11,8-9)...Cependant cette espérance se spiritualisait profondément...Hériter la terre, c'est donc finalement hériter la justice et le salut" (224). For the author to the Hebrews, as for Paul, the "descendants of Abraham" who inherit the coming kingdom and its salvation are those who put their faith in Jesus.

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The purpose of God is to bring "many sons to glory." In the previous verse the author speaks of Jesus as "crowned with glory" in his resurrection. Here he makes clear that Jesus is but the first of those who are to be so crowned. The Son of God embraces humanity so that "many sons" might obtain with him the glory promised in Ps 8.[92] The following verses (11-15) emphasize the sibling connection between Jesus and the "the children" (τὰ παιδία) of God whom he represents. The context is then set for vs 16, which speaks of God's concern for the "descendants of Abraham" above the angels.

Ps 8 is therefore seen in Hebrews as both eschatological and corporate in its implications. Once again, this corporate perspective is consistent with the way Ps 8 is used in Phil 3, Rom 8, and Eph 1, though it is always presumed that Jesus is "the first of many brethren" and the head of the New Humanity who personally brings the "glory" of the coming age. This combined individual-corporate reading of Ps 8 is also common in Jewish exegesis of the period, where the psalm could be applied to individuals such as Adam, Abraham, and Moses, and simultaneously to the people of Israel as a whole.

3. *The great obstacle impeding the granting of this authority to the descendants of Adam is the power of the Devil, which he exercises through death, the penalty for Adam's sin.* The *propositio minor* of the opening syllogism states that "we do not yet see everything in subjection to him" (2:8). What things are not subjected to "Man" in the present order? To whom are things subjected now? What stands in the way of the ultimate fulfillment of Ps 8?

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[92]Kögel, 51-52; Vanhoye, 307; Hurst, *Hebrews*, 111.

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A clue may be found in the introductory verse: "For it was not to angels that God subjected the world to come" (2:5). O. Michel comments that "Die Negation könnte...ein verschleierter Protest gegen die Tatsache sein, dass der gegenwärtige Äon in Wirklichkeit den Engeln oder gar dem Teufel 'übergeben' ist" (136).[93] This view is supported by verses 14b-15, which are the most crucial words of Heb 2 for understanding the present world order:

> 14...ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν τὸν διάβολον,
> 15καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας.
>
> 14...that through death
> he might destroy him who has the power of death,
> that is, the devil,
> 15and deliver all those who through fear of death
> were subject to lifelong bondage.

Rather than ruling as kings, as Ps 8 says they should, human beings are now bound in slavery (δουλεία).[94] To what or whom are they enslaved? The one who holds them captive is the devil, and the way he exercises his dominion is through the "power of death."[95] These verses allude to

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[93]The same perspective is voiced by Hering (14-15). Attridge remarks that "Hebrews says nothing about the present role of angels in the governance of the world, although traditional Jewish notions of such governance may underlie the affirmation that in the world to come angels play no role" (70).

[94]"ζῆν steht dem θάνατος gegenüber. Wie anders nimmt sich so die tatsächliche Sachlage zu der vorher im Anschluss an Psalm 8 geschilderten Bestimmung des Menschen aus! Er, der sein Haupt frei erheben soll, der, wie es dort hiess, zur Ehre und herrlichkeit ausersehen ist, dem eine Krone winkt, zieht als Sklave seinen Weg, in Knechtschaft gehalten, von der Furcht gebeugt...Dort ist er als δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένος ins Auge gefasst, hier als δουλείας ἔνοχος" (Kögel, 79-80).

[95]This is reminiscent of Rom 8:21 and the δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς experienced by the κτίσις in the present age.

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the temptation, sin, and punishment of Adam and Eve narrated in Gen 3.[96] Ps 8 cannot be realized in this present world because of Adam's sin and the curse of death which was its result.[97] Once again, this is similar to Pseudo-Philo, 1 Cor 15, Rom 8, and Phil 3.

Heb 2:14-15 appears to allude to another text which itself comments on the story of Gen 3:

> [23]ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ᾽ ἀφθαρσίᾳ
> καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἀϊδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν·
> [24]φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
> πειράζουσιν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὄντες.
>
> [23]For God created the Man for incorruption,
> and made him in the image of his own eternity,
> [24]but through the devil's envy death came into the world,
> and those who of his party experience it.

As discussed in chapter III, this passage from *Wisdom* 2 presumes a tradition in which the devil, motivated by envy of Adam's exalted position, inhabits the serpent and leads the first couple into sin and death. If this tradition is also in the mind of the author of Hebrews, then he is saying that Adam was originally superior to the angels, but through the envy of the devil he was subjected to death and thereby became lower than the angels.[98] That the phrase "lower than the angels" in Ps 8:6a is understood by the author of Hebrews to mean "subject to the power of death" is evident from Heb 2:9, which equates Jesus' temporary position of being "made lower than the angels" with his enduring "the suffering of death."

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[96]Vanhoye, 351-52.

[97]Dunn, *Christology*, 110-11.

[98]The mention here of the devil, the greatest of the fallen angels, is especially appropriate because of the concern in Heb 1-2 for the relationship between Christ and the angels. See Vanhoye, 352.

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Heb 2 therefore sees in Ps 8:6a a reference to the glory of Adam which was lost through his sin. Rather than reigning gloriously over the creation, exalted above the angelic powers, the descendants of Adam are "lower than the angels," enslaved to death and the devil. Nevertheless, they are still destined to receive a crown of glory. This exegesis of Ps 8:6a (based on the LXX's βραχύ τι) which sees in it a depiction of the fallen human condition, and which separates it from 8:6b, seen as referring to the glory of transformed humanity, is a creative exegetical development which must be attributed to the author himself.[99] However, the view that Adam's sin brought him and his descendants into bondage to death and decay and rendered the psalm fully applicable only in the age to come was part of the tradition upon which the author drew.

4. *This obstacle has been overcome through the incarnation, death, and resurrection of the Son of God, who, because he willingly became "less than the angels" and suffered and died, has now in his ascension been "crowned with glory and honor" and exalted above the angels so that all who belong to him might share in that glory.* The eschatological fulfillment of Ps 8 has thus been accomplished proleptically in the Son of God.

