THE CORRUPTION AND REDEMPTION OF CREATION: AN EXEGETICAL STUDY OF ROMANS 8:19-22 IN LIGHT OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

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by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Romans 8:19-22 is the major passage expressing the apostle Paul's concepts of the present condition and the eschatological hope of the natural world. The passage says that the creation was corrupted and now suffers because of the Fall of humanity. Creation also longs for the eschatological glorification of the children of God, because at that time the natural world will be transformed to freedom and glory.

It has become a commonplace for New Testament scholars to claim that Paul's thought was strongly influenced by Jewish apocalyptic thought. The apocalyptic elements in the theology of Romans 8:19-22 have been acknowledged even by many scholars who do not accept the general premise that Paul's theology is rooted in Jewish apocalyptic thought. Although the genre of this passage is not an apocalypse, the worldview, the theology and many of the expressions are very similar to those found in Second Temple Jewish apocalyptic writings. Unfortunately, there is a tendency for many researchers simply to say that the passage is "apocalyptic" without clearly indicating what is meant by that term.

This study examines the views of the corruption and redemption of creation in several major Jewish apocalyptic works written between the third century B.C. and about 100 A.D. (1 Enoch, Jubilees, 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and the Apocalypse of Moses/Life of Adam and Eve). The function of the personification of the natural world in communicating the message about the corruption and redemption of creation is also explored. Following a detailed exegetical study of Romans 8:19-22, the view of the corruption and redemption of creation in this passage is compared to the approaches taken in the Jewish apocalyptic writings to determine the ways in which Paul's thought in this passage is similar to and different from Jewish apocalyptic theology.

The diversity of views in the Jewish apocalyptic writings shows that it is not enough

simply to label the theology of Romans 8:19-22 as "apocalyptic." It is important to identify the particular type of apocalyptic thought closest to Paul's ideas. The Jewish apocalyptic materials represent several streams of thought, all of which are "apocalyptic" in perspective, despite their diversity. These ideological streams can be distinguished by their treatment of three key issues: (1) the corruption of creation in this age; (2) the cause of the corruption of creation; and (3) the future hope for the redemption of the material creation.

(1) There is a tension in many Jewish apocalyptic writings between the creation as under God's control and the creation as damaged by sin. Although a few writings stress the perfection and consistent operation of the natural world, the majority describe creation as corrupted due to sin. Even many writings that emphasize the normally consistent operation of the natural world indicate that at least parts of creation are corrupted or that creation is corrupted at specific times in history. Romans 8:19-22 follows that majority stream of Jewish apocalyptic writings that stresses that creation has been corrupted by sin.

(2) In Jewish apocalyptic writings creation may be corrupted due to the sins of the fallen Watchers, human sins, or both. Among those works that focus on human sins, the corruption may be either due to the Fall, ongoing human sins, or eschatological human sins. Romans 8:19-22 focuses on the decisive damage that the Fall of humanity brought to the created order, resulting in the enslavement of creation to corruption and futility.

(3) The majority of Jewish apocalyptic writings look forward to an eschatological redemption of creation. Some anticipate a new creation, while others expect the transformation of the present creation – either to its pre-Fall condition or to a perfect state that exceeds what it lost due to sin. Many works describe a temporary, earthly golden age with a perfected natural world. Romans 8:19-22 follows that stream of apocalyptic thought that looks forward to the permanent transformation of the existing creation, the removal of the damage caused by sin, and the perfection of creation to share the glory and freedom of the glorified children of God. Paul, however, does not describe the exact eschatological changes that the natural world will undergo, in contrast to the vivid descriptions found in many Jewish apocalyptic writings.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

General Works

ANF	A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*
APOT	R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*
LCC	John Baillie, ed., *Library of Christian Classics*
NIDCC	J. D. Douglas, ed., *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*
NIDNTT	Colin Brown, ed., *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*
NPNF	H. Wace and P. Schaff, trans., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*
OTP	James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*
PG	J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Graeca*
PL	J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament

Journal abbreviations taken from the Journal of Biblical Literature *Instructions for Contributors.*

Apocalyptic Writings

1 En.	First (Ethiopic) Enoch
2 En.	Second (Slavonic) Enoch
2 Bar.	Second Baruch
4 Ez.	Fourth Ezra
AA	Animal Apocalypse (second dream vision in 1 Enoch Book 4)
AB	Astronomical Book (1 Enoch Book 3)
Ap. Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses
AW	Apocalypse of Weeks in 1 Enoch Book 5
BD	Book of Dreams (1 Enoch Book 4)
BP	Book of Parables (1 Enoch Book 2). A parable number may be specified (BP 1).
BW	Book of Watchers (1 Enoch Book 1)
Ep. En.	Epistle of Enoch in 1 Enoch Book 5
En. Noah	Book of Noah in 1 En. Book 5
Jub.	Jubilees
LAE	Life of Adam and Eve
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles

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INTRODUCTION

A. The Corruption and Redemption of Creation in Paul's Thought

The Apostle Paul's concepts of the present condition and the eschatological hope of the natural world are frequently overlooked in biblical research. The most important passage expressing these themes is Romans 8:19-22, where Paul discusses the corruption and suffering of creation as well as creation's longing for deliverance. These concepts appear in the context of the suffering of the children of God, who hope to share future glory with Christ (vv. 17-30). Paul presents the suffering of believers, therefore, as part of the larger problem of the corruption of the entire created order, which was damaged by the Fall of humanity. Furthermore, when the children of God are resurrected and enjoy their eschatological glory with Christ, the whole creation will also be transformed to a state of freedom and glory.

H. Paul Santmire has observed that throughout most of the history of the Church, with a few important exceptions, there has been a tendency to downplay the place of the natural world in biblical thought. The major traditions of Christian theology have focused on the communion of humans with God and thus have downplayed the importance of the natural world. Anthropocentric theology that focuses on God's relationship with humanity generally misses the cosmic dimensions of biblical thought.[1] Yet there has also been an important secondary stream of thought that celebrates God's presence in the created order and places a

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[1]H. Paul Santmire, *The Travail of Nature. The Ambiguous Ecological Promise of Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 1-7, 31-188. A similar critique has been made by Thomas Luther Marberry, "The Place of the Natural World in the Theology of the Apostle Paul" (PhD Dissertation, Baylor University, 1982), 19-55 and Joseph Lee Nelson, Jr., "The Groaning of Creation: An Exegetical Study of Romans 8:18-27" (ThD Dissertation, Union Theological Seminary of Virginia, 1969), 2. Other reasons are explored by Marberry, 19-55 and John G. Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption. A Study in Pauline Theology*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum, no. 26 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 6-32 (especially pp. 31-32).

greater value on the natural world.[2]

The majority of works on Pauline and NT theology have no section on the natural world in Paul's thought. John Gibbs believes that this is due to the difficulty of subsuming the creation and its redemption under the integrating principles proposed by various scholars as the center of Paul's thought, such as justification by faith, Christology or *Heilsgeschichte*.[3]

Recently, however, several scholars have shown that the natural world plays a larger part in Paul's thought than has often been recognized. Although it is by no means a central Pauline concept, the natural world and its redemption plays an important role that influences other Pauline theological ideas. John Gibbs, for example, has studied cosmic Christology as well as creation and redemption in Paul's letters. He shows that the creation is essential to God's redemptive purposes and that God will redeem the natural world, not merely human souls. Thomas Marberry notes three major themes in Paul's conception of the natural world, in his study of the natural world in the theology of Paul: (1) Everything is created by God. (2) The universe is sustained by Christ and reflects something of God's nature and beneficent care, even though it is currently incomplete and subject to frustration and the presence of evil. (3) A time will come when nature will be renovated and perfected, with evil removed.[4]

Rom. 8:19-22 is the most important passage for understanding Paul's theology of the natural world. The passage contains the largest concentration of the word κτίσις in Paul's letters and stresses the second and third major themes that Marberry shows are central to Paul's thought about creation. Nevertheless, there has been comparatively little research into the teachings of this passage on the present state and future redemption of the natural world.[5]

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[2]Santmire, *Travail*, pp. 31-188.

[3]Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 6-32, surveys the major studies of Paul since F. C. Baur to show how infrequently Pauline scholars include a category for creation and redemption.

[4]Marberry, 133-87.

[5]Nelson's 1969 study of Rom. 8:18-27 is the most thorough study of the passage to date.

B. The Relationship Between Rom. 8:19-22 and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

In recent decades it has become a commonplace for NT scholars to claim that Paul's thought was strongly influenced by Jewish apocalyptic theology. Although Albert Schweitzer argued in the early twentieth century that Paul's roots were in Jewish apocalypticism, Ernst Käsemann started a modern resurgence of interest in this idea when he claimed that apocalyptic was "the mother of all Christian theology."[6] More recently J. Christiaan Beker has given the most thorough demonstrations of the claim that Paul's thought is apocalyptic at its heart. Beker argues that the coherent core of Paul's theology is the apocalyptic triumph of God: "the hope in the dawning victory of God and the imminent redemption of the created order, which he has inaugurated in Christ."[7] Paul used the genre of letter rather than apocalypse, but the theological perspective of his writings has many similarities to Jewish apocalyptic theology. Although these ideas have been controversial, Käsemann and Beker have influenced many NT researchers to explore the similarities between Paul's ideas and those found in Jewish apocalyptic writings.

The apocalyptic elements in the theology of Rom. 8:19-22 have been acknowledged by numerous scholars, even among some who do not accept the general premise that Paul's theology is rooted in Jewish apocalyptic thought.[8] Although the genre of this passage is not an apocalypse, the worldview, the theology and many of the expressions are very similar to

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Nelson, however, makes little use of Jewish apocalyptic literature to set the passage in its religious-historical context, although he acknowledges that Paul draws heavily on this background (Nelson, *Groaning*, 158, 163-6). Many studies of the redemption of creation in Pauline thought focus on Col. 1:15-20, often to the neglect of Rom. 8:19-22.

[6]Ernst Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," in *Apocalyptic*, ed. Robert W. Funk, Journal for Theology and the Church (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), 6: 40; Ernst Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today* (London: SCM, 1969), 133.

[7]J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul the Apostle. The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), ix.

[8]E.g. the Romans commentaries by Käsemann, Fitzmyer, Sanday and Headlam, Barrett, Lambrecht, Dunn, and many others. See chapter 2.

those found in Jewish apocalyptic works. Modern apocalyptic researchers distinguish between "apocalypse" as a literary genre and "apocalyptic eschatology" as a religious perspective.[9] Not every writing that has apocalyptic thought uses an apocalypse as its literary form. This insight has opened the door for further study of the apocalyptic characteristics found in passages like Rom. 8:19-22. Beker, for example, sees this passage as one of the clearest confessions of the apocalyptic triumph of God in Paul's letters.[10]

Yet despite the widespread acknowledgment of the similarity between Rom. 8:19-22 and Jewish apocalyptic thought, there has been little work exploring the dimensions of this similarity. Many researchers, particularly in commentaries, simply say that the passage is "apocalyptic" without clearly indicating what the term means. "Apocalyptic" is a slippery term to define and there has been much debate about the distinguishing characteristics of apocalyptic literature. There also has been little research into the theology of Jewish apocalyptic literature on the corruption and redemption of creation. Hence there is no clear foundation for comparing the similarities and differences between Rom. 8:19-22 and the Jewish apocalyptic writings. Many of the studies simply use apocalyptic proof texts, without examining the function of the cited passages within the apocalyptic works themselves.[11] Thus, although it is widely accepted that Rom. 8:19-22 reflects an apocalyptic perspective, it is not always clear exactly what that implies.

There is also a tendency in many studies of apocalyptic thought, particularly in older works, to lump together all Jewish apocalyptic literature, as if the theology of the apocalyptic writings was monolithic.[12] Some recent apocalyptic researchers are more careful to distin-

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[9]John J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 3; Paul D. Hanson, "Apocalyptic, Genre," in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplement*, G. A. Buttrick, ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), 29-30.

[10]Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 363-6.

[11]E.g. Nelson, *Groaning*, 158, 163-6.

[12]E.g. D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic. 200 BC - AD 100*

guish the diverse types of thought within apocalypticism, even within a single apocalyptic work.[13] The diverse strands of Jewish apocalyptic thought on the corruption and redemption of creation must be identified before Paul's theology in Rom. 8:19-22 can be fairly compared to Jewish apocalyptic thought. Only then will it be possible to determine the similarities and differences between this passage and Jewish apocalyptic literature, and to determine the strand of apocalyptic thought to which Paul's ideas are closest.

C. The Scope of the Present Study

This study examines the Jewish apocalyptic views of the corruption and redemption of creation and then explores Paul's thought in Rom. 8:19-22 in light of this background. The study consists of three sections:

(1) Section I surveys past research into the corruption and redemption of creation in Rom. 8:19-22 and the relationship of Paul's ideas in the passage to Jewish apocalyptic thought.

(2) Section II examines several major apocalyptic works written between the third century B.C. and the late first century A.D. to determine their perspective on the corruption and redemption of creation and the function of these themes within each apocalyptic work. The personification of the natural world is also examined to determine how it functions to communicate the message about the corruption and redemption of creation. Important similarities and differences between the works are then explored to identify the several major approaches

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(Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), 263-303; Ethelbert Stauffer, *New Testament Theology* (1941; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1956), 72-4; David Michael Russell, "The 'New Heavens and New Earth': Hope for the Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic and the New Testament" (PhD Dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1991), 182-98.

[13]E.g. Collins, "Introduction," 1-19; Martinus C. de Boer, "Paul and Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology," in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament. Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 169-90; Alden Lloyd Thompson, *Responsibility for Evil in the Theodicy of IV Ezra*, SBL Dissertation Series, no. 29 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 5-82.

taken by Jewish apocalyptic writings concerning the corruption and redemption of creation.

(3) Section III is an exegetical study of Rom. 8:19-22, followed by a comparison between the treatments of the corruption and redemption of creation in this passage and the Jewish apocalyptic writings. This comparison shows the ways in which Paul's thought in this passage is similar to and different from Jewish apocalyptic theology. It also identifies the strands of Jewish apocalyptic thought that Paul's ideas are most like, in order to determine the sense in which Paul's approach to the corruption and redemption of creation in Rom. 8:19-22 may be said to be apocalyptic.

SECTION I:

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON ROMANS 8:19-22

CHAPTER 1:

HISTORY OF THE INTERPRETATION OF ROMANS 8:19-22

This survey of the interpretations of Rom. 8:19-22 consists of two parts: The first chapter explores the various interpretations of this passage through the history of the Church. The second chapter surveys the research into the similarity of Paul's teachings in this passage to the theology of the Jewish apocalyptic writings.

Throughout Church history, three issues have been particularly central for understanding the meaning of Rom. 8:19-22: (1) the meaning of κτίσις in the passage; (2) the cause and extent of the corruption of creation; and (3) the nature of the eschatological redemption of creation.

A. Patristic Interpretation

The earliest clear reference to Rom. 8:19-22 is found in the writings of Irenaeus (c. 120-200). On the basis of this passage, in *Adversus Haereses* he says that (1) creation will be restored to its primeval condition prior to the final judgment; (2) human beings will be judged in the very same creation in which they gave witness; and (3) believers will ultimately reign over creation after it has been renewed. Irenaeus says,

> It is just that in that very creation in which they toiled or were afflicted, being proved in every way by suffering, they should receive the reward of their suffering. . . . It is fitting, therefore, that the creation itself, being restored to its primeval condition, should without restraint be under the dominion of the righteous.[1]

Irenaeus' efforts to refute Gnostic theology led him to devote a considerable amount of space to the material order. The entire fifth book of *Adversus Haereses* discusses the final

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[1]Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 5.32.1.

redemption of human flesh along with the whole material order. In contrast to the Gnostics, Irenaeus sees God as both the creator of the physical world and the one responsible for its redemption.[2] Thus there is a strong ecological motif present in Irenaeus' theology.[3]

In Irenaeus' understanding, the earth is cursed because of Adam's sin. Yet creation itself is not the culprit nor is it fallen. Creation retains the essential goodness that it had when it was created. The majority of creatures still continue in subjection to God.[4] There is, however, something in matter that makes it liable to corruption, and so the material always needs the spiritual, which is not subject to corruption.[5]

God is actively involved in nature. He created everything and continues to be actively involved in his creation. He pours out his blessings on the material world and the eternal Word even became incarnate in human flesh.[6] Furthermore, God will bring all of creation, not simply humanity, to a final perfect fulfillment. God always intended this to be the destiny of creation, even if Adam had never sinned.[7] Christ was not crucified simply for the redemption of human beings, but for all of creation.[8] Thus the end of history will involve a rich renewal of all creation, in which "neither the substance nor the essence of the creation will be annihilated . . . but 'the fashion' of the world passes away."[9] When the creation has been renovated and set free, it will produce an even greater abundance of fruit than it did before the Fall and

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[2]Cf. Allan D. Galloway, *The Cosmic Christ* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), 107-8.

[3]Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 44.

[4]*Adversus Haereses* 2.28.1, 7; 2.2-5.

[5]*Adversus Haereses* 2.19.6.

[6]Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 35, 39.

[7]Ibid., 36.

[8]Cf. Paul Evdokimov, "Nature," *SJT* 18 (1965): 12.

[9]*Adversus Haereses* 5.31.1.

animals will be restored to obedience to humanity.[10]

Irenaeus' view is one of the best early examples of what Santmire calls a "symmetrical" approach to creation and redemption: God created all things and he will redeem all things, not simply humanity.[11] Irenaeus interprets the apocalyptic motifs in Rom. 8 quite literally. He seeks primarily to interpret the biblical text rather than to resort to theological or philosophical speculation as some later Fathers did. In fact, he rarely resorts to cosmic speculation, evidently in an effort to avoid the Gnostic error of separating God too far from his creation.[12]

Gnosticism represents an extreme denial of the value of the natural world. Some Gnostics (such as Basilides) made use of Rom. 8:19-22 in support of their thought.[13] Although there were many Gnostic approaches, several general observations can be made: (1) Gnosticism made a serious attempt to come to terms with the cosmic dimensions of evil. It did this, however, in a way that denied the desirability or possibility of the redemption of the natural world.[14] (2) The Gnostics viewed matter strictly negatively, as the domain of darkness and evil. They saw the body as a prison enslaving the divine spark within human beings. According to Basilides, the creation of the natural world was either the result of a progressive series of emanations from the divine[15] or because some elements of God's creation wandered from their proper sphere.[16] Valentinus' approach seems to be a combination of the two, with a series of emanations and the fall from perfection of Sophia, the youngest of the emanations,

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[10]*Adversus Haereses* 5.33-34. He bases these ideas on Is. 11:6-9 and Rom. 8:19-21.

[11]Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 176.

[12]Cf. Galloway, 108, 111; Santmire, *Travail*, 31.

[13]See the description of the theology of Basilides in Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena* 7.15.

[14]Cf. Galloway, 66-7.

[15]Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1.24.3-4.

[16]Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena* 7.15. Cf. Galloway, 71-2.

which resulted in the birth of the demiurge who created and rules matter.[17] (3) Because of the inherent evil and inferiority of matter, the Gnostics viewed matter as only worthy of and destined for final destruction.[18] (4) Hence in Gnosticism there is no place for Paul's affirmation that the creation will one day be set free from slavery to corruption and will experience great glory (Rom. 8:21), or for a physical resurrection of the bodies of believers (Rom. 8:23). According to Hippolytus, Basilides understood the "manifestation of the sons of God" in Rom. 8:19 to refer to the ascent of those who have sonship from the lower to the higher realms, with the result that the divine spark will come again into union with deity and thus escape bodily existence.[19]

There are passing references to Rom. 8:19-22 in the writings of several Church Fathers of the second and third centuries. Tertullian (c. 145-200) uses Rom. 8:19-21 in his opposition to the claim of Hermogenes that matter is inherently evil. He uses the passage to show that evil in the world will come to an end in the time of eschatological harmony among the animals described in Is. 11.[20] Theophilus of Antioch (late second century) alludes to some concepts found in Rom. 8:19-22 when he discusses Gen. 1:26: The animals were created good, but when Adam sinned the animals became bad, since the human dominion over the animals implies that the animals follow him as a servant follows his master. Similarly, when humanity is finally redeemed, the animals will also be redeemed.[21] Archelaus (3rd C.) affirms that at the coming of the Lord there will be an upheaval of the "universal creation," which will then be

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[17]Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 1.12; Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, 6.24-25. Cf. Galloway, p. 75.

[18]Clement, *Stromata* 2.8; 4.13. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 34; Galloway, 76.

[19]Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena* 7.15. Cf. Nelson, *Groaning*, 17-8.

[20]*Against Hermogenes* 11.

[21]Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum* 2.7, 17. Cf. David Sutherland Wallace-Hadrill, *The Greek Patristic View of Nature* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), 116.

delivered from its present bondage.[22] Hippolytus (d. 236) makes incidental references to Rom. 8:19-22 in his response to the Gnostic heretic Basilides.[23]

Clement of Alexandria (c. 153-217) set the stage for the Alexandrian approach to cosmic redemption, which was developed further by Origen. Everything that exists does so by the will of God, and is therefore good and beloved by him. Evils in nature are only apparent. God allows them to serve the pedagogical functions of correction and punishment of human beings. Hence there is little need for cosmic redemption, since the creation is not fallen. So Clement meets the Gnostic challenge by denying the existence of a cosmic problem.[24]

When Clement discusses Rom. 8, he focuses on the themes of suffering (v. 18) and hope (vv. 24-25), and he uses the passage to emphasize the value of martyrdom.[25] His Platonism prevents him from understanding Paul's interest in the natural world in Rom. 8:19-22. Since God is only known in pure thought, to attain the vision of God the body must be renounced and the soul must be separated from the body, which is why martyrdom has value.[26] Clement's views, however, are quite opposite to Paul's teaching that the present state of creation is one of corruption, which will one day be eliminated (vv. 19-22), and that the bodies of believers will be redeemed and resurrected (v. 23; cf. 1 Cor. 15).

Origen (c. 186-255) frequently refers to Rom. 8:19-22 in several of his works. He understands κτίσις to refer to the entire universe,[27] with the possible exception of such

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[22]*Disputation with Manes* 37.

[23]*Philosophumena* 7.15.

[24]*Paedogogus* 1.8. Cf. Galloway, 80-4.

[25]*Stromata* 4.7.

[26]*Stromata* 5.65.1-68.3. Cf. Heinz Kraft, *Early Christian Thinkers: An Introduction to Clement of Alexandria and Origen*, World Christian Books, no. 52 (New York: Association Press, 1964), 44.

[27]*De Principiis* 1.7.5, "the whole of creation."

inanimate objects as plants and rocks, all of which are hoping for deliverance from bondage to corruption.[28] On the surface, this might appear close to Irenaeus' literal biblical approach. In fact, however, the Middle Platonic influence on Origen's ideas resulted in quite a different understanding of Rom. 8:19-22.[29]

Origen adopted from Middle Platonism the idea that creation is arranged in a hierarchy, progressing down from the spiritual to the more material. God is at the top of the hierarchy of being, the pure angels are nearest to God, human beings are next as embodied spirits, followed by the animals, plants, and inanimate matter. Origen sees God as the Unchanging One, who dwells in eternity surrounded by rational spirits (λογικοί). Some of these spirits became "sated" and, thus, under the leadership of Satan, they exercised their free will and turned from God, falling away from God toward non-being. God created the material world in order to stop the fall of these rational spirits toward non-being. He encased these spiritual beings in matter to prevent their decline toward non-existence.[30]

Thus in Rom. 8:20 the "futility" to which creation was subjected is the material condition. "The vanity to which the creature is subject . . . is nothing else than the body; for although the body of the stars is ethereal, it is nevertheless material."[31] Thus the negative view of the body and the material world that is apparent in Clement was developed further by Origen. The soul is imprisoned in the body. This applies to human beings as well as to the

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[28]*Exhortations to Martyrdom* 13; *Commentary on John* 1.24. Since only those things that embody spirits will ultimately be redeemed, Origen apparently excludes plants and rocks but includes heavenly bodies.

[29]Origen lived during the transition time between Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism. He studied under Ammonius Sacca, one of the last great Middle Platonist teachers, who taught Plotinus, the father of Neoplatonism. Cf. Robert Schnucker, "Origen," NIDCC, 733; G. T. D. Angel, "Ammonius Sacca," NIDCC, 36.

[30]*De Principiis* 1.4.1, 5.1-5, 6.2; 2.9.3-8; 3.5.4. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 45-51; Galloway, 85-6.

[31]*De Principiis* 1.7.5.

sun, moon and stars, all of which encase eternal spirits.[32] Animals and animate things, however, are not spiritual beings but are pure matter, and so serve simply as agents for the moral education of humanity.[33] God is the one who subjected creation to futility (v. 20), since he encased the spirits in matter after the fall of the spirits. Creation is "groaning" and in "slavery to corruption" (Rom. 8:19, 21) these spirits long to be freed from matter.[34] The ultimate goal of all rational creatures is to return to the bodiless existence that they originally enjoyed in eternity.[35]

While Origen does not view matter as evil (in contrast to the Gnostics), he does see it as inferior to spirit. Matter was created by the goodness of God as a response to the fall of the spirits, and it functions primarily to instruct and discipline fallen spirits to prepare them to return to their pure spiritual existence.[36] After quoting Rom. 8:20-21 concerning the subjection of creation to futility, he concludes that certain souls, "on account of their excessive mental defects, stood in need of bodies of a grosser and more solid nature."[37] Ultimately, however, matter will be destroyed when it no longer has a function to fill. In the meantime, it is the realm of the demons. So the proper approach to the body is asceticism.[38]

Although Origen agrees with Irenaeus that creation will be returned to its pre-Fall state at the end of time, his conception of this ultimate state differs. For since matter is inherently

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[32]*De Principiis* 1.7:5; 3.5.1,4; *Contra Celsum* 7.50, 65.

[33]*Contra Celsum* 4:81-89. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 50.

[34]*Commentary on Romans* 4. Cf. Thomas E. Clarke, *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World According to St. Augustine* (Woodstock, Md.: Woodstock College Press, 1956), 7.

[35]*De Principiis* 1.3,5. Cf. Kraft, 69.

[36]*De Principiis* 1.5.1; 3.5.4. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 49-50.

[37]*De Principiis* 3.5.4.

[38]*De Principiis* 1.5.5; 5.6.2. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 50.

inferior to spirit, it cannot have a place in eternity. As created beings learn obedience to Christ, they become worthy of being restored to a higher place in the hierarchy of being. Ultimately, only the spirits of rational beings, i.e. angels, humans and heavenly bodies, will be redeemed. Matter itself will not be redeemed but will be destroyed at the end of time. Since animals and inanimate things are low in the hierarchy of being and do not contain spirits, they will simply cease to exist.[39] This would seem to imply that eventually there will be no form of bodily existence. Yet Origen simultaneously tries to hold on to the orthodox doctrine of the bodily resurrection of believers. The new bodies of believers, however, will not be composed of the same gross matter that they now have, but will be made up of a new refined type of matter. The resurrection body will be spiritual body without true corporeality.[40]

Another difference between Origen and earlier orthodox theologians is that for Origen the transformation will not be cataclysmic but a gradual process over many world ages. Origen believed in a cycle of worlds that repeatedly come into existence and are destroyed.[41] This historical process will ultimately climax in a great final conflagration that will purify creation and take away the grossness of matter, thereby enabling creatures that have been obedient to Christ to live in the heavenly world again.[42]

Origen's Middle Platonic philosophy colors the way he reads Paul and causes him to diverge from Paul's teachings in Rom. 8:19-22 at several points. His treatment is a good example of an asymmetrical approach to creation and redemption: God created all things, but only spiritual things will be redeemed. Material things will ultimately be destroyed. While much of Origen's theology was later condemned by the Church, many aspects of his thought

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[39]*De Principiis* 1.6.2; 3.5.6. Cf. Nelson, *Groaning*, 138; Santmire, *Travail*, 50.

[40]*De Principiis* 1.6, 8.2, 7.1-5; 2.3-6; 4.2.10. Cf. Galloway, 89; Santmire, *Travail*, 51.

[41]*De Principiis* 2.3.4-5; 3.5.3. Origen tries to support this with Rom. 8:20-21, Mt. 24:35 and 1 Cor. 7:31. Cf. Galloway, 90; Kraft, 76-7.

[42]*Contra Celsum* 5.14-17.

remained highly influential. His theology of nature was assumed by much of the Church for many centuries.[43]

Athanasius (c. 293-313) refers to Rom. 8:19-22 several times, but interprets it as a type of realized eschatology. The "slavery to corruption" (v. 21) refers to the curse of the Law.[44] Christ destroyed death and delivered humanity from its bondage to corruption. Athanasius' interpretation, however, loses sight of the eschatological implications of the passage, for he uses it primarily to make a case for virginity.[45] While Athanasius does not have such a negative view of the natural world as Clement and Origen, he nevertheless interprets this passage in a way that focuses entirely on human redemption.

Methodius (d. 311) discusses Rom. 8:19-22 in a way that shows his interest in the future of all creation. He understands κτίσις as either the totality of created things or the world. The world awaits the redemption of humanity from the corruption of the body. There is a coming destruction of the world, but it will not be final since the creation will be restored again and will rejoice when the sons of God are resurrected.[46] This positive view of the future of the material creation is similar to that of Irenaeus and stands in striking contrast to the negative views of Clement and Origen.

Gregory of Nyssa (330-395) makes a number of incidental references to Rom. 8:19-22 that suggest that his view was in line with the earlier view of Irenaeus. He clearly indicates that κτίσις refers to "all the creation."[47] He personifies creation and sees it as sharing a communality with humanity. As a result, the creation experienced loss because of the

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[43]Santmire, *Travail*, 49.

[44]*Discourses Against the Arians* 15.14.

[45]*Defenses Before Constantine* 33. Cf. Nelson, *Groaning*, 20.

[46]*Discourses on the Resurrection* 1.8.

[47]*Adversus Eunomium*, 3.1.

perdition of humanity and expectantly awaits the revealing of the children of God.[48] Gregory believed that human beings are called to bridge the gap between the material and spiritual, for they are part of both worlds. Human beings are a microcosm of the world, for they combine both physical and spiritual aspects. The human task is to make the whole of creation participate in humanity's own union with God through Christ.[49] This implies both (1) present responsibilities for humanity, and (2) an eschatological redemption of creation when the children of God are resurrected and manifested.

Ambrose (339-397) refers to Rom. 8:19-22 in several of his works, but he is inconsistent in his interpretation of κτίσις. Sometimes he includes all rational creatures,[50] but at other times he limits the term to human beings.[51] Once he uses the passage to emphasize that Christ is not part of the creation, for he is not groaning in travail or in bondage to corruption.[52] So while it would seem that his basic view was broader than simply humankind, yet Ambrose was willing to discuss Rom. 8:19-22 only in terms of Christ's incarnation for the salvation of human beings (the "whole of creation" he explicitly equates with "everyman").

In his commentary on Romans, "Ambrosiaster" (c. 375) distinguishes between κτίσις and humanity, thereby implying that κτίσις refers either to non-human creatures or to subhuman nature.[53] Creation awaits the future glory of the sons of God and will share in their glory. This future glory will involve a new quality of life that will be restful and free from

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[48]*Adversus Eunomium* 4.3.

[49]Cf. A. M. Allchin, "The Theology of Nature in the Eastern Fathers and Among Anglican Theologians," in *Man and Nature*, ed. Hugh Montefiore (London: Collins, 1975), 147-8; Paulos Gregorios, *The Human Presence. An Orthodox View of Nature* (Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1978), ch. 5; Evdokimov, 9-10, 12.

[50]*De Spiritu Sancto* 1.5, 62.

[51]*De Fide* 5.8, 105.

[52]*De Fide* 1.14, 86-87.

[53]*Commentaria in XIII Epistulas Paulinas* 124-125.

servile labor.[54]

Jerome rejects Origen's interpretation of Rom. 8:19-22 that the sun, moon, and stars are rational beings who disobeyed God and thus were "subjected to vanity" and enslaved to corruption by being encased in material bodies.[55] Although Jerome rejects this negative view of matter as inherently corrupt, he does not provide his own interpretation of the meaning of Rom. 8:19-22.

Chrysostom (c. 345-407) interprets κτίσις very broadly as "the heaven, the earth, and the whole creation."[56] The term encompasses human beings, non-rational beings[57] and inanimate things.[58] In a homily on Rom. 8:12-27, he says Paul personifies the creation, much like many of the OT Psalms and Prophets. He does this "not that we are to fancy them alive, or ascribe any reasoning power to them, but that we may learn of the greatness of the blessings, so great that they reach even to things without sense . . . [and] that we may understand the extremity of the evils."[59] All of creation shares a solidarity with humankind and was made for the sake of humanity. When Adam sinned, nature was corrupted and thus Adam was the one who subjected creation (v. 20). Nature suffers for the correction of humankind, which is just since the creation was made for the sake of the human race.[60]

Chrysostom also has a positive hope for the future of creation, which is based on Rom.

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[54]Nelson, *Groaning*, 25, argues that the author looks forward to freedom from work.

[55]Letter 124.4, 6, 9-11. Nelson, *Groaning*, 24, misreads this as an description of Jerome's own view.

[56]*Concerning the Statues*, Homily 10.10.

[57]*Commentary on Romans*, Homily 14.

[58]*Homilies on John*, Homily 26. He relates Jn. 3:8 ("the wind blows where it wishes") to Rom. 8:20 to show that creation also includes "things without life."

[59]*Commentary on Romans*, Homily 14.

[60]Ibid.

8:19-22. This flows out of his view of the unity between the fate of creation and humanity. All creation will share in the future blessings of believers, "as a nurse who is bringing up a king's child, when he has come into his father's power, does herself enjoy the good things along with him."[61] In the eschaton, creation will be "freed from the ruined state," it will be clothed with a "brighter garment," and it will be restored to the incorruptible condition it enjoyed before the Fall. At that time the animal kingdom will be radically changed, in keeping with the OT hope that the wolf will lay down with the lamb (e.g. Is. 11:6-9). The dark reality of nature's cruelty will finally be overcome.[62]

While Chrysostom has a positive view of the natural world, he always ties the state of the natural world to the condition of humankind. Both the corruption and redemption of creation are closely linked to the Fall and final redemption of the human race. He shows little interest in nature in and of itself. For Chrysostom, the purpose of creation revolves around the impact it has on humankind, a view that is typical of Patristic theology as a whole.

Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428) argues for the unity of all creation on the basis of Rom. 8:19-22. While the groaning and travailing of creation (Rom. 8:22) is primarily spiritual, the whole visible creation shares and participates in it.[63]

The mature thought of Augustine[64] (354-430) represents an important departure from

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[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, 117; Nelson, *Groaning*, 21-2.

[63]PG 66:823, 828. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, 104; Nelson, *Groaning*, 26.

[64]The discussion here focuses on the thought of the mature Augustine. Part of the difficulty in understanding Augustine's theology is that he went through many changes in his thinking. His thought may be divided into three major periods:

(1) In his early life he was a Manichaean. Manichaeism, like Gnosticism, is essentially antimaterial. It holds to a dualism of two coeternal and opposite principles, good and evil. The good was attacked by the evil, then scattered and imprisoned within the material world, which is a prison fashioned by the evil principle. Salvation involves extricating the good from the evil world of matter. This view is hostile to the body and has no place for the redemption of the material world.

(2) After a decade as a Manichaean, Augustine left Manichaeism and came under the

the traditional understanding of κτίσις that proved highly influential on the medieval understanding of Rom. 8:19-22. Augustine frequently refers to Rom. 8:19-22 and in virtually every instance he understands κτίσις as humanity.[65] He describes "the humiliation which took place in Adam, in whom the whole human creature, as it were, being corrupted at the root, as it refused to be made subject to the truth, 'was made subject to vanity.'"[66] In no passage does Augustine interpret κτίσις as the whole creation or the natural world. Athanasius had applied the passage to Christ's deliverance of humanity from the Law and Ambrose had allowed the possibility that κτίσις in one passage was limited to humanity. Augustine, however, was the first to consistently and explicitly limit κτίσις to humanity.

Augustine's interest in the Fall of Adam, personal sin, guilt, and personal forgiveness led him to understand Rom. 8:19-22 as the effect of the Fall of Adam on the human race.

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influence of Neoplatonism, through Plotinus and Porphyry. This allowed Augustine to see God as totally transcendent from creation. Human beings are completely creatures, without a spark of the divine substance in them. Yet God, the ultimate good, embraces all things, even the "lowest" material things. The world is an expression of the overflowing goodness of God (e.g. *Confessions*, 7.13). Nevertheless, during this period, Augustine's interest is primarily in the ascent of the human soul from the lower to the higher realities, from the material to the spiritual (*Soliloquies*, 1.2.7).

(3) While he never lost many of the Neoplatonic elements in his thought, Augustine's mature thought was further refined as he interacted more with biblical concepts. As he repeatedly studied the Genesis creation account, he began to think less of the spatial categories of Plotinus and more about the temporal categories of biblical history. The world had a beginning, when God created it, and it will have an ending, when a new creation comes into being by the work of God. Thus the mature Augustine had an interest not simply in God and the soul but in contemplating "the whole of reality as a universal, richly endowed history, guided and blessed by God throughout" (Santmire, *Travail*, 59). He began to think more about the progress of the ages as God fulfills his plan in history, culminating in the fulfillment of the biblical promise of a new creation.

For a survey of the development of Augustine's thought about the natural world, see Santmire, *Travail*, 55-60 and Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California, 1967), ch. 5.

[65]E.g. *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 13.23; *De Fide et Symbolo* 10.23; *De Nuptius et Concupiscentia* 2.50; *Expositions on Psalms* 25.6. An exception is Letter 55 (to Januarius) 11.20, where he interprets κτίσις as any image made by man, which should not be worshipped because it is mutable. Cf. Clarke, 34-5; Nelson, *Groaning*, 30-1.

[66]*Expositions on Psalms* 119.66.

Therefore, it was "sinful man" that was subjected to futility because of Adam's sin, though God subjected humanity to this state "in hope." "Futility," then, refers to the penalty of the Fall.[67] He even uses Rom. 8:20 to argue that original sin affects infants.[68] Paul's statement that the creation was subjected "not of its own will" (Rom. 8:20) indicates that humanity was subjected to the penalty of the Fall involuntarily.[69] Thus while Augustine agrees with earlier exegetes that the Fall and the curse are in view in Rom. 8:19, he denies that the passage refers to anything beyond humanity.

Augustine's view of Rom. 8:19-22 is understandable in light of his overall conception of the creation. God both created and actively sustains all things. The fundamental purpose of creation is for beauty and to bring glory to the God, who brings into being such a magnificent system, and only secondarily for the benefit of humanity. God's goodness is poured out on creation and reflected in its beauty and the harmonious operation and interplay of all its parts. To Augustine the creation is not fallen or corrupted, but fundamentally good and beautiful. He explicitly rejects Origen's concept of a pretemporal fall and the more prevalent patristic idea that the Fall of Adam had an effect on the material world. Adam's sin and the curse of Gen. 3:17 only affected the human race.[70]

Augustine also had a positive view of the human physical body. In sharp contrast to the many patristic theologians who were influenced by Platonic ideas of the body, Augustine views the body as a home for the soul, a friend, a spouse. The resurrection body will be the same body as the present body, though glorified to even greater beauty, so that "my own flesh

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[67]*Expositions on Psalms* 25.6.

[68]*De Nuptius et Concupiscentia* 2.50.

[69]*Romanos*, PL 2075. Cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1975), 414.

[70]Cf. Clarke, 4, 34-5; Santmire, *Travail*, 61-4.

shall be my dear friend throughout eternity."[71]

Despite his view that creation is not fallen or corrupted, Augustine still held to the hope of a final renewal of all creation, although he does not base it on Rom. 8:19-22. At the end of history there will be a universal conflagration. Then all of creation, including the bio-physical world, will be renewed, glorified and come to rest. There will be a material form to the new heavens and earth, and humanity will be able to see even more clearly, with physical eyes, the creative governance of God throughout the world.[72] Concerning this renewal of creation, Augustine says,

> By this universal conflagration the qualities of the corruptible elements which suited our corruptible bodies shall utterly perish, and our substance shall receive such qualities as shall, by a wonderful transmutation, harmonize with our immortal bodies, so that, as the world itself is renewed to some better thing, it is fitly accommodated to men, themselves renewed in their flesh to some better thing.[73]

Thus Augustine continues the hope held by most of the Fathers concerning the future perfection of creation, although in contrast to most earlier theologians, this does not involve a redemption from the impact of sin on the natural world. The positive nature of the material world, with its goodness and beauty, continues and will be further enhanced in eternity, being made even clearer for all to see.

Ironically, then, Augustine rejects a cosmic interpretation of Rom. 8:19-22, not because of a depreciation or lack of interest in the material world or an anthropocentric theology, but principally because of his extremely positive view of the material world. He wants to avoid any implication that the world is tainted in any way or is something other than the good creation of

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[71]*Sermons*, 155.5; 30.4. Cf. Margaret Ruth Miles, *Augustine on the Body* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 97, 121-2; Santmire, *Travail*, 67-8. Miles notes, however, that Augustine still had a sort of psychological dualism about the body, since at times he felt alienated from the body, particularly sexually. This was probably a holdover from his earlier Manichaean days.

[72]*City of God* 22.29; 20.16. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 64-5.

[73]*City of God* 20.16.

God. This is in sharp contrast to Origen and many other Fathers who had a more negative view of the material world, due to Platonic influence, and who interpreted Rom. 8:19-22 in keeping with that view. It also contrasts with Irenaeus, who had no difficulty affirming the essential goodness of creation, while still recognizing the biblical theme of the impact of sin on the natural world and the hope of its final redemption and glorification. Augustine's emphasis on the goodness, purposefulness and harmonious operation of creation because of God's sustaining work is certainly consistent with many biblical themes and is a valuable contribution to early Christian theology. Unfortunately, however, he missed the equally biblical theme of the dysteleology present in nature because of the Fall. Rom. 8:19-22 and much of the OT affirm that things are presently not right with the natural world due to the effects of human sin, and so there is a need and hope for the redemption of all of creation. While Augustine anticipated an eschatological renewal of creation, this was not to correct the damage caused by sin but simply to enhance the clarity with which God's glory is displayed in creation.

There are a few other minor references to Rom. 8:19-22 by fourth and early fifth century Fathers. Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315-368) uses vv. 19-21 only to argue that Christ is not a creature subject to corruption.[74] Basil of Caesarea (330-379) refers to the passage several times, but has no apparent interest in the present state or future of the creation.[75] Pelagius (c. 383-431) interprets κτίσις as the angels[76] and Cyril (d. 444) understands it as the subhuman natural world.[77]

The Patristic approaches to Rom. 8:19-22 and the corruption and redemption of creation can be summarized by the treatment of three major issues: (1) the meaning of κτίσις;

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[74]*De Trinitate* 12.5.

[75]E.g. *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*, 8.102; 9.1.

[76]Cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 411.

[77]PG 74:821. Cf. Cranfield, *Romans*, 411.

(2) the corruption of non-human material creation; and (3) the redemption of non-human material creation.

The Fathers had three primary views of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22: (1) The most popular Patristic interpretation was that κτίσις refers to all created things, with the possible exception of angels. The Fathers generally included both humankind and the non-human, material creation in the term (Irenaeus, Archelaus, Methodius, and Origen (except animals and plants), Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, and Theodore of Mopsuestia). Frequently the Fathers refer to a solidarity between the non-human material creation and humanity, which often serves as a basis for their understanding of the corruption and redemption of creation (Theophilus, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia). (2) A few of the Fathers, such as Theophilus, "Ambrosiaster," Cyril, and possibly Tertullian, limit κτίσις to subhuman nature, recognizing the contrast Paul makes between the "creation" and the "sons of God" in verse 20. (3) In the late patristic period an important minority interpretation of κτίσις emerged. Occasionally Ambrose, and consistently Athanasius and Augustine, limited κτίσις only to humanity. Unlike many later interpreters, Augustine, however, did not adopt this view due to an anthropocentric, nature-devaluing theology but because of his high view of the goodness of creation.

The following table summarizes the Patristic interpretations of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22:

Table 1: Patristic Views of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22

Person:	Date:	All Creation	Subhuman Nature	Rational Creatures	All Humanity	Angels
Irenaeus	120-200	X				
Tertullian	145-200		?			
Theophilus	late 2nd C.		X			
Origen	c. 186-255	except plants, animals				
Archelaus	3rd C.	X				
Methodius	d. 311	X				
Hilary of Poitiers	315-368	?				
Athanasius	c. 293-373				X	

Person:	Date:	All Creation	Subhuman Nature	Rational Creatures	All Humanity	Angels
Gregory of Nyssa	330-395	X				
Ambrose	4th C.			1	2	
"Ambrosiaster"	c. 375		X			
Chrysostom	c. 345-407	X				
Theodore of Mopsuestia	350-428	visible creation				
Pelagius	c. 383-431					X
Augustine	354-430				X	
Cyril	d. 444		X			

The Patristic views of the corruption of creation can be divided into three major approaches: (1) All of creation is corrupted due to the Fall of Adam (Theophilus, Irenaeus, Origen, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa). The majority of these Fathers see creation itself as fallen, but Irenaeus speaks of creation as simply being cursed due to the Fall and hence creation retains its essential goodness. Since the non-human material creation shares a solidarity with humanity, when Adam fell all of creation was affected (Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Gregory of Nyssa). (2) Many of the Fathers saw the material world as evil in itself or at least inferior to spirit, due to Platonic or Neoplatonic influences on their theology (Methodius, Clement of Alexandria (to some extent), Origen, Jerome, the Gnostics). This understanding was particularly prevalent in the Alexandrian school. Origen went so far as to say that the material world was created as a result of the fall of eternal spirits and that these spirits are subject to the futility of being encased in material bodies. Many of the Fathers, therefore, avoided the cosmic implications of Rom. 8:19-22 because of their negative views of matter and the body. Hence when they deal with the passage, their focus is on the human situation, especially the themes of suffering and hope and the value of martyrdom as a release from the body (Athanasius, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea). (3) Another approach was to argue that creation was unaffected by the Fall, hence denying that there is a cosmic problem (Clement of Alexandria and particularly Augustine). Nature is still good, as it

was when it was originally created.

The following table summarizes the major Patristic views of the corruption of creation, particularly as taught in Rom. 8:19-22:

Table 2: Patristic Views of the Corruption of Creation

Person	Date	Result of Fall			Matter and Body are Evil	Who Subjected Creation?
		Creation Corrupted	Creation Fallen	Creation Not Corrupted		
Irenaeus	120-200	X			No!	
Tertullian	145-200				No!	
Theophilus	late 2nd C.	X	X			
Clement of Alexandria	c. 153-217			X	Inferior to spirit	
Origen	c. 186-255	Fall of spirits led to creation of matter			Inferior to spirit	God
Gnostics	2nd-4th C.				X	
Methodius	d. 311				X	
Gregory of Nyssa	330-395	X				
Chrysostom	c. 345-407	X	X			Adam
Augustine	354-430			X	No!	God

The Fathers had two major views concerning the final state of the non-human material creation: (1) Many of the Fathers anticipated an eschatological redemption of all creation to free it from bondage to corruption (Theophilus, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Archelaus, Methodius, Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine). Many expect the restoration of the pre-Fall state of the natural world (Theophilus, Methodius, and Origen in a different sense). Others look to an even more perfect final state of creation (Irenaeus, Chrysostom, Augustine). Often the natural world is seen to share in the final blessings of believers because of its solidarity with humanity (Theophilus, Methodius, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa) and believers will live in this renewed material world (Irenaeus, Methodius, Chrysostom, Augustine). While there will be a final conflagration, it will not destroy the world but purify it (Archelaus, Methodius, Augustine). (2) Not all Patristic writers, however, look for a future redemption of the natural world. Numerous Fathers do not even refer to Rom. 8:19-22. Others focus on human suffering and

hope when they discuss the passage. The Alexandrian Fathers, in particular, generally had a negative view of the future of the material creation, and so tended to limit redemption only to human souls. Clement of Alexandria explicitly denied a future cosmic redemption. To Origen the final state would involve a destruction of matter and a return to the non-material form of the eternal spirits. Athanasius interpreted Rom. 8:19-22 only of the present redemption of humans.

The following table summarizes the major Patristic interpretations of the redemption of creation, as shown in Rom. 8:19-22:

Table 3: Patristic Views of the Redemption of Creation

Person	Date	Type of Redemption of the Natural World					Associated Events	
		Natural World Redeemed	Restore Pre-Fall State	More Perfect Than Pre-Fall	Destroyed and Recreated	Not Redeemed	Connected with Human Redemption	Believers Live in New Creation
Irenaeus	120-200	X		X				X
Tertullian	145-200	X						
Theophilus	late 2nd C.	X	X				X	
Clement of Alexandria	c. 153-217					X		
Gnostics	2nd-4th C.					Matter destroyed		
Origen	c. 186-255	X	X			Matter destroyed		
Archelaus	3rd C.	X			X			
Methodius	d. 311	X	X		X		X	X
Athanasius	c. 293-373					X		
Ambrose	4th C.						X	
Chrysostom	c. 345-407	X		X			X	
Augustine	354-430	X		X	X			X

The Fathers show no apparent interest in the issue of the Jewish apocalyptic background of Paul's ideas in Rom. 8:19-22. Galloway suggests that this may be, in part, because

the Gentile Christians never felt quite at home with apocalyptic symbolism.[78] It may also be due to a desire of the hellenized Church to distance itself from its Jewish roots. Of course, a "comparative religions" approach to studying the Bible is generally a more modern interest, so it is not surprising to find an interest in the Jewish apocalyptic writings missing from the Patristic writers.

The symmetry of a particular view of creation and redemption can be determined by how humanity and the natural world are viewed in relation to three issues: (1) original created goodness; (2) present corruption or fallenness; and (3) future redemption.[79] The views of Irenaeus, Origen and Augustine are representative of the three major positions taken during the Patristic period. The following tables illustrate these approaches:

Table 4: Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Patristic Views of Creation and Redemption

Irenaeus (Symmetrical)

	Humanity	Material Creation
Created Good	X	X
Corrupted/Fallen	X	X
Future Redemption	X	X

Origen (Asymmetrical)

	Humanity	Material Creation
Created Good	X	
Corrupted/Fallen	X	X
Future Redemption	X	

Augustine (Asymmetrical)

	Humanity	Material Creation
Created Good	X	X
Corrupted/Fallen	X	
Future Redemption	X	X

All three views argue for the created goodness, fallenness and eschatological redemption of human beings. They differ, however, in how they approach the non-human, material creation. Irenaeus is completely symmetrical with respect to the creation and redemption of

[78]Galloway, 55-60.

[79]Santmire, *Travail*, 177-178.

both humanity and the natural world. Both Origen and Augustine are asymmetrical, but in different ways. Origen is clearly asymmetrical since the material creation was not created good and will ultimately be destroyed. Only humanity was created good and will be redeemed.

Santmire argues that Augustine's view is symmetrical, even more richly so than Irenaeus' view.[80] Augustine's theology, however, is actually asymmetrical, but in a different way than Origen's. Augustine is overbalanced in the direction of the goodness of the natural world. It was created good and has not experienced any effects of the Fall of Adam. While the natural world will be glorified one day, it will not experience a true redemption since it has never become corrupted. A truly symmetrical view must take into account not only the original goodness of creation by also the corrupting impact of the Fall on it. The symmetrical view of Irenaeus is more consistent with the themes of Rom. 8:19-22.

B. Medieval Interpretation

The early and high Medieval period has been called an "Age of Anxiety." Life in Europe was harsh. Nature was feared and viewed as stark and hostile.[81] It is not surprising, therefore, that Augustine's positive theology of the present state of the natural world and Irenaeus' positive future hope for creation are rarely echoed in this period. John the Scot (c. 810-877) is typical in his anticosmic theology, adapted from Origen and the Neoplatonic Dionysius the Areopagite (c. 500). Humanity was originally intended to have a spiritual body only, and the natural world and material body were only created as a result of the Fall. Redemption involves deliverance from the body and the destruction of corruptible matter. The resurrection body will be wholly spiritual.[82] This type of theology has no room for the type of positive future

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[80]Ibid.

[81]Ibid., 77.

[82]M. D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 25; Santmire, *Travail*, 77-8.

hope for the natural world found in Rom. 8:19-22. There is no sense of solidarity with the natural world as found in the writings of many of the Fathers.

An exception to this widely-held negative view of nature developed in the Western Monastic movement. Benedict (c. 480-550) and his followers went into the wilderness of Europe seeking to tame nature, not only for survival but also as a praise offering to God. They did not view nature as alien or seek to exploit it, but to work in cooperation with it in a "creative stewardship" or a sort of "cooperative mastery." Likewise, the traveling Celtic monks of Irish monasticism sought a friendship with nature, attempting to reproduce Adam and Eve's perfect control of the animals. Their goal was a "contemplative mastery" as they wandered in the wilderness. They were more in line with the Eastern concept that the saint would have rapport with nature because of his holiness. While these monastic approaches were minority positions in their day, they helped to prepare the way for the late medieval optimism about nature and for the investigative curiosity that led to the rise of modern science.[83]

No examples of the exegesis of Rom. 8:19-22 by the Benedictine or Celtic monks are available. Nevertheless, the actions of these monks imply several things about their views on the issues raised by the passage: (1) The Benedictine monks apparently had an Augustinian view of the goodness of the natural world, in contrast to the Pauline concept that something is not right with its present state. (2) The Celtic monks were also optimistic about nature, but allowed for a greater degree of alienation of humanity from the animal world due to the Fall. It was not, however, so much that they conceived of the natural world as corrupted as that they considered the human relationship with and mastery over nature to have been damaged by the Fall. (3) Both the Benedictine and Celtic monks were optimistic that human piety can restore the pre-Fall relation of humankind with nature. (4) Yet neither had much interest in an

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[83]George Huntston Williams, "Christian Attitudes Toward Nature," *Christian Scholars Review* 2 (Fall 1971, Winter 1972): 31-3; Santmire, *Travail*, 78-9; Clarence J. Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore. Nature and Culture in Western Thought From Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 349.

eschatological transformation of nature as described in Rom. 8:19, 21, 23. Restoration of the natural world is an historical process through human piety, not a climactic act of God at the end of history.

During the early and high Medieval periods, Eastern and Western theology began to move apart in several ways. One of the major differences was the approach taken to the material world. Eastern Christianity tended toward a more physical and natural approach to salvation than Western Christianity. Where Western Christianity focused more on personal and social salvation, Eastern Christianity saw salvation as both personal and cosmic. For example, John of Damascus (c. 675-749) argued that the Resurrection of Jesus was not only a source of personal life and forgiveness for the believer, but also a source of life and light for all creation.[84] Eastern Fathers, such as Isaac the Syrian (d. c. 700) and Maximus the Confessor (580-662), argued for a solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation. Based on Rom. 8:19-22 they taught that the fate of the whole creation is bound up with that of the human race. Isaac the Syrian argued that as the whole cosmos was disordered by human sin, it may be transfigured by grace through human love. The believer has a responsibility to show charity to the whole creation, including animals, demons and human enemies of the truth.[85] Apparently he interpreted κτίσις in Rom. 8:19 in the widest possible sense. Maximus the Confessor held that it is the responsibility of human beings to cultivate the earth into Paradise and to restore it to the order it was to have according to the divine plan. The Christian's task is to make the whole of creation participate in his or her union with God through Christ.[86]

In the Eastern Church of the early Medieval period, therefore, there is a greater interest than in most of the Western Church in themes important to Rom. 8:19-22. A major difference

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[84]Allchin, 143-4.

[85]Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London: James Clarke, 1957), 110-1; Allchin, 146; Evdokimov, 12.

[86]Evdokimov, 9-10.

from Rom. 8 is the Eastern Church's stress on the process of restoring the world to its pre-Fall condition through loving human activity, as opposed to a climactic eschatological transformation of the world by God at the end of history. This Eastern view of cosmic redemption is similar to the desire of the Benedictine and Celtic monks of the Western Church to restore harmony with the animal kingdom, though the sense of solidarity with nature is stronger in the Eastern Church.

The twelfth century was a time of transition in the view of nature in the Western Church. The widespread negative view of the natural world was gradually replaced by an optimism and confidence reminiscent of the Benedictine and Celtic monks. The century was marked by a greater confidence in the human ability to master nature and by a growing scientific curiosity, based on the assumption of the ordered structure of nature.[87] The hierarchy of being that was derived from John the Scot and Dionysius the Areopagite was a dominating concept. The world is the result of an emanation from the One, to the spiritual, and finally to the material. Frequently this concept was accompanied by the earlier anticosmic view, represented, for example, by the popular gnosticizing Catharii.[88] But the leading theologians generally combined the hierarchy of being with the concept found in Plato's *Timaeus* that the One is overflowing goodness. Thus the most common view was that the world was good, a result of the overflowing goodness of God. The concept of a cosmic Fall was explicitly rejected.[89]

Alain of Lille (c. 1128-1202) was a typical theologian of this era. He assumes a hierarchy of being. God created a good, beautiful and ordered material universe, which is the domain of Natura. The natural world continues to be good, it never experienced a fall, nor did

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[87]Santmire, *Travail*, 80.

[88]Chenu, 23.

[89]Santmire, *Travail*, 80-2.

it suffer due to the Fall of Adam. Nevertheless, traces of the anticosmic view of John the Scot remain in Alain's thinking. Nature's goodness is going nowhere and will ultimately pass away. Furthermore, the goodness of irrational creatures is only partial, since it is good only in regard to the beginning of the world (*ab alpha*). But the goodness of rational creatures, for whom the world was created, is good both in the beginning and in the ending (*ex alpha et omega*). Thus redemption is only for humanity, not the natural world. Humans may inherit eternal life, but the end of the natural world is only death.[90] Thus in regard to the major themes of Rom. 8:19-22 Alain ultimately rejects both the present corruption and the final redemption of all creation, for he assumes both the created and ongoing goodness of the natural world.

Euthymius Zigabenus (11th-12th C.) was exceptional in his literal biblical interpretation during an age dominated by allegorical interpretation and a theology heavily influenced by Platonic categories.[91] In his commentary on the Pauline epistles he discusses Rom. 8:19-22 in some detail. His exegesis is heavily dependent on Chrysostom, so his interpretation echoes the symmetrical Patristic interpretations of Irenaeus and Chrysostom. He understands κτίσις as subhuman nature and, like many of the Fathers, he personifies nature. He argues that the "futility" (ματαιότης) of v. 20 refers to the "slavery to corruption" of v. 21, based on the parallelism between the two expressions. The συν-compounds (συστενάζω and συνωδίνω) of v. 22 point to a solidarity between humanity and nature, and so indicate that the subhuman creation suffers together with humanity.[92]

Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) is difficult to interpret, both because he was a man of action more than a theologian and because so much mythology has arisen about him. Dominating his theology and practice is a strong sense of the goodness of all of God's creation.

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[90]Ibid., 82-4.

[91]Donald M. Lake, "Euthymius Zigabenus," NIDCC, p. 357.

[92]Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in XIV epistolas S. Pauli et VII catholicas*, ed. N. Calogeras, Athens, 1887, 1:91-93, cited by Cranfield, *Romans*, 413.

He often gives thanks for various creatures and expresses his love for them. He clearly felt a strong solidarity with all creatures, both animate and inanimate, and often refers to them as his "brothers and sisters."[93] The Christian is to become a Christlike servant of both human beings and irrational creatures. This is based on the model of Christ's humility in taking on human likeness (Phil. 2:5-8), which reflects the descending goodness of God. Identification with Christ in this way restores an individual to communion with God's goodness in the created world.[94]

Francis' loving behavior toward all of creation flows not only from his Christology but also from his eschatology. He looks forward to a renewal of all creation, not simply the salvation of human beings. Since the end of the world and the coming kingdom are so near, we should live now by the laws of the kingdom, showing humility, love, poverty, chastity and obedience. Francis' preaching to the birds and flowers, therefore, may be understood not as idiosyncratic behavior, but as an attempt to act consistently with the solidarity of all creation and with an imminent expectation of the renewal of all created things. Francis lived in light of a realized eschatology. He sought to live in this world in terms of the next world, when all things will be renewed.[95] Francis' early biographer, Celano, associates Francis' behavior with a realized eschatological interpretation of Rom. 8:19: "He discerned the hidden things of creation with the eye of the heart, as one who had already escaped into the glorious liberty of the children of God."[96]

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[93]E.g. *Canticle of the Sun.* Celano, *Vita Prima* 59, 61; Celano, *Vita Secunda* 165; cited by Edward A. Armstrong, *St. Francis: Nature Mystic, The Derivation and Significance of the Nature Stories of the Franciscan Legend* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 148, 160, 171. For other examples, see Roger D. Sorrell, *St. Francis of Assisi and Nature. Tradition and Innovation in Western Christian Attitudes Toward the Environment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 43-4.

[94]Santmire, *Travail*, 109-13.

[95]Ibid., 113-7.

[96]Celano, *Vita Prima* 80; cited by Armstrong, 60.

Many elements in Francis' theology and life echo earlier theologians. He reflects the optimism about nature that was common in his day. He did not, however, share the negative view of the end of the world found in theologians such as Alain of Lille. His beliefs about the natural world were similar to those of Augustine, although Augustine was a theologian and Francis was a man of action. Both believed strongly in the overflowing goodness of God in all creation, and both denied a significant impact of the Fall on the natural world. Both looked forward to a glorious eschatological renewal of all things in which God's glory would be even more clearly displayed in the material creation.[97] Francis also has similarities to the earlier Benedictine and Celtic monks. Both desired to live in harmony with nature, reproducing Adam and Eve's relationship to the natural world. The many stories of his attunement with animals echo tales of earlier wandering saints.[98] Furthermore, Francis' approach to nature has much in common with the Eastern Fathers. His deep sense of solidarity and communion with animals and concern for practical expressions of love toward the natural world are quite similar to Isaac the Syrian and Maximus the Confessor.[99]

Bonaventure (1221-1274) echoes many of the same themes found in Alain of Lille, including the hierarchy of being and the overflowing goodness of God in all creation. He stresses the divine immanence in nature, much as his mentor Francis did. Thus for Bonaventure the whole world is full of the glory of God. Even at the lowest levels of the hierarchy of being there is the influence of the divine and a kind of dim mirror image reflecting God's goodness, wisdom and power. Yet although he accepts a hierarchy of being, Bonaventure is far from the anticosmic view of Origen and John the Scot. He shares much, in fact, with Augustine and Francis in his view of the goodness of creation.[100]

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[97]Santmire, *Travail*, 108, 117.

[98]Armstrong, 35-41, 71, 209; Sorrell, 39-44.

[99]Allchin, 145.

[100]Leonard J. Bowman, "The Cosmic Exemplarism of Bonaventura," *JR* 55, no. 2 (April

Nevertheless, Bonaventure has an asymmetrical view of redemption. The whole order of nature finds its fulfillment in humanity. Only spiritual creatures return to God, not the whole creation. Like Alain of Lille, he views nature as good *ab alpha*, but spiritual creatures as good *ex alpha et omega*. Although he is aware of the biblical teaching of the final renewal of all things, his explanation of how that renewal occurs robs it of any real meaning for nature. Bonaventure agreed with such earlier theologians as Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor that human creatures are a microcosm of nature. They not only reflect but also embody all things in the hierarchy of being below them, both material and vital. Hence when human beings are united with God, all things, in effect, in the biophysical world are united with God as well, because humanity embodies both the material and the spiritual.[101] On the surface this view allows Bonaventure to affirm a final renewal of all things. In reality, however, his understanding is thoroughly anthropocentric and denies any real part for nature in the consummation. In the final analysis only human beings are redeemed and the world of nature is destroyed, with no place in eternity. This concept of human beings as a microcosm became firmly entrenched in both Eastern and Catholic thought.[102]

Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) shares with his age both (1) an optimism in the human ability to understand nature and its place in the overall scheme of things, and (2) a hierarchial view of the created order. Thomas stresses the transcendence of God, the infinite distance between God and his creation. He seeks to weld together the idea of God as the transcendent, self-sufficient good (adapted from Aristotle) and God as overflowing goodness (adapted from Plato). Thomas believes that the creation is good, though he has a different sense of "good" than Augustine, since he does not emphasize the immanence of God in creation as Augustine

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1975): 187; Santmire, *Travail*, 98-9.

[101]Bowman, 195.

[102]Santmire, *Travail*, 101-2.

did. Each part of creation was created by God to realize some specific potential as a part of a larger whole. The great diversity of creatures reflects the infinite and many sided goodness of God. The human body is not a prison, but a good and essential servant of the soul. The whole material creation exists to serve humanity, to satisfy human needs, and aid in the human quest to know God.[103]

Thomas rejects the idea of a cosmic fall as taught by Origen, as well as a fall of nature when Adam fell. Nature was not changed by the Fall of humankind. Human relations with nature, however, can certainly be colored by human sin and human sin has increased the problems humanity has with the hostile side of nature.[104] Thomas' view of the impact of the Fall on the natural world largely flows out of his dual concept of perfection. He argues that there are two senses in which a thing can be perfect: (1) the perfection of the form of the whole, and (2) the perfection that is the end of the whole. The former perfection is the sense in which nature is perfect and was created good. The latter perfection, which is the end of the whole universe, is the beatitude of the saints. This latter perfection does not belong to nature, but it is an added unmerited grace only bestowed by God on human beings. It was this added grace that was lost by humanity at the Fall. Since this added grace did not belong to nature in the first place, it could not be lost, and so nature did not suffer from the Fall of humanity.[105]

Thomas' view of grace and perfection led him to be ambiguous in his teaching on the final renewal of the material world at the consummation of history. The bodies of the saints will be resurrected, since the human body is intended to serve the soul and their separation is contrary to nature.[106] Since the environment was made for the benefit of humanity, the

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[103]*Compendium of Theology* 152; *Summa Theologica*, 1.47.1. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 88-90.

[104]*Summa Theologica* 1.47.2; 1.96.1; 1.72.1.

[105]Galloway, 123-5; Santmire, *Travail*, 92.

[106]*Compendium of Theology* 151-153.

material creation will be rewarded for its faithful service to the human race and thus it will be renewed. This only applies, however, to the four material elements and to the heavenly bodies. Animals, plants and minerals will not be renewed but will simply cease to exist. Since these material things only exist for the upkeep of earthly human life, when human beings no longer live a material existence, the reason for existence of these material things will come to an end. Since non-human things were not created with the added grace that humanity was and cannot know the love of God, they can have no part in the final end of humanity.[107]

Thus Thomas is asymmetrical in his view of creation and redemption. While all things were created good, the goodness of non-human material things is inferior to that of human beings and, ultimately, only human beings can be redeemed. Thomas' concept of two orders of perfection governs his view. So even though he speaks of the goodness of nature, he could not rejoice wholeheartedly in nature's goodness as Augustine did, nor could he look forward to a positive final end for all of creation, as Irenaeus and Augustine did.

The following table summarizes the major views of the medieval Church on the corruption of Creation:

Table 5: Medieval Views of the Corruption of Creation and the Meaning of κτίσις

Person:	Date:	Nature Corrupted by Human Fall	Matter Result of Cosmic Fall	Nature is Good, Not Fallen	Meaning of κτίσις
Early Western:					
John the Scot	c. 810-877		X	No!	
Benedictine Monastics	6th-12th C.	human relationship		X	
Celtic Monastics	6th-12th C.	human relationship		X	
Early Eastern:					
Maximus the Confessor	580-662	X			
Isaac the Syrian	d. c. 700	X			

[107]*Summa Theologica* 3.91.1, 4-5. *Supplementum* to *Summa Theologica* 8.91 art. 4, 5. Cf. Galloway, 123-9; Santmire, *Travail*, 92-4; T. F. Torrance, "The Eschatology of the Reformation," in *Eschatology. Four Papers Read to the Society for the Study of Theology* (Edinburgh: Olover and Boyd, 1953), 38.

Person:	Date:	Nature Corrupted by Human Fall	Matter Result of Cosmic Fall	Nature is Good, Not Fallen	Meaning of κτίσις
High to Late:					
Euthymius Zigabenus	11th-12th	X		*ab alpha* only	Subhuman nature
Alain of Lille	1128-1202			X	
Francis of Assisi	1182-1226			*ab alpha* only	
Bonaventure	1221-1274			X	
Thomas Aquinas	1224-1274			*ab alpha* only	

This table shows that the Medieval views of the present state of creation fall into three basic groups: (1) In the early Medieval period, the Western Church (typified by John the Scot) largely feared nature and viewed it negatively. Since Origen's view of the material world dominated, most believed that matter was created as a result of a cosmic fall and hence was inherently corrupt. (2) By contrast, some of the Western monastics (e.g. Benedictine and Celtic monks) believed that nature is good. The Fall of Adam hindered the human relationship with nature, but the proper human harmony with and mastery over nature could be restored through piety. By about the 12th century this optimistic view of nature dominated the Western Church (e.g. Alain of Lille, Francis of Assisi, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas). However, with few exceptions (primarily Francis), most believed the goodness of nature was limited to this present world (*ab alpha*) and would not continue to its final consummation (*ex alpha et omega*), since nature is not something that can be redeemed. Francis was rare among medieval Western Christians in his consistent, Augustinian view of the goodness of creation, both presently and in its final glorious consummation. (3) The Eastern theologians (e.g. John of Damascus, Isaac the Syrian, Maximus the Confessor) also had a positive view of the natural world, although they generally believed that the Fall of Adam corrupted nature to some extent and hinders human relations with nature. The Western biblical exegete Euthymius Zigabenus also fits into this category. His literal exegesis of Rom. 8:19-22 led him to a symmetrical view similar to that of Irenaeus. Because of humanity's solidarity with the natural world, the

natural world was also corrupted when Adam fell.

The following table summarizes the major medieval views of the redemption of creation:

Table 6: Medieval Views of the Redemption of Creation

Person:	Date:	Type of Redemption of Natural World			Solidarity of Nature and Humanity
		Eschatological Climax	Historical Process	Matter Destroyed	
Early Western:					
John the Scot	c. 810-877			X	
Benedictine Monastics	6th-12th C.		X		
Celtic Monastics	6th-12th C.		X		
Early Eastern:					
Maximus the Confessor	580-662		X		X
John of Damascus	c. 675-749				Christ's work benefits all creation
Isaac the Syrian	d. c. 700		X		X
High to Late:					
Euthymius Zigabenus	11th-12th	X			X
Alain of Lille	1128-1202			X	
Francis of Assisi	1182-1226	X	X		X
Bonaventure	1221-1274	human bodies only		X	
Thomas Aquinas	1224-1274	elements, heavenly bodies only		X	

This table shows that medieval views of the redemption of the natural world fall into three major categories: (1) The dominant view of the Western Church throughout the Medieval period was that the material world would be finally destroyed, not redeemed or renewed. For example, in the Early Medieval period, John the Scot followed Origen in looking forward to the final destruction of the natural world and final human deliverance from the physical body. This view continued to dominate through the late Medieval period. Despite an optimism about the human ability to understand nature and a belief in nature's basic goodness, many (e.g. Alain of Lille, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas) saw the goodness of nature as only temporary (*ab alpha*). Ultimately the material creation will be destroyed and have no place in eternity with humankind. The only sense in which the natural world will be redeemed is in the

redemption of human beings as a microcosm of nature. Since the biophysical side of humanity will be redeemed, humans represent the lower forms of life in their redemption and resurrection (Bonaventure). While Thomas Aquinas claims that there will be a renewal of all creation, he limits this to the four elements and the heavenly bodies, and he excludes animals, plants and inanimate created things.

(2) Some of the Western Monastics (e.g. Benedictine and Celtic monks) and most of the Eastern Church (e.g. Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus, Isaac the Syrian) understood the redemption of creation as an historical process produced by human piety more than an eschatological climax brought directly by God. Christians are to show love to all creatures and through their piety to restore the environmental conditions of Paradise. While the human race is the high point and focus of creation, the Eastern Church viewed salvation in more cosmic terms than the Western Church, perceiving a solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation. Francis of Assisi also carried out the spirit of the Eastern Church and the early monastics in his efforts to show love to all creatures of God. (3) A small minority looked forward to an eschatological renewal of creation resulting in new heavens and a new earth (e.g. Euthymius Zigabenus, Francis of Assisi). Francis' practical expressions of love toward animals as his brothers and sisters was a result of his expectation that the whole cosmos was soon to be gloriously renewed and that the saints would enjoy eternal life in this glorified material creation of God. This view was a rare exception in an age dominated by an asymmetrical view of creation and redemption, with no expectation of a final renewal of creation.

The following table shows the asymmetrical views of these medieval theologians:

Table 7: Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Medieval Views of Creation and Redemption

Early Western (Asymmetrical)

	Humanity	Material Creation
Created Good	X	
Corrupted/Fallen	X	X
Future Redemption	X	

Early Eastern/Monastic (Almost Symmetrical)

	Humanity	Material Creation
Created Good	X	X
Corrupted/Fallen	X	X
Future Redemption	X	historical process

Thomas Aquinas (Asymmetrical)

	Humanity	Material Creation
Created Good	X	X
Corrupted/Fallen	X	
Future Redemption	X	

Francis of Assisi (Asymmetrical)

	Humanity	Material Creation
Created Good	X	X
Corrupted/Fallen	X	
Future Redemption	X	X

Thus the medieval views of creation and redemption were generally asymmetrical. The early medieval Western view emphasized the corruption of creation, much as Origen did. The later Western view was asymmetrical in the opposite direction, stressing the present goodness of creation, but with no hope for its final renewal. Francis' view was asymmetrical in an Augustinian way, with little recognition of the impact of the fall on the natural world. The Eastern and Benedictine view was the most symmetrical, although the renewal of creation was seen primarily as an historical process rather than an eschatological climax, thus missing an important element found in Rom. 8:19-22.

C. Reformation Era Interpretation

The thought of the Protestant Reformers centers on God and humanity in general and personal human salvation in particular – an approach Karl Barth has called "theanthropocentric." Hence the corruption and redemption of creation and passages such as Rom. 8:19-22 do not occupy a significant place in their writings. Nevertheless, when they discuss these topics, their interpretation is generally a symmetrical one that echoes such Church Fathers as Irenaeus more than the medieval interpretations. The Reformers restored the place of the earth in Christian eschatology, rather than being concerned simply with heaven alone.[108]

Martin Luther (1483-1546) focused on issues related to justification by faith and kept the natural world in the periphery of his thought. Nevertheless, he prides himself in his interest and knowledge about the natural world, in contrast to his Roman Catholic opponents.

[108]Torrance, 39.

He considers an appreciation of the beauty of creation and insight into God's work in the natural world a mark of the redeemed.[109] In light of the focus of his theological battles, it is remarkable that Luther devotes as much space as he does to the natural world.

Some of Luther's statements about humanity's solidarity with nature sound almost Franciscan at times. Adam and Eve enjoyed a "common table" with the animals before the Fall. Human solidarity with and responsibility for the earth resulted in the earth being cursed along with humanity after the Fall. In this post-Fall world, the redeemed are capable of a more vital relationship with nature and can properly appreciate and magnify God for the beauty and wonder of God's creation. Nevertheless, Luther does not have the fully positive sense of human solidarity with nature that Francis had, since nature is also full of things to fear and is an agent of God's wrath and judgment.[110]

In his exegesis of Rom. 8:19-22, Luther notes that the Augustinian view that κτίσις refers to humanity was dominant in his day. He disagrees, however, with this approach and says that κτίσις includes not merely human beings but the whole world.[111] This move away from the dominant medieval view opens the door for the concept of an eschatological redemption of creation, which was generally lacking in medieval thought.

Luther sees the creation as good and not contaminated by sin. The nature of the animals is the same as it was at the creation.[112] He rejects the medieval hierarchy of being, including the concept that God created and sustains the world through angels. God is directly

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[109]*Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, vol. 22, *Sermons on the Gospel of John*, (St. Louis: Concordia, 1957), 496; Luther, *Table Talk*, vol. 1, *D. Martin Luthers Werks* (Weimar: H. Böhlaus, 1967), 1160; cf. Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought*, trans. Martin H. Bertram (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1958), 184; Santmire, *Travail*, 131.

[110]Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 1, *Lectures on Genesis (chapters 1-5)*, 42; *Table Talk*, 1:1160. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 128, 130-1.

[111]Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 25, *Lectures on Romans*, 359-360.

[112]*Table Talk* 1:678. Cf. Bornkamm, *Luther*, 192.

active in sustaining his creation and is present "in, with and under" all things. Thus the world reflects the goodness, glory and power of God.[113] Luther frequently refers to the beauty of nature, in which God's character is reflected and through which the believer can learn of God.[114]

Yet since God intended humankind to rule the world, Luther argued that when Adam sinned God cursed nature and used that which was entrusted to humankind, i.e. nature, to chastise him.[115] While the earth is innocent and still desires to produce the best fruits, it is prevented from doing so because of the curse. Nature stands under the "left hand of God," i.e. his wrath. So there are thorns, thistles, insect pests, floods and fires, which serve as messengers of God's wrath. This hostile side of nature is used by God to motivate human beings to cling to the "right hand of God," i.e. his free mercy in Christ, through the Word and Sacraments.[116] The "futility" of Rom. 8:20, therefore, is humanity, to which creation was subjected as a result of the Fall. Hence nature is subject to human abuse and suffers from the sins of wicked people, not simply the curse resulting from the Fall.[117] Death among plants and animals, however, is not a bad thing or a result of the curse, but part of the plan established by God as a normal process of nature. Death only has a sting for human beings for whom it is a consequence of sin, since they were intended to have an immortal relationship with God.[118]

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[113]Bornkamm, *Luther*, 181, 188-9; Santmire, *Travail*, 128, 130.

[114]E.g. "All creation is the most beautiful book or Bible, in it God has described and portrayed himself" (*Luthers Werke*, 48:201.5). Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 124.

[115]Bornkamm, *Luther*, 192.

[116]Luther, *Genesis*, 205. Cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 125.

[117]Luther, *Romans*, 362-363. Cf. Bornkamm, *Luther*, 191-2.

[118]Sermon of June 20, 1535, *Luthers Werke*, 41:307. Cf. Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 405; Nelson, *Groaning*, 49, 51; Bornkamm, *Luther*, 191.

Luther considers the redemption of nature to be both an ongoing process and an eschatological climax. In his lecture on Rom. 8 he says that the deliverance of creation into the "liberty of the glory of the sons of God" happens every day in the saints, a view he shares with many medieval theologians. Luther also sees an eschatological dimension in Rom. 8:19, which his medieval predecessors neglected.[119] The suffering of creation is temporary, since the world will only last 6000 years (based on 2 Pet. 3:13). Then the whole creation will be delivered from its bondage, cleansed, transformed and renewed. This transformed heaven and earth will be even more glorious and beautiful than Paradise was. The brightness of the sun and moon will be greater and the earth more productive. Unlike Calvin, Luther is unafraid to speak of the glories of the future transformed world.[120]

Erasmus (1466-1536) carefully interprets many of the linguistic details of Rom. 8:19-22. He understands κτίσις in the broad sense of "the whole structure of the world," including the earth, water, air, the celestial bodies and even angels. Since all of these things were created to serve human beings, they await anxiously the day when the sons of God will receive their resurrection bodies and be set free in glory. The world was subjected to servitude by God and is in a present state of corruption. "Futility" implies that creation does not achieve what it strives for. Even in irrational things there is a natural craving for perfection. The sun and moon strive in vain to restore things that are transitory. Creatures try to achieve a kind of immortality through reproduction, but in vain. The whole cosmos groans with the sufferings of humanity and in some sense participates in human misery in the mortal body. The angels are moved by human misfortunes and grieve for us. The world bears this present state of servitude to corruption, because it knows it will not be forever, since the world will be free when the sons of God are set free. Erasmus, however, does not speculate on what changes

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[119]Luther, *Romans*, 360-364. Cf. Nelson, *Groaning*, 44-5, 52.

[120]Luther, *Selected Psalms*, vol. 12 *Luther's Works*, 119, 121.

this final freedom will mean for the world.[121]

Many of the 16th century Anabaptists (e.g. John Denck, Jacob Ziegler, Augustine Bader, Anthony Pocquet, John Bradford) looked for an earthly manifestation of the kingdom of God and took a radical view toward the final redemption of all creation. They argued that the "restoration of all things" (Acts 3:21) will include the salvation of animals, sometimes even demons. John Bradford was burned at the stake for such a view, which he claimed was based on Rom. 8:22.[122] A reaction to these extreme views accounts in part for the hesitancy of Calvin and other 16-17th century theologians to explore the dimensions of the redemption of all creation.

Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) devotes considerable space to Rom. 8:19-22 in his commentary on Romans. He agrees with Luther that κτίσις refers to the whole universe.[123] In *Loci Communes*, however, his main interest is to show the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom and to oppose the Chiliasts' belief in the earthly success of the kingdom. So while he affirms the teaching of Is. 65:17-18 that the entire creation will be renewed, he is so caught up with polemic against the Anabaptists that his statements about the eschatological redemption of creation become muted.[124]

John Calvin (1509-1564), like Luther, has a theanthropocentric theology that focuses

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[121]Erasmus, *New Testament Scholarship. Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, The Collected Works of Erasmus, no. 42, ed. Robert D. Sider, trans. John B. Payne, Albert Rabil Jr. and Warren S. Smith Jr. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1984), 48-9; Erasmus, *New Testament Scholarship. Annotations on Romans*, The Collected Works of Erasmus, no. 56, ed. Robert D. Sider, trans. John B. Payne, Albert Rabil Jr. and Warren S. Smith Jr. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994), 217-8.

[122]George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 843-4.

[123]Philipp Melanchthon, *Römerbrief-Kommentar 1532*, Melanchthons Werke in Auswahl, no. 5, ed. Gerhard Ebeling (Gütersloher: Gerd Mohn, 1965), 237-8.

[124]Philipp Melanchthon, *Melanchthon on Christian Doctrine: Loci Communes*, trans. Clyde L. Manschreck (1555; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), ch. 30 ("Of the Kingdom of Christ"), pp. 275 and ch. 31 ("Of the Resurrection of the Dead"), pp. 281-282.

on human salvation and shows only a minor interest in the natural world and eschatology. Nevertheless, his commitment to biblical exegesis leads him to affirm the teachings of Rom. 8:19-22 on the corruption and redemption of creation, even though he does not fully fit these ideas into his system. Calvin praises the beauty of nature, which has the stamp of the divine glory despite the Fall and is the realm of God's sovereign providence.[125]

Calvin understands κτίσις in Rom. 8:19f to include animals and inanimate things, but apparently not human beings or angels.[126] The Fall of Adam led to the condemnation of the non-human creatures and resulted in the derangement of the perfect order of creation. Thus the world is now fallen along with humankind, though God continues to sustain the world so it does not totally fail. God subjected creation to this state as part of the curse for the Fall because all other creatures were made for the sake of humankind.[127] "Futility" refers to the temporary, unstable state of existence of everything in nature. The groaning and travail of creation do not reflect intelligence in non-human creatures, but show that creation naturally aspires to the perfection from which it fell, a process that is hindered because of the Fall. All non-human creatures groan to overcome the transiency of this life, looking forward to the future Resurrection day when they will again achieve that perfection from which they have fallen. The imagery of the travail of childbirth indicates that the present groaning will not be in vain, but looks forward with hope to a final positive result.[128]

At the dawn of the kingdom of heaven on the Resurrection day, the fallen creation will be redeemed and will partake in glory. Though this will occur at the time of the glorification of the saints, the non-human creation will not experience glory in the same sense as the children

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[125]*Institutes*, 1.14.21; 1.5.1; *Opera Selecta* 9.793.

[126]John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, trans. John Owen (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1959), 303-4; *Institutes*, 3.9.5.

[127]*Institutes*, 2.2.5; *Romans*, 304.

[128]*Romans*, 305-306; *Institutes*, 3.25.2.

of God. The world will be restored to its pre-Fall perfection and will experience a final glory appropriate to its nature. In contrast to Luther, Calvin is hesitant to speculate on the exact nature of the glory of the new heavens and earth. He says that it is inappropriate to inquire about such questions as whether animals will be immortal.[129] While Calvin affirms the hope of a new heavens and earth, he is not clear what function this has in God's plan. What is the purpose of a new earth, in light of the fact that the resurrected saints will need nothing material? Calvin simply says that the saints will take great pleasure in the mere knowledge of the new world's sweetness, even though they will have no use for it.[130]

While Calvin minimizes the importance of the renewal of all creation, and while he never fully integrates this concept into his theology, his commitment to the teachings of Scripture causes him to retain this theme in his writings. Quistorp suggests several factors that caused Calvin to minimize the role of the non-human creation in eschatology: (1) Calvin's stress on election, final judgment and the redemption of humanity tended to exclude the "restoration of all things" (Acts 3:21). (2) His understanding of salvation was essentially individualistic. (3) His view of death involved the entrance into life and deliverance from the mortal body, which he calls a prison, a rotting carcass and dung. The body is part of this world, which is a sepulchre. (4) His zeal to oppose the materialism of the Anabaptists sometimes led him to a spiritualizing tendency and caused him to read the book of Revelation in terms of Church history (like Augustine) rather than eschatology. For these reasons, the renewal of creation occupies a role on the periphery of Calvin's thought, although his commitment as a biblical exegete led him to treat the subject seriously when he dealt with it.[131]

Despite the fact that the Reformers' interests are centered on human salvation, Luther

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[129]*Romans*, 305.

[130]*Institutes*, 3.25.2.

[131]Heinrich Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things*, trans. Harold Knight (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1955), 57-63, 160-1, 190, 193.

and Calvin offer insightful exegesis of Rom. 8:19-22 and some valuable comments on a theology of the natural world. The Reformation marks a departure from the asymmetrical views of creation and redemption that dominated the Medieval Church and a return to the symmetrical view found in such Fathers as Irenaeus and Chrysostom.

The following table summarizes the Reformers' views on the meaning of κτίσις and the corruption of creation:

Table 8: Reformation Views of the Corruption of Creation and the Meaning of κτίσις

Person	Date	Meaning of κτίσις		Result of Fall			Who Subjected Creation
		All Creation	Subhuman Nature	Creation Corrupted	Creation Fallen	Nature Still Good	
Erasmus	1466-1536	X		X			God
Luther	1483-1546	X		X		X	God
Melanchthon	1497-1560	X		X			
Calvin	1509-1564		X	X	X	X	God

Both Luther and Calvin emphasize the goodness and beauty of the entire creation, which was not lost despite the corrupting influences of the Fall. Neither, however, have as strong a sense of communion with nature as Francis and some of the medieval monastics had. Luther and Melanchthon argue that κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22 should be understood as the entire universe, while Calvin limits it to the sub-human material creation, both animate and inanimate. Erasmus includes both the sub-human material creation (with an emphasis on inanimate things) and angels. Luther and Calvin agree that the entire creation has been corrupted as a result of the curse for the sin of humankind. Luther also notes that nature continues to suffer under the sins of wicked people. Furthermore, Luther stresses the present hostile side of nature as an aspect of the "left hand of God," i.e. his wrath, and Calvin notes that it is only God's restraint that keeps the system of nature from falling apart under the impact of sin. Luther speaks of a solidarity between humankind and nature, and he ties the corruption of creation to this solidarity and to human responsibility for the management of the world.

Erasmus connects the enslavement and final freedom of the world to the fate of humanity, since the world, including angels, was created to serve humanity.

The following table summarizes the Reformers' views on the redemption of creation:

Table 9: Reformation Views of the Redemption of Creation

Person	Date	Type of Redemption of Natural World			
		Eschatological Climax	Historical Process	Restore Pre-Fall State	More Perfect Than Pre-Fall
Erasmus	1466-1536	X			X
Luther	1483-1546	X	X		X
Melanchthon	1497-1560	X			X
Calvin	1509-1564	X		X	
Anabaptists	16 C.	X			even animals saved

Despite the bleak futility of the present state of creation, the Reformers all agree that the world looks forward with hope to a glorious final redemption. All see an eschatological place for the earth, but they have different views of the nature of that future. Calvin sees the final state as a restoration to the pre-Fall state of the world. Luther argues for an eschatological transformation of all creation that will result in new heavens and a new earth, which will be even better than Paradise. Unlike Calvin, Luther is unafraid to describe the glories of this future world. Luther also sees a partial return to the proper treatment of creation through the ongoing work of the righteous. Melanchthon and Erasmus affirm a final renewal, but are vague as to its nature. Many of the Anabaptists take the concept of the renewal of creation to an extreme and argue for the salvation of animals and even demons, a position that the mainstream Reformers are quick to refute.

D. 18th-19th Century Interpretation

Numerous exegetical writings were produced in the 18th and 19th centuries. In contrast to many earlier writers, 19th century commentators showed an increased concern to examine carefully the details in a biblical text in its context, rather than simply to use the

Bible for polemical and theological purposes.

One of the most important interpretive questions in Rom. 8:19-22 is the meaning of κτίσις, since it largely determines whether or not one will interpret the passage in terms of the corruption and redemption of creation. Many of the 18th and 19th century commentators (e.g., Bengel (1742), Tholuck (1844), Godet (1850), Plumer (1870), Meyer (1874)) survey the diversity of views held among the 17th-19th century writers. Opinions included the whole universe, the entire human race, Adam and Eve, unbelievers in general, unbelieving Jews, unbelieving Gentiles, Christians, angels, spirits in the stars, subhuman nature, non-human animate creatures, and inanimate created things.[132]

Despite such a wide range of opinions, the dominant view of this period is that κτίσις refers to the whole material creation apart from human beings. The term "nature" is increasingly used to refer to this aspect of creation. Most commentators include both animate and inanimate non-human material things (e.g. Fritzsche (1836), C. Hodge (1864), Plumer (1870), Meyer (1874), B. Weiss (1899), Shedd (1879), Philip (1893), Denney (1890), H. C. G. Moule (1896), Gore (1899), Beet (1900), Sanday and Headlam (1902)).[133] A few, however, limit it

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[132]Johann Albrecht Bengel, *Gnomen of the New Testament* (1742; reprint, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1877), 105; Frederich August Gottreu Tholuck, *Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Robert Menzies (Philadelphia: Sorin and Ball, 1844), 255-60; H. A. W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Romans*, trans. John C. Moore and Edwin Johnson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1874), 2:70-4; Frederic Godet, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, trans. A. Cusin and Talbot W. Chambers (1883; reprint, Grand Rapids, Mi.: Zondervan, 1956), 313-4; William S. Plumer, *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1870), 403-7.

[133]Meyer, *Romans*, 2:69-75; Charles Hodge, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Revised ed. (New York: Armstrong and Son, 1896), 269; Plumer, 403-5; Bernard Weiss, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 9th ed., Kommentar über das Neue Testament, no. 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1899); W. G. T. Shedd, *A Critical and Doctrinal Commentary Upon the Epistle of St.Paul to the Romans* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879), 252; James Denney, "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans," in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll, The Expositor's Greek Testament (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1970), 2:649; George Philip, "Creation Waiting for Redemption. An Expository Study of Romans 8:19-22," *ExpTim* 5 (1893-1894): 315; K. F. A. Fritzsche, , *Pauli Ad Romanos Epistola* (Halle: Gebauer, 1836-1843), 151; H. C. G. Moule, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, no. 37 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

only to animate, non-human creatures (Godet (1850)),[134] or only to inanimate things (Tholuck (1844)).[135] The significant point is that there was a growing consensus during this period that Paul is interested in the material creation. Since Paul contrasts the "creation" with the "sons of God" (v. 22), κτίσις must refer to non-human created things. Prior to this time the dominant views were that κτίσις referred to (1) the entire created order, (2) all material created things, or (3) humanity, a view which dominated mainly during the middle ages. Only rarely prior to the 19th century was there an effort to distinguish it from humanity (in the Patristic era, only Theophilus, Cyril and "Ambrosiaster"; in the medieval era, Euthymius Zigabenus; in the Reformation era, Calvin, the Anabaptists and Francisco Turretino). By the 19th century, however, the view that κτίσις in this passage refers to the non-human material created order became the dominant interpretation. The view that the word refers to the entire material created order is rarely held (e.g., Bengel, Lange (1888, non-redeemed but redeemable creation)).[136]

An important exception to this majority view is the revival of the Augustinian view that κτίσις refers to all human beings (Locke (1705-1707), or only to unbelievers, Stuart (1833), Oltramare (1881-1882), W. F. Whitehouse (1905)).[137] Whitehouse surveys the use of κτίσις

1896); Charles Gore, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. A Practical Exposition* (London: John Murray, 1899), 1:303; J. A. Beet, *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1900), 235; William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 5th ed. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), 207.

[134]Godet, *Romans*, 313-7.

[135]Tholuck, 257-8.

[136]Bengel, 105; J. P. Lange, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, Revised ed., ed. P. Schaff and M. B. Riddle, trans. J. F. Hurst (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888), 270. This view is also held by P. Schaff and M. B. Riddle, the English revisers of Lange's commentary.

[137]John Locke, *A Paraphrase and Note to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, the first and second Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans and Ephesians* (1705-1707), cited by Meyer, *Romans*, 2:75; Hughes Oltramare, *Commentaire sur l'Epître aux Romains* (1881-1882), cited by Sanday and Headlam, 207; William Fitzhugh Whitehouse, *The*

in the NT and claims that it is never used for "nature." Rather it is either used in an active sense of "creating" or a passive sense of "creature." It is sheer foolishness to think that Paul had in view a regeneration of nature. The inanimate creation cannot enjoy eternal blessedness since it is incapable of faith.[138] Oltramare tries to disassociate Paul from the Jewish concept of the death and decay of nature due to the Fall and its renewal when the Messiah comes.

These writers have in common a rejection of the personification of nature and an understanding that the personal language of the passage indicates that human beings are in view. Since "anxious longing" and "eagerly awaiting" are personal terms suggesting consciousness, Rom. 8:19-22 refers to human beings who wait in hope to be united with God, their creator. It is interesting that though these writers share Augustine's interpretation of Rom. 8:19-22, they do not hold his high view of the natural world. For it was Augustine's high view of the goodness of the natural world that led him to interpret this passage as a reference to humanity. Nevertheless, he still looked for a glorious future for nature in the new earth. By contrast, these 19th century scholars depreciate the importance of the natural world and assign it no place in the eschaton. So while they end up with a similar interpretation of Rom. 8:19-22, they do not have the same motives or underlying theology of nature.

Many of those who interpret κτίσις as a reference to humanity also take a non-eschatological approach to Rom. 8:19-22. This is particularly evident among classical liberals in the 19th century. Schleiermacher (1831), for example, says that the passage deals with sin and the freedom from sin that the new person has in Christ. His emphasis is entirely on human fellowship with Christ now, not in the vague future. He shows no interest in the place of the natural world in the consummation.[139] Similarly Harnack (1896) sees the interest of

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Redemption of the Body. Being an Examination of Romans VIII 18-23, 2nd ed. (London: Elliot Stock, 1905).

[138]W. F. Whitehouse, 22-4, 27-38.

[139]Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, ed. and trans. by H. R. Mackintosh and J.

the early Church in eschatology as an "evil inheritance" from the Jews.[140] In fact, many works on Paul's theology from around the turn of the century displayed little or no interest in eschatology, and hence make no mention of passages like Rom. 8:19-22 (e.g., Seeberg (1905); Weinel (1906); Andrews (1915); Hermann (1927)). Hermann even condemns as pantheistic the belief that God's working reveals itself in the physical world.[141]

This branch of Protestant thought reflects an important shift away from the position of the Reformers, who were able to maintain an interest in the natural world, even though the relationship of human beings to God was in the center of their thought. After the Reformation, a gradual change took place, resulting in the secularization of nature in much of 19th century Protestant thought. Nature was no longer seen as the theater of God's glory and a place of his powerful working. Nature became a self-enclosed machine, set apart from both God and humanity, which humans must transcend if they are to be rightly related to God.[142]

Santmire attributes this fundamental change in Protestant thought about nature to three major cultural forces: (1) the development of natural science, with its mechanistic view of natural law; (2) the socio-political world of modern industrialization, which seeks to dominate and use nature rather than cooperate with it as a responsible steward; and, most importantly, (3) the influence of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), whose concept of the separation between nature and grace provided the philosophical foundation for this change in Protestant thinking.[143] Kant distinguished phenomena (reality as it appears to the understanding) from noumena (reality as it is in itself). Science can only study phenomena, but religion deals with

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S. Stewart (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), 499, 696-709.

[140]Adolf Harnack, *The Theological Translation Library*, vol. 1, *History of Dogma* (London: Norgate, 1896), 101.

[141]See the discussion in Nelson, pp. 88-90.

[142]Santmire, *Travail*, 133.

[143]Ibid., 133-6.

moral and spiritual concepts that are based on unconditional categorical imperatives, independent of empirical study, and hence in the area of the noumena.[144] Santmire characterizes Kant's ideas as an "ecological sieve," which filtered out the ecological ideas on the circumference of the thought of Luther and Calvin. What was left was radically theanthropocentric: God viewed in isolation from nature and humanity viewed in isolation from nature.[145] Galloway observes that this also made impossible any meaningful formulation of a doctrine of cosmic redemption, since propositions about the environment bear no systematic relation to propositions about morals and the spiritual dimension.[146] Thus not only Kant, but also those who were influenced by his thought, show little interest in the redemption of the natural world and passages such as Rom. 8:19-22.[147]

Some 19th century Anglican theologians (e.g., Hort, Gore, Paget) took a mediating position that rejected such a strict separation of nature and grace. The controversial document *Lex Mundi*, which states this position, shows their interest in the natural world and stresses the sanctification of matter as a part of a sacramental view of the whole of life.[148] These scholars had a general optimism about nature and its goodness, order and unity. They

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[144]Galloway, 140-1.

[145]Santmire, *Travail*, 135.

[146]Galloway, 142.

[147]For example, Ritschl (1822-1889) argues that humans, as part of nature and yet having a spiritual dimension, can rise above nature and have dominion over it through the kingdom of God. The human moral and intellectual outlook is fundamentally in conflict with nature. Nature is depreciated and is incapable of redemption. Cf. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), 101; Santmire, *Travail*, 138.

[148]This perspective has its roots in Richard Hooker (1554-1600), the influential Anglican theologian of the Reformation era. Hooker says God's influence is seen in the essence of all things and his wisdom is shown in the varied aspects of his creation. Thus there is no disjunction between nature and grace, but they can mutually illuminate each other. His "theology of conjunction," in which things usually seen as contradictory are in fact complementary, plays an important role in Anglican thought, at least through the 19th century. Cf. Allchin, pp. 149-153.

had an evolutionary hope in the general progress and improvement of the natural world. The material world is rising to a destiny beyond all belief, prepared for it by God, in which it will partake of God's likeness.[149] Yet in contrast to the hope of Rom. 8:19-22 and the OT prophets, this restoration of nature is an historical, evolutionary process, not a climactic eschatological transformation of the world by the power of God.

Many of those who saw Rom. 8:19-22 as a reference to the non-human creation and its eschatological fate focused their attention on various important exegetical details in the passage, such as who subjected creation to vanity, as implied by the passive verb ὑπετάγη (v. 20). H. C. G. Moule summarizes the main options: (1) Satan, who promoted the Fall and is now "god of this world"; (2) humanity, which fell and thereby brought about the corruption of the earth; and (3) God, who judged the human race and the earth because of the Fall. Moule eventually settles on God, noting that the creation was subjected "in hope" (v. 20).[150] The majority of commentators agree with this view, seeing a reference to the curse (Gen. 3:17) that God placed on the earth as a result of the Fall of Adam (e.g. Bengel, Tholuck, Meyer, Hodge, Weiss, Sanday and Headlam, Denney, Gore, Lange, H. C. G. Moule). A minority, however, held that it is humanity (e.g., Godet, Lipsius (1891)), since it was because of Adam that the ground was cursed. They argue that διά plus the accusative is unusual as a reference to God. God is the efficient cause of the curse, not the moral cause, which is suggested by διά plus accusative.[151]

Some of the 19th century commentators ponder the significance of the συν-compounds in v. 22. Several approaches are taken: (1) Denney, Sanday and Headlam see it as a reference to creation in its entirety, i.e. all the parts of which creation is made up. (2) Fritzsche (1836-

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[149]Charles Gore, *Lex Mundi*, 10th edition (London: John Murray, 1890), 422-443; Allchin, 149, 153-4.

[150]H. C. G. Moule, *Romans*, 151.

[151]Godet, *Romans*, 314-5.

1843) and Lipsius follow the medieval interpreter Euthymius Zigabenus, arguing for humanity's solidarity with nature. They claim that this shows that the natural world groans and suffers together with humanity due to the impact of sin on the world.[152] (3) Oltramare takes the unusual approach that the συν-compounds indicate that creation groans inwardly, roughly equivalent to ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

The 19th century commentators are aware of the ambiguity in the meaning of ὅτι and are divided over its meaning: (1) Many argue for a causal interpretation and translate it "because" (Godet, Weiss (reading the text διότι), H. C. G. Moule, and most English translations from the Tyndale version to the KJV). Creation has hope "because" creation will one day be set free from its slavery to corruption. (2) Others argue that it should be translated "that" since it introduces the contents of the hope (Tholuck, Meyer, Sanday and Headlam, Denney and many later translations: 1881 English Revised, Moffatt, Weymouth, Goodspeed). This would make v. 21 indicate that the content of the hope is "that" one day the creation will be set free from its slavery to corruption. The choice made for the function of ὅτι has little apparent effect on whether or not a writer sees a future renovation of creation in this passage.

The commentators who argue that κτίσις refers to the natural world emphasize the future redemption of creation. Most look for a final transformation of nature that will result in a greater state than the natural world had before the fall (e.g., Godet, Lange, Denney, Meyer, Sanday and Headlam). Nature will experience a new liberty, as a product of its solidarity with redeemed and glorified humanity. When the sons of God are glorified they will dwell in a new world suitable for their glorious new condition.[153] Only rarely do 19th century commentators see the final state of creation as a return to the liberty and order that existed in nature

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[152]Cf. Sanday and Headlam, 209, for a discussion of all of these views.

[153]Meyer, *Romans*, 2:78; Denney, 649; Sanday and Headlam, 212; Lange, Romans, 272; Godet, *Romans*, 315.

prior to the Fall (e.g., Plumer).[154] Commentators of this period are hesitant to speculate on the exact transformation that creation will undergo. They simply affirm the biblical teaching that there will be new heavens and a new earth. Godet goes the farthest when he says that the transformation will mean a new nature in its entirety, even with different constitution and laws. There will be no resurrection of individual animals, but only a continuation of the species in the new world. Yet even Godet does not go further to speculate on the types of changes that will take place in the constitution of nature.[155]

An important recurrent theme among the 19th century commentators who see κτίσις as nature is the solidarity between humanity and nature. Plumer, Denney, Godet and Sanday and Headlam all say that since humanity was created to be the head of creation, when Adam sinned the rest of creation was subjected to the curse. Similarly, when the sons of God enter glory, the natural world will also share in that glory and freedom.[156] Fritzsche and Lipsius indicate that the συν-compounds emphasize the solidarity between humanity and nature.[157] Sanday and Headlam express the strongest statement regarding Paul's sense of solidarity with nature, when they affirm that Paul shows:

> an intense sympathy with nature in and of itself. He is one of those (like St. Francis of Assisi) to whom it is given to read as it were the thoughts of plants and animals. He seems to lay his ear to the earth and the confused murmur which he hears has a meaning for him: it is creation's yearning for that happier state intended for it and of which it has been defrauded."[158]

The following tables summarize the 18th and 19th century interpretations of Rom. 8:19-22:

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[154]Plumer, 409.

[155]Godet, *Romans*, 315.

[156]Plumer, 409; Godet, *Romans*, 314; Denney, 649; Sanday and Headlam, 209, 212.

[157]Fritzsche, 153.

[158]Sanday and Headlam, 212.

Table 10: 18th-19th Century Views of the Meaning of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22

Person	Date	All Creation	Subhuman Nature	Animate Nature	Inanimate Nature	All Humanity	Non-Christians
Locke	1705						X
Bengel	1742	X					
Schleiermacher	1831					X	
Stuart	1833					X	
Fritzsche	1836		X				
Tholuck	1844				X		
Godet	1850			X			
Hodge	1864		X				
Plumer	1870		X				
Meyer	1874		X				
Shedd	1879		X				
Oltramare	1881					X	
Lange	1888	X					
Denney	1890		X				
Lipsius	1891		X				
H. C. G. Moule	1896		X				
Gore	1899		X				
Weiss	1899		X				
Beet	1900		X				
Sanday and Headlam	1902		X				
W. F. Whitehouse	1905					X	

Table 11: 18th-19th Century Views of the Corruption and Redemption of Creation

Person	Date	Who Subjected Creation?		Type of Redemption of Natural World			
		God	Adam	Restore Pre-Fall State	More Perfect than Pre-Fall	Historical Process	Only Humanity
Locke	1705						X
Bengel	1742	X					
Schleiermacher	1831						X
Stuart	1833						X
Tholuck	1844	X					
Godet	1850		X		X		

Person	Date	Who Subjected Creation?		Type of Redemption of Natural World			
		God	Adam	Restore Pre-Fall State	More Perfect than Pre-Fall	Historical Process	Only Humanity
Hodge	1864	X					
Plumer	1870			X			
Meyer	1874	X			X		
Shedd	1879						
Oltramare	1881						X
Lange	1888	X			X		
Denney	1890	X			X		
Lipsius	1891		X				
H. C. G. Moule	1896	X					
Gore	1899	X				X	
Weiss	1899	X					
Beet	1900						
Sanday and Headlam	1902	X			X		
W. F. Whitehouse	1905						X

This survey of 18th and 19th century exegesis shows several important trends: (1) The writers show a great interest in careful exegesis of the text, using improved grammatical, historical and critical tools. (2) Nevertheless, their interpretations of the passage offer little new, though they refine the interpretation at some points. (3) The most significant change is in the understanding of the meaning of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22. The dominant view in the 19th century (e.g., Meyer, C. Hodge, Plumer, Weiss, Shedd, Denney, H. C. G. Moule, Gore, Beet, Sanday and Headlam) is that it refers to the entire material creation apart from humanity, a view only rarely seen prior to this time. This view is generally accompanied by a belief in the corruption of nature due to the Fall of Adam and a positive hope for the final renewal of the world in the consummation. Rom. 8:19-22 is a pivotal passage in this symmetrical view, which echoes such Fathers as Irenaeus and Chrysostom.

(4) An important minority, particularly among 19th and early 20th century liberals, do not interpret the passage as a reference to the corruption and redemption of creation at all (e.g.,

Locke, Stuart, Oltramare, Whitehouse, Schleiermacher). Most of these see κτίσις in the passage as purely a reference to humanity, thus limiting Rom. 8:19-22 to the groaning of humanity under the effects of sin and the hope of the future redemption of the saints. While this view formally agrees with an Augustinian interpretation, the motivation is entirely different from that of Augustine. Augustine had a high view of the goodness and importance of the material world, which was coupled with a hope for the final glorification for the renewed earth as an eternal dwelling place for the saints. But 19th century scholars interpreting κτίσις as humanity are motivated by an anthropocentric theology that depreciates the natural world and often shows little concern for any type of eschatology. Hope for the redemption or renewal of creation has no place in such a system.

E. Modern Interpretation

1. Commentaries and Articles on Romans

The variety of interpretations of the meaning of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22 is no less diverse in the 20th century than in the 18th and 19th centuries. In fact, whereas in the 19th century there was a general consensus that κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22 refers to the natural world, scholars of the modern era have less agreement. The interpretations can be divided into three broad categories: (1) the whole creation; (2) creation apart from humanity; and (3) only humanity itself.

A significant number of modern scholars argue that the whole creation is in view in Rom. 8:19-22 (e.g. Nelson, Gibbs, Gerber, Barrett, Michel, Nygren, Bruce, Griffith, Rust, Stacey, Brunner (sometimes)).[159] This interpretation seems to include the natural world,

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[159]Nelson, *Groaning*, 192; John G. Gibbs, "Pauline Cosmic Christology and Ecological Crisis," *JBL* 90 (1971): 471; Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 40; Uwe Gerber, "Röm Viii.18ff als exegetisches Problem der Dogmatik," *NovT* 8 (1966): 64-8; C. K. Barrett, *The Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), 166 ("whole created world"); Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer, übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955) ("die Fülle des Geschaffen"); F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans. An Introduction and Commentary*, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, ed. R. V. G. Tasker (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerd-

humankind and spiritual beings.[160] In contrast to the 19th century, in which the non-human material creation view dominated, this marks a return to the view that dominated in the patristic era. The most important proponent of this view is Nelson, whose 1969 dissertation on Rom. 8:18-27 is the most significant work on the passage to date. After a thorough word study of κτίσις and κόσμος and an extensive study of the history of research on the passage, he explicitly rejects the 19th century consensus that Paul has the natural world in mind. He concludes:

> Paul's reference in Romans 8:19 is probably the widest possible, without any intention to exclude any category at that stage of the expression. . . . Paul's discussion moves shortly to a specific group within the larger whole. Though the particular expression does have the believers and the creation in parallel, both groaning, it seems better to eliminate nothing from the definition of the κτίσις. A sharp dualism between man and Nature is *not* Paul's purpose at this place. [his emphasis][161]

Those who take this all-inclusive interpretation of κτίσις argue that the Fall of Adam had an impact on the entire creation, not simply humanity. In so doing, they stress the solidarity between humankind and the rest of creation.

Many of those who take an all-inclusive interpretation, however, have difficulty being consistent with some of the implications of this view. Despite their claims for the breadth of κτίσις, most show a marked reluctance to apply the teachings of the passage to non-Christians

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mans, 1963), 173 (tentatively); Gwilym O. Griffith, "The Apocalyptic Note in Romans," *ExpTim* 56 (1945): 154; Eric C. Rust, *Nature and Man in Biblical Thought* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1953), 198-9; W. David Stacey, "Paul's Certainties. II. God's Purpose in Creation--Romans Viii. 22-23," *The Expository Times* 69 (1957): 178 ("whole created order – man, bird, beast, field, forest, everything"). Emil Brunner, *Dogmatics*, vol. 2, *The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1946), 439 and Emil Brunner, *Dogmatics*, vol. 3, *The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith and the Consummation* (London: Lutterworth, 1962), 439, refer to κτίσις as the whole creation, while Emil Brunner, *Revelation and Reason. The Christian Doctrine of Faith and Knowledge* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1946), 72, says it refers to unbelieving mankind.

[160]Griffith, "Apocalyptic," 154, explicitly includes "not only 'Nature' but the whole created order, visible and invisible, earthly and angelic."

[161]Nelson, *Groaning*, 192.

or to spiritual beings, particularly demons.[162] For example, Nelson says that Paul's reference to κτίσις in this passage is "the widest possible, without intention to exclude any category."[163] Yet in another place he limits the term to the "non-human order," since creation was subjected to futility "not of its own will" (v. 20). He also makes a distinction between "the creation" and believers in vv. 22-23, based on the συν-compounds and the reference to believers with "we also" in verse 23.[164] In many cases, therefore, an all-inclusive understanding is closer in practice to a natural world interpretation. The goal of these scholars, apparently, is to stress humanity's solidarity with the rest of creation and to emphasize that Christ's work extends to "the cosmic totality" (Gibbs' term).[165] In the process, however, some are inconsistent or fuzzy in their understanding of Paul's use of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22.

A variation of the all-inclusive approach is the view that Paul had in mind the entire material creation, thereby excluding angels and demons (e.g. Dodd, Foerster).[166] Another variation is that Paul had in mind the entire creation apart from Christians (apparently Käsemann and Leenhardt).[167] Käsemann, however, is inconsistent like many of those who

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[162]An exception is Griffith, who explicitly includes both material and immaterial created things.

[163]Nelson, *Groaning*, 192.

[164]Ibid., 195, 215-7. Gibbs shows the same inconsistency, for in "Cosmic," p. 471, he says κτίσις "undoubtedly refers to the whole creation," but on p. 472 he speaks of "creation" as distinct from humanity, which "eagerly awaits its own release in the *Heilsgeschichte* of the sons of God."

[165]Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 471.

[166]C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder and Stoughten, 1954), 108. Werner Foerster, "κτίζω," TDNT 3:1029, says it refers to "nature . . . both organic and inorganic," but on p. 1031, he says it refers to the whole of creation, except for Satan and angels. It means "all that which on man's account (including man himself) was subjected to vanity."

[167]Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1980), 233; Franz J. Leenhardt, *The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), 219. Leenhardt says it is the world in so far as it is distinct from the Church, the sphere in which the saving action of the Church is exercised. While on the surface this seems to refer to unsaved humanity, Leenhardt clearly includes

take an all-inclusive view, for he says (1) that the emphasis is on the non-human creation, in keeping with the Jewish apocalyptic background of the passage, and (2) that the non-Christian world plays little role in Paul's view. Thus Käsemann, in practice, ends up closer to the view that the natural world is the focus for Paul, and so he sees the thrust of the passage as showing the cosmic dimensions of the Fall and the work of Christ.

The most popular modern interpretation of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22 is that it refers to the material creation apart from humanity (e.g. Cranfield, Fitzmyer, Dunn, Zahn, Fritzsche, W. Manson, Lietzmann, Lagrange, Gaugler, Murray, David Francis, Lenski, Boylan, Holtzmann, Bardenhower, Loane, Barth (earlier)).[168] Thus Paul is seen to have had in mind that part of creation called "nature" by modern people, and so does not include spiritual beings (angels or demons) or human beings. The methodology generally taken is to start with κτίσις in the broad sense of all created things, and then gradually to eliminate various parts of

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nature (pp. 222, 224).

[168]C. E. B. Cranfield, "Some Observations on Romans 8.19-21," in *Reconciliation and Hope. New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology*, ed. Robert Banks (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1974), 225; Cranfield, *Romans*, 411; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible, no. 33, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 506; James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, Word Biblical Commentary, no. 38A, ed. David A. Hubbard, Glenn W. Barker and Ralph P. Martin (Dallas: Word, 1988), 469; T. Zahn, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer*, Third ed. (Leipzig: , 1925), 400; Fritzsche, 151; William Manson, "Notes on the Argument of Romans 1-8," in *New Testament Essays. Studies in Honor of Thomas Walter Manson*, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1959), 163; Hans Lietzmann, *An die Römer*, 4th ed., Hanbuch zum Neuen Testament, no. 8 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1933), 84; M. J. Lagrange, *Saint Paul: Épitre Aux Romains* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1950), 207; E. Gaugler, , vol. 1, *Der Römerbrief* (Zurich: Zwingli, 1945-1952), 1:299; John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament, ed. F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1959), 301-2 ("non-rational creation, animate and inanimate"); David Francis, "Terrestial Realities: Their Liberation," *Jeevadhara* 8 (1978): 150; Patrick Canon Boylan, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1934), 142; Heinrich Julius Holzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentliche Theologie* (Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1911), 2:48; Otto Bardenhewer, *Der Römerbrief des heiligen Paulus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1926); Marcus L. Loane, *The Hope of Glory. An Exposition of the Eighth Chapter in the Epistle to the Romans* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), 81, 90; Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 6th ed., trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 306-8. Barth is inconsistent, since in his later *Shorter Commentary on Romans*, p. 99, he says κτίσις is mainly humankind.

creation by showing that they are incompatible with what Paul says in the passage and elsewhere in his writings.[169] The view that Paul is speaking about the entire non-human creation, both material and spiritual, is a rarely held variation (J. Schneider).[170]

The conclusions drawn from both of these interpretations vary little from the idea that all of creation is in view. Both approaches recognize that Paul is pointing to a solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation. Both approaches look for an eschatological renewal of the cosmos. Since few that hold to an all-inclusive view actually go as far as to suggest that demons and all unbelievers will be redeemed, in practical terms they end up at the same place as those who say that nature is primarily in view. Such an approach, however, is more precise in recognizing Paul's distinction between "the creation" and believers (vv. 19, 23).

A rather unusual approach is taken by Fuchs, who claims that Paul has the angels in view.[171] His interpretation, however, has not had any impact on most other interpreters, who tend to exclude the world of spiritual beings from the passage.

Variations on the Augustinian view that **κτίσις** refers to humanity are held in certain circles during the 20th century. Some apply it to the whole of humankind (e.g. T. W. Manson, Schlatter, Gutbrod, H.W. Schmidt, Barth (later)),[172] others only to Christians (e.g. Reumann,

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[169]E.g. Cranfield, *Romans*, 411-2.

[170]J. Schneider, "στενάζω," TDNT 7:601.

[171]E. Fuchs, *Die Freiheit des Glaubens: Römer 5-8 ausgelegt* (Munich: Kaiser, 1949), 109.

[172]T. W. Manson, "Romans," in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), 966; Adolf Schlatter, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit: Ein Kommentar zum Römerbrief*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1959), 269-75; Gutbrod, *Die Paulinische Anthropologie* (1934), cited by Foerster, TDNT 3:1024; Hans Wilhelm Schmidt, *Das Brief des Paulus an die Römer*, Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament, no. 6 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962), 145-7; Barth, *Shorter*, p. 99. This seems to be the main idea for Barth, even though in his earlier *Epistle to the Romans* (pp. 306-308) he refers to **κτίσις** as "nature." But even in *Epistle to the Romans* he emphasizes that human beings are fallen creatures awaiting redemption, rather than the whole universe awaiting release. The natural world is only an incidental background for the all important drama of God and

Hommel, Vögtle, H. Schmidt, R. Knox),[173] and a few only to unbelievers (e.g. Gager, Brunner (sometimes)).[174] Schlatter calls it a "highly excited fantasy" and Reumann labels it a "cosmic daydream" to claim that Paul is interested in the whole of creation.[175] They argue that Rom. 8:19-22 does not present a creation theology but a discussion of anthropology and soteriology.

This view builds on the fact that the major interest in Paul's letters is human salvation. For example, Barth (particularly in his later period) sees the natural world as simply a theater for the drama of human redemption. While nature is not evil, it is of minor importance in God's plan and will occupy no place in eternity.[176] Brunner claims that κτίσις in an absolute sense generally refers to humanity in Paul[177] and that in passages like Gal 5:17 and 6:15 it

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humanity. Cf. the analysis of Barth's view by Norman Young, *Creator, Creation and Faith* (London: Collins, 1976), 100-1.

[173]John Reumann, *Creation and New Creation* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1973), 119; Hildebrecht Hommel, "Das Harren der Kreatur," in *Schöpfer und Erhalter. Studien zum Problem Christentum und Antike*, ed. Hildebrecht Hommel (Lettner: Berlin, 1956), 7-23, argues that Paul means believers only, though the original tradition may have referred to all creation. Anton Vögtle, "Röm 8,19-22: Eine Schöpfungs-Theologische Oder Anthropologische-Soteriologische Aussage?," in *Mélanges Bibliques En Hommage Au R. P. Béda Rigaux*, ed. A. Descamps and A. Halleux (Gembloux, Belgium: Duculot, 1970), 351-66, claims it is an apocalyptic fragment embedded in Paul's argument but applied to Christians (cf. Anton Vögtle, *Das Neue Testament und die Zukunft des Kosmos* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1970), 184; H. Schmidt, *Römer*, 145. Ronald A. Knox, *A New Testament Commentary for English Readers*, vol. 2 (London: Burns, Oates and Washbource, 1954), 2:100, says that it refers to the bodies of believers.

[174]John G. Gager, "Functional Diversity in Paul's Use of End-Time Language," *JBL* 89 (1970): 325-37, says originally κτίσις referred to the whole created order, but for Paul the cosmic dimension has been reduced and his concern is simply for humanity. Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, 72, says it refers to unbelieving mankind; cf. *Romans*, pp. 174-175 (primarily mankind, but "not impossible" inanimate creation is included). Contrast, however, *Creation and Redemption*, p. 439 and where he says that the whole creation groans and *Church*, p. 439, where he teaches that there will be a creaturely environment for redeemed humanity to dwell in.

[175]Schlatter, 274; Reumann, 99.

[176]Santmire, *Travail*, 148-53; Young, 101.

[177]Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, 72.

refers to believers.[178] Schlatter notes that κτίσις can refer to all things that have arisen through the creative activity of God, including human beings. He argues that in Rom. 8:19f it refers to human beings who wait in untiring hope of being united with God, since ἀποκαραδοκία and ἀπεκδέχομαι are personal acts expressing consciousness.[179] Hommel and Gager assert that the similarities between Rom. 1:21 and 8:20 in speaking about futility (ματαιότης) show that both verses are speaking about the futility of human existence apart from God.[180] Ronald Knox, however, holds that in some sense the material world is in view, for the bodies of believers are part of the material world. Thus nature will have a part in the final renewal with the bodies of believers as its representative in the Resurrection.[181]

Many of the scholars cited above (e.g. Reumann, Gager, Hommel, Vögtle) claim that Paul used an apocalyptic fragment that originally referred to the suffering of the entire created order due to human sin and its future renewal along with redeemed humanity. They believe, however, that Paul used the material in a different manner to refer to the suffering of Christians as they await their final glory. Paul's purpose was to refute enthusiasts who thought that they had already achieved all of their ultimate benefits in Christ.[182]

The interpretation regarding who subjected creation to futility has reached more of a consensus than the interpretation of κτίσις. The majority of commentators agree that God is in view and that the reference is to the curse following the Fall of Adam (e.g. Cranfield, Käsemann, Lagrange, Dodd, Nelson, Best, Boylan, Nygren, Bruce, Stacey, Huby, Lenski, Michael, Francis, Leenhardt, Griffith, Gaugler, Loane, Murray, Rust, Hill, Scroggs, Gerber;

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[178]Gager, "Functional Diversity," 328; Hommel, 19; Reumann, 98-9.

[179]Schlatter, 269-70.

[180]Hommel, 19; Gager, "Functional Diversity," 328-9.

[181]Ronald Knox, 2:99-100.

[182]Reumann, 98-9; Gager, "Functional Diversity," 328; Hommel, 19; Vögtle, *Zukunft des Kosmos*, 183-207; Vögtle, "Röm 8,19-22," 351-66.

Barth (earlier)).[183] There is, however, a noticeable minority who see human beings behind the passive verb ὑπεταγη (v. 20). Most of these latter interpreters see it as a reference to Adam (e.g. R. Knox, Fuchs, Lampe, Lyonnet, Foerster, Delling, David Smith)[184], while a few see it as a broader reference to sinful humanity in general (e.g. Stauffer, Evdokimov, Zahn).[185] Generally this approach also sees the Fall in the passage, with the stress on the human beings who sinned and so brought a curse on nature as well as humanity. A few place the blame on Satan (e.g. P. Dubarle, Pallis)[186] or on the Satanic power of sin (Heim).[187] Barth takes an unusual view in his later *Shorter Commentary on Romans*, arguing that Jesus Christ subjected humanity and the whole creation to vanity by the judgment pronounced and executed on the cross.[188]

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[183]Cranfield, *Romans*, 1:413; Käsemann, *Romans*, 235; Lagrange, *Romans*, 208; C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, Moffatt New Testament Commentary, no. 6 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932), 134; Nelson, *Groaning*, 196-8; Ernest Best, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 198; Boylan, 143; Anders Nygren, *Commentary on Romans* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1949); Bruce, 172; Stacey, "Paul's Certainties," 174; R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1936; reprint, Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1961), 538; Francis, 152; Leenhardt, 220-1; Gwilym O. Griffith, *St. Paul's Gospel to the Romans* (London: Blackwell, 1949), 95; Gaugler, 1:303; Loane, 83; Murray, 303; Rust, 733; Edmund Hill, "The Construction of Three Passages From St. Paul," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 297; Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam. A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 91; Gerber, 64-8; Barth, *Romans*, 309. Some translators also paraphrase it in a way that shows that God is in view: Moffatt, Weymouth, Phillips, NEB, Jerusalem Bible.

[184]Ronald Knox, 2:100; Fuchs, 109; G. W. H. Lampe, "The New Testament Doctrine of Ktisis," *SJT* 17 (1964): 458; Stanislas Lyonnet, "Redemptio "Cosmica" Secundum Rom 8.19-23," *VD* 44 (1966): 228; David Smith, *The Disciples Commentary on the New Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932), 4:344; Foerster, "κτίζω" in TDNT 3:1031; Delling, "τάσσω" in TDNT 8:41.

[185]Stauffer, 74; Zahn, 400; Evdokimov, 1.

[186]P. Dubarle, "La théologie du cosmos," in *Initiation théologique*, ed. P. Dubarle (1952), 322, cited by Leenhardt, 221; A. Pallis, *To the Romans* (1920), cited by Käsemann, *Romans*, 235.

[187]Karl Heim, *The World: Its Creation and Consummation*, trans. Robert Smith (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1962), 125. Heim apparently does not believe in a personal devil, but he believes a type of dualistic evil power is at war with God that has corrupted the world (p. 129).

[188]Karl Barth, *A Shorter Commentary on Romans* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1959),

The interpretation of ὅτι (v. 21) is as varied in the 20th century as it was in the 19th century. Many translate the word as "that," indicating the content of the hope (e.g. Dodd, Lenski, Francis, Bruce, NASV, NIV, Phillips, German translations except Gaugler, French translations except Lagrange),[189] while others translate it "because," indicating the basis for the hope (e.g. Cranfield, Barrett, Lagrange, Michel, Leenhardt, Boylan, Gaugler, KJV, NEB).[190] A few are ambivalent about the meaning (e.g. Nelson, Murray).[191] Modern commentators have added nothing essentially new to the arguments for one side or the other.

2. Rom. 8:19-22 in Studies of Eschatology and Pauline Theology

Jürgen Moltmann's studies of eschatology have important implications for Rom. 8:19-22 and the topic of the corruption and redemption of creation. The starting point for Moltmann's theology is eschatology, which he sees as the doctrine of Christian hope. From first to last – not merely as an epilogue – the Christian faith is eschatology.[192] Hope for God's work in the future is based on his actions in biblical history. Thus although justification is based on Christ's death and Resurrection, it also looks forward to the future in the Parousia.[193] Hope sees in the Resurrection of Christ a future for the earth on which Christ died, not an

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[189]Francis, 153; Bruce, 173; Lenski; Dodd, *Romans*, 133; German translations by DeWette, Jülicher, Franz Sigge and Otto Kuss (see discussion in Nelson, p. 97); French translations including David Martin, Ostervald, Stapffer, S. Lyonnet (see discussion in Nelson, p. 97).

[190]Cranfield, *Romans*, 414-5; Boylan, 144; Barrett, *Romans*, 166; Michel; Leenhardt, 222; Lagrange, *Romans*, 209.

[191]Nelson, *Groaning*, 205-7; Murray, 304.

[192]Jürgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope. On the Ground and Implications of a Christian Eschatology*, trans. James W. Leitch (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 16.

[193]Jürgen Moltmann, *The Future of Creation*, trans. Margaret Kohl (London: SCM, 1979), 166-8.

eternity in heaven.[194]

Biblical hope for the future is not an otherworldly escape from history or a return to a pre-existent Paradise. The new redeemed creation will be radically new, unlike anything God has done before, since God's promises are always fulfilled in unexpected ways.[195] In the consummation redeemed humanity will be glorified, i.e. it will acquire a part in the glory of God. Similarly, the whole creation will be set free from its enslavement to futility and participate in the all-permeating glory of God.[196]

The creation must be viewed messianically, in light of Jesus the Messiah. Thus creation must be viewed in terms of its future for which it was made and in which it will be perfected. God is making creation his home, "on earth as it is in heaven." In the end, when the messianic reign of God arrives, there will be a true multifaceted community of all things, bonded in love, participation, and communication as the creation is unified in the cosmic Spirit. In the Bible, creation is aligned towards its redemption from the very beginning. The creation of the world points toward the Sabbath, when creation is completed.[197]

The subjection of creation to futility referred to in Rom. 8:20, therefore, means that sin closed the open system of the world against its own potentialities and fixed it in its present state. Conversely, salvation involves the divine opening of closed systems.[198]

The promise of future glory described in Rom. 8:19-22 not only gives hope for the future, but also makes us aware of present sufferings. This inner dialectic brings believers into a profound solidarity with the whole enslaved creation. Paul describes this in three concentric

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[194]Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, 21.

[195]Moltmann, *Future of Creation*, 115-6.

[196]Ibid., 125.

[197]Jürgen Moltmann, *God in Creation: An Ecological Doctrine of Creation. The Gifford Lectures 1984-1985* (London: SCM, 1985), 5-10.

[198]Moltmann, *Future of Creation*, 122-3.

circles: (1) the children of God have been seized by the first energies of the spirit, but long for liberty; (2) they long for the redemption of the body, even though they are freed from the body of sin and death; (3) believers are bound in a common destiny with all other earthly creatures in their bodily suffering and death.

Unlike the human race, nature did not fall through its own sin. Moltmann argues, therefore, that it is dubious to speak of a fallen creation. Yet creation has a sadness and a yearning for the freedom of the messianic age. Paul's description of the transitoriness of the world is not metaphysical, but messianic. It is built around hope for the kingdom of God, which will mean perfected liberty for the non-human creation. The future liberty of believers is not exclusive, but inclusive. Where the original creation started with nature and ends with humanity, the eschatological redemption reverses this order and starts with humanity and ends with all creation. Thus, in Moltmann's view, creation does not await Christ per se, but the redeemed children of God.[199]

In modern Pauline studies there has been a tendency to downplay the place of the natural world. Few of the major Pauline and NT theologies have a section on the natural world in Paul or on the future state of the creation. For example, the theme is omitted in the NT theologies of F. C. Baur, Carl Holsten, J. C. K. Holtzmann, Milar Buroughs, O. Pfleiderer, A. Lemonnyer, M. Goguel, A. Richardson, M. Meinertz, Francis Amiot, J. C. K. von Hofmann, E. B. Allo, L. Cerfaux, Paul Feine, Rudolf Bultmann, W. G. Kümmel. C. A. A. Scott has a chapter on "Salvation: Its Consummation in the Future," but Rom. 8:19f is not mentioned nor is the future of creation.[200] Ferdinand Prat mentions creation and redemption and has an exposition of Rom. 8 and Col. 1. Yet, ironically, he says that Paul "nowhere speaks of a physical

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[199]Moltmann, *God in Creation*, 67-8.

[200]C. A. A. Scott, *Christianity According to St. Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927).

renovation of nature."[201] Charles Giblin explicitly rejects the idea that Paul has any concern for the transformation of creation.[202]

According to Rudolf Bultmann, the physical world has no place in the eschaton in Paul. In Rom. 8:19-22 Paul has lapsed into a Gnostic-type of fantasy of the cosmos, which has no meaning and portrays a future redemption in which Paul himself does not believe. He rejects the possibility that in Paul the future can be "conceived in terms of fantastic cosmic terms, despite all the apocalyptic imagery which has found its way into the New Testament."[203] Käsemann and Braaten note that existentialist theology such as Bultmann's individualizes salvation to such an extent that there is no room for any cosmic concern, nor does it leave any place for apocalyptic elements in Paul's thought. To speak of the natural world as part of one's eschatological hope is an expression of inauthentic faith. In the last day, humanity stands alone with God.[204]

In a survey of the theme of creation and redemption in modern treatments of Paul's theology, John Gibbs notes that one reason why many Pauline theologies have not included this theme is the difficulty of subsuming the ideas of the creation and its redemption under the integrating principle around which various scholars believe Paul's thought is built.[205] For example, it is quite difficult to fit it under "justification by faith."[206] Gibbs argues that

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[201]Ferdinand Prat, *The Theology of Saint Paul*, trans. John L. Stoddard (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1927), 238-9.

[202]Charles Homer Giblin, *In Hope of God's Glory. Pauline Theological Perspectives* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), 394-5.

[203]Rudolf Karl Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in Its Contemporary Setting* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 208, cf. pp. 178, 184, 186].

[204]Käsemann, *Romans*, 236; Carl E. Braaten, *Christ and Counter-Christ: Apocalyptic Themes in Theology and Culture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 122-4.

[205]Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 6-32.

[206]Nevertheless, Luther is quite balanced in his treatment of the redemption of creation, despite his major focus on justification by faith.

Cosmic Christology is a better integrating idea for Paul's thought, since it includes creation and redemption. Others have dealt with the theme by beginning with the work of God (e.g. Olaf Moe) or eschatology (e.g. B. Weiss, Albert Schweitzer).

There have been several exceptions to the trend to ignore the redemption of creation in Paul. Henry Carré (1914), for example, held that all that was lost in Adam must be restored through Christ. Since God's wrath was both cosmic and eschatological, so salvation for humankind must be cosmic and eschatological, being inseparably connected with the redemption of the world from Satan and his hosts.[207] Similarly, E. P. Sanders recognizes that while Paul's focus is on the salvation of humanity, Paul also explicitly affirms the ultimate redemption of the non-human cosmos.[208] Eduard Schweizer (1963) also argues that in Rom. 8, as in the whole of Romans, Paul is not mainly interested in the redemption of the individual, but of the whole cosmos.[209]

Albert Schweitzer (1931) built his interpretation of Paul on eschatology. He argued that Paul has the concept of a vast cosmic redemption, of which the believer's personal redemption is a part. The whole world is transferred from the perishable to the imperishable, with the believer sharing in this world event.[210] Nevertheless, Schweitzer weakened the force of this cosmic redemption by saying that Paul has demythologized the idea to an eschatological mysticism, in which redemption is already present for the believer. Thus Paul's mystical doctrine of the world is only symbolic, with the real focus of eschatological redemption being

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[207]Henry B. Carré, *Paul's Doctrine of Redemption* (New York: Macmillan, 1914), 40, 43.

[208]E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 468, 473-4.

[209]Eduard Schweizer, "The Church As the Missionary Body of Christ," in *Neotestamentica. Deutsche und Englische Aufsätze*, ed. Eduard Schweizer (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1963), 320.

[210]Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, trans. W. Montgomery and F. C. Burkitt (1930; reprint, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1931), 54, 66.

on the individual.[211]

A. M. Hunter (1954) argued that Paul thought in terms of cosmic redemption, not just personal eschatology. According to Hunter, in Rom. 8:19-22 Paul shows that our world is a fallen one, in which evidence of waste and futility abounds.[212] Paul's eschatology involves both realized and futurist elements: The end has come and Christ has triumphed over death in the cross and is now reigning, yet there will be a final cosmic consummation when Christ comes in glory.[213]

W. D. Davies refers to the natural world in several of his works on Paul and on biblical theology. While nature is mentioned less frequently in Paul than in the OT and the Gospels, Paul indicates that human disobedience can disrupt nature and that the Fall of Adam had cosmological significance. Since the universe was created for the sake of humanity, when Adam sinned the whole creation was involved in his corruption.[214] Similarly, redemption includes the cosmos, not simply human beings. Davies frequently mentions Rom. 8:19-22 in his discussion of these topics, particularly in *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (1955). His major contribution is in showing that there are many points of similarity between the Jewish apocalyptic writings and Paul on the corruption and redemption of creation. The Jewish writings, in fact, go much further than Paul in speculating on the exact nature of the corruption of creation. Judaism also connects cosmic redemption with the Messianic Age, much like Paul who connects it with the revealing of the children of God.[215]

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[211]Ibid., 74, 112.

[212]A. M. Hunter, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: SCM Press, 1955), 82.

[213]A. M. Hunter, "The Hope of Glory: The Relevance of Pauline Eschatology," *Int* 8 (1954): 131-5.

[214]W. D. Davies, *The New Creation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 54, 59; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*, Revised ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955), 37-9.

[215]Davies, *Paul*, 39-40; W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley: University of

Henry Shires (1966) says that Paul's eschatology has two aspects, individual and corporate, which are not antithetic but complementary. Paul's view of nature is a basic feature of his eschatology. The future consummation will mean not the destruction of the physical world but its transformation (Col. 1:20; 1 Cor. 15:28; Rom. 8:18-25). Shires argues that it is in the area of eschatology that Paul most clearly borrows from Judaism.[216]

Several major studies during the past quarter century have argued that the natural world plays a larger part in Pauline thought than has often been recognized. These scholars have shown that although it is not a central Pauline concept, it plays an important role in Paul's thought and influenced many other of his theological ideas.

One helpful recent work is the dissertation by Thomas Marberry (1982) on the theology of the natural world in Paul's letters. He notes three major themes in Paul's concept of the natural world: (1) Everything is created by God. (2) The universe is sustained by Christ and reflects something of God's nature and beneficent care, even though it is currently incomplete and subject to frustration and the presence of evil. (3) A time will come when nature will be renovated and perfected, with evil removed. Rom. 8:19-22 is one of the central passages from which Marberry draws the second and third propositions.[217] Marberry demonstrates that these concepts do not come from Hellenistic thought, but are closely related to a Jewish apocalyptic view of the creation, which developed from ideas found in the Old Testament prophets.[218]

Joseph Nelson's 1969 dissertation is the most significant study of Rom. 8:18-27 to date. He begins with an extensive history of interpretation of the passage, tracing two major

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California Press, 1974), 205.

[216]Henry M. Shires, *The Eschatology of Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 24, 28, 33-4.

[217]Marberry, 112-30.

[218]Ibid., 133-87.

approaches that appear throughout Church history: (1) an anthropocentric view, which sees human redemption in the passage, and (2) a cosmic view, which stresses the impact that the Fall had on the natural world and its eschatological redemption. He then does a detailed exegesis of the passage and major word studies of κτίσις and κόσμος, arguing that κτίσις in this passage refers to all of creation. In light of this meaning of κτίσις, Nelson argues for a cosmic interpretation of the passage, showing that Paul teaches a final redemption of the entire creation. He alludes to the Jewish background of the concepts in this passage, but he only quotes a few passages in an uncritical manner.[219]

John Gibbs has done some very insightful work on the theme of creation and redemption in the Pauline letters. In his monograph on creation and redemption in Paul (1971), he studies several significant Pauline passages, including Rom. 8:18-22,[220] and argues that the creation is essential to God's redemptive purposes. Gibbs holds that the universal Lordship of Christ is the central theme in Paul's theology. From this cosmic Christology flows several significant themes of creation and redemption: (1) God's redemptive action presupposes his work of creation. Redemption is no afterthought of the Fall, but the act of creation was the beginning of God's redemptive work. (2) God's redemptive activity includes the whole creation, not merely the souls of human beings. In Rom. 8:19f, κτίσις refers to the whole creation. (3) Rom. 8:19-22 teaches a solidarity between human beings and the natural world, which implies that the entire creation is affected both by humanity's fall and by humanity's redemption. (4) This solidarity results in human sin leading to the suffering of creation and to nature sharing in the glory of the redeemed. (5) Evil is a reality in the world and obstructs the mediating Lordship of Christ. The "futility" (ματαίοτης) echoes the "vanity" of Ecclesiastes and refers to the discord in the universe due to human rebellion against the Creator (Gen. 3:17).

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[219]Nelson, *Groaning*, 173-243.

[220]Also Rom. 1:18f; 5:12-21; 8:19-23, 38-39; Eph. 1:3-14; 1 Cor. 8:6; Phil. 2:6-11; Col. 1:13-20.

The powers of evil in the world that prompt people to worship false gods may also be in view (cf. 1 Cor. 8:6). (6) The redemption of the whole creation is not tangential to God's purposes, for Christ is Lord of all creation and took on the form of a servant to redeem all creation and bring it under his Lordship. Thus the basis of redemption is not human need so much as God's character, which is expressed in Christ's Lordship. Hence redemption involves the cosmic totality, since all was created for God's glory and is under Christ's Lordship. The material creation has worth not simply because of humanity, but because of God's grace, for it is something God made.[221] (7) Jesus' Lordship has two foci: the cosmic totality and the Church. Only as Jesus exercises his Lordship over the Church will evil in the cosmic totality be finally overcome.[222]

Gibbs argues that the function of Rom. 8:18-39 is to show evidences that suffering with Christ results in glorification with him, and so to provide motivation to live as debtors to the Holy Spirit. In vv. 19-22 the present waiting and eager longing of creation indicates that it will be set free from its bondage to decay into the freedom in the glory of the children of God. Thus the movement from suffering to glory of all creation attests to the reality of the same hope for believers. Conversely, the meaning of the present suffering of all creation (vv. 19, 22) is rooted in the waiting and hope of Christians for the redemption of their physical bodies (v. 23).

The fact that creation is subjected to hope suggests that there is no final duality between this world and the next, since the new creation represents a fulfillment of the old. Creation has always remained under the control of God and thus was never without hope. The background to Paul's concepts is in the OT and in the apocalyptic concept of humanity's solidarity with the rest of creation.

J. Christiaan Beker's important study of Pauline theology (1980) seeks to demonstrate

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[221]Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 33-47, 139-53.

[222]John G. Gibbs, "Interpretation of the Relation Between Creation and Redemption," *SJT* 21 (1968): 1.

that Paul's thought is fundamentally rooted in an apocalyptic perspective. He argues that the unifying concept in Paul is the apocalyptic conception of the "triumph of God," i.e. "the hope in the dawning victory of God and the imminent redemption of the created order, which he has inaugurated in Christ."[223] Rom. 8:17-39 is the most important confession of the triumph of God in Paul's letters. The apocalyptic theme of the suffering of the present age in contrast to the coming glory encompasses the entire creation, not simply believers (vv. 18-19). The Christian is compelled by the Spirit to look outside the Church to the groaning creation, which is in bondage to decay, since the Christian is still an integral part of the unredeemed creation and will be until the day of God's final deliverance (vv. 21, 23).[224] Paul's apocalyptic thinking intimately connects sin and death, so that cosmic death is the inevitable result of the sin of Adam (v. 20).[225] Paul also celebrates the ultimate cosmic triumph (vv. 21, 31-39), which is a certainty because God's sovereignty moves events from this present suffering to God's final triumph (vv. 29-30). Thus even suffering is not a tragic flaw in the universe, but serves a purpose in God's triumphal plan.[226]

3. Summary of Modern Views

The most important exegetical question that modern commentators have wrestled with in Rom. 8:19-22 is the meaning of κτίσις. As in the 19th century, the majority view is that it refers to the subhuman creation. A significant number of interpreters argue that the entire creation is in view. A few scholars, however, take the Augustinian position that it refers to humanity. The following table shows the diversity of modern interpretations:[227]

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[223]Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, ix, 36.

[224]Ibid., 363-6.

[225]Ibid., 222.

[226]Ibid., 363-6.

[227]Dates refer to the year of the author's Romans commentary or article on Rom. 8:19-22.

Table 12: Modern Views of the Meaning of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22

Person	Date	All Creation	Subhuman Nature	Subhuman and unbelievers	All Humanity	Unbelievers	Believers	Angels
Holzmann	1911		X					
Zahn	1925		X					
Bardenhewer	1926		X					
Lietzmmann	1933		X					
Barth	1933, 1959		1933		1959			
Gutbrod	1934				X			
Boylan	1934		X					
Lenski	1936		X					
Gaugler	1945		X					
Brunner	1946	sometimes				sometimes		
Nygren	1949	X						
Griffith	1949	X						
Fuchs	1949							X
Lagrange	1950		X					
Rust	1953	X						
Dodd	1954			X				
R. Knox	1954						X	
Michel	1955	X						
Hommel	1956						X	
Stacey	1957	X						
Barrett	1957	X						
Schlatter	1959				X			
Murray	1959		X					
W. Manson	1959		X					
Leenhardt	1961			X				
T. W. Manson	1962				X			
H. W. Schmidt	1962				X			
Bruce	1963	X						
Foerster	1964		X	sometimes				
Gerber	1966	X						
Loane	1968		X					
Nelson	1969	X	?					

Person	Date	All Creation	Subhuman Nature	Subhuman and unbelievers	All Humanity	Unbelievers	Believers	Angels
Vögtle	1970						X	
Gager	1970					X		
Gibbs	1971	X	?					
Reumann	1973						X	
Cranfield	1974		X					
D. Francis	1978		X					
Käsemann	1980		?	X				
Dunn	1988		X					
Moo	1991		X					
Fitzmyer	1993		X					

The question of who subjected creation to futility has reached more of a consensus in the modern era than in the 19th century. The majority of commentators believe it is God, although there is an important minority who see it as a reference to Adam. A few see it as a reference to humanity in general or Satan.

Despite the widespread acknowledgement in the commentaries that Rom. 8:19-22 describes the corruption and redemption of the natural world, Pauline theologies since F. C. Baur have rarely mentioned these themes. The natural world in general tends to be down-played in works on Pauline theology. In part, this is because of a preoccupation with finding a "center" around which all of Paul's theological concepts can be arranged and the difficulty of fitting the redemption of creation under an integrating category such as justification by faith, anthropology, being "in Christ" or Christology. Those who refer to the theme are frequently those who posit a center for Paul's thought that encompasses a concern for the non-human creation, such as the cosmic Christ (Gibbs), eschatology (A. Schweitzer, Moltmann) or the apocalyptic triumph of God (Beker). In particular Beker emphasizes the importance of Rom. 8:17-39, since he sees it as the most powerful confession of the triumph of God in Paul's letters and because the passage illustrates the apocalyptic themes that Beker believes are

central to Paul's thought. Other Pauline scholars who have recognized the importance of the cosmic dimensions of Paul's thought include Hunter, Carré, Davies, Marberry, Nelson and Gibbs. The numerous Pauline theologies that fail to consider the corruption and redemption of the natural world perpetuate the asymmetrical theology of redemption that has characterized much of Church history.