Once again, the new wrinkle in the interpretation of Ps 8 comes from the creative understanding of "lower than the angels" as a reference to the status of mortal humanity, and thus to the incarnation

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[99]"Thus the primary interpretive move is to drive a wedge between the third and fourth clauses of the text. Being 'less than the angels' is now not the equivalent of being crowned with honor and glory, but is, rather, its antithesis" (Attridge, 72)

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and the atonement.[100] The Son of God assumes flesh and blood (2:14) so that "by the grace of God he might taste death for every one" (2: 9). Through this death he is able to "destroy (καταργήσῃ) him who has the power of death, that is, the devil" (2:14). The verb used here is also used in 1 Cor 15:24 and 26 to apply Ps 8:7 to the defeat and subjection of death at the Messiah's return. In Hebrews, however, the conquest of death and the devil occurs not in the parousia (as in 1 Corinthians) or in the resurrection and ascension (as in Ephesians) but through the incarnation and the death of Jesus.

The resurrection and ascension in Heb 2 occur only *because of the suffering of death.* This means far more than the truism that Jesus could not be raised unless he first died. It means that the resurrection is portrayed here as a reward for a deed well done, an exaltation of one who humbled himself.

> [9]τὸν δὲ βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἠλαττωμένον βλέπομεν Ἰησοῦν
> διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον,
> ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου.

> [9]But we see Jesus,
> who for a little while was made lower than the angels,
> crowned with glory and honor
> <u>because of the suffering of death</u>,
> so that by the grace of God he might taste death for every one.

The obedience of Jesus in the face of grave temptation is one of the major themes of the letter to the Hebrews (2:18, 3:2, 4:15, 5:7-10, 12:2-4). His choice to become a human being and suffer death is itself seen as a crucial part of his blameless sacrifice:

> [5]Consequently, when Christ came into the world, he said,
> "Sacrifices and offerings thou has not desired,
> but a body hast thou prepared for me;
> [6] in burnt offerings and sin offerings
> thou hast taken no pleasure.

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[100]Dunn, *Christology*, 110-11.

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7 Then I said, 'Lo, I have come to do thy will, O God,'
as it is written of me in the roll of the book."
8 When he said above,
"Thou has neither desired nor taken pleasure in sacrifices
and offerings and burnt offerings and sin offerings"
(these are offered according to the law),
9 then he added,
"Lo, I have come to do thy will."
He abolishes the first in order to establish the second.
10 And by that will we have been sanctified
through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.[101]

The sanctifying power of the sacrifice of Jesus is therefore rooted in the inner decision, made both before the incarnation and within it, to do the will of God.[102] It is this decision which the author of Hebrews sees in Ps 8's description of the Man who was made "for a little while lower than the angels."[103]

The obstacle to the fulfillment of Ps 8 -- the reign of death and the devil -- is overcome through the obedience of the Son of God in his incarnation and death. How is this the case? Unfortunately, the text is not explicit on this point.[104] However, since the figure of Adam and his act of disobedience seems to lie behind the slavery to death and the

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[101]Because of the length of this passage and its supportive role in our argument, the Greek text is not included.

[102]See Attridge, 269.

[103]Heb 2 has many similarities to the hymn of Phil 2. In both cases the incarnation and the death of Jesus are collapsed, and in both cases the exaltation is a consequence of the humiliation. It is likely that the figure of Adam is background to both texts. The ultimate superiority of Christ to the angels (and, in Phil 2, to the entire creation) is also a theme of both texts. When one takes into account the relationship between Phil 2 and Phil 3:20-21, it is even possible that Ps 8 is considered in both texts. On the relationship between the Philippian hymn and the letter to the Hebrews, see E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akadamie der Wissenschaften 18 [1928]) 77-83); Hengel, 85-88; and Hurst, *Hebrews*, 114-119, and his notes on 176-77.

[104]Attridge, 93-4.

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devil, it is possible that here, as in Rom 5:12-21 and in Phil 2:6-11, Jesus is presented as the Second Adam whose perfect obedience compensates for the disobedience of the First Man.[105]

As stated at the outset, Hebrews' treatment of Ps 8, while dependent on early Christian exegetical tradition, is also unique in the New Testament. One of its unique characteristics -- its interpretation of ἠλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ ἀγγέλους (Ps 8:6a) in terms of the fall of humanity and the incarnation of God's Son -- appears to be the creation of the author. A second unique characteristic -- its quotation of three verses of the psalm (5-7) rather than just one half-verse (7a) -- might have a different explanation. Is it a mere coincidence that these same verses form the heart of most rabbinic treatments of the psalm? The coincidence is compounded by the angelic envy motif which is prominent in the rabbinic interpretations and is just below the surface in Heb 2 (with its allusion to *Wisdom* 2 and its preoccupation with the devil and death). It is further heightened by a common concern to assert humanity's supremacy over the angels.[106]

W. L. Schutter has argued recently for a new translation of Heb 2:6a, which introduces the psalm citation.[107] The Greek text, διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων, is translated by the RSV as "It has been

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[105]Kim, 138-40; Dunn, *Christology*, 111.

[106]Commenting on the rabbinic texts which employ Ps 8 as an angelic complaint about the creation of human beings, H. Bietenhard wonders, "Liegt Bezugnahme auf solche Diensengelvorstellungen vor, wenn in Hebr 2,5ff diese Ps-Stelle auf Jesus Christus und seine Hoheit und Überlegenheit über alle Engel bezogen wird?" (*Der Tosefta-Traktat Sota* [Bern: Lang, 1986] 116-17, n. 49).

[107]W. L. Schutter, "Psalm 8 in Tradition and in Hebrews 2:5-6," a paper delivered at the SBL conference of November 1993.