4. Excursus: The Corruption and Redemption of Creation in Works on Theology of Nature

In the last half of the 20th century there has been a greatly increased interest in developing a theological perspective on the natural world. Prior to 1950 there was very little interest in nature among Christian theologians and when the topic of nature was considered in the early 20th century, often the major interest was in natural theology. A prime example is William Temple's massive work *Nature, God and Man*. Temple seeks to set out a natural theology of God, humanity, the human relationship to God, ethics and nature, with these topics explored purely as a science, without any reliance on scriptural revelation. It is not surprising, therefore, that Temple makes no mention of the corruption of creation due to the Fall or to an eschatological redemption of creation.[228]

Early hints of a change began in the 1950's. Eric Rust wrote in 1953 an important study of the biblical theology of nature. He deals with such topics as the creation of the world, the purpose of nature, God's activity in nature, humanity's place in the natural order and the final state of nature. Rust's work is insightful, though at times he groups all biblical authors into one monolithic stance. He includes an extensive section on the view of nature in Second Temple Judaism and notes that Paul closely follows this view. Unlike many later works on a theology of nature, Rust has a lengthy discussion of the corruption and redemption of

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[228]William Temple, *Nature, Man, and God. Being the Gifford Lectures Delivered in the University of Glasgow in the Academic Years 1932-1933 and 1933-1934* (London: Macmillan, 1949), 4. Although Temple accepts some type of fall and evil in humanity (pp. 356-377), he never looks at the implications of human sin on the natural world.

creation, with an emphasis on NT passages such as Rom. 8:19-22; 1:19-25; Eph. 1:10, Col. 1:20 and the book of Revelation. The world was created good and was designed to display God's glory. Now, however, it is fallen and corrupted, and the reflection of God's glory is restricted. The created world suffers and decays due to human sin. It is also subject to demonic powers who use it for their purposes. Yet the eschatological hope of the Bible is that creation will be redeemed and all created things will glorify God (Rom. 8:22; Rev. 5:13) The present material order will not be destroyed but transformed. Redeemed humanity will dwell in this transformed earth and glorify God in their resurrection bodies.[229]

Charles Raven in the early 1950's wrote a book discussing the history of Christian views of nature and natural religion. In his discussion of Rom. 8:19-23, Raven takes the unusual position that the travail of creation refers to the Spirit of God actively co-operating with the creatures in the process of evolution, which will one day give birth to the children of God. Since Paul does not have a doctrine of the Fall, the frustration and imperfection of creation is due to God's decree and purpose, not to any act of Satan or human beings.[230]

Later in the 1950's W. D. Stacey wrote several journal articles on nature, including one on Rom. 8:19-22. While nature may reveal God, it does not always do so, and so many Christian beliefs cannot be known through nature. According to several biblical writers (including Paul in Rom. 8), the Fall of Adam had an impact on the natural world, with the result that the world is no longer as God created it. Thus the noxious element in nature is the result of the divine curse for Adam's rebellion (Gen. 3:17-19). This fallen creation awaits its redemption, when God will regenerate nature and return it to its original perfection (Rom. 8:19-22; Mt. 19:28; Is. 11; Lev. 26:3-6).[231]

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[229]Rust, *Nature and Man in Biblical Thought*, 232-9, 275-89.

[230]Charles E. Raven, *Natural Religion and Christian Theology. The Gifford Lectures, 1951. First Series: Science and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 19, 34-6.

[231]W. David Stacey, "The Christian View of Nature," *ExpTim* 67 (1956): 364-6; Stacey,

Stacey finds it difficult to accept that nature became fallen due to the Fall of Adam. He argues that nature existed in its contradictory state before the human race came on the scene. While the Fall had some effect on nature (e.g. the ground was cursed), the primary problem was due to the strife between the powers of light and darkness before the creation of the material world. The world, as well as humanity, became a battleground, and both were dragged into corruption and futility. So Stacey finds it helpful to recognize that redemption is not limited simply to humanity. As Rom. 8 indicates, the redemption of the children of God will be the means for the redemption of nature. The work of Christ has cosmic dimensions in overcoming evil. Although we may not know the exact causal connection, the redemption of humanity will be the signal for the great transformation of creation.[232]

The real boom in writings on a theology of nature began in the 1960's and 1970's. During this time there was a growing interest in developing what Braaten calls an "eco-theology," i.e. "a theology of nature that takes into account the developing ecological crisis-consciousness."[233] Several factors can account for this trend: (1) Braaten observes the general trend of theology since World War II to move from existential theology toward political themes (e.g. theology of revolution, liberation, etc.).[234] (2) Reumann notes the frequent imbalance that traditional theology has in its treatment of the tension between creation and redemption in the roles of God and Christ. Sittler observes that even redemption is considered almost exclusively from the perspective of humanity. Some theologians are seeking to redress these imbalances and explore the implications of the creative role of Christ and the impact of the work of Christ on creation as a whole.[235] (3) Most importantly, this interest among

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"Paul's Certainties," 178-81.

[232]Stacey, "Nature," 366-7.

[233]Braaten, 119.

[234]Ibid., 119-20.

[235]Joseph Sittler, "Called to Unity," *Ecumenical Review* 14, no. 2 (January 1962): 175-87;

theologians reflects the changing views in Western society at large. Braaten notes that technological advancement has resulted in a greater interest among westerners in the world we live in. The interest in ecological theology in the 1960's and 1970's paralleled the developing concern in the western world about ecology and damage to the environment.[236]

Joseph Sittler was one of the most important pioneers in developing a theology of nature. In his 1961 address to the World Council of Churches he noted that traditionally the realm of grace has been restricted to human salvation. He called for a consideration of the cosmic dimensions of Christology.[237] This theme is developed further in his later works where he looks at God's grace at work in nature, as taught in both OT and NT. Due to the interrelatedness of all things, theological and ethical discussions must include ecology. The NT (especially the Gospels, Ephesians, Colossians and Romans) teaches a cosmic Christology, in which the work of Christ involves all of creation. Christ is the agent of, present in, and the goal and meaning of all that is. Rom. 8:19-22 is a key passage showing the meaning of redemption for the whole creation.[238]

The Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches (of which Sittler was a member until 1966) soon responded to Sittler's call for a consideration of the doctrine of grace in light of the human place in the nature. In 1964, the commission proposed to study the theme "Creation, New Creation, and the Unity of the Church."[239] This eventually culminated in their 1967 paper, "God in Nature and History," which was largely written by Hen-

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Reumann, 7-11.

[236]Ibid.

[237]Sittler, "Unity," 175-87.

[238]Joseph Sittler, *Essays on Nature and Grace* (Philadephia: Fortress Press, 1972), 37-8, 45-8, 88-9, 113; cf. Joseph Sittler, *The Ecology of Faith* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1961).

[239]World Council of Churches, *Commission on Faith and Order Paper Number 44* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1965), p. 43.

drikus Berkof. This study primarily takes a biblical theology approach, though it also asks some questions regarding the relationship between Christian faith and modern technology. While this study is broad in its treatment of biblical themes, it has several important observations relevant to the corruption and redemption of creation: (1) The "creation" in Rom. 8:19-22 includes both humanity and non-human nature, which stresses the unity between human and non-human creation. Humanity is part of nature (Gen. 1, 2:7; 1 Cor. 15:47) and is nurtured by nature, though it is also master of nature and guides and transforms nature (Gen. 1:26-28). (2) Human freedom and responsibility imply the possibility of sin. The biblical teaching is that creation is fallen (Gen. 3; Rom. 5). This is an implication of the unity between humanity and nature, and of the decisive role that humanity plays in nature. Thus there is a tragic element in God's creation. While some suffering is part of providence as the "futility" of the creation (Rom. 8:20; 1 Cor. 15:45), much evil, suffering and death is the result of human sin. This is in contrast to a scientific worldview that says that death, strife and suffering are inherent in life.

(3) The Church needs a renewed concept of the consummation, which includes the renewal of the world according to the new humanity in Christ. Consummation is a higher work than creation, for it will involve more than merely restoring the original pre-Fall situation. Paul does not explicitly describe the future glory of the non-human creation, beyond calling it "liberty" (Rom. 8:21). The biblical view of history, however, is not circular (Paradise regained), since the new creation is bringing the world to its ultimate goal. The common misconception is that this world will be destroyed, but this is not true in even the most apocalyptic of NT passages. The new world will have both continuity and discontinuity with the present one. There is continuity in that the new world will involve a glorious unfolding of what God has begun in history through his Son and the Spirit. In contrast with a Jewish apocalyptic outlook, however, the new age is not totally separated from the old age. Nevertheless, there is discontinuity, since the world has to be renewed and recreated according to the new humanity

of the risen Lord.[240]

Karl Heim's 1962 book compares scientific views and biblical views of the nature and origin of the universe and humanity's place in the universe. He argues that the whole creation is fallen and pervaded by an unsatisfied need. There is an evil in the plant and animal world, so that living creatures must often devour each other to live. Nature is corrupted due to the activity of Satanic power, not a curse resulting from the Fall. The future transformation of the world will affect all creatures and the very essence of creation, so that there will be an end to the polar laws in which death and warfare between creatures rule. Christ's own Resurrection to a state free from corruption is the firstfruits of this dramatic change.[241]

C. F. D. Moule in 1964 gave a series of lectures at the University of London on nature in the NT, which he later expanded into a small book. He argues that one implication of the image of God is that humanity is a vice-gerent of God, given dominion over nature to use it responsibly. Due to this position of delegated responsibility and power, the sins of human beings impact the natural world. The OT frequently shows the effect of human sin on the natural world, both due to the Fall (Gen. 3) and due to ongoing sin (Hos. 2:21-23; Job 5:17-23; Is. 11, etc.). As long as humanity fails to play the role assigned by God, nature will be frustrated and dislocated. The NT view is similar, although the theme is not as common as it is in the OT.

Concerning Rom. 8:19 Moule says, "creation was subjected to frustration . . . because of Adam's sin which pulled down nature with it, since God had created Adam to be in close connection with nature." Paul is almost "Franciscan" in his sensitive awareness of the rapport between humanity and nature. The major difference between the NT and the OT view is that

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[240]World Council of Churches, "God in Nature and History," in *God, History, and Historians. Modern Christian Views of History*, ed. C. T. McIntire (New York: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1977), 303-4, 306-9, 311-3, 323-4.

[241]Heim, 103-9, 125, 135-6.

the NT focuses on Christ's role in restoring the proper relationship of redeemed humanity to the rest of the world. The NT applies Ps. 8 to Christ, indicating that all things will be placed in subjection under Christ. Since redeemed humanity is summed up in Christ, humanity will be restored to its proper role in creation due to Christ's work (1 Cor. 15:25-28; Heb. 2:6-8). Only as human beings fulfill their proper place in relationship with God will the dislocations of nature be removed.

Moule believes that such OT descriptions of the transformation of nature as the wolf lying down with the lamb are metaphorical and not to be taken literally. Even at the lowest level of nature death is to be found, for the body defends itself constantly against attack from microbes. The transformation of creation, therefore, will not end death in nature or change predators into herbivores, but will eliminate the abuses of nature. So "futility" in Rom. 8:20 refers to the human abuse of nature that will one day be reversed, liberating the ecological system.[242]

G. W. H. Lampe has a similar perspective in his 1964 article on the NT doctrine of κτίσις. While acknowledging that Paul has the Fall of Adam in mind in Rom. 8:20, he finds it unacceptable to say that decay in nature and physical death are a result of the Fall. These are part of the original created order and therefore good. Only for human beings is death abnormal. Nevertheless, he argues that the lower creation is frustrated in its development because humanity is not fulfilling its intended role of mediating God's creating and sustaining work to the creation.[243]

Richard Means noted in a 1968 article that most branches of Christian theology have failed to develop an adequate theology of the relationship between humanity and nature. The death of God camp simply pretends that nature (as well as God) does not exist. Traditional

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[242]C. F. D. Moule, *Man and Nature in the New Testament. Some Reflections on Biblical Ecology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 3-12.

[243]Lampe, "New Testament Doctrine," 457-8, 461.

Protestant theology, as based on Luther and Calvin, creates a sharp dualism between nature and supernature. The natural theology approach is not so much a theology of nature as a search for support for morals through the natural world. The vast literature on the relationship between religion and science is mainly concerned with epistemology.[244] Gordon Kaufman, in fact, argues that the theological problem of nature goes to the roots of the Christian faith and cannot be changed without upsetting the inner logic of the system. Biblical theology is anthropocentric and nature has significance only as it mirrors aspects of the human predicament or relationship with God.[245]

One of the most important writers on a theology of nature is Paul Santmire. He began in 1966 with a dissertation on Karl Barth's doctrine of creation, and he has continued over the past two decades with several articles and books on ecological theology.[246] Santmire calls for an ecological reading of biblical theology, in contrast to the more typical anthropocentric approach. He argues that the Bible has three root metaphors: (1) a metaphor of ascent, which focuses on the relationship of human beings to God, (2) a metaphor of migration to a good land, and (3) a metaphor of fecundity. Furthermore, the Bible can be read in terms of two major motifs: (1) a spiritual motif, which emphasizes the metaphor of ascent, where the human spirit rises above nature to have communion with God, and (2) an ecological motif, which emphasizes the themes of migration to a good land and fecundity. This latter motif sees the human spirit rooted in the world of nature and celebrates God's presence "in, with and

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[244]Richard L. Means, "Man and Nature: The Theological Vacuum," *Christian Century* 85 (1968): 579-81.

[245]Gordon Kaufman, "A Problem for Theology: The Concept of Nature," *HTR* 65 (1962): 337-66.

[246]H. Paul Santmire, "Creation and Nature: A Study of the Doctrine of Nature with Special Attention to Karl Barth's Doctrine of Creation" (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 1966); *Travail*; "New Theology of Nature," *Lutheran Quarterly* 20 (1968):290-308; *Brother Earth. Nature, God, and Ecology in a Time of Crisis* (Camden, N.J.: Thomas Nelson, 1970); "Ecology and Ethical Ecumenics." *Anglican Theological Review* 59 (1977):98-101.

under" the whole created order as the context in which a life of obedience to God is to be pursued.[247] Santmire shows that throughout Church history one or the other of these approaches has dominated, and only rarely have the two been held in balance. The majority of theologians have taken an anthropological approach, which stresses the spiritual motif and sees nature as simply the backdrop for God's dealings with humanity in history.[248]

Santmire wants to read Scripture in terms of the ecological motif, which stresses God and humanity being with nature rather than over against nature. He traces this motif through the OT and NT and shows that it is present in all parts of the Bible except for John and Hebrews, where the spiritual motif dominates. In the OT the land plays a central role in the life of Israel, which emphasizes the metaphors of fecundity and migration to a good land. In many of the prophets the stress is on an eschatological renewal of the whole earth, which will overflow with fecundity. Throughout the OT God is the creator and sustainer of all things. Even Israel's election theology need not be viewed as primarily anthropocentric. For their relationship with Yahweh is not simply with the Lord of Israel, but first and foremost an encounter with "the Lord of Heaven and earth," who graciously delivers the people and calls them to obedience.

Santmire argues that most of the NT is in continuity with the "prophetic-apocalyptic tradition." The NT is shaped by the ecological motif, but viewed eschatologically. Thus in Jesus' teachings in the Synoptic Gospels, God cares for all of creation and the kingdom of God encompasses the fullness of creation, not simply humanity. The future of the kingdom will involve the renewal of the whole creation. Christ's authority is over all things in heaven and earth. Paul similarly carries on the prophetic-apocalyptic theme of the renewal of all creation. Rom. 8:19-22 is one of the most important passages showing this theme. 2 Peter and

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[247]Santmire, *Travail*, 9, 181-183, 189.

[248]Santmire, *Travail*, 31-179; *Creation and Nature*, 11-66.

Revelation also have a strong view of the role of the earth in the eschaton. The Lordship of Christ is universal, since he created and sustains all things and one day all things will return to him (Rom. 11:36; 1 Cor. 8:6; 15:22-28; Phil 3:21). Colossians and Ephesians show the cosmic Lordship of Christ to an even fuller extent (e.g. Col. 1:15-20; Eph. 1:10; 3:10).[249] While Santmire may overstate the case for the centrality of the ecological motif in the Bible, his work is an important contribution that draws attention to these often overlooked themes.

In 1971 the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a committee within the Doctrine Commission of the Church of England to study the relevance of Christian doctrine to the problem of the relationship of humanity and the environment. Hugh Montefiore, A. M. Allchin, Don Cupitt, Mary Hesse, John Macquarrie and A. R. Peacock contributed to the report (1975), which looks at biblical, historical, theological and ethical issues related to ecology. While Rom. 8:19-22 is only mentioned briefly, several theological issues are raised that are relevant to the passage. God created everything good and despite the reality of sin, the world remains the good creation of God. Nature has a sacramental character, in that it functions symbolically to reveal God and is an instrument that He uses to fulfill His purposes. They reject the idea that the Fall of Adam had any impact on the natural world. Floods, droughts, earthquakes, parasites and carnivores are part of an orderly but unfinished universe in the process of evolving to maturity. Nevertheless, because of the intimate interdependence between humanity and its environment, evils committed by sinful people do have an impact on the environment and as a result nature has become distorted compared to God's good purposes. Nature, however, is experiencing the birth pangs of a new world (Rom. 8:22), as the Holy Spirit leads the world toward a fulfillment that we cannot yet grasp. The NT speaks of universal salvation and restoration of all things. Not only humanity but the rest of creation will be caught up in the New Heaven and new Earth as all things return to God from whence they came. It is

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[249]Santmire, *Travail*, 189-214.

difficult to understand a bodily resurrection that does not involve the world of which the human body is a part.[250]

One of the articles in the Anglican commission report is by John Baker on the biblical view of nature. While the NT has relatively little on nature compared to the OT, it affirms the basic OT view that nature is part of God's created order (Heb. 11:3; Acts 17:24-28) and is good (Mt. 6:26; 10:29; 6:28f; Rom. 14:14) and it shows a positive concern for animals (Lk. 13:15; 15:4; Mt. 12:11). Yet there is also a minor tone of pessimism and anxiety, which reflects a general attitude of the Mediterranean world at the time. In the Jewish world this appeared in apocalyptic literature as a despair that the world is evil and an expectation of a cataclysmic work of God to banish evil and establish a new world order. In Rom. 8:19-22 Paul accepts the apocalyptic view that the world is in "bondage to decay" and the whole creation "groans in travail." But he modifies this view by saying that God put the creation in this state and will deliver it when the children of God are complete. Paul agrees with the sense of deep seated corruption and bondage to Fate in the whole created order that was commonly accepted in his day. But he adds a better answer to the problem. It is not that the world of nature is redeemed along with human souls to live in harmony in the Kingdom of God on earth, but that those who believe in Jesus are spiritually liberated and await the total remaking of the cosmos by God's own hand.[251]

In a 1977 journal article, Hugh Montefiore, the head of the Anglican commission on nature, criticizes traditional western theology for thinking of redemption only in terms of human souls. He wants to broaden redemption to include the material world. The future hope for the kingdom of God is to "come on earth as in heaven." Montefiore's concept of the

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[250]Hugh Montefiore et al., "Man and Nature. The Report," in *Man and Nature*, ed. Hugh Montefiore (London: Collins, 1975), 35-6, 38, 41, 59, 61-4; John Austin Baker, "Biblical Attitudes to Nature," in *Man and Nature*, ed. Hugh Montefiore (London: Collins, 1975), 87-109.

[251]Ibid., 102-9.

redemption of the earth, however, is not an eschatological climactic act of God as much as an historical process whereby the people of God act as co-redeemers with God, restoring the damaged earth. He has a strong evolutionary approach in which the soul emerged from matter that was a potentiality in the primeval atoms.[252]

George Hendry's 1980 book is one of the few full scale studies of the theology of nature to explore seriously the implications of Rom. 8:19-22 and to look at the future of creation in light of biblical theology.[253] His theology of nature combines insights from religion, philosophy and science. He argues that a theology of nature must study the place, meaning and purpose of nature in the plan of God in both creation and redemption. Rom. 8:18-22 is an important guide for the Christian perception of nature. The passage shows the solidarity between humanity and the rest of nature, which are involved in a common history. Thus both human sin and human redemption have a significant impact on the whole cosmos. Viewed in itself apart from its destiny, nature reflects a sense of futility in its endless repetition of the same processes on a treadmill getting nowhere. The effects of human sin impact the whole of nature. Gen. 3 shows that when humanity falls out with God, the whole world is afflicted. Rom. 8:20 shows that the non-human part of creation (κτίσις) was subjected by God to the futility of a repetitious and wearisome routine due to the Fall of Adam. Christians, however, must see the world with hope in light of its ultimate destiny. Nature reflects an inner tension in its present state (v. 22). The groanings of creation, which express its present futility, also are the birth pangs of the new creation, which point to the expectation of the glorious destiny for which it was created. It is only as nature is viewed in light of the Gospel that this can be seen. The redemption of creation will not involve a transformation of the structure of the world (as if the groaning was for a deliverance from an inferior design) or a return of all finite things

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[252]Hugh Montefiore, "Man and Nature: A Theological Assessment," *Zygon* 12 (1977): 203-4, 206-8.

[253]George Stuart Hendry, *Theology of Nature* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980).

to the infinite God. Rather it means the completion of the goodness for which everything was created.

The liberation of Christians is a paradigm for the ultimate liberation of all of creation, (v. 19; cf. Is. 11:6f). Thus humanity occupies the pivotal role in God's purposes for the whole creation. This should enlarge our conception of ourselves to see our profound responsibility for the care of the natural world. Nature looks to humanity as the instrument for her own redemption. A good model for the NT (especially Pauline) conception of redemption is a set of three concentric circles. The center circle is Christ, which is the focus of the Christian faith. The next circle is humanity, which centers on participation in Christ for its own redemption. The outer circle is the rest of creation, which will experience a glorious renewal as humanity is redeemed and assumes its proper place in God's order and Christ's Lordship impacts the whole creation (Rom. 8: 21; 1 Cor. 15:23-28; Eph 1:22; 3:10; Col. 1:15-20).[254]

Douglas Hall's 1986 book on ecological biblical theology responds to the frequent accusation that Christianity is to blame for the ecological crisis due to the teaching that humanity has dominion over the rest of creation. The Bible has often been read in a way that restricts salvation to the purely spiritual dimension and devalues nature. A better reading sees the fate of nature at the core of the Gospel as an implication of the universal Lordship of Christ. The proper governance of the world is a human responsibility. This role is one of stewardship and accountability for the welfare of the world, rather than possession or mastery. Our proper relationship to nature is an aspect of the image of God. The responsibility of human beings is to image the Creator, which leads to a reinterpretation of the concept of dominion over nature. Taking Jesus as the model, he argues that it means sacrificial service of those for whom one is responsible. Paul's "apocalyptic theology" is rich with ecological themes, such as the groaning of creation, the final redemption of the world (Rom. 8:19, 21) and the universal Lordship of Christ. While ecological themes are on the periphery, they

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[254]Ibid., 187-9, 194, 204-7, 210-1, 213-21.

cannot be ignored as has often been done. While the Bible speaks of the superiority of human beings over nature, it also emphasizes the solidarity between humanity and the world and thus there are passages denouncing sins against property and animals. Our concept of Christian love must be broadened to include not only God and human beings but also nature, since a love for God implies a love for his creation.[255]

A similar stewardship approach is taken by Lawrence Osborne in his 1990 book on a theology of environmentalism. He discusses several biblical passages and some ethical implications for Christians of the human stewardship of creation. Rom. 8:18-25 shows that "the non-human part of creation is not merely a dispensable backdrop to the human drama of salvation history but is itself able to share in the 'glorious liberty' that Paul envisions for the covenental community. What we have here is a Christological and pneumatological (and, hence trinitarian) transformation of the Old Testament concept of human dominion."[256]

Although in recent decades there have been an increasing number of works on the theology of nature, many of the major works have little interest in eschatology or in the biblical themes of the corruption and redemption of creation. Even many who mention these themes fail to discuss Rom. 8:19-22. The report by the Anglican commission on theology and the environment (1975) mentioned above only mentions Rom. 8:22 once, even ignoring the passage in the essay on the biblical view. Eschatology plays an insignificant role in this study. John Carmody's 1983 study of the theology of nature is a Catholic perspective that combines concepts from Tao and Bhuddism. His biblical survey, however, makes no mention of Rom. 8:19ff or eschatological passages such as Is. 65, 2 Pet. 3 or the book of Revelation. W. A. Whitehouse (1964) focuses on a theological method for developing a theology of nature. He

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[255]Douglas John Hall, *Imaging God. Dominion As Stewardship* (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1986), 41-50,, 53, 82, 129-30, 165-7, 172-3, 184-98.

[256]Lawrence Osborne, *Stewards of Creation. Environmentalism in the Light of Biblical Teaching* (Oxford: Latimer House, 1990), 36.

argues for a balance between scientific insights and biblical revelation, but the scientific method takes priority.[257] Peacock has a sacramental view of nature's manifestation of God, which is heavily based on William Temple's work on natural theology. The redemption of nature involves a process of continual evolution as an outworking of God's creative process.[258]

Many of the recent works on a theology of nature and ecological ethics have been from a process theology perspective. Process theologians such as John Cobb, Charles Birch and Ian Barbour have written works on a theology of nature and ecology.[259] These theologians derive their thought from the metaphysics of Alfred North Whitehead, who argued that reality is a dynamic process in which the entire universe, including God, is constantly evolving and improving itself. According to process theology, every event in the universe is the result of a complex interaction of God, past causes and individual self-realization. Nature, humanity and God are united and interdependent like a living organism. While God is the greater mover, persuader and giver of aims, he is also a fullfledged member of the community of beings, moved by all things and the great participator in life.[260]

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[257]W. A. Whitehouse, "Towards a Theology of Nature," *SJT* 17 (1964): 129-45.

[258]A. R. Peacock, "A Sacramental View of Nature," in *Man and Nature*, ed. Hugh Montefiore (London: Collins, 1975), 140-1.

[259]John B. Cobb, Jr., *Is It Too Late? A Theology of Ecology* (Beverly Hills, Ca.: Bruce, 1972); L. Charles Birch, "Nature, Humanity and God in Ecological Perspective," in *Faith and Science in an Unjust World: Report of the World Council of Churches' Conference on Faith, Science and the Future*, ed. Roger Shinn (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1960), 1:62-73; L. Charles Birch, *Nature and God* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965). For a thorough critique of the Process Theology approach to nature, see Claude Stewart, *Nature in Grace: A Study in the Theology of Nature*, NABPR Dissertation Series, no. 3 (Macon, Ga.: Mercer Univerisity Press, 1983).

[260]The seminal work is Alfred North Whitehead, *The Concept of Nature* (1920; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930). Cf. Harold K. Schilling, "The Whole Earth Is the Lord's. Toward a Holistic Ethic," in *Earth Might Be Fair. Reflections on Ethics, Religion, and Ecology*, ed. Ian G. Barbour (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 120-2; John B. Cobb, Jr., *A Christian Natural Theology. Based on the Thought of Alfred North Whitehead* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965); Ian G. Barbour, Introduction to *Earth Might Be Fair. Reflections on Ethics, Religion, and Ecology*, ed. Ian G. Barbour (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall,

Process theologians derive a basis for ecological ethics from these concepts. For example, Harold Schilling calls for a holistic ethical stance that recognizes the interrelatedness of all things and thus extends the biblical ethic of love for neighbor to include love for nature. Our model is God who is aware of the "groaning of nature" and shows his love for the lilies of the field by clothing them.[261]

Barbour is typical of process theologians when he argues that our modern ecological problems will not be resolved by technological solutions alone, nor by the rejection of technology, but by a technological solution guided by more sensitive religious views and ethical motivations. The new attitude toward nature should come from 3 sources: (1) biblical themes such as stewardship and the intrinsic value of all creation; (2) scientific insights such as nature as a dynamic process, the interdependence of living things and man as a part of nature; and (3) philosophy, in particular process philosophy, contemporary theology, and oriental traditions. Barbour's interdisciplinary theology of nature emphasizes the unity and interdependence of humanity and nature, while recognizing their diversity. Like all process theologians, Barbour stresses God's immanence in nature. All nature is a dynamic and creative process in which creation is a continuing work, not a one time act of God at the beginning of time. Barbour is heavily indebted to Whitehead and Teilhard de Chardin in this aspect of his thought.[262]

Barbour also draws on biblical themes much more than many other process thinkers. He notes the biblical teaching that nature was created by God and is therefore essentially good. While the creation story justifies human power over creation, a one sided emphasis on

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1972), 8-9.

[261]Schilling, 109.

[262]Barbour, "Introduction," 1-12; "Attitudes Toward Nature and Technology," in *Earth Might be Fair. Reflections on Ethics, Religion, and Ecology*, edited by Ian G. Barbour (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp. 152-158; "An Ecological Ethic," *Christian Century* 87 (1970):1184-1190.

this has often led to the subjugation of the environment. The corrective is to stress the often ignored biblical themes of the responsibility of humanity for nature, not as dominion but as stewardship, and the intrinsic value of nature in itself, not simply as an instrument for human purposes. Barbour also recognizes the biblical teaching that nature will participate in the final human redemption (Is. 11:6; Rom. 8:19-22), which flows out of the unity between humanity and nature. Nevertheless, he argues that there is an underlying negative element in Paul, which was developed more in the early centuries of Christian thought into Gnosticism and asceticism, which see the world as evil and place the primary hope in the next world.[263]

Despite the abundant writings on a theology of nature from the process perspective, process theologians tend to show little interest in the biblical or Pauline teachings on the corruption and redemption of creation. Barbour is unusual in his willingness to place some value on the biblical teachings on nature, while holding largely to a process perspective. Nevertheless, even for Barbour this is a minor and muted aspect of his thought. Process theologians generally have no place for the corruption of creation and they conceive of the redemption of creation as a process in which God gives life to all things and in which all things evolve to a more perfect state.[264] This is an historical process in which God works from within, rather than the climactic eschatological event Paul speaks of in Rom. 8:19-22.

Teilhard de Chardin's approach is a philosophical theology of nature influenced by process thought and scientific evolutionary concepts. Teilhard agrees with Paul that the Fall of humanity affected the whole universe.[265] He sees sin as a statistical necessity stemming from disorder. When Paul says that creation was subjected to vanity (Rom. 8:20), he is

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[263]Ian G. Barbour, "Attitudes Toward Nature and Technology," in *Earth Might Be Fair. Reflections on Ethics, Religion, and Ecology*, ed. Ian G. Barbour (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 147-50.

[264]E.g. Schilling, 120-2.

[265]Teilhard de Chardin, "Note sur le Christ universel", in *Oeuvres de Pierre Teilhard de Chardin* 9:14.

referring to this tendency for matter to decay to disorder according to the second law of thermodynamics. Thus sin is more of a state than an act.[266] At the same time there is a continual cosmic process of evolution governed by the law of "complexity consciousness," by which everything is developing toward higher organization and more intense forms of consciousness. In the midst of the dying physical cosmos, life and consciousness are gradually emerging and intensifying. Evolution is now ready for the next great step forward, which is the development of sheer personalized spirit, which will only happen through the proper use of human consciousness. The exalted resurrected Christ is the central point of the whole universe and His role is to draw all things to Himself ("plethorization"). When Christ reaches His own fullness, His highly intensified, spiritualized body will be the only remnant of material reality. All biophysical reality will die a death of heatlessness and disintegrate toward nothingness. Human reality will be transfigured into the white spiritual heat of ultimate love in the fullness of Christ, united with Christ as the head of the body. Then the process of evolution will cease. Thus while Teilhard wants to affirm the goodness and beauty of the material world, its goodness is not in itself, but only as it draws humanity toward its ultimate spiritual destiny.[267]

While on the surface some of Teilhard's ideas appear similar to those found in Paul, he also imports philosophical and scientific views of nature that would have been foreign in the first century. Teilhard agrees with Paul that human sin damages the entire universe. While his explanation of the nature of sin as the inherent state of disorder in matter is not Pauline, a tendency toward disorder is a plausible interpretation of the vanity resulting from sin (Rom.

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[266]Robert L. Faricy, "Teilhard De Chardin's Theology of Redemption," *TS* 27 (1966): 555-7, 561.

[267]Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Hymn of the Universe*, trans. Simon Bartholomew (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 65; *The Future of Man*, trans. Norman Denny (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 267-268; *Man's Place in the Universe*, trans. René Hague (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 22, 79; cf. Santmire, *Travail*, 157-64; Henri de Lubac, *The Religion of Teilhard De Chardin*, trans. René Hague (London: William Collins, 1967), 142.

8:20). He emphasizes with Paul that God will work through Christ to redeem the cosmos, not simply individual human beings. On the other hand, he sees the transformation of the world to be an evolutionary process, rather than a climactic eschatological act of God as found in Rom. 8:19-22, which is more in keeping with the OT and Jewish apocalyptic literature.[268] Furthermore, in contrast to the Jewish and Pauline view, in the final analysis all matter will be destroyed, when spirit reaches its full evolution and integration with the cosmic Christ. To a large extent, the points of contact between Paul and Teilhard are more incidental than resulting from a fundamental agreement of perspective.

This survey shows that most modern approaches to a theology of nature are asymmetrical in their view of the corruption and redemption of creation. They stress the goodness of God's creation, although they recognize that the natural world is damaged by human ecological irresponsibility. Although they usually try to extend redemption to the natural world, many theologians seek the transformation of nature through human moral actions and evolutionary advancement, rather than by a climactic eschatological act of God. Few modern theologies of nature give serious consideration to Rom. 8:19-22 or biblical teachings about the corruption and eschatological redemption of the natural world. Barbour is rare among process theologians in his attempt to give a hearing to biblical passages such as Rom. 8:19-22. Other important exceptions include the theological works by Rust, Sittler, Hendry, Hall and Osborne as well as biblical theology essays by Stacey and C. F. D. Moule. These authors attempt to give serious consideration to biblical passages on the corruption and eschatological redemption of creation through divine intervention, yet with a view to modern ecological concerns. In particular, Hall and Osborne are suggestive of further work that could be done to develop a theology of nature rooted in a biblical perspective of creation and redemption, yet with ethical applications for the ecological problems of Western industrialized society.

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[268]Teilhard, *Future*, 267-268; *Man's Place*, 22, 79. Cf. the critiques of Teilhard by Faricy, 559-60 and Nelson, *Groaning*, Ü263-268.

CHAPTER 2:

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON THE APOCALYPTIC BACKGROUND TO ROMANS 8:19-22

A. Characteristics of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

1. The Difficulty of Defining "Apocalyptic"

"Apocalyptic" is a notoriously difficult term to define. To reduce the confusion, it has become commonplace in apocalyptic research to distinguish apocalyptic theology from the literary genre. Usually the terms "apocalypse" or "apocalyptic literature" are used for the literary form, "apocalyptic eschatology" is used for the perspective and theological ideas of apocalyptic literature, and "apocalypticism" refers to the sociological ideology or movement that spawned these ideas.[1] At times the term "apocalyptic" is conveniently used to refer to all three aspects, but it is helpful to recognize that several distinct aspects are intertwined in the term.

Although much of what is distinctive in apocalyptic literature is eschatological, it is too narrow to limit the distinctive features of apocalyptic thought simply to eschatology.[2] John

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[1]Hanson, "Apocalyptic, Genre," pp. 29-30; Collins, "Introduction," 3; Philipp Vielhauer, "Introduction [to Apocalypses and Related Subjects]," in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 2:582; Michael A. Knibb, "Prophecy and the Emergence of the Jewish Apocalypses," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition. Essays in Honor of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Richard Coggins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 157-61. Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic. A Polemical Work on a Neglected Area of Biblical Studies and Its Damaging Effects on Theology and Philosophy*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1970; reprint, London: SCM Press, 1972), 23-33, distinguishes apocalyptic as a literary type and apocalyptic as an historical movement, in which he stresses the "attitude of mind" of apocalyptic (p. 33). James Barr, "Jewish Apocalyptic in Recent Scholarly Study," *BJRL* 58 (1975): 16, divides these categories further to distinguish (1) language use; (2) structure; (3) the "sort of thing that is told"; and (4) doctrine. Although his divisions may be too fine, they highlight some valid characteristics of apocalyptic literature.

[2]E.g. Vielhauer, 589, notes that apocalyptic literature includes the revelation of secrets

Collins observes that scholars have been overly preoccupied with apocalyptic eschatology, which is not the only concern of the apocalypses.[3] The term "apocalyptic theology" is more comprehensive than "apocalyptic eschatology" to refer to the distinctive features of apocalyptic thought.[4] For in addition to a distinct eschatology, the apocalyptic writings have a characteristic cosmology, a particular view of sin, a certain view of history and time, a developed angelology and several other important theological perspectives. Apocalyptic thought encompasses "the whole field of ideas, doctrines and points of view"[5] of such literature, and not simply eschatology – even though eschatology is one of the dominant concerns in the apocalyptic writings.

Most modern scholars recognize that apocalyptic theology is also to be found in works that do not use the genre of apocalypse. An apocalyptic perspective can be found in literature as diverse as narrative, midrash, testaments and sibylline oracles. James Barr says,

> When we use the term apocalyptic we generally have in mind content and point of view rather than simply form: we think of a set of ideas and attitudes, which find typical expression in the apocalypse form more strictly so called but which are also found over a

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other than the eschatological, but he denies that these revelational secrets are important in defining the genre.

[3]John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (Crossroad, 1984), 8; cf. R. Barry Matlock, *Unveiling the Apocalyptic Paul. Paul's Interpreters and the Rhetoric of Criticism*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement, no. 127 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1996), 254-5. Collins, however, also notes that eschatology is an essential aspect of apocalyptic theology, and those who want to avoid the mention of eschatology in a definition of apocalyptic have gone too far (e.g. Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1982), 14, stresses the direct revelation of heavenly mysteries; cf. J. Carmignac, "Qu'est-Ce Que L'Apocalyptique?," *RevQ* 10 (1979): 3-33; Hartmut Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalyptik," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, ed. David Hellholm (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1983), 495-530). Similarly, Sanders' approach, which stresses the themes of revelation and reversal, is inadequate because these features are also found in other types of literature and this misses the cosmological, eschatological and mystical tendencies of apocalyptic writings.

[4]Cf. Leander E. Keck, "Paul and Apocalyptic Theology," *Int* 38 (1984): 233.

[5]Barr, "Jewish Apocalyptic," 16; cf. pp. 15-18]; cf. Koch, *Rediscovery*, 33, "a particular attitude of mind," although he emphasizes eschatology.

much wider range of literature.[6]

This suggests, as well, that it is reasonable to examine the apocalyptic dimensions of Paul's theology in passages such as Rom. 8:19-22, as will done later in this study.

2. The Corruption and Redemption of Creation as Features of Apocalyptic Thought

Determining the distinctive characteristics of apocalyptic theology is complex. The lists of characteristics provided by scholars are amazingly diverse and often contain a mixture of theological, sociological and formal characteristics. Because of the diversity of the apocalyptic writings, it is rare to find all of these features in any one apocalypse. Barr observes that there are "bundles of features on various levels; perhaps no work is so perfect and ideal an example of apocalyptic that it embodies all of these features, but substantial clusters of these features normally constitute sufficient reason to use the term apocalyptic."[7]

Despite this diversity, however, most lists of features of apocalyptic theology include aspects associated with the corruption and redemption of creation. The corruption of the created order due to sin is, in fact, central to the apocalyptic perspective. Collins points out that "the underlying problem of all the apocalypses [is that] this world is out of joint, one must look beyond it for a solution."[8] Apocalypses are frequently concerned with the cause for this state of affairs. Sometimes they attribute it to political factors (in some historical apocalypses), but more often it is the result of the sin of fallen angels or humans (in both historical and

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[6]Barr, "Jewish Apocalyptic," 18.

[7]Ibid., 18-9; cf. Collins, "Introduction," 8. Even apocalyptic eschatology is diverse. Rowland, 36, observes that in Jewish apocalyptic literature, there are "a variety of eschatological beliefs existing alongside each other. As a result it is impossible to separate out a strand of eschatological expectations that is coherent enough to be distinguished as an apocalyptic sectarian ideology." Even Rowland, however, thinks of apocalyptic eschatology as transcendental and other-worldly (pp. 36-37, 48), despite the presence of examples of this-worldly eschatology in some apocalyptic literature.

[8]John J. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 27.

personal apocalypses).[9]

Similarly, most lists of apocalyptic features stress dualism and a two-age theology. There is in apocalyptic thought a sharp distinction between this present evil age or world, which is corrupted by sin, and the glory of the future perfect world or age of righteousness. The frequently observed pessimism about this present evil age is due to a profound sense of the widespread impact of sin.[10] Collins also notes that in many apocalypses primordial events such as the Fall of Adam or the fall of the Watchers have a paradigmatic significance for the rest of history.[11]

An important part of eschatological hope in the apocalyptic writings is a radical cosmic transformation through God's intervention. Although apocalyptic thought is pessimistic about the world in this age, it is hopeful about the future transformation of the world.[12] Collins finds the theme of the cosmic transformation and the renewal of the whole world in twelve out of the fifteen Jewish apocalypses he examines. He says "the eschatological solution involves either a cosmic transformation that fundamentally alters this world, or an otherworldly afterlife."[13] Most other lists of apocalyptic features also stress the cosmic dimensions of

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[9]Ibid.

[10]These features are in most lists, including those of Koch, *Rediscovery*, 28-33; Vielhauer, 581-607; Rowland, 28; Leon Morris, *Apocalyptic* (London: Intervarsity Press, 1972), 34-67 and Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 136. Wayne Meeks stresses a three-fold dualism as the defining characteristic of apocalyptic: (1) cosmic: heaven and earth; (2) temporal: this age and the age to come; and, (3) social: sons of light and sons of darkness (Wayne A. Meeks, "Social Functions of Apocalyptic Language in Pauline Christianity," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979*, ed. David Hellholm, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989), 171-80).

[11]Collins, "Introduction," 7. He finds this feature in six of the fifteen apocalypses he examines (Collins, "Jewish Apocalypses," 28).

[12]Cf. Braaten, 125-8; Galloway, 13-8, contrary to Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 4th ed., ed. Hugo Gressmann (Berlin: Reuter and Reichard, 1906; reprint, Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), 581, whose view is typical of the widely held concept that apocalyptic is pessimistic about the future of the world.

[13]Collins, "Jewish Apocalypses," 27-8. In his list of features, he also mentions the judg-

apocalyptic hope, when the powers of evil will be brought to an end, the present earthly conditions will be overthrown, and a new, paradisal world order will be instituted.[14] This hope for a glorious future world is also implicit in apocalyptic dualism. The expectation of a bodily resurrection also shows concern for the material creation.[15] All of these motifs are related to the theme of the redemption of creation.

B. The Corruption and Redemption of Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic Writings

Despite the widely acknowledged importance of the corruption and redemption of creation in the Jewish apocalyptic writings, there has been no full scale study of these themes. Furthermore, many of the existing surveys tend to flatten the theology of apocalyptic to be more uniform than it is.[16] For example, David Russell's dissertation looks at several apoca-

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ment of the world, i.e. the natural elements (4 of 15 apocalypses), bodily resurrection (5 apocalypses) and eschatological upheavals that disturb the order of nature (10 apocalypses). The latter also could be related to the corruption of creation.

[14]Vielhauer, 581-607, stresses the universalism of apocalyptic thought and its cosmic hope. In the list of distinctive features of apocalyptic literature by Koch, *Rediscovery*, 28-33, five of these eight features relate to the redemption of creation: (1) the urgent expectation of the impending overthrow of earthly conditions; (2) the End as a cosmic catastrophe; (3) a new salvation arises, paradisal in character; (4) transition from disaster to final redemption by the act of God, in which the Kingdom of God will become visible on earth; and, (5) the catchword "glory" describing final state of affairs in heaven and earth. Morris, *Apocalyptic*, 34-7, lists six of eleven characteristics that relate to the cosmic transformation: (1) God will intervene to bring in a new age; (2) a coming crisis will shake the foundations of the world and its present system; (3) the triumph of God, who will bring this present evil world to a cataclysmic end and establish a better state of affairs; (4) dualism stresses the new age/world; (5) mediation: focuses on a new era bringing an end to the whole present system; (6) historical perspective: history is a timetable showing how close men are to the ultimate event when the powers of evil are brought to an end. Beker's simple list emphasizes universal cosmic expectation and the imminent end of the world (Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 136). His later revised list includes (1) the vindication of God; and (2) the universal salvation of the world.

[15]Collins, "Introduction," 6-7, 28.

[16]This is also observed by Donald E. Gowan, "The Fall and Redemption of the Material World in Apocalyptic Literature," *HBT* 7, no. 2 (1985): 88. In part this is a product of the influence of R. H. Charles. Since Charles assumed that apocalyptic literature has a modern doctrinal and logical consistency, he posited interpolations and amended the text freely in an effort to maintain this consistency. See the critique of Charles by John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Literature," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. R. A. Kraft and G. W. E.

lyptic writings as a background for the NT view of the new heavens and earth.[17] Unfortunately, he assumes that all apocalyptic works have much the same view of this subject, so he fails to do justice to the diversity of perspectives in apocalyptic literature.

In addition, many of the discussions of these themes are to be found in works on theology rather than studies of the Jewish apocalyptic materials themselves. Ethelbert Stauffer, for example, has a good but brief summary of the Jewish apocalyptic view of the impact of the Fall on nature and the future transformation of the world in his 1956 book on NT theology.[18] Although Stauffer's statements are largely true, he integrates ideas from diverse types of materials to form a composite picture that does not take into account the variety of perspectives found in this literature. Eric Rust's biblical theology of nature includes a section on the corruption of the created order and the renewal of the earth in the Pseudepigrapha, but his work suffers from a similar weakness.[19]

Allan Galloway has a summary of the apocalyptic view of the world, the corruption of the world due to the Fall, and the hope of the future transformation of the world.[20] He stresses that although there is a pessimistic side to the apocalyptic view of the world due to the impact of sin, there is also a positive side. He finds in this literature "an element of unbounded optimism which exists side by side with the pessimism," since there was the expectation of a new earth and a transformation of the whole of creation. The apocalyptic

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Nickelsburg (Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, 1986), 348, and Barr, "Jewish Apocalyptic," 31-2.

[17]D. M. Russell, *The "New Heavens and New Earth": Hope for the Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic and the New Testament.*

[18]Stauffer, 72-4.

[19]Rust, 158-60.

[20]Galloway, 20-30. Galloway's synopsis of apocalyptic is excellent, but unfortunately he is too quick to demythologize such apocalyptic concepts as angels, descriptions of Paradise and the Fall, so he sometimes misses the significance of these ideas in the worldview of the apocalypticists.

paradox holds these contrasting attitudes in tension.[21]

D. S. Russell's important 1964 book on Jewish apocalyptic contains several helpful chapters on topics related to the corruption and redemption of creation, including "creation and recreation," "the Messianic kingdom," and "the time of the end."[22] In a later published lecture, he looks at the corruption of inanimate nature by fallen angels and the human Fall, as well as the expectation that the created world will be recreated. The redemption of the cosmos belongs together with the redemption of humanity in God's purpose.[23] At times, however, Russell's attempt to create a sort of systematic theology of Jewish apocalyptic thought does not do justice to the diversity within the apocalyptic writings. For while Russell recognizes the existence of diverse views within the apocalyptic materials (e.g. the tension between a military leader/earthly kingdom eschatological hope and a cosmic/transcendent hope[24]), his systematic approach implies a greater simplicity and consistency than a careful reading of the literature justifies.[25]

A helpful direction for study is suggested by Nils A. Dahl in an article comparing different views of the relationship between the original creation and the future world in Jewish and Christian literature. He distinguishes seven different types of relationships found in various texts, which are sometimes combined in one work: analogy (between the original and the new creation), contrast, restitution, transformation (superiority), identity (things from the beginning will return), reservation (some things are kept into the new world) and inclusiveness (the present creation includes the world to come).[26] Dahl's classification of texts may at

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[21]Ibid., 14-5; cf. 16-18, 40.

[22]Russell, *Method and Message*, 263-303.

[23]D. S. Russell, *Apocalyptic: Ancient and Modern* (London: SCM Press, 1978), 34-6.

[24]Ibid., 34-5.

[25]See the critique of Russell by Collins, "Apocalyptic Literature," 349.

[26]Nils A. Dahl, "Christ, Creation and the Church," in *The Background of the New Testament*

times be debatable, for he has a tendency to lump together diverse texts from different time periods and various perspectives. Nevertheless, his schema is a significant improvement over earlier studies, which often assumed that all "late Jewish" literature or all apocalyptic writings have a similar view.

In his 1977 dissertation on the responsibility for evil in 4 Ezra, Alden Lloyd Thompson has an excellent survey of the diverse views of the origin of and responsibility for evil in Jewish literature up to A.D. 100. He discusses physical and moral evil as well as the cosmic effects of sin. He also examines various Jewish views of the responsibility for evil, including the Fall of Adam, the fallen Watchers, individual responsibility, and the evil impulse in human nature. He is careful to distinguish the views of different documents, rather than to group all of the Jewish writings together.[27]

Donald Gowan summarizes various apocalyptic views on the fall and redemption of the material world in a significant 1985 article. He notes the danger of generalization about the "apocalyptic view" and he calls for nuancing these generalizations by studying each work on its own.[28] Gowan claims that there are "10 different views" in the ten apocalyptic works he studies, i.e. in 1 En. (5 books), 2 En., Jub., 4 Ez., 2 Bar., and Syb. Or. Some have no interest in the material world; some have a positive view of the world, with no sense that it is fallen; some follow the OT pattern of natural phenomena as agents of judgment; some have a deep concern for the well-being of the material world. Nevertheless, he notes several general patterns: (1) Apocalyptic literature does not have a deeply pessimistic view of nature, contrary to the common conception.[29] (2) Human rebellion and transitoriness is contrasted with the

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and Its Eschatology, ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 422-43.

[27]Thompson, *Responsibility*, 5-83.

[28]Gowan, "Fall and Redemption," 88.

[29]Ibid., 110-101.

obedience and regularity of the rest of creation. (3) Sin brings a curse on the material world, which God intends to overcome. The fall of nature is a misnomer, since the curse is either due to human sin or, more often, due to the rebellion of the angels, based on Gen 6:1-6. (4) The destruction of the world is not because the cosmos is hopelessly sinful, but it is a punishment for human sin. (5) The transformation of the earth is not due to lifting the curse on the world, but it is part of God's blessings for the righteous when his rule over the cosmos becomes manifest. The transformed world will provide blessings for human beings in the new age.[30]

In an important 1989 article, Martinus de Boer shows that there are two major tracks in Jewish apocalyptic eschatology: (1) Cosmological-apocalyptic eschatology: This age is under the influence of evil angels who fell at the time of Noah. This type of passage stresses cosmic powers (e.g. 1 En. 1-36).[31] (2) Forensic-apocalyptic eschatology: This age is characterized by the fact that humans wilfully rejected God and brought death and perversion to the world through the Fall. The stress is on the human accountability and choice to obey God and the Law. (e.g. 4 Ez; 2 Bar; 1 En. 91-105).[32] De Boer notes that a few apocalyptic books combine both tracks (e.g. 1QS 1-4; 1QM; CD; Jub., T. 12 Pat.).[33] De Boer's approach helps to clarify the diverse apocalyptic approaches to the corruption of the world in this age.

David Russell's 1991 dissertation on the new heavens and earth, explores the hope for the future of the created order in the OT, Jewish apocalyptic literature, Qumran writings and the NT. He rejects the common conception that the concern of Jewish apocalyptic literature is primarily otherworldly. He convincingly demonstrates that these writings do not depreciate the present creation, but that God has a concern for the material world. Creation is not "fallen." Rather the created order is "good yet perverted" by human sin and longs for

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[30]Ibid., 99-100.

[31]De Boer, 174-5, 180.

[32]Ibid., 177-81.

[33]Ibid., 174-7.

release.[34] Unfortunately, Russell's attempt to find a coherent theology of the future of creation throughout a wide range of literature leads to a tendency to flatten important differences in perspective between many of these writings. For example, he argues that the OT, Jewish apocalyptic works, Qumran and the NT consistently teach the renewal and transformation of the present creation, rather than the destruction of the world and the creation of a new one *ex nihilo*.[35]

Recent studies that account for the diversity within the apocalyptic writings are a considerable improvement over earlier studies, which tended to flatten out apocalyptic theology. Although most are brief, they are, nevertheless, suggestive of future directions of study. Furthermore, the importance of the corruption and redemption of creation in Jewish apocalyptic theology stresses the need for a more complete study of these themes.

C. The Relationship of Paul's Thought to Jewish Apocalyptic Writings

Prior to the late 19th century, scholars generally paid little attention to the apocalyptic features of NT thought and its possible background in the Jewish apocalyptic writings. In the late 1850's, Adolf Hilgenfeld argued that apocalyptic was the connection between OT prophecy and the NT.[36] For a short while his ideas raised considerable discussion among NT scholars. His views, however, had little influence on OT scholarship, which was dominated at the time by the literary criticism school (Welhausen, Duhm, etc.). That approach believed Jesus and John the Baptist were connected to the Prophets and it saw apocalyptic as an aberrant sidetrack and inferior imitation of OT prophetic literature.

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[34]D. M. Russell, 150-2.

[35]Ibid., 241-3. Russell recognizes this tendency in many works (p. 91), but unfortunately he falls into the same trap.

[36]Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Die jüdische Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Christentums* (Jena, 1857), 2. See Johann Michael Schmidt, *Die jüdische Apokalyptik* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1969), 127, for a discussion of the reactions to Hilgenfeld's views.

Late in the 19th century the discussion was raised again when Johannes Weiss argued that Jesus' concept of the kingdom of God had an apocalyptic basis.[37] This shocked many scholars of the day, since Weiss' understanding of the kingdom of God as transcendent, futuristic and supernatural was at odds with the current Protestant view that it was immanent, non-eschatological (or realized) and ethical. His work was a critical turning point that compelled NT scholarship to begin focusing on apocalyptic eschatology.[38]

Shortly thereafter Richard Kabisch became one of the first to show the influence of apocalyptic thought in Paul's letters. He argued that Paul was a Pharisaic Jew, whose apocalyptic longing for the coming of the Messiah was fulfilled in Jesus. Paul's preaching is based on contemporary Jewish apocalyptic hopes, but it is modified by his belief that the Messiah has arrived.[39] Paul's doctrine and ethics are a function of his apocalyptic eschatology. The physical universe belongs to the old age, which is under the bondage of sin and death. It is displaced for believers by the new order inaugurated by Jesus' death and Resurrection. The Christian life involves life from the dead and deliverance from both judgment and the death that infects the creation.[40]

At the beginning of the 20th century,[41] Albert Schweitzer argued for a strongly apocalyptic reading of both Jesus and Paul. He claimed that their eschatology was "consist-

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[37]Johaness Weiss, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, trans. R. H. Hiers and D. L. Holland (1882; reprint, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 133.

[38]Richard E. Sturm, "Defining the World 'Apocalyptic': A Problem in Biblical Criticism," in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament. Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 26.

[39]Richard Kabisch, *Die Eschatologie des Paulus in ihren Zusammenhängen mit dem Gesamtbegriff Paulinismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1893), 12, 317.

[40]Ibid., 183, 188-228.

[41]For a thorough study of the twentieth century interest in apocalyptic and Paul, see Matlock. He has an especially thorough discussion of Schweitzer and Käsemann.

ent" and "thoroughgoing." The theology of John the Baptist, Jesus and Paul are "the culminating manifestations of Jewish apocalyptic thought."[42] Jesus' theology and Paul's after him is "a deeply ethical and perfected version of the contemporary Apocalyptic." In contrast with the typical *Religionsgeschichte* view that Paul's thought was rooted in Hellenism, Schweitzer argued that Paul's ideas, like Jesus', were rooted in Jewish apocalyptic. A true history of religions approach should explain Paul's thought on the basis of "Late Judaism" and give weight to the importance of his eschatology, which is similar to apocalyptic works such as 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch and Jubilees.[43] The core of Paul's theology is his eschatological mysticism, a concept that Schweitzer suggested in his earlier works, but did not fully develop until his important 1930 work on Paul's mysticism.[44] Paul's theology of dying and rising with Christ and his ethics build on Jesus' eschatological preaching of the kingdom of God, with the added concept of salvation through Jesus' death and Resurrection. The death of Jesus is significant for believers as the event in which the realization of the kingdom begins. The intimate connection between salvation in Christ and the hope of the kingdom enabled primitive Christianity to survive the delay of the Parousia.[45]

About the same time, Wilhelm Bousset, a NT scholar of the history of religions school,

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[42]Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, trans. W. Montgomery (London: SCM, 1910; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1961), 367; Albert Schweitzer, *Paul and His Interpreters. A Critical History*, trans. W. Montgomery (1912; reprint, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), ix-x, 240-1.

[43]Ibid., ix-x, 177. Matlock, 51-3, observes that Schweitzer tended to lump together the "Late Jewish" works, both apocalyptic and non-apocalyptic, in an effort to find a coherent background to Paul. The consistently apocalyptic approach of later interpreters such as Beker must not be read into Schweitzer. Schweitzer wanted to show that Paul's ideas are similar to late Jewish eschatology, rather than Hellenistic or prophetic thought. According to Schweitzer the futuristic elements of Paul's eschatology have these roots, but the realized portions came from his reflection on the Christ event.

[44]Schweitzer, *Quest*, 241; Schweitzer, *Mysticism*.

[45]Ibid., 380-1, 392. Nevertheless, Schweitzer believed that Jesus' apocalyptic expectations were "crushed" for the early Church by the fact that Jesus' death did not immediately bring about the end of time.

argued (1) that apocalyptic was one of the dominant ideas in Judaism at the time of the NT, and (2) that apocalyptic thought had a significant influence on early Christianity, including Paul. He believed that before Paul became a Christian, he had an eschatological outlook similar to 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. Nevertheless, Bousset was hesitant to accept Schweitzer's contention that Jesus' ideas were also rooted in Jewish apocalyptic thought.[46]

In the 1930's the French scholar Maurice Goguel wrote one of the strongest defenses of the view that Jesus was non-apocalyptic but that the early church was apocalyptic. Jesus derived from John the Baptist, who was apocalyptic, but he differed from conventional apocalyptic because of his preaching of conversion. Yet Jesus separated from John, and so also from apocalyptic. The Resurrection compelled Jesus' followers to return to apocalyptic ideas. This apocalyptic element gradually declined: It is weaker in Paul and John, and the idea of an apocalyptic world catastrophe gradually disappears in the later ancient Church.[47] Unfortunately, Goguel's argument is weakened by his limited conception of apocalyptic, which he believes was centered on the destruction of Satan in the eschaton.

In the early 1940's Ethelbert Stauffer used a *Heilsgeschichte* approach to emphasize an apocalyptic background of the NT. Paul was an apocalyptic Pharisee prior to his conversion, who incorporated a strongly apocalyptic theology into his letters.[48] Redemption, therefore, is placed within the context of creation and *Heilsgeschichte* within the context of universal history. Thus the NT writers were at home in an apocalyptic world of ideas.[49]

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[46]Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*; Wilhelm Bousset, *Die jüdische Apokayptik. Ihre religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und ihre Bedeutung für das Neue Testament* (Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903), 56.

[47]Maurice Goguel, "Eschatologie et apocalytique dans le christianisme primitif," *RHR* 106 (1932): 383, 387.

[48]Stauffer, 36.

[49]Ibid., 21. After WW II, Stauffer altered his views about the apocalyptic nature of Jesus' teachings: Jesus' message was primarily a message about today, which differed fundamentally from the apocalyptic message of his day, including that of John the Baptist. "Jesus' sup-

Around the time of the Second World War, Rudolf Bultmann turned almost an entire generation of NT scholarship away from considering Jewish apocalyptic as a major influence on NT thought. Bultmann acknowledged that the ideas of Jesus and early Christianity were substantially shaped by Jewish apocalyptic,[50] being rooted in both Jewish apocalyptic and Gnostic redeemer mythology.[51] Nevertheless, Bultmann held that modern theology must reject these apocalyptic ideas because they have been empirically disproved by the fact that the Parousia of Christ never took place as the NT expected.[52] He used a process of "demythologization" to distinguish the substance of the gospel from its particular historical expressions.

Bultmann argued that Paul himself began this process of demythologization by moving the interpretation of the earliest kerygma beyond mythology toward the anthropologically centered doctrine of justification. Thus "Paul's theology is, at the same time, anthropology. . . . Paul's Christology is simultaneously soteriology."[53] The eschatological moment of salvation is not an event yet to occur, as in Jewish apocalyptic thought, but it is something that happens when an individual hears the gospel and chooses faith. The age of salvation has already dawned for the believer.[54] Thus Bultmann interprets Paul existentially, in terms of anthropological self-understanding. The cosmological-futuristic language that has its roots in

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porters did not understand this because they were too infected by vulgar apocalyptic ideas." After his death, apocalyptic fever broke out without restraint (e.g. Acts 2:39f). Ethelbert Stauffer, *Jesus, Paulus und Wir: Antwort auf einen offenen Brief von Paul Althaus, Walter Künneth und Wilfried Joest* (Hamburg: Wittig, 1961), 118f.

[50]Rudolf Karl Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), 1:74-92.

[51]Ibid., 174, 177; Rudolf Karl Bultmann, "The New Testament and Mythology," in *Kerygma and Myth*, ed. H. W. Bartsch (London: S.P.C.K., 1953), 1:15.

[52]Bultmann, "New Testament and Mythology", 5.

[53]Bultmann, *Theology*, 191.

[54]Bultmann, "New Testament and Mythology," 31.

Jewish apocalyptic thought is obsolete and misleading when interpreted literally and so should be re-interpreted anthropologically. "Myth should be interpreted not cosmically, but anthropologically, or better still, existentially."[55] Although there is apocalyptic eschatology in Paul's letters, it is the product of Paul's personal history rather than the essence of the gospel. For example, Bultmann acknowledges that Rom. 8:18-25 and 2 Cor. 4:17-18 are rooted in a Jewish belief in transcendent glory as a compensation for present suffering, yet he argues that this has "lost its motive power" for Paul.[56] Unfortunately, Bultmann's existential reading of Paul prevented him from understanding the apocalyptic dimensions of Paul's thought on their own terms.[57]

Many NT scholars adopted Bultmann's view in the post-war era, particularly in Germany. Jörg Baumgarten, for example, agrees with Bultmann that Paul demythologizes Jewish apocalyptic traditions by drawing implications for the life of the community. Paul is mainly interested in Christology, anthropology and ecclesiology, which leads him to downplay the cosmological, demonological and mythological elements. Paul, however, could not use apocalyptic traditions in this way if he did not see the Resurrection of Christ as a radical break in the two age scheme of apocalyptic.[58]

The discovery of the Qumran documents with their frequently expressed apocalyptic theology was an important factor in the resurgence of interest in a Jewish apocalyptic background to the NT. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain many examples of apocalyptic thought in

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[55]Ibid., 10.

[56]Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity*, 186, cf. 178, 184.

[57]See the critique by Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 141-2 and Sturm, 27-8. Beker believes that one reason Bultmann misreads Paul is that he imports Johannine categories into his interpretation of Paul.

[58]Jörg Baumgarten, *Paulus und die Apokalyptik. Die Auslegung apokalyptischer Überlieferungen in den echten Paulusbriefen*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 44 (Neukirken-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1975).

writings that do not use an apocalypse as a literary form. This makes it harder to deny that apocalyptic theology might be used in NT documents that are non-apocalyptic in genre.[59]

Ernst Käsemann is one of the most influential advocates of this return to the importance of Jewish apocalyptic. Although a student of Bultmann, he directly opposed his teacher's anthropocentric views and returned to Schweitzer's view that Jewish apocalyptic theology was formative in Paul's thinking. He claims that apocalyptic is "the mother of all Christian theology."[60] Käsemann argues, however, that Jesus' own teachings were not apocalyptic, since he denies the authenticity of apocalyptic ideas such as the Son of Man sayings, the restoration of the twelve tribes, and the coming Parousia, based on form critical assumptions.[61] He defines apocalyptic as a type of eschatology that focuses on ultimate history.[62] "Paul's apostolic self-consciousness is only comprehensible on the basis of his apocalyptic."[63] Paul's view of Christ as Lord of the universe who subjugates a rebellious world is profoundly an apocalyptic perspective.[64] In contrast to Schweitzer, who claimed on the basis of Paul's apocalyptic hope that justification was simply a "subsidiary crater" in Paul's thought,[65] Käsemann argues that God's righteousness and the believer's justification by God are primary

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[59]William A. Beardslee, "New Testament Apocalyptic in Recent Interpretation," *Int* 25 (1971): 422.

[60]Käsemann, "Beginnings," 40; Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, 133.

[61]Käsemann says that Jesus' teachings started with John the Baptist's apocalyptic message as a point of departure. His teachings, however, did not have an apocalyptic stamp, but proclaimed the immediacy of the God who was near at hand (Ibid., 101). For a critique of this unlikely double discontinuity of Jesus from John the Baptist and the early Church, cf. Koch, *Rediscovery*, 78.

[62]Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, 109, n. 2.

[63]Käsemann, "Beginnings," 34. Even Paul's doctrine of justification "cannot be understood at all without his apocalyptic," because it is not a question of reward but God becoming all in all (1 Cor. 15:28). (Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, 15).

[64]Ibid., 133-4.

[65]Schweitzer, *Mysticism*, 225.

marks of the new age.[66] Although at times Käsemann oversimplifies early Christian apocalyptic to "the imminent expectation of the Parousia,"[67] he single-handedly started a renaissance of research into the apocalyptic dimensions of NT thought, particularly in the letters of Paul. Furthermore, unlike Weiss and Schweitzer, he allows early Christian apocalyptic to redefine the contemporary understanding of time and history.

Around the same time as Käsemann's seminal essay, Ulrich Wilckens wrote about the relationship of apocalyptic to the doctrines of God, salvation and revelation in Paul. Paul's antinomy between the Law and Christ is only comprehensible in light of Paul as an apocalyptic thinker. The soteriological function of the Law in apocalyptic Judaism is excluded by Paul's apocalyptic understanding of Christ crucified. Wilckens also believed that Jesus' thought was rooted in Jewish apocalyptic.[68] Koch observes that Wilckens was in danger of overstressing how widespread apocalyptic thought was at the time of the NT, but he is important for

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[66]Ernst Käsemann, "Justification and Salvation History in the Epistle to the Romans," in *Perspectives on Paul*, trans. M. Kohl (London: SCM, 1969), 76-7; Käsemann, *New Testament Questions*, 105.

[67]I. Howard Marshall, "Is Apocalyptic the Mother of Christian Theology?," in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmanns, 1987), 32-44. Marshall believes that apocalyptic is not the mother of Christianity, but certainly the "near horizon" (cf. Morris, *Apocalyptic*, 9-11). W. G. Rollins, "The New Testament and Apocalyptic," *NTS* 17 (1970-1971): 454-76, acknowledges some theological-literary correspondence between Jewish apocalypticism and the early Church, but he also points out some fundamental historical, sociological and theological differences (p. 476):

Jewish Apocalyptic:	Early Church:
Expected a coming Messiah	Messiah had already come
World-loss	Meaningfulness of world involvement
Religious exclusivism	Brought in sinners
Arcane mysteries known only to the elect	Published its tidings
Distant God who will come as judge	God had come near in human flesh

[68]Ulrich Wilckens, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus als religionsgeschichtliche Problem," *ZTK* 56 (1959): 285.

recognizing the influence of several critical apocalyptic ideas on early Christian thinking.[69]

Wilckens was not as well accepted among NT scholars as Käsemann, but he influenced the systematic theologian Wolfhart Pannenberg, who further developed his ideas of history, revelation and apocalyptic. Pannenberg argued that history is only understandable in light of the End, its future goal. This perspective is possible because the final condition of humanity is proleptically anticipated in the Resurrection of Jesus. Revelation is God's self-disclosure in history, which is only completely comprehensible at the end of history. This apocalyptic perspective was the presupposition of the historical thinking of the West and the horizon that spans the whole of Christian theology in general.[70]

Käsemann's writings provoked a flurry of articles and monographs on the apocalyptic background of Paul's thought. For example, Stuhlmacher traces Paul's emphasis on the righteousness of God to the Jewish apocalyptic concept of God's saving justice, as found in the Qumran writings and in various apocalyptic works.[71] Charles Giblin argues that Paul's theology is strongly apocalyptic. Rom. 8 is "the grand climax of the juridically phrased Pauline apocalypse of God's gospel" as developed in Rom. 1-8.[72] John Gager studies Paul's use of end time language in several passages and concludes that apocalyptic is one of Paul's major points of departure.[73] Apocalyptic scholar D. S. Russell argues that Jewish apocalyptic influenced NT thought and serves as the bridge between OT and NT, but apocalyptic thought

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[69]Koch, *Rediscovery*, 74.

[70]Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Revelation As History* (New York: Macmillan, 1968); Wolfhart Pannenberg, "Redemptive Event and History," in *Basic Questions in Theology*, ed. Wolfhart Pannenberg (London: SCM, 1970), 20.

[71]Jub., 1 En., T. 12 Pat., 4 Ez. and 2 Bar., as well as Is. 24-27 and Dan. Peter Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1965), 175.

[72]Giblin, 394-5.

[73]Gager, "Functional Diversity," 325-37.

was transformed and reinterpreted in the NT in light of the person and presence of Jesus.[74]

J. Christiaan Beker has produced the most thorough recent arguments for the apocalyptic nature of Paul's thought. He believes that Paul's gospel is essentially apocalyptic, although his writings use the genre of letter rather than apocalypse. "Paul is an apocalyptic theologian with a theocentric outlook. The Christ-event is the turning point in time that announces the end of time."[75] Paul's letters have a dialogical relationship between the coherent core of his thought, which is essentially apocalyptic, and the contingent expression of his ideas to meet the needs of the churches to which he wrote.[76] In his 1980 monograph on Paul, Beker argues that the coherent core of Paul's theology is the triumph of God: "the hope in the dawning victory of God and the imminent redemption of the created order, which he has inaugurated in Christ." "Paul's hermeneutic translates the apocalyptic theme of the gospel into the contingent particularities of the human situation."[77] There is a fluid interaction between the coherent and contingent that marks Paul's hermeneutic. Yet Paul formulated more clearly than any other early Christian theologian the coherent structure of the gospel and its abiding truth.[78]

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[74]Russell, *Apocalyptic*, 41, 49, 51-5.

[75]Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 362.

[76]Ibid., 38-41.

[77]Ibid., ix. In his later articles, Beker tries to avoid the term "core," preferring instead the term "coherence." Core implies a center in Paul's thought around which all his ideas can be arranged. Coherence suggests a fluid, flexible structure, a field of meaning, a network of symbolic relations that nourishes his thought and constitutes his "linguistic world." Coherence cannot be restricted to one "contingent" symbol, such as the eschatological triumph of God (as in *Paul the Apostle*). (J. Christiaan Beker, "Recasting Pauline Theology," in *Pauline Theology*, ed. Jouette M. Bassler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 1:16-7). Nevertheless, despite Beker's protests, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he understands the apocalyptic interpretation of the Christ-event to be the center of Paul's thought: "The coherence of the gospel, then, is constituted by the apocalyptic interpretation of the death and resurrection of Christ" ("Recasting," 18).

[78]Ibid.

Beker believes that Paul was an apocalyptic Pharisee prior to his conversion.[79] He argues:

> Jewish apocalyptic forms the basis of Paul's thought. It constituted (a) the thought world of Paul the Pharisee and, therefore, (b) the fundamental grammar and context through which Paul filtered the Christ event and interpreted it as the *apokalypsis tou christou* (Gal. 1:12; cf. 1:16; 2:2).[80]

Even though Paul did not write apocalypses, apocalyptic motifs dominate his thought. His modifications of the Christian tradition are not due to Hellenistic-Jewish influences, but are modifications of an apocalyptic substratum.[81] Paul's thought is molded by four central motifs of Jewish apocalyptic: (1) the faithfulness and vindication of God, (2) the universal salvation of the world, (3) the dualistic structure of the world, and (4) the imminent coming of God in glory.[82] These apocalyptic ideas and terminology, however, undergo "profound modification" in Paul, because of his conviction that God has already acted decisively in Christ's death and Resurrection. Thus believers can claim the new creation and live already in the power of the Spirit.[83] Yet the present reality does not soften the intensity of Paul's apocalyptic expectations, since the Christ-event is a proleptic anticipation of the glory of God in the Parousia.[84]

Although Beker's work is controversial,[85] it has encouraged a growing number of

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[79]Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 143.

[80]J. Christiaan Beker, *The Triumph of God. The Essence of Paul's Thought*, trans. Loren T. Stuckenbruck (1988; reprint, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 19; cf. Beker, "Recasting," 17.

[81]Ibid., 17-8.

[82]Beker, *Triumph*, 21-36. This is a modification of his earlier list of distinctive features : (1) historical dualism; (2) universal cosmic expectation; and (3) the imminent end of the world (Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 136).

[83]Ibid., 145-6.

[84]Ibid., 145, 150, 152

[85]For a skeptical critique of this approach, see R. Barry Matlock, *Unveiling the Apocalyptic Paul*. Dean Flemming, "Essence and Adaptation. Contextualization and the Heart of Paul's

modern scholars to examine the apocalyptic dimensions of much of Paul's theology. For example, Douglas Low shows that Paul's exhortations are motivated by his apocalyptic eschatology.[86] This dissertation builds on Beker's ideas, but it is weakened by the fact that Low does not examine any Jewish apocalyptic texts to establish such an apocalyptic approach to Paul's paraenesis. Essays and monographs exploring the apocalyptic dimensions of specific Pauline passages have been written by Martyn, Getty, Donfried, Achtemeier, Hayes, de Boer, Neil Elliot, and Francis Bridger, among others.[87]

Around the time of Beker's *Paul*, Paul Minear argued in his book on NT apocalyptic that Christianity is fundamentally an apocalyptic movement, grounded in Jewish apocalyptic thought. He defended this with many NT passages, including several passages from

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Gospel" (PhD Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1987), 78-80, agrees with Beker that the gospel cannot be stripped of all apocalyptic modes of thought without radically altering its content. The apocalyptic perspective, however, does not work equally well for all aspects of the apostle's thought. While the apocalyptic triumph of God accounts for important elements of Paul's thought, it suffers from the same weakness as other attempts to find the center of Paul that Beker critiques, in that it leaves much unsaid.