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testified somewhere." Since the verb is actually a middle deponent rather than a passive, and a pronoun is present which serves as the subject, Schutter begins by pointing out that the active renderings of the NASB ("But one has testified somewhere") and the NJB ("Someone witnesses to this somewhere") are closer to the Greek than is the RSV. He then proceeds to examine all the introductory formulae used in the letter, showing that "in the vast majority of instances of biblical citation the author identifies God as the speaker, whether explicitly or implicitly."[108] Sometimes the speaker is the Holy Spirit or the Son/Christ, and on occasion merely human subjects are indicated (David in 4:7, Moses in 9:20 and 12:21, and Christians in 13:6). He concludes that "Heb. 2:6 is the sole instance where the speaker cannot be made out with relatively little or no effort," adding that "Furthermore, 2:6 employs the indefinite pronoun, effectively excluding the possibility that either God or the Son might be speaking, who are the only possible candidates in the immediate chapters."[109] After dismissing the importance of the single parallel found in Philo (*De Ebr.* 61), Schutter offers his own translation:

> "For it was not to angels that God subjected the world to come, concerning which we are speaking, but one (<u>of them</u>, the angels) testified somewhere, etc." No full-stop at the end of verse five is required, and the conjunction, δέ, assumes its full adversative force on this view, which it properly possesses after the strong negation with which verse five begins, Οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξεν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν, διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις κτλ.[110]

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[108] 1.

[109] 3-4.

[110] 5.

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Thus, according to Schutter, the author to the Hebrews draws upon an established Jewish exegetical tradition which saw these verses of Ps 8 as spoken by an angel or angels. This would explain some of the unusual features of Hebrews' use of Ps 8, and the striking parallels with later rabbinic materials. Schutter's thesis thus has much to commend it.[111]

If this view is correct, then the motif of angelic envy in Hebrews 2 receives greater prominence. An angel -- perhaps Sammael, the devil -- complains in general about the ultimate glorification of humanity in the age to come, and in particular about the ascension and enthronement of the one who was "for a little while lower than the angels" but is now "crowned with glory and honor." Just as Sammael had jealously complained of Adam's glory, and then led Adam into sin and death, so now the devil jealously complains of the glory of the one who obeyed where Adam disobeyed and thereby conquered death and destroyed his evil reign. We thus find that heightened attention to this motif brings a cohesion to Heb 2 that is otherwise absent.

The author of Hebrews might also be influenced by another element in contemporary Jewish exegesis of Ps 8, namely, its application to Moses. As noted earlier, the unit immediately before the citation of the psalm (Heb 2:1-4) associates the angels with the Sinai covenant. Jesus' superiority to the angels thus also implies his exaltation above the

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[111]Schutter's interpretation was suggested earlier by Vanhoye: "Le pronom indéfini, notons-le, ne désigne pas nécessairement un homme. Il pourrait aussi bien désigner un ange. De fait, c'est en ce sens que plusieurs écrits juifs utilisent le texte du psaume." Vanhoye then quotes texts from the midrash and from 3 *Enoch*. He then concludes: "Ces textes méritaient d'être cités, non seulement parce qu'ils mettent les paroles du psaume dans la bouche des anges, mais aussi parce que leur perspective d'ensemble correspond à celle que prend notre auteur. Il s'agit d'une comparaison entre l'homme et les anges et de leurs places respective dans le dessein de Dieu" (262-63).

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human mediator of that covenant, Moses. The unit immediately following Heb 2 and its exposition of Ps 8 argues explicitly that Jesus is superior to Moses (Heb 3:1-6). This latter passage involves a commentary on Num 12:7, a text used in rabbinic tradition to demonstrate Moses's superiority to the angels![112] The author of this letter thus treats two biblical texts in succession (Ps 8 and Num 12) which in rabbinic exegesis were both used for the same purpose -- to glorify Moses above the heavenly hosts.[113] In Hebrews both texts are used to glorify Jesus, the first vis-a-vis the angels (who are linked to Moses in Heb 2:1-4), the second vis-a-vis Moses.[114]

It is therefore plausible that the author of the letter to the Hebrews knew of the Jewish exegetical tradition which applied Ps 8 to Moses, and that in his application of the psalm to Jesus he is trying to re-center the focus of his readers, turning them from the mediator of the Sinai covenant to the mediator of the new covenant. This is consistent with the fact that the relationship between these two covenants is the primary theme of the letter, and that Moses, as the representative of the Sinai dispensation, is one of the most important

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[112]M. R. D'Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) 95-149.

[113]It is surprising that D'Angelo fails to see the potential significance of this use of Ps 8 in Hebrews.

[114]Heb 2 seems to have both good and evil angels in view: the evil angel, the devil, is envious of Jesus, and may be seen as the speaker of Ps 8, but even the good angels are subjected to the authority of the Son, as is clear from Heb 1:6-7, 14 and 2:2-3. Attridge only sees reference to the benign angels in Hebrews' use of Ps 8, but this is because of his sharp division between Heb 2:5-9 and 2:10-18 (70, n. 9).

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figures in the letter.[115] It is also consistent with the use of Ps 8 seen elsewhere in the early Christian tradition (e..g, Ephesians).

The letter to the Hebrews provides us with the most elaborate treatment of Ps 8 in the New Testament. One cannot deny the creative contribution which the author has made in the interpretation of the psalm. However, as we have seen, it is just as impossible to deny his debt both to earlier Christian tradition and to Jewish exegetical currents external to the early Christian movement.

Matt 21:14-16

The final text to be considered, Matt 21:14-16, cites a verse from Ps 8 (vs 3) found nowhere else in the New Testament.

> [14]Καὶ προσῆλθον αὐτῷ τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ,
> καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς.
> [15]ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς
> τὰ θαυμάσια ἃ ἐποίησεν
> καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς κράζοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λέγοντας,
> Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ, ἠγανάκτησαν
> [16]καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ, Ἀκούεις τί οὗτοι λέγουσιν;
> ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς, Ναί· οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι
> Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον;
>
> [14]And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple,
> and he healed them.
> [15]but when the chief priests and the scribes saw
> the wonderful things that he did,
> and the children crying out in the temple,
> "Hosanna to the Son of David!" they were indignant;
> [16]and they said to him, "Do you hear what these are saying?"
> And Jesus said to them, "Yes; have you never read,
> 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings
> you have brought perfect praise'?"

The verse from Ps 8 is identical to the LXX rendering. In fact, the

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[115]R. S. Eccles argues that Heb 3:1-6, with its contrast between Jesus and Moses, provides the key to understanding the major purpose of the letter ("The Purpose of the Hellenistic Patterns in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *Religions in Antiquity* [ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1968] 207-226).