[86]Douglas Alan Low, "Apocalyptic Motivation in Pauline Paraenesis." (Doctoral Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1990).

[87]J. L. Martyn, "Apocalyptic Antinomies in Paul's Letters to the Galatians," NTS 31(1985):410-424; cf. Martyn's earlier "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages: 2 Corinthians 5:16," in *Christian History and Interpretation. Studies Presented to John Knox* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967): 269-287; M.A. Getty, "An Apocalyptic Perspective on Rom. 10:4," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 4-5(1982-1983): 79-131; K. P. Donfried, "Paul and Judaism: I Thessalonians 2:13 as a Test Case," *Int* 38 (1984): 242-253; de Boer, 169-90; Neil Elliot, *The Rhetoric of Romans. Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul's Dialogue with Judaism*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, no. 45 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990). Paul J. Achtemeier, "An Apocalyptic Shift in Early Christian Tradition," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 231-48, accepts Beker's thesis of the apocalyptic core of Paul's thought and looks further at the movement away from apocalyptic in later books such as Eph., Col., Pastorals and 2 Th. Francis Bridger, "Ecology and Eschatology: A Neglected Dimension," *TynBul* 41 (1990): 290-301, looks at the ecological implications of the apocalyptic eschatology in Rom. 8:18-27 and Col. 1:15-17. Many essays are also in the Festschrift for J.L. Martyn, including Richard B. Hayes, "'The Righteous One' as Eschatological Deliver, A Case Study in Paul's Hermeneutics," in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament. Essays in Honor of J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 24 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989): 191-215.

Romans.[88]

Many who accept Beker's basic thesis have refined his theory about the apocalyptic nature of Paul's theology. Leander Keck demonstrates that Paul has taken many elements from Jewish apocalyptic, but transformed them for his own use. Paul's theology is apocalyptic not because it includes "vindication, universalism, dualism and imminence," as Beker claims, but because of the perspective of discontinuity between God and the world: God and the redemptive future stand against the world and its history. In this Paul is thoroughly apocalyptic, though other theologies contributed to his Christology at certain points. In working out this perspective he did not produce apocalyptic theology, but set out his own creative interpretation of the consequences of the Christ event.[89]

Keck points out several important differences between the theology of Paul and that of Jewish apocalyptic literature: (1) Paul has a totally different starting point. He does not begin with theodicy, but with the cross and Resurrection of Christ and then he ends with theodicy (e.g. Rom. 9-11). Yet the way he makes Jesus' cross and Resurrection central relies on an important dimension of apocalyptic theology. By affirming that the Resurrection has occurred, he affirms that the end-time scenario is now launched. (2) Although apocalyptic is pessimistic about the human condition, Paul's understanding is even more radical. Humanity is in bondage on several levels: evil spiritual powers, sin, flesh and Law. 4 Ezra is the closest to Paul's view of the enslaving power of sin. (3) Paul's soteriology agrees with apocalyptic on some themes, such as the eschatological rescue from God's wrath and a sense of an imminent end. It goes in a quite different direction, however, for the Messiah does not vindicate Israel against the nations, but he overcomes the division between Jews and Gentiles. Paul has no interest in describing details of eternal salvation or damnation, though he agrees on the fact of

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[88]Paul S. Minear, *New Testament Apocalyptic* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981), 113.

[89]Keck, 241.

both. (4) Since Paul sees himself in the period between the cross/Resurrection and the end of the age, there is a tension between the already and not-yet, which is generally absent from apocalyptic theology.[90]

Keck believes that it is presently impossible to determine the historical relationship between Paul and Jewish apocalyptic. "The problem of Paul and apocalyptic would be more soluble if one could show that Paul had read an apocalypse (especially one we too can read)."[91] The historical relationship is difficult for several reasons: (1) The terms "Paul" and "apocalyptic" are ambiguous. "Apocalyptic" is one of the most misused words because it resists definition and it is used for a type of literature, a cultural phenomenon and a type of eschatology. (2) It is difficult to determine which texts are apocalypses, because few traits are found in all such texts and many apocalyptic texts combine other genres. The theological content of apocalyptic literature also varies greatly. (3) It is difficult to relate Paul accurately to his Christian predecessors. Thus Keck believes it is more fruitful to compare the theology of the Pauline letters with apocalyptic theology, without positing genetic relationships.[92]

Vincent Branick agrees with Beker that Paul has an apocalyptic framework, but he argues that Beker's work is "one-sided," since Paul was also open to "realized eschatology." Thus he rejects Beker's view that the "apocalyptic structure of thought" forms the consistent and indispensable center of Paul's thought. He agrees that Paul builds much of his theology on certain apocalyptic features, including historical dualism, universal cosmic expectation, and the imminent end of the world. Salvation is not simply spiritual and privatized but involves the transformation of the material cosmos, including the human body. The apocalyptic perspective is an important hermeneutical key to understanding some difficult aspects of Paul's thought. For example, the dualism of flesh and spirit expresses cosmological dimen-

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[90]Ibid., 235-40.

[91]Ibid., 230.

[92]Ibid., 223, 229.

sions more than anthropological elements. For since God is going to triumph over the forces of evil that have vitiated the universe, salvation is a matter of grace and not human merit. Paul differs from traditional apocalyptic, however, in that the end time has begun with the Resurrection of Christ.[93] Thus there is an "already/not yet" tension and the seeds of realized eschatology in Paul, which anticipate later books such as Ephesians and Colossians.[94]

Some who accept Beker's contention that Paul's thought has apocalyptic roots argue that it also has roots in the Jewish wisdom tradition. For example, in her study of Rom. 9-11 Elizabeth Johnson argues that Paul has modified apocalyptic thought partially in traditional ways using wisdom ideas, similar to some apocalyptic literature, and partially due to his experience of the Christ event.[95] In the death and Resurrection of Jesus, God's redemption has broken into the world, and the Spirit's presence in the Church is a foretaste of the glory that is to come. Yet eschatological riches await the world for which Christ died.[96] Her survey of apocalyptic literature shows that the more an apocalyptic writer uses traditional wisdom language and motifs, the more he sees potential for meaningful human life before the eschaton.[97]

As was discussed earlier, Martinus de Boer showed that Jewish apocalyptic eschatology can either be cosmological-apocalyptic, which sees this age under the influence of evil angels, or forensic-apocalyptic, which stresses that humanity's willful rejection of God in the Fall brought death and perversion to the world. Cosmological-apocalyptic eschatology is consistent

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[93]Vincent P. Branick, "Apocalyptic Paul?," *CBQ* 47, no. 4 (1985): 664-6.

[94]Ibid., 669-74.

[95]E. Elizabeth Johnson, *The Function of Apocalyptic and Wisdom Traditions in Romans 9-11*, SBL Dissertation Series, no. 109 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); cf. Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 192.

[96]Johnson, 109:211-2.

[97]Ibid., 207.

with Käsemann's cosmological understanding of apocalyptic eschatology, but forensic-apocalyptic eschatology is consistent with Bultmann's view, which stresses individual decisions about the Law. Contrary to Bultmann, however, forensic-apocalyptic eschatology is still cosmic in scope, not simply individualistic since it is still concerned with God's claim on the world. It also is still theocentric, not merely anthropocentric as Bultmann claims.[98]

De Boer believes that Paul combines both views, although Paul modifies them Christologically. In Rom. 1:1-5:11 the forensic-apocalyptic dominates, but in Rom. 6:1-8:39, cosmological-apocalyptic eschatology is prominent (sin, death, righteousness, flesh, spirit, cosmological powers). In Rom. 5:12-21 the two tracks interpenetrate, since the passage marks the shift from the predominantly forensic to the predominantly cosmological (cf. 1:16-17 and 3:9, both critical junctures in the argument, which anticipate the shift, and 8:1, 33-34, which recall it). Although Paul speaks of faith to combat the claim that works of the Law will lead to eschatological acquittal and life, the meaning of faith is actually determined by the cosmological-apocalyptic disclosure of God's righteousness in the crucifixion of Christ. Christ's death cannot be understood in purely forensic terms, since it marks God's triumphant invasion of the world "under sin," to liberate the ungodly from its deadly power.[99]

In summary, three great mountain peaks stand out in the history of research concerning Paul and apocalyptic: Schweitzer, Käsemann and Beker. Schweitzer raised the awareness of scholars of the important place eschatology occupies in Paul's thought, but his ideas were not widely accepted in his day. Käsemann brought an awareness of the apocalyptic dimensions of Paul's thoughts to the mainstream of NT scholarship. Beker carried this agenda further by showing how close apocalyptic is to the heart of Paul's theology, although his claim that the coherent core of Paul's thought lies in apocalyptic is undoubtedly overstated.

These studies over the last century have shown that the influence of Jewish apocalyptic

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[98]De Boer, 181.

[99]Ibid., 182, 184.

on Paul's theology must be taken seriously. Certainly Paul modified many apocalyptic ideas in the light of Christ's death and Resurrection, and his writings contain many non-apocalyptic aspects. Furthermore, Paul builds on apocalyptic theology without using apocalyptic literature as a literary genre. Although the question of the "center" of Paul's thought is still subject to scholarly debate, the importance of apocalyptic theology in Paul's writings has become widely accepted in modern NT studies.

D. The Apocalyptic Dimensions of Romans 8:19-22

In the late 19th century, Theodore Zahn contended that Paul's ideas in Rom. 8:19-22 are taken entirely from the OT Scriptures.[100] His argument answered Frommann's charge that this passage introduced some strange ideas with no parallel in any known Jewish or Christian text.[101] One reason 19th century exegetes did not explore a possible Jewish apocalyptic background for Rom. 8 was their relatively limited knowledge about such texts. It would be difficult today, however, to make Frommann's claim in light of the greater availability of information about Jewish apocalyptic writings available today.[102]

Around the turn of the century the picture changed, along with a growing interest in

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[100]T. Zahn, "Die seufzende Creatur. Röm 8,18-23 mit Rücksicht auf neuere Auffassungen," *JDT* 10 (1865): 515.

[101]K. Frommann, "Über die seufzende Kreatur, Röm. 8,19-23," *JDT* 8 (1863): 31, 49, cited by Olle Christoffersson, *Earnest Expectation of the Creature. The Flood-Tradition As Matrix of Romans 8:18-27*, Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series, no. 23 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 39-40. Frommann took the unusual position that the passage speaks of a natural revelation of God in which creation can be observed to be groaning and longing for God's revelation of the sons of God. He takes this revelation through nature to be evidence of the truth of the Christian faith.

[102]There was also a tendency during this period to disparage apocalyptic as an inferior form of Judaism. This viewpoint was formulated most precisely by George Foot Moore, who argued that even prior to A.D. 70 there was a "normative Judaism." Apocalyptic represented a deviation that had little influence and quickly died out (George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 3:18).

the relationship of the NT to Jewish apocalyptic literature raised by scholars such as Weiss, Kabisch and Schweitzer. One of the most important contributions of this era was the Romans commentary of William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam (original edition 1895). In addition to frequent cross references to Jewish literature in the discussion of Rom. 8:19-22, they included a still useful three page excursus on "the renovation of nature" in Judaism.[103] They claim that Paul will be misunderstood if he is removed from the Jewish "mental surroundings in which he moved." In Jewish writings of the time, "this idea of a renovation of Nature, the creation of new heavens and a new earth is common, as part of the Messianic expectation."[104] They note numerous parallels in 1 En., 4 Ez., 2 Bar., Pss. Sol. and Sib. Ora. that develop concepts found in the OT prophets, particularly Isaiah. Paul, however, has a greater sympathy for nature in itself, and is not simply concerned for the glorification of Israel.[105]

A similar approach was taken by Henry St. John Thackeray, who also noted the similarity of Rom. 8 to the Jewish Pseudepigrapha. Paul "sympathizes with nature itself" in contrast with the Pseudepigrapha in which the renovation of nature is typically for the benefit of the Jews alone.[106]

William F. Whitehouse took quite a different view in his 1905 monograph on Rom. 8:18-23, which was the most detailed exegesis of the passage up to that time. He acknowledged that the idea of the regeneration of creation was common in Jewish apocalypses, but he did not believe that Paul refers to this theme, since inanimate things cannot have faith and so are not subject to eternal blessedness. Paul is concerned only about human redemption.[107]

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[103]Sanday and Headlam, 210-2.

[104]Ibid., 207, 210.

[105]They also allude to the Talmud, p. 211.

[106]Henry St. John Thackeray, *The Relation of Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought* (London: Macmillan, 1900), 40.

[107]W. F. Whitehouse, 22-3.

In the 1920's, Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck pointed out numerous parallels between Rom. 8:19-22 and Jewish literature. Rom. 8:19ff, they argued, builds on a cluster of ideas developed from the story of the Fall in Gen. 3. Since humanity was created to be Lord of Creation, the creation itself was corrupted when Adam and Eve sinned.[108] There are numerous apocalyptic and rabbinic texts that develop Gen. 3 in a similar manner to Rom. 8:19ff. 4 Ez. 7:11f is particularly close.[109] Although Strack and Billerbeck tended to lump apocalyptic and later rabbinic literature together, they made an important contribution to the understanding of the environment of Paul's thought – a contribution that generations of Christian scholars have built on.

In a 1940 monograph on the redemption of creation, H. M. Biedermann sought to find the source of Paul's idea that the creation will share eschatological redemption with humanity. He found several close, though not exact, parallels in the OT prophets.[110] He also notes the similarity to numerous passages in 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch.[111] Yet even after this extensive listing of similarities to apocalyptic texts, he denies any connection between Rom. 8:18f and these passages. Paul drew entirely on the story of the Fall in Gen. 3 and prophetic passages about eschatological redemption when he wrote Rom. 8:18-27.[112]

Consistent with his view about how Paul has reinterpreted the apocalyptic tradition, Bultmann acknowledges that Rom. 8:18f is rooted in the Jewish belief in transcendent glory as

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[108]Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, vol. 3, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München: C. H. Beck, 1922-1928), 247.

[109]Ibid., 3:247-250. They discuss the birth pangs of the Messiah in 1:950.

[110]Especially Is. 11:6-9; 24, but also Is. 2:6-9; 13:9-11; Jer. 4:24f; Joel 2:10; 4:15; Amos 5:18f; 8:9; 9:5; Hag. 3:6-11; Ez. 2:10; Nah. 1:5; Os. 2:20. Hermenegild M. Biedermann, *Die Erlösung der Schöpfung beim Apostel Paulus. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung der religionsgeschichtlichen Stellung der paulinischen Erlösungslehre* (Würzburg: St. Rita, 1940), 29-30.

[111]E.g. 1 En. 71; 80; 91:14, 16; 4 Ez. 3:14; 4:26-29; 5:45; 6:16, 39; 7:1-113; 8:1, 5; 2 Bar. 3:7; 4:4; 14:13; 15:7; 30:10; 32:6; 40:3; 44:13; 48:50; 51:3, 8-11; 57:2; 74:2.

[112]Biedermann, 40-1, 49, 88-9.

a compensation for present suffering, but he argues that this has "lost its motive power" for Paul.[113] He believes that Paul used the language of Gnostic mythology to express his message about the Fall of creation, even though he did not believe in Gnostic dualism.[114]

The approach of Gwilym Griffith (1945) sharply contrasts with Bultmann's view and returns to the work of Sanday and Headlam, Strack and Billerbeck, and others who looked to early Jewish writings as a background for Rom. 8:19-22. He argues that the concept that all creation will be redeemed and share in the glory of God is in keeping with the OT prophetic writings (e.g. Is. 40, 65) and Jewish apocalyptic literature (e.g. 1 En. 45, 51). To understand Paul's ideas in Rom. 8:19f properly, one must understand the messianic and eschatological ideas in Jewish apocalypticism. The redemption of creation is not simply a holdover from an outdated Jewish apocalyptic view, but an essential aspect of early Christian faith.[115]

Eric Rust took a similar approach in his 1953 study of the theology of nature in biblical literature. After a lengthy chapter on nature in "late Jewish thought," he concludes that Paul was in line with the Jewish view. Unfortunately, he tends to view the teachings of various writings as monolithic, rather than examining the differences of various strands of thought.[116] A similar approach is taken by W. D. Stacey in an article on Rom. 8:22-23. Paul's view of the present depraved state of all creation and his hope for its release through God's redemptive effort is based on his Jewish heritage as well as his personal Christian experience of a new order.[117]

Allan Galloway argues that Paul was perfectly at home with the structures of Jewish

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[113]Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity*, 178, 184, 186.

[114]Bultmann, *Theology*, 174, 178.

[115]Griffith, "Apocalyptic," 154-5.

[116]Rust, 124-60.

[117]Stacey, "Paul's Certainties," 178-81.

apocalyptic and shares the terminology of apocalyptic, such as the world-age terminology and the idea that the world is corrupted and under demonic influence, yet reflects the goodness of God.[118] Paul also draws on Greek ideas for homiletical purposes, but the roots of much of his theology are in Jewish apocalyptic.[119] The idea of a cosmic redemption is not peripheral to Paul's central idea of the redeeming work of Christ, but flows out of the Jewish apocalyptic ideas of dualism and the redemption of the universe.[120]

In his 1956 book on NT theology, Ethelbert Stauffer lists numerous Jewish apocalyptic passages that discuss the corruption and redemption of creation. Although these apocalyptic themes are found in much of the NT, Paul gives the fullest treatment in Rom. 8:19-22. When Paul says "we know" (Rom. 8:22) he appeals to a well known apocalyptic and biblical tradition. No one familiar with apocalyptic literature has difficulty understanding this passage.[121]

The Jewish scholar H. J. Schoeps believes that in general Paul drew from his Hellenistic Jewish background, which included apocalyptic literature, although the major influence on his thought was his conversion experience. Nevertheless, he agrees with Bultmann that Paul uses Gnostic mythological symbols in Rom. 8:19f.[122]

Heinz Schwantes' 1963 study of the Resurrection in Paul stresses the apocalyptic parallels to Rom. 8:18-27 that had been noted by Strack and Billerbeck. 4 Ez. 7:11 was particularly important.[123] Nevertheless, Schwantes did not believe that Paul was an

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[118]Galloway, 41-3.

[119]Ibid., 47.

[120]Ibid., 55.

[121]Stauffer, 73-4.

[122]H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History*, trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), 47-8, 53-5.

[123]Heinz Schwantes, *Schöpfung der Endzeit: Ein Beitrag zum Verständis der Auferweckung bei Paulus* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1963), 44.

apocalypticist himself. He uses apocalyptic material to make kerygmatic statements, but Paul has no interest in apocalyptic cosmology *per se*. Believers should place their present sufferings under the light of the cosmic act of God.[124]

In Joseph Nelson's 1969 dissertation on Rom. 8:18-27, he argues that the roots of Paul's eschatology in this passage are in the "Jewish Eschatological Literature." He notes that these works stress the goodness of creation and the redemption of the natural order. His treatment of the subject, however, is limited to a brief and uncritical discussion of seven short apocalyptic passages.[125]

Several studies in the 1970's recognized the apocalyptic background to Rom. 8:19-22. John Gibbs treats Rom. 8:19-22 as one of the central passages in his important 1971 monograph on creation and redemption in Paul. He recognizes the apocalyptic background to this passage, but he does not develop a detailed comparison of Paul's ideas to other literature.[126] Charles Giblin argues that Rom. 8 has a strongly apocalyptic perspective, although he does not offer any apocalyptic passages in support of this claim. Nevertheless, Paul does not move into unrestrained apocalyptic imagery or speculation about the changes that will take place when creation is transformed.[127] J. L. Sharpe shows the similarity of thought between the Adam theologies in Paul's letters and the Apocalypse of Moses.[128]

In his 1971 monograph on Rom. 8:18-39, Horst R. Balz points to many parallels in rabbinic texts, the OT and 4 Ezra. Although Rom. 8:19-22 does not depend on specific apocalyptic texts, apocalyptic theology is very influential and leads to a concern for all of

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[124]Ibid., 50-1.

[125]Nelson, *Groaning*, 158-63.

[126]Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 40-1.

[127]Giblin, 394-5.

[128]J. L. Sharpe III, "The Second Adam in the Apocalypse of Moses," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 35-46.

creation, not simply humanity. Balz notes the solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation in Rom. 8 and 4 Ezra, which serves as the basis of the hope of creation. He also finds many similarities to 1 Enoch, but he rejects any connection to the Enoch writings because they deal with the sins of angels rather than the Fall of humanity.[129]

Ulrich Wilckens surveys a wide range of apocalyptic works with themes similar to Rom. 8:19-22 in his Romans commentary. He believes Paul's thought is firmly rooted in apocalyptic. although he cannot find any coherent background to the text. Paul makes a series of allusions to diverse ideas found in many apocalyptic works, particularly that the present suffering of the people of God is a prelude to the glory of the messianic kingdom and also that creation will share with redeemed humanity in eschatological glory.[130]

Michael Neary notes some similarities to Rom. 8:19-22 in the biblical Flood story. The idea that redemption involves the cosmos is there in embryonic form. The alliance with recreated humanity after the Flood also incorporated the entire material universe with humanity at its center. After the Flood the material universe regained its original harmony and rhythm.[131] Neary, however, does not explore any of the Jewish apocalyptic works that develop the Flood motif or that use the Flood as a type of the eschatological transformation of creation. Instead, he locates the background to Rom. 8:19-22 entirely in Gen. 3:17.[132]

J. Christiaan Beker argues strongly for the apocalyptic nature of Rom. 8:19-22. He sees Rom. 8:17-39 as "Paul's most impressive confession of the triumph of God," which he

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[129]Horst R. Balz, *Heilsvertrauen und Welterfahrung: Strukturen der Paulinishen Eschatologie nach Römer 8.18-39*, Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie, no. 59 (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1971), 41-2.

[130]Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Zürich: Neukirchen, 1980), 148f. He affirms the observation of Strack and Billerbeck that Gen. 3:17 was interpreted by rabbinic writers in a similar manner to Paul.

[131]Michael Neary, "The Cosmic Emphasis of Paul," *ITQ* 48 (1981): 21.

[132]Ibid., 22.

believes to be the coherent center of Paul's thought.[133] Rom. 8:17-30 is one of four passages (along with 1 Cor. 15; Phil 3:4-11; Rom. 9-11) that Beker examines more closely as examples of the major apocalyptic motifs in Paul.[134] The apocalyptic focus of the passage is clear on each of the motifs that Beker considers central to Paul's apocalypticism. In many ways, this passage is very strong on the coherent nature of Paul's theology and contains little that is contingent, so it strongly supports Beker's contention regarding the apocalyptic gospel of Paul.[135] Unfortunately, Beker works with a generalized conception of "apocalyptic" and does not analyze specific Jewish apocalyptic texts to establish his thesis about what apocalyptic is. Nevertheless, he has made an important contribution to the understanding of Rom. 8:19-22 as being rooted in the theology of Jewish apocalypticism.

Paul Minear argued that although Romans is not an apocalypse, the shape and force of the argument in Rom. 8 stem from an apocalyptic conception of the conflicts inherent in the vocation of Paul and his readers. The conflicts are with hidden forces of evil, over which Christ has won the victory (vv. 38-39).[136] The ideas that all creation was subjected to futility due to the Fall and that the whole creation looks forward to liberty are apocalyptic themes.[137]

Thomas Marberry's 1982 dissertation on nature motifs in Paul shows that the Jewish conception of the natural world was the primary background for Paul's concepts. He convincingly shows that Paul's roots on this theme are Jewish rather than Hellenistic.[138] He only lists a few representative apocalyptic texts, however, and does not look at how the themes

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[133]Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 363-6; cf. J. Christiaan Beker, "Vision of Hope for a Suffering World: Romans 8:17-30," *Princeton Seminary Bulletin Supplement* 3 (1994): 26-32.

[134]Beker, *Triumph*, 125-34; Beker, "Vision of Hope," 26-32.

[135]Beker, *Triumph*, 128-9.

[136]Minear, *New Testament Apocalyptic*, 102, 109.

[137]Ibid., 108.

[138]Marberry, 133-250.

function in their own settings.

Leander Keck shows that Paul uses the language of the two ages, even though he never states the doctrine fully. Paul's two age theology leads him to believe in the solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation, so all of creation waits for redemption.[139]

Bruce Longenecker argues that there are close similarities in the theology of 4 Ezra and Rom. 1-11. He does not treat Rom. 8:19-22, however, primarily because he is interested in how the authors interact with "ethnocentric covenantalism" on the Law and the people of God more than the apocalyptic characteristics of 4 Ezra and Romans.[140]

Herbert Ulrich wrote an extensive monograph showing a close relationship between the eschatology of 1 En. 9-11 and that of the NT. Yet he fails to consider Rom. 8:19-22, because he looks for literary relationships rather than similar theology.[141]

Walther Bindemann's monograph on the meaning of Rom. 8:18-27 examines a possible background in Jewish apocalyptic literature. He concludes that Paul uses an apocalyptic perspective in this passage, with numerous motifs similar to those found in Jewish apocalyptic writings. Nevertheless the literary relationship is not very clear since there is no clear example of a specific apocalyptic text that Paul draws on.[142]

In his 1990 dissertation Olle Christoffersson agrees with the large number of modern scholars who claim that Rom. 8:18-27 uses ideas found in Jewish apocalyptic texts. He argues, however, that all of the apocalyptic motifs can be found in the Flood tradition,

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[139]Keck, 235-7.

[140]Bruce W. Longenecker, *Eschatology and the Covenant. A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Romans 1-11*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement, no. 57 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 36.

[141]Herbert Ulrich, *Die Eschatologie von Henoch 9-11 und das Neue Testament* (Klosterneuberg, Austria: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984).

[142]Walter Bindemann, *Die Hoffnung der Schöpfung. Römer 8,18-27 und die Frage einer Theologie der Befreiung von Mensch und Natur*, Neukirchener Studienbücher, no. 14 (Düsseldorf: Neukirkener, 1983), 29-54.

particularly in Gen. 1-6 and 1 En. 6-11. So he argues that the background to the passage is 1 Enoch and the fall of the Watchers, rather than the Fall of Adam. Those very motifs that often cause exegetes problems can be explained from the background of the Flood tradition. Paul draws on the Flood tradition rather than on the prophets when he speaks of a new world.[143]

Margaret Barker also believes that 1 Enoch is part of the background to Rom. 8:19-22, especially with respect to (1) the damage that creation suffered from the corrupting knowledge the fallen Watchers gave to humanity, and (2) the concept of a cosmic covenant that binds the forces of creation (1 En. 41, 69). Since the cosmic covenant has been broken, creation has been corrupted and cosmic evil has been unleashed.[144]

D. M. Russell argues that the apocalyptic themes of the cosmic damage of sin and the expectation of the renewal of creation are carried into NT passages, such as Rom. 8:18-23, Col. 1:15-20, 2 Pet. 3 and Rev. 21 and various teachings of Jesus. He never explores, however, the exact similarities and differences between the NT passages and Jewish apocalyptic literature and he simply assumes that the teachings in these NT passages may be classified as apocalyptic.[145]

It is commonplace in recent commentaries on Romans to note that Paul's concepts in Rom. 8:19-22 are similar to those found in Jewish apocalyptic writings. For example, Käsemann lists a number of examples of cosmic theology in Jewish apocalyptic literature.[146] Fitzmyer says that "Paul indulges in apocalyptic language."[147] Barrett observes the apoca-

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[143]Christoffersson, 116-39.

[144]Margaret Barker, *The Lost Prophet. The Book of Enoch and Its Influence of Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1988), 42, 77-8.

[145]D. M. Russell, 182-98.

[146]Käsemann, *Romans*, 233.

[147]Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 506. He lists a very few texts on p. 505.

lyptic language in the passage, although he says Paul "may owe something to current Gnosticism and astrology."[148] Dunn says the "language of apocalyptic is sustained." He lists numerous typical apocalyptic motifs, although few specific passages.[149] Lambrecht says "the vocabulary and images possess an apocalyptic character."[150] John Heil, who uses a reader-response approach to Romans, argues that Paul and his original audience presupposed a Jewish apocalyptic world view and Rom. 8 expresses an apocalyptic expectation.[151] In most of these commentaries the similarity of Paul's ideas to apocalyptic thought is stated with little further elaboration and few supporting passages from the Jewish apocalyptic writings themselves.

E. Conclusions

Several general observations can be made based on this survey of research on the similarities between Romans 8:19-22 and the Jewish apocalyptic writings:

(1) Important advances in apocalyptic research in recent decades have come simultaneously with a renewed appreciation of the features of Paul's theology that are similar to Jewish apocalyptic. One of the hindrances of earlier researchers was the limited understanding of Jewish apocalyptic literature available in that day. Apocalyptic research has become an important and rapidly expanding field of study in the past few

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[148]Barrett, *Romans*, 165-6.

[149]Dunn, *Romans*, 467, 487; cf. Matthew Black, *Romans*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1989), 116. Black says that Paul bases his ideas on "the well known tradition of Jewish apocalyptic prophecy."

[150]Jan Lambrecht, *The Wretched 'I' and Its Liberation. Paul in Romans 7 and 8* (Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 120. Lambrecht says expressions like "the present time," "glory," "revelation," "groaning" of creation, and the messianic woes are apocalyptic.

[151]John Paul Heil, *Paul's Letter to the Romans. A Reader-Response Commentary* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 3-5, 20. Romans is not apocalyptic in genre but in viewpoint. In particular Heil notes apocalyptic themes such as (1) God's plan for the "end-time" in which God will ultimately prevail; (2) expectation of a cosmic upheaval and transformation at the end of time; (3) cosmic and temporal dualism, with two ages; and (4) awaiting God's future glory.

decades. The availability of critical editions, translated texts, major commentaries, and studies of the genre and theology of apocalyptic literature mushroomed too late for Nelson's 1969 work on Rom. 8 to benefit.

(2) Käsemann and Beker have had a strong influence on recent research into the religious background of Paul's thought. As a result of their work, an increasing number of NT scholars accept the place of Jewish apocalyptic as at least part of the background of Paul's theology. At the same time, the sweeping nature of their conclusions points to the need to examine more closely the apocalyptic nature of Paul's theology in specific passages. There is a tendency for both scholars to make general claims about the nature of apocalyptic theology without examining closely specific Jewish apocalyptic works.

(3) The distinction between "apocalyptic" as a literary genre and "apocalyptic" as a type of theology has opened the door for new research into the background of Pauline theology. It is now widely recognized that many works that are not apocalypses in literary genre still contain apocalyptic theology.

(4) Although it is widely accepted by modern scholars that Rom. 8:19-22 has a theological perspective similar to Jewish apocalyptic, it is not always clear exactly what that means. There is a tendency for many Pauline researchers, especially commentators, to use the term "apocalyptic" without a clear definition of its meaning and with the assumption that the reader knows the characteristics of apocalyptic theology.[152] This study, therefore, will seek a refined understanding of the Jewish apocalyptic thought concerning the corruption and redemption of creation in order to place Paul's thoughts more adequately within this context.

(5) Many previous studies of apocalyptic thought in Paul lumped together all Jewish

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[152]Cf. Matlock's critique of Beker and other modern studies of apocalyptic and Paul (Matlock, 249-50, 256).

apocalyptic literature, as if the theology of the apocalyptic writings was monolithic.[153] This was also a problem in some older works on apocalyptic literature, such as D. S. Russell's thematic studies of apocalyptic. Modern apocalyptic researchers recognize that there are many types of thought within Jewish apocalypticism, even within a single work.[154] There is a need to examine each apocalyptic work individually to determine its theology of the corruption and redemption of creation, the function of these themes in the individual books, and the different strands of thought on these themes. Only then can Paul's thought in Rom. 8:19-22 be fairly compared to the Jewish apocalyptic materials and placed within the proper stream of theology.

(6) There is a tendency, particularly in commentaries, to simply use apocalyptic works as proof-texts to establish the Jewish influence on Paul's thought. There has been little detailed exegesis of the apocalyptic texts related to the corruption and redemption of creation. Barry Matlock observes that the absence of detailed exegetical treatment of apocalyptic texts is a weakness of most studies of the relationship between Paul and Jewish apocalyptic literature in general.[155]

In light of these observations, this study involves two parts: (1) The perspective of the Jewish apocalyptic writings on the corruption and redemption of creation is examined. Several major apocalyptic works are studied individually to determine the multiple strands of apocalyptic thought on these themes. (2) The perspective of Rom. 8:19-22 on the corruption and redemption of creation is then compared to the Jewish apocalyptic view to determine the similarities and differences between Paul's thought and Jewish apocalyptic theology.

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[153]E.g. Stauffer, Sanday and Headlam, Thackeray, Nelson, Marberry, Beker.

[154]E.g. Collins, "Introduction," 1-19, groups apocalypses into different types based on where they fall on temporal and spatial axes. De Boer, 169-90, identifies both cosmological and forensic eschatology in apocalyptic literature. Thompson, *Responsibility*, 5-82, has an excellent survey of differing views of Jewish writings on the origin of evil.

[155]Matlock, 17.

SECTION II:

THE CORRUPTION AND REDEMPTION OF CREATION IN JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

CHAPTER 3:

EARLY JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

Jewish apocalyptic literature is a diverse body of writings. The Jewish apocalyptic materials originated over a period of several centuries, from the third century B.C. through the late first or early second century A.D. Although most works share numerous theological and formal features, they also contain a variety of viewpoints on many theological themes, even within the same work. It is difficult to generalize about "the apocalyptic theology," since there are several strands of apocalyptic thought on many topics. Thus in order to properly understand the conception of the Jewish apocalyptic materials concerning the corruption and redemption of creation, each writing should be examined independently to determine the particular viewpoint of that writing and the function of these themes within the work. Only then can broader patterns and strands of thought be perceived across the body of literature.

The early Jewish apocalyptic materials from the third and second centuries B.C. frequently discuss the corruption and redemption of creation, although they include a variety of views of these issues. Several important Jewish apocalyptic writings were written during this period, including most of 1 Enoch (with the exception of the Book of Parables) and the book of Jubilees.

The study of 1 Enoch (Ethiopic Enoch) is complicated by the composite nature of the work. Each of the five "books" of 1 Enoch probably came from different sources, as did certain sections within individual books. The divergent origin of the various sections is quite apparent in the diverse and sometimes conflicting viewpoints held regarding the natural world.

A. 1 Enoch Book 1 (ch. 1-36): The Book of Watchers

1. Date, Provenance and Unity of the Book of Watchers

Book 1 (Book of Watchers) and Book 3 (Astronomical Book) are the earliest sections of 1 Enoch, both dating from the 3rd century B.C.[1] Most scholars agree that the Book of Watchers (BW) consists of three major sections (ch. 1-5, 6-16, 17-36), each probably written by different authors. These sections also appear to incorporate several smaller pre-existing literary units. The oldest section of BW is probably 6-11, which is itself a collection of traditions that may date from the 4th century B.C.[2]

The exact setting of BW is uncertain. It probably originated in Judea or perhaps even Jerusalem.[3] The Aramaic MSS of 1 Enoch discovered in cave 4 of Qumran have led most modern scholars to conclude that BW, along with most of the rest of 1 Enoch, was originally written in Aramaic.[4]

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[1]Michael E. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 479-92; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 110-4; J. T. Milik, ed., *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 28. Milik argues on paleographic grounds that the date of 4QEn^a is the first half of the second century B.C., which establishes a *terminus ad quem* of ca. 200 B.C. for Book I (pp. 5, 140).

[2]George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100 (1981): 575.

[3]E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in OTP, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 1:8]. Milik, *Enoch*, 25-6, points to the author's view that Jerusalem is the center of the earth and his detailed knowledge of the city. John J. Collins, "The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 97-8, notes that the lack of clear historical referents in BW makes it difficult to determine the date and place of origin precisely. The "essential polyvalence of apocalyptic symbolism" and the "typological view of history" in apocalyptic allow BW to be applied to a wide variety of crises.

[4]Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 6. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, by Michael A. Knibb, suggests that Hebrew fragments found at Qumran may have been among the sources used for 1 Enoch. Milik, *Enoch*, 4, argues that 1 Enoch originally consisted of 5 Aramaic books, with a "Book of Giants" as the second book. He claims that the Book of Parables was a later Christian addition that replaced the Book of Giants. Black, however, believes that these fragments of the Aramaic Book of Giants were part

2. 1 Enoch 1-5

Most scholars see ch. 1-5 as an introduction to the whole of 1 Enoch[5] or at least to the first book.[6] The theme is the Final Judgment, which is one of the major themes of the whole book. These introductory chapters are readily broken down into two literary units: ch. 1, the impending theophany and the Final Judgment; and ch. 2-5, a nature homily urging disobedient Israelites to return in obedience to the covenant in light of the coming judgment.

a. 1 Enoch 1

(1) Eschatological Cosmic Cataclysm:

1 Enoch 1:3b-9 is a theophany of God's appearance on the earth in the Final Judgment.[7] The righteous will receive blessing, peace and prosperity, but the wicked will be punished. "All" will be judged, not only humans, but also the "Watchers" (v. 5).[8] This introduces the important Enochian theme of the Watchers, the angels who transgressed their

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of the original Book of Watchers, which ends at 16:4 (Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch. A New English Edition With Commentary and Textual Notes*, Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha, no. 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 9-10).

[5]Milik, *Enoch*, 25; G. Beer, "Das Buch Henoch," in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ed. G. Kautzsch (Tübingen: Gerd Mohr, 1900), 224; François Martin, *Le Livre D'Hénoch*, Documents Pour L'étude De La Bible: Les Apocryphes De L'Ancien Testament (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906), lxxviii; R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 2-3; August Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853), 90. However, Vanderkam, Enoch, p. 112, observes that it could not have been written by the final redactor, since MSS containing these chapters antedate other parts of the 1 Enoch.

[6]George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 48-9, sees ch. 1-5 as an introduction to ch. 6-19 or 6-36.

[7]James C. VanderKam, "The Theophany of Enoch 1.3b-7, 9," *VT* 23 (1973): 131, argues that it does not refer to the Flood, since v. 2 says it was written for a later generation, not for Enoch's generation, when the Flood occurred. The Ethiopic manuscript B, renders v. 7 with Flood imagery: "the earth will sink." See Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 146-7. Even if this reading is rejected, there are still overtones of Flood typology: "All things on the earth will perish," echoes God's sentence in Gen. 6:7, 13. Cf. VanderKam, "Theophany," 146-7.

[8]Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 108; contra Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 7, who incorrectly supplies "men" in v. 7: "there shall be a judgement upon all (men)."

proper bounds and will be judged (cf. 10:6, 15).

When the Lord appears on Mount Sinai[9] in judgment, the earth will suffer cataclysmic disasters: the mountains will shake and disintegrate, the hills will "melt like a honeycomb before the flame," the earth will be torn open by a terrible earthquake and everything on earth will be destroyed (v. 6-7). This dramatic picture of mountains shaking and collapsing in the presence of the Lord is found frequently in the OT and Second Temple Jewish literature[10]. This is probably a description of the end of this world, since it is followed by the universal judgment.[11] There is no indication, however, of whether a new heaven and earth will be established.

(2) The Personification of Creation:

Isaac translates vv. 4b-6a in terms of a personification of nature: "And everyone shall be afraid, and Watchers shall quiver. And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth. *Mountains and high places shall fall down and be frightened.*"[12] This suggests that the "everyone" that is afraid (v. 4b) includes the "mountains and high places" as well as humans and Watchers. If this personification is correct, then this passage ascribes an emotional state to the natural world.

Many commentators, however, do not translate v. 6a with such a personification. Black, Hartman and Isaac all base their rendering of v. 6a on the Greek text (σεισθήσονται καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται ὄρη ὑψηλά). Yet Black translates διαλυθήσονται as "shall be

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[9]Dillmann, *Henoch*, 90.

[10]E.g. Mic. 1:4 (mountains melt "like wax before the fire," valleys split); Nah. 1:5 (mountains melt, hills quake); Ps. 97(96):5 (mountains melt like wax); Is. 64:1,3; Hab. 3:6; Judith 16:15; Ass. Mos. 10:4; Sir. 16:19; 1 En. 102:2f; 2 Pet. 3:7-10; cf. 1 En. 52:6 (the metaphor of mountains melting like wax is symbolic of the nations quaking with fear at the Judgment).

[11]VanderKam, "Theophany," 146-7. However, Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 6-7, believes it goes no further than OT theophanies that denote God's authority over His creation.

[12]Isaac, "1 Enoch," 13. Italics mine.

disintegrated" and Hartman uses "will be dissolved" in place of Isaac's freer rendering "will be frightened." Charles and Knibb base their translation on the briefer Ethiopic text, which does not have the word. The Aramaic MSS from Qumran are incomplete at this point. Milik's translation of the Aramaic supplies "be dissolved," evidently based on the Greek text.

Personification is consistent with the universal fear of v. 5. Black notes that "the panic, like the judgment, is to be universal (cf. vv. 7, 9) and cosmic."[13] In this case the shaking of the mountains is a sign of fear, and not simply a natural earthquake – even as the Watchers shake in fear (v. 5).[14] A similar concept is found in 102:2: "All the luminaries shall faint with great fear; the whole earth shall faint and tremble and panic" (Isaac translation).

On the other hand, while the idea of fear is consistent with the context, this translation introduces a personification that is not required by the meaning of either the Ethiopic or Greek texts. It is perfectly sensible to understand the shaking of the earth as due to an earthquake. Isaac apparently takes "shall be frightened" from the Greek, which literally says "shall be shaken and fall down and dissolve" (σεισθήσονται καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται) rather than the Ethiopic, which simply has "shall be shaken." Milik has established the general superiority of the Aramaic text of BW from Qumran, even though it is fragmentary and not completely uniform. His work also confirms that the Greek version, especially the Gizeh MS, is relatively reliable and generally preferable to the Ethiopic.[15] Nevertheless, διαλύω means "to dissolve" or "to put an end to" rather than "to fear." Thus Isaac's translation is an interpretation based on the sense of the context (universal fear) more than the exact words of the text.

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[13]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 106.

[14]The Ethiopic simply has "shake." The Greek, "believe" (πιστεύσουσιν), is probably a corruption, which is not consistent with the rest of 1 Enoch in which the Watchers are fallen angels. Cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 59; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 107.

[15]Milik, *Enoch*, 71-2.

b. 1 Enoch 2-5

(1) The Corruption of Creation:

Ch. 2-5 have a quite different interest in the natural world than chapter 1. Whereas ch. 1 focuses on the cataclysmic destruction of the natural world at the Final Judgment, 2:1-5:3 consists of a nature homily in which the consistent day-to-day operation of nature is a paradigm for human obedience to God's commandments.

The author describes various aspects of the operation of the natural world and shows the regularity of nature: the heavenly luminaries (2:1), the earth (2:2), the changing of seasons (2:3), the water cycle (2:3), deciduous trees that consistently lose and regain their leaves, evergreen trees that retain their leaves (3:1), the consistent return of heat of summer (4:1), the green trees and fruit in Spring (5:1) and the perfect operation of the seas and rivers (5:3). The picture is one of nature as consistent and well behaved in its operation year by year. The natural world operates according to the patterns that God designed and does not change (5:1-2). The author repeatedly urges the reader to "examine" (Isaac), "observe" (Black) or "contemplate" (Knibb) all of these aspects of nature.

The author of chapters 2-5 apparently does not conceive of the natural world as either corrupted or fallen. Although many humans (5:4) and the fallen Watchers (1:4-5) are disobedient to God, the natural world continues to function as God intended.

(2) The Personification of Creation:

1 Enoch 2-5 uses highly personified language to describe the regularity of nature:

> His work proceeds and progresses from year to year. All his work prospers and obeys him, and it does not change; but everything functions in the way in which God has ordered it. And look at the seas: They do not part; they fulfil all their duties. (5:2b-3, Isaac translation)

The Aramaic is not as long, but still preserves the personification: "Year [in year and out they do not change their works] but they all do his Word."[16] The Ethiopic text is shorter than the

[16]Ibid., 147.

Greek, but it has an important variant. Instead of "all his work prospers," it has "all his works serve him."[17] Black argues that this is the better reading, since it preserves the parallel with 5a, which he translates "and all his works which he has made for ever attend on him year by year." This is an even stronger picture of creation as an obedient servant in the presence of his master.[18] Nonetheless, regardless of the specific language, the overall picture represents inanimate created things as individual personalities who obey and serve their creator and fulfil the commandments that he has given them.

This picture of an obedient natural world is in sharp contrast to BW 17-36, which says that some of the stars "transgressed the commandments of God from the beginning of their rising because they did not arrive punctually" (18:15; cf. 21:1-6). This latter section also personifies natural objects, but some created things are disobedient to God's design for them.

The function of this portrayal of the order of nature is paraenetic. The properly functioning natural order is a paradigm for the people of God, who should obey God's commands, just as nature does. The natural world's order and obedience to God's design is in sharp contrast to the disorder and disobedience of sinful people: "But you have changed your works, and have not been steadfast nor done according to his commandments, but you have transgressed against him . . . ." (5:4). The inanimate creation has not changed its works (5:2), "but you have changed your works." The "sinners" here are not the Gentiles (contra e.g. 1 En. 90:16-18 (AA); 91:12 (AW); Jub. 23:23-24; 1 Macc. 2:44; Pss. Sol. 1:1; 2:1), but the people of God who have transgressed or left the covenant (5:4a; cf. e.g. 1 En. 82:4 (AB); Pss. Sol. 17:11-20).[19] In the imminent Final Judgment, the wicked will be cursed and punished, but the

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[17]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 113; cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 65.

[18]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 112.

[19]Lars Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning, A Study of 1 Enoch 1-5*, Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series, no. 12 (Lund Sweden: CWK Gleerup, 1979), 137-8, discusses the kinds of sins they might have committed.

righteous will receive "light and joy and peace and they shall inherit the earth" (5:7).[20]

Similar nature homilies about the obedience of nature are used in other Jewish literature (e.g. T. Naph. 2:9; 3:2-3, Pss. Sol. 18:12-14, Sir. 16:26-28; 2 Bar. 48:9-10; 43; 16:26-28).[21] Nevertheless, 1 Enoch 2-5 is the earliest place in which nature is used as a basis for a command to obedience.[22] Michael Stone observes that even though the OT often personifies the natural world (e.g. Deut. 4:26; 30:19; 32:1; Is. 1:2; Ps. 19:1; 148), the various natural forces are not separate personalities endowed with consciousness or will. By the time of Second Temple Judaism, however, the regularity of the natural order was being spoken about as though the powers of nature were independent personalities that obey the will of God.[23]

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[20]Hartman, *Asking*, 51-71, demonstrates that using the order of nature to urge obedience or calling nature as a witness against sinners is frequently a part of denouncement passages in Second Temple Jewish literature that follow the OT *rib* pattern (cf. 1:9, which says God denounces the Israelites). Heaven and earth are generally mentioned in these passages, however the function is different. In the OT *rib* passages, frequently heaven and earth are called as witnesses to the covenantal obligations (Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28). In OT passages other than *rib* texts, nature's order is primarily used to show the majesty of God (e.g. Ps. 19). However, in the Second Temple *rib* passages, nature is often strongly personified as an example of obedience. Out of the 15 post-biblical *rib* texts that Hartman examines, six use nature as an example of following their intended pattern (1 En. 1:9-5:9 (2:1-5:3); 1 En. 101-104(101:1-8); T. Naph. 3-4(3:2); Ass. Mos. 12:9-13(9); 1 Q34bis II(1f); S. Dt. 32:1(§306 332:4-15)), while another five call nature as a witness, much like the pattern in Deuteronomy (1 En. 100:4-13; Ps-Philo 19:2-5(4); 2 Bar. 84:1-8(2); 1 QDM I-II (I.5); 4 Ez. 7:33-42 (39-42?)). The form critical category of *rib* for a denouncement text was introduced by B. Gemser, "The Rib or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality," in *Supplement to Vetus Testamentum* (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 3: 120-38.

[21]T. Naph. 3:2-3 is the closest verbal and functional parallel, since it also urges humans to obey God even as inanimate things obey Him. See Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 8-9, for an extensive discussion of parallel passages.

[22]VanderKam, *Enoch*, 120-1.

[23]E.g. Sir. 16:26-28; T. Naph. 3:2. The stars keep an oath: 1 En. 41:5; 69:20-21, 24. Spirits guide the luminaries: 2 En. 40:3; Jub. 2. Michael E. Stone, "The Parabolic Use of Natural Order in Judaism of the Second Temple Age," in *Selected Studies in Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha. With Special Reference to the Armenian Tradition*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), 458.

(3) The Redemption of Creation:

1 Enoch 2-5 implies that the righteous will enjoy a utopian eschatological life on the present earth.[24] The elect "shall inherit the earth" (5:7) and they shall live out their assigned number of days in peace, joy and freedom from suffering (5:9-10; cf. Is. 65:17-25). Nevertheless there is no discussion of the redemption of the natural world, since the natural world has not been corrupted by sin.

3. 1 Enoch 6-16

Most scholars see 1 Enoch 6-11 as an expansion of Gen 6:1-2, 4, which refers to the marriage of "the sons of God and the daughters of men."[25] This section discusses the fall of the Watchers, a group of angels who married human women, taught forbidden arts to humans (such as making instruments of war, using cosmetics, and practicing astrology) and corrupted the earth with their acts of violence, murder and adultery. In this portion of 1 Enoch the problems of a corrupt and violent world are blamed on the fall of the angels, rather than on the Fall of Adam and Eve (Gen. 3) or ongoing human wickedness (Gen 6).

While there is no consensus on the exact division of sources, most scholars agree that at least two strands of material are interwoven into one story: (1) a longer source in which Semyaza is the leader of a 200 member group of Watchers who marry human women and commit a variety of sins; and (2) a shorter source in which Azazel is the angelic teacher of heavenly secrets who leads humankind into sin.[26] Charles argues that ch. 6-11 derive from a

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[24]Cf. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 38.

[25]Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 197 (an "expository narrative"); P. S. Alexander, "The Targumim and Early Exegesis of "Sons of God" in Gen 6," *JJS* 23 (1977): 60 ("an elaborate midrash"); Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 14; Christoffersson, 49, and most other scholars. However, Milik, *Enoch*, 31 (followed cautiously by Black, *Book of Enoch*, 124-5), argues that Gen 6:1-4 is based on 1 Enoch 6-11.

[26]Carol A. Newsom, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6-19: Cosmology and Judgment," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 313. The two interwoven cycles were first noticed by August Dillmann, "Pseudepi-

hypothetical "Book of Noah," since the human protagonist is Noah not Enoch (10:1).[27]

Ch. 12-16 contain a vision of Enoch in which he intercedes for the Watchers. It is an elaboration of the story of the Watchers in ch. 6-11 and the first place in which Enoch is brought into the Watcher story.[28]

a. 1 Enoch 6-9

(1) The Corruption of Creation:

There are several important references to the corruption of the natural world in 1 En. 6-9. The Giants, who are the offspring of the union of the Watchers and human women, commit various acts of violence, including cannibalism (7:4-5), murder (9:9, cf. 9:1) and oppression of the people (9:9, cf. 9:1). Their hunger is unsatisfied even though they eat as much produce as the people can grow. As a result, they begin to eat the people themselves and "to sin against birds, wild beasts, reptiles, and fish" (7:5a, Isaac). Both the Ethiopic and the Greek have "sin against" (Gr. ἁμαρτάνειν). Black believes that the Greek is a mistranslation of the Aramaic אראשיין (4Q En^{a} 1 iii 19-20), from רשׁע, which means "to harm" or "to do

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graphen des Alten Testaments," in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, A. Hauck and J. J. Herzog, eds. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1883), 352. While the existence of the two sources is widely accepted, the exact division between sources is highly disputed. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 13-4, follows Dillmann, *Henoch*, 352, in assigning 6:1-2; 7:1-6; 8:4; 9:1-6; 10:1-10, 12-22 and 11:1-2 to the Azazel cycle. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 383-405, claims only 8:1-2; 9:6 and 10:4-8 belong to the Azazel material, while 7:1de; 8:3; 9:8c and 10:7 are "secondary contamination" from the Azazel story. Hanson, "Rebellion," claims the Azazel material is in 7:1de; 8:1-3; 9:6, 8c and 10:4-10. VanderKam, *Enoch*, 123-4, sees the Azazel material at 8:1-2; 9:6; 10:4-6, 8. Beer, *Henoch*, 225, claims the Azazel material is in 7:1b; 8:1-3; 9:6-8 and 10:1-3, with 6:1-2 and 7:1a, 2 in common between the two. This study will consider the meaning of the BW in its final form with the two traditions merged. This was essentially the state of BW by the first half of the 2nd century B.C. Cf. Collins, "Apocalyptic Technique," 95.

[27]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, xlvi-xlvii, who argues that 1 En. 54-55:2; 60; 65-69:25 and 106-107 also are part of the Book of Noah. The existence of such a book is implied by Jub 10:13 and 21:10. However, David Winston Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*, SBL Dissertation Series, no. 47 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 32-3 argues that the Noah sections are too diverse to have originally been one source.

[28]VanderKam, *Enoch*, 129-35.

violence to." He claims that the Greek translator understood it with the Hebrew meaning of חטא, which means "to act wickedly" or "to sin." Hence Black translates it "began to do violence to."[29]

Regardless whether "sin against" or "do violence to" best represents the original wording in 7:5a, this verse speaks about ecological sin and implies a violent assault on the animal kingdom. Hanson notes that the harm done to "birds, wild beasts, reptiles, and fish" is a metaphor describing "the collapse of the order of creation, with pugnacious forces unleashed in a vicious process of degeneration and decay." The "almost involuntary response" of the defiled earth is to cry out for release from the oppression (7:6).[30]

The defilement of the earth due to sin echoes the biblical concept of the promised land itself being defiled by sin (e.g. Lev. 18:25-28; Num. 35:33-34; Deut. 24:4; Jer. 2:7).[31] Num. 35:33 is a particularly relevant parallel, since it speaks of the defilement of the land by shedding blood, which was one of the sins of the Giants. One difference in 1 Enoch is that the defilement is extended from the promised land to the entire earth[32] and hence a Flood is

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[29]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 126.

[30]Hanson, "Rebellion," 199-200. An important parallel to 1 En. 7 is found in the Qumran Book of Giants (4QEnGiants[a] 8.11). This passage also describes the corruption of the earth brought by the fallen Watchers and represents either another version of this tradition or perhaps even another manuscript of 1 En. 7. The Aramaic word חבל (line 11) describes the corruption of the world due to the Watchers's sins. If Milik's reconstruction is correct, the earth complains against the Watchers because of their "prostitution of the earth" (line 9) and complains and accuses them of "the corruption by which you have corrupted it" (i.e. the earth, line 11). See Milik, *Enoch*, 315.

[31]Adolf Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, Jews' College Publications, no. 11 (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), 212-26, thoroughly studies numerous biblical passages that refer to the defilement of the land due to sin. In pp. 270-369 he explores the theme in intertestamental and Rabbinic literature with similar thoroughness. Büchler demonstrates that the uncleanness in the biblical passages is not simply ceremonial, but moral contamination (pp. 216, 219-221). Ceremonial sins, such as touching a leper (Lev. 14:34-53), do not defile the land, but serious moral violations do. Furthermore, the solution to the defilement is often radical, such as removing the offending persons from the land (e.g. Lev. 18:25).

[32]This extension is also often found in the prophets. Cf. Is. 7:23-25; 8:21-22; 9:18-21;

necessary to cleanse the entire earth from the defilement of the Watchers.

The offense of the Giants, however, is more than merely eating animals, which was not of itself sinful to most Jews. The context suggests that their sin was an excessive and violent assault against the animals. The Giants ate everything in sight and could not be satisfied: They ate crops, animals, humans and eventually each other (v. 5b). Black has an alternative understanding. He sees the sin against the animals as drinking the blood of the animals, which was a violation of the divine law (Gen 9:4; Jub 7:28-29; 21:6, 18; 1 En. 98:11; cf. Acts 15:20). This is based on reading "their flesh" in v. 5b (Aramaic בשׂרוהן in 4Q En^{a} 1 iii 2) as a reference to the animal's flesh.[33] There is no firm textual evidence for this interpretation, however, since the pronoun "their" is missing in the fragmentary Aramaic text. Isaac and Knibb base their translation on the Ethiopic, which says that they ate *each other's* flesh and drank each other's blood.[34] This suggests that v. 5b refers to the cannibalism of the Giants who ate the flesh and drank the blood of fellow Giants.

(2) The Personification of Creation:

As a result of the violence and sins of the fallen angels and the Giants, the earth itself cries out to God for release (7:6; 9:2). This idea is expressed in 7:6: "The earth brought an accusation against the oppressors." The Greek ἐντυγχάνω means "to converse with" or "meet," often "to make a complaint, petition or appeal." There are examples from the 2nd century B.C. papyri where the word is used with κατά (as here) meaning to make a complaint against someone.[35] This is the same word as in 9:3: "the souls of people are *putting their case* before

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13:9-13; 24:4-6; 33:7-9; 32:9-14; 34:8-17; Jer. 4:23-26; Amos. 4:7-9; Hos. 4:1-3.

[33]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 126.

[34]Cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 33, who says they turned from mankind, to animals and then against one another. Drinking the blood made their crime all the worse. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 126, also acknowledges that the Ethiopic text refers to cannibalism.

[35]Otto Bauernfeind, "Τυγχάνω," TDNT, 8:242-3.

you," though in this instance the sense of a petition is clearer. While no specific object of the earth's petition is specified, the implication is that it is directed either to God (cf. 9:10) or to the good angels (cf. 9:1-2). In this personification of the earth, the earth is seen as a victim of the oppression of the evil Watchers and Giants and cries out for release. In some sense the sin of the Giants against people and animals also harms the earth.

Another verse in which the earth cries out for release from oppression is 9:2. Both the text and the meaning of this verse are less clear than 7:6. Isaac's translation (based on the Ethiopic) sounds like the personified earth cries out about the oppression and devastation wreaked upon it: "The earth (from) her empty (foundation), has brought the cry of their voice unto the gates of heaven."[36] Similarly, Charles translates it: "The earth made without inhabitant cries the voice of their crying up to the gates of heaven."[37] The Ethiopic is translated by Knibb: "Let the devastated earth cry out with the sound of their cries unto the gates of heaven."[38] In all these translations, the earth is personified and cries out to heaven about the sinful oppression against itself and its inhabitants. The image may be similar to the blood of Abel crying out from the ground after his murder.[39] The emptiness of the earth probably refers to the fewer number of humans and other creatures due to the violence and cannibalism of the Giants (7:4-5).

In the Greek version of 9:2, however, which Black and Martin favor, the humans cry out rather than the earth: φωνὴ βοώντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Black translates the verse: "The voice and cry of the children of earth are ascending to the gates of heaven."[40]

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[36]Isaac, "1 Enoch," 16.

[37]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 20.

[38]Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 85.

[39]Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 387.

[40]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 130; cf. Martin, *Hénoch*, 18.

Milik, who also favors the Greek text, argues that "the devastated earth cries" in the Ethiopic is a shortened form of "on account of the destruction of the sons of earth."[41] Whereas in 9:3, "the souls of men" complain, in 7:5 the earth itself brings the complaint on behalf of the devastated creatures. Yet although the personification in 9:2 is not as clear as in 7:5, it appears that the earth participates in the oppression of the animals and humans (cf. 9:9-10) and joins with suffering humans to cry out to heaven for justice.

Throughout chapters 7-9, there is a striking similarity between the cry of the oppressed earth and that of the oppressed humans:

7:6 The earth brings an accusation against the oppressors.
8:4 The people cry out to heaven.
9:2 The earth brings the cry of the oppressed people to heaven.
9:3 The souls of oppressed humans plead with the angels to intercede for them.
9:10 The humans who died under the oppression of the Giants groan and bring their complaint to heaven.

Thus both humans[42] and nature are victims and cry out for deliverance from heaven. The ecological sins and corruption of the world are the fault of the fallen Watchers, not of human beings.[43] This is a significantly different perspective than Gen 6, which sees the Flood as punishment for the wickedness of humanity.

b. 1 Enoch 10-11

(1) The Corruption of Creation:

1 En. 10-11 describes God's judgment on the world through the Flood and promises a restored world of blessing after the judgment. God's message is evidently a response to the intercession of the angels (ch 9) as a result of the cry of the oppressed humans and earth (7:6;

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[41]Milik, *Enoch*, 160-1.

[42]Newsom, 313, believes that in the Semyaza layer of tradition, the humans are victims, while in the Azazel version the humans collaborate with the Watchers in sin. However, the value of this judgment is limited by the uncertain division sources in BW. Furthermore, even in the Azazel stratum, the Watchers originate sin and lead the humans astray into sin.

[43]Barker, 2-3, 38.

9:2-3, 10). This is an important passage, which includes clear elements of both the corruption and redemption of creation.

The Flood is a punishment for the sins of the Watchers (10:7-8), not for human sins as in Gen. 6. The earth has been "corrupted" (v. 7; or "ruined") and "devastated" (v. 8) by the sinful actions and teachings of the fallen angels (10:7-8; cf. 20). The implication is that the world is not as God originally created it and is in need of "healing" (v. 7). The concept of the earth being defiled through sin is rooted in biblical references to the defilement of the land of promise due to the sins of its inhabitants (e.g. Lev. 18:25-28; Jer. 2:7; Num. 35:33-34; Deut. 24:4).[44]

The judgment that God pronounces through angelic messengers involves several elements: (1) A flood will cover the entire world and destroy the earth and everything on it, except for the "son of Lamech," i.e. Noah (10:2-4). (2) The Watchers who rebelled will be bound and cast into a dark hole in the desert (10:4-6, 11-12). They are to be kept there until they are sent into eternal fire on the "great day of judgment." This is described twice, once with Azazel as the leader of the Watchers (10:4-6) and once with Semyaza as their leader (10:11-12). (3) The children of the Watchers will be destroyed for their injustice to humanity (10:9-10, 15). (4) At the consummation, after the fallen Watchers have been bound for many years, the Watchers and those who collaborated with them will be locked in prison forever and tormented with fire (10:13-14).

(2) The Redemption of Creation:

Even though the Flood is said to destroy the earth (10:2), the ultimate purpose of the Flood is not the destruction of the world, but its purification and restoration. In 10:7 God commands the angel Raphael to "give life to the earth which the angels have corrupted" (Isaac).

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[44]Büchler, 279.

"Give life" is ἰάομαι and רפא, which mean "heal."[45] This is spelled out more fully in 10:16-11:2, where the eschatological blessings for the world after the judgment are described in elaborate language: The earth will be cleansed from all injustice, iniquity and oppression and all people will worship God (16, 20-22). God will pour out blessings on the earth and all people will live long lives in peace, with many offspring (10:17; 11:1-2). Nature itself will be transformed and become abundantly productive, with every plant producing a thousand-fold in fruit (19). The whole earth will be covered with numerous trees (18), which is an evidence of prosperity (cf. Is. 41:19; Ez. 47:7; 1 En. 26:1; 27:1; 28:1-3).[46] The earth will be cleansed from all pollution[47] and plagues (22), which will never again come on the earth. Both sin and the corrupting effects of sin on humanity and the natural world will be removed. Removing the damage caused by sin brings a restoration of cosmic order, harmony and fruitfulness.[48] Yet God also will transcend the primordial cosmic harmony to transform the material world into an even more glorious state.

The author sees a close relationship between the Flood and the Final Judgment. The punishment on the fallen angels begins with their consignment to the pit and it continues at the consummation when they will be sent into fiery eternal torment. The description weaves back and forth between the Flood, the Final Judgment and the blessings following each of these judgments. At times it is difficult to determine which judgment is in view. Similarly it is not always clear whether the blessings described are those after the Flood or in the new age after the consummation. Black and Collins argue that 10:16-23 refers to the post-Flood blessings,[49] while Charles, Schodde and D. M. Russell believe the passage refers to the

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[45]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 135.

[46]Ibid., 139.

[47]"Pollution" (Isaac's translation) refers to moral defilement, not environmental damage.

[48]Hanson, "Rebellion," 201.

[49]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 139-40; John J. Collins, "Methodological Issues in the Study of

Messianic age.[50]

In part, this complexity may be due to the multiple sources combined in the passage, such as the Azazel cycle (e.g. vv. 4-6) and the Semyaza cycle (e.g. vv. 11-12). More importantly, the author views the two judgments as two phases of one complex judgment. The judgment on the fallen angels begins with the Flood and is completed at the consummation. Hence the Flood becomes a type of the Final Judgment (cf. 91:5-9; 93:4).[51]

Similarly the blessings following the elimination of the Watchers and their offspring through the Flood anticipate the eschatological blessings of the new age. The language of blessing in 10:16-11:2 is far too extravagant to encompass merely the post-Flood world. Nature is described as radically transformed in its productivity, in language similar to the prophetic descriptions of the blessings to come in the new age[52]. Furthermore, the transformation is a permanent one: peace and blessings will last "all the generations of the world" (11:2). The world will never experience suffering and plagues again (10:22). While parts of this section may refer to the deliverance of Noah and his righteous family (e.g. v. 17)[53], it is clear that the picture is much larger than this. It quickly moves from the type, i.e. the Flood, to the antitype, i.e. the eschatological blessings bestowed on the righteous after the Judgment[54].

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1 Enoch: Reflections on the Articles of P. D. Hanson and G. W. Nickelsburg," *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers*, Paul J. Achtemeier, ed. (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 317-9.

[50]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 25; George H. Schodde, *The Book of Enoch: Translated From the Ethiopic, with Introduction and Notes* (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1911), 77; D. M. Russell, 105-6.

[51]Christoffersson, 60, 87; Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 288 and Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 51.

[52]E.g. Amos 9:13-15; Hos. 2:21-23; Is. 5:10; 30:23-25; Ez. 34:26-27; 36:8, 29-30; Zech. 8:12; Jer. 31:12; Ps. 72:16. Schodde, 77, sees this passage as an imitation of Is. 5:10.

[53]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 139.

[54]Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 25; Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 38. Hanson, "Rebellion," 201-2, believes the time between the Flood and the Noahic covenant (Gen. 9:8-17) is extended

In the structure of the passage there is a close relationship between the Flood and the Final Judgment, as well as between the post-Flood blessing and the blessings of the eschatological age. The following table shows this relationship:

Table 13: Relationship Between Judgment and Blessings of the Flood and Eschatological Eras

Passage	Theme	Flood	Final Judgment	Post-Flood Blessing	Eschatological Blessing
10:2-3	The Flood	X			
10:4-6	Bind Watchers until the day of judgment (Azazel cycle)	X	v. 6		
10:7	Give life to the earth which the angels corrupted			X	?
10:8	The corruption caused by the angels	(cause)			
10:9-10	Destroy the children of the Watchers	X			
10:11-12	Bind Watchers until day of judgment (Semyaza cycle)	X	v. 12		
10:13-14	Final Judgment and eternal torment of the Watchers		X		
10:15	Destroy the children of the Watchers	X			
10:16-11:2	Period of justice, righteousness and blessing			vv. 16-17?	X

As this chart shows, the passage moves easily from the Flood to the Final Judgment and from the cleansing of the world brought by the Flood to the eschatological age of blessing that will transform the whole world. Since the Flood is described as a future event from the perspective of the supposed author Enoch, the whole passage functions as prophecy. It provides assurance that justice will finally be established, blessings will come to the righteous and the world will be restored to a new, righteous paradise.[55]

c. 1 Enoch 12-16

(1) The Corruption of Creation:

1 En. 12-16 is a commentary on the story of the Watchers. Little is specifically said

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to all of history from the Flood to the eschaton. Thus the blessings described are still the blessings of the Noahic covenant (Gen 8:17, 22; 9:1), but delayed 70 generations (10:12) because of the continued evil on earth.

[55]Christoffersson, 59-60; Lars Hartman, "An Early Example of Jewish Exegesis: 1 Enoch 10:16-11:2," *Neotestamentum* 17 (1983): 22.

about the impact of the Watchers' sin on nature. The general picture, however, is that the sin of the Watchers involves a violation of the order of the universe (15:4-8; 12:4; cf. 15:2).[56] The Watchers have stepped outside the bounds of the purpose for which they were made. They were not created to live outside of heaven or to procreate. Furthermore, they have imparted revelation that was forbidden to humans (cf. 8:3). While the effect of the Watchers' sin on nature is not spelled out in detail as in ch. 7-10, yet the sins of the Watchers clearly have disrupted the orderly operation of creation and "completely ruined the earth" (12:4).[57]

4. 1 Enoch 17-36

a. The Corruption of Creation

1 En. 17-36 describes two journeys (ch. 17-19, 20-36)[58] of Enoch with an angelic guide, who shows him how the natural world works and takes him on a tour of heaven and the places of final reward and punishment. This section is quite different in character than ch. 6-16, since it has no historical overview. The descriptions of the design of the earth and the nether world are heavily influenced by Greek and Babylonian mythology as well as by biblical traditions.[59]

Nature plays a large role in this section and is described in considerable detail.

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[56]Newsom, 315.

[57]Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 92. The word for "ruined" (ἀφανίζω) can also mean "to destroy utterly," "disfigure" (Liddell and Scott, 286) or "corrupt" (Black, *Book of Enoch*, 143). The Ethiopic says the Watchers "have become completely corrupt on the earth." The Greek version better connects to the sentence structure of v. 5 in both Greek and Ethiopic (Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 28-9; Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 92).

[58]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 46 claims there are two journeys, but Black, *Book of Enoch*, 15-6, argues that these are two accounts of the same vision.

[59]Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, 498; Beer, *Henoch*, 248; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 15; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 38-42, 46, 49; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 137-40. P. Grélot, "La géographic mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientals," *Review Biblique* 65 (1958): 181-220, argues that many of the apparently Greek geographical motifs are Babylonian and some are biblical. For a broader treatment of the topic see Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:210-8.

1 Enoch is interested in both how the natural world currently functions as well as how it will function as the environment for the ultimate bliss and suffering of humans and angels.

About half of the first journey (17:1-18:4) and a large part of the second journey (23; 33:1-36:3) are devoted to a mythological description of how the natural world presently functions. Enoch learns the sources of lightning, water and wind. He discovers how the sun and stars move and he visits the foundation of the earth. In the second half of the first journey (18:5-19:3) he visits "the end of heaven and earth," where he sees the place of punishment for the Fallen angels (19:1) and the stars that transgressed God's commandments. Much of the second journey (ch. 21-32) further expands on this description of the place of eternal punishment and adds descriptions of God's throne, heaven and Paradise.

Collins notes that this picture of the hidden operation of the cosmos, particularly juxtaposed to the story of the Watchers, provides a frame for viewing human problems: It provides a spatial frame assuring that "whatever crisis pollutes the earth, the foundations of the cosmos, its outer regions, and the places of judgment remain intact."[60] It also provides a temporal frame, assuring that the place of judgment is already present in a hidden place and thus the damage that the earth suffered will be relieved in the Judgment. Thus the transcendent perspective of BW diminishes earthly crises and provides assurance that the basic operation of the world continues as God designed.[61]

Both visions refer to seven stars that have transgressed the commandments of God by not appearing at their appointed time. They will suffer eternal punishment in a fiery pit (18:11-16; 21:1-6, bound for 10 million years). The fact that the wandering stars will be

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[60]Collins, "Apocalyptic Technique," 109.

[61]Ibid. Cf. Randall A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach. A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment*, SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature, no. 8, ed. William Adler (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 118, who says that this passage shows that order exists in heaven despite the fact that some stars and angels have rebelled.

punished along with the fallen Watchers provides assurance that God is still in control of his creation, despite the disorder brought by these disobedient parts of creation.

Like the depiction in 1 En. 1-5, natural objects in 1 En. 17-36 are personified and given the power of moral choice (cf. Ps. 103:20f; Job 38:7; Sir. 16:27). In ch. 1-5, however, nature is consistently obedient to God's commandments, while here in ch. 17-36 some parts of nature do not operate according to God's design. Although most of the cosmos still operates as God intends, at least part of the natural world is fallen and disobedient and will face eternal punishment. This viewpoint also differs from that of ch. 6-10, where the earth is seen as a victim and is corrupted due to the disobedience of fallen angels. Here in ch. 17-36, parts of nature itself are disobedient to God's design and so are held morally accountable. For example, the wandering stars (probably the planets) "wandered" in an irregular course in the heavens in contrast to the fixed stars.[62] Some scholars consider the stars of ch. 17-36 to be the fallen Watchers, as in the Dream Visions[63]. But in 17-36, the wandering stars are distinguished from the fallen angels (18:14-15; 19:1; 21:6, 10)[64]. Although they share a similar fiery eternal fate, the place of punishment of the angels is "even more terrible" than the place of punishment for the wandering stars (21:7).

b. The Redemption of Creation

Many of the references to nature in ch. 17-36 are symbolic of spiritual reality. The dwelling-place of God has a mountain of fire and incredibly fragrant trees, whose leaves and flowers never wither (ch. 24-25). The throne of God is symbolized by seven "dignified" mountains (24:3; 25:3). Similarly, the places of eternal punishment and blessing are

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[62]Wandering stars were frequently used as a symbol for apostates (e.g. Jude 13; Rev. 1:20; cf. Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 2.15).

[63]E.g. Herbert Braun, "Πλανάω," TDNT, 6:238, 241.

[64]Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 160.

described in the language of nature. A "blessed place" with a high and holy mountain, abundant streams and numerous trees (26:1-4; 27:1) symbolizes Paradise (the prototype is the earthly Jerusalem). This place has vast forests of large, beautiful, fragrant trees, which produce abundant fruit (ch. 30-32). In contrast, Hell is symbolized by a narrow "accursed" valley formed of hard rock, devoid of water and any growing things (26:5-6; 27:2-3).[65] These passages use very sensual images of nature to describe the places of eternal blessing and punishment. Thus Paradise is full of the pleasant aspects of nature and is a place of abundance, while Hell is devoid of such blessings and is a desolate place containing only unpleasant aspects of nature.

1 En. 17-36, therefore, does not have the view of the transformation of nature that is found in ch. 6-16. In 6-16 nature is a victim of the sins of angels and humans and will be transformed into a glorious, future new world (ch 10). In 17-36, however, while Paradise will have various features of nature that are fruitful and pleasant (such as the fragrant trees), there is no suggestion of a new or even enhanced heaven or earth. Rather, 1 En. 17-36 depicts a continuity between the original Eden and the future Paradise, which remains hidden on earth. The Tree of Wisdom is the same tree that Adam and Eve ate from in the Garden of Eden (32:2-6) and the "garden of righteousness" (32:3) is the same as the original garden of Eden.[66] The Tree of Life also continues to exist, though God transplants it to his holy dwelling in the seven mountains (24:4-25:6).[67] Those parts of nature that were disobedient to God (such as the

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[65]Isaac's translation of 29:1-2, based on Eth. A, refers to "a tree of judgment which smells of rubbish." This would make the passage an additional description of Hell, reminiscent of the Valley of Hinnom, a frequent symbol of the place of punishment. The Greek is similar: κρίσεως δένδρα. Many commentators, however, reject this text as corrupt and translate it as "aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh" (Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 58; Isaac, "1 Enoch," 27, footnote a). Black, *Book of Enoch*, 176, discusses in detail the suggestion of Prätorius about how the corruption arose from a misreading of the Aramaic; cf. Milik, *Enoch*, 233-4; Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:119-20.

[66]Grélot, "Géographic," 63; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 179; Joachim Jeremias, "Παράδεισος," TDNT, 5:766-8.

[67]There is an apparent discrepancy of the location of Paradise in these passages. In ch. 24-

wandering stars) are punished in a place of torment (ch. 18, 21) and will play no part in the final dwelling place of the righteous.

5. Summary of the Book of the Watchers

All three major sections of Book 1 of 1 Enoch (ch. 1-5, 6-16 and ch. 17-36) personify nature and are concerned with the corruption and redemption of creation to varying degrees. Yet each passage has a different perspective on nature. This chart summarizes the differences:

Table 14: Summary of the Book of Watchers

Passage	Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
1	Not mentioned.	Cataclysmic end of the world. No reference to a new earth.	Mountains have fear in God's presence.
2-5	Nature continues in obedience to God, operating as God intended.	No need for cosmic redemption. The righteous will "inherit" the earth.	Natural elements have conscious moral choice to obey God.
6-16	1. The earth has been corrupted by the sin of the Watchers. 2. Nature is a victim of the sin of Watchers and humans.	After the judgment, nature will be transformed into a glorious, super-productive human dwelling place.	The earth cries out for release from oppression of the Watchers and humans.
17-36	1. Most of creation operates consistently. 2. Parts of nature (some stars) choose to wander from God's design. 3. Eden is uncorrupted.	1. Disobedient parts of nature will be punished. 2. Continuity between old and new Paradise and nature.	Natural elements have conscious moral choice to obey God.

25 it is in the northwest (cf. 70:3, northwest; 77:3, north), while in ch. 32 it is in the east, like Eden in Genesis. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 179, attributes the discrepancy to the conflation of an oriental tradition that places Paradise in the east and a Hellenistic tradition that places Elysium in the west. Grélot, "Géographic," 46, argues that there are two Paradises. While apocalyptic visions often lack geographic precision, there are differences between the two locations. Ch. 24-25 refers to the dwelling place of God after the judgment when he brings an age of blessing to the earth, while ch. 32 refers to Eden (32:6). Notice that in ch. 25 the Tree of Life has been moved, presumably from Eden, to this location in the northwest and ultimately to this holy place.

B. 1 Enoch Book 3 (ch. 72-82): The Astronomical Book

1. Date and Provenance of the Astronomical Book

The Astronomical Book (AB) is one of the oldest Jewish documents attributed to Enoch. Most scholars date it in the third century, B.C.[68] The Ethiopic text of AB is undoubtedly an abridgement of a very lengthy Aramaic original.[69] Ch. 80-81 are generally considered later additions, since their interest is more ethical than scientific and astronomical. In addition, the strong emphasis on the regularity of nature in the main part of the book is replaced in ch. 80-81 with a natural order that is in disarray due to sin.[70] Nevertheless, since Jub. 4:18 alludes to this section,[71] ch. 80-81 must have been written no later than late second century B.C.

2. 1 Enoch 72:1-80:1; 82:1-20

a. The Corruption of Creation

The larger portion of AB (72:1-80:1; 82:1-20) is a quasi-scientific description of the movements of the sun, moon and stars. The angel Uriel revealed these secrets to Enoch, who

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[68]VanderKam, *Enoch*, 76, 84-8; Stone, "Enoch and Judaism," 479-92. Since Milik, *Enoch*, 273, dates Enastr[a] MS ca. 200 B.C. on paleographical grounds, this is a *terminum ad quem* for the book. The book is also alluded to in Pseudo-Eupolemus's book on the Jews (ca. 200 B.C.). Hence Milik dates it in the late Persian period, largely based on an his claim that Gen 5:23 alludes to the AB (p. 8). While VanderKam, *Enoch*, 84-8, shows that Milik's evidence is not convincing, the possibility of pre-third century date remains open.

[69]Milik, *Enoch*, 7, believes that the original Enochic astronomical material filled several large Aramaic scrolls. The Ethiopic version omits several significant sections. Milik believes the Ethiopic "freely adapted" and "abridged" the "voluminous, prolix, and terribly monotonous original" (p. 19). Cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:13; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 10.

[70]Otto Neugebauer, "The 'Astronomical' Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72-82)," in Appendix A to *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition*, ed. Matthew Black (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 386-9, sees 80:2-82:3 as an "apocalyptic intrusion" with non-astronomical material. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 147-8, claims that the original AB consisted of ch. 72-78, 82, 79, in that order. The redactor added 80:2-8 to give an ethical twist to this scientific section and 81 was added as a link to 91-108. However, Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 150-1, believes that at an early stage 81-82, 91 were a narrative bridge between 1-36 and 92-105, into which the AB was later inserted.

[71]Milik, *Enoch*, 11.

then teaches them to his son Methuselah. The title to the book sets forth the purpose: "The Book of the Itinerary of the Luminaries of Heaven" (72:1). The author gives a painstakingly detailed description of the cycles of the sun, moon and stars in order to defend a 364-day year. The divine authority for this calendar is based on a revelation that Enoch received from Uriel. There is little ethical concern, however, or polemic about the religious significance of the calendar (except in 82:4-6, where those who err about the calendar are called "sinners"). This is in sharp contrast to Jubilees, which uses the same 364-day calendar to establish the proper feast days.

AB emphasizes the consistency of the operation of the natural world. There are numerous references to the constant patterns of the movements of the sun, moon and stars. The opening verse (72:1) indicates that the laws of the movements of the luminaries will continue until the new creation comes. These unchanging patterns are "completed with precision" (74:17; 78:13) as the luminaries occupy specific "fixed positions" in the sky (74:1-2; 75:1-2). The mathematical detail describing the patterns of the heavenly bodies also stresses this constancy. Nickelsburg notes that while the movement and phases of the moon may be empirically based (ch. 73), the patterns of the sun (ch. 72) and twelve winds (ch. 76) were designed to achieve a complex mathematical symmetry that demonstrates uniformity in God's universe.[72] For example, the choice of a 364-day year may be based on the fact that 364 divided by 7 is exactly 52 weeks.[73]

Although AB agrees with BW 2-5 that the natural world continually operates as God designed it, AB is much more concerned than BW about the timing of the movements of the luminaries. AB focuses on the patterns of the luminaries, except for a brief discussion of the winds and weather in ch. 76, while in BW 2-5 the consistent operation of the natural world

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[72]Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 47.

[73]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 150.

applies to a greater variety of phenomena, including the growth of trees, the production of fruit and the seasons. So a frequent theme is that the cyclical movements of the heavenly luminaries follow the laws of God. The precise, detailed movements of the sun, moon and stars follow "rules" (73:1; 74:1; 79:1-2) and "commandments" (72:2, 36; 79:2; cf. 82:8) laid down by God. For example, the sun "manifests itself in its appearance as God has commanded that it shall come out and go in" (72:36).

This constant, perfect pattern of nature implies that creation has *not* been corrupted by the sin of humans or fallen angels, in contrast to BW 6-36 and AB 81:2-8. Rather than disobeying God, angels oversee the operation of the natural world in accordance with God's commandments (e.g. 75:1, 3; 80:1; 82:7-20). Everything continues to operate as God has designed it and this perfect, consistent operation of nature will continue until the end of the world, when God will bring about a new creation (72:1).[74]

b. The Redemption of Creation

In 72:1 there is an incidental reference to a new creation at the end of the world. Uriel shows Enoch the operation of the present world that will continue "unto eternity, till the new creation which abides forever is created." This new creation will be created by God and will be eternal. The implication is that at the end of this world there will be some changes in the way the present universe operates, since laws governing the operation of the present universe will continue *until the new creation.* No details are given about this new creation, however. The expectation of a new creation is a theological assumption of the author,[75] not a doctrine that

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[74]D. M. Russell, 107, suggests that one function of mentioning these patterns may be to urge right conduct, even as the cosmos perfectly obeys God (cf. 1 En. 2-5). James C. VanderKam, "The 364-Day Calendar in the Enochic Literature," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1983 Seminar Papers*, ed. Kent Harold Richards (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 157-65, argues that AB does not aggressively advocate the calendar, so it is unlikely to point to a sectarian bias.

[75]The idea is probably based on Is. 65:17; 66:22, in which God promises to create "new heavens and a new earth" (cf. 1 Pet. 3:10-13; Rev. 21:1). Matthew Black, "The New Creation in

he expands upon. The author is primarily interested in a description of the operation of the present creation, not theological speculation about the future world. So the reference here to a new creation functions primarily to indicate that the laws governing the heavenly luminaries will be unchanging as long as the present creation endures.[76] Still, the reference suggests that an eschatological new creation was a part of the author's theological worldview.

In the brief geographical account of chapter 77, there is an allusion to the existence of "the garden of righteousness" (77:3). Although its exact location is not stated (in contrast to BW 24:4-25:6; 32:2-6),[77] the author assumes that the garden of Eden continues to exist, evidently awaiting its eschatological human inhabitants. This concept is spelled out in more detail in other portions of 1 Enoch (e.g. 24:4-25:6; 32:2-6). This brief allusion in 77:3 shows that the author of AB also held the common apocalyptic belief in the continuity of Paradise.[78]

c. The Personification of Creation

Much as in BW 2-5, AB teaches that the natural world operates as God designed it. Yet the personification of nature that emphasizes this perfect operation of nature in BW 2-5 is generally lacking in AB. An exception is the mild personification in 75:2, which says the

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I Enoch," in *Creation, Christ and Culture. Studies in Honour of T.F. Torrance*, ed. R.W.A. McKinney (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1976), 13-4, shows that the term "new creation" is very rare in Jewish apocalyptic (cf. Jub. 1:29), though the concept is frequently expressed in other terms (e.g. 91:6: "new heavens"; 45:4: "transform the heavens . . . [and] earth"). A close parallel is in 1 QS iv.22f, though Black believes this refers to a "new creation" in the world of mankind (Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins. Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (1961; reprint, Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 133). The author of AB apparently is thinking primarily in astronomical terms. A similar passage in the Zoroastrian Yasts, xiii.57-58 focuses on astronomical changes to the cosmos and may have influenced the apocalyptic idea: "the stars, the moon, the sun and endless lights . . . move around in their far-revolving circle for ever until they come to the time of the good restoration of the world" (Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 151).

[76]Cf. VanderKam, *Enoch*, 78.

[77]Neugebauer, "Astronomical," 407-8; Milik, *Enoch*, 16.

[78]Cf. Jeremias, "Παράδεισος," TDNT, 5:766-8.

"luminaries scrupulously render service" (Isaac). On the whole, however, the personal obedience of natural things as in BW is replaced in AB by thousands of angels who oversee the operation of the luminaries and control the seasons (e.g. 75:1, 3; 80:1; 82:7-20). In AB these unseen personal powers carry out God's commandments by properly operating the universe, rather than the natural phenomena themselves obeying God, as in BW 2-5.

3. 1 Enoch 80:2-81:10

Most scholars agree that two fragments, which appear as 80:2-8 and 81:1-10 in 1 Enoch, come from a different source than the rest of AB.[79] Both passages have a strong ethical interest, in contrast to the quasi-scientific descriptions of nature in 72-79, 82. In fact, ch. 81 has no discussion of natural phenomena at all. Rather it speaks of heavenly tablets from which Enoch learns all the deeds of humanity and it focuses on Enoch's responsibility to teach what he learned and to exhort people to righteousness.

a. The Corruption of Creation

Ch. 80 has a strong interest in the natural world, but it has a very different perspective than ch. 72-79 and 82.[80] In the main part of AB the cycles of nature are consistent and unchanging, being ordained by God to continue until the new creation comes. By contrast, ch. 80 describes an eschatological time in which the normal operation of nature will radically change. At that time there will be a shortened year (v. 2), changes of seasonal patterns (v. 2),

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[79]Argall, 129, notes the similarities of 80:6-8 to BW 18:15-19:1 and argues that both share a common tradition.

[80]E. Rau argues that the eschatological changes in nature described in 80:2-8 are anticipated in 72:1 (E. Rau, "Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs: Traditions- und formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum äth. Henochbuch und zu verwandten Schriften" (PhD Dissertation, University of Hamburg, 1974), 279-305; cited by VanderKam, *Enoch*, 106-7). The first part of 71:2 summarizes the normal operation of nature in 72:2-79:6, while the end of the verse ("until the new creation") points to the transition time when the laws will change. However, VanderKam, *Enoch*, 107, notes that the new creation has not come yet in 80:2-8, even though the operation of nature has changed.

massive crop failures (vv. 2-3), droughts (v. 2) and alterations in the movements of the heavenly luminaries (vv. 4-7). Similarly, whereas in the rest of AB angels control the luminaries and the seasons obey perfectly, in ch. 80 they make errors in carrying out their orders and cause deviations in the movements of the luminaries and the timing of the seasons (v. 6-7). Whereas in the rest of AB, there is no moral interest and natural law is rigid, in ch. 80 deviations in the operation of the natural world are connected with the increase of "sinners" (vv. 2, 7-9).

The writer of 80:2-8 does not argue that these deviations in nature presently exist, but rather that nature will be corrupted at an undefined future time referred to as "the days of the sinners" (v. 2, Black). At that time, the stars will "modify their courses" (v. 7), the moon will "shine more brightly" (v. 5)[81] and the angels will commit errors and fail to follow the patterns "prescribed for them" (v. 7). These future deviations are striking when set against the background of the clockwork-like operation of nature in ch. 72-79, which the author apparently assumes to be the normal way the natural world operates.

These eschatological changes in the natural order are connected with sin, for "sinners" will increase (v. 2) and will worship the stars as gods (v. 7), and the angels who control the stars will "stray from the commandments" (v. 6, Black). It is not entirely clear, however, whether the changes in nature will be the result of sin or a punishment for sin. Most translators agree with Black's rendering of v. 2a: "And in the days of the sinners years shall become shortened."[82] This apparently makes the changes in nature a corruption of nature due to the increase in sin. Isaac's translation is less clear: "In respect to their days, the

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[81]Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 185, and most modern commentators see v. 5 as a reference to the moon, but Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 171, sees this as a reference to the sun.

[82]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 69; cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 185 and Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 171.

sinners and the winter are cut short."[83] This could suggest that both the destruction of the sinners and the changes to the natural order are a divine punishment for sin.

It is probably best to see vv. 2-7 as principally a description of the cosmic results of human and angelic sin.[84] The changes in the patterns of the stars are due to the "errors" (Isaac) or "transgressions" (Charles) of the luminaries in not carrying out the orders given them (vv. 6-7). So the changes are not due to a divine command but due to the disobedience of the stars themselves. Nevertheless, the passage also describes cosmic punishments for sin, for v. 8 refers to punishments such as plagues (Isaac) that will destroy the sinners. Thus 80:2-8 shows the delicate relationship that exists between moral obedience and the cosmic order. When sin increases among humans and angels, even the balance of nature is upset.

There is a considerably different view of the cycles of nature in 80:2-8 than is to be found in most of AB, perhaps because this passage came from a different source. Yet the redactor who put this passage in its present context has created a powerful picture of the eschatological damage that sin will bring to creation by juxtaposing this passage with a description of the perfectly consistent, normal operation of nature. The point is not that natural law is fickle, but that the normally structured order of nature will be seriously corrupted by sin. This adds an ethical message to AB about the cosmic consequences of sin.

b. Personification of Creation

Although there is no true personification of the natural world in AB 80, the passage teaches that angels control the heavenly luminaries, the seasons, and other aspects of nature. As a result, when these angels make errors in carrying out God's will in the last days, there were will be deviations in the movements of the luminaries, the timing of the seasons and

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[83]Isaac, "1 Enoch," 58.

[84]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 69 and Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 171 refer to the "perversion" of nature.

other cosmic disasters (v. 6-7). Thus the reference to angels behind the operation of the natural world supports the moral significance of the eschatological cosmic disasters.

4. Summary of the Astronomical Book

Book 3 of 1 Enoch has a great interest in the natural world, particularly the regular operation of the heavenly luminaries. The relatively small amount of eschatological material in AB, however, does not generally bring the redemption of creation to the forefront, although it is assumed (72:1). The difference in perspective of the major sources on the corruption of creation is profound: In most of AB, nature follows perfectly the divinely ordained pattern; but in 80:2-8, nature is seriously corrupted due to sin. The following table summarizes these differences:

Table 15: Summary of the Astronomical Book

Passage	Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
Ch. 72-79, 82	Not corrupted: Nature perfectly follows the laws of God.	The new creation (72:1) is alluded to but it is not a major point.	Angels control the movements of the sun, moon and stars.
Ch. 80:2-8	Normal patterns of nature are corrupted due to eschatological increase in sinners and "errors" of angels controlling the luminaries.	Not mentioned.	Angels control the movements of the sun, moon and stars.

C. 1 Enoch Book 4 (ch. 83-90): The Book of Dreams

1. Date and Provenance of the Book of Dreams

The Book of Dreams (BD) contains two apocalyptic dream visions of Enoch. The first (ch. 83-84) is a description of cosmic destruction, probably due to the Flood. The second (ch. 85-90), the so-called Animal Apocalypse (AA), is a *vaticinium ex eventu* prophecy of biblical history in the form of an elaborate allegory where animals represent people and nations.

AA is relatively easy to date on internal grounds since it switches from historical events

to eschatological prophecy when Judas Maccabaeus is still fighting the Gentile nations (90:17).[85] It is, therefore, universally agreed that it was written between 165-160 B.C., by a Judean Jew who supported the Maccabaean revolt.[86] The first dream vision is also of Semitic origin, probably slightly earlier than AA.[87]

2. The First Dream Vision (Ch. 83-84)

a. The Corruption of Creation

The first Dream Vision (ch. 83-84) is a prediction of a great catastrophe that will destroy the earth. The destruction is massive: the earth is swallowed up in a great abyss, mountains crash down, and trees are uprooted and sink into the abyss (83:3-7). Most scholars believe this refers to the Flood of Noah.[88] For example, "sinking in the abyss" is probably a metaphorical description of the damage of the Flood. The sins of the angels (84:4) probably are the sins of the Watchers that precipitated the Flood according to BW (ch. 6-16).

Collins, however, interprets the references somewhat differently. He argues that the vision does not refer to any particular crisis, but is "a paradigm of judgment, a reminder that the whole world could be destroyed. It implies the contingency of the world, its dependence

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[85]Some older commentators argued that the great horn (90:9-16) refers to John Hyrcanus, the fourth Maccabaean leader (e.g. Beer, *Henoch*, 296, and Dillmann, *Henoch*, 277-9). Most modern scholars, however, follow Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 208, in identifying the great horn as Judas Maccabaeus. Charles notes that if the great horn were John Hyrcanus, there would be no reference at all to Judas, the greatest of the Maccabees. Cf. VanderKam, *Enoch*, 161-2; Milik, *Enoch*, 43-4; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 276; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 55.

[86]Milik, *Enoch*, 44 (164 B.C.); VanderKam, *Enoch*, 161-3 (late 160's, before Judas' death in 161 B.C.); Black, *Book of Enoch*, 20 (165 B.C.); Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 93 (164-169 B.C.).

[87]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 20. While the first dream vision is not represented in the MSS from Qumran, this is of little significance since the fragmentary texts only contain a quarter of the text of BD. Cf. Milik, *Enoch*, 41-2.

[88]E.g. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 19; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 181; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 160; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 90.

upon its maker."[89] Although Collins probably overstates the generality of the warning, the description of the cosmic disaster is vague enough to serve as a timeless warning for the cosmic consequences of sin. While the typology between the Flood and the Final Judgment is not as clear here in the first Dream Vision as in BW (ch. 10), similar parallels between the two events may be implied (cf. 84:4).[90]

God will bring about this cosmic judgment because of sin. Unlike BW, however, which blames the problems of the world completely on the fallen Watchers, this first Dream Vision bases the coming cosmic judgment on both human and angelic sin.[91] For example, in his intercessory prayer Enoch presupposes angelic sin (84:4a), but this does not occupy the central role that it does in BW 6-16.[92] Rather God's wrath is principally upon sinful human beings who are accountable for their own sin (83:7; 84:4b, 6). Thus although the immediate setting may be the Flood, the message is that God will bring destruction to the world for human sin.

In 83:11 Enoch praises God for the regularity of nature. After his terrifying dream, he is greatly relieved to see that the sun still rises in the east, the moon sets in the west, the stars appear at their normal time and place, and generally the earth operates according to God's plan. The author assumes that at present nature operates consistently as God designed it, much like AB (ch. 72-79), although BD does not have the detail that AB has about the

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[89]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 53-4.

[90]So VanderKam, *Enoch*, 160; cf. Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels At Qumran. A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings From Qumran* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 96.

[91]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 181, however, says it is only the sin of the angels who corrupted the earth. This is true in the second vision (86-87), but not the first, which places responsibility on both humans and angels.

[92]Stephen Breck Reid, *Enoch and Daniel. A Form Critical and Sociological Study of Historical Apocalypses*, Bibical Monograph Series, no. 2, ed. Duane Christiansen and John C. Endres (Berkeley: Bibal Press, 1989), 56, suggests that the "fall of heaven to earth" in 83:3-4 refers to the fall of the Watchers.

operation of the luminaries. The coming time of cosmic disaster does not negate the fact that God designed the natural world to work in a consistent and predictable manner.

b. The Redemption of Creation

The first Dream Vision has no discussion of the world after the eschatological cosmic disaster. It simply says that God will preserve a righteous remnant of Enoch's descendants from the coming destruction (83:8, 10; 84:5-6).

3. The Animal Apocalypse (Ch. 85-90)

The second dream vision, the Animal Apocalypse (ch. 85-90), is a complex allegory of Jewish history in which various types of animals represent people and nations. Most of the vision is a *vaticinium ex eventu* prophecy from Adam through Judas Maccabaeus' deliverance of the Jewish people from the oppressive Hellenizing campaign of Antiochus IV. After Judas delivers the nation and is at war with the surrounding Gentile nations, the story jumps to the final eschatological battle, followed by the Final Judgment and eternal Kingdom of God (90:17f).

a. The Corruption of Creation

A large portion of the vision is devoted to the Flood. Although AA uses symbolic language, many concepts associated with the Flood are similar to those found in ch. 6-11 of BW. The fall of the Watchers, birth of the Giants, binding of the Watchers, destruction of the Giants and the Flood are all symbolically described (ch. 86-89). As in BW, the Flood is a judgment for the sins of the Watchers. In AA as in the first Dream Vision, however, the humans are also responsible (e.g. 87:4). Many humans are violent to each other, even as the offspring of the Watchers (the Giants) are violent to each other (86:5; 87:1; 88:2).

AA uses the same motif found in BW that nature is a victim of the Watchers' sin (7:5-6;

9:2), although it is more subdued. As the offspring[93] of the union of the Watchers and human women attack and devour each other, "the earth began to cry aloud" (87:1). This suggests that the earth itself suffered harm due to the violence of the wicked Giants. The earth is personified as crying out with pain and fear.[94] In 88:2 this is described in more literal language: As the Giants killed each other, "the whole earth quaked because of them." While this probably refers to earthquakes, there may be the double meaning of "quake with fear" (cf. 86:6; 1:5-6). As in BW (8:4; 9:3, 10), AA draws a parallel between the fear of humans from the violence of the Giants and the "fear" of nature (cf. 86:6, "the children of the earth began to tremble and quake"). Both humans and the natural world are victims of angelic sin.

b. The Redemption of Creation

Even as BW had an idealized conception of the future on earth (e.g. ch. 10; 25-26; 29-32), AA also concludes with the Kingdom being established on earth. Ch. 10 moves easily between the two judgments of the Flood and the Final Judgment and between the era of blessings after the Flood and the eschatological Kingdom. In AA, however, the two judgments are clearly separated by centuries of history and the Kingdom of God closely follows the victorious battles of Judas Maccabaeus. The historical description ends with 90:16, while Judas is still at battle with the Gentile nations, and the apocalyptic eschatology begins at 90:17. In addition, there is no idealized period of blessing after the Flood, but rather strife and oppression come shortly on the heels of the Flood (89:11,13, 15, etc.).[95]

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[93]The offspring are represented by "elephants and camels and asses" (86:4).

[94]According to Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch*, SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature, no. 4 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 241, "children of the earth" in 86:6 refers to animals, in contrast to humans who are symbolized by animals in the allegory. If this is so, then this verse also refers to the trembling of the animals in fear of the Giants. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 188, however, believes the author abandons symbolic language at this point, so it simply refers to humans.

[95]Milik, *Enoch*, 45; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 162-3.

The Kingdom of God is described in ch. 90 in very earthly terms. God comes to earth to intervene directly in the final battle that delivers the Jewish people (90:18). The earth splits open and swallows the attacking Gentiles. Then God's throne is set up in "the pleasant land," a reference to Palestine, probably Jerusalem (v. 20; cf. 89:40).[96] From this throne he will personally judge both angels and humans, and then he will rule on earth. The fiery pit into which the Watchers and the Gentile enemies of Israel are cast (vv. 21-27) is "on the south side" of Jerusalem, probably referring to Gehenna (v. 26).[97] The earthly Jerusalem ("the old house," v. 28) is replaced with the glorious New Jerusalem, which is brought by God from heaven ("a new house greater and loftier than the first," v. 29).[98] Thus at least part of the environment is transformed when the perfect New Jerusalem comes from heaven to become a human dwelling on earth. The chapter, however, does not have a strong concern for the transformation of the natural world, such as is found in BW (e.g. 10:18-22).

The Lord himself will dwell in this New Jerusalem on earth (90:29). The Gentiles who were not cast into the fire will pay homage to the Jewish people (vv. 30, 33). The dead Jews are resurrected and the dispersed ones are gathered to live in this earthly New Jerusalem (v. 33). Then the Messiah ("a white bull . . . with large horns") comes and all Jews and Gentiles fear and revere him (v. 37).[99] In many ways, conditions are restored to the primordial earthly

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[96]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 212; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 55.

[97]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 278.

[98]The concept of the New Jerusalem is derived from OT prophecy (e.g. Ez. 40-48; Is. 54:11-12; 60; Hag. 2:7-9; Zech. 2:6-13). Other Apocalypses also have the concept, including 4 Ez. 7:26; 13:36; 2 Bar. 32:2; Rev. 21:2, 10.

[99]The "white bull" (90:37) has traditionally been interpreted as the Messiah (e.g. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 215). He is not a Davidic king, however, and he apparently plays no part in the military deliverance of the Jews, since he does not appear until after the Judgment and resurrection. God acts directly, rather than through a Messiah, to win the final battle (90:18) and rule on earth (90:20f). Milik, *Enoch*, 45, argues that the white bull is a more glorious "second Adam," corresponding to the first Adam, which was also represented as a white bull (85:3). While this theory has some value, many of the Patriarchs are represented by white bulls. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 20-1, 280, correctly notes that this second Adam theory does not rule

ideal that was in Eden.[100] The Messiah-figure (90:37) is a second Adam, who is even more glorious than the first man (Adam also is represented as a "white bull" in 85:3, but this second Adam has "large horns"). The Jews and righteous Gentiles are then transformed into white bulls (90:38), indicating their restoration to the righteousness of Adam and the Patriarchs (who also are represented as white bulls, ch. 85). The eternal kingdom is an earthly one. Both people and the environment (the New Jerusalem) are transformed into an ideal state and many of the primordial conditions return, though with God ruling directly on earth in the midst of humanity. There is, however, no depiction of a transformation of the natural world in ch. 90, unlike the detailed descriptions of nature in Paradise found in BW 17-36.

c. The Personification of Creation

Although personification of the natural world is not frequent in AA, there is an important example in 87:1. The earth cries aloud in pain and fear due to the violence of the wicked Giants. This emphasizes both that nature suffers harm due to sin and that nature is itself a victim of sin.

4. Summary of the Book of Dreams

The first dream vision has no references to the corruption of nature due to sin and no picture of a final redemption of creation. The perspective of the regularity of nature in the first dream vision is very similar to the AB, though without the extremely detailed description of nature.

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out a messianic significance, even as Paul uses the second Adam motif as a picture of the Messiah (cf. Rom. 5:12-21). The Gentiles fear him much as they fear the traditional Davidic Messiah-King. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 215-6, says that messianic hope was practically dead at this time, since Judas was such a powerful and victorious figure. It is probably more correct to say, however, that the concept of the Davidic Messiah Warrior-King does not fully evolve until the next century (cf. Pss. Sol. 17-18, ca. 60-40 B.C.).

[100]Dahl, 426, classifies ch. 90 as a *restitution* of the original perfect order of creation; cf. Black, "New Creation," 19-20; Milik, *Enoch*, 45; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 93.

The second dream vision (AA) contains most of the concepts of the natural world found in BW (ch. 6-16), though they are more subdued. References to nature are more difficult to find since the form of the section is highly allegorical and the focus is on the key figures of biblical history. AA agrees with BW about the negative effect that the sin of the Watchers had on nature and the emotional cry of the earth for deliverance. There is in AA, however, generally much less interest in the transformation of nature than in BW.

The following table summarizes these key points:

Table 16: Summary of the Book of Dreams

Passage	Corruption of Nature:	Redemption of Nature:	Personification of Nature:
Ch. 83-84	Not corrupted: Nature perfectly follows the laws of God.	No mention of a new creation.	None.
Ch. 85-90 (Animal Apocalypse)	Nature is a victim of the sin of the Watchers and the Giants.	1. The Kingdom will be in the New Jerusalem, which is brought to earth by God. 2. God will dwell on earth in the Kingdom. 3. Restoration of primordial state of humans on earth.	The earth cries out in fear and pain because of the sin of the Giants.

D. 1 Enoch Book 5 (ch. 91-108): The Epistle of Enoch

1. Date, Provenance and Unity of 1 Enoch Book 5

The fifth book of 1 Enoch contains several sections from different sources: (1) The largest section is the Epistle of Enoch,[101] which covers 91:1-10, 18-19; 92; 93:1-2, 11-14; 94-105.[102] (2) A distinct section known as the Apocalypse of Weeks (AW) is imbedded within the Epistle. Most scholars believe that the original order of AW was 93:3-10 before 91:11-17,

[101]This title is found in the Greek Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus and in 100:6. Milik, *Enoch*, 47; Campbell Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek in Studies and Documents* (London: Christophers, 1937), 50-1, 86-7.

[102]While earlier scholars believed ch. 91 to follow ch. 92 (e.g. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 224), 4QEn^{g} has the ch. 91 before ch. 92, as in the Ethiopic. Milik, *Enoch*, 200.

which is confirmed by the Aramaic fragments from Qumran.[103] (3) Ch. 106-107 are probably from an earlier "Book of Noah,[104]" and (4) ch. 108 is a separate Enochian writing that was added later.[105]

Most scholars agree that AW predates the Epistle and was incorporated by the author of the Epistle. AW was probably written shortly before or early in the Maccabaean revolt (ca. 167-165 B.C.),[106] though VanderKam dates it 175-167 B.C.[107] The rather timeless paraenetic material in the Epistle makes it more difficult to date precisely. The Epistle is generally dated from the late second century to early first century B.C.,[108] though some date it earlier in the second century.[109] Milik claims that both AW and the Epistle were written by the same person during the late second to early first century B.C.[110]

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[103]Ibid., 48, 247, 265-7; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 287-8. In 4QEn^{g} (mid-first century B.C.), 91:11-17 follows 93:9-10 directly.

[104]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, xlvi-xlvii, 264; Milik, *Enoch*, 55-7; Martin, *Hénoch*, lxxxviii, xcviii; Beer, *Henoch*, 229. This section became a part of the Epistle of Enoch quite early, since it is in the Aramaic 4QEn^{c}. Ch. 106, however, is separated from ch. 105 by one and a half blank lines. Milik, *Enoch*, 206-10.

[105]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 323; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, li; Milik, *Enoch*, 57.

[106]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 218, 221-7; Beer, *Henoch*, 230-1; Ferdinand Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse und Offene Probleme der Apokalyptikforschung*, Studia Post-Biblica, no. 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 136-40.

[107]James C. VanderKam, "Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17)," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 511-23; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 142-9. Martin, *Hénoch*, xciv, xcvi-xcvii, also dates it before 170 B.C.

[108]Martin, *Hénoch*, xciv, xcvi-xcvii (95-78 B.C.); Beer, *Henoch*, 230-1 (104-78 B.C.); Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 222, is undecided between 104-95 B.C, 95-79 B.C. and 70-64 B.C.

[109]VanderKam, *Enoch*, 171, suggests that a pre-Maccabaean date is "quite possible and indeed probable" and Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 49, argues for a date prior to 160 B.C.

[110]Milik, *Enoch*, 255-6.

2. The Apocalypse of Weeks (93:3-10; 91:11-17)

a. The Corruption of Creation

AW reports a vision in which Enoch sees a schematized overview of history, which is divided into ten periods called "weeks." The periodization of history creates the impression of an ordered universe under supernatural control, in which everything proceeds according to a divinely ordained plan.[111] The certainty that history will end in eternal punishment for the wicked and eternal blessing for the "chosen righteous" encourages the righteous to persevere in their righteous lifestyle.

As in other Enochian writings, the Flood occupies a prominent place in the pattern of history (week two). Much like in BW 10, there is a close connection between the Flood and the Final Judgment. The author calls the Flood "the former End" (93:4), which implies that he thinks of "the great judgment" (91:15) as the latter End.[112] Yet there are several important differences between the description of the Flood in AW and BW: (1) AW does not intertwine descriptions of the Flood and the Final Judgment as BW 10 does. The Flood occurs in Week 2 and the Final Judgment occurs in Week 10. (2) In AW the Flood is not, as in BW 10, a divine judgment for the sin of the fallen Watchers but rather a divine judgment for *human* sin. While sin existed in the world during the First Week, even prior to Enoch's time, "justice was delayed" (93:3) until the Flood of the Second Week.[113] So while there is an allusion in AW to the sin of the Watchers when they are finally judged at the Final Judgment (91:15), this plays no part in its Flood story. By contrast, human sin is mentioned in virtually every verse of AW,

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[111]J. Licht, "Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran," *JJS* 16 (1965): 181; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 50.

[112]Isaac, "1 Enoch," 74, translates it "first consummation." Black, *Book of Enoch*, 289, notes that קַדְמִי ("former") also can mean "ancient," in the sense that this "end" occurred during the days of the "ancient ones."

[113]Ibid., 85, translates 93:3c "til my time justice was delayed." Cf. Dillmann, *Henoch*, 67, 294; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 229, and the alternate translation of Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 224: "while judgment and righteousness held back."

in keeping with the ethical focus of AW and the rest of the Epistle of Enoch. (3) The effects of sin on the natural world are not clearly described in AW, in contrast to BW 7-9 where the suffering of the earth and animals at the hands of the Giants is emphasized.

There is, however, a relevant fragmentary verse that follows 91:17 in the Aramaic MS 1QEn^{g} 1 ii 13-17. Lines 13-14 have been reconstructed with fair certainty as a reference to the resurrection of the righteous, probably from 91:10a.[114] Lines 15-17, however, are more difficult, since only a small fraction of the lines remain. Black reconstructs these lines to read: "and unrighteousness shall altogether cease, And the earth will be at rest from oppression, for all generations for ever."[115] In place of "oppression," Milik inserts "the sword" (or alternatively "impiety").[116] If Black's recreation of the original text is correct (or Milik's alternate reading), this would imply that the earth in some sense suffers from evil actions and that the earth will no longer suffer when evil people are judged and removed. This perspective would be consistent with the view of the relationship between sin and the natural world in BW (esp. ch. 10) and BD (esp. ch. 80), though it is somewhat surprising that there is no other reference to this view in AW. Nevertheless, since Black's reconstruction of the text is somewhat speculative, this verse offers only tentative support for the view that sin damages the natural world.

b. The Redemption of Creation

The eschatological section comprises the Eighth through the Tenth Weeks (91:12-17). There is a final eschatological battle in which the righteous defeat the wicked (91:12).[117] The righteous enjoy an extended period of material blessing on earth with a restored and more glorious temple (91:13). The Final Judgment results in punishment for the wicked humans

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[114]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 294-5; Milik, *Enoch*, 260-1.

[115]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 87.

[116]Milik, *Enoch*, 260-1.

[117]The emphasis is on their moral evil as opposed to their oppression as in AA.

and the Watchers as well, as reward for the righteous (91:14-15); Then new heavens appear (91:16) and the righteous enter into an eternal heavenly existence of goodness and righteousness (91:16).

After the judgment, "the first heaven will pass away, and a new heaven shall appear" (91:16). The appearance of a new heaven introduces eternity, described as "many weeks without number forever" (Isaac). This agrees with the concept of a new creation found in other sections of 1 Enoch (cf. 72:1; 45:4) and is probably based on the promise of a new heaven and new earth found in Is. 65:17 and 66:22. It is significant, however, that there is no mention of a new earth in this passage. The picture of the eternal state of the righteous in AW is that of a very spiritual existence.[118] This is a sharp contrast to the earthly, material eternal state of the righteous portrayed in BW (10:16-11:2; ch. 24-27; 30-32) and BD (90:20-38). BW describes Paradise in very physical language, full of rich pictures of the beauty and superabundant productivity of a transformed nature. By contrast AW describes the eternal venue of the righteous as heaven, not earth, and emphasizes the righteousness and glory of those who dwell there (91:16-17). The only aspect of the material world mentioned in AW is the greater glory of the heavenly luminaries: "The powers of heaven will shine and rise for ever and ever with seven-fold light" (91:16; cf. Is 30:26; Is. 60:19-20). This is a reference to cosmic transformation.[119] Nevertheless, when AW deals with the eschatological transformation of creation,

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[118]Cf. Black, "New Creation," 17-8; Russell, *Method and Message*, 291-2. Contrast D. M. Russell, 115-6, who believes that a new earth is assumed, based on the earthly descriptions in vv. 12-13. However, he blends the description of the temporary earthly kingdom in the eighth week (vv. 12-13) with the eternal state during and after the tenth week (vv. 15-19). It is difficult to see how Russell's argument from silence ("a new earth . . . is nevertheless assumed") can be elevated to "a clear concern for . . . the entire created order." A similar approach is taken by Dexinger, 141-3, 185. He says that it would be redundant to mention the new earth in v. 16, since it was dealt with previously in v. 14. He sees a two stage purging process: (1) judgment on earth (v. 12), with new temple (v. 13) and a new universal order (v. 14); (2) judgment in the heavenly realm (v. 15) with a new heaven (v. 16) and a new heavenly order (v. 17).

[119]Cf. Black, "New Creation," 17; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 294.

the emphasis is primarily on the spiritual, cosmic and heavenly domains, not on the natural world of the earth.

The Ethiopic text of 91:14 goes further than the Aramaic to indicate that this world will come to an end: "the earth will be written down for destruction" (Knibb). The Aramaic, however, is probably truer to the ethical concerns of the context: "all the workers [of impiety] shall entirely pass away from the whole earth."[120]

While the eternal state of the righteous in AW is primarily spiritual in character, there is a material reference to a kingdom on earth. In the Eighth Week (91:13) there is a temporary earthly kingdom for the righteous, which occurs after the Israelites have destroyed their unrighteous enemies in battle (91:12).[121] While the text says that the temple lasts "for all generations forever" (91:13), it appears that this earthly state ends with the Final Judgment (Weeks Nine and Ten, 91:14-15). While it is not precise to call this a "Messianic kingdom,"[122] since no Messiah is explicitly mentioned, it is clearly an eschatological time of blessing on earth for the righteous. The kingdom involves material prosperity for the righteous and the construction of a glorious new temple in Jerusalem (93:13).[123] Nevertheless, the description of this temporary earthly kingdom in AW lacks the rich nature imagery and the emphasis on the physical prosperity of nature found in BW.

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[120]Milik, *Enoch*, 267.

[121]If the "perverse generation" of Week Seven (93:9-10) and the battle at the start of Week Eight (91:12) refer to the time of the Maccabaean revolt, the author may have expected this kingdom to be ushered in by the Maccabaean heros (cf. 90:19; 1 Macc 3:3). Black, *Book of Enoch*, 292-3; Dexinger, 138.

[122]Contra Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 220. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 292-3, however, notes that "the royal house of the Great One" may be an allusion to the promised eternal house of David in 2 Sam. 7.

[123]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 232; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 293.

3. A Nature Poem (Ch. 93:11-14)

After the Seventh week of AW, there appears in the Ethiopic text a brief nature poem (93:11-14). In the Aramaic, an apparently much longer version (not fully preserved) appears after the completion of AW (before ch. 94).[124] This piece of wisdom literature says that humans cannot know the secrets of God in heaven or understand the dimensions and operation of the heavens and earth (cf. Job 38:33f; Is 40:12-13; Prov 30:4). In the Ethiopic, it is linked to its context in AW with the addition of "concerning all his creation" in 93:10, so that the "wisdom and knowledge" that God gives his elect at the close of the Seventh week are focused on the creation.[125]

Yet despite the concern of this passage for the operation of nature, it contains no reference to the present corruption or future state of the natural world. It primarily highlights the value of the secret knowledge that Enoch has gained about the universe through revelation. It does not fit well into the context of either AW or the Epistle. The perspective is closer to the revelation given to Enoch about the inner workings of heaven and earth in BW 17-36 and the operation of the heavenly luminaries in AB 72-79.[126]

4. The Epistle of Enoch (91:1-10, 18-19; 92; 93:1-2, 11-14; 94-105)

The bulk of Book V is the "Epistle of Enoch," a repetitious paraenesis, that urges righteous living and promises a blessed reward for the righteous and eternal condemnation for "sinners." The purpose is to encourage the righteous to persevere in the face of injustice,

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[124]Milik, *Enoch*, 270-1.

[125]Dillmann, *Henoch*, 299, argues that the nature poem illustrated the wisdom of 91:10. Modern commentators, however, tend to believe that "concerning his creation" was added to make the inserted poem fit the context (cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 286).

[126]Cf. Milik, *Enoch*, 270-1, who believes it is a eulogy for Enoch (delivered by himself!) about his accomplishments in learning things ordinary mortals could never know, especially in the journeys of ch. 1-36.

oppression and violence, since one day they will be rewarded and the wicked will be punished.[127] Although the genre of the section is a letter or almost a testament,[128] there is much in the outlook and eschatology that is apocalyptic, particularly in passages on the eternal condemnation of the wicked and the eternal blessings of the righteous.[129]

a. The Corruption of Creation

As in AW and BW, the Flood and the Final Judgment are closely connected in the Epistle. In the introduction to the Epistle, where Enoch addresses his children, Enoch twice refers to "a great chastisement" (91:5, 7). The first is a reference to the Flood (91:5), which will bring an end to oppression and wrong-doing that had become so strong on earth. Immediately in the next verse, however, he says "oppression shall again reach its peak upon the earth" (91:6). Thus sometime after the Flood, oppression, injustice and iniquity will infect the world more severely than before the Flood. As evil and apostasy continue to increase on earth, God finally brings another "great chastisement," the Final Judgment. As in BW (ch. 10), here also the first judgment is a type of the second judgment. Similar language, such as evil being "uprooted from its foundations," is used of both judgments. Yet though the two judgments are described side-by-side, they are clearly distinguished. In the Final Judgment, God personally appears in a theophany to pour out his wrath and execute judgment (91:7; cf AA: 90:18, 20). Fire, not water, destroys the evil-doers and their idols (91:9). Then the righteous are resurrected (91:10).

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[127]George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92-105," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 325-6. In a later article, Nickelsburg also recognizes that the Epistle exhorts sinners to repentance. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," *JJS* 33 (1982): 344.

[128]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 95; Davidson, 112.

[129]Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic Message," 325-6, demonstrates that the message in the Epistle of Enoch is primarily apocalyptic, not ethical; cf. Davidson, 115.

An important difference between the Epistle of Enoch and BW (ch. 10) is that the source of the evil is not blamed on the Watchers. Although the author states that wrong-doing will increase (91:5-7), the implication is that the evil is done by humans. Prior to the description of the increase of evil, he warns his listeners to walk in righteousness (v. 4) When he speaks about the judgment, he focuses on idolaters and other human evil-doers (v. 9). Consistently throughout the Epistle, sin is a human responsibility. In fact, in the body of the letter it explicitly says, "sin was not sent on the earth, but man of himself created it, and those who commit it will be subject to a great curse" (98:4, Knibb). This may be as Milik argues an intentional polemic against the principal theme of the Book of Watchers.[130]

One possible reference to the sin of the Watchers is 100:4. In the Ethiopic, the angels are those who go down to assist God in the Final Judgment, by exposing humans who aid in oppressing the Jewish sinners.[131] The Greek version, however, appears to refer to the fallen angels (Watchers) who aided in sin and so were hurled down into a pit until Judgment Day, which would be a clear reference to the Watcher story.[132] Nevertheless, two points are significant: (1) Much like AW, the reference to the fallen angels is confined to a passage that deals with the Final judgment, not with the Flood story; and (2) the angels are not the major cause of sin, as in BW, but only "assist" or "give aid to" (βοηθέω)[133] human sinners. Thus the role of the Watchers is reduced from being the primary cause for the origin of evil on earth to being only a subsidiary factor in human sin. The primary interest of the Epistle is with human morality.

Another difference from BW is that the discussion of the Flood in the Epistle does not

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[130]Milik, *Enoch*, 52-3. Milik also believes that in 100:1-3 the author borrows phrases from the mutual massacre of the Giants (10:9-12; 12:6; 14:6; 16:1), but applies them to human sin.

[131]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 307.

[132]Milik, *Enoch*, 52; cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 249.

[133]Liddell and Scott, 320.

mention any effect that sin had on the natural world.[134] Similarly, the physical world after the Flood and the world after the Final Judgment are not described. There is also no discussion of either the destruction or transformation of the world. The only concerns of the Epistle are the moral state of humans before and after the two judgments and the punishment of the wicked. This pattern is consistent in all the passages that refer to the Final Judgment in the Epistle (e.g. 100:4-5).

b. The Redemption of Creation

The general picture of the future existence of the righteous is heavenly and spiritual in character, rather than earthly and material.[135] The spirits (not the bodies) of the righteous dead will have eternal joy (103:3-5). The righteous will dwell in heaven and shine with the glory of the heavenly luminaries (104:2; cf. 4 Ez 7:97, 125). This picture is consistent with AW, but it is in sharp contrast to BW, with its emphasis on the transformed earth and a glorious earthly life for the righteous.

c. The Personification of Creation

Several personified references to the natural world reinforce the ethical focus of the Epistle of Enoch. In 100:10-13 God calls the powers of nature to testify against the wicked. Since the sun, moon and stars are above the earth, they can observe human sin. The clouds are also above the earth and provide judgment against the wicked by withholding rain, mist and dew. All of these parts of nature are personified. They are "watchful" over human sins and can "testify" against the wicked (v. 11). The natural world is implicitly obedient to God, for

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[134]Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic Message," 311, however, notes that the general picture is that the world in the author's time is out of kilter. Justice appears upside down, sin goes unpunished and the righteous are oppressed by the wicked. While this is true, the author has little concern for the implications of this imbalance on the natural world. His picture of the natural world in fact is that it remains perfectly obedient to God in contrast to human sinners (ch. 101-102).

[135]Cf. Black, "New Creation," 17-8; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 220-1.

when God summons the various parts of nature, they respond instantly (v. 11). These natural objects are concerned for human righteousness and act as agents of God's judgment by bringing afflictions such as cold, snowy weather and drought on the wicked (v. 12-13). The author even sarcastically mocks[136] the wicked by urging them to bribe the elements so they will not bring a judgment of oppressive weather on them (v. 12).

Ch. 101 continues this emphasis on God's use of nature as an instrument of judgment (101:1-3). God created the natural world, which continues to fear and obey Him (vv. 6-7), but the wicked do not fear or obey God (v. 1, 7, 9). The sea acts in obedience to God and stays within the bounds that God has appointed for it. When God rebukes it, the sea is afraid and dries up. Again, nature is personified. It is obedient to God and has fear when God rebukes it. This is similar to the nature homily in BW 2-5, though the stress is different.[137] For BW 2-5 emphasize the consistent daily operation of nature as God has designed it, while ch. 101 stresses the instant obedience of nature when God issues a command. Nature fears God and obeys him, but sinners do not. The references to nature in ch. 101, therefore, fit the paraenetical emphasis of the Epistle of Enoch.

The personification of nature is continued in ch. 102. On the Day of Judgment, heaven, earth and the heavenly luminaries will tremble in fear as God brings the fires of judgment to the earth (vv. 1, 3). According to the Greek text, heaven and the luminaries will seek to hide from the glory of God (vv. 2-3).[138] At that time the wicked will tremble with

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[136]Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 251, who says it is "spoken ironically."

[137]Both passages use the *rib* pattern discussed by Hartman, *Asking*, 51-71. See the discussion of ch. 2-5 in footnote 20 above.

[138]The Ethiopic text of 102:3 has the angels who assist in the judgment seeking to hide from God (cf. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 237). The Greek text has heaven and the luminaries shaking and trembling and no reference to anyone hiding from God (cf. Bonner, 59, 92). Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 253, argues that the Ethiopic text is corrupt, since the good angels would not seek to hide and thus the text loses the parallelism. G. Zuntz, "Enoch on the Last Judgment (Ch. Cii.1-3)," *JTS* 45 (1944): 167, notes that if the angels go into hiding, they cannot also carry out their tasks. The Greek text, however, has been disrupted in vv. 2-3

terror, despite their boastful rebellion against God and their refusal to show any fear of God up to that point (vv. 1-3). The righteous, however, need not fear, because though they will die with the wicked, they will rise from the dead and they will not be punished with the wicked (v. 8). Throughout this section, the powers of nature are clearly personified. The trembling of the earth is due to fear, not simply an earthquake. The "great alarm" that describes the response of nature is equivalent to the fear shown by humans (cf. v. 3).

5. The Birth of Noah (Ch. 106-107)

1 Enoch 106-107, which describes the birth of Noah, is possibly taken from a pre-existing Book of Noah.[139] In response to Lamech's fear that his son is the offspring of an angel, Enoch prophesies about the fallen Watchers, the Flood and Noah's role in preserving a remnant of humanity.

a. The Corruption of Creation

In Enoch's discussion of the Watcher story and the Flood, he says that after the Flood "the earth shall rest and be cleansed of great corruption" (106:17c, Black).[140] This suggests some motifs that have been seen elsewhere in the Watcher stories, particularly in BW: (1) The earth was corrupted by the sins of the Watchers. Verse 18 particularly emphasizes that sins and injustice bring corruption to the world. The fact that the earth will "rest" after the Flood (v. 17c) suggests that the earth was in a state of turmoil because of the sins of the Watchers. The ecological harm caused by the Watchers is more fully developed in BW (7:5-6; 9:2; 10:7-8),

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(Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 237). Black, *Book of Enoch*, 311, believes that the reference to hiding in the Ethiopic is dislocated. It should follow the reference to heaven and the luminaries shaking and trembling, so that it is the heavens that seek to hide from the presence of God. But the fact that this phrase is not in the Greek weakens this case.

[139]See footnote 104 above.

[140]The Aramaic and CM Greek show verse 106:17 to be out of place in the Ethiopic. Part a should follow v. 14; part c is in the proper position after v. 16; part b is not in the Aramaic or Greek. See Milik, *Enoch*, 210-1, 213; Bonner, 82.

but is implied here as well. (2) The problems that precipitated the Flood are the sins of the Watchers, not humans. The Watchers transgressed the law and violated the covenant of heaven (106:13-14, 17a). (3) The Flood would not simply bring destruction to the world (v. 16), but also the cleansing of the world. The Flood would remove the damaging effects of the Watchers and bring a time of rest to the troubled earth (cf. 10:7, 17-18, 22; 11:1-2).

b. The Redemption of Creation

This passage does not describe the post-Flood world in idealized terms, as BW does. On the contrary, there will be even greater unrighteousness after the Flood (106:19; cf. 91:6-7).[141] After many generations of unrighteousness, however, a righteous generation will arise. Then evil and injustice will end on the earth and blessings will come upon the earth (107:1). This period is similar to the Eighth Week in AW (91:13). Unlike BW 10, however, this final age of blessedness on earth in the Noah material is clearly separated from the post-Flood era by many generations (cf. BD 90). There is also no detailed discussion of any changes to the earth, including any increase in the productivity of nature (unlike BW 10).

6. Summary of Book 5 of 1 Enoch

AW does not mention the effects of sin on the natural world, even though it emphasizes the judgment of the Flood on sin. Yet there is in AW a period of blessedness and material prosperity on earth after the final eschatological battle, but before the Final Judgment. After the judgment, there will be a new heaven, but no new earth is mentioned. The righteous apparently live in a state of spiritual righteousness in heaven for eternity. The rich physical description of Paradise found in BW is completely lacking in AW.

The Epistle of Enoch also emphasizes the spiritual blessings of the righteous in the

[141]The pattern is the same as ch. 91: sin – judgment of Flood – greater sin – final judgment. VanderKam, "Apocalypse of Weeks," 514-5, notes that chapter 91 and chapter 106 create an inclusio around the Epistle.

heavenly kingdom. There is no concern in the Epistle for the corruption of the world due to sin (even sin before the Flood) and no mention of a final transformation of the world. The only concern is for human righteousness, the judgment of wicked and the final blessing of the righteous. The purpose is paraenetic, to urge the righteous to persevere in their righteous path.

The few references to nature in the Epistle serve this ethical purpose. The natural world is strongly personified and called to witness against the sins of the wicked. Nature is presented as an example of obedience to God in contrast to unrighteous humans. At the Final Judgment, the earth, heavens and the heavenly luminaries will be fearful in the presence of God's glory.

The Birth of Noah section (ch. 106-107) alludes to the Watcher tradition that speaks of the corruption of the earth by the sins of the Watchers. The Flood will bring cleansing to the world. According to ch. 106-107, however, the final period of blessing on earth will only come many generations later, when a righteous generation arises.

The following table summarizes the key points concerning the corruption and redemption of creation:

Table 17: Summary of 1 Enoch Book 5

Passage	Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
Apocalypse of Weeks (93:3-10; 91:11-17)	Not mentioned.	1. A temporary period of material prosperity on earth after the final battle. 2. A new heaven, but no new earth. 3. Righteous will live in a spiritual state in heaven.	None.
Epistle of Enoch (91:1-10, 18-19; 92; 93:1-2, 11-14; 94-105)	Not corrupted. Nature is obedient to God.	1. New heaven and earth not mentioned. 2. Righteous will dwell eternally in heaven.	1. Nature obeys God. 2. Nature fears God.
Birth of Noah (106-107)	The earth was corrupted by the sin of the Watchers.	1. A period of blessing on earth, when a righteous generation arises. 2. New heaven and earth not mentioned.	None.

E. The Book of Jubilees

1. Date, Provenance and Genre of Jubilees

It is well established that the book of Jubilees was originally written in Hebrew. This is confirmed by the Hebrew fragments of the book found at Qumran.[142] Later Greek and Syriac fragments are also extant, along with a quarter of the work in Latin. The earliest complete texts are in Ethiopic.[143]

It is widely accepted that Jubilees was written by a Palestinian Jew. Charles believed that it was written by a Pharisee in the time of John Hyrcanus, probably between 109-105 B.C.[144] Most recent scholars, however, date it in the Maccabean era between 161-140 B.C., before the establishment of the Hasmonean high priesthood and before the formation of the Qumran community.[145] The most thorough defense of this view has been written by VanderKam, who argues that it was composed between 161-152 B.C. before Jonathan was High Priest.[146] Davenport uses redaction criticism to argue for three stages of development between 200 and 104 B.C.,[147] but the evidence he presents for his theory has not convinced

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[142]James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 14 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 1-6, 255-82.

[143]Ibid., 1-18.

[144]R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis*, Translations of Early Documents (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1927), lviii-lxvi; R. H. Charles, ed, APOT (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:6; cf. M. Testuz, *Les Idées Religieuses Du Livre Des Jubilés* (Geneva: Droz, 1960), 12 (110 BC) and Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament. An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965), 607 (end of 2nd C. BC).

[145]VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 214-85 (161-152 B.C.); O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in OTP, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 2:44 (161-140 B.C.); Klaus Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch--römischer Zeit, no. 2.3, ed. Werner Georg Kümmel, et al. (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1981), 300 (145-140 B.C.); George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded. The Books of Adam and Eve," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael E. Stone, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum Ad Novum Testamentum (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 2.ii: 103 (168 B.C.); Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 67 (160 B.C.).

[146]VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 214-85.

[147]Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 10-8.

most scholars.[148]

There are many similarities between Jubilees and the writings of Qumran in theology, ritual, law, piety and calendar. But Jubilees is concerned about the whole of Israel, not a separate community and does not view the priesthood as corrupt.[149] It is likely that Jubilees originated with the Hasidim, before the Essenes broke off from the movement and established the Qumran community.[150]

The genre of Jubilees is composite, combining features typical of historical writing, ritual law, chronology, apocalypse, testament,[151] and midrash.[152] Jubilees has numerous apocalyptic characteristics, including (1) angelic revelation; (2) pseudonymity; (3) *ex eventu* prophecy; (4) cosmic and ethical dualism; (5) frequent historical involvement of angels and demons (including the fallen Watchers); (6) periodisation of history; and (7) the judgment and destruction of the wicked.[153] Ch. 23 is certainly an apocalypse and ch. 1-2 is very similar to

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Davenport sees three stages of composition: (1) the basic document was created about 200 B.C. (1:1-4a, 29a; 2:1-50:4, except for 4:26; 23:14-31; 31:14); (2) the document was updated about 160 B.C., to refer to Antiochus' persecution of the Jews; (3) the final "sanctuary-oriented redaction" was developed at Qumran between 140 and 104 B.C. Testuz, 175-7, believes ch. 23 was added at Qumran.

[148]See James C. VanderKam, "The Book of Jubilees," in *Outside the Old Testament*, ed. M. de Jonge, Cambridge Commentaries of Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 116; VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 253. For example, the difference between the angel writing the message (1:27) and Moses writing what the angel dictates (2:1) may be due to a mistranslation in the Greek version, which was carried into the Ethiopic. It translates the causative (*hiphil*), "make Moses write," as if it were the non-causative *qal*, "write for Moses." Thus it is not clear that there is a change in source at 2:1 (James C. VanderKam, "The Putative Author of the Book of Jubilees," *JSS* 36 (1981): 216).

[149]For a discussion of similarities and differences between Jubilees and the Qumran writings, see B. Noack, "Qumran and the Book of Jubliees," SEÅ 22-23 (1957-1958): 191-207; Wintermute, "Jubilees," 44; Berger, 295-6.

[150]VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 280-3; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 67.

[151]Testuz, 12.

[152]Wintermute, "Jubilees," 39-40.

[153]Collins, "Jewish Apocalypses," 28, 32; Wintermute, "Jubilees," 37. Stegemann, 509 and

an apocalypse. There are many similarities between Jubilees and 1 Enoch and it is generally agreed that Jubilees is dependent on parts of 1 Enoch.[154] On the other hand, Jubilees has little apocalyptic imagery and lacks a preoccupation with apocalyptic eschatology, except in certain sections. Even though only ch. 23 and possibly 1-2 can formally be called apocalypses, Collins correctly notes that an apocalyptic worldview and eschatology are presupposed throughout the book.[155]

2. The Corruption of Creation

a. Consistent Operation of Nature

Jubilees emphasizes that the cosmos follows consistent, divinely appointed cycles of time. History is divided into 49 jubilees of years from the creation to the giving of the Law. Each Jubilee consists of 7 "weeks" of 7 years each. God appointed these periods (1:29; 2:8-10; 4:17-21) and established the exact number of years from creation to the new creation (1:29). The length of the year is written on heavenly tablets, suggesting its immutability and divine origin (6:29-38). The cycles of days, months and years follow precise, consistent patterns (4:16-19). Jubilees affirms the tradition from the Enoch literature about Enoch's knowledge of

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John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, no. 18 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), 4, 201, both stress that the revelatory method (by an angel to an honored person of the past) indicates that the book is apocalyptic, even though only 23:18-32 is an actual apocalypse. Davenport, 74-5, sees apocalyptic eschatology in the original document and apocalyptic hermeneutic and eschatology in the sections produced by the two redactors he believes revised the book.

[154]Milik, *Enoch*, shows that Jubilees depended on the Astronomical Book (p. 11), Book of Watchers (p. 24) and the Book of Dreams (p. 45). Milik believes that the Epistle of Enoch depended on Jubilees (p. 255). But James C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers* (Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1978), 229-51, shows that Jubilees draws on 1 Enoch even there.

[155]Collins, "Jewish Apocalypses," 32, although elsewhere he calls Jubilees a "borderline case for the apocalyptic genre" (Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 63); cf. Barr, "Jewish Apocalyptic," 17.

these cosmic patterns (4:16-19). The proper day for various festivals and holy days are determined by these cycles and it is a serious sin to follow any other calendar (6:32-38). Adam passed down to his descendants the knowledge of the proper calendar (6:18; 7:38; 10:14). This was rediscovered by Abraham in the books of Enoch and Noah (21:10) and was revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai (1:4, 26).[156] The covenant God made with Noah after the Flood also stresses the continuity of the cosmic cycles and the patterns of nature (6:4). These cosmic cycles are unaffected by the Fall of Adam and Eve, other human sins and the wicked actions of Satan and demons.

The natural world is under the direction and control of God. God sends the rain and dew at the proper times and uses them for blessings (12:4, 18; 20:9; 26:23; 26:23). He appointed the movements of the stars, sun and moon (12:17). God created certain angels to manage the operation of the weather (fire, winds, clouds, darkness, snow, hail, frost, thunder, lightning, cold, and heat) and the seasons (winter, spring, autumn, and summer; 2:2). These teachings affirm that the natural world is largely functioning as God intends.

b. The Effects of Sin on the Natural World

Jubilees nevertheless refers to a variety of effects of sin on the natural world. Three types of sins have physical consequences: (1) the Fall; (2) ongoing human sins; and (3) the sins of fallen angels.

The Fall of Adam and Eve affected the natural world. Most of these results are taken from Gen. 3:16-19: (1) Women experience great pain in childbearing (3:24). (2) The ground is cursed, requiring hard labor to grow crops (3:25; 4:28). (3) Humans die as a result of the Fall (4:3). Jubilees interprets the promise that Adam would die in the day he sinned primarily in terms of physical death, rather than spiritual death. Since a thousand years are as one day in

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[156]For an extensive discussion of the calendar in Jubilees, see J. Van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 62-70.

the eyes of God, when Adam died 70 years short of 1000 years of age, he effectively died in the same "day" in which he sinned (4:30).

Jubilees also says that animals lost the ability to speak after the Fall of humanity (3:28). Prior to the Fall, all animals and humans spoke a common language (3:28), apparently Hebrew (12:25-26).[157]

Jubilees does not make a clear connection between the Fall and the sinfulness of humanity. Although one of the most important themes of the book is human sin, Jubilees does not stress that humanity has a sinful inner nature (contrast 4 Ezra 3:20-25; 4:4; 7:48, 92; Ap. Mos. 13:5). Although the evil of humanity is great (e.g. 10:7-8, 18; 21:21), this is not due to an inherited weakness resulting from original sin.[158] After the Flood, God gave humanity a righteous new nature (5:12) that overcame the effects of the human Fall and the pre-Flood corrupting influence of the Watchers.[159] This new nature gives people the potential for righteousness, although many will choose wickedness (5:12-14). Satan and demons lead people, particularly the Gentiles (15:31-32; 48:9-12), astray into sin (7:27; 10:1-5; 11:4-5, 7-8; 15:31-32; 48:9-12, 15-18). Although people have a tendency toward wickedness, Jubilees is not pessimistic about the ability of people to follow the righteous path, particularly among the Jewish people (contrast 4 Ezra). The greatest pessimism is about the Gentiles, who are viewed as basically evil, under the influence of demons and not to be emulated (15:31-32; 22:12-18; 21:21-24). Sin is largely a consequence of an individual's choices and many people

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[157]Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.1.4, 50; Philo *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 1.32. Ap. Mos. 10-12 still has animals speaking later in Adam's life. W. R. Morfill, *The Books of the Secrets of Enoch*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), 73-4, shows that many Greek writers ascribed rational thought to animals. Ancient Jewish writers generally believed the language of creation to be Hebrew (e.g. Targum on Gen. 11:1; Ber. Rabba 18, 31; Cedrenus 1:22). Cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 28.

[158]Davenport, 35, notes that the author is not interested in arguing for or against original sin. Cf. Endres, 53.

[159]Apparently evil began anew after the Flood, without any influence from what occurred prior to the Flood. Thompson, *Responsibility*, 11, 40.

are very righteous, particularly patriarchs such as Abraham (11:17; 17:17-18; 18:16; 19:3-4, 8-9), Enoch (10:17) and Noah (5:19; 10:11). There are times in history when sin is great (such as prior to the Flood) and times when it is much less (such as the time of Joseph). When a person sins, the sin pollutes that person as well as other people, leading to further sin (e.g. 4:22; 16:5; 33:10-14).

"Corruption" in Jewish apocalyptic literature has both a moral and a physical component.[160] In Jubilees, however, corruption primarily refers to moral failure and disobedience to the Law (e.g. 5:2, 10; 10:5, 8; 25:10). Corruption defiles both the individual who sins and other people, leading to further corruption (e.g. 33:10, 13). The term is not used to refer to death and the inevitability of death and decay, as in some other apocalyptic writings (e.g. 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, 2 Enoch). Nevertheless, corruption tends to spread and defiles the earth, shorten the human lifespan and leads to a wide range of suffering, disease and sorrow (e.g. 23:12-15). In the last days, the widespread evil will corrupt the land, resulting in reduced crop productivity (23:18). Thus even though corruption is primarily moral failure, it has physical consequences.

A recurrent theme is that sin pollutes and defiles the earth itself (4:2-3, 26; 5:3; 6:2; 7:33; 16:5-6; 20:19; 23:16-21; 50:5). In Noah's day, the earth was corrupted due to the evil of humans and the Watchers (5:3). The land of Sodom and Gomorrah was burned and destroyed because of the polluting effects of the sins of the inhabitants (16:5-6). The land is defiled by murder and cannot be cleansed except by the execution of the murderer (7:33; 21:19). Thus the earth cried out to heaven when Abel was killed by Cain (4:2-3; cf. Gen. 4:10). The concept that the earth is defiled by murder and other sins is probably derived from Lev. 18:26-28 and Num. 35:33-34.[161] After the Flood, Noah offered a sacrifice to make atonement for the land,

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[160]Moral corruption: 4 Ez. 7:48, 111-113; 9:19; 2 Bar. 21:19; 44:9. Death and decay: 1 En. 10:7; 69:28; 2 En. 8:5, 9; 65:8-10; 4 Ez. 7:15, 48, 61-63, 96, 115; 2 Bar. 42:7; 43:2; 44:9.

[161]Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 49.

because it had been polluted by the sins of humanity and the Watchers (6:2; cf. 5:3). In the time of eschatological trials, the damage to the natural world because of human sin will become acute: "The land will be corrupted on account of all their deeds" (23:18).[162] As a result even the productivity of crops will be reduced: "There will be no seed of the vine, and there will be no oil because their works are entirely faithless" (23:18).

Jub. 23:18 refers to the destruction of animals, birds and fish on account of human sins (23:18). Charles translates 23:18 "the earth will be destroyed on account of all their works." On the surface this appears to suggest that the earth will be destroyed in the last days prior to the new creation. But this does not fit the context and is not consistent with the rest of the book, which places the new age on the present earth. Endres believes this alludes to the Flood as a primordial example of the effects of sin.[163] The immediate context, however, deals with the damage to the earth due to eschatological sin, not the Flood. The context suggests that the "destruction" of the earth refers to the extensive damage to the crops and the widespread death of "beast, cattle, birds, and all of the fish of the sea" (v. 18) due to the great sin of people in the last days.

Just as sin defiles the land, the land itself benefits when people are righteous. Plants become more productive when people follow the rules of growing crops and offering a sacrifice of their fruit, wine and oil (7:34-37, v. 37, "you shall be righteous and all that you plant will prosper" (Charles)). In the new creation, sin will be removed and the earth will be cleansed and sanctified from the pollution of sin (4:26; 50:5).

This strong connection between human sin and the defilement of the land points to a solidarity between humanity and the natural world. This solidarity also implies that when humanity is living as God intends, the land itself benefits.

Sin also has negative physical effects on human life. Because of human sin, this life is

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[162]Quotations are taken from Wintermute, unless otherwise specified.

[163]Endres, 54.

marked by affliction (23:12-15). The suffering includes plagues, physical injuries, sickness, unpleasant weather (e.g. sleet, hail, hail, frost), fevers, chills, stupor and famine. There is a clear connection between sin and physical affliction: "All of this will come in the evil generation which sins in the land" (v. 14). This suffering appears to be a general characteristic of the age from the time of Abraham until the Final Judgment, due to the general sinfulness of that era (23:11). Sin and the resulting afflictions, however, will increase in the time of eschatological trials (23:14-16).[164]

Another consequence of sin is that people now live shorter lives. This is related to death, which is the punishment for sin. The earliest people lived just short of 1000 years (4:9; 23:9). As sin took a greater hold on humanity, this lifespan was shortened. Due to the widespread evil of humanity in Noah's day, God limited the lifespan of all who live after the Flood to no more than 110 years (5:8). This shortened lifespan is clearly connected with evil (5:8; 23:9) and is a divine judgment for sin (5:8). It is also associated with the great suffering of life in this age (23:9). The increase in sin in the last days will result in a drastically reduced lifespan. In the time of eschatological trials, even children will appear to be aged (23:25). The damage to the human lifespan will be reversed in the eschatological golden age, when people will again live nearly a thousand years, much like the earliest people (29:27-29).

An individual's personal moral behavior can affect this general tendency for people to live shorter lives due to sin. People who are particularly wicked, such as the Amorites, live short lives as a divine judgment (29:11). A long life and a long line of descendants is promised as a reward for righteousness (e.g. 32:18-19; 35:20; 36:6, 8). Only a few particularly righteous

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[164]The transition from the suffering of the whole age to the time of eschatological trials is not clear and there appears to be some overlap in the description. Vv. 11-13 clearly refers to the whole age (cf. VanderKam, "Book of Jubilees," 132; Davenport, 33). Vv. 16-21 clearly refer to the eschatological generation, probably the time of the origin of the Hasidim (Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 146). It is less clear to which period vv. 14-15 refers or if they apply to both. Davenport, 41, believes that these verses refer to the "perennial condition of man." But the reference to the "evil generation" suggests that they apply to an eschatological period.

people achieve a longer life. For example, Abraham lived 175 years (23:8, 10). Yet even Abraham did not live as long as the pre-Flood patriarchs, due to the general sinfulness of people in his day (23:10). Thus, the overall sinfulness of humanity has resulted in a shortened lifespan. An individual's personal righteousness can only partially overcome this damaging effect of sin on the human race.