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LXX's translation of עז ("strength" or "bulwark") as αἶνος ("praise") is essential to Matthew's context. Therefore, most scholars consider the psalm citation to be a Matthean creation based directly on the LXX.[116]

There is a Lukan pericope (19:37-40) which corresponds to Matt 21:14-16, though the differences between the two texts are as striking as the similarities.

> 37ἐγγίζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤδη πρὸς τῇ καταβάσει
> τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν
> ἤρξαντο ἅπαν τὸν πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν χαίροντες αἰνεῖν τὸν θεὸν
> φωνῇ μεγάλῃ περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων,
> 38λέγοντες·
> εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου·
> ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις.
> 39καί τινες τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν·
> διδάσκαλε, ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου.
> 40καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν·
> λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν οὗτοι σιωπήσουσιν, οἱ λίθοι κράξουσιν.
>
> 37As he was now drawing near,
> at the descent of the Mount of Olives,
> the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice
> and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works
> that they had seen,
> 38saying,
> "Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord!
> Peace in heaven and glory in the highest!"
> 39And some of the Pharisees in the multitude said to him,
> "Teacher, rebuke your disciples."
> 40He answered,
> "I tell you, if these were silent,
> the very stones would cry out."

The similarities between the Lukan and Matthean pericopes are as follows: 1) Jesus is hailed in a paraphrase of Ps 118 (118:25 in Matthew, 118:26 in Luke); 2) The verb αἰνέω is used in Luke 19:37 to describe this praise, while the cognate noun αἶνος is used in Jesus' response (quoting from Ps 8:3) in Matt 21:16; 3) κράζω is used in Matt

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[116]J. C. Fenton, *Saint Matthew* (London: Penguin, 1963) 334; K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968) 135; E. Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (Atlanta: Knox, 1975) 407; R. H. Gundry, *Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 414-15.

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21:15 to describe this praise, while the same verb is used in Jesus' response in Luke 19:40; 4) A group opposed to Jesus speaks to him critically about the praise he is receiving; 5) Jesus rejects their criticism.

The key differences between the two pericopes can be summarized in this way: 1) In Luke the praise and critique occur in the context of the triumphal entry to Jerusalem, whereas in Matthew the cleansing of the temple (21:12-13) separates the entry (21:1-10) from the praise-critique (21:14-16); 2) In Luke the praise is offered by Jesus' disciples, whereas in Matthew the acclamation comes from "children" (οἱ παῖδες); 3) In Luke the criticism comes from the Pharisees, in Matthew from the chief priests and the scribes; 4) In Luke the critique is an imperative directing Jesus to put an end to the acclamation, whereas in Matthew it is an angry question which implies a rebuke; 5) In Luke Jesus rejects the critique in his own words, whereas in Matthew he cites Ps 8:3.

The similarities between Luke 19:37-40 and Matt 21:14-16 have led most scholars to conclude that they derive from a common tradition which is preserved in a more original form in Luke.[117] There are several reasons for seeing in the Lukan text an earlier form of the tradition. First, the Lukan context -- the triumphal entry -- is more natural than the Matthean context, and in all the gospels this context is associated with the acclamation of Ps 118:25-26. Second, the response of Jesus in Matthew fits the strategy of the first gospel, which presents Jesus as the fulfillment of Israel's scripture. Therefore it probably represents

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[117]R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963) 34; Schweizer, 407; F. W. Beare, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981) 417-18; Gundry, *Matthew*, 414.

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Matthean redaction of a tradition which originally involved a non-scriptural response similar to that seen in Luke. This is further supported by the LXX form of the citation. Finally, the Lukan response of Jesus may reveal the source of Matthew's redaction. A word-play between the Hebrew בנים ("sons" or "children") and אבנים ("stones"), such as is found in Matt 3:9 and Luke 3:8, may also have produced the Lukan response.[118] This would be the case if the earlier form of the tradition which Luke adapted contained the word υἱοί or παῖδες in the opponents' demand rather than the word μαθηταί. Matthew may have developed his narrative of the children praising Jesus from this reference to Jesus' "sons."

Why does Matthew move this pericope from the triumphal entry to the cleansing of the temple? It is this move which also leads him to identify the critics as the chief priests and the scribes, for these are the enemies of Jesus who in Mark immediately after the cleansing of the temple conspire to destroy him (Mark 11:18). The shift in context and in the identity of the critics does have an effect pointed out by Schweizer:

> ...the official rejection of Jesus by the authorities now stands in sharp contrast to his jubilant acceptance by the children. That official rejection [i.e., the question of Matt 19:16] here stands in place of the decision to kill Jesus in Mark (11:18) and leads to Jesus' retreat from the city.[119]

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[118]Of course, the word-play may have actually have been between the Aramaic אבניא ("stones") and בניא ("sons" or "children"). See Stendahl, 135, n. 1, and Schweizer, 407. In similar fashion Bultmann, while viewing the Lukan form of the logion as earlier than the Matthean, nevertheless sees the παῖδες of Matthew 21:15 as closer to the earlier tradition than the μαθηταί of Luke 19:39(*Synoptic Tradition*, 34).

[119]408.

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This is helpful, as far as it goes. However, might there also be a unified explanation of the Matthean redaction -- the shift from sons/disciples to children, the substitution of Ps 8:3 for the saying about the stones, and the change in context from the triumphal entry to the cleansing of the temple and the consequent change in the identity of the critics?

The earliest recorded rabbinic midrash on Ps 8 -- *t. Sota* 6:4-5 -- could provide such an explanation.