The punishment for sin is death, which Jubilees generally interprets in a literal physical and temporal sense and only rarely in the sense of eternal judgment. Death as the punishment for sin is interpreted in several ways, often in the same passage: (1) divine destruction and death, often in an unspecified manner (7:28; 21:22; 22:21-22; 29:11; 31:17, 20; 33:19; 35:14; 36:8-9; 49:9; 50:13 (?)); (2) execution by a human judge, particularly for more serious sins such as murder, adultery, incest and rape (30:6-9; 33:10-14, 17; 41:25-26; 50:13 (?)); (3) a shortened lifespan, without a necessarily tragic end (5:8; 23:9-10; 29:11); (4) destruction of a wicked race by the Israelite army as an instrument of divine judgment (24:28-32; cf. 23:30);[165] (5) removal from the land of promise, generally by being destroyed (26:34; 30:22, "rooted out of the land"; 36:9); (6) the end of the family line of the sinner by the destruction of all his descendants (21:22; 22:21; 24:30; 35:14; 36:9, "his seed will be destroyed from under heaven"); (7) less frequently, eternal torment for the sinner and removal of his name from the book of life (7:29; 30:22; 22:22; 36:10).[166] In each category except the last, the punishment is physical death, often described as being "uprooted." Endres shows that the stress is on a Deuteronomistic pattern of retributive justice: brevity of life and future disaster

[165]Testuz, 170-1, argues that 24:29 refers to the eschatological battle. By contrast, v. 28 refers to a general curse on the Philistines throughout history.

[166]François Martin, "Le Livre des Jubilés: but et procédés de l'auteur--ses doctrines," *RB* n.s. 8 (1911): 523-4 and Testuz, 170, argue that in 9:15 the reference to "fire" refers to eternal torment. The verse says God will judge them with a sword and with fire. The sword refers to death, perhaps in an eschatological battle. If the fire is judgment fire, the concept is simply assumed and not developed. Testuz overemphasizes the importance of eternal torment and misses the significant role of death and temporal punishment.

result directly from a failure to obey the terms of the covenant.[167] Yet even when eternal punishment is mentioned, temporal punishment is also usually included (e.g. 30:22; 36:9). When a person's name is removed from the heavenly tablets, he will be uprooted from the earth at the day of judgment (24:33). In this case, the punishment is still physical death, even though it is deferred until the day of judgment.

c. Cosmic Consequences of the Sins of the Watchers

The time just prior to the Flood was a time of widespread evil and injustice on the earth (5:1-4). The Flood was a divine punishment for the sin of the fallen Watchers (7:21), humans (7:22-25, 29, 31-33) and even animals (5:2-3, cf. 20). The primary sin of the Watchers was mating with human women (5:1; 7:21). The Watchers corrupted both humans and animals and brought about widespread human evil and injustice (5:2). The human sins included widespread injustice (5:2; 7:23), murder (7:22-25; cf. 29, 31-33), cannibalism (5:2; 7:28) and evil and vain thoughts (7:24). People also "sinned against beasts, and birds and everything which moves or walked on the earth" (7:24). This reference is very similar to 1 En. 7:5, which says the Giants (offspring of the union of the Watchers and human women) "began to sin against birds, wild beasts, reptiles, and fish."[168] 1 En. 7:5 refers to an excessive and violent assault against the animals, since the Giants were eating everything in sight and could not be satisfied. The context of Jub. 7:24 supports a similar interpretation, since it says "they poured out much blood upon the earth." Jubilees extends this violence to include humans as well as the Giants (cf. v. 23). It is also possible that this refers to eating the blood of the animals, which was a sin under the Law and an offense against animals (cf. v. 32; 6:7-14).[169]

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[167]Endres, 231-3.

[168]Christoffersson, 63-4, believes Jub. 7:24 is based on 1 En. 7:5. The Flood and Watcher stories in Jub. 5-7 are derived from Gen. 6-8 and 1 Enoch 6-10, although the stories are reworked and the Genesis version dominates.

[169]Cf. Black's interpretation of 1 En. 7:5. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 126.

The sins of the Watchers even led to the corruption of animals (5:2): "All flesh corrupted its way." "All flesh" is interpreted to refer to "man and cattle and beasts and birds and everything, which walks on the earth" (5:2). The passage says the animals "corrupted their way and their ordinances," which suggests that their natural way of life was perverted. The exact change in the animals is not clear. Charles believes that they began to mate between species.[170] The passage also says that "they began to eat one another" (5:2). This refers not only to human cannibalism, but also to animals eating others of their own species or possibly to animals becoming carnivorous. Regardless of the exact reference, it is clear that there was a profound change in the animal world as a result of the sin of the Watchers. Since animals sinned, God wiped out the animals along with the humans and Giants in the Flood (5:4, 20).

After the Flood, God gave the animals a new nature, so they could behave as God intended (5:12). In this verse, "all his works" refers not only to humans but also to animals. The corrupting damage of the Watchers (5:1-3) was reversed. Unlike humans who often choose to sin despite this new nature (5:13-19), apparently animals did not return to the corrupted ways caused by the Watchers. To some extent they can still be influenced and used by demons (e.g. 11:1-12), although they have never been corrupted as thoroughly as they were before the Flood.

Jubilees emphasizes the sin of the fallen angels and their profound influence on humanity. Originally the Watchers came to earth to teach humans, and perform righteous deeds (4:15).[171] The Watchers sinned by fornicating with human women (4:22; 5:1) and teaching people about astrology (8:38). The sin of the Watchers corrupted humanity and led to widespread sin, so that God sent the Flood to destroy the wicked (5:1-3). In addition to the teachings about the impact of the Watchers, Jubilees has a strong emphasis on Satan (often

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[170]Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 43.

[171]This contrasts with 1 En. 6; 86:1 and 2 En. 7; 18; 31:3-7, which say that the Watchers came to earth in rebellion against God.

called Mastema) and the demons whom he leads. Numerous passages stress that they lead people astray and influence them to sin (10:1-5; 11:4-5, 7-8; 15:31-32; 48:9-12, 15-18). This is particularly true of the Gentiles who are seen as strongly under demonic influence. The eschatological hope is for a time when there will be no influence from Satan or demons (23:29; 50:5). Although Jubilees has little to say about the impact that the Fall of Adam and Eve had on the human tendency to sin, it has much to say about the influence of Satan and demons.

The sin of the Watchers and the corrupting influence of demons also have a negative impact on the natural world. The sin of the Watchers led to the widespread corruption of animals and even the earth itself (5:1-3). Demons cause physical illness (10:11-12). Satan sends birds to eat the seed that people plant so they have a reduced crop (11:10-12). In part this reflects the curse on the earth, but it also shows the influence of the evil demonic powers on nature.[172] By contrast Abraham is so righteous, that the birds flee the fields in his presence, reversing the impact of the evil spirits on nature, at least temporarily (11:18-21). Both sin and righteousness influence the natural world.

d. Eschatological Cosmic Effects of Sin

In the important apocalyptic section in chapter 23, Jubilees describes a time of eschatological trials (23:16-25). The period of suffering is similar to that found in many other apocalyptic works.[173] It is not precisely correct, however, to call this the period of "Messianic woes" as Charles does,[174] since the following age of blessing is not associated with a Messiah.[175] All of the damaging effects of sin will climax in this time of eschatological trials. This

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[172]For a discussion of the demonic influence of nature, see Thompson, *Responsibility*, 40-2.

[173]E.g. 2 Bar. 25-27; 28:31-37; 48:31-37; 120:2-10; 4 Ez. 4:52-5:13; 6:14-18, 21-24; 1 En. 80; Sib. Or. 3:632-650, 796-807; cf. Mt. 24:6-29 and synoptic parallels.

[174]Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 146-7.

[175]Cf. Davenport, 37, n. 1.

is a time of greatly increasing evil, injustice and abandonment of the law (23:16-23).[176] As a result of this increase in evil, the natural world will suffer extensive damage: (1) The land will be corrupted "on account of all their deeds" (23:18). (2) Crops will become less productive "because their works are entirely faithless" (23:18). (3) Numerous animals, birds and fish will be destroyed "on account of the sons of man" (23:18). (4) The physical condition of people will deteriorate: People will have reduced stature (23:24). Children will have grey hair and appear as old men and people will die young (23:24).[177] (5) There will be a great plague as a divine judgment on those sinners (23:22). These physical difficulties are specifically associated with the increasing eschatological sin and will only be reversed when people return to the Law (23:26-31).

3. The Redemption of Creation

a. The Renewal of Creation

Even though Jubilees stresses a nationalistic eschatology that benefits the righteous of Israel, its hope for the future has important cosmic dimensions. When the people of Israel return to obedience to the Law, the whole earth will be affected positively.

Jubilees looks forward to a new creation (1:29; 4:26). This new creation was planned from the beginning and there are a divinely ordered number of years between the original creation and the new creation (1:29, "full number of jubilees").[178] As will be shown, the "new

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[176]It probably refers to the mid-second century era of Jewish Hellenization, which led to the rise of the Chasidim (Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 146, n. 16).

[177]Davenport, 37-8, suggests that this is a description of massive starvation, resulting in baldness, wrinkled skin and muscle deterioration.

[178]Michael Stone, "Apocryphal Notes and Readings," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 125, proposes a solution to the text of this verse that makes sense of a puzzling reading. The text reads "throughout the full number of jubilees, from the day of the new creation." Stone suggests that the original text was "throughout the full number of jubilees, from [the day of creation until] the day of the new creation." The brackets indicate a section skipped by homoeoteleuton, where the scribe's eye skipped from the first "the day" to the second, omitting part of the sentence.

creation" is not the creation of a *new* heavens and earth, but a renewal, perfection and sanctification of the *existing* creation (4:26).

The comprehensive renewal of creation will include both spiritual and material dimensions, animate and inanimate objects. The spiritual renewal is fundamental. All sin will be removed and people will walk in righteousness in obedience to the Law (1:15-18; 23:26; 50:5). A new temple will be built on Mt. Zion.[179] God himself will dwell among the righteous and rule on earth from His sanctuary forever (1:17-18,26-27, 29). Even though there is a spiritual hope that the righteous will dwell with God, it is not simply a hope that the righteous will dwell in heaven, but that God will dwell on earth. Demons and Satan will be banished from earth so that they can no longer tempt and mislead people (23:29; 50:5).

"Heaven and earth and all of their creatures shall be renewed" (1:29). The sun, moon and stars (heavenly "lights") will be renewed (1:29; 19:25). They will be changed in some manner that will produce blessing for the elect of Israel, including healing and peace (1:29). Not only humans but also other creatures will be renewed. The renewal includes "heaven and earth and all their creatures" (1:29), which suggests that creatures dwelling in both heaven and earth will be transformed. On earth, this would include animals as well as human beings. There are at least two ways to understand the changes to creatures in heaven: (1) The heavenly bodies are transformed. It specifically says in 1:29 that "the lights will be renewed" (cf. 19:25). (2) It might suggest some kind of change in the angels. While Jubilees does not refer to any renewal of good angels, it does say that Satan and demons will no longer be on earth to tempt and lead people astray (23:29; 50:5). This is a profound change in the operation of the cosmos, since demons frequently lead people into sin in this age. Although this sort of change does not benefit the demons, the point of 1:29 is that the renewal of creation is for the benefit of the righteous of Israel: The renewal is "for healing and peace and

[179]The present temple has been defiled by sin (e.g. 23:21). Davenport, 29-31.

blessing for all the elect of Israel."

The earth itself will be renewed and purified (1:29; 4:26; 50:5). The earth will be sanctified from all sin, and the pollution and damage that sin caused to the land will be removed (4:26; 50:5). The renewal of the earth will be eternal (4:26, "throughout all generations"; 1:27-29; cf. 23:30). There are four sacred places on earth: Eden, Mt. Sinai, Mt. Zion (4:25-26; 8:19) and "the mountain of the east" (4:26 only).[180] These are sacred because on each of these mountains people came face to face with God.[181] Mt. Zion is particularly important, since God Himself will reign on earth from Zion and the sanctuary of the Lord will be there in the new age (1:26, 29). When Mt. Zion is sanctified, the whole earth will benefit and be sanctified as well (4:26).

The renewal of heaven and earth will be "according to powers of heaven" (1:29). This indicates that the transformation will be by divine power, not human effort. The renewal will also be "according to the whole nature of earth" (1:29). This implies a comprehensive transformation of the world and suggests a physical dimension to the changes. It also implies that the type of changes of each object will be in accordance with its basic nature. Thus the transformation of the earth will be different than the transformation of the stars, yet all things

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[180]Wintermute, "Jubilees," 63, suggests the "mountain of the east" is Mt. Qater, where Enoch offered incense to God. This is supported by the previous verse (4:25). The Syriac uses Qater in 4:26 instead of "east." A less likely solution is offered by Hermann Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues, 1874; reprint, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1970), 505-6. He believes it refers to Mt. Lubar, a mountain in Ararat, on which Noah sacrificed after the ark came to rest. This associates the four holy mountains with Adam, Noah, Moses and David. See Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 39, n. 26 and Wintermute, "Jubilees," 63, n. n for other suggestions.

[181]Charles notes that three of these are connected with decisive turning points in history: Eden was the first dwelling place of human beings, Mt. Sinai is where the Law was given and Zion is the center of the Theocracy (Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 39, n. 26). A better explanation is that these are places where a human met God face to face: Adam and Eve walked with God in Eden (cf. 8:19, "the dwelling of God"), Moses met God on Mt. Sinai and God will dwell on Mt. Zion in the new age, 1:26, 29). If "the mountain of the east" is associated with Enoch (Mt. Qater), it also fits the idea that a person met God on each holy mountain, since Enoch was known as one who "walked with God."

will undergo profound renewal.

b. An Eternal Golden Age on Earth

The transformation of heaven and earth institutes an eternal golden age for humanity on earth. There will be perfect righteousness and obedience to the Law (1:15-18; 23:26). Satan and demons will no longer tempt and lead people astray (23:29; 50:5). The righteous will dwell in the land of Israel (50:5). All the enemies of Israel will be judged (23:30). The righteous will enjoy abundant peace, joy and blessings (1:15-18, 22-25; 23:26).

This is an eternal age of blessing on earth. "Time" is measured in a fixed number of Jubilees of years from the original creation until the new creation (1:29). From then on there is an eternal age that will last "all the days of the earth" (1:29; cf. 4:26: "throughout eternal generations"; 50:5: "from that time and forever").[182]

The eschatological hope for the righteous is almost entirely focused on earthly blessings in the land of promise, rather than on a transcendental existence in heaven. The presence of God will come to earth, rather than the righteous going to heaven (1:26-29). God will rule on the earth from his sanctuary on Mt. Zion (1:28-29; cf. 4:26; 8:19). A possible exception is in 23:31: "their bones will rest in the earth, and their spirits will increase joy." Collins believes this to be an allusion to an afterlife for the disembodied spirits of the righteous.[183] Wintermute's suggestion is more likely. He believes it to be poetic hyperbole indicating that the righteous will have assurance that their enemies will be destroyed and that God will vindicate

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[182]Charles incorrectly assumes that the kingdom would be a temporary messianic kingdom (R. H. Charles, *Eschatology. The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity*, 2nd ed. (1913; reprint, New York: Schocken Books, 1963), 237-8; Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 150). Since the kingdom will come gradually he assumes that the Final Judgment could not be fit in prior to the kingdom. He concludes, therefore, that the judgment must come after the kingdom and the kingdom must be temporary. This, however, contradicts the explicit statements that the kingdom is eternal (1:27-29; 4:26; 23:30). It is more likely that the author simply did not concern himself with these details of eschatological chronology.

[183]Collins, "Jewish Apocalypses," 32; cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 151.

the righteous.[184]

Since the future dwelling of the righteous will be on earth, there are numerous physical benefits for the righteous in the golden age. All will be healed and henceforth enjoy perfect health (1:25; 23:30). The human lifespan will grow longer and approach the perfect ideal of 1000 years (23:27). Even the elderly will appear youthful (23:28).[185] The land itself will be purified from the damage caused by sin (50:5). These physical benefits are the result of the spiritual transformation of God's people.

Although the spiritual and physical blessings in the eschatological golden age resemble those found in other apocalyptic works, no Messiah will bring about the changes or reign in the golden age.[186] Instead of a Messiah, God himself will reign directly on earth (1:26-29). The enemies of Israel will be judged and destroyed in a great eschatological battle fought by the Israelites (23:30).[187]

c. A Progressive Renewal of Creation

The new creation and the eschatological golden age come about through a gradual process (23:26-28; 50:5). By contrast, in most other Jewish apocalyptic writings, the new creation comes instantaneously and climactically after the Judgment (e.g. 4 Ez. 7:31-33, 75, 113; 2 Bar. 32:1-6; 57:2; 1 En. 10:16-11:2; 45:4-6; 69:26-29; 72:1; 91:16; 2 En. 33; 65:6-10; cf. 2 Pet. 3:13; Rev. 20:1). In those apocalyptic writings that refer to a golden age on earth, the

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[184]Wintermute, "Jubilees," 102, says that either interpretation is possible. Davenport, 40, says that the faithful are not promised immortality, but that justice will come, even if after their death. The stress is not on the rejoicing of the dead, but on what they celebrate.

[185]Endres, 59, believes this is based on Is. 65:20.

[186]Charles says there is a messianic reference to a son of Judah in 31:18-19 Charles *Eschatology*, 237. No role, however, is assigned to this figure in the establishment and rule of the earthly eschatological kingdom (1:29; 23:26-30). The Maccabean princes are mentioned in the blessing of Levi in 31:15 (Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 187).

[187]It is not clear if 29:30 refers to a single battle or the defeat of the enemies over a period of time (cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 151).

golden age is usually instituted after Israel's enemies are defeated in the final battle of history, led either by the Messiah (e.g. 2 Bar. 29:3-8; 39:7-40:3; 48:37b-41; 70:9; 72-74; 4 Ez. 7:26-28; 13:26-40) or by God himself (e.g. 1 En. 90:12-18). In Jubilees, however, the righteousness that is required of Israel to bring about the eschatological golden age will come about gradually: "Jubilees will pass until Israel is purified from all the sin of fornication, and defilement, and uncleanness, and sin and error" (50:5). The transformation does not even happen rapidly in the last days; it will require "jubilees" of years. After people return to the Law, the lifespan of people will gradually grow longer, until it approaches the ideal of 1000 years (23:26). The lifespan will "begin to increase and grow longer . . . generation by generation."

On the surface, the "new creation" referred to in 1:29 could appear to come about by an instantaneous event. Yet a more consistent interpretation is that the "new creation" refers to the culmination of the process described in more detail in other passages (4:26; 23:26-28; 50:5).[188] The language of 1:29, in fact, accommodates this gradual renewal:[189] "Heaven and earth and all of their creatures shall be renewed . . . until the sanctuary of the Lord is created in Jerusalem." This suggests that the renewal of creation is a process that will continue until the temple is rebuilt.[190] The creation of the new temple marks the start of the new creation, which will last "all the days of the earth." This agrees with 23:27-30, which describes a gradual increase in the typical human lifespan as people begin to return to the Law (v. 26). This renewal process culminates in 23:29 where the people live in peace and blessing and there are no more attacks from Satan or demons.[191]

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[188]Russell, *Method and Message*, 280; Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 9.

[189]Cf. Charles *Eschatology*, 236.

[190]Davenport, 30, n. 1, says that the author of 1:29 expected the establishment of the new temple to follow the eschatological events of 23:14-31.

[191]The defeat of Israel's enemies in v. 30 may be one of the final stages of the renewal process that begins with the return of the Israelites to the Law. Presumably the establishment of the temple (1:27, 29) would follow the military victory. If this is so, v. 30 may be out of

Jubilees lists several stages in the progressive renewal of creation through history:[192] (1) In the Flood, God destroyed all that was corrupt and gave to all creatures a new and righteous nature" (5:11-12). Much of humanity quickly returned to sinful ways, but apparently the animals never again had a period of such corruption as they did under the influence of the fallen Watchers (5:1-3). Charles believes that this text is corrupt and refers to the final judgment and new creation, rather than to the post-Flood period.[193] Other Jewish apocalyptic materials, however, use the Flood as a type of the Final Judgment (e.g. BW: 1 En. 10:16-11:2; BP: 1 En. 54:1-3, 7-10; 55:3; Ep. En.: 1 En. 91:5-9, 15; 2 En. 70:10). Thus it is not surprising to see a discussion of the Flood and Final Judgment in the same passage. Other apocalyptic writings indicate that humanity had a fresh start after the Flood (e.g. BW: 1 En. 10:7, 17-18, 22; 11:1-2; BP: 1 En. 67:7-10; Ep. En.: 1 En 91:5; Book of Noah: 1 En. 106:17). (2) The second phase of the redemption of creation occurred with the establishment of the Jewish people (19:25). The descendants of Jacob were to "establish heaven and strengthen the earth and to renew all of the lights which are above the firmament" (19:25). Thus the righteousness of the people of God was to have a positive effect on heaven, earth, the heavenly luminaries and all of creation. (3) The final renewal of creation will take place at the end of time, at "the new creation when heaven and earth and all of their creatures shall be renewed" (1:29). At that time, the earth will be sanctified from all sin (4:26) and a glorious, eternal age of blessing will begin on earth (23:26-31). The other phases of the renewal of creation are only

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chronological sequence, since the age of blessing is already established in v. 29. Davenport, 33 says vv. 30-31 expand the description of 24-29 and may have come from a different source (cf. p. 39). The various elements occur at roughly the same time, rather than sequentially. A similar solution is suggested by Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter nach den Quellen der rabbischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1934), 29, although he does not suggest that the passages came from different sources. However, Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 151, believes the defeat of the enemies will occur over a period of time.

[192]Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 19.

[193]Ibid., 10, 44-5.

anticipatory of and pale in comparison to this final great transformation of creation. The potential of righteousness given to humanity following the Flood (5:12) and the potential for renewing creation through the righteous obedience of the Israelites (19:25) is finally brought to completion at this time.

The renewal of the physical universe in Jubilees is always associated with the spiritual renewal of humanity, particularly Israel. As each Israelite lives a righteous life, heaven and earth are strengthened, and the stars, sun and moon are renewed (19:25). When people return to the Law in the last days, the human lifespan will lengthen, and a golden age of blessing, health and peace will come (23:26-28). After Israel is purified of all sin they will dwell in the land in confidence and the land itself will be purified from the damage caused by sin (50:5). Even as sin causes damage to creation, righteousness has a healing effect on creation.

Eden is only mentioned in a few places (4:23, 25; 8:19-21) and the references contribute little to an understanding of the future state of the righteous. Eden is a blessed place on earth (8:21). The righteous will be able to go there, but it is simply part of the larger earthly territory that Israel is to inherit (8:21). Although God dwells in Eden (8:19), there is no spiritualization of Eden as a heavenly Paradise. Enoch went to Eden (4:23; cf. 1 En. 70:1-3) and he is apparently there now, recording the evil deeds of humanity in preparation for the Judgment (4:23; cf. 10:17; 2 En. 67:2). The references to Eden fit the emphasis on an earthly future for the righteous.

The Final Judgment is frequently mentioned (e.g. 4:24; 5:13-16; 9:15; 10:13-16, 22; 16:9; 23:11; 24:33), although there is no undisputed reference to a universal Resurrection.[194] At the Final Judgment, God will judge every creature in heaven and earth (10:13-

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[194]Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 150, believes that "they will rise up" in 23:30 does not refer to the Resurrection, but means that God will heal his servants. This avoids the difficulty that since the kingdom arrives gradually, there is no place for a Resurrection in this gradual process. However, even if 23:30 does refer to the Resurrection, it is possible that the verse is

14). The evil Watchers and fallen angels will face eternal punishment, bound in the depths of the earth (10:5, 8-11; cf. 20:5). As was shown earlier, the primary punishment for sinful humans is destruction and removal from the land (21:22; 22:21-22; 29:11; 31:17, 20; 33:19; 35:14; 36:8-9; 49:9; 50:13; 26:34; 30:22; 36:9),[195] even as the primary reward for the righteous is a long life of peace and blessing in a future golden age on earth. In a few passages eternal punishment of the wicked is mentioned (36:10; 22:22; cf. 30:22). In the most explicit passage describing eternal punishment (36:10), there is a strong emphasis on physical discomfort, such as torment, plagues and disease. Even as the righteous will dwell in the land in blessing and health, the wicked will be cast out of the land and suffer curses, torment, disease and plagues.

The relationship between the Final Judgment and the golden age is unclear.[196] Since the golden age is eternal (1:27-29; 4:26; 23:30), the judgment could not occur after the golden age. But since the golden age evolves slowly, it is hard to fit such a climactic event as the Judgment into a gradually improving new world. Several solutions have been proposed: (1) Charles believes that the kingdom is temporary and the Judgment occurs after the kingdom. No passage, however, explicitly says that the judgment will occur after the kingdom and, in fact, several passages state directly that the golden age will be eternal.[197] (2) Daven-

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not in chronological sequence. Nickelsburg argues that this is part of the Deuteronomistic retribution pattern, rather than a reference to the Resurrection (George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, Harvard Theological Studies, no. 26 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 22). VanderKam, "Book of Jubilees," 135, believes it may refer to the Israelite army being raised up to defeat their enemies.

[195]The emphasis is on a Deuteronomistic pattern of retributive justice: brevity of life and disasters due to a failure to obey the terms of the covenant (Endres, 231-3).

[196]Martin, "Le Livre des Jubilés," 529.

[197]Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 150, says that the gradual transformation of the world does not allow the Judgment to occur prior to the kingdom. He observes, however, that if 23:11 is taken literally, the Judgment must occur before the kingdom, since people live short lives until the Judgment but in the kingdom they live up to 1000 years. Even though Charles' solution is

port says that the "day" of judgment is actually a period of time in which the unrighteous are defeated and destroyed.[198] This is partially true, since Jubilees sees the death of the wicked as a divine judgment for their sin. (3) A better solution is that the final Judgment occurs after the golden age has partially developed.[199] The "new creation" (1:29) may also come about at this time, after a sufficient change has occurred in the world to view it as a fundamentally new order. One of the pivotal events that marks the transition to the new creation is the establishment of the new temple (1:29). The Judgment could occur at approximately this time. Of course, Jubilees makes no attempt to work out a precise chronology of events, since it is more concerned with the type of transformation that will take place.[200]

4. The Personification of Creation

Jubilees has very little personification of the natural world. The major exception is that after Cain murders Abel, the blood of Abel cries out from the ground, complaining to God about the murder (4:3). This is largely taken from Gen. 4:10. Jubilees also says that prior to the Fall, all animals spoke a common language (3:28), which suggests a fair degree of rational consciousness in animals.

Angels work behind the scenes to control the operation of natural phenomena, particularly various aspects of the weather.[201] There are angels of fire, winds, clouds, dark-

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logical, it requires the rejection of several clear statements in the book (including 23:11).

[198]Davenport, 36.

[199]Martin, "Le Livre des Jubilés," 529.

[200]Davenport, 3-5, believes these difficulties are best explained by multiple levels of redaction. Even if this is true, it does not explain why the final redactor was comfortable leaving these apparently contradictory ideas in place. It is not unusual in apocalyptic for details like these not to be fully integrated.

[201]Apparently these angels are inferior to the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification. The Talmud says that the angels that control nature are inferior to righteous Israelites (Sanh. 93a; cf. Ber. Rabba 8; Tanch. 14. Cf. Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 12).

ness, snow, hail, frost, thunder, lightning, cold, heat, winter, spring, autumn, and summer (2:2). The Enoch apocalypses also refer to this concept (BP: 1 En. 60:12-21; AB: 1 En. 75; 80; 82:7-20; 2 En. 19:1-4; cf. Rev. 14:18).[202] While the theology of nature in these passages is similar, the presentation of the angelic operation of nature is quite different in Jubilees than in the Enoch literature. In 1 and 2 Enoch, the angelic workings are "hidden things" (1 En. 60:11), which Enoch sees in his heavenly journeys. In Jubilees, however, angels are discussed in the context of the creation story, when the angels that operate natural phenomena were created on the first day along with the earth and the waters.[203] The existence of angels who control nature is simply taken for granted. This knowledge is not part of the hidden secrets of the universe, even though it is revealed to Moses by an angel (2:1).

5. Summary of Jubilees

Jubilees emphasizes that history and the cosmos follow divinely appointed cycles of time. The cosmic cycles and calendar are not affected by the sins of people or fallen angels. God controls the operation of the natural world and angels ensure its regularity. Nevertheless, sin has other physical consequences. The curse of the Fall included pain in childbearing, a curse on the ground, and physical death. Human lifespans have gradually become shorter due to sin. Sin defiles the earth, but when people are righteous, even the land benefits. Prior to the Flood the sin of the Watchers led to widespread human evil and even the sin of animals. These sins resulted in the corruption of the earth. In the time of eschatological trials there will be an increase in the physical deterioration of creation due to human sin: Crops will become less productive, people will age very quickly, there will be plagues and many animals will die.

From the beginning, God planned for a new creation and appointed the time when it

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[202]1 En. 17 takes a more mechanistic view of nature. The Bible tends to attribute such natural phenomena directly to the work of God, rather than angels (e.g. Ps. 77:18; 104:4, 7; Job 37:4).

[203]In Jerusalem Targum Gen. 1, 26, the angels are created on the second day.

would come. Even though Jubilees refers to a "new" creation, the changes actually involve the transformation of the existing creation, rather than the destruction and recreation of the universe. The renewal of creation will include both spiritual and material dimensions, animate and inanimate objects. Heavenly luminaries will be transformed, the earth will be purified, and even animals will be renewed. There will be an eternal golden age on earth, with a longer human lifespan, perfect health, and both spiritual and physical blessings. The eschatological reward for the righteous focuses on this renewed earth. The renewal comes through a gradual process through history, rather than as a climactic event at the end of time. Once people return to the Law, the human lifespan will gradually grow longer through many generations, until it approaches the human ideal of 1000 years. The renewal of the material world is always dependant upon human righteousness.

There is little personification of nature, except that the blood of the murdered Abel cries out to God from the ground. Angels work behind the scenes to regulate the operation of the material world.

The following chart summarizes the key points concerning the corruption and redemption of creation in Jubilees:

Table 18: Summary of Jubilees

Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
1. History and the cosmos are governed by regular, divinely appointed cycles. 2. The fall resulted in death, pain in childbearing, and a curse on the ground. 3. Sin defiles the earth. 4. Human lifespan gradually grows shorter due to sin. 5. Sins of Watchers, humans and even animals corrupted the earth prior to the Flood. 6. In the time of eschatological trials, the physical deterioration of creation will increase.	1. The "new creation" is a transformation of the existing world. 2. The renewal is a gradual process, once people return to the Law. 3. The heavenly luminaries, the earth and even animals will be changed. 4. An eternal earthly golden age of righteousness will include a longer lifespan, health and other physical blessings. 5. The future reward of the righteous focuses on the renewed earth.	Angels operate the physical universe.

CHAPTER 4:

2 ENOCH (SLAVONIC ENOCH)

A. Date, Provenance and Recensions of 2 Enoch

2 Enoch (Slavonic Enoch) is one of the most important extant Jewish apocalypses from the Diaspora. It is more difficult to date than many apocalyptic works, since there is little indication that the book is a response to a particular historical crisis and it deals with general human sinfulness, idolatry and injustice (e.g. 33-35)[1] Proposed dates range from pre-Christian times to the late Middle Ages! Maunder argues that it is a Bogomil creation from the 12th to 15th centuries.[2] Milik believes that it is a Christian work, with the longer recension dating from the seventh century and the shorter recension dating from the ninth or tenth centuries.[3]

Nevertheless, a majority of scholars believe that at least the core is a Jewish work dating from between the first century B.C. to the first century A.D., although the extant MSS include some medieval glosses.[4] The dualism is quite different than Bogomil dualism.[5] The

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[1]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 197.

[2]A. S. D. Maunder, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *The Observatory* 41 (1918): 309-16. Her most significant evidences are: (1) the use of the Julian calendar, with lunar epacts and a 532 day solar cycle; (2) dualism, including mention of "Satanil." Some accept her arguments, but argue for a seventh century date: J. K. Fotheringham, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 20 (1919): 252 and "The Easter Calendar and the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 23 (1922): 49, 54-5; K. Lake, "The Date of the Slavonic Enoch," *HTR* 16 (1923): 398; A. Vaillant, *Le Livre Des Secrets D'Hénoch*, 2nd ed., Textes Publiés Par L'Institut D'Études Slaves (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1976), viii-xiii.

[3]Milik, *Enoch*, 109, 112.

[4]R. H. Charles, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 22 (1921): 161-4, refutes the arguments of Maunder and Fotheringham. He dates it between A.D. 1-50, with parts from 1-2 C. B.C. (Nevill Forbes and R. H. Charles, "2 Enoch, or the Books of the Secrets of Enoch," in *Pseudepigrapha*, ed. R. H. Charles, APOT Testament (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:429). Cf. James H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research. With a*

shorter recension defends a solar calendar, which is typical of Second Temple Judaism and contrary to medieval dualism.[6] Odeberg and Alexander have shown a pattern of development in Jewish mysticism from 1 Enoch to the Markabah texts, which places 2 Enoch around the first or second century B.C. on the trajectory.[7] There is some evidence that 2 Enoch was written while the Jerusalem temple was standing,[8] although some of the sacrificial practices differ from the levitical practices.[9] The evidence leans toward a first century date, but it is difficult to be dogmatic in light of the textual uncertainties.[10]

The question of provenance is closely related to the date. Vaillant believes that 2 Enoch is a Christian revision of 1 Enoch,[11] but there is too little in common between the

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Supplement, Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies, ed. Harry M. Orlinsky (Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, 1981), 104 (decades prior to destruction of the temple); Jonas C. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," in *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch*, ed. Hugo Odeberg (New York: Ktav, 1973), xi (1 C. A.D.) Hugo Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: Ktav, 1973), 60-3 (1-2 C. B.C.). Origen probably refers to 2 Enoch in *De Principiis* 1.3.2.

[5]The Bogomils attributed the creation of Gen. 1 to the work of Satan, but 2 Enoch says everything was created by God. They also said Moses and the Law were from Satan. For further differences, see Charles, "Date and Place," 162-3; George Giacumakis, Jr., "Bogomiles," NIDCC, J. D. Douglas, ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), 162-3; James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament. Prolegomena for the Study of Christian Origins*, SNTS Monograph Series, no. 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 32-5, 150-1 n. 14.

[6]Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha and the NT*, 34, follows Meshchersky's Russian writings. A solar calendar is also found in 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

[7]Odeberg, 60-3; P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in OTP, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 1:247-8.

[8]E.g. 51:4 says it is good to go to "the Lord's temple."

[9]E.g. the requirement to tie the legs of a sacrificial animal. A. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 13 (1962): 13-4.

[10]Charlesworth wisely cautions that biblical scholars will require more expertise in Slavonic and medieval dualism before many of these issues will be resolved satisfactorily. Furthermore, some of the best research is only available in Russian. Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha and the NT*, 32-5

[11]Vaillant, iv-viii

two works to support this theory. 2 Enoch has nothing that is distinctively Christian, other than some easily separated medieval glosses. There is no Christian savior or scheme of salvation and Enoch is exalted as God's chosen.[12] Scholem argues that nothing in 2 Enoch could not have been written by a first century Jew.[13] Some believe the emphasis on Melchizedek supports a Christian composition.[14] These sections, however, do not draw any messianic parallels to Melchizedek, and there are fundamental differences between this portrait of Melchizedek and the one in Hebrews.[15] Most scholars now believe that 2 Enoch was a product of Diaspora Judaism. It was most likely composed in Egypt, in view of the allusions to Egyptian mythology and the similarities to Philo's theology.[16] The general ethical nature of the work shows it probably is not the product of a conventicle or closed circle.[17]

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[12]See the critique of Vaillant by F. I. Anderson, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in OTP, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 1:96.

[13]G. Scholem, "Die Lehre vom 'Gerechten' in der Jüdischen Mystik," *ErJb* 27 (1958): 251.

[14]Vaillant, xi; Rubinstein, 14-5.

[15]E.g. in 2 Enoch Melchizedek has a mother, which contradicts the central point of the messianic type in Hebrews 7:3. See Anderson, "2 Enoch," 105. Sappington suggests that the Melchizedek sections could be a polemic against Hebrews (Thomas J. Sappington, *Revelation and Redemption At Colossae*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement, no. 53 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 36, n. 5). The Qumran literature shows that Melchizedek was important in some Jewish circles.

[16]Forbes and Charles, 425-6; M. Philonenko, "La cosmologie du Livre des Secrets d'Henoch," in *Religions en Égypte Hellénistique et Romaine. Colloque de Strasbourg 16-18 Mai 1967* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), 109-16; Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 87; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 195; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*. Ulrich Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum*, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, no. 44 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 57-8, shows how Philonic and Platonic ideas about the visible and noetic worlds influenced 2 Enoch's eschatology. Cf. Himmelfarb, 85-6. N. Schmidt, "The Two Recensions of Slavonic Enoch," *JAOS* 41 (1921): 107-12, believes there is some evidence that the shorter recension is Palestinian.

[17]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 198. However, Van Goudoever, 115, believes the calendar in the short recension is "sectarian," due to the position of the feast of weeks. The long recension harmonized it with official Judaism.

The primary practice unique to a special group is the requirement to tie the legs of a sacrificial animal before slaughtering it, a practice that was common in Egypt, though it is contrary to the Mishnah.[18]

2 Enoch is only extant in Slavonic, with no manuscripts earlier than the 14th century. Most scholars believe it was originally written in Greek.[19] Broadly speaking there are two recensions: a longer and a shorter. Earlier scholars tended to agree with Charles that the longer recension is closer to the original and the shorter is an incomplete résumé.[20] Yet even Charles acknowledges that the longer recension is sometimes corrupt and has interpolations.[21] This has led many recent scholars to argue that the shorter text is superior, since it lacks these later expansions and Christian interpolations.[22] Anderson correctly notes that this two-fold division is too simple. The "longer" and "shorter" classifications are based on the character of the text, since many MSS are fragmentary and both recensions have been reworked by later scribes.[23] Even MSS that are in the same family frequently have different

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[18]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 198.

[19]There are traces of Greek words and expressions. Rubinstein, 1-21; Anderson, "2 Enoch," 94; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 195. The Russian scholars Sokolov and Meshchersky have argued that it was composed in a Semitic language. See the summary in Anderson, "2 Enoch," 94. Maunder's claim that 2 Enoch is a late medieval work composed in Slavonic is unlikely (Maunder, 309-16).

[20]Morfill, xv-xvi (introduction by Charles); Forbes and Charles, 425; G. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs: Das sogenannte slavische Henochbuch*, Texte und Untersuchungen, no. 44 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1922), xiii.

[21]Charles introduction to Morfill, xv.

[22]N. Schmidt, "Two Recensions," 307-12; Vaillant, iv-viii; Milik, *Enoch*, 107-8; Rubinstein, 1; Van Goudoever, 112; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 195; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 185.

[23]Anderson, "2 Enoch," 93-4; cf. Charlesworth, *OT Pseudepigrapha and the NT*, 104, for a summary of Anderson's presentation at the 1977 SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminar. The last 5 chapters (69-73) deal with Enoch's descendants, particularly Methuselah and Melchizedek. Morfill, Bonwetsch and Vaillant see this section as a distinct work and include them in an appendix. Charles dropped it from APOT. However, there is no MS evidence that it is a distinct work (Anderson, "2 Enoch," 196, n. 69a.). In addition, the changes in the cycles of

readings. Many readings only found in the longer MSS are probably original. The longer recension preserves ancient mythologies, such as the "phoenixes" and "khalkedras," not found in the shorter recension. In some cases, such as the section on creation (ch. 24-33), Anderson says "the shorter account is so incomplete and so disjointed that it seems more like the debris left after drastic revision than an original succinct account."[24] Some important MSS have only been published recently and the textual criticism of 2 Enoch is at an elementary stage of development. Fortunately, the themes that are important for this study are generally found in both the longer and shorter recensions.[25]

B. The Corruption of Creation

1. The Consistent Operation of the Natural World

2 Enoch stresses that creation operates in an orderly manner as designed by God. In Enoch's heavenly journey, he sees the secrets behind the operation of the natural world (ch. 3-7; 11-17; 24-32). He learns about the movements of the stars, sun and moon, and he discovers how the clouds, snow, ice, rain and dew operate.

The overall picture is that the natural world operates very consistently, according to the precise design of God (e.g. 11-17; 40:3; 47:3-8; 48:7). Each cycle of the sun and moon follows an exact pattern for a specific number of days (ch. 13-16; 48 L) according to "the most precise measurement of the hours" (48:4 L; cf. 65:3 L: "measured exactly"). The stars, sun and moon move in a "peaceful order" (19:1 S). "The sun comes out according to the appointment of the seasons and according to the phases of the moon" (13:1 L). These patterns are fixed and un-

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nature in this section only make sense against the background of the regularity of nature presented in the rest of the book.

[24]Ibid., 94.

[25]For simplicity, the terms "long" and "short" are used here. "Long" refers to J and "short" to A, except as noted. Verse numbering and quotations are taken from Anderson. References apply to both recensions, except where long ("L") or short ("S") is specified.

changeable (48:1, 4 L). The celestial cycles are divinely appointed according to God's wisdom (33:3; 48:1, 4 L). God keeps everything stable (33:4 S) and without God's care, everything would perish (33:4). God commands how the universe should function, and everything obeys and submits itself to God's rule (33:7, 12; 12:2 L; 15:1). Every creature, visible and invisible, works to bring glory to God (51:5 L).

Angels work behind the scenes to guide the movement of the celestial bodies, the changing of the seasons, and the operation of the dew, clouds, snow and ice (e.g. ch. 3-6; 11-17; 19:2). If there is the slightest deviation from the divinely-appointed pattern, angels make the necessary adjustments to restore the proper cosmic order (19:2-3).[26]

The orderliness of the operation of the natural world is a consequence of the fact that God created everything (ch. 24-32). He planned and created everything according to His wisdom (33:3), established the orderly patterns of the celestial bodies and seasons (48:4-5 L), and brought everything to perfection (24:2). Since the universe operates according to God's design, its operation is perfect and consistent. Even after the Fall of Adam and Eve, God blessed all His creatures, visible and invisible (32:1 L).

There is a moral function to calculating these cycles of nature. Collins observes, "Cosmology and eschatology are complementary factors which support the ethical message of the book."[27] The longer recension says that God established the regularity of the seasons, hours and days to encourage people to think about their own life and death, including their good and bad deeds. The regularity of the cycles of the natural world should remind people that their life will come to an end in its normal cycle and that they will be accountable for their deeds when they face the Judgment (65:4 L).

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[26]In 19:3, the context (v.2) suggests "any evil activity" refers to a movement of the celestial objects that are not according to their divinely appointed order.

[27]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 197.

2. Aspects of the Corruption of Creation

There are a few exceptions to this positive view of the present state of the world in 2 Enoch. The author refers to "this vain world" (42:10 L, "the path of change" in S). This is not, however, a pessimistic statement about the futility of life in this age as is found in 4 Ezra. The verse refers to the vanity of following the path of sin, in the context of a series of moral beatitudes and curses (42:5-14). By contrast to a person who follows vanity, whoever "walks in the right paths" will inherit eternal life (42:10 L). "Vanity" is used in a similar way in 70:1, where the moral choice to follow "vanity" is equivalent to turning away from the Lord.

2 Enoch also has a few references to the suffering and darkness of this present age (65:9-10; 66:6-8; 68:4). Every person experiences "the darkness of this present life" (68:4, "a dark existence," Morfill). The current age is called "this age of suffering," in which the righteous experience affliction, distress and weakness (66:6). This is contrasted to the "never-ending age" in which the righteous will enjoy magnified blessings (66:6-8 L). In this age, people experience weariness, sickness, affliction, debilitation and darkness (65:9-10). 2 Enoch, however, never makes an explicit connection between the suffering of this age and the human Fall or the fall of the Watchers. Suffering is part of the lot of the righteous in this age, which they are to bear with dignity so that they may inherit the future age of blessing (66:6L).

2 Enoch has a few references to the corruption of this age (65:8-10; cf. 8:5). In the new age, "everything corruptible will pass away, and the incorruptible will come into being" (65:10). The context suggests that "corruptible" refers to weariness, sickness, affliction, worry and debilitation (v. 9). Corruption also is contrasted to "eternal life," suggesting that corruption involves decay and death (65:10, Forbes and Charles). This world can be referred to as "the corruptible" (8:9), probably because corruptibility characterizes life here.[28] Corruption is not

[28]Paradise lies "between the corruptible and the incorruptible" (8:5). This probably refers to the fact that Paradise has two parts: a part on earth "in the east" and a part in the third

interpreted in moral terms as much as the suffering and death in this age.

Despite these few references to suffering and corruption in this age, the overall picture is that the natural world works as God designed it and has not been corrupted by the sin of humans or fallen angels.

There is little in 2 Enoch that would suggest that either human or angelic sin caused damage to creation. The longer recension explicitly says that God did not curse the creation due to the Fall of Adam and Eve: "Neither mankind I cursed, nor the earth, nor any other creature, but only mankind's evil fruitbearing" (31:7 L). The Fall did not result in a curse on the earth, in contrast to Gen. 3:17-19. It also did not result in a curse on the animals.[29] This verse fits the mechanistic view of the cosmos in 2 Enoch, which says that the cosmos is currently as God designed, despite the Fall of humanity. After the Fall, God "blessed all my creatures, visible and invisible" (32:1 L). Apparently God only cursed the devil for rebelling and leading Adam and Eve astray (31:3-7).[30]

The human race is not cursed due to the Fall. Only the sin and ignorance of humanity are cursed (31:7 L).[31] The Fall did not corrupt humanity as a whole or result in an irreversible inherited depravity. In 2 Enoch, some people are righteous and some are wicked, depending on their deeds (e.g. 42-47; 52). "The works of mankind – some are good but some are evil" (42:14). There are even some times in history (such as the time of Methuselah) when all people lived in obedience to God (70:1).[32] While this was a temporary period, it shows that

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heaven (vv. 5-6). This is discussed further below.

[29]This sharply contrasts with Ap. Mos. 10:2-3; 11:2-3; 24:4; 26:1-4 and Jub. 3:28, which refer to a profound change in the animals due to the Fall.

[30]Cf. Morfill, 45, who translates v. 7a, "but I cursed him for his ignorance," which he interprets as a reference to Satan (see note 7). This is more consistent than Anderson's translation "I cursed them," which contradicts the last half of the verse, "mankind I did not curse" (Anderson, "2 Enoch," 154).

[31]Forbes and Charles, 451.

[32]According to the long recension, "there was not found one single person turning himself

2 Enoch does not assume that the Fall led to the inherent sinfulness of all humans.

An apparent exception is ch. 41. In the longer recension, Enoch weeps over the sin of Adam, human depravity and the "incapacity" of Enoch's ancestors (41:1 L). In the shorter recension, however, he only weeps for the impious (41:1 S). "Blessed is the person who has not been born, or who having been born, has not sinned before the face of the Lord, so that he will not come into this place nor carry the yoke of this place" (41:2, both recensions). "This place" probably refers to the place of punishment that Enoch has just visited (40:13).[33] Yet even in this pessimistic outcry, the author allows for a person who "has not sinned before the face of the Lord." People will suffer forever even for small sins (42:2), but their judgment will be based purely on their personal lives, not on the fact that they are descended from Adam and Eve. Those who live lives that please God, will experience eternal blessing (42:5-14).

3. The Cosmic Impact of Sin Prior to the Flood

The fallen "Watcher" tradition that is so important in 1 Enoch (6-16; 19; 86) only plays a minor role in 2 Enoch. The book refers to certain angels called "Grigori,"[34] who rebelled and sinned following the leadership of "Satanal" (7; 18; 31:3-7). They rebelled against God and married human women, giving birth to giants and monsters. They filled the earth with great evil and "the earth was defiled by their deeds" (18:4 L). Because of their sins, they were judged by God and are now imprisoned in darkness in the second and fifth heavens. In contrast to 1 Enoch (e.g. 7:5-6; 9:2), 2 Enoch does not say that the earth or nature were corrupted or harmed by the sins of the watchers. The reference to the "defiling of the earth" (18:4 L) probably refers to the moral corruption of humanity (cf. v. 5) rather than any damage to the

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away in vanity from the Lord" (70:1). In the shorter recension, when people turned away from the Lord, Methuselah corrected them and led them to repentance.

[33]Apparently the forebears of Enoch, including Adam and Eve, were in Hades. Cf. Morfill, 56-7, n. XLI. 1, XLII. 5.

[34]Grigori is a Slavonic transliteration of ἐγρήγοροι, the Greek word for "Watchers."

natural world.

Sin had a profound effect on the natural world at the time prior to the Flood, when human sin increased uncontrollably. In 2 Enoch, the Flood was a judgment of God on the sins of humanity (34:1-3; 70:4-6; 71:27-28). Although the sins of the Watchers (Grigori) are alluded to (7:3), 2 Enoch does not blame the evils of the world prior to the Flood on the Watchers.[35] Enoch predicts that prior to the Flood, the regular cycles of nature would break down (70:7). The precisely ordered seasons will change, which is a fundamental change in the divinely appointed operation of the natural world. The nature of trees and fruits will change. The precise change in the trees and fruits differs in various MSS: In R (a long MS), each fruit changes its "seed" (*sēmena*), but in the shorter MSS (such as A), the fruit changes its time (*vrēmena*).[36] Both readings refer to profound changes in the natural world: Either the nature of plant life or the timing of the life cycles of plants will change. All MSS agree that these profound changes in nature "anticipate the time of destruction" (70:7).

There is a close relationship between the moral deterioration of humanity prior to the Flood and the functional deterioration of the natural world. Both are described as a "very great breakdown on the earth" (70:5) that will precede the judgment of the Flood. The "change" to the earth and the human race are parallel: "the earth will change its order" and "the nations will change on the earth" (70:7 S). Although there is no explicit cause-effect relationship between increasing sin and the cosmic breakdown, both are related elements of the collapse of the world prior to the Flood.

2 Enoch draws a parallel between the conditions of the world prior to the Flood and the

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[35]One verse refers to the work of the devil in connection with the evils of the pre-Flood era: "the adversary will make himself great and will be delighted with his deeds" (70:6). However, this appears to refer to the devil's encouragement of the evil deeds of humanity (vv. 4-6), not the deeds of the Watchers.

[36]Anderson, "2 Enoch," 201, n. k. The whole clause about the trees is missing in J, an important long MS.

conditions of the world prior to the end of the world and final Judgment (70:10). In both cases there will be a radical increase in human sin prior to the end. The explicit parallel to the changes in the natural world is not drawn. Yet the fact that the time of the Flood is a pattern for the end of the world suggests that the changes in nature that accompanied the moral breakdown prior to the Flood may also be expected to be recur at the time of the end.

4. Accountability for Treatment of Nature

In a few places, humans are held accountable for their treatment of the natural world (58:3-6; 59:1, 4-5; 52:5-6). The clearest passage is 58:3-59:5. God made human beings to be lord over the material creation (58:3). As a result, human beings are accountable for their treatment of nature. At the final Judgment, God will judge people according to how they have treated animals (58:4, 6). The souls of animals will accuse the people who have mistreated them (58:6). Inadequately feeding an animal (59:4) and improperly preparing an animal before killing it for sacrifice (58:6)[37] both incur God's judgment (59:4). Even harm done to an animal in secret will be judged (59:5). Morfill suggests that this secret sin against an animal refers to bestiality.[38] Sin against an animal does harm to a person's soul (59:1, 4-5), even as harming or murdering a human does (60:1). Anyone who "despises any of the Lord's creatures" is cursed (52:6 L, shorter has "insults").

C. The Redemption of Creation

1. The Coming New Age

2 Enoch teaches that this world and this age will come to an end and a new age will come. At the end of the age, heaven and earth will come to an end (18:7). "The whole of creation, visible and invisible, which the Lord has created, shall come to an end" (65:6). Even

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[37]Forbes and Charles, 465, n. 1, suggests this refers to strangling the animal.

[38]Morfill, 75, followed by Anderson, "2 Enoch," 184-5, n. 59a.

time itself will come to an end and the regular cosmic cycles will cease (65:7). The present "age of suffering" (66:6) will end (47:2) and a glorious new age will come (32; 33; 50:2, 5; 51:2; 65:8-10; 66:6).

The sequence of eschatological events is clearly described in 65:6-10: (1) the end of creation and this age (v. 6); (2) the final Judgment (vv. 6, 8); (3) time will end (v. 7); (4) the eternal new age will begin (vv. 7-8); (5) all that is corruptible will pass away (vv. 9-10); and (6) the righteous will experience eternal blessings in Paradise (vv. 9-10). Although this sequence is generally consistent with other Jewish apocalyptic writings, 2 Enoch has no clear reference to the resurrection of the body.[39] The final Judgment is frequently mentioned as the transition to the new age. Judgment is based purely on an individual's ethical behavior in this life and determines whether the person will experience either eternal blessing or suffering (e.g. 39:5; 44:5; 46:3; 48:8-9; 50:2; 51:3; 52:15; 53; 58:3-6; 65:4-8; 66:3-7).

The "coming age" (50:2 L; 32 title L) is also called the "final age" (33:11; 50:2; 51:2), the "never-ending age" (66:6 L), the "endless age" (50:2 S) and the "final endless age" (50:2 L). All of these terms indicate that the new age is eternal (cf. 65:8, 10). Time will come to an end and there will be no reckoning of times and seasons (33 title L; 33:2; 65:7-8). This is in sharp contrast to the precisely calculated times and cycles of nature in the present age (e.g. 65:3).

The new age is called the "great age" (58:5; 61:2; 65:8), because of the greatness of the blessings the righteous will enjoy. The righteous will dwell in "blessed dwellings" (61:2-3; cf. 65:10) and will enjoy great treasures and rewards (50:5; 51:2; 61:2). All suffering will come to an end for the righteous (66:6 L). Every good thing in the present age will be magnified in the age to come (66:7-8 L). The righteous will shine seven times as bright as the sun (66:7). Light, food, enjoyment and the pleasures of Paradise will be multiplied sevenfold (66:8). "Sevenfold" symbolizes the perfection of these blessings. Paradise will be a place of incredible joy and riches (42:3-5). By contrast, the sufferings of the wicked will be multiplied sevenfold in

[39]Forbes and Charles, 467.

the new age (66:8). They will experience magnified darkness, misery and physical tortures, such as fire and frost. The wicked will experience endless punishment and suffering in hell (40:13; 41:2; 42:2).

The righteous will enjoy many physical blessings in the new age. There will be no sickness, weariness or afflictions (65:8-10). There will be "a great indestructible light" and no darkness (66:9-10). Everything corruptible will pass away (65:10). "Corruptible" here primarily refers to things that are subject to decay and destruction. Everything the righteous will experience in the new age will be indestructible: "great indestructible light," incorruptible Paradise and eternal dwellings (65:10). Since 2 Enoch does not stress the corruption of this age or the damage of original sin, the end of corruption is not a major theme.

2. Characteristics of Paradise

The righteous will dwell for eternity in Paradise (66:10). There are two aspects to Paradise: the earthly Paradise in Eden[40] (31:1 L; 42:3-5), and the heavenly Paradise in the third heaven (8-9). The heavenly Paradise is located in the third of seven heavens (8-9). The earthly Paradise is a garden in Eden (31:1), in an ambiguous location "in the East" (31:1 L; 42:3). Even though it is earthly, it is closed off from the rest of "this world" (42:3). This idea is derived from Gen. 3:23-24, which describes the banishment of Adam and Eve from Eden.

Both Paradises are already in existence, awaiting the righteous who will go there after the Judgment. In 2 Enoch, the sharp division between the present world and the transcendental world is largely spatial. Although the temporal division is less pronounced than in some apocalyptic writings, it is still present in 2 Enoch, since it says the righteous will not enter this other world until after the Judgment.[41] There is no need, however, for a radical restructuring of a damaged creation, since this perfect world already exists, ready for the

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[40]2 Enoch consistent uses "Edem."

[41]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 198.

righteous to inhabit it.

The longer recension says there is an open link between the earthly Paradise and the heavenly Paradise (8:4-6 L; 31:1-2 L; 42:3 L; 71:28 L). There is an exit from the heavenly Paradise to the earthly Paradise of Eden (8:4 L). Although the tree of Life is in the Paradise in the third heaven, its root is at this exit to the earth (8:4 L). The streams in the heavenly Paradise flow out into the Paradise of Eden (8:6 L). Similarly, the earthly Paradise is open to heaven (42:3 L; 71:28). When Adam and Eve were in Eden, they could see angels since Paradise was open to heaven (31:1-2 L). The statement that "Paradise is in between the corruptible and the incorruptible" (8:5 L) may suggest this dual nature of Paradise. Several interpretations have been proposed for this verse: (1) Anderson suggests that the Paradise in the third heaven lies between the regions of change (first and second heavens) and the changeless fourth through seventh heavens.[42] (2) Morfill makes the unlikely suggestion that Paradise is a place of probation that might result in either corruptibility or incorruptibility.[43] This would only apply, however, while Adam and Eve were in Paradise, not in the new age. (3) Forbes and Charles believe it means that Paradise is at the earth's end (cf. 1 En. 33:1).[44] (4) A fuller explanation is that Paradise consists of two parts: an earthly part and a heavenly part. The heavenly part is in the incorruptible heavens, but the earthly part is associated with the corruptible earth, yet is in some sense distinct from the earth. This interpretation is supported by 8:6, which says that the streams of Paradise run "between the corruptible and the incorruptible." The streams start in the heavenly Paradise (v. 5), go through the exit to the earth (v. 5) and "come out into the Paradise of Eden" (v. 6). Thus 2 Enoch merges the two earlier conceptions of Paradise into one:[45] Paradise is both heavenly and earthly, with an

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[42]Anderson, "2 Enoch," 116, n. l.

[43]Morfill, 8.

[44]Forbes and Charles, 434. Morfill, 8, suggests this as an alternate possibility.

[45]Cf. Forbes and Charles, 434. The earthly Paradise is found in Gen. 2:8-17; 1 En. 32:3-6;

open connection between the two sections.

There is some ambiguity whether the future dwelling place of the righteous will be heavenly or earthly. Although the righteous will dwell in Paradise (8-9; 42:3), the location of the "blessed dwellings" of the righteous is sometimes ambiguous (61:5).[46] In some instances the righteous are promised the Paradise of Eden (e.g. 42:3), while in others they are promised the Paradise in the third heaven (e.g. 8-9). The solution lies in the dual nature of Paradise and the close link between the earthly Eden and the heavenly Paradise. Since the earthly and heavenly Paradises are linked together, in some sense they constitute a single Paradise, with earthly and heavenly dimensions. The righteous are allowed free access to both the heavenly and earthly Paradise.

3. Nature in the New Age

Both the earthly and heavenly Paradises have material dimensions and aspects of nature. This is expected of the earthly Paradise, since Eden is called a "garden" (31:1), suggesting an abundance of beautiful plant life. The concept that Paradise is a garden is also extended to the Paradise in the third heaven (8). The description of the heavenly Paradise is highly sensual. Pleasant fragrances fill the air (8:2-3). Nature is not merely present in Paradise, it reaches its full perfection and fertility there. Every plant is abundantly fruitful, far beyond anything in this world. Every tree is in flower, every fruit is ripe, every plant produces fruit profusely (8:2, 7). Every kind of good edible plant grows in the garden (8:3 S). It has the Tree of Life, which is more beautiful than any other plant and has an indescribably pleasant fragrance (8:3-4). There are four rivers flowing with gentle movement (8:2 S). Two streams flow with honey and milk and others produce oil and wine (8:5). This suggests an abundant provision for every physical need of the righteous. God's interest in the natural world is

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76:3. The heavenly Paradise is found in 1 En. 60:8; 61:12; 70:3.

[46]Anderson, "2 Enoch," 186, n. f.

affirmed by the fact that God frequently[47] takes a rest in this garden in Paradise (8:3).[48]

Not only will there be perfected plant life in the new age, but there is a strong indication that animals will be there as well. Animals have souls (58:4-6) and animals will appear at the final Judgment (58:6). Although animals will not be judged (cf. 58:4 L), they will testify against humans who have mistreated them (58:6, cf. v. 4). The longer recension is ambiguous about whether animals will remain alive after the Judgment or whether they are simply preserved until the Judgment to give testimony against wicked humans.[49] The shorter recension clearly indicates that animals will have a special place in the new age: "For all the souls of the beasts there is in the great age a single place and a single paddock and a single pasture" (58:5 S). The "pasture" indicates that animals will have their needs met in eternity. The reference to "paddock" may indicate that only domesticated animals are in view or it may indicate that there is a special place reserved for all animals in eternity.[50]

In general, the future hope in 2 Enoch is for a restoration of the pre-Fall conditions, rather than a new heavens and earth or a renovation of the existing world. Since the present creation was not corrupted by sin, there is no need for a radical renovation of creation. The righteous will once again live in Eden (42:3). The concept of Paradise, however, is extended to include not only the original earthly Eden, but also the heavenly Paradise, which is linked to the earthly Paradise.

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[47]Ibid., 115, n. f.

[48]Cf. Gen. 3:8. Ez. 28:13 and Gen. 13:10 refer to Eden as "the garden of God."

[49]Morfill, 73, believes animals will only live long enough in the new age to bring an indictment against humans who mistreated them. Some MSS in the longer recension could be interpreted this way, but the shorter recension says animals will live in the new age (58:5).

[50]Some of these ideas are similar to those found in Zoroastrianism: E.g. A person who murders a dog will be severely punished and the soul of a dog will live after death (Zend-Avesta Vendidad *Fargard* 13). Cf. Midrash Koheleth 329.1 which refers to the judgment of wolves and unfruitful trees. Morfill, 73-4, refers to other writings that refer to the future life of animals.

D. The Personification of Creation

Although the personification of the natural world is not common in 2 Enoch, it functions to stress the regularity of the operation of the cosmos.

In most cases, inanimate objects in nature are not personified as rational beings. Instead angels are said to control their operation (4-6; 11; 19). There are angels that govern the stars, sun, moon, snow, ice, clouds, dew, rivers, ocean, fruits of the earth, grass and various other aspects of nature. These angels "harmonize all existence, heavenly and earthly" (19:3 L). They ensure "the well-being of the cosmos" (19:2 L) and cause the natural world to function in an orderly manner according to God's will. "When they see any evil activity" (i.e. something not functioning as God intended), "they put the commandments and instructions in order" (19:3 L).

There is one important instance where an inanimate object is described as a mythological animate being. In the longer recension, the solar elements are called "phoenixes"[51] and "khalkedras"[52] (12:1-2 L; 15:1 L).[53] These are a type of huge celestial bird, described as "flying spirits"[54] with the form of a lion and the head of a crocodile. They are multicolored like a rainbow and have 12 wings, similar to an angel's wings (12:1-2 L).[55] They run with the

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[51]This is the only known place where the phoenix is not one of a kind (Anderson, "2 Enoch," 122, n. c; Morfill, 12).

[52]Khalkedras are normally brass serpents, so these may be some type of flying, heavenly serpent. Morphil believes they may be Seraphim (Morfill, 13). Anderson, "2 Enoch," 122, suggests that in these passages "phoenixes" and "khalkedras" may refer to the same creatures, since they share the same description and function.

[53]There is considerable variation between MSS. In the shorter recension, angels pull the chariots of the sun and carry the heat and dew (11:4-12:2). Even the long MSS differ: R says that the solar elements are like these mythological creatures, but J and P identify them with these creatures. See Anderson, "2 Enoch," 122, n. 12a.

[54]In 19:6 the phoenixes are associated with angels. In 1 En. 20:7, the khalkedras are classed with the Cherubim.

[55]The description of these creatures does not parallel other ancient literature. Morfill, 12-4, has an extensive survey of other ancient legends about these creatures. Anderson, "2 Enoch,"

sun, carrying heat and dew to the earth (12:3 L). They sing with joy as they produce the light of the sun and transport its heat to earth (15:1 L). They are completely obedient to God, doing whatever He commands (12:3 L).

All types of creatures praise and glorify God. The longer recension says that "every kind of spirit glorifies him and every kind of creature, visible and invisible, praises him" (51:5 L; cf. Ps. 150:6).[56] The creation rejoices at the proper operation of the natural world. Birds flap their wings and sing with joy at the sight of the sun (15:1-2 L). The birds show emotion (joy) and have some language ability, as shown in the meaning of their morning song (v. 2).[57] Even the inanimate creation expresses emotions. When the sun comes close to the earth in summer, "the earth is merry and makes its fruit grow" (48:3). By contrast, the earth laments when the sun moves away from the earth in winter, an the trees do not produce fruit (48:3).

God commands various parts of nature, which obey Him. He commands the seasons (33:12 L), the sun (12:2 L) and the birds (15:1), All creation is obedient to God (33:7). The obedience of these aspects of nature shows a degree of intelligence and a moral will that submits to God.

Animals have some degree of rational intelligence, consciousness and speaking ability.[58] They have souls (58:4-6) and the shorter recension says they will live in the new age (58:5 S). Animals will appear at the Judgment to give testimony against those who mis-

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122, n. f, suggests that the author may only have been familiar with the names.

[56]Only P has "praises him," which is the strongest personification. All long MSS have the rest of the verse, which indicates that all of God's creatures glorify God.

[57]Morfill, 17 believes this song was sung by the phoenixes and khalkedras rather than earthly birds. The song of the birds, however, is distinguished from the song of the phoenixes and khalkedras (Forbes and Charles, 437). The birds rejoice at the "giver of light," which refers to "the solar elements, called phoenixes and khalkedras" (15:1). Himmelfarb notes that the earthly birds echo the song of the heavenly "birds" in praise of God (Himmelfarb, 83).

[58]Cf. Jub. 3:25; Josephus *Ant* i.1.4, which suggest that animals had spoken before the fall and thus had some rationality. See Morfill, 73-4, for a discussion of the rationality of animals in ancient Greek and Jewish literature.

treated them (58:6). There is no indication, however, that animals will be judged concerning their moral behavior.[59]

E. Summary of 2 Enoch

There is little in 2 Enoch to suggest that creation has been corrupted by the Fall of humanity or the sin of the Watchers. The natural world operates very consistently, according to the precise design of God. An exception occurs just prior to the Flood, when the normal cycles of nature are disrupted. The disruption of nature is closely connected with the radical increase of human sin at that time. A few passages refer to the suffering, darkness and corruption of this present age, in which people experience weariness, disease, afflictions and worry. This suffering, however, is not said to be a consequence of the Fall or the deterioration of the world. God did not curse the earth or animals due to the Fall of Adam and Eve. The human race is not cursed due to the Fall, but individuals are cursed for their own sins, including the mistreatment of animals.

This world and all of creation will come to an end and an eternal new age will come. The blessings of the righteous in the coming age will include physical benefits such as the end of sickness, weariness and affliction. All corruption will cease. The new age involves a restoration of the pre-Fall conditions so that the righteous again dwell in Paradise. Paradise includes both earthly and heavenly components, which are closely linked. The righteous can freely travel between the earthly Eden and the Paradise in the third heaven. Both the earthly and heavenly Paradise will include a perfected natural world, with abundantly fruitful plants. Animals will live in the new age and will testify in the judgment about the humans who abused them.

The personification of the natural world stresses the regularity of the cosmos. Angels

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[59]This contrasts with the Mishnah, which has rules for the trial of accused animals (Sanh ch. 1). Gen. 9:5; Ex. 21:28-32 also established the accountability of animals for their crimes, at least in this life. Cf. Anderson, "2 Enoch," 184, n. c.

ensure the orderly operation of nature. All creation, including animals, the seasons and the sun, praise and glorify God and obey God's commands. Even inanimate creatures express emotions, such as the joy of the earth and the singing of the birds when the sun comes out. Animals have a least a degree of rational intelligence, since they will testify at the Judgment.

The following table summarizes the key points concerning the corruption and redemption of creation in 2 Enoch:

Table 19: Summary of 2 Enoch

Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
1. The Fall did not disrupt the orderly operation of the natural world. Neither the world nor animals were cursed because of Adam and Eve's sin. 2. The cosmos and the cycles of nature operate predictably according to God's design. 3. The regular cycles of nature were disrupted when human sin radically increased prior to the Flood. 4. This age is one of darkness and corruption, although each person is responsible for his own sin. 5. People who mistreat animals will be judged.	1. This world and age will come to an end. 2. A new age is coming with a restoration of the pre-Fall conditions, in which the righteous will dwell in Paradise. 3. The righteous will be greatly blessed, with no sickness, weariness or affliction. 4. All corruption will cease. 5. Paradise has earthly and heavenly dimensions, which are closely linked. Both include perfected nature, such as super fruitful plants. 5. Animals will live in the new age.	1. Personification stresses the regularity of nature. 2. All creation obeys God's commands and praises God. 3. Animals and the earth have emotions such as joy. 4. Animals have some rationality, since they will testify in the Judgment about humans who abused them.

CHAPTER 5:

JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE FROM THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

The corruption and redemption of creation are important themes in many Jewish apocalyptic writings from the first century A.D. 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch were written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. The date of the Book of Parables (1 Enoch Book 2) is less certain, but the work also probably comes from the first century. Although the form of Apocalypse of Moses is strictly speaking either a testament or a midrash on Gen. 1-4, the work has numerous characteristics in form and content that are similar to the Jewish apocalypses.

A. 1 Enoch Book 2 (ch. 37-71): The Book of Parables

1. Date and Provenance of the Book of Parables

The Book of Parables (BP) in 1 Enoch consists of three "parables" or "revelatory discourses"[1] (ch. 38-44; 45-57; 58-69), plus an introduction (ch. 37) and double epilogue about Enoch's ascension (ch. 70-71). The themes emphasized include the Final Judgment by the Son of Man or Elect One, the Flood, which is a type of the Final Judgment, and Enoch's journeys to see heaven, the place of punishment and the secrets of natural phenomena.

The date of this material is highly disputed. Milik argues that BP is a Christian work of ca. A.D. 270,[2] though few have accepted his arguments.[3] The current consensus is that it is

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[1]Cf. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 214.

[2]Milik, *Enoch*, 89-98. Milik's major arguments have found little acceptance: (1) The fact that BP is missing from Qumran proves little, since the library did not include all works from the period. Furthermore, BP may have been unacceptable because the sun and moon are of nearly equal importance in ch. 41, instead of the sun being superior (Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," *HTR* 70 (1977): 51-6, 63). (2) Milik's claim that a Book of Giants was originally part of the Enoch pentateuch

a first century A.D. Jewish work.[4] While Knibb believes the section was written in the late first century and Hindley the early second century,[5] most modern scholars believe that it was written before A.D. 70,[6] due principally to the absence of allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem.[7] The original language was probably Aramaic or possibly Hebrew, even though

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has no manuscript evidence. (3) Milik claims that 1 En. 56:5-7 refers to the mid-third century wars between the Parthians and the Romans. However, the dating of such historical references is uncertain. It may well refer to the Parthian threat to Jerusalem in B.C. 40 (Erik Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im äthiopischen Henoschbuch* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 38-9; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 183, 221-2). David Winston Suter, "Weighed in the Balance: The Similitudes of Enoch in Recent Discussion," *RelSRev* 7 (1981): 218, notes that this may simply be apocalyptic symbolism, rather than an historical reference. (4) Milik's observed similarities to the Sibylline Oracles are superficial, since the genre is different and the oracles lack the visionary element (George W. E. Nickelsburg, review of *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Cave 4*, by J. T. Milik, in *CBQ* 40 (1978): 418). The evidence for literary dependence is also weak (Suter, "Weighed," 218).

[3]Matthew Black, "The 'Parables' of Enoch (1 En 37-71) and the 'Son of Man'," *ExpTim* 88 (1976): 5-8, earlier argued for the medieval origins of BP. He now believes the book to be from the early Roman period, probably prior to A.D. 70 (Black, *Book of Enoch*, 188).

[4]In light of the emphasis of BP on the Son of Man, the lack of references to Jesus' death and resurrection make it unlikely to be a Christian work. By contrast, the Christian interpolations in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah are clear. Cf. Michael A. Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review," *NTS* 25 (1979): 350. Suter, "Weighed," 218, also notes that the "life world" of the parables is more Jewish than Christian.

[5]Knibb, "Date of the Parables," 345-59. The parallels to 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, however, are of little value for dating since the concerns of the books are so different from BP. J. C. Hindley, "Toward a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch: An Historical Approach," *NTS* 14 (1967-1968): 551-65, dates BP around A.D. 115-117.

[6]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 188 (early Roman, prior to A.D. 70); Christopher L. Mearns, "Dating the Similitudes of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1979): 360-69 (A.D. 40-50); Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 29, 32 (probably mid-first century); Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 143 (early or mid first century); Sjöberg, *Menschensohn*, 38; James C. VanderKam, "Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J.T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*," *Maarav* 3 (1982): 93; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 223 (prior to A.D. 70, "around the turn of the era"). James H. Charlesworth, "The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars At Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch," *NTS* 25 (1979): 320-23, reports that the consensus of the 1978 SNTS seminar at Paris was that the parables are a first century A.D. Jewish work. In order for Jerusalem to be a hindrance to invading horsemen (1 En. 56:5-6), it must still be standing (Sjöberg, *Menschensohn*, 38; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 187, 222).

[7]Sjöberg, *Menschensohn*, 38; contra Knibb, "Date of the Parables," 358.

the only extant MSS are in Ethiopic.[8]

2. First Parable (ch. 38-44)

The first parable (ch. 38-44) begins with a description of the Final Judgment and the punishment of the wicked (ch. 38). Then Enoch is transported to heaven where he sees the final resting place of the righteous (ch. 39) and God's throne room (ch. 40). In ch. 41, 43-44 Enoch learns the secrets of the operation of the cosmos. This is interrupted by a brief wisdom poem (ch. 42) that parodies Sirach 24.[9] Since wisdom could not find a resting place on earth, it returned to heaven and dwells with the angels, while iniquity found a comfortable dwelling among humanity.

a. The Corruption of Creation

The first parable contains considerable material devoted to natural phenomena (41:3-8; 43:1-2; 44). Enoch is shown the "secrets" (41:3) of the operation of the lightning, thunder, wind, clouds, dew, hail, sun and moon. Nature operates with perfect consistency, exactly as God designed. While the description is not as detailed as that in AB, the movements of the sun and moon are consistent and follow God's commands precisely (41:5-7).

In this first parable there is no suggestion that the natural order has been corrupted, either due to the sins of the Watchers or humans. Although there is an allusion to the fall of the Watchers (39:1-2),[10] it contains no reference to the effects of the sins of the Watchers (in

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[8]N. Schmidt, "The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch," in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 329-249; Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 38-42; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 187; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 143. Milik, *Enoch*, 92, argues for a Greek original. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 37-46 shows evidence in the Ethiopic of translation from a Semitic language.

[9]John J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *HR* 17 (1977): 140.

[10]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 74 and Martin, *Hénoch*, 82, believe 39:1-2 to be an interpolation, since it seems out of place in the context. However, Black, *Book of Enoch*, 196, argues that the passage is in the correct place. It could be a reference to a second descent of the Watchers

contrast to BW 7-10). In BW the Watchers harmed the created order (7:5-6; 9:2; 10:7-8) and some "wandering stars" will be eternally punished because they failed in their purpose (18:11-16; 21:1-6). By contrast, the first parable says that "no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder" this perfect operation of nature. Not even the Watchers' sin, which will be judged (cf. 41:9), is able to disrupt the perfect operation of creation.[11]

b. The Personification of Creation

The author uses personification to describe this perfect operation of nature, even more than is used in ch. 2-5. Natural objects "obey" God's commandment (41:6; 43:1). The sun and moon "give thanks and sing praises" to God (41:7). God has made a covenant with the natural world (41:5; cf. ch. 69), which abides by this covenant and "keeps faith" (41:5-6; 43:2).[12] Thus the natural order glorifies God in its entire operation.

In personifying nature, natural objects are described as individual personalities. This individualization of nature is stronger here in ch. 38-44 than in AB 5:2-3. God even calls the flashes of lightning and all the stars by name, and they respond to him (43:1). Each part of the natural world is judged to verify its proper operation: Each star is "weighed in a righteous balance" to determine whether it moves in its assigned path at the assigned time and produces the proper amount of light (43:2; 61:8; cf. Job 31:6). Natural objects are held morally accountable and they are found to "keep the faith" (43:2).

The view of the moral accountability of nature is similar to that found in AB 5:2-3, and BW 18:11-16 and 21:1-6. In 18:11-16 and 21:1-6, however, parts of nature face eternal

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at the end time, when they will assume a different form and torment humans. Cf. 19:1, which indicates that the spirits of the Watchers continue to assault humans until the Final Judgment, even while their bodies are imprisoned in the pit.

[11]This view makes 41:9 fit the context and eliminates the need to see it as an interpolation that fits after v. 2, as claimed by Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 81 and Black, *Book of Enoch*, 203.

[12]Barker, 77-90. See footnotes 24 and 28 for further discussion of the cosmic covenant that binds the natural order in 1 Enoch and other ancient literature.

punishment for failing at their assigned duty. So nature is not a clockwork that God set in motion, but a collection of individual conscious personalities with the power of choice[13] who obey the Lord perfectly and operate in complete harmony with each other. It is also implied that angels are assigned to each aspect of nature to ensure that it operates properly (43:2; cf. BP 60:12-21; AB 75:1, 3; 80:1; 82:7-20).[14]

The perfect operation of nature depicted in ch. 38-44 serves as an ideal symbol of the holy people of God on earth (43:3-4). Like the stars, they are obedient to God's will and he knows them individually by name.[15]

c. The Redemption of Creation

There is no mention in the first parable of a new heaven or earth, or of a transformation of creation, or of a glorified earthly existence for the righteous. The author consistently indicates that the eternal dwelling-place of the righteous will be in heaven (39:4-5; 41:1-2), much like AW (91:16) and the Epistle of Enoch (103:3-5; 104:2). He explicitly says that the righteous will have "dwellings with the angels" (39:5) and will enjoy the very presence of God, "beneath the wings of the Lord of spirits" (39:7).[16] In contrast to BW (10:16-11:2; 24-25; 30-32), there is no detailed description of their bliss in material terms or in the language of a super-productive renewed natural order. Rather, the emphasis is on the righteousness and

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[13]It often seems that the language moves beyond metaphor to indicate that the stars are actual conscious beings with a conscience. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 203-4. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 80, notes that in Persian religion stars were considered embodied existences divided into troops, each under it own leader (cf. 82:9-20).

[14]Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 204.

[15]This is the opposite of using the "wandering stars" (planets) as an image of apostates (e.g. Jude 13; Rev. 1:20; cf. Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 2.15).

[16]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 75, says that this does not refer to heaven, since the history of humanity is not yet complete. This requires, however, a strict temporal sequence of events that is not always found in apocalyptic visions. Enoch was snatched up by a windstorm and set down at "the ends of heaven" to see this vision of the future heavenly resting-place of the righteous.

glory of the elect and their continual worship of God. While the parable begins with a promise that sinners will be driven from the earth (38:1), there is no corresponding promise that the righteous will inherit the earth. This is quite different than the second parable, which begins with a similar promise concerning the wicked and then says that the righteous will dwell on the transformed earth (45:2-6).

3. Second Parable (ch. 45-57)

Much of the second parable (ch. 45-57) is devoted to judgment executed by the Elect One and the punishment of the wicked. The Son of Man is enthroned as the judge (45-47). He is the Elect One in whom wisdom dwells and hence is suited to be the final judge (48-49). Enoch learns the destiny of the righteous and the wicked (45, 50-51). He also sees the places and methods of punishment, all of which are already prepared (53-57).

a. The Corruption of Creation

The second parable has no discussion of the effects of human or angelic sin on nature. On the other hand, it does not stress the perfect operation of nature as does the first parable. The fall of the Watchers is referred to (54:5-6),[17] but the effects of their sins on animals and the earth is not mentioned (contra BW 7-10). The Watchers' punishment consists of two parts: (1) the Flood (54:7-10), and (2) being bound in a deep valley burning with fire (54:1-3; 55:3). As in BW, the Flood serves as a paradigm or type of the Final Judgment and is the first of a two-part judgment on the Watchers. Furthermore, the severity of God's judgment on the Watchers serves as a warning to the wicked about how seriously he takes sin and is a picture

[17]In the second parable, the Watchers' sins were (1) becoming subject to Satan (cf. 40:7; 53:3), and (2) leading human beings astray. This suggests that an evil spirit world pre-existed the Fall of the Watchers, a view not found in the rest of 1 Enoch. The Watchers' sins in BW, mating with human women and teaching forbidden knowledge to humans, are not mentioned. See Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 66, 78.

of the judgment they are about to face themselves (55:3-4).[18]

b. The Redemption of Creation

Unlike the first parable, the second parable stresses the transformation of both heaven and earth. In 45:4b-5a the author says, "I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light; and I will transform the earth and make it a blessing." (Black) There is no indication that the present earth will be destroyed, but rather that God will transform the present earth into a place of greater glory. Unlike the present earth on which the saints suffer greatly, the transformed earth will be a place of blessing and peace for the righteous (45:5-6). There are, however, no details of the changes in the operation of nature or elaborate descriptions of the super-productivity of the crops as found in 1 En. 10:17-22 and such prophetic writings as Is. 11:6-10; 60; 65-66. The righteous will dwell on this transformed earth (45:5; 51:5) after the universal resurrection (51:1)[19] and the Final Judgment (51:2-3). The Messiah ("the Elect One") will also dwell in the presence of the righteous. By contrast, sinners will be banished from both heaven and the renewed earth (45:2, 6; 46:4-7; 51:2; 53:2) and will suffer eternally (45:3; 51:3-5). The banning of sinners from the renewed earth is ironic since they are described as those who now "tread upon the earth and occupy it" (46:7; 48:8; cf. 62:6; 63:1, 12, "possess the earth").

The righteous will also have access to heaven. In 45:6 the author says that God will "have caused them to dwell before me." It is possible that this means that the righteous will dwell in the presence of God, presumably in heaven (cf. first parable: 39:5, 7). It is more probable that the author means that God will dwell with the righteous on the renewed earth

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[18]Cf. Ibid., 108.

[19]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 98-9, refuses to accept that this verse teaches a universal Resurrection, since "the whole history of Jewish thought points in an opposite direction." However, 51:2 refutes this *a priori* argument, since it indicates that those who are resurrected are judged to separate the righteous and holy from the wicked (cf. 4 Ez. 7:32, 37; T. Benj. 10:6-8). Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 214.

(cf. BD 90:18-20), since the same verse continues to speak about dwelling on the earth (cf. 45:6d). The difficult statement in 51:4 that "all will become angels in heaven" may also indicate that the righteous will become like angels both in glory and in their heavenly dwelling.[20] But the dominant view in the second parable is that the righteous will primarily dwell on a transformed earth, although they will have access to God in a transformed heaven. The perspective here is different than in the first parable, which stresses the eternal heavenly dwelling of the righteous.

c. The Personification of Creation

While the personification of nature in the second parable (ch. 45-57) is usually not as pronounced as in the first parable (ch. 38-44),[21] there is an important exception to this pattern in 51:4-5. In these verses, the natural world is depicted as rejoicing when the Elect One comes to perform judgment and the righteous dwell on the transformed earth: "In those days shall the mountains leap like rams, and the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk" (cf. Ps. 114:4, 6) and "the earth shall rejoice." Here nature rejoices when it is transformed and restored to a righteous balance, when sin has been removed and judged, when the Messiah rules and when the righteous dwell in their proper place in the renewed earth.[22] Using anthropopathic language, this passage describes the restored balance of the whole creation in the eschaton.

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[20]Cf. Black, *Scrolls*, 139; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 214; Strack and Billerbeck, 1:891. A similar idea is found in 1QH 3:19-23; 6:13; Lk. 20:35. There is no need to see it as "wanting in sense" as Charles believed (*Book of Enoch*, p. 101).

[21]Since the mountains that "melt like wax" before the Elect One in ch. 52 are symbolic of the kingdoms of the world who submit to the Messiah (Black, *Book of Enoch*, 215-6), they cannot be included as examples of the personification of nature.

[22]The biblical promise that the righteous shall inherit the land and dwell in it forever (e.g. Ps. 37:3, 9, 11, 29, 34), is extended to the entire earth. Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 101. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 214, believes that the phrase "the elect shall go and walk thereon" indicates that the righteous shall walk the length and breadth of the land as the Israelites did in the land of promise.

4. Third Parable (ch. 58-71)

The third parable (ch. 58-69, followed by an epilogue in ch. 70-71) begins and ends with the blessed destiny of the righteous (ch. 58; 69:26-29). Most of ch. 59-60 and 69:16-21, 25 are devoted to the secrets of the operation of the cosmos. Several chapters focus on the Elect One/Son of Man figure and the Final Judgment (59:1-8; 61-64). A section of a Noah Apocalypse is adapted to the context as a paradigm of the Final Judgment (ch. 65-67). Then there is a long discussion of the judgment of the fallen angels, which serves as a warning of *how* seriously God will take the sins of unrighteous humans (ch. 68-69). The final two chapters are a double epilogue, which include Enoch's final assumption to heaven (ch. 70-71).

a. The Corruption of Creation

(1) Consistent Operation of Nature:

As in many other parts of 1 Enoch, Enoch here learns the secrets of the operation of the cosmos (59:1-3; 60:11-23). Like those other passages, these cosmic journeys show Enoch's knowledge of secret heavenly wisdom gained through revelation and they stress the regularity of the operation of the universe (ch. 59-60). Enoch learns about the operation of lightning, thunder, stars, sun, moon, wind, storm clouds, rain, dew and the sea. God determines when the wind blows, thunder peals and lightning strikes (60:12-13, 15). Everything happens at "the appointed time" (60:15) and "never fails" (60:18), since the angels instantly obey God's commands. Even such natural events as thunder and lightning, which seem to be random from a human perspective, happen at the exact time determined by God. Thus the picture in ch. 59-60 is of a natural world that has not been corrupted by sin but operates completely according to God's design.

The consistent operation of the cosmos is also discussed in 69:16-25. The structure of vv. 16-21, 25 is poetic with evident parallelism, and may have been incorporated by the author

from an earlier poem on the divine creation oath.[23] In content, the passage focuses on the oath or cosmic covenant that God pronounced when he created the universe. Through this oath, God created the heavens, the earth and the heavenly luminaries. The oath binds the sea within fixed boundaries, which it does not pass (vv. 18-19). It keeps the sun, moon and stars on their courses, from which they do not deviate (vv. 20-21). The waters, winds and spirits of the rest of nature are also bound by this same oath (vv. 22, 25). So this oath or cosmic covenant keeps all of creation operating for all time as God designed (v. 25; cf. 41:5-6).[24] The poem concludes with a promise that the operation of creation shall not be spoiled (v. 25). This poem is an apparent refutation of the Watcher tradition about the damage that the Watchers did to the created order. Yet this perspective does not fit very well in the immediate context in the third parable, which focuses on the sin of the Watchers.

(2) The Cosmic Effects of the Watchers' Sins:

A significant portion of the third parable is devoted to the Watchers and the Flood tradition, probably taken from a Noah Apocalypse (65:1-69:15).[25] Throughout most of this

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[23]Barker, 77-8; Black, *Book of Enoch*, 248. However, Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 163, believes vv. 15-25 to be a secondary addition.

[24]Cf. Job 38:8-10, 31 (God bound the sea and the stars in creation); Jer. 33:20 (an unbreakable covenant for day and night); Prayer of Manasseh 2-3 (God confined the sea with a word of command using his "fearful and glorious name"). This concept of creation involves setting limits to the created bodies and binding the forces of chaos. Barker, 81-3, notes that in ancient mythology, the sea often represented chaos and the forces of evil, which threaten the order of creation (cf. 1 En. 60:16). The cosmic covenant emphasizes that God set bounds to the sea (1 En. 69:17-19; cf. Ps. 104:9; also God's control of Leviathan, the great sea monster, symbolizes binding the sea: 1 En. 60:7, 9; cf. Job 41). Barker, pp. 78, 81, argues that the oath that bound creation is based on the ancient concept of a royal covenant (cf. Ps. 89, which includes the control of nature among divine and kingly powers; Ps. 72, which link the king's justice to the fertility of the land). The prophets also refer to an eschatological covenant with creation, which will guarantee the perfect operation of the renewed creation: Hos. 2:18 (God will make a new covenant in the last days with the animals to guarantee their safety and peace); Ez. 34:25 (a covenant of peace with the people, to ensure safety and fruitfulness of nature and eliminate harmful animals).

[25]These chapters often refer to Noah in the first person and Enoch as "my great-grandfather." Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 129, but contrast Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 32-3,

section, both human and Watcher sins are reasons for the judgment of the Flood, but in 65:6-10 the emphasis is on human sin alone. The perspective in the third parable is different from other Watcher passages, which emphasize the Watchers' sin in leading humans astray by teaching them forbidden knowledge (e.g. ch. 7-10). Here, however, humans are blamed because they "learned all the secrets of the angels" (65:6). Furthermore, the humans not only learned sorceries from the angels, they invented new ones of their own (v. 10).[26] This emphasis on human accountability for sins, even if misled by the Watchers (cf. 67:6), better fits the emphasis on the judgment that is so important to BP. Only as an afterthought does the author of the third parable condemn the Watchers for teaching hidden knowledge to humanity (67:11; although the Watchers' sin is discussed in more detail in ch. 69).

In 69:1-15 the sins of the Watchers are discussed. In vv. 1-2, the leader is Semyaza (as in one of the traditions behind BW); in vv. 3ff, however, the leader is Yeqon, who led astray the other angels and convinced them to go down to earth and mate with human women (v. 4). Suter makes a good case that 69:4-12 is not based on ch. 6-11, but probably comes from an earlier independent version of the Watcher tradition.[27] The passage names specific archangels and the sin that each one originated. For example, one taught people to murder and how to construct instruments of war (v. 6), while another taught skill in sophistry (v. 8; cf. Is. 5:20). More significantly, however, one of the angels (Gadre'el) "led Eve astray" (v. 6), which

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125-56, who argues for the use of oral Noah traditions rather than a written Book of Noah as a source.

[26]The Ethiopic has "because of the months they have invented and learned," which makes little sense. It is probable that the Ethiopic translator misread חרשים to mean "months" instead of the more likely "sorceries." This confusion is possible in both Hebrew and Aramaic. Cf. Black, *Book of Enoch*, 186-7; Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 155; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 130-1.

[27]Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 73-90. He argues that 1 En. 54:1-56:4 and 64:1-68:1 are based on a traditional interpretation of Is. 24:17-23 that is not dependent on 1 En. 6-11 (pp. 37, 45-61).

suggests that the fall of the Watchers was considered to be much earlier than Enoch's time, in fact from the time of the original human couple. This is the only reference in 1 Enoch to the entrance of sin in the human race through the original couple. Although it occupies only an incidental place, it points to an important difference between the third parable and the primary Watcher traditions in 1 Enoch: In the third parable, the Watchers' sin extended throughout human history until the Flood, not from a later time when humans had already multiplied on earth, as in BW 6:1-2 (cf. Gen 6:1-2).

In ch. 69 the sins of the Watchers profoundly corrupted creation. Originally human beings were created to live forever like the angels, but because they learned the Watchers' secrets and started sinning, death consumes them (v. 11). The Watchers' introduced demon possession, disease, miscarriages, birth defects and psychological disorders to the world (v. 12). The overall picture is of a creation that has gone awry, corrupted by evil powers and no longer functioning as God originally designed it.

One of the Watchers even tricked the angel Michael into revealing the secret name of God, which God used in the oath by which he created the universe (vv. 14-15). This very oath that God used to create the orderly universe was then abused by these evil angels to distort the fabric of creation. The poem of 69:16-25, which shows that God created the universe with an oath that binds its operation into perfect order, seems somewhat in conflict with the overall picture in this parable that creation was damaged by the Watchers. The combined result, however, highlights the damage caused by the Watchers who broke the cosmic covenant.[28]

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[28]Barker, 84, notes the parallel to Is. 24:4-6, where the earth mourns, withers and is polluted because the inhabitants have broke the everlasting covenant. Then in Is. 24:21-22 the "hosts of heaven" are bound in prison and punished, a similar picture to the binding of the Watchers, so common in 1 Enoch (e.g. 10:4-5, 12-13; 67:4-7). Barker, p. 78, draws a parallel between the cosmic covenant concept and ancient concepts of magic. Creation involved binding the forces of chaos. Breaking the cosmic covenant, which kept all things in harmony, would unleash forces that could destroy creation. Barker's arguments have merit for 1 En. 45 and 69. She cites several biblical passages that show the relationship between sin and the corruption of nature (e.g. Joel 1:17; 2:2; Is. 24:4-6; 33:7-9). However, many of these passages probably do not refer to the breaking of a cosmic covenant, but the law of Moses.

The creation is subject to the disease, demon-possession, death and decay that the Watchers introduced. Yet the perfect created order is not completely destroyed, since the heavenly luminaries and the world's weather still operate according to God's command (cf. ch. 59-60).[29] Despite the corruption of creation by the Watchers, God still remains in control and the creation has not been completely destroyed by these evil angels.

b. The Redemption of Creation

(1) The Flood as a Type of the New Creation:

As in other Watcher passages (e.g. ch 10), so here in the third parable the Flood serves as a type of the Final Judgment. After describing the Flood and punishment of the Watchers (67:4-7), the author switches to the Final Judgment of the wicked kings and mighty men of the earth (vv. 8-13). The angel Michael explicitly says, "This punishment wherewith the angels are punished is a warning for the kings and mighty who possess the earth" (v. 12).

The Flood also serves as a picture of the rebirth of the world.[30] Several phrases in 67:1-3 reflect the image of a new creation: God will place in the ark "the seed of life, and a transformation shall take place so that the earth will not be void of inhabitants." The Flood, therefore, is not simply a means of judgment, but it is also a way of transforming the world, a re-creation of the cosmos. Several phrases echo the story of the original creation: The reference to "void" echoes Gen 1:1, where the world was "formless and void" after creation, before God brought life to the earth.[31] God's blessing of Adam and Eve and his command to "be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth" (Gen 1:28) are also echoed here in his promise to

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[29]This may explain why the redactor of BP inserted verses 23-24 in the middle of the creation oath poem: These verses are a synopsis of other parts of BP that remind the reader of the orderliness of the natural world and its continued obedience to God's command.

[30]Cf. Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 61, 183, n. 57. A similar concept is in 10:7 and Is. 24:17-23, a tradition that forms the background for 1 En. 54:1-56:4 and 64:1-69:12 in Suter's view.

[31]"Void" means devoid of inhabitants. Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 133.

Noah that his offspring "shall be blessed and multiply upon the earth" (67:3) and that he shall spread his offspring over the earth. So after the Flood there is a new creation, with a resultant transformation of the world (cf. 45:5, where God will "transform" the earth after the Final Judgment; 72:1). Hence although the "new heavens and earth" are not explicitly mentioned, the Flood typology in the third parable is compatible with such a view (as it is explicitly taught in the second parable).

(2) The Eternal Dwelling Place of the righteous:

The parable describes the blessed destiny of the righteous (ch 58; 62:13-16; 69:26-29): They will live eternally, in glory, righteousness, joy and peace. Unlike the other two parables, however, this parable does not explicitly state whether the righteous will dwell in heaven or on a transformed earth. There is no detailed description of a renewed earth (although 69:27-29 alludes to it). While 62:14 says that God and the Son of Man will abide with them, it does not say whether God will come to dwell on the earth with his people, as in AA and the second parable (90:20, 28-38; 45:4; cf. Is. 60:19-20; Zeph. 3:15-17), or whether the righteous will dwell in the presence of God in heaven as in the first parable (39:5-7). There is a possible indication of a material existence for the righteous in 62:14, since their life in eternity involves the rather mundane activities of eating and sleeping. Yet this may simply be a metaphor for security (cf. Zech. 3:13)[32] or for the fellowship that they will enjoy with God and the Son of Man.

There are also several references to the "Garden of Life" or the "Garden of the righteous" in the third parable (60:8, 23; 61:12). Apparently, Eden was considered to be an actual physical location that has continued to exist since the beginning of creation. BW and AB also assume that Eden continues to exist (32:3; 77:3), but only this third parable says that the righteous dead already dwell in Paradise (60:8; 61:12; cf. 70:3-4). Although it is difficult to

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[32]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 236.

determine whether the author considered this Garden to be on earth (as in BW) or in heaven, there is some evidence that he considered it to be a heavenly Paradise.[33] For the reference to the Garden in 61:12 is in the context of spiritual beings who dwell in heaven, which may imply that the Garden itself is also heavenly. The Garden also seems to be in some transcendent location in ch. 60, since the "storehouse" of the rains is located near it (vv. 21-23) and Enoch ascended to this Paradise (v. 8; cf. 70:3-4). The references to the Garden suggest that there will be an earthly or earth-like eternal dwelling for the righteous, which the righteous dead have already begun to enjoy even before the Resurrection.[34] But unlike BW (ch. 25-27; 32; 10:17-22), there are no detailed descriptions of this environment in the third parable.

(3) Eschatological Reversal of the Corruption of Creation:

The conclusion of the third parable (69:26-29) promises that in the eschaton God will reverse the damage that the Watchers caused to creation. When the Son of Man appears, he will sit on his throne of glory and judge the human sinners and fallen Watchers (v. 27-28). They will be banished from earth and imprisoned, and so all evil will cease. Regarding the Watchers ("those who have led the world astray"),[35] the author says "all their deeds shall vanish from the face of the earth and from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible" (vv. 28c-29a). The corruption of creation caused by the Watchers, such as death, disease, demon-possession and the violation of the cosmic covenant, will all be brought to an end.

This is a powerful description of the transformed earth, free from sin and the corrupting effects of sin (cf. 45:3-5). It also resolves the ambiguity about the eventual location in

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[33]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 59, apparently believes the paradise in BW is earthly and the paradise in BP is heavenly.

[34]It is possible that this is a temporary paradise for the righteous dead and that the righteous will be transferred to the renewed earth after the Resurrection when the Son of Man comes (cf. 69:26-28).

[35]Black, *Book of Enoch*, 249.

which the righteous will dwell. For since the passage refers explicitly to the removal of sinners, the Watchers' damage and all corruption from the earth, the implication is that the Son of Man and the righteous (cf. v. 26) will dwell on a transformed earth.

c. The Personification of Creation

Enoch learns that angels or spirits work behind the scenes to make each aspect of nature operate (60:12-21), much as in parts of AB (75:1, 3; 80:1; 82:7-20; cf. BP: 43:2). For example, a spirit makes the thunder peal at the appointed time and for the proper length of time (60:15). These angels perform their tasks instantly, as God commands them (60:13). Thus personification emphasizes that the natural world operates according to God's design. In contrast to many other parts of 1 Enoch, in the third parable the elements of nature are not generally personified or given the power of choice (the one exception is in ch. 69). Although there is a personal dimension to the natural world, it is only attributed to the angels that control the operation of nature.

The major exception to the pattern of personification is the cosmic poem in 69:16-21 and 25, which personifies parts of creation in a fashion similar to other passages in 1 Enoch such as BP and AB. God calls the stars by name and they answer him (v. 21; cf. 43:1-2). Furthermore, there is a hint that spirits operate behind each part of nature (vv. 22; cf. BP: 43:2; 60:12-21; AB: 75:1, 3; 80:1; 82:7-20). The author of BP may have added vv. 23-24 to this poem, since they break the poetic parallelism and they use language similar to ch. 41 and 60.[36] These added verses further enhance the personification, since not simply the stars, but also thunder, lightning, hail, frost, storm-clouds, rain and dew are personified as individual personalities. They all give thanks and praise to God and glorify him as they carry out their tasks (cf. 41:7). Furthermore, they will continue to worship God by fulfilling their divinely assigned purposes throughout all time (v. 25).

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[36]Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 140.

5. Summary of the Book of Parables

The three parables of 1 En. 38-69 agree at many points about the natural world, but they have slightly different views on some matters. The first parable (ch. 38-44) emphasizes the consistent operation of nature, which functions perfectly according to a cosmic covenant. Natural phenomena are personified as individual conscious beings that obey and worship God. The future dwelling place of the righteous is entirely heavenly, with neither a new or transformed earth mentioned.

The second parable (ch. 45-57) does not refer to any effect of sin, either angelic or human, on nature. At the same time, it does not emphasize the perfection of creation as much as the first parable. What it stresses is the transformation of heaven and earth. The earth will become a place of blessing and glory, and the righteous will dwell on earth along with the Messiah ("Elect One"). Yet the righteous also will have access to a renewed heaven and the presence of God. Then the natural world will rejoice when the Elect One comes and the righteous dwell on the renewed earth.

The third parable (ch. 58-69) has large sections describing the perfect operation of the cosmos. God has bound the creation with an oath that controls its operation. Angels operate various aspects of nature and obey God's commands. Various parts of nature are personified as being obedient to God. Nevertheless, the sin of the Watchers has corrupted many parts of creation, thereby introducing disease, demon-possession, death and decay into the world. But when the Son of Man comes and sits on his throne, God will reverse the damage done by the Watchers to creation. All corruption and sin will then be removed from the earth. This new creation is symbolized by the Flood of Noah, which anticipates a similar transformation of the world after the Final Judgment.

The following table summarizes the key points concerning the corruption and redemption of creation in BP:

Table 20: Summary of the Book of Parables

Parable	Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
Par. 1 (38-44)	Nature operates consistently, as God designed in obedience to the cosmic covenant.	1. No mention of new heavens or earth. 2. Righteous will dwell in heaven.	1. Natural objects are individual personalities who obey God, sing praises and give him thanks. 2. Angels operate aspects of nature.
Par. 2 (45-57)	No discussion of the effect of human or Watcher sin on nature.	1. Heaven and earth will be transformed. 2. The righteous will dwell on the transformed earth and have access to heaven.	The natural world will rejoice when the Elect One comes and the righteous dwell on the transformed earth.
Par. 3 (58-69)	1. God created the cosmos with an oath that binds it in perfect operation. 2. The sin of the Watchers corrupted creation introducing death, disease, decay and demonism.	1. The dead righteous already dwell in a heavenly Garden of Life. 2. God will reverse the damage caused by the Watchers to creation and eliminate all corruption. 3. The righteous will enjoy a blessed life on the earth freed from corruption.	1. Angels operate aspects of nature. 2. Various parts of nature obey God and praise him.

B. 4 Ezra

1. Date, Provenance and Unity of 4 Ezra

It is generally accepted that 4 Ezra 3-14[37] is a Jewish apocalypse originally written in Hebrew.[38] The Hebrew original and a presupposed Greek translation are not extant. The most important extant version is in Latin, although Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian and Arabic versions are sometimes helpful. The consensus is that the book was written around A.D. 100 in

[37]The discussion here applies only to ch. 3-14, the portion generally accepted as Jewish. Ch. 1-2 and 15-16 are later Christian additions, which will not be discussed.

[38]Michael E. Stone, *A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible, ed. Frank Moore Cross (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 1; Jacob M. Myers, *I & II Esdras*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), 115-9; B. M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," in OTP, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1983), 1:519-20; J. Schreiner, eds., *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, ed. W. G. Kümmel et al., vol. 5/4, *Das 4. Buch Esra* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973), 294-5; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 156; G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Ezra*, Translations of Early Documents, Series 1 (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917), xiv-xviii. Myers discussion of Hebrew idioms reflected in the Latin version is especially helpful for establishing a Hebrew original. A few scholars, such as Leon Gry, *Les Dires prophétiques d'Esdras (IV. Esdras)* (Paris: Guenthner, 1936), xxiii-lxxvi, argue for an Aramaic original.

Palestine.[39] Some factors pointing to this date include: (1) the preoccupation with the destruction of Jerusalem; (2) the claim in 3:1 that the book was written 30 years after the destruction of Jerusalem;[40] (3) the symbolic references to first century Roman emperors in the Eagle vision;[41] and (4) the early adoption of the work into Christian circles, probably before the Bar Kochba revolt.[42]

In 1889 Kabisch argued that 4 Ezra consisted of several sources, each with considerably different eschatological views. This source theory was popularized and developed further by Box and Charles.[43] Box distinguishes 5 sources that were woven together by a redactor who added his own material: (1) a Salathiel apocalypse, which includes most of ch. 3-10; (2) an Ezra apocalypse (4:52-5:13a; 6:13-29; 7:26-44; 8:63-9:12); (3) the Eagle vision (ch. 11-12); (4) the vision of the man from the sea (ch. 13); and (5) another Ezra apocalypse containing most of ch 14. There is minimal literary evidence to separate these layers.[44] The

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[39]Most date it in the last decade of the first century (e.g. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 8-9; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 156; W. O. E. Oesterley, *II Esdras (The Ezra Apocalypse)* (London: Methuen, 1933), xliv-xlv), though a few date it A.D. 100-120 (Box, *Apocalypse of Ezra*, 552-3; Metzger, "4 Ezra," 520). Those who argue for a fragmented view of the book (Box, *Apocalypse of Ezra*, 552-3; Oesterley, *II Esdras*, xliv-xlv), date the Eagle Vision slightly earlier, perhaps A.D. 69-79 (reign of Vespasian) or A.D. 81-96 (reign of Domitian). Ch. 1-2 and 15-16 were added in the second or third century (Metzger, "4 Ezra," 520; Oesterley, *II Esdras*, xliv). See Schreiner, 5/4:502, for a survey of views on the provenance of the book.

[40]The reference to Babylon in 3:1 is part of the pseudonymous setting.

[41]Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 299-302, has an excellent survey and evaluation of various attempt to identify the exact emperors symbolically described. The evidence strongly points to the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96), particularly late in his reign when his cruelty and oppression peaked (Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 9-10).

[42]Metzger, "4 Ezra," 520, notes that it is unlikely that the book would have been adopted into Christian circles after the Bar-Kochba revolt, when the Church and Synagogue became hopelessly alienated. 4 Ezra is cited in the late second century by Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis* (Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 9).

[43]Richard Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1889), 331:401; Box, *Apocalypse of Ezra*, vii-viii; G. H. Box, "4 Ezra," in APOT, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:549-52; R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of the Future Life* (London: Black, 1899), 283-97.

[44]The main evidence is the reference to "I Salathiel, who am also Ezra" (3:1). This cryptic

primary argument is the supposed incompatibility of eschatological conceptions in various parts of the book. Passages with a national-earthly eschatology, which focuses on Israel and the messianic kingdom, come from a different source than passages with a universal-transcendental eschatology, which focuses on all of humanity and the future state of the righteous in heaven.[45] Even Oesterley, however, who divides 4 Ezra into several sources, recognizes that apocalyptic writings frequently lack logical consistency.[46] Stone shows that both national and transcendental eschatology are frequently intimately interwoven, sometimes even in the same sentence. Only a presupposition of the incompatibility of these two views would require that they come from different sources.[47] There is a recent trend to recognize the compositional integrity of 4 Ezra 3-14, even if oral or written sources were utilized.[48]

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reference, however, is weak evidence of a separate source. See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 157 for other explanations for the reference.

[45]Box, "4 Ezra," 550-1; Kabisch, *Vierte Buch Esra*, 67-70, 75, 96; Joseph Keulers, *Die eschatologische Lehre des vierten Esrabuches* (Berlin: Herder, 1922), 143.

[46]Oesterley, *II Esdras*, xii. W. Sanday makes this critique of Box in his "Prefatory Note" to Box, *Apocalypse of Ezra*, 6. Vielhauer, 594, lists "lack of uniformity" as a basic characteristic of apocalypses.

[47]Cf. Michael E. Stone, *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra*, Harvard Semitic Studies, no. 35, ed. Frank Moore Cross (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 12-21, 136-8, 222-3, for a thorough critique of the eschatological arguments of Box and Kabisch. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 102-5, suggests alternative ways to view the apparent eschatological inconsistencies.

[48]Stone, *Features*, 12-21; E. Breech, "These Fragments I Have Shored Against My Ruins: The Form and Function of 4 Ezra," *JBL* 92 (1973): 267-8; A. P. Hayman, "The Problem of Pseudonymity in the Ezra Apocalypse," *JSJ* 6 (1975): 48; Gry, 1:xciv-xcviii; Thompson, *Responsibility*, 107-8; Hermann Gunkel, "Das vierte Buch Esra," in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ed. G. Kautzsch (Tübingen: Gerd Mohr, 1900), 2:335-48. Wolfgang Harnisch, "Der Prophet als Widerpart und Zeuge der Offenbarung: Erwägungen zur Interdependenz von Form und Sache im 4. Buch Esra," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), 470, recognizes this trend, though he rejects it and argues that visions 5 and 6 were added later. Egon Brandenburger, *Die Verborgenheit Gottes im Weltgeschehen. Das literarische und theologische Problem des 4. Esrabuches*, Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, no. 68 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981), 92-104, successfully refutes Harnisch's claim.

A closely related issue is whether the author's voice is to be found in the words of Ezra[49] or Uriel the angel.[50] Harnisch, who builds on Brandenburger and Mundle, argues that Ezra represents a skeptical, gnosticizing viewpoint, which the author refutes through the angel's words.[51] Against this view, Hayman rightly objects that (1) the prophet Ezra is a poor representative for an heretical viewpoint; (2) there is much in common between the angel's and Ezra's views; (3) Ezra's view is perfectly orthodox; and (4) Ezra never repents of his ideas.[52]

It is more likely that the central message flows from the dialog between Ezra and Uriel. One of the earliest proponents of this view was Gunkel, who argued that the dialog between Ezra and the angel represented the author's internal emotional and mental struggle.[53] Breech shows that the structure of 4 Ezra is built on a pattern of consolation, in which Ezra moves from distress to consolation in successive visions.[54] Similarly, Stone shows that Ezra moves from doubt to acceptance of the ideas of the angel. He argues that Ezra's thinking begins to undergo changes even in the first 3 visions, so that by vision 4 the change is complete and Ezra can comfort the woman.[55] While the eschatological revelation gives a

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[49]E.g. R.H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times. With an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper and Row, 1949), 85-6.

[50]E.g. Egon Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus: Exegetisch-religiongeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Röm. 5:12-21* (Neukurchen: Neukirchener, 1962), 30.

[51]Wolfgang Harnisch, *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte. Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichtsverständis im 4. Buch Esra und in der syr. Baruchapokalypse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1969), 63-6, 87, 142-3; Harnisch, *Der Prophet*, 472-8. Harnisch builds on Wilhelm Mundle, "Das religiöse Problem des IV. Esrabuches," ZAW 6 (1929): 222-49, although Mundle believed both Ezra and the angel represented acceptable views within Judaism.

[52]Hayman, 50-3.

[53]Gunkel, *vierte Buch Esra*, 335-48.

[54]Breech, 269-71; cf. Hayman, 49, 55-6, who notes the traditional nature of Ezra's doubt and despair.

[55]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 24-30, 32-7. Stone overstates the level of Ezra's acceptance of the divine view in visions 1-3.

partial solution to Ezra's concerns, the main message of the book is in Ezra's emotional acceptance of the justice of God's ways, even though he does not receive full answers to his questions.[56]

The book is structured in 7 sections, each with a vision and dialog between Ezra and the angelic mediator. It is a theodicy that struggles with the justice of God in light of the recent destruction of Jerusalem and the broader problem that most people will face divine punishment due to the depth of human sin.

2. The Corruption of Creation

a. Universal Human Sin

4 Ezra frequently refers to the corruption of creation,[57] particularly in the first three sections, which stress the sinfulness of humanity.

A major recurrent theme is that all human beings sin. Starting with Adam's sin (3:7,

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[56]Cf. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 160, 168; Breech, 270-1; Michael E. Stone, "Reactions to Destructions of the Second Temple. Theology, Perception and Conversion," *Journal of Studies in Judaism* 12 (1982): 203; Hayman, 49, 55-6; U. Luck, "Das Weltverständnis in der jüdischen Apokalyptik, dargestellt am äthiopischen Henoch und am 4 Esra," *ZTK* 73 (1976): 283-305. Thompson also emphasizes the dynamic between the angel and Ezra. The angel represents a narrower, more unyielding position than Ezra. Even though Uriel's views eventually triumph, Ezra's questions are not fully answered. A rational theodicy eludes the author, but his experience still enables him to justify God (Thompson, *Responsibility*, 157-256, 340).

[57]The Latin *creatura* can be used in several ways in 4 Ezra: (1) the material world (5:44, 45, 55, 56; 7:75 (possibly creation as a whole); 8:45; (2) an individual creature (e.g. 7:62; 11:6); (3) people: the people of God (8:47; 13:26), a baby (8:8); and (4) the verbal sense of act of creating (6:38). Other elliptical expressions such as "that which was made" (e.g. 7:11) are also used to refer to the creation. The most common term for the material creation is "world," *saeculum* (3:9, 18, 34; 4:2, 11, 24; 5:24, 44, 49; 6:1, 25, 55; 7:11, 12, 13, 21, 30, 31, 47, 50, 70, 74, 112, 132, 137, 8:1, 2, 5, 41, 50; 9:2, 3, 5, 18, 19, 20, 10:8; 45; 11:32, 39, 40; 13:20; 14:17, 20, 22). The fact that the "world" is used as a synonym for the material creation is shown by the parallelism with other terms such as "that which was made" (e.g. 7:11) and "earth" (e.g. 9:20; 11:32, 40). In these passages, "world" generally refers to material creation or perhaps the whole created order. It is significant that the term "creation" is used in several of the instances that speak of the decay of this world (5:55, 56) and the future renewal of the world (7:75; 8:45). As will be shown later, the Latin *saeculum* sometimes has an ambiguity between the meanings "world" and "age" (e.g. 7:47, 50).

21), every nation has gone its own way and disobeyed God (3:8). After the Flood, which was a judgment on sin, the sin of all humanity multiplied even more (3:12). The author frequently stresses that no one is exempt from sin (3:8, 12, 21-22 Adam and "all his descendants,[58]" 26, 35; 4:38; 7:46, 68: "sinner through and through," 72: "with conscious knowledge . . . the people of this world sinned"; 8:18, 31-35). This awareness of universal human sinfulness forms a major component of the theodicy of 4 Ezra. It causes Ezra to despair that anyone will be saved and leads him to question the justice of God (e.g. 7:67-68, 120). "What good is the promise of immortality to us, when we have committed mortal sins?" (7:120)

There are a few passages that seem to moderate this pessimistic view of humanity. "Almost all"[59] sin (7:48) and "only a few" are righteous (7:51). The angel tells Ezra that he should not count himself among the sinners (6:32). Two perspectives even coexist in the same passage: (1) all are sinners; and (2) only a few will be saved (e.g. 7:46-48; 8:31-36). Brandenburger claims that the statements about universal sin are set in the mouth of Ezra in order to be refuted by the angel, who represents God's perspective (e.g. 7:76).[60] But this approach forces the book to be more systematic than it is intended to be. The emphasis on human sinfulness or the few who will be saved depends on the purpose of each passage.[61] Ezra himself occasionally refers to the "few" who will be saved. The salvation of the few who attempt to please God and keep the Law is more due to God's mercy than their moral perfection (7:26-36, 137).[62] Thus Ezra pleads with God to overlook the offenses of his people

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[58]Translations of 4 Ezra are from the New English Bible, unless otherwise stated.

[59]The Latin and probably the Syriac read "almost all," while the other versions read "all." The reading "all" almost certainly is a modification of the text for theological reasons. Thompson, *Responsibility*, 300-1, 309-10, 344 n. 8.

[60]Brandenburger, *Verborgenheit*, 176-9.

[61]Cf. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 233.

[62]Cf. Tom W. Willett, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series, no. 4 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 75.

who "have served thee faithfully" (7:20), since even those who "feared thee from the heart" (7:28) and "put unfailing trust in thy glory" (7:30) are "sinners, who have no just deeds to our credit" (7:32).

4 Ezra frequently refers to the evil heart within each human as the source of sin (3:20-25; 4:4; 7:48, 92). Adam himself "was burdened with a wicked heart" that was the source of his own disobedience against God's command (3:21). This evil heart continues to grow within humanity. It leads to sin, death and corruption, and estranges people from God (7:48).[63] Even the Jewish people have this evil heart (3:22, 25). It is an "evil root" (Metzger), which prevented the Law from achieving the good it was designed to accomplish (3:22), and which will lead to God's people eventually being judged at the hands of their enemies (3:25). Even those few who are able to adhere to God's ways have fought with these "inborn impulses to evil" all their lives (7:92). This view has much in common with the rabbinic doctrine of the evil *yetzer* (inward inclination or impulse).[64] Thompson, however, has shown than many elements of rabbinic teaching are missing, such as the good *yetzer* as a balance of the evil *yetzer* and the idea that the evil *yetzer* performs useful functions.[65]

This emphasis on humanity's responsibility for its own sins is in sharp contrast with most of 1 Enoch, which blames the origin of sin on the fallen angels. Nowhere does 4 Ezra refer to the Watcher tradition or blame sin on anything other than the wicked human heart. Nevertheless, there is some confusion in 4 Ezra about the origin of sin in humanity. While Adam's first sin is frequently described as the origin of sin, the book also emphasizes the evil

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[63]There is some ambiguity in 7:48 about whether the evil impulse is growing (Latin) or simply present (Syriac). Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 235, argues that the Latin *increvit* is more correct, which suggests the evil heart has increased or been augmented.

[64]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 63, n. 18; Thompson, *Responsibility*, 29:332-9.

[65]Ibid., 300, 338-9; cf. Klaus Koch, "Ezras erste Vision: Weltzeiten und Weg des Hochstein," *BZ* 22 (1978): 60-1, who says the "evil heart" of 4 Ezra is different than the "evil inclination" of the Rabbis. However, Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 63, 18, says Koch's distinctions are forced.

heart, which was apparently present in Adam even before the Fall. Thompson has shown that 4 Ezra never completely reconciles these two traditions as explanations for the origin of human evil. While the book nowhere says that God created the evil heart, it comes close when Ezra complains that God has not removed it.[66]

b. Effects of the Fall on the Natural World

The damaging effects of Adam's original sin were far-reaching, both for humanity and the rest of creation. As a result of the Fall, all humans became subject to death (3:7; cf. 7:15). The disease of sin permanently infected the entire human race (3:21-22; 4:30-31; 7:118). Ezra cries in despair, "Oh Adam, what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants" (7:118).[67]

Adam's sin profoundly corrupted all of creation. The most important passage is 7:11-14: "It was for Israel that I made the world, and when Adam transgressed my decrees, the creation came under judgment" (v. 11). When Adam sinned, the created world was judged. The creation in general ("what had been made," Metzger) and not simply humanity was profoundly changed from the original good creation that God made.[68] As a result this life is

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[66]Thompson, *Responsibility*, 29:335-6. By contrast some rabbinic sources say that God created the evil inclination, but gave humans the ability to overcome it. See Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 64; Moore, *Judaism*, 1:453, 480-1.

[67]The phraseology is similar to 2 Bar. 48:12: "O Adam, what did you do to all who were born after you?"; cf. 2 Bar. 23:4. However, contrast 2 Bar. 54:19, which denies that Adam's sin affected other people: "Adam is therefore not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam." Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 258, believes this may be an intentional critique of 4 Ezra.

[68]Box, "4 Ezra," 580, says "the world, after Adam's sin was not longer the good world as it had been originally created by the hand of God." Cf. Oesterley, *II Esdras*, 65 ("the Creation, . . . the whole physical world"); Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 198 ("a far-reaching change of all creation for the worse"). Contrast Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 252, who argues that it was not the world created by God that became cursed, but "another world" brought about due to Adam's violations of God's commands. As a result salvation was removed from this world and transferred to the future coming age.

full of hardship, suffering, sorrow and vain experiences (vv. 12-13; cf. v. 96).[69] This probably alludes to Gen. 3:17-19, which describes the hardship of this life that was part of the curse for the Fall.[70] By contrast the future world will be safe and full of blessing (v. 13; cf. v. 96). The righteous can only attain the blessings of this future world if they pass through this present life of pain, suffering and vanity (v. 14).

One reason that the created world suffers due to the Fall of Adam is that God created the world for the sake of humanity (7:11), particularly Israel (6:55, 59).[71] There is a close solidarity between humankind and the world, in part because human beings were created from the dust of the earth (7:62, 116; cf. 5:48) but also because of the dominion of humanity over the creation. Levison notes that human dominion covers not simply the animal world (6:53-54), as in Gen. 1, but even the heavenly bodies (6:45-46). When God created the sun, moon and stars, he commanded them "to serve man who was about to be formed" (6:45-46). Adam was to be "ruler over all the world which you had made" (6:54).[72] Thus when humanity fell into sin, the creation over which it was responsible suffered as well (7:11).

"World" (Latin *saeculum*) is used two different ways in 7:11-14: (1) the physical

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[69]The Latin and Syriac say in v. 12 that the "entrances" of this world have become narrow and painful (cf. v. 13 on the greater world). Most modern scholars prefer the Ethiopic text, which uses "ways." The verse does not mean that the entrance into this world is difficult but that the path of life in this world is full of sorrow. The Ethiopic and Syriac probably view this life as a path that must be traversed to enter the next life. See Box, "4 Ezra," 580; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 198; contrast Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 231.

[70]R. J. Coggins and Michael A. Knibb, *The First and Second Books of Esdras*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 162.

[71]In Ezra's appeal to God, he assumes that the world was created for the sake of Israel, God's chosen people (6:54-55). In his response (7:11), the angel agrees but also extends the responsibility for the world to the whole human race as represented by Adam. The concept that the world was created for Israel also occurs frequently in rabbinic literature (Louis Ginzberg, , vol. 5, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-1938), 67-8; e.g. Batte Midrashot I, 44; Shir. 2.2; 7.3; Tan. B. IV, 5; Tehellim 109, 465; Makiri on Ps. 47, 262; cf. 2 Bar. 14, 17; Ass. Mos. 1:12).

[72]John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 120-1.

creation, which God intended his people to inherit (7:11; cf. 6:59; 7:9), but which was profoundly corrupted due to the Fall (7:11); and (2) this world-age of suffering that will come to an end, in contrast to the future eternal world-age of blessing for the righteous (7:12-13). The painful way of life in this age is a result of the Fall. Stone believes the Latin *saeculum* in this second sense is equivalent to the Hebrew עולם. The passage reflects a dualism of two contrasting world-ages.[73]

c. Corruption of Creation Due to Ongoing Sins

The corruption of the world is also due to the continuing sins of humanity, not only original sin. The evil heart within all people alienates them from God and leads to corruption and death (7:48). The earth is spoiled and in peril because of the wicked thoughts and actions of human beings: "So I considered my world, and behold, it was lost, and my earth, and behold it was in peril because of the devices of those who had come into it" (9:20). Since human minds are corrupted and limited by the corrupt world from which they sprang (7:62), they cannot comprehend the ways of the incorruptible God (4:11). This is one reason the angel's answers to Ezra's questions about God's justice are limited and initially unsatisfying (cf. 4:21).

The corruption of the world and humanity is a circular process. Original sin and human sins through history have corrupted the world and the corrupt world of which humanity is part continues to corrupt humanity (4:11; 7:62). No one can escape this vicious circle apart from divine mercy. This connection is due to the fact that human beings are a product of the earth (all people: 5:48; 7:62; Adam: 7:116). This is based on the biblical concept that Adam was created from the dust of the earth (Gen. 2:7). Even the human mind[74] is the product of the earth (7:62). Thus it is corruptible and limited in its capacity to

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[73]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 198; Stone, *Features*, 167-71. See page 272f. below.

[74]There is much debate over the exact meaning of the Latin *sensus* in 7:62. Most see it as

understand God's ways (4:11).

d. The Meaning of "Corruption"

4 Ezra repeatedly says that this world and the present age are corrupt and corruptible (e.g. 4:11; 6:28; 7:15, 31, 48, 61-63, 96, 111, 113, 115; 9:19-20). The Latin adjective *corruptus* and the cognate nouns *corruptio* and *corruptela* occur frequently. The adjective probably translated φθαρτός.[75] The corruption of the world involves two major dimensions: (1) perishability and a low quality of life; and (2) moral deterioration.

The most basic sense of the corruptibility of the world in 4 Ezra is that the world and everything in it is subject to death (7:15, 48, 61-63, 96, 115). By contrast, heaven and the coming new world are incorruptible (4:11; 7:113-114) and all who live there will be immortal (7:13). Similarly, life in this corruptible world involves suffering, toil, hardship, sorrow and futility (7:11-14, 96; 4:27) and a restricted ability to understand the ways of God (4:11).

The corruption of the world also includes a moral dimension (7:48, 111-113; 9:19). In this age, "corruption has increased and unrighteousness has multiplied" (7:111). This verse places corruption and unrighteousness in poetic parallelism,[76] which suggests that they are closely related ideas. The corruption of this age is also associated with sinful indulgence and unbelief and is contrasted with righteousness and truth (7:113). "An evil heart has grown up in us, which has alienated us from God, and has brought us into corruption and the ways of death, and has shown us the paths of perdition and removed us far from life" (7:48). In this

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some variation of "mind," "understanding" or "intelligence." Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 222, believes it is "consciousness" and notes it is created along with the material aspect of human beings and thus is not the soul. Oesterley, *II Esdras*, 80, believes it is the "heart," based on the Hebrew concept that the heart is the seat of understanding. Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 157, 236, suggests it is the *yetser*, but v. 64 suggests that it is the part of a person that understands the fate that sin brings.

[75]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 85-6. The Hebrew might have been כלה, since the word is used in this sense in the DSS, but this is less certain.

[76]Cf. Ibid., 251.

moral sense the "ways of death" refer primarily to sin, which leads to spiritual death or perdition and alienation from God (cf. 7:92).[77] The corrupt ways of humanity have spoiled the good earth (9:19-20). The corruption of the world also leads to further moral corruption in human beings (4:11; 7:62). Due to the sinful corruption of the world by humanity, the full glory that God intended for the world does not reside in the present world, but is reserved for the new world (7:112).

e. Causes of the Corruption of the World

There are also two related causes for the present state of the world: (1) The main cause of the corruption of the earth is human sin. As has been shown, both Adam's sin (7:11-14) and the ongoing sins of humanity through history (7:48, 118-121; 9:20) have contributed to the corruption of the world. (2) The world also is deteriorating due to the advanced age of the earth. Since the end of the world is near, the creation is growing old and "losing its strength." The physical deterioration of creation results in human stature becoming reduced compared to earlier generations (5:54-55).[78] The advanced age of the world also results in spiritual and moral deterioration (14:10, 16-18). The world becomes weaker as it ages and thus is less able to hold back the growing evil tendencies in the world. Evil increases among the inhabitants of the earth and especially will intensify in the period just before the end (vv. 14:17-18; cf. 5:10-13). The increasing evils refer both to the woes at the end of the age (v. 16) and the multiplication of human sin (v. 17, the spread of falsehood).

These two causes of the corruption of the world are intimately related in 14:10-17. The world-age (v. 10) and the physical world (v. 17) are growing old and evil is increasing in the

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[77]Cf. Ibid., 66.

[78]In Jub. 23:25 human stature will be reduced in the eschatological tribulation; cf. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi* 49. Stone believes the roots of the idea are in the biblical concept of the antediluvian Giants (Gen. 6:4; Num. 13:33). Rabbinic literature also refers to a loss of human stature due to sin. Adam lost both stature and brightness of face when he sinned (e.g. Gen. R. 23:6-7; cf. Tanh, ed. Buber, I, 7a; Gen. R. 12:6). Stone, *Features*, 146, 269-70, n. 392.

world. Thus Ezra is exhorted to "renounce the life that is corruptible" (v. 13), i.e. the life of evil and mortality that is characteristic of this age.[79] Keulers goes too far when he claims that the end of the earth in the eschaton is entirely due to human sin.[80] While this is a major factor in the deterioration of the earth (e.g. 7:11-14, 118; 9:19-20), 4 Ezra also stresses that the earth was appointed to last for a specific duration, based on the predestined length of this age and a predetermined time for judgment (e.g. 6:6; 7:70; 14:10-13). 4 Ezra holds these two factors in tension.[81]

The corruption of the world in 4 Ezra is not due to any inherent evil of matter.[82] The material world was created as a good creation of God, but it has been spoiled by the wickedness of human beings (9:19-20). God grieves for the world that he created to produce abundantly, but has been damaged by human sins (9:19-20). The earth will apparently exist in the new age (7:31-32). There is no indication that the earth is bad in itself or that the cause of evil is the material nature of the world.

f. Eschatological Cosmic Disasters

4 Ezra frequently says that the world and the present age are quickly passing away (4:26-27, 44-50; 5:5-55; 6:20; 14:10-18). The end of this age will be accompanied by the end of the world.[83] After the Judgment a new age is coming along with a new world. Since the

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[79]This is probably a reference to Ezra's imminent death (Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 422; Coggins and Knibb, 275).

[80]Keulers, 145; cf. Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 118.

[81]Cf. the critique of Keulers by Stone, *Features*, 182-3.

[82]Ibid.; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 66, 232.

[83]Part of the difficulty in these verses is distinguishing between *saeculum* as "world-age" and "material world." The two uses are clearly closely related. Stone, *Features*, 147-84, discusses the terminology in detail. In v. 17, it is clearly the material world that is growing old and has become too weak to resist the increasing evil of the inhabitants of the earth (Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 423).

deterioration and passing of this world are so closely connected with the end of the age, the terms "world" and "age" are often used nearly interchangeably. The end is very near; there is much less time left than has passed in history already (4:44-50; 5:50-55; 14:10-18). The creation is aged and about to pass away (5:50-55; 14:10, 17; cf. 2 Bar. 85:10).

The time just before the end will be accompanied by cosmic disasters and the collapse of the normal order of life (4:28-29; 5:1-12; 6:20-24; 9:2-6). The normal orderly operation of nature will fail. There will be widespread earthquakes; the stars will fall from the sky; the sun will shine at night; water will become poisonous; the sea will be full of dead fish; women will give birth to hideously deformed babies; there will be chaos and terror among birds and animals (5:4-9; 9:2-3). There will be a general increase in unrighteousness among humanity (e.g. 5:10-13; 14:17-18).[84] As the world comes to an end the corruption of creation will grow to alarming and all-encompassing proportions, which will only be resolved at the end of the world, when a new world and a new age of righteousness come.

3. The Redemption of Creation

a. The Future, Greater World

4 Ezra shows a great interest in the future state of the world. God created the world to be a possession of his people Israel (6:55, 59; 7:11), particularly the righteous (8:1; 9:13). Sometimes it says that God created all things for humankind, which was created in God's image (8:44; cf. 8:18). Ezra is concerned that God's people have not yet taken possession of the world as God promised (6:59). Because of the sin of Adam and the rest of humanity, the world has come under judgment and the people of God do not yet possess the world. Thus the righteous must look ahead to the future world, where they will receive their full inheritance (7:13-14, 36, 75; 8:1).

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[84]Cf. Myers' interpretation of 7:48 that the evil impulse is growing (Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 235).

God created two worlds (7:50; 8:1). The present world is called the "first world"[85] (6:55) and "this world" (7:12; 8:1). The "world to come" (8:1, Metzger) is "the greater world" (7:13), because of the blessings and immortality its inhabitants will enjoy. The hope of the righteous revolves around the future world, rather than the present world of suffering, hardship and sin. Only a few will be allowed entrance into this greater world, since only a few are truly righteous (8:1).

Some passages imply that God has already created the future world. "The Most High has created not one world but two" (7:50; cf. 8:1). In particular, Paradise, the place of eternal blessing, already exists (4:7; 8:52) but is hidden (7:26, 36) and will be revealed at the end of the age (7:26, 36, 123).[86] God created Paradise even before the earth (3:6; cf. 6:2).[87] It is possible that the garden that Adam enjoyed is the same as the eschatological Paradise. Both are called Paradise[88] and have similar features such as the Tree of Life (7:123; 8:54; cf. 7:13). Box argues that after Adam's sin Paradise was removed from the earth and is now in heaven, awaiting the righteous.[89] 4 Ezra, however, does not explicitly refer to a transfer of Eden to the heavenly realm, nor of its later descent from heaven. Stone argues that the garden of Eden is a type for the heavenly Paradise.[90] While it is not certain whether the eternal Paradise

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[85]In 6:55, the Latin has *primogenitum saeculum*, "first born world" and Arabic 2 has "first world." Syriac, Ethiopic and Arabic 1 have "this world."

[86]The place of eternal blessing is sometimes symbolized by a city (the heavenly Jerusalem, 7:26; 8:52; 10:27, 42, 44, 54; 13:36) and sometimes by a garden of fruitful land or Paradise (6:3; 7:26, 36; 8:52). At times the two images are combined in one passage (7:26; 8:52; cf. 2 Bar. 4:1-3). The fact that they are two symbols of the same thing is shown by the parallelism in 7:26: "the city which now is not seen shall appear, and the land which now is hidden shall be disclosed" (Metzger).

[87]This view is also found in later rabbinic literature (e.g. Pesachim 54a; Nedarim 39b). Box, "4 Ezra," 562, n. 6.

[88]It is called the garden of Eden in 3:6.

[89]Box, *Apocalypse of Ezra*, 197.

[90]Stone, *Features*, 204.

should be identified with Eden, it is clear that Paradise already exists and has similar characteristics to the earthly garden of Eden.

b. Nature in the Future World

The future world is described in material language that includes various aspects of nature. The term "Paradise" suggests a garden environment[91] reminiscent of the garden of Eden, even if the eschatological Paradise is not identical to Adam's original dwelling place. There are flowers (6:2), fruit (7:123; cf. 7:13) and the Tree of Life (8:52). "Fruit of immortality" in 7:13 refers to fruit that gives immortality and probably is on the Tree of Life.[92] The bodies of the righteous will suffer no disease or death (8:53-54).

The earth continues to exist in the new age (7:31-32). Several passages refer to the "land" in the new age (7:26; 9:8). "My land" in 9:8 probably is a reference to the land of Israel, which God sanctified and to which he will bring salvation. "The land which is now hidden" in 7:26 refers to the land of the new earth.

While these passages show that there will be a natural world in the new age, there are no details of the operation of nature, other than that death, decay and corruption will cease (6:25-28; 7:13, 113-114; 8:53-54).

Box and Keulers argue that the nature terminology is symbolic of a spiritual or transcendental reality.[93] The context of these passages, however, does not suggest that the use of natural features is symbolic or metaphorical (except possibly 7:13).[94] Box argues that

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[91]The word "paradise" (פרדס) is derived from the Persian *pairidaèza*, which means "garden." Coggins and Knibb, 172.

[92]Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 231; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 199.

[93]Box, *Apocalypse of Ezra*, 197; Keulers, 186.

[94]Other passages use natural features symbolically, such as the visions of the Eagle (ch. 11-12) and the Man from the Sea (ch. 13). In these passages animals, mountains, the sea and other natural objects are used to teach spiritual truths metaphorically.

since Paradise was created prior to the world, it is transcendental and heavenly.[95] The rabbinic writings, however, say that the original garden of Eden was pre-created, without implying that it was non-material.[96] Stone correctly notes,

> There is every reason to think that the apocalyptic authors attributed at least the same physical reality to the heavenly realm as they did to the earthly. It may be more marvelous, but it is as real.[97]

No information is given about the location of Paradise.[98] The situation, however, is similar to that of the new Jerusalem, which is heavenly and eventually will appear on earth. Thus it is not necessary to assume that "transcendent" means non-material or "heavenly" in contrast to "earthly."[99]

c. The New Age and the New Creation

4 Ezra frequently speaks of the end of the present age and the start of a new age (4:26, 31-32; 6:7, 10, 34; 7:95). The new age begins at the time of the Judgment (7:31-33, 113). It is the "last age" (6:34) and will last forever. The righteous will dwell in peace and blessing and enjoy glory forever (7:95). It is in this new age that the new world comes. At times it is difficult to distinguish between the new world and the new age, since they are so closely linked. Stone shows that the Latin word *saeculum* is close to "world age," since the idea of a new world and a new age are intimately connected.[100]

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[95]Box, *Apocalypse of Ezra*, 196.

[96]Stone, *Features*, 201.

[97]Ibid., 201-2.

[98]Stone, however, argues that Paradise in 4:8 is heavenly, on the basis of usage in later rabbinic literature with a verb for enter (e.g. T.B. *Hag.* 14b). In this instance Paradise is distinct from Eden. Michael E. Stone, "Paradise in IV Ezra Iv:8 and Vii:36, Viii:53," *JJS* 17 (1966): 85.

[99]Stone, *Features*, 203.

[100]Ibid., 180.

The transition to the new age occurs broadly at the time of the Judgment (7:113).[101] The clearest sequence of eschatological events is described in 7:26-44: (1) The hidden city (heavenly Jerusalem) and the hidden land (Paradise) will appear (v. 26-27). (2) The Messiah will come and institute a 400 year kingdom (v. 28). Although the kingdom is not described in detail, it apparently will be on earth. (3) The Messiah and all humans will die (v. 29). (4) The world will return to a primeval silence for 7 days (v. 30). (5) The world-age will be awakened and all that is corruptible will die (v. 31). This suggests the institution of a new, incorruptible world-age. (6) All human beings will be resurrected (v. 32). (7) Humanity will be judged by God (vv. 33-34). (8) The righteous will go to their reward in Paradise and the wicked will face the torment of Gehenna (vv. 35-43).

The pattern of 7 days of silence followed by the reawaking of the world suggests a new creation motif (v. 30). Volkmar believes the seven years of judgment (7:43) also correspond to the original 7 days of creation.[102] The new creation recapitulates the original creation, except that there will be no sin or corruption in the new world (7:31, 34).

During the Judgment, there will be no operation of the normal cycles of nature, but only the unfading glory of God (7:39-42). This temporary suspension of the normal operation of nature causes all attention to be focused on God. The suspension of normal seasons alludes to Gen. 8:22: "While earth remains, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall not cease." Zech. 14:6-7 also promises that at the coming of the Lord, the seasons and cycles of day and night will cease (cf. Sib. Or. 3:88-92).[103] The cycles

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[101]On the surface there appear to be two views of the transition between the ages in 7:113 and 7:26-44 (Stone, *Features*, 64). In 7:113, the transition of the ages is viewed broadly as the time of judgement. In 7:26-44 the transition between the ages is described in more detail and the Judgment appears to be part of the new age. The difference, however, is largely due to the greater detail in the latter passage.

[102]Gustav Volkmar, *Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen*, vol. 12, *Das vierte Buch Esra* (Tübingen: Fues, 1934), 68.

[103]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 222.

of nature will be suspended for 7 years (7:43, "a week of years"), then the new world will appear and the operation of nature will resume.

d. The Two-Stage Redemption of the World

God promises to redeem the creation that has been corrupted by sin. In part this is accomplished by the work of the Messiah. In the "Man from the Sea" vision, God promises that this messianic figure "will himself deliver his creation; and he will direct those who are left" (13:26, Metzger). While it is ultimately God who redeems the creation, the Messiah is the agent through whom God works (cf. 29).[104] In the first phase of the redemption of creation, the Messiah will defeat the enemies of the people of God (13:29-40, 49) and institute a temporary messianic kingdom on earth (7:28; cf. 13:26b). Although the messianic kingdom is clearly on earth, 4 Ezra does not include the detailed description of a transformed natural world found in 2 Bar. 29.[105] The messianic kingdom is not as important in the redemption of creation or in the solution to theodicy as it is in 2 Baruch. Hence there is less detail about the messianic age in 4 Ezra than in 2 Baruch.[106]

After the 400 year messianic kingdom is complete (7:28-29), God will complete the redemption of the world by transforming and recreating the world and by instituting an eternal age of righteousness in the transformed creation (7:30-31). The earth itself will be transformed at the end of history (6:14-16). Although the precise nature of this transformation is not spelled out, it will be a significant and fundamental change that will affect the earth to the "foundations" (v. 15), since the earth "trembles" when it hears about it. The transformation of creation will be accompanied by a cosmic turmoil that will disrupt the normal operation of

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[104]Stone, *Features*, 265.

[105]Cf. Andrew J. Ferch, "The Two Aeons and the Messiah in Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 145.

[106]Michael E. Stone, "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of E.R. Goodenough*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 312.

nature (6:21-24; 9:3). Infants will be able to talk; premature babies will dance; there will be earthquakes, massive crop failures and droughts (6:22-24; 9:3). The inhabitants of the world will be overcome by confusion and terror, and battle one another (6:23-24; 9:3-4).

In the "new world" all decay and corruption will be removed (6:27-28; 7:31, 113-114; 8:53) and the inhabitants will be full of righteousness and they will never be sick or die (6:25-28; 7:13, 113-114; 8:53-54). The new world is akin to a fresh creation (6:30-31) and will be eternal (7:113). The future world will restore the conditions of Paradise and reverse the damage of the Fall (cf. 7:96, 123; 8:52; 1 En. 24:4-25:5; T. Lev. 18:11).

This cosmic transformation accompanies "the end of my world" (6:25) and the institution of a new world order. The "end" (Latin *finis*) refers to the end of this age (6:16, 20) or what Stone calls "the decisive turning point of history."[107] Stone shows that "the end" is a technical term in 4 Ezra that can refer to (1) the final Judgment (7:112-113; 12:32-34), (2) the destruction of the evil heathen kingdom (11:39-46), or (3) the destruction of the evil kingdom and the start of the messianic kingdom (12:30-32; cf. 6:7-10).[108] While sometimes the exact eschatological event is indeterminate (3:14; 4:26; 14:5), the term consistently refers to the crucial eschatological turning point of history.[109] The destruction of the material world is apparently not implied by the "end" of the world in 4 Ezra (contrast 2 Pet 3:10-11).

e. A New World or a Transformed World?

4 Ezra has a tension between two views about the eschatological changes to the world: (1) this world will end and a new world will be created; and (2) the present creation will be transformed to become what God originally intended. Since the language is inconsistent and

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[107]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 169.

[108]For a discussion of the Esau-Jacob symbolism of 6:7-10 as the change from the rule of Rome to the rule of Israel, see Stone, *Features*, 48-52.

[109]Michael E. Stone, "Coherence and Inconsistency in the Apocalypses: The Case of 'the End' in 4 Ezra," *JBL* 102 (1983): 236-9, 241; Stone, *Features*, 91-7.

at times ambiguous, it is often difficult to determine which view is intended in a particular passage. Nevertheless, the outcome is always that the damaging effects of sin and corruption will be removed from the world. The result will be a perfect creation full of righteousness and free from corruption.

Since the time of Kabisch, many scholars have resolved this ambiguity by claiming that 4 Ezra contains two types of eschatology: (1) a national-earthly eschatology; and (2) a universal-transcendental eschatology. The earthly eschatology focuses on the annihilation of Israel's enemies and the continued existence of the saved in Jerusalem in a messianic kingdom on the present earth. The transcendental eschatology looks forward to the damnation of the wicked and the resurrection of the righteous to a blessed life on the new earth or in heaven.[110] Kabisch believes that these two views came from separate literary sources.[111] The problem of the sinfulness of humanity is addressed by universal-transcendental eschatology and the problem of Israel's suffering is addressed by a national-earthly eschatology.[112]

Stone, however, shows that 4 Ezra does not consistently follow this pattern. Transcendental eschatology only occurs in one passage that focuses on the problem of all humanity (7:112-113). All other eschatological passages deal with the fate and suffering of Israel, yet they may contain either an earthly or transcendental eschatology.[113] The two types of eschatology can also be combined into one eschatological pattern in the same passage. For example, in 7:26-44, the clearest chronology of eschatological events, the following sequence occurs: (1) a 400 year earthly messianic kingdom; (2) the Judgment; (3) the transformation of

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[110]Kabisch, *Vierte Buch Esra*, 67-70, 75; Keulers, 6-10, 36, 143; H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, Revised ed. (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964), 116-8; Leon Vaganay, *Le Problème eschataologique dans le IVe livre d'Esdras* (Paris: Picard, 1906), 82f.

[111]Kabisch, *Vierte Buch Esra*, 96f, 67-70, 75.

[112]Ibid., 67-70, 75; Keulers, 143.

[113]Stone, "Coherence and Inconsistency," 235-8.

the earth; and (4) the final reward or punishment. Both types of eschatology also occur together in 6:26-29, 9:6-12, 11:46 and 12:34. Although the author of 4 Ezra does not fully resolve the tension between the earthly and transcendental eschatologies, it is clear that he holds both views at the same time.[114]

One problem in determining whether the author of 4 Ezra expected a new world or a transformed world is distinguishing when the word "world" means the physical earth and when it refers to a world-age (either present or future). Generally "the end" refers to the end of the age (3:14; 6:6). Yet in some instances it appears to refer to the end of the world (6:15-16, 25; "my world" suggests the physical earth as opposed to the present age; cf. v. 24, "earth"). The exact meaning in some passages is not easy to determine (e.g. 7:113).

Stone has done an extensive study of the meaning of the words for "earth," "world" and "age."[115] He attempts to reconstruct the underlying Greek and Hebrew words that lie behind the Latin, Syriac and Armenian, by comparing how the words are translated in these versions of the Bible. He demonstrates that in the Biblical versions, the Latin *terra* (Syriac *'r'*) generally represents γῆ, which usually translates אֶרֶץ (42 times) and or אַדְמָה (18 times).[116] This clearly suggests that verses using these words refer to the physical earth. The Latin *orbis* also clearly means earth and usually translates οἰκουμένη and תֵּבֵל. As has been shown, the numerous references to the earth in 4 Ezra show a concern both for the present and future physical creation.

The more ambiguous word is the Latin *saeculum* (Syriac *'lm*), which usually translates αἰῶν (96 times) or occasionally αἰώνος (6 times) in the Vulgate. Stone shows that these words

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[114]Stone, *Features*, 136-8, 222-3; cf. Stone, "Coherence and Inconsistency," 229-43.

[115]Stone, *Features*, 147-87.