ר' יוסי הגלילי אומ'
כיון שעלו ישראל מן הים
וראו את אויביהם פגרים מתים ומוטלין על שפת הים
אמרו כולם שירה
עולל מוטל בין ברכי אמו והינוק יונק משדי אמו
כיון שראו את השכינה הגביה עולל צוארו
והינוק שמט פיו משדי אמו
וענו כולם שירה ואמרו זה אלי ואנוהו
ר' מאיר אומ' אפי' עוברין שבמעי אמותן אמרו שירה שנאמ'
במקהלות ברכו אלים ממקור ישראל
והינוק שמט דד מפיו ואמ' שירה שנ'
מפי עוללים ויונקים
באותה השעה הציצו מלאכי השרת
שקשרו קטיגור לפני הק'ב'ה' בשעה שברא הק'ב'ה' אדם הראשון
ואמרו לפניו רבונו של עולם
מה אנוש כי תפקדנו וגו'
באותה שעה אמר להם הקב"ה למלאכי השרת
בואו וראו שירה שבני אומרין לפני
אף הן כיון שראו אמרו שירה מה שירה אמרו
ה' אדוננו מאדיר שמך בכל הארץ
מפי עוללים ויונקים וגו' ה' אדוננו

6:4 A. R. Yose the Galilean says, "When the Israelites came up out of the sea and saw their enemies strewn as corpses on the seashore, they all burst out into song -- even a child lying on his mother's lap and an infant sucking at its mother's breast.

B. "When they saw the Presence of God, the babe raised his head, and the infant took his mouth off his mother's teat and all responded in song, saying, *This is my God and I will glorify him* (Ex. 15:2)."

C. R. Meir, "Even foetuses in their mothers' wombs broke out into song, as it is said, *Bless God in the great congregation, the Lord, O you who are of Israel's fountain* (Ps. 68:26).

D. "And even an infant took his mother's teat out of his mouth and broke into song, as it is said, *By the mouth of babes and infants thou hast founded a bulwark, because of thy foes* (Ps. 8:2)."

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> 6:5 A. At that hour the ministering angels who had come together to cavil [against Israel] before the Holy One blessed be He, looked down. When the Holy One blessed be He had created the first man, they had said before him, "Lord of the world, *What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou didst care for him? etc.* (Ps. 8:5-8).
> B. At that hour the Holy One, blessed be he, said to the ministering angels, "Come and behold the song which my children proclaim before me."
> C. So they, when they beheld, proclaimed a song. What song did they proclaim? *O Lord, our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth! Thou whose glory above the heavens is chanted by the mouth of babes and infants...O Lord, our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth!* (Ps. 8:1-2, 9)[120]

There are several noteworthy features of this midrash. First, it presumes the midrashic tradition which sees Ps 8:5-9 as an angelic complaint uttered in response to God's stated intention to create Adam. However, the primary verse of the psalm which is treated in this midrash is 8:3, the same verse which is quoted in Matt 21:16. Second, *t. Sota* 5-6 sees the עז which God establishes from the lips of the עולל ("babe") and the תינוק ("infant") as consisting of a song of praise which they offer after witnessing the miraculous deliverance at the Sea of Reeds. Thus, עז is interpreted in a manner consistent with the LXX rendering of αἶνος and with the Matthean narrative.[121] Third, it is the song of the babes and infants which effectively silences the accusations of the complaining angels. This seems to be how the midrash understands the logic of Ps 8:3: מפי עוללים וינקים יסדת עז, למען צורריך להשבית אויב ומתנקם -- "You established praise from the mouths of the babes and

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[120]English translation from J. Neusner, *The Tosefta*: *Nashim* (New York: KTAV, 1979) 171-72. Hebrew text from S. Lieberman, *The Tosefta. The Order of Nashim: Sotah* (New York, 1973).

[121]This is noted by R. H. Gundry in *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 121, but he draws no conclusions from the parallel.

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infants at the Sea of Reeds, so as to silence the charges uttered by the angels who were envious of Israel." Finally, this midrash conceives of Ps 8 as developing in two stages. The first stage is that of vss 4-9 (or 5-9), which represent the original angelic complaint. The second stage is that of vss 1-3 and 10, which represent the silencing of the angelic complaint through the praise of the children at the Sea of Reeds.

The parallels between *t. Sota* 5-6 and Matt 21:14-16 go far beyond the use of the same text with the same understanding of עז as "praise." The healing of the blind and the lame in the temple corresponds to the deliverance at the Sea of Reeds; the resulting praise offered by the children in the temple corresponds to the songs of the babes and infants at the Sea; the angelic accusers correspond to the chief-priests and the scribes; and the aim of the children's praises in both cases is to silence the opponents -- though in one case the aim is achieved, whereas in the other it is not.[122] The correspondence between the chief priests, who are hostile to Jesus, and the angelic accusers, who are hostile to Adam and to Israel, would be natural in the Judaism of the beginning of the common era, for it was commonplace to conceive of heaven as a temple and of the angels as the priests of that temple.[123]

Just as *t. Sota* 5-6 sets vs 3 of Ps 8 against the backdrop of vss 4-9 and the angelic jealousy of Adam and Israel, so Matt 21:14-16 may well intend its readers to presume the backdrop of Ps 8:4-9 (and

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[122]R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1971) 34; Schweizer, 407-8.

[123]J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis* (Salzburg: Müller, 1964) 106-46; C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 39-72; Himmelfarb, 14-16, 20-23.

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especially vss 6-7) and the early Christian tradition which applied it to Jesus. Thus, the underlying issue concerns the authority which God has bestowed on Jesus. In Matt 21, however, the opposition to that authority is coming not from heavenly powers but from earthly ones (though the author may understand these earthly powers as the instruments of heavenly ones). After the incident narrated in Matt 21:14-16, we find the pericopes of the cursing of the fig tree (which represents the judgment of God on Israel and its leaders), the questioning of Jesus' authority by the chief priests in the temple (and the parable of the two sons which is attached to Jesus' response to that questioning), and the parable of the vineyard and its tenants (which presents the authority of the Son, its rejection by the chief priests of the temple, and their consequent judgment). A further series of stories of verbal jousting in the temple with antagonistic leaders culminates in 22:41-46 with Jesus' question about the authority of the Messiah based on Ps 110:1. As in Mark 12:36, the text of Ps 110:1 which is quoted is a conflation of that verse and Psalm 8:7b.[124]

The temple confrontations between Jesus and the leaders of Israel begin with the cleansing of the temple. This event is not only the first of a temporal series; it is also the prophetic gesture which

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[124]The important role of Ps 8 in this crucial series of events is recognized by F. J. Moloney: "In the Synoptic tradition, the discussions which follow Jesus' entry into Jerusalem and the expulsion of the vendors from the temple all centre around the person and authority of Jesus...Within this context, we have already seen the explicit use of Ps. viii. 5 in Matt. xxi. 16...Is it possible that Ps. viii stood behind Christian explanations of the authority of Jesus from a very early stage in the tradition?" (658).

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initiates the conflict and sets its tone.[125] Thus, when Matthew moves the pericope of the children's praises to its present position immediately after the cleansing of the temple, he is setting it in a key position in relation to the material which follows. If he is aware of the midrashic tradition recorded later in *t. Sota* 5-6 -- and the parallels are remarkable indeed -- then he is presenting the rejection of Jesus' authority by the Jewish leadership as equivalent to the rejection of Adam and Israel by the evil angels.

If we accept that Matthew was aware of this exegetical tradition, then we have a unified explanation of Matthew's redaction of 21:14-16. The shift from sons/disciples to children, the substitution of Ps 8:3 for the saying about the stones, and the change in context from the triumphal entry to the cleansing of the temple and the consequent change in the identity of the critics -- all are comprehensible. In addition, we see that this pericope is of great importance within the grand structure of Matthew's narrative of passion week.

Conclusion

Our answers to the questions posed at the outset of this chapter are clear. The interpretations of Ps 8 which developed among many early Christians were shaped in part by exegetical traditions originating in Jewish circles external to the Jesus movement. The influence of these traditions is seen in the Adamic, Mosaic, and Enochian applications of the psalm which underlie the New Testament interpretations. It is also evident in the eschatological reading of the psalm, in its use to affirm the superiority of a particular human being (or humanity in general) to

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[125] E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 61-76.

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the angels, and in the connection of the psalm to the motifs of the angelic envy and and the glorious body of the Second Adam.

The early Christians also did not read the psalm piecemeal and without regard for the psalm's overall intent and meaning. Vs 7b ("You have placed all things under his feet") is regularly connected to vs 6b ("You crowned him with glory and honor"). The background of Gen 1 is recognized, for the eschatological referent of the psalm is the Second Adam. Though the subjection of the angels and of death is of paramount concern in the New Testament's reading of Ps 8, the relationship between humanity and the sub-human created order is also in view (e..g, Rom 8:18-21). A wider treatment of the psalm is explicitly undertaken in Heb 2, and Matt 21 extends this treatment to a hitherto untouched verse. The psalm is read in both an individual and a corporate sense, as applying both to the Messiah as the ascended and returning Second Adam and also to the body of which he is the head. Certainly the early Christians did not study Ps 8 in the manner of modern historical-critical scholars. However, they were also not merely mining the psalm for isolated messianic proof-texts.

Though Ps 8 was connected in early Christian tradition with Ps 110, the notion that it was this connection which brought Ps 8 into popular use is a gross over-simplification. There is much evidence in the New Testament for a treatment of Ps 8 independent of Ps 110 (Phil 3, Rom 8, Matt 21, and to a certain extent Heb 2). The actual history of the use of Ps 8 among the early Christians is more complex than many scholars have recognized. Just as the wider Jewish world employed the psalm in diverse ways, so did the early Christians. And, in fact, the diversity of interpretation in the one was a partial cause of the diversity of

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interpretation in the other.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

We have now looked at all of the key texts concerning Ps 8 and its interpretation in the New Testament and in the wider sphere of Jewish (along with Gnostic and Samaritan) literature. In this, our final chapter, we will briefly summarize our findings and their potential significance.

The Use of Psalm 8 in Ancient Jewish Literature as a Whole

Many indicators from diverse bodies of literature point to the existence of a widespread way of reading Ps 8 in the Judaism of the centuries at the turn of the common era, a reading that was shared even by interpreters belonging to diverse ideological groups. This view of the psalm can be summed up in the following five propositions:

1. Ps 8 was interpreted in the light of Gen 1-3, and therefore it was seen as speaking of the first Man, Adam.

2. The psalm was seen as teaching that Adam was exalted not only above all the animals but also above (or among) all the angels.

3. In some circles vss 4-9 were understood to be spoken by an an angel (or a group of angels) who was jealous of Adam's superior status.

4. This jealousy ultimately led to the loss of Adam's glory; the psalm thus speaks of a condition which is no longer experienced by all of Adam's descendants.

5. The original status and vocation of Adam, which the psalm presents, was renewed in the lives of some of his

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descendants, and the psalm was therefore applied also to them.

We will now examine and elucidate each of these five statements.

1. *Ps 8 was interpreted in the light of Gen 1-3, and therefore it was seen as speaking of the first Man, Adam.* The psalm was not seen as speaking about the privileged position of human beings as a whole within the natural order, but as telling about one particular human being, who had received privileges far beyond the natural order. The "crowning with glory and honor" referred to Adam's glorious body, which radiated a light brighter than the sun. The crown could also be spoken of as a luminous "garment." This "glory of Adam" was closely related to the divine image mentioned in Gen 1:26ff; it was therefore a divine glory, a sharing in the glory of God himself. And just as Adam's possession of the divine image in Gen 1 is associated with dominion over the creation, so possession of the divine glory in Ps 8:6 is immediately linked to Adam's dominion in Ps 8:7-9.

2. *The psalm was seen as teaching that Adam was exalted not only above all the animals but also above (or among) all the angels.* Ps 8:7a's description of Adam's authority over "the works of your hands" appears to have been interpreted in light of Ps 8:4's reference to the heavens and their inhabitants as "the works of your fingers." Adam therefore was made ruler over the heavenly hosts, that is, the stars and the angels. Ps 8:7b was then interpreted accordingly: the "all things" which were placed under Adam's feet included the angelic powers.[1]

Adam's superiority to the angels was expressed in various aggadic

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[1]Though the Qumran writings speak of the "glory of Adam" and portray it as an angelic nature and status, there is no stress on the exaltation of Adam <u>above</u> the angels.

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forms. His wisdom was greater than that of the angels, for he was able to assign names to the animals and even to God himself. Since he bore the divine image and glory, the angels were commanded to bow down before him and worship him. Many of them were so awed at his glory that they recited the kedushah in his honor ("Holy, holy, holy....The whole earth is filled with your glory"). Some of the angels were then directed to wait upon him as his personal attendants.