[116]Ibid., 156-8. Due to the frequency of the words in the Bible, Stone limited his study of this word to Gen. 1-6.

consistently translate עולם or עד.[117] The meaning "world" is widespread in rabbinic Hebrew,[118] but it is less clear how early this meaning is used. Jenni has shown that in biblical Hebrew, עולם is never used as an independent noun. With two exceptions, it is always used adverbially or with a preposition to mean "most distant time."[119] Jenni traces a development of the word in extra-biblical writings, perhaps due to the influence of the Greek αἰών, to mean "period of time," then "age," and eventually "world" by the late first or early second century A.D.[120] Jenni believes the earliest clear occurrence of the meaning "world" is in a Palmyrene inscription of A.D. 134.[121] Stone, however, finds an earlier instance in Qumran (1QH iii:35).[122] The meaning in 1 Enoch 48:7 and 71:15 is also close to "world," but the date of BP is uncertain.[123]

Stone argues that by the late first century, when 4 Ezra was written, the shift in meaning to "world" was well under way. He shows that the meanings of *saeculum* in 4 Ezra are divided between "world" and "world age," though in some cases the distinction is difficult to make. When the term means "age" in 4 Ezra, it is closer to "world age." Even the temporal usage has a spatial connotation.[124] Based on the context, the vast majority of occurrences

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[117]Ibid., 167-71. Stone looked at all occurrences of the words in the OT.

[118]Jacob Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1883), 3:665.

[119]E. Jenni, "Das Wort *ôlam* im Alten Testament," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 65 (1953): 246.

[120]E. Jenni, "Das Wort *ôlam* im Alten Testament," ZAW 64 (1952): 197-248; cf. H. Sasse, "Αἰών," TDNT, 1:203-4.

[121]Jenni, Part I, 221.

[122]Stone, *Features*, 35:178.

[123]Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 289; cf. Frederick James Murphy, *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*, SBL Dissertation Series, no. 78 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 32.

[124]Stone, *Features*, 35:178-80.

in 4 Ezra refer to world. Stone finds only three places where it clearly means "age" (11:44; 14:10, 11), since in these places the word is connected with "times." In four other passages it is possible (4:36 (also related to "times"); 7:12-13; 14:16).[125] However, 7:12-13 continues the thought of 7:11, which clearly refers to the creation of the world, so it would be better grouped with the references to "world." Perhaps 26 other verses refer to the world.[126] In some passages it is associated with the earth by parallelism (9:20; 11:40). Stone rates several passages as ambiguous.[127] Contextual clues, however, show that some of Stone's "uncertain" verses refer to the physical "world" (4:2; 6:25; 7:137; 8:2; 9:13; 14:20; possibly 8:1).[128]

These references show that 4 Ezra refers both to the present and future world, as well as the present and future ages. Even when "age" is primarily in view, there is a concern for the physical world, which justifies Stone's translation of *saeculum* as "world age."

Several passages suggest the transformation of the present creation, rather than the creation of a new earth (7:30-32, 75; 9:2-8). God promises that salvation will be brought "to my land, the country I have marked out from eternity as my own" (9:8). After the cosmic disasters (9:2-6), God will bring salvation to the land of Israel. It is not simply the people of God who are important to God, but also the land that God has sanctified for them (cf. 5:24). In 7:75, Ezra asks what will happen between death and the time when God "will renew the

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[125]Ibid., 179, 274.

[126]Stone, *Features*, pp. 179, 275, rates 5:49; 6:1, 59; 7:30, 70; 8:50; 9:20; 11:40; 13:20 as certainly "world"; 4:24, 26-27; 5:44; 7:34, 74; 8:41; 9:5, 18[2]; 11:39 as probably "world"; and 4:11; 7:11, 31, 122-123, 132; 9:2; 14:22 as possibly "world" (though on p. 56 he says 7:31 refers to "age"). A few of these are debatable, such as 7:113, where the day of Judgment functions as a temporal delimiter of the end of the age.

[127]4:22; 6:20, 25; 7:47, 50, 137; 8:1-2; 9:13 (twice); 10:45; 14:20. A few are closer to the biblical sense of "a most distant time" (9:8, 18, 31). Stone, *Features*, p. 275.

[128]In 4:2, Ezra has failed in his understanding of the world, which is shown by his inability to understand some facts of nature (4:3-11). In 6:25, God refers to "my world," which suggests the created world as opposed to an age. In 7:137; 14:20, there are references to the inhabitants of the world. In 8:2, earth and world are paralleled. Both 8:1 and 9:13 may refer to the possession of the future earth by the righteous.

creation" (Metzger). Although the NEB translates this "create your new world," most commentators understand this to speak about the renewal of creation, as in Metzger's more literal translation.[129] While the Arabic[1] text refers to "a new creation," the Latin (*creaturam renovare*) and Syriac both refer to the renovation of the creation. The Latin and Syriac verbs both mean "to restore" or "to renovate." Stone believes that the Hebrew חדש lies behind these words and has a similar meaning.[130] The *Urzeit-Endzeit* pattern, where the new creation returns to the conditions of the original creation, may be implied here, but it is not fully developed.[131]

In 7:30, the angel predicts "the world shall return to its original silence for seven days as at the beginning of creation." After this 7 days of silence, the world is "awakened" (7:31), which sounds as if the world has slept rather than "died" or been destroyed. After it awakes, the same earth gives up the bodies of the dead at the resurrection (7:32). This passage does not suggest the creation of a new world as much as a resuscitation of the present world, with its nature transformed. Yet even here some of the imagery suggests a new creation motif. The concepts of 7 days and primordial silence parallel the original creation.[132] The NEB suggests that 7:31 refers to the change of the ages: "After seven days the age which is not yet awake shall be roused and the age which is corruptible shall die." The change is not the creation of a new earth, but the beginning of a new age of righteousness and immortality and the end of the

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[129]Metzger, "4 Ezra," 539; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 239; Oesterley, *II Esdras*, 85; Box, "4 Ezra," 587; Coggins and Knibb, 182.

[130]Stone, *Features*, 35:78.

[131]Hermann Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1895), 377f, is the classic discussion of the *Urzeit-Endzeit* pattern. However, Stone, *Features*, 35:79, correctly notes that there are only traces of the concept in 4 Ezra (cf. 7:29-31). As has been shown it is possible that the eschatological Paradise is the same as the garden of Eden, but this is not certain.

[132]Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 233; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 217. A similar creation motif is in 6:30-31, where Ezra is commanded to fast for "7 days," before God will tell him about this transformation of creation.

old age of corruption. Thus it is not the corruptible world that is destroyed, but the corruptible aspects of the world, which are part of the old age. The original creation is renewed and transformed into the perfect world God intended before the Fall.[133]

4. The Personification of Creation

a. Personification of the Earth

4 Ezra frequently personifies the earth. Several passages speak as if the earth has intellectual capacities. The earth has the ability to understand speech. When a loud, heavenly voice speaks of the final Judgment and the eschatological transformation of the world, the earth understands the message (6:13-16). Uriel, Ezra's angelic guide, urges Ezra to ask the earth questions (7:55; 8:2; 10:9; cf. 7:62). These questions are more than rhetorical;[134] the angel expects the earth to answer ("ask the earth and she will tell you"). The personified earth is capable of speech to answer Ezra's questions (7:55; 8:2; 10:9).[135] 4 Ezra focuses on the earth's knowledge of eschatological events. The earth knows that it will be transformed at the end of time and trembles at this knowledge (6:16). It also knows of the judgment and fate of the vast number of people who will suffer eternal punishment (10:9-14). Several passages refer to the earth's knowledge of the relative amount of gold and other precious metals compared to clay and more common metals (7:55-56; 8:2-3). This illustrates the relative number and value of the few people who are saved compared to the multitudes

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[133]Keulers, 149; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 44; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 218. Cf. Westermann's interpretation of the "new heavens and new earth" as a miraculous transformation and renewal rather than the destruction of the present creation and a second creation *ex nihilo* (Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, trans. David M. G. Stalker (London: SCM, 1969), 408).

[134]The possible exception is 7:62, in which Ezra addresses the earth as a rhetorical device. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 232, notes that it is an apostrophe, a rhetorical device in which a person or thing not present is addressed. Cf. E. W. Bullinger, *Figures of Speech Used in the Bible* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898; reprint, Grand Rapids, Mi.: Baker, 1968), 601-3.

[135]The speaking trees and sea in 4:13-18 are not relevant since the passage is a parable.

who will suffer perdition.

The earth also has a wide range of emotions. The earth trembles and shakes with fear when it hears the heavenly announcement about the end of the age and the transformation of the world (6:14-16). In the Eagle vision, the earth is "exceedingly terrified" (Metzger) when the "eagle" is destroyed by God at the end of the age (12:3). Stone notes that terror typically accompanies such cosmic events. "It is the earth that is terrified, just as it has been the earth that is the arena of action."[136] The earth also feels relief when it is delivered from the violence and oppression of the Eagle (11:46), which symbolizes the eschatological evil empire that will oppress the world (probably the Roman empire).[137] The earth also looks forward with hope to the final Judgment, in which God will judge the wicked and show mercy to the righteous (11:46).[138] Violence and evil bring harm to the earth, so the earth feels "refreshed and relieved" (11:46, Metzger) when the evil is finally removed. The earth mourns for the vast number of people that will go to eternal punishment, like a mother that has lost her child

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[136]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 353. In 3:18 and 10:26, the earth also shakes, but there is no personification of the earth. In 3:18, God shakes the earth. In 10:26, the loud cry of the woman shakes the earth as she is transformed into a city in the vision. The shaking of the earth often accompanies theophanies (cf. 1 En. 1:6; 2 Sam. 22:8; Ps. 13:13; 18:7; 68:8; Joel 3:16).

[137]While the exact emperor and period have been debated, most scholars agree that the Eagle refers to the Roman empire (e.g. E. Schürer, , ed. G. Vermès and F. Millar, trans. J. Macpherson, S. Taylor and P. Christie, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (1980; reprint, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), 3:241-3; Box, "4 Ezra," 119-20; Gunkel, *vierte Buch Esra*, 345; Keulers, 119-22; Oesterley, *II Esdras*, 144-7; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 348; Myers, *I & II Esdras*, 301). The symbol is taken from the image on the standard of the Roman legions (Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, p. 348). See the history of interpretation in Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 299-302.

[138]It is possible that the judgment refers to the judgment of the evil empire and the mercy alludes to the messianic kingdom the righteous will enjoy (cf. 12:33-34; Coggins and Knibb, 246; Box, "4 Ezra," 612; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 352). The verse, however, says that the earth looks forward to judgment and mercy after the destruction of the Eagle, even as it feels relief after the destruction of the Eagle. This sequential connection is shown by the conjunction at the start of v. 46 (cf. Metzger, "4 Ezra," 549, "so that"; NEB "then"). The destruction of the Eagle anticipates the final Judgment when all evil will be judged and destroyed. It provides hope to a suffering world that justice will finally prevail.

(10:8-14). The earth is frequently personified as the mother of all humanity (7:62, 116; 10:10-11, 14). This is related to the creation story in Gen. 2:4, which says that God created Adam and Eve from the dust of the earth.

b. Function of Personification

The references that personify creation primarily have an eschatological focus. The emotions of the earth focus on the final transformation of the world, the final Judgment, the punishment of the wicked and the blessing of the righteous. The terror, hope and relief of the earth are most intense at the deliverance of the world by the "Lion," which represents the Messiah.[139] The knowledge of the earth emphasizes its awareness of its final transformation. Other aspects of the earth's knowledge are used as a teaching vehicle about human eternal punishment and redemption.

While the personification of the earth in 4 Ezra resembles the personification of nature in 1 Enoch, there are some differences: 4 Ezra focuses on the personification of the earth, but 1 Enoch personifies many other aspects of nature, such as heavenly luminaries, weather patterns and mountains. In addition, 4 Ezra does not use personification to emphasize moral choice as in 1 Enoch, which often describes the power of natural objects to obey and worship God, and to choose whether to sin.

5. Summary of 4 Ezra

The corruption of creation is a major theme in 4 Ezra, due to the book's preoccupation with universal human sin. All creation came under God's judgment because of the Fall of Adam. Thus the present age is full of corruption, suffering, death and vanity. The corruption of the world results in further corruption of humanity. The low quality of life in this age is also due to the advanced state of the world, which is growing less able to hold back rising corrup-

[139]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 351.

tion and sin. The present world and this age are passing away. Cosmic disasters and disruption of the orderly operation of nature will accompany the end of the age.

A new age is coming in which God will reverse the damage done by the Fall and sin. The transformation of the world involves two stages: (1) the temporary messianic kingdom; and (2) a new world that will come after the resurrection and Judgment. The new world will bring blessing and immortality to the righteous and the end of corruption and sin. Nature will continue to operate in the new world, but there are few details about whether its future operation will differ from this age. While a few passages speak of the end of the world, most passages refer to the end of the present age. Generally the "end" does not refer to the destruction of this world. Rather it refers to the complex of eschatological events that enable the world to operate a new way, and bring great blessing and the end of corruption. A few passages, nevertheless, refer to a new creation. Thus 4 Ezra retains a tension between the new creation and the transformation of creation views, although the transformation view dominates.

The earth is frequently personified in 4 Ezra. It has both intellectual understanding and emotions such as fear, relief, hope and mourning. The intellect and emotions of the earth focus on eschatological events around the change from the present age to the new age.

The following table summarizes the key points concerning the corruption and redemption of creation in 4 Ezra:

Table 21: Summary of 4 Ezra

Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
1. All creation is under judgment due to the Fall of Adam. 2. Human sins also contribute to the corruption of the world. 3. The present age is full of corruption and decay and is subject to futility. 4. The advanced age of the earth increases moral decay and physical deterioration.	1. The messianic kingdom is a temporary period of blessing for the righteous in Israel. 2. Nature will temporarily cease operating during the Judgment. 3. A new world will come after the Judgment. 4. Nature operates in the new world, but is not described in detail. 5. The "end of the world" generally refers to the end of the present corrupt age, not the destruction of the earth. 6. The new age includes the end of corruption, death and sin. 7. Most passages describe the transformation of the present creation in the new age, but a few refer to a new creation.	Intellectual understanding and emotions are centered around eschatological events.

C. 2 Baruch

1. Date, Provenance and Unity of 2 Baruch

The only complete copy of 2 Baruch is preserved in Syriac. The Syriac text is a translation from the Greek edition, which is preserved only in a fragment containing parts of ch. 12-14.[140] Most scholars believe that the Greek is a translation of a Hebrew original[141]. Bogaert, however, argues that the evidence is inconclusive, though it slightly favors a Greek original.[142]

The scholarly consensus is that 2 Baruch was written sometime in the late first or early second century A.D. It was written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, since the book is a theological response to this disaster. It was probably written before the second Jewish revolt of A.D. 132-135, since there is no allusion to this calamity.[143] More precise dating is difficult due to the lack of unambiguous historical references in 2 Baruch and the

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[140]Charles, *APOT*, 472; Pierre Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch, Introduction, traduction du Syriaque et commentaire* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 1:353-80; Bruno Violet, *Die Apocalypsen des Esra und des Baruch in deutscher Gestalt*, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, no. 32 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1924), lxii. The Syriac text itself claims to be a translation from Greek.

[141]e.g. Charles, *APOT*, 474-474; Russell, *Method and Message*, 411; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 170; Violet, 2:xiii, lxxii. Zimmermann shows several instances where the Greek translator apparently misunderstands the Hebrew root. He claims several examples of wordplay only make sense if the original is in Hebrew (F. Zimmermann, "Textual Observations on the Apocalypse of Baruch," *JTS* 40 (1939): 151-6).

[142]Bogaert, 1:379-80.

[143]Bogaert, 1:270-95 (ca. 95); A. Frederik J. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," in OTP, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1983), 1:617 (100-120); W. O. E. Oesterley, Introduction to *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, ed. R. H. Charles (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929), xii-xiii (70-100); Gwendolyn B. Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed? A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch*, SBL Dissertation Series, no. 72 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), 103-18 (late 1st C.); Violet, 2:32:xcii (115-116); Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 170 (ca. 95); Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 287 (end of 1st C.).

lack of adequate information about the history of Palestine in the late first century.[144] Although 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra have many literary and theological similarities, attempts to show the priority of either 2 Baruch or 4 Ezra are inconclusive.[145] 2 Baruch was probably written in Palestine.[146] Many scholars have noted that the theological perspective has much in common with rabbinic Judaism at the end of the first century,[147] although the theological diversity of this period makes it difficult to identify the group more specifically. By contrast, Sayler argues that the author's community was a sect that viewed itself as a faithful minority within the larger Jewish community and that viewed its leaders as scribal/prophetic figures in the post-destruction years.[148]

Charles argued that 2 Baruch utilized at least major six sources. He distinguished these sources based on optimistic or pessimistic attitudes towards Israel's future, the presence or absence of a Messiah and the chronology of events surrounding the fall of Jerusalem.[149] Source theories like this largely have been abandoned by recent scholars who recognize that apocalyptic writings have less concern for logical consistency than such source theories

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[144]Sayler, 104.

[145]A. Frederik J Klijn, *Die syrische Baruch-Apokalypse*, Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, no. 5.2 (Gütersloher: Gerd Mohn, 1976), 113-4. The two works may be based on a common apocalyptic tradition.

[146]Klijn, "2 Baruch," 617.

[147]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 177-8; Bogaert, 1:438-48. Many ideas are similar to Joshua ben Hananiah (Bogaert, 1:443-4) and Akiba (F. Rosenthal, *Vier apokryphische Bücher aus Zeit und Schule R. Akibas* (Leipzig: Schulze, 1885), 72-103). Charles oversimplifies the complex diversity of pre-Jamnia Judaism when he simply classifies 2 Baruch as "Pharisaic" (Charles, *APOT*, 470).

[148]Sayler, 115-8.

[149]Charles, *APOT*, 474-6. Charles' source theory is based on Richard Kabisch, "Die Quellen der Apokalypse Baruchs," *Jahrbuch für protestantisch Theologie* 18 (1892): 66-107. While Harnisch believes 2 Baruch makes use of many traditions, he says the *Gesamtkonzeption* of the book must be looked at (Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 14).

demand.[150] Sayler shows that 2 Baruch is structured into literary blocks that tell how Baruch and his community move from grief to consolation.[151] Furthermore, as will be shown below, some of these supposed contradictions are only superficial and the divergent concepts can be easily integrated into a larger theological whole.[152] For example, it is not necessary to assume that passages that look forward to a temporary earthly messianic kingdom are contradictory to those that hope for a future new world or even a transcendental eternal existence for the righteous. Much like 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch looks forward to two phases in the redemptive plan: one to take place on the present earth and another to take place after the new world comes. While 2 Baruch probably draws on diverse traditional material, these materials are integrated into a larger perspective that transcends the viewpoints of the sources.[153]

Like 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch is generally divided into seven sections, although the precise

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[150]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 171-2; Bogaert, 1:58-91; Sayler, 4-6, 154-5; Violet, 2:lxxiv. Even Oesterley, who wrote the introduction to Charles' 1917 commentary on 2 Baruch, stresses the unity of the book (Oesterley, Introduction to Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, x-xii). While Sayler convincingly shows the flaws in Charles' source theory, she argues that the Epistle of Baruch (ch. 78-87) was not part of the original book, based on similar arguments from contents and terminology (Sayler, 36-9, 98-101). Klijn argues that the author incorporates traditions with which he does not always agree. The different ideas are not supposed to be contrasted with each other, since the author reads his own ideas into the material (A. Frederik J. Klijn, "The Sources and the Redaction of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 1 (1970): 66, 76).

[151]Sayler, 12-39. Sayler bases her approach on Breech's work on the structure of 4 Ezra, where there is a similar movement from distress to consolation (Breech, 267-74). The pattern is certainly present in 2 Baruch, though it is not as strong as in 4 Ezra.

[152]Willett demonstrates that eschatology in 2 Baruch has an apologetic intent and serves the theodicy by showing that retribution will occur. The righteous individual is encouraged by the promise of Resurrection to eternal life and Paradise. The concerns of the conquered Jewish nation are answered by the messianic kingdom, when the enemies will be destroyed and Jerusalem will be restored (Willett, 112, 118-20). See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 171-2, for a discussion of how 2 Baruch integrates several apparently contradictory perspectives are into a larger theological whole.

[153]Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 171-172; Klijn, "Sources," 65-76.

boundaries are less clear than in 4 Ezra.[154] The apocalypse proper (ch. 1-77) is followed by an "epistle" from Baruch to the dispersed people of Israel (ch. 78-87). Like 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch wrestles with the justice of God in light of the destruction of Jerusalem. 2 Baruch, however, is less pessimistic than 4 Ezra about the nature and final fate of most of humanity.

2. The Corruption of Creation

a. The Consequences of the Fall

The present age is polluted by human evils (44:9). The world is corrupted not only by the Fall but also by the ongoing sins of the human race (44:9; 73:3-5).

The Fall had a profound effect on both the human race and the world. Adam's disobedience made humanity subject to death. There appear to be two views of physical death represented within 2 Baruch: (1) The majority of passages indicate that all humans face death as a result of Adam's sin (17:3; 19:8; 23:4; 54:15). "When Adam sinned . . . death was decreed against those who were to be born" (23:4).[155] (2) Other verses suggest that the Fall resulted in a shorter life for Adam's descendants (17:3; 56:6). In this view, physical death was always intended as part of life on earth, but sin shortened the lifespan of human beings. The problem is not physical death, *per se*, but premature death (56:6, "untimely death"; cf. 73:4). Charles argues that this apparent contradiction reflects two different sources with different views of the effects of the Fall.[156] Against this view is the fact that both views are even found in the same sentence (17:3). Charles' attempt at separating sources assumes a greater theological consistency than is commonly found in the Jewish apocalyptic materials.

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[154]For a thorough study of the structure of 2 Baruch, see Murphy, 11-29. Murphy and Willett have helpful charts summarizing the diverse opinions of division of the sections (Murphy, 12; Willett, 82; cf. Sayler, 11-39; Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 14; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 170-1).

[155]Unless otherwise noted, translations are from Klijn, "2 Baruch."

[156]Charles, *APOT*, 495.

Closely related to physical death is the spiritual death resulting from Adam's sin. As a result of the Fall, the places of eternal punishment and reward were established (23:4-5). God decreed death as a punishment for those who transgress his commandments (19:8). A great multitude will face corruption (48:42), which is the punishment of eternal fire (48:39-43). This partially explains why the author can say that both death and a shortened lifespan are results of the Fall. "Death" encompasses both eternal punishment and the end of physical life.

The disobedience of Adam and Eve introduced sin into human nature. 2 Baruch, however, does not consider human depravity to be as deep as 4 Ezra does. The majority of people follow Adam in sin and darkness (48:42, "this whole multitude";[157] 42:43, "countless"; 18:1-2; 19:3; 21:11-12; 56:6). As a result they will face eternal corruption and punishment (e.g. 48:42-43; 54:14-15, 21-22). Although the Fall has predisposed humanity to sin, each person makes a choice whether to follow this path of darkness (19:3; 54:15) and all are aware that they are acting unrighteously (48:40). "Adam is, therefore, not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become his own Adam" (54:19).[158] A few righteous people continue in faith and obedience to the Law and thus enjoy eternal reward (18:2; 21:11-12; 54:21-22). The Fall resulted in a strong internal influence leading people to sin, but it is not decisive. This view is in sharp contrast to the more pessimistic view of 4 Ezra. In 4 Ezra, humanity is subject to an evil influence that compels people to sin and destines them for eternal punishment, unless God shows mercy (e.g. 4 Ez. 3:20-22; 7:118).[159]

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[157]In 48:42, "this whole multitude" refers to the unrighteous described in 48:37-41.

[158]Levison says each person has a choice whether to sin. "Adam does not cause his 'children' to sin – They become his children by imitating his disobedience" (Levison, 130, cf. p. 143).

[159]Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 106-19. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 258, argues that 2 Baruch 54:19 is an intentional critique of 4 Ezra.

b. Aspects of the Corruption of Creation

The effects of Adam's sin extend far beyond the human race and disrupted the order of creation. The Fall of humanity negatively affected the angels (56:10-15). Adam "was a danger to the angels" (v. 11). At the time Adam was created, the angels possessed freedom. After the Fall of humanity, however, some of the angels became tempted and "mingled themselves with women." As a result of this sin, these fallen angels and most humans were destroyed in the great Flood. This view is a profound reversal of the Watcher tradition, which plays a key role in 1 Enoch.[160] In 1 Enoch, the Watchers originate sin and humanity is largely portrayed as a victim of the guile of the fallen angels. In 2 Baruch sin apparently originates with humanity, which leads many of the angels into temptation, resulting in their eventual destruction. Thus the cosmic effects of the human Fall extend to the world of spiritual beings.

The Fall of humanity profoundly corrupted the natural world. As a result of Adam's sin, the creatures of this world are subject to disease (56:6) and premature death (56:6; 17:3; 54:15; 56:6). Death became insatiable and out of control (56:6). Everything is in the process of dying (21:22; 44:9). Human life in this world became full of sorrow, affliction, pain, hard labor and pain in childbirth (56:5-6).[161] Adam's sin explains all kinds of physical evil and afflictions.[162] The overall picture is that creation is in disarray due to sin. The damage is too deep for the world to return to its primeval, undamaged state (3:7-8).[163]

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[160]De Boer, 177-8, argues that the author of 2 Baruch knew of the Watcher tradition and explicitly rejected it (56:11-15) in order to stress the human responsibility for the disruption of the cosmic order.

[161]Levison, 140-1, claims that "affliction" is a general expression for anguish and "illness" refers to pain in childbirth (cf. Gen 3:16-17). He argues that "conception of children" (56:6) refers to the death of children. The word *nsb'* means "take away," which refers to death (p. 140; cf. Bogaert, 2:108). Several scholars believe that the phrase refers to the conception of children (Charles, *APOT*, 513, "begetting"; Klijn, "2 Baruch," 641, "conception"; Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 112, "empfangen"), but Levison says there is little lexical support for this view.

[162]Levison, 130.

[163]This is in direct contrast to 4 Ez. 7:30, which refers to an extended period at the end of

The corruption of the world is described in graphic terms. Life in this world is characterized by sorrow (21:19), suffering, struggle and tribulation (15:8; 16:1; 48:50; 51:14; 56:5-6; 73:3). Humans live for only a very brief time (16:1; 19:2; 48:50; 56:6). In general, life in this world is vanity (44:10; 83:5-22). Even the best things in this life are tainted with evil and subject to limitations that reduce their enjoyment (83:9-22). Everything is corruptible and ultimately everything will pass away (40:3; 44:9-10; 48:2; 83:6, 10-23). Youthful energy fades with old age; good health is destroyed by illness; beauty is eventually replaced by ugliness; strength decays into weakness; times of happiness are quickly replaced with disappointment, sorrow, failure and humiliation. Wealth is futile since it is lost in death. The overall picture is that life is futile in this corruptible world.

The term "corruption" frequently describes this world and life in this age (e.g. 21:19; 28:5; 40:3; 42:7; 43:2; 44:9-15; 74:2; 85:5). This world is called a "world of corruption" (40:3). Everything in this world is "subject to corruption" (85:5; cf. 43:2). Humanity is corruptible in contrast to God who is incorruptible (28:5).

Frequently, "corruption" refers to the fact that everything in this world is subject to death and decay and will soon come to an end (42:7; 43:2; 44:9).[164] For example, in 44:9, there is a poetic parallelism between the lines "everything will pass away which is corruptible" and "everything that dies will go away."[165]

There is also a moral dimension to the corruption of this world. Although this moral sense of corruption is not as pronounced as in 4 Ezra (e.g. 7:48, 62, 111-113; 9:19-20), it is still present. The corruptible world is an environment that pollutes people and induces them

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the age, in which the world returns to its original silence. While the Syriac word translated "world" in 3:7 means "ornament," the translator probably used a wrong sense of the Greek κόσμος (Bogaert, 1:13; Charles, *APOT*, 482).

[164]Cf. Murphy, 52-3.

[165]Murphy, 56, notes a similar parallelism in 43:2.

to sin (21:19). Even in 44:9 the corruptible world is the world that is defiled with evil. Since sin leads to death and decay, corruption often has the two-fold meaning of (1) "subject to death and decay"; and (2) "characterized by evil." Corruption describes the overall state of a decaying and futile world saturated with evil. Although a given passage may emphasize one side of the term, the other is generally presumed.

This corrupt world tends to lead to further wickedness by human beings (21:19). There is a cycle of corruption that is unbroken in the world: The Fall led to the corruption of the world and a pressure towards sin within all people. The corrupt world "pollutes" people (21:19) and exerts pressure on them to sin. As they sin, this leads to further corruption of the world. Until the new world comes, this ongoing cycle of corruption will be unbroken.

This world will soon come to an end (48:50; 54:21; 83:5-7, 23; 85:10). This is a "transitory" world (48:50, Charles). The youth of the world has already passed away and the power of creation has become exhausted (85:10). Although 4 Ezra also says that the world is aged (5:50-56; 14:10, 17), there is a moral implication in 4 Ezra that is lacking in 2 Baruch. In 4 Ezra, since the world is old it has grown weak and cannot hold back sin and corruption. This is part of the explanation for the increasing sin in the world. By contrast in 2 Baruch, the age of the world is simply an indication that this world is about to come to an end and a new world is coming.[166]

c. God is in Control of Creation

Despite these strong statements of the corruption of creation, 2 Baruch indicates that God is still in control of his creation.[167] God alone knows the deep secrets of the operation

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[166]Cf. Stone, *Features*, 35:184.

[167]2 Baruch does not have extended descriptions of the operation of nature as in 1 Enoch (e.g. Book I, ch. 17-36, and Book III, ch. 72-80). The passages which describe the operation of nature in greatest detail are allegorical or symbolic descriptions of human history (ch. 36-37, 53, 82; cf. the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch 85-90).

of the universe (54:1), although he has revealed some secrets to Moses (59:5-12).[168] The God who created all things is still sovereign over his creation and sustains all things (21:4-10). He determines the exact number of rain drops that will fall (21:8). He fixed the heavens in place (21:4) and he determines the exact position each heavenly body is to occupy (48:9). The heavenly spheres testify to human sin, since they obey the laws of God even when people do not (19:1, 3).[169] When he gives a command to various parts of nature, they obey him (6:6-10, earth; 48:46, dust; 48:8, fire and wind; 48:9, heavenly bodies; 77:17-26, birds). The majority of angels also obey God and serve him in the duties to which they were assigned (48:10; only a few were corrupted, 56:10-15). The overall picture is that creation generally operates in an orderly manner and is obedient to God, much like BW 2-5.

Thus while creation is corrupted due to the Fall of humanity and ongoing human sins, the depth of the corruption is not complete. Creation is still under God's control and in many aspects operates according to God's will. The depth of corruption is much deeper in 4 Ezra, which has a pessimistic picture of this corrupt world.

d. Did the Fall Fundamentally Change Creation?

Murphy argues that Adam's sin did not result in a fundamental change in creation, since the earth is essentially flawed. "From the beginning creation was as we now experience it – transitory and incapable of sustaining permanent happiness and goodness."[170] Murphy's view sharply contrasts with the view of Harnisch, who says that 2 Baruch teaches that Adam brought death into the world. God's original creation did not involve death or trouble, but the sin of Adam is the dividing line and the cause of the discontinuity between the

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[168]In the Enoch literature, Enoch rather than Moses learns the secrets of the operation of the natural world.

[169]Charles, *APOT*, 492, says that this verse shows the Law is a part of the heavenly order.

[170]Murphy, 62-63, cf. 47.

two ages.[171]

Murphy correctly notes that Harnisch tends to read concepts from 4 Ezra into 2 Baruch.[172] In 4 Ezra the sin of Adam is much more important than in 2 Baruch and it has a much more radical effect on all of creation. Murphy is also correct that some passages suggest that untimely death was the primary result of Adam's sin (e.g. 56:6). Murphy, however, too easily dismisses passages that speak of Adam bringing death to his descendants (e.g. 23:4) when he says that in these verses the author "has used an idea current in his time in passing."[173] Murphy argues that since 54:15 says that each person has prepared himself for either eschatological glory or torment, "Adam is basically irrelevant to the human condition" and "each individual is ultimately responsible for his own fate."[174] However, although it is true that the result of Adam's sin is "untimely death" for Adam's descendants, Murphy's view misses the fundamental changes that have taken place to the operation of the world since the Fall. The Fall does not only introduce "untimely death" into the world, but also mourning, affliction, illness, painful labor, pride and a wide variety of other negative characteristics of this age (56:6). Even some of the angels were tempted and fell as a result (56:11-14). In Baruch's vision the period from the Fall to the Flood is described symbolically as a period of "black waters" (56:5-16; cf. ch. 53). The overall picture is that the Fall brought fundamental changes to the created order.

Murphy further claims that the world is in the condition that God originally created it, because Adam is not mentioned in many of the passages where the corruption of the world

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[171]Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 115.

[172]Murphy, 34.

[173]Ibid., 36.

[174]Ibid.

and human mortality are mentioned (e.g. 21:4-25).[175] This argument from silence, however, ignores the many passages where the corruption of creation is said to be due to Adam's sin. Furthermore, it misses the point of the theodicy of 21:4-25: Baruch acknowledges that God created and sustains the world. This heightens his struggle about how Israel can suffer at the hands of the wicked and how this age can be so characterized by corruption and evil. Part of God's answer is that he will bring justice when he judges the wicked and rewards the righteous (ch. 23-24). God prepared a place of judgment and reward when Adam sinned (23:4). There was a time at which death was decreed as a result of Adam's Fall, which suggests that death was not always part of the condition of the world.[176] Thus Murphy's argument overlooks the fact that while Adam's sin is not mentioned in Baruch's lament about the evils of the present age, it is mentioned in God's answer as the cause of the present state of the world.

e. Solidarity Between Humanity and the Natural World

2 Baruch teaches that God created the world for humanity (14:18-19; 15:7; 21:24). Although in the final sense everything was created for God (21:7), God intended the human race to be the guardians of the world (14:18-19). More specifically, God created the world for the righteous (15:7; 21:24). Similarly God promised the world to come as the inheritance of the righteous (15:7). Although in one sense the world was created for all of humanity (14:18-19), this assumes that humanity would function as God intended. Since most of the human race has fallen into sin, the inheritance of this world and the future perfect world is reserved for those people who live as God designed.

This close relationship between humanity and the world helps explain how the Fall and the ongoing sins of humanity have corrupted the world. Since God made the world for the

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[175]Ibid., 50.

[176]Cf. Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, 115.

sake of humanity, when human beings sin the material world suffers and is corrupted. There is an inescapable solidarity between humanity and nature. When humanity does not live as God intended, the natural world also suffers since humanity is custodian of the world. In a review of Israel's history, the author lists several times when the land itself was either blessed or cursed depending on the behavior of those who lived in and were stewards of the land. When Israel sinned in the time of Elisha, rain was withheld and there was a severe famine in the land (62:4-5). In the time of the exile, even though the land of Zion did not sin, it suffered and was conquered by Israel's enemies because of the sins of the Israelites (77:8-10). By contrast, at the time of David and Solomon, "the land . . . received mercy, since its inhabitants did not sin" (61:7, Klijn). In each of these instances the spiritual state of the people affects the natural world.

f. Ecological Sins

In one important passage, God says that the Gentiles are guilty of sins committed against nature and will be judged for them (13:11-12): "But now, you nations and tribes, you are guilty, because you have *trodden down the earth* all this time, and because *you have used creation unrighteously*." The parallelism between "trodden down the earth" and "used creation unrighteously" suggests that these are related concepts. The expression "trodden down the earth" might appear to refer to the armies that are marching against Israel. However, "all this time" (Charles, "always") implies that this has been an ongoing problem and not simply a one-time event, such as the conquest of Israel. Verse 12 identifies the exact problem: "for I have always benefited you, and you have always denied the beneficence." God has given material benefits to the Gentiles to meet their physical needs,[177] but they have been ungrateful (Charles, v. 12) and have denied that the blessings of the natural world came from God.

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[177]Cf. Mt. 5:45: "He makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust."

Although the Syriac word for "use" is not necessarily pejorative, it can be in some contexts.[178] The Greek text uses καταχράομαι, which means "misuse" or "abuse" with the dative (as used here).[179] Bogaert argues that "creation" (singular in the Syriac), should be understood as "creatures," in agreement with the Greek τοις εν αυτη κτισμ[ατι.[180] Although this might appear to support the interpretation that the nations will be judged for attacking Israel, this is not conclusive since it does not fit with v. 12. The best interpretation is that the Gentiles are judged (in part) for their abuse of the material world and ungratefulness for God's material provision. Similar references to ecological sin are found in 1 Enoch 7:5-6; 9:2; 10:7-8; 106:17.

3. The Redemption of Creation

The overall sequence of eschatological events in 2 Baruch is similar to 4 Ezra: (1) There will be a period of worldwide tribulation, which is part of the cleansing of the world (26:1-29:2; 32:1-6; 39:1-6; 48:31-37a; 70:1-10). (2) The Messiah will come and defeat the wicked rulers and then establish his idyllic earthly kingdom (29:3-8; 39:7-40:3; 48:37b-41; 70:9). (3) The Messiah will return to glory (30:1; cf. 4 Ez. 7:29 where he dies). (4) This world age will come to an end (54:21; 83:7). (5) All people will be resurrected and judged (30:1-2; 54:21). (6) The new world will come (32:1-6). (7) The righteous will receive their eternal blessing and the wicked will receive eternal punishment (30:3-5).

a. Eschatological Cosmic Disasters

The natural world also plays a part in the judgment and blessing of human beings. In

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[178]Bogaert, 2:367.

[179]Liddell and Scott, 921. Only in the accusative can it mean "kill" or "destroy."

[180]Bogaert, 2:368. His conclusion is based on a speculative emendation of the Syriac text which changes the singular "creation" to the plural, since he claims the scribes often added or omitted the Syriac marks indicating plural.

the end time, there will be a time of unprecedented horror and tribulation on the earth (25:1-29:1; 48:31, 33-38; 70:1-9). There will be an uncontrolled increase in human evil and violence (27:11-15; 48:33-38; 70:3-7). There will be widespread natural disasters and the normal orderly operation of nature will be disrupted: There will be famine, drought, numerous earthquakes and fire falling from heaven (27:6-10; 48:31, 37-38; 70:8). God will shake the entire creation (32:1) and the suffering will be greater than at the destruction of Jerusalem (32:6). The cosmic disasters are signs of the end, the beginning stages of judgment (49:38-39) and a preparation for the coming of the Messiah, who will destroy the wicked and institute his righteous kingdom on earth (ch 72-74). When God "shakes" his creation, it is the beginning stages of the renewal of creation (32:1, 6). This process consists of two major aspects: (1) the eschatological destruction of Jerusalem cleanses Israel and prepares for the glorious new heavenly Jerusalem (32:3-4); and (2) the final cosmic turmoil prepares the way for the transformation of all creation. The cosmic disasters are both a part of the judgment of the wicked and a part of the transformation process that culminates in a renewal of creation.

Only people who dwell in the land of Israel will be protected from these eschatological cosmic disasters (29:2; 40:2; 70:1). The Messiah (40:2), God (29:1) and the land itself (70:1) all work to deliver the righteous who dwell in the land. Although righteousness is essential for delivery from these disasters (32:1), the close connection of the righteous with the holy land protects them in this final tribulation (29:2; 40:2; 70:1).[181] The land of Israel itself is said to "have mercy on" and "protect" its inhabitants (70:1). By contrast it is the earth that "devours" its inhabitants who do not dwell in the land (70:10). Thus the material world takes an active part in judging and protecting human beings.

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[181]Charles, *APOT*, 497 believes that this is based on Joel 2:32, which says that a remnant will be found on Mt. Zion in the Day of the Lord. Cf. 4 Ez. 13:48-49 for a similar concept that those who are within the holy land will be saved. Sayler, 59, n. 39, claims that this idea is only found in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra in intertestamental literature.

b. Two Phases of the Redemption of Creation

Many passages in 2 Baruch promise that God will redeem the material world. God promises that even in the time of terrible eschatological tribulation "the world will not be forgotten" (4:1d, Klijn).[182] There are two phases to the eschatological redemption of creation: (1) the messianic kingdom, and (2) the new world.

After a period of great eschatological tribulation, the Messiah and his kingdom will be revealed (29:3-8). The messianic kingdom will last for an unspecified, but limited time. From one perspective, the kingdom is the final era of the present world (40:3). In the messianic age, the present world of corruption will be perfected, not destroyed. Parts of the original creation are retained in the messianic age, such as Behemoth and Leviathan (29:4).[183] Although in one sense the messianic kingdom is part of the present world of corruption (40:3), it has many of the characteristics of the perfect new world (ch. 29; 73-74). Thus the messianic kingdom functions as a transitional period between the old world and the new world. "That time is the end of that which is corruptible and the beginning of that which is incorruptible" (74:2). The messianic kingdom will be an earthly age of great peace and joy for all people, and a time without sin, violence or suffering (73:1-5).

In the messianic kingdom, the damage done to the material creation by the Fall will be largely reversed.[184] The righteous will enjoy privileges that once belonged to Adam.[185] There will no longer be untimely death (73:3), which was one of the primary effects of the Fall

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[182]Charles, *APOT*, 482, translates 4:1d as "the world will not be given over to oblivion." The end result of this translation is the same, though the emphasis is different. The verse answers the question of 3:7 and shows that the eschatological tribulation will not mean the end of everything and a return to the primeval chaos.

[183]Dahl, 427.

[184]Cf. Sayler, 71: "The travail which has characterized creation since Adam sinned will be reversed in the Messianic era."

[185]Cf. Levison, 132.

(56:6; Gen 3:3). There will be no pain in childbirth (73:7; cf. Gen. 3:16).[186] There will be a substantial change in the operation of nature in the messianic kingdom. Nature will be at peace and harmony with humankind, so that wild animals will become tame and serve humanity (73:6). Even children will not be hurt by dragons and snakes (cf. Is. 6:6-9; 65:25; this may be a reversal of Gen. 3:14-15). All people will enjoy excellent health and disease will vanish (73:2). There will be an end to natural disasters and tribulations (73:2-3). Nature will work together to provide for human needs (29:3-8). Crops will produce superabundantly, bearing fruit a thousand- or ten thousand-fold (29:3-8; 74:1; cf. 1 Enoch 10:19). As a result, no one will suffer from hunger (29:4, 7-8). This superproductivity of nature will reverse the curse of the Fall, which resulted in the land only producing crops through great human labor (Gen. 3:17). Since crops will grow effortlessly through divine provision (29:7; 74:1), farmers will not grow weary. God will even provide manna from on high to feed people supernaturally (29:8). Painful labor will no longer be required in order to grow and harvest crops (74:1). The transformation of nature will affect both plants and animals. The transformed world in the messianic kingdom is described in much greater detail in 2 Baruch than in 4 Ezra and resembles the description of the messianic kingdom in BW 10 and the new earth in Is. 65:17-25.

The second phase of the redemption of creation will be the creation of a new world. Numerous passages reflect the confidence that a new world is coming, which will be full of righteousness, blessing and joy (e.g. 14:13; 15:7-8; 44:12, 15; 46:5-6; 48:50; 51:3, 7-15; 59:12; 83:5-9; 85:14). Even though only God knows exactly when these eschatological events will occur (54:1; 69:2), history is moving inexorably towards the consummation of the world, which God has prepared (20:1, 6; 21:7). The righteous do not hope simply for a transcendental, immaterial eternal existence, but for a glorious life on a renewed earth.

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[186]Sayler, 71, n. 58, notes that if 56:6 is read literally, childbirth in general is part of the curse. In this case the reversal of the damage of the fall is only partial, since women still bear children. She says, however, what is probably in view is the pain of childbirth, which is eliminated in the messianic age (73:7).

The new world will exist for the benefit of the righteous (15:7; 44:15; 46:5-6; 51:3-16). Even as the present world was created for humanity (14:18-19; 15:7; 21:24), particularly the righteous (15:7; 21:24), the new world will be the inheritance of the righteous (15:7). Entrance into the messianic kingdom and the future perfect world is based on faith (54:21), righteousness and obedience to the Law (14:13; 15:7-8; 44:14-15; 46:5-6; 51:3, 7, 11; 83:5-9; 85:14). The promise that humanity would have dominion over the earth (Gen 1:28-30) was not fulfilled due to the Fall, but will be fulfilled in the new world (15:7-8). Levison believes that the promise of a "crown with great glory" (15:8) depicts cosmic rule and recalls Ps. 8:4-6, another passage referring to the human dominion of the earth.[187]

In the future world the righteous will experience great joy (14:13; 30:2) and blessing (48:49). There will be no affliction or pain (51:14, 16). The bodies of the righteous will be transformed to a state of glory suitable for the glorious new world. Their bodies will take on heavenly glory (15:8; 48:49; 51:3, 5): "As for the glory of those who proved to be righteous on account of my law, . . . their splendor will then be glorified by transformations, and the shape of their face will be changed into the light of their beauty" (51:3). The righteous will be exceedingly beautiful (51:3, 10) and their splendor will even exceed that of the angels (51:5, 10, 12). Their bodies can be changed into any shape they wish (51:10) and their perfect, glorified bodies will never grow old (51:9, 16).

Corruption will come to an end in the new world (40:3; 43:2; 44:9-12; 74:2). Corruption will end both in the sense of mortality and immorality. (1) The new world will never come to an end and the righteous will dwell there forever (44:11-12; 48:50; 51:3, "undying world," 16). In this sense, corruption is contrasted with "life" (42:7). The wicked will face eternal corruption, but the righteous will enjoy eternal life. (2) The wicked will not dwell in the new world (51:16). The ongoing cycle of evil and corruption that characterizes this world will be brought to an end.

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[187]Levison, 132.

Paradise will be fully accessible to the righteous (51:11; cf. 4:2-6). This is evidently the same Paradise in which Adam dwelt. While Paradise has been closed and hidden from human beings since the Fall, it has remained preserved in the presence of God and will be revealed at the end of time (4:2-6). The righteous also will have access to heaven and will be able to see the majesty of the angels who dwell before the throne of God (51:11, cf. v. 8).[188] Thus the righteous will have free access both to heaven and to the new earth. There are both spiritual and material aspects to the future life of the righteous.

The state of the wicked after the judgment is in direct contrast to that of the righteous. They will be denied access to the perfect new world that the righteous will enjoy (44:15). The wicked will face eternal suffering and corruption (e.g. 30:5; 42:7; 44:15; 46:6; 51:2; 85:16). Even as the righteous are transformed into a glorious appearance, the bodies of the wicked will be changed into hideous shapes (51:5). They will be eternally tormented (30:5; 51:2), suffer in fire (44:15), be put to shame (48:17), and face eternal sorrow (5:4). The sufferings of this world will be magnified for the wicked in eternity (52:2-3). Since corruption is what the wicked prefer, the corruption of this world will be carried to an even greater extreme in eternity (51:3; cf. 42:7). Thus in 2 Baruch the problems and evil of the present world are not destroyed so much as reserved for the wicked in the afterlife, while the world in which the righteous will dwell will be purged of all corrupt aspects.

c. A New Creation or the Renewal of Creation?

2 Baruch has some ambiguity about whether the present world will be destroyed and a new world will be created, or whether the present creation will be renewed and transformed.

The predominant view is that the present world will end and a new world will come. This world is passing away (48:50; 85:10) and the "end of the world" is coming, when all people

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[188]The reference in 51:8 to the "world which is now invisible to them" probably refers to the spiritual world, where God dwells. Charles, *APOT*, 509, notes the spiritual dimension here, though he misses the material aspects of the future dwelling of the righteous (e.g. v. 11).

will be judged (54:21; 83:7). This "world of corruption" will end (40:3) and everything in life as it now exists will end (19:5; 83:23). "The days are coming, that all that has been will be taken away to be destroyed, and it will become as though it had not been" (31:5, Klijn).[189] The end of the world will be quite violent: "The Mighty One will shake the entire creation" (32:1; cf. Hag 2:6; Heb 12:26). This cosmic upheaval (32:1-6) will be the beginning of a cleansing process that will prepare the way for the renewal of creation (32:6). After the present world ends, the new world will come (44:12-15; 48:50; 51:7-15; 59:9; 83:8; 85:14). This future world is called the "new world" (44:12), the "coming world" (44:15; cf. 59:9, "the worlds[190] which have not yet come") and "the world which has no end" (48:50). Thus there are two worlds and a person must prepare his heart lest he be excluded from both worlds (83:8). The reward for the righteous is both in the messianic kingdom, which is part of this world, and in the new world of eternal blessing.

On the other hand, a few passages say that God will renew the creation (32:6; 57:2). While it is clear that the renewal of the world involves the end of corruption and all wickedness, this does not necessarily imply that there will be a fresh start with a new creation. Several factors could suggest that "renew" in these verses refers to the transformation of the present world: (1) 2 Bar. 19:2 says that heaven and earth will stay forever. On the other hand, the function of this statement is to emphasize the permanence of the covenant with Israel. (2) Charles translates 4:1d as "the world will not be given over to oblivion."[191] This translation appears to suggest that there will be no destruction of this world. The verse, however, answers Baruch's question (3:7) about whether the destruction of Jerusalem will

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[189]While 31:5 may refer to the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. 31:4), the following verse suggests a larger application to the renewal of all creation (32:1). The destruction and recreation of Jerusalem is a type or paradigm of the end of the world and the renewal of all creation.

[190]Charles, APOT, 514, translates it "the earths which have not yet come."

[191]Ibid., 482.

mean the end of everything and a return to primordial chaos. God promises that there will be a future for the world.[192] Klijn's translation of 4:1d is preferable: Even in the terrible eschatological tribulation "the world will not be forgotten."[193] (3) Paradise and the new Jerusalem already exist and are hidden in the presence of God (4:2-6).[194] The new world is referred to as "the world which is now invisible" (51:8), which implies that it already exists. 4 Ezra shows, however, that the concept of a pre-existent Paradise is not inconsistent with a strong belief in a new heavens and earth. Furthermore, the references to the invisible world probably refer to the spiritual dwelling place of God, not a new earth.[195] (4) There are some elements of material continuity between the old and new worlds. The dead will be resurrected in the same bodies in which they were buried (49:2-3; 50:2), although later they will be transformed into either more glorious or more hideous bodies, depending on their righteousness (51:2-3).[196] The temple vessels were taken by angels and preserved in the earth to be restored in the new world (6:8).[197] (5) In 40:2, the author states that the world will be "changed." While this suggests a transformation of the present world, it is sufficiently ambiguous to fit the view that another world is coming. (6) Several passages refer to the end

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[192]Ibid.; Murphy, 85.

[193]Klijn, "2 Baruch," 622.

[194]Russell, *Method and Message*, 283, argues that "the city" refers to the heavenly, new Jerusalem.

[195]Cf. Murphy, 62-3; Charles, *APOT*, 509.

[196]Klijn says that the fact that people will recognize each other after the Resurrection (50:4) shows that the outward appearance of people will not change (Klijn, "Sources," 76). This appears, however, to be simply the starting point, since their bodies will be glorified and their appearance will be transformed (51:3).

[197]Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Narrative Traditions in the Paralepomena of Jeremiah and 2 Baruch," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 64, 67, for other Jewish writings where the sacred vessels are hidden and restored in the eschaton (Paralepomena of Jeremiah 3:8-14; 2 Macc 2:4-7; Life of Jeremiah 12-13).

of the age, rather than the end of the world ("end of times," 19:5[198], 21:8, 30:3; "consummation of time," 29:8; 30:3, "end of times"; 83:6, "the end of the times and the periods"). This may suggest an ambiguity between "world" and "age" similar to that of 4 Ezra.[199] In these passages, however, the "end of time" (or the consummation of time) refers to the whole complex of eschatological events marking the transition from the old world/age to the new world/age. Depending on the context, the "end" may focus on the end of the way of life of this age (19:5), the new way of life in the messianic age (29:8), or the final Judgment (30:3; 83:6). In itself these references do not exclude the possibility of a new world. In fact, some passages combine both the end or beginning of the age with the end of this world or the beginning of the new world (83:6-7; 44:12, "period which will never end" and a "new world"; 51:8; 85:10; 57:8, hidden new world and hidden new age). The concept of a new age is not incompatible with the hope for a new world, as 4 Ezra shows.[200] The new world is one of the primary features of the new age.

An important passage that clarifies the meaning of "renew" is 31:5-32:6.[201] The author makes an analogy between the destruction of Jerusalem and the eschatological time when "the Mighty One will shake the entire creation" (32:1). The function of the destruction of Jerusalem was to cleanse and perfect it, not to bring it to a permanent end. "The building of Zion will be shaken in order that it will be rebuilt" (32:2). Even that second temple will be

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[198]However, Charles, *APOT*, 492, says this refers to the end of all things.

[199]Cf. the discussion of the development of the meaning of עולם and αἰών in Jenni, Part I, 197-248, and Stone's discussion of the terms for world in 4 Ezra (Stone, *Features*, 178-80).

[200]Stone, *Features*, 180.

[201]Klijn, "Sources," 70-1, follows Charles, *APOT*, 2:499, who says 32:2-4 does not fit the context, but is an independent prophecy about the temple. The topic of the shaking of the earth is begun in v. 1 and continues in vv. 5-6. It appears more likely that this is an intentional structural inclusion, which is designed to show the similarity between the two events. In both cases the pattern is destruction which cleanses followed by renewal into glory. Since the third temple is part of the renewed creation, it leads naturally to a discussion of the renewal of creation in v. 5.

destroyed (32:3) in order "that it will be renewed in glory and that it will be perfected into eternity (32:4).[202] Baruch exhorts the elders of Israel not to be overly distressed about the trials accompanying the destruction of Jerusalem, since the tribulations when God renews the entire creation will be even greater: "Greater than the two evils (the two times Jerusalem was destroyed) will be the trial when the Mighty One will renew his creation" (32:6). Thus renewal involves the elimination of something imperfect and replacing it with something more permanent and glorious. Even as the perfecting of Jerusalem required the destruction of the old Jerusalem, the renewal of all creation (32:6) will involve a cataclysmic tribulation through which God will shake his creation (32:1). Thus "renewal" in this sense does not so much mean the transformation of something already existing as the creation of something new that is patterned on the old, but glorified and perfected (32:5). When God renews the creation, he will replace the old corruptible world with a perfect, incorruptible world.[203]

Thus the predominant picture in 2 Baruch is that God will bring the present world to an end and create a new world. There are nevertheless a few passages that suggest the transformation of the present creation. The presence of both views may be more than simply a lack of concern for theological consistency or even the integration of multiple sources with differing views.[204] The picture of renewal in ch. 32 shows that the renewal of creation may take place through the process of replacing the old corrupt world with a new, perfect world. Klijn says,

> God is clearly bringing this world to an end in order to "renew it." The next world is different from this world because it is a glorious world, but it remains essentially the same world in which the righteous will recognize each other.[205]

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[202]Klijn, "Sources," 71, believes this is a third temple which is earthly but eternal. However, Murphy, 121, believes this is the temple in the heavenly Jerusalem.

[203]Cf. Charles, *APOT*, 499.

[204]Ibid., 474-9.

[205]Klijn, "Sources," 76.

d. Material Aspects of the Eternal Dwelling of the Righteous

Murphy argues that the new world is identical with heaven. He believes that 2 Baruch rejects the idea of a new earth, since the earth is essentially flawed and corruptible. In his view, this "vertical eschatology" (passing from earth to heaven) replaces the more traditional view of a succession of worlds and is a major step in the direction of Gnosticism.[206]

It is certainly true that the description of the future world includes much that is transcendental. The righteous will share the glory of the angels and have full access to God's heavenly dwelling place. The emphasis on the messianic kingdom, however, shows that the author of 2 Baruch does not dismiss the world as inherently and unredeemably evil.[207] The messianic kingdom is on this earth, yet most of the corrupting effects of the Fall have been removed. 2 Baruch is far from a Gnostic view that the material world is inherently corrupt.

There are definite indications of a material aspect to the eternal existence of the righteous: (1) The earth will be renewed and perfected (32:1-6). (2) There is the explicit promise that "heaven and earth will remain forever" (19:1). (3) The earth is part of the inheritance of the righteous and will exist for their benefit (15:7-8; 21:24; 44:15; 46:5-6; 51:3-16). The righteous will have free access both to the new earth (51:3, 8 (?), 11) and the glorious heavenly dwelling of God (51:11, 8(?)). (4) The righteous will have physical bodies in which they can live on the renewed earth (50:2; 51:3, 9-12). Even the wicked will have bodies in eternity, although their bodies will be transformed into extreme hideousness (51:5), even as the bodies of the righteous will be transformed into extreme beauty. (5) The concept of Paradise implies a beautiful, physical environment for the righteous. There is an apparent continuity between the eternal Paradise and the garden of Eden that Adam and Eve enjoyed (4:3).[208] (6) There will be an eternal, glorified Jerusalem (6:8-9; 32:4).[209] The vessels of

[206]Murphy, 62-3, 67.

[207]Murphy, 66-7, has only a superficial discussion of the extensive messianic passages in ch. 29-30, 39-40, 70-74.

[208]The descriptions of Paradise in 4 Ezra, however, have more explicit aspects of nature,

worship from the original temple were divinely preserved and will be restored at the end of time for use in the glorified temple (6:6-9).[210] (7) There are some aspects of continuity between the material aspects of the old and the new creation. The righteous, for example, will be resurrected in the same bodies in which they lived in this life (49:2-50:2), although these bodies will be glorified and perfected so that they may dwell both on the renewed earth (51:3, 9-12) and in heaven (51:11).

Despite these physical dimensions of the new world, the descriptions of eternity in 2 Baruch do not focus on the material world, but on the blessing, glory and righteousness of the people of God. There is little detail about how the new world will operate, other than that evil and corruption will end and that the righteous will enjoy eternal bliss. Although the description of the messianic kingdom includes a detailed picture of a glorified, perfectly functioning natural world, there is no similar description of the new world.

4. The Personification of Creation

a. Personification of Individual Parts of Nature

Nature is personified in several ways in 2 Baruch. God (48:8-10, 46), angels (6:6-10) and Baruch (10:9-12; 11:6; 12:1; 77:17-26) frequently address the natural world. God (21:4; 48:8-10, 46) or an angel (6:6-10) commands nature and expects it to obey him. These commands are given to inanimate objects such as the earth (6:6-10), dust (48:46), fire and wind (48:8) and heavenly bodies (48:9), as well as animals (77:17-26, birds). An angel

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such as garden, flowers, fruit and trees (4 Ez. 3:6; 6:2; 7:123; 8:52) and an explicit continuity with Eden (3:6). Cf. Stone, *Features*, 35:200-1.

[209]Charles, *APOT*, 484, believes 6:8-9 refers to the restored temple in the messianic kingdom. V. 9, however, says the temple will be restored forever, which better fits the new Jerusalem in the new earth. The preexistence of the new Jerusalem in the presence of God (4:2-6) may imply that it is transcendental (Murphy, 63).

[210]The veil, the holy ephod, the mercy seat, the two tables, the holy raiments of the priests, the alter of incense, the 48 precious stones and the holy vessels of the tabernacle were all hidden by God and preserved for the glorified temple.

commands the earth to hide the temple vessels and protect them until the temple is restored in the new age (6:6-10). God commanded the dust to produce Adam (48:46). Baruch gives an eagle explicit, detailed instructions for taking his letter to the nine and a half lost tribes (77:17-26). In his "motivational talk" to the eagle he gives several examples of birds that obeyed human commands, including Noah's dove, Elijah's ravens and the bird through which Solomon sent a letter (77:23-25). He assumes that the eagle has a significant degree of understanding and will obey his detailed instructions for the journey. The overall picture of these passages is that nature is obedient to God (cf. BW 5:2-3). God instructs and gives wisdom to the heavenly bodies, who serve in the position to which they are assigned (48:9). In the time of Moses, God also called heaven and earth to witness against the Israelites who were disobedient to the Law (19:1, 3; 84:4). These passages suggest that at least a basic level of consciousness and intellectual ability is present in the natural world.

In at least one passage, emotions are ascribed to the natural world. In 12:1, 3 the land of Zion is described as "happy" and "rejoicing."[211] That blessed state, however, will soon end when the eschatological tribulations come upon the land.

The relationship of the land with the people of God is also described anthropomorphically. In the final tribulation, the holy land "will have mercy on" its inhabitants and protect them from the cosmic disasters (71:1).

One passage that appears to contradict the pattern of conscious intelligence in nature is 11:6. The author wishes that the earth had ears to hear and the dust had a heart so it could tell the dead that they are more happy than those who live in Zion during its conquest. This implies that the earth does not have the ability to hear or speak. This does not fit the

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[211]Klijn, "2 Baruch," 625, translates 12:1 "O land, that which is happy," which Charles, *APOT*, 487, translates it "O land, which art prospering." In his translation of 12:3, however, even Charles indicates the land will not always continue to rejoice. Bogaert, 2:366 suggests the double translation *tu seras prospère et joyeuse*, based on his proposed emendation of a missing word in the Greek Oxyrhynchus Papyrus fragment on the verse. However, his translation based on the Syriac text is *prospère*.

general pattern of the personification of the earth in 2 Baruch, which points to at least some degree of conscious awareness and obedience. It also contrasts sharply with several passages in 4 Ezra that suggest that the earth can understand speech and even speak itself (4 Ez. 6:13-16; 7:55, 62; 8:2; 10:9) .

Overall 2 Baruch has a picture of the obedience of creation to God's will and at least a basic degree of consciousness. 2 Baruch, however, does not have the strong sense that creation is suffering emotional pain due to sin as found in 4 Ezra (e.g. 6:14-16; 11:46; 12:3) and 1 Enoch (e.g. 87:1; 88:2). It also lacks the moral responsibility of nature found in 1 Enoch, where natural objects can choose whether to obey God (e.g. ch. 2-5) or to sin (e.g. 18:15; 21:1-6).

b. Addressing Nature as a Rhetorical Device

Not all passages that address nature attribute consciousness to the natural world. In some passages, nature is addressed as a rhetorical device. For example, in 10:9-12 various aspects of nature are addressed in a lamentation about the futility of the present life in Zion in light of the imminent destruction of Jerusalem. Various aspects of the natural world (earth, sky, vines, sun and moon) are addressed along with people (newlyweds, wives, priests, young women and farmers; vv. 6-7, 9, 13-19), as well as demonic and mythical figures (Sirens, demons and dragons; v. 8). Since Zion is about to undergo such tumultuous tribulation, the normal activities of nature and people alike are futile. These passages use *apostrophe*, a rhetorical device addressing someone not present. This device does not indicate whether natural objects possess consciousness or the ability to do what is requested. Similar *apostrophes* of nature are used in 11:7; 12:1 and 36:10. Several other passages that describe the operation of nature in great detail are allegorical or symbolic descriptions of history (ch. 36-37, 53, 82; cf. 1 En. 85-90(AA)).

5. Summary of 2 Baruch

The Fall of Adam had cosmic effects far beyond Adam's own life. It brought pain, hardship and corruption to life in this world and made humans subject to corruption and premature death. The operation of the world and the heavenly bodies became at least partially disturbed and subject to corruption. Many of the angels were led into sin and destruction because of the Fall. Even the best things in life are subject to vanity and decay. The ongoing sins of humanity lead to further corruption and sorrow. God holds people accountable for their misuse of creation and for their ungratefulness for his provision.

The depth of the corruption of creation, however, is somewhat less than in 4 Ezra. There are some who are righteous and obey the Law and thus will enjoy the future world of blessing. While this is a world of corruption, there are many aspects of the natural world that operate according to God's design. Many parts of nature continue to obey God and operate in an orderly manner. God has fixed the heavenly bodies in place and determines many aspects of the operation of the natural world.

There are two phases to the redemption of creation: (1) In the messianic kingdom, much of the damage of the Fall will be reversed. Nature will be at peace and harmony with humankind. Nature will be superproductive and all pain, disease, natural disasters, sorrow and untimely death will end. In some senses, however, the messianic kingdom is part of the old world of corruption and serves as a transition to the new world. (2) This world will come to an end and a new world will come after the Judgment. There will be no corruption or death in this new world, and the righteous will enjoy great blessing. The righteous will have glorious, transformed bodies that are suited for life in both heaven and on the renewed earth. The new earth is part of the inheritance of the righteous, although there are few details of the operation of the new world. There is some tension between the view that a new earth will come and the view that the present earth will be transformed. The predominant view, however, is that there will be a new earth.

The natural world is personified in several passages. Nature has at least a basic degree of consciousness. God commands both animals and inanimate objects, and they obey him. Although no passage says creation suffers emotional pain due to the corruption of creation, yet the happiness and joy of the land of Zion will end at the eschatological tribulation.

The following table summarizes the key points concerning the corruption and redemption of creation in 2 Baruch:

Table 22: Summary of 2 Baruch

Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
1. The Fall brought hardship, pain, corruption, premature death and vanity to this world. 2. The Fall disrupted the orderly operation of this world. 3. Many of the angels were led into sin and destruction because of the Fall. 4. Human sins lead to further corruption and sorrow. God holds people accountable for their misuse of creation. 5. The corruption of creation is not total since many aspects of nature continue in obedience to God.	1. In the messianic kingdom, the damage of the Fall will be reversed. Pain, disease, natural disasters and sorrow will end. Nature will be superproductive and at harmony with humankind. 2. A new world will come after the Judgment with no corruption or death. 3. The righteous will have glorious, transformed bodies suited for life in both heaven and on the renewed earth. 4. The righteous will inherit the new earth, but there are few details about it. 5. Most passages point to a new earth, although a few suggest the renewal of the present earth.	1. God commands animals and inanimate objects, which obey Him. 2. Natural objects appear to have consciousness and sometimes joy.

D. The Apocalypse of Moses and the Life of Adam and Eve

1. Date, Provenance and Genre of the Apocalypse of Moses and the Life of Adam and Eve

The Apocalypse of Moses (Ap. Mos.) and the Life of Adam and Eve (LAE) are two recensions of a midrash on Gen. 1-4. They focus on the Fall and its results, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise and their deathbed reflections and instructions to their children.

The author is widely acknowledged to be Jewish.[212] Although Wells argues that he

[212]L. S. A. Wells, "The Books of Adam and Eve," in APOT, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:126-7; M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in OTP, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1983), 2:252; Leonhard Rost, *Judaism Outside the Hebrew Canon. An Introduction to the Documents*, trans. David E. Green (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971), 154.

was Alexandrian,[213] most believe he was Palestinian. Johnson shows that the biblical interpretation lacks the allegorization typical of Philo's exegetical methods. The form is more like the midrash *haggadah* of Qumran or the Rabbis,[214] and the contents are similar to Pharisaic or possibly Essene Judaism.[215] The extant texts have few Christian interpolations.[216]

The original was probably written in the late first century A.D.[217] Most believe it was written in Hebrew[218] or possibly Aramaic[219], although no Semitic language manuscripts are extant. The Greek version (Ap. Mos.) translated and elaborated the Hebrew original.[220]

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[213]Wells, 130.

[214]Johnson, "Life," 252.

[215]Although Rost, 154, believes it is Essene, Johnson, "Life," 252, believes it is Pharisaic, since there are few sectarian or polemic elements.

[216]Johnson, "Life," 252; Wells, 126-7. Many later Adam documents derived from these works add strong Christian elements. For example, in Seth's quest for the oil of mercy, medieval works promise that Christ would bring the oil of mercy (or be the oil of mercy himself), and they say that Seth saw the Tree of Life, which contained the wood of the cross on which Christ was crucified. Ap. Mos. and LAE have few such Christian elements. See Esther Casier Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962), 7-8.

[217]W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Books of the Apocrypha. Their Origin, Teaching and Contents* (London: Robert Scott Roxburghe House, 1916), 223; Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha and Modern*, 74; Johnson, "Life," 252 (100 B.C.-A.D. 200, probably toward end of first century); Eissfeldt, 637 (20 B.C.-A.D. 70). Daniel A. Bertrand, *La Vie greque d'Adam et Eve. Introduction, Texte, Traduction et Commentaire* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1987), 30-1, dates the Greek Ap. Mos. 100 B.C. to A.D. 50. He believes it must be before Paul, since he thinks the many similarities to Paul's letters are due to the influence the book had on Paul. Rost, 154 and Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature. A Brief Introduction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), 133, claim it must be prior to A.D. 70. since the temple is still standing. However, Johnson, "Life," 252, notes that LAE 29:8, which indicates that the second temple was still standing, is not found in the best Latin MSS. The book lacks the Rabbinic polemics against Christianity. The book has many parallels to 2 Enoch, early rabbinic traditions and Josephus, which places it in the period near the beginning of Christianity.

[218]Johnson, "Life," 251; Wells, 129; Wilhelm Meyer, *Vita Adae Et Evae*, Adhandlungen der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisce-philologische Klasse, no. 14 (Munich: n.p., 1878), 217.

[219]Torrey, 133

[220]There are also early Adam books in Slavonic, Georgian and Armenian. Stone believes

Most scholars today believe the Latin version (LAE) was derived from the Greek version, although it may have been derived independently from the Hebrew original.[221] The literary relationship between LAE and Ap. Mos. is complex,[222] in part due to the probable influence of an early Adam testament that is no longer available.[223] Over half of the material is shared between the Greek and Latin recensions, but each recension adds its own unique sections.[224]

Although the form is largely testament[225], narrative[226] and midrash[227], the books

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that these are also derived from the prototypical Adam literature and should be considered "primary" Adam books, along with the Ap. Mos. and LAE (Michael Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature, no. 3, ed. William Adler (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 30-41). Most scholars, however, believe that these works were derived from Ap. Mos. and LAE, with added Christian interpolations. Cf. Johnson, "Life," 250; Wells, 327-9; C. Fuchs, *Das Leben Adams und Evas*, Die Apokrypehn und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments, no. 2, ed. E. Kautzsch (Tübingen: Mohr, 1900), 508-9; Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 116.

[221]J. L. Sharpe III, "Prolegomena to the Establishment of the Critical Text of the Greek Apocalypse of Moses" (PhD Dissertation, Duke University, 1969), 114-39; Wells, 129-32; Meyer, "Vita," 217; Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 116.

[222]Stone, *History*, 61-71, surveys the various views of literary relationships between Ap. Mos. and LAE. Scholarly research into the synoptic sources and redaction is only in the early stages. Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Some Related Traditions in the Apocalypse of Adam, the Books of Adam and Eve, and 1 Enoch," in *Sethian Gnosticism*, ed. Bentley Layton, The Rediscovery of Gnosticism. Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism At Yale, New Haven, Connecticut, March 28-31, 1978 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 2:524-5, 538.

[223]Montague Rhodes James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (London: SPCK, 1920), 1-8, argues for two early Jewish Adam books, from which all other Adam books were derived: (1) a lost Apocalypse of Adam, only represented in Patristic quotations; (2) the Hebrew book represented most fully in the Apocalypse of Moses and the Life of Adam and Eve.

[224]Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 256, has a chart summarizing the overlapping and unique sections. Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, eds., *Life of Adam and Eve. Polyglot* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), is a helpful synoptic edition, which includes the Greek and Latin texts with translations of the Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic versions.

[225]Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 253.

[226]Collins, "Jewish Apocalypses," 44.

[227]Johnson, "Life," 254; Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha and Modern*, 74; Quinn, 30

have many typical apocalyptic elements both in form and content: (1) In a heavenly ascent, secret knowledge is imparted (LAE 25-29), and a vision shows the hidden workings of heaven (Ap. Mos. 33-41). (2) An angel serves as guide on the heavenly journey (LAE 25, 29) and gives instructions (Ap. Mos. 43). (3) Many manuscripts of LAE include a typical apocalyptic historical overview (LAE 29:4-15), although some scholars question whether this section was part of the original work. (4) Angels are prominent in heavenly events, communicate to human beings and care for their bodies (Ap. Mos. 11; 13; 17; 22; 27; 29; 32-43; (LAE 45-49);[228] LAE 9-22). (5) The events surrounding Adam's death have a strongly apocalyptic flavor: e.g. heavenly wonders, such as the darkening of the sun, moon and stars, and angelic trumpets (LAE 43:2; 46 (Ap. Mos. 36); cf. Ap. Mos. 22). (6) Human sin is pervasive, resulting in the inevitability of death and the wrath of God against sin (LAE 44:3; Ap. Mos. 14:2; LAE 49:3; 50:2). (7) There are references to "the last days" (e.g. LAE 42:1) and "the end of times" (Ap. Mos. 13:2). (8) There are two judgments, water (the Flood) and fire (final Judgment) (LAE 49:3; 50:2; cf. Ap. Mos. 14:2; 39:2-3; LAE 39; 47). (9) The eschatological chronology is typical of apocalyptic writings: a universal resurrection (LAE 47:3; Ap. Mos. 10:2; 13:3; 37:5; 41:3; 43:2), the Judgment of all people and the condemnation of the devil (LAE 39; 47:3; 49:3; 50:2; Ap. Mos. 10:2; 14:2; 13:3; 37:5; 41:3; 43:2), and a "coming age" (LAE 51:2) in which the evil heart will be removed from people (Ap. Mos. 13:3-5) and the righteous will be allowed to dwell again in Paradise (LAE 29:9-13; 49:3; 51:2).

Despite these similarities, Ap. Mos. and LAE have several differences from typical Jewish apocalyptic materials: (1) The pessimism is not as deep as in many apocalyptic writings. (2) There is no sense that the end of time is imminent or that the author was living in the last days. (3) The style is largely narrative, although it has highly symbolic descriptions and numerous heavenly scenes.

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[228]Parallel passages between Ap. Mos. and LAE are indicated in parenthesis. Unless otherwise