This interpretation of Ps 8 is offered despite vs 6a, which was rendered in the LXX, the Targum, and the Peshitta as "You have made him a little less than *the angels*." How can this verse be consistent with the message of angelic subordination to Adam? There are at least three possible answers to this question. The first is also the most obvious: those who read the psalm as speaking of Adam's superiority to the angels probably understood אלהים in vs 6a to mean "God" rather than "angels." This must be the understanding behind *b. Ned.* 38a, which refers the verse to Moses and his wisdom. That אלהים in Ps 8 could be so read within rabbinic circles is also evident from discussions concerning the meaning of the term "the image of אלהים" in Gen 1:26, discussions in which אלהים is sometimes understood to mean "angels" and sometimes "God." It is highly likely that Ps 8:6a is interpreted within the Adam literature as meaning "a little less than God," for in these books the image which Adam bears, the image of אלהים, is what exalts him *above* the angels.

A second answer is the one offered by Anderson: "a little less than the angels" is read to mean "a little *younger than* the angels." According to this view we have here an instance of the motif of the election of the younger brother over the elder. The third and final answer is the one provided by Heb 2: the inferiority to the angels is

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only *temporary*. Thus, the meaning of this inferiority is the subjection to death which followed upon Adam's disobedience; this subjection is temporary, for it was neither Adam's condition before his disobedience, nor will it be the condition of the righteous in the age to come. The answer of Heb 2 is ingenious, but it is clearly based on the LXX, and likely represents the creative exegesis of the author rather than a received tradition.

3. *In some circles vss* 4-9 *were understood to be spoken by an angel (or a group of angels) who was jealous of Adam's superior status.* In the Enochian literature and related materials this is the evil angel, Sammael or Satan; in rabbinic materials and their antecedents the angels who speak are more ambiguous, and eventually acknowledge the goodness of God's purpose for Adam. In any case, this reading of Ps 8 expands upon the conflict motif inherent in vss 3 and 7 of the original psalm.

Ps 8:4-9 is thus an angelic response within a heavenly dialogue. To what is the angel responding? In the rabbinic material, the angel responds to the words of Gen 1:26, which are probably understood as a question: "Shall we make Adam in our image, after our likeness?" There are many reasons for thinking that such a setting for the angelic response was an early feature of this exegetical tradition. First, the linkage between Gen 1:26ff and Ps 8:4-9 is a consistent feature in Jewish tradition, and may even play a substantial role in the composition of the psalm itself. Second, the Gnostic literature which we have studied supports the antiquity of this tradition by parodying it. Third, the Adam and Eve literature presents the divine image in Adam as the basis for the command that the angels worship him, and it is this command which stirs Satan's jealousy.

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However, Anderson finds this setting to be problematic. Though Adam's creation in the image of God underlies the rebellion of Satan in the Adam and Eve literature, the actual setting for this rebellion is not before but after Adam has been created. It is the installation of Adam in his exalted position and the demand that the angels worship him which provokes Satan's malicious envy. Such a setting also provides a better parallel for the application of Ps 8 to later figures such as Enoch and Moses, who arouse angelic envy upon their ascension to heaven. A final support for the existence and antiquity of this post-creation context for the angelic response of Ps 8:4-9 is the midrashic potential in the word פקד of vs 5b. If פקד was understood to mean "appointed" or "elected," then the logic of vss 5-9 is clarified.

It nevertheless remains a fact that we have no explicit testimony in Jewish literature to such an understanding of Ps 8.[2] Anderson's hypothesis is plausible, but so is the alternative hypothesis. Even if Anderson is correct, we can be certain that the setting of the dialogue before the creation of Adam was an early development.

4. *This jealousy ultimately led to the loss of Adam's glory; the psalm thus speaks of a condition which is no longer experienced by all of Adam's descendants.* The human race as a whole no longer has dominion over the angelic hosts. In fact, it is in bondage to the angel of death, who assumed command after the sin in the garden of Eden. This subjection to death and corruption now places human beings in a lower rank than the angels.

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[2]The one exception appears to be a Piyyut from the Cairo Geniza which Anderson cites. The new text, found by Y. Yahalom, is as yet unpublished. It is interesting that the Piyyut presents the angelic complaint of Ps 8:5 after first describing Adam in language deriving from Ezek 28:12. See Anderson, 27.

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This view of Ps 8 points clearly to an eschatological interpretation of its picture of glorified humanity. However, it also opens the way for an application of the psalm to other biblical and historical figures, especially those who in some way escaped or conquered death -- such as Enoch or Jesus. In this context it is worth recalling both the midrashic treatment of Moses' encounter with Sammael, the angel of death, who cannot harm him, and the ancient traditions which denied the reality of Moses' death. Moses is thus also a fitting heir to Adam's crown of glory. Nevertheless, in all such cases these figures were probably seen as forerunners of the eschatological glory to be given to the righteous in the age to come.

This anticipates our fifth and final proposition about the interpretation of Ps 8 in the Judaism of late antiquity.

5. *The original status and vocation of Adam, which the psalm presents, was renewed in the lives of some of his descendants, and the psalm was therefore applied also to them.* We have evidence for the application of the psalm to Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, Moses, and Jesus. The psalm appears to have also been referred to the people of Israel as a whole as a result of its descent from Abraham and its reception of the Torah at Sinai.

As should be evident from our fourth proposition, this use of the psalm follows closely upon its application to Adam as a glorious being. If Adam's glory was lost, there must be some way in which it can be regained. As Anderson astutely observes, "The story of Adam and Eve is always <u>correlated</u> to something beyond it and that very point of

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correlation must be reckoned with."[3]

The Use of Psalm 8 in the New Testament

Ps 8 is employed in the New Testament much as it is employed in the wider Jewish world of its day. Jesus, rather than Enoch or Moses, is the second Adam of the psalm, the one to whom the story of Adam is correlated. The followers of Jesus are the new humanity, and as such they are also the future heirs of the eschatological blessings described in the psalm.

As in the Adam Books and the Qumran material, the crown or robe of glory bestowed initially on Adam refers to the resurrection body, but this body is a present rather than a future reality in the case of the resurrected Messiah. The terms "glory" and "image" are used interchangeably in portraying the renewed humanity represented by the risen Jesus; the connection between these two terms appears to be established through the linkage between Gen 1:26 and Ps 8:6. As the glorified Enoch becomes the enthroned Son of Man or Metatron, the Name-bearing Angel of YHWH, so the glorified Jesus has received the divine Name (Phil 2:10) and is identified with the enthroned heavenly Man, the Kavod. The terms "glory" and "image" can also be applied to the pre-incarnate Christ as the Kavod, the heavenly Man in whose image human beings were fashioned. However, in such cases (e.g., 2 Cor 4:4, Phil 2:6, Col 1:15) Ps 8 does not appear to be directly in view.[4]

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[3]G. Anderson, 45.

[4]In contrast, the Gnostic literature reads Ps 8 as speaking of the heavenly Man, who receives authority over all things before the creation of the world. Such a view of Ps 8 may have also existed among some groups of first-century Christians, but it has not been preserved in

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The royal dignity of the glorified Messiah is expressed in his exaltation above the angels. His victory over the evil angels is of special concern when the psalm is used, but the subjection of all angelic powers, good or evil, is also implied. The psalm is joined to Ps 110:1 from an early stage in the tradition, which serves to further emphasize the focus on the subjugation of spiritual powers. However, this theme is not derived from the relationship to Ps 110, for it is evident in the wider Jewish use of the psalm, a use which shows no dependence on Ps 110.

The subjugation of "all things" promised by the psalm is understood in two main ways. One tradition sees it as occurring in the ascension of the risen Christ to heaven. This is parallel to the way the psalm is applied to Enoch and Moses in wider Jewish exegesis. Another tradition sees it as being fulfilled only in the Messiah's parousia, when he destroys the power of death, liberates the entire creation from its bondage to decay, and glorifies those who belong to him. This is similar to the way the psalm is used in the Adam Books and at Qumran, and the emphasis on the subjugation of death is parallel to an emphasis found in Pseudo-Philo.

The letter to the Hebrews adds a new element to the interpretation of the psalm by stressing the importance of the incarnation and the willingness of the second Adam to taste the death which was the punishment of the first Adam's sin. The Son of God was made lower than the angels, that is, was subjected to the power of death, but only "for a little while." His resurrection glory and ultimate exaltation above all things comes, not despite this temporary subjection, but because of

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the New Testament documents.

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it.

How can this New Testament theme of Christ's exaltation above the angels be found in a psalm which, in the LXX version read by most of the early Christians, affirmed that "Man" was less than the angels? Hebrews provides one way of answering this question, but it seems to have been a creative and novel one. How was vs 6a handled earlier in the development of this Christian exegetical tradition? Some New Testament scholars would have us believe that these early followers of Jesus approached this biblical text, like all others, in an atomistic fashion, picking out the verses that were useful and ignoring the rest. This goes well with the view that Ps 8:7b was seized upon merely because of its similarity to Ps 110:1b, which was already recognized as being fulfilled in Jesus. However, our study of the use of this psalm in the wider Jewish world makes this answer unlikely. It seems that, as in the wider Jewish exegesis, vs 6a must have been seen as referring to God rather than the angels. Therefore, early Christian use of Ps 8 probably began in an environment in which its interpreters were acquainted with the Hebrew text and not merely with the LXX. At the very least one can confidently state that they were familiar with a tradition of interpretation which understood vs 6a to be speaking of God rather than the angels.

There are signs in the New Testament that some of the authors were aware of the tradition which ascribed Ps 8:4-9 to an angel. Heb 2 and Matt 21 are the passages which point most clearly in this direction. Moreover, since the psalm is mainly used in the New Testament as an affirmation of Christ's power over the angels, it is likely that this way of understanding vss 4-9 was known among many of the early Christian

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interpreters of the psalm.

Finally, a polemical slant is noticeable in some of the New Testament texts which employ Ps 8. Jesus the Messiah is the true second Adam -- and Moses is not! This is probably not the original or primary motivation in the application of the psalm to Jesus, but after this exegesis was firmly established it was a possible use to which it could be put.

Significance

The similarity between the New Testament use of Ps 8 and that seen elsewhere in the Jewish world of the time is one more expression of the fact that the early Christian movement was itself a Jewish phenomenon which must be studied accordingly. All attempts to analyze this movement, especially in its early stages, without reference to its ideological context in the diverse milieu of first-century Judaism are doomed to produce distorted pictures of its life and thought.

We have studied how a particular exegetical tradition was employed among the early Christians, and we have seen how this tradition must be understood in light of its development in the wider Jewish world. The similarities between the New Testament version of this exegetical tradition and the other versions we have examined are striking. However, differences among the various versions must also be noticed. The Enochian tradition glorified its antediluvian hero, making him an angelic figure with eschatological functions, a second Adam who prefigures the destiny of the righteous in the world to come, and who will himself judge both human beings and angels. The angels whose jealousy of "Man" brings his fall are evil, and will be destroyed. Adherence to the revelation conveyed by Enoch will bring glorification

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to the elect. In contrast, the tradition represented by Pseudo-Philo, and the later rabbinic tradition portray Moses as the second Adam, and Sinai as the means of entering into the promised eschatological inheritance. The angels, though rivals, are not the main enemies which need to be overcome. In fact, Ps 8 is seen not only as an expression of their jealousy but also as a testimony to their ultimate willing submission. Of course, the angel of death must be brought to subjection, but this is no problem, for he is merely a servant of God.

For the early Christians Jesus is the central figure, not Enoch or Moses, and his incarnation, death, resurrection-ascension, and parousia are the means of glorification, not adherence to the Enochian writings or the Mosaic Torah. As in the Enochian tradition, angelic powers of evil are taken seriously, and must be overcome. However, the resurrection of Jesus has already begun this work of conquest. It will come to a conclusion at his return. At that point the authority of the Messiah over all things will be manifested in his transforming of those who belong to him, so that they might share in both his glory and his rule.

One important common feature underlies these diverse traditions: the glory which God intended and still intends for the heirs of Adam. It is debatable whether the use of Ps 8 in the New Testament reflects a high or a low christology. What is not debatable is the fact that its use reflects a remarkably high anthropology. The angels who recite the kedushah before the throne of the second Adam will recite the same hymn of sanctification before the thrones of the righteous in the world to come. In this light, even from the perspective of high christology, the descent of the Savior in the incarnation is not as great a leap as

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one initially might have thought.

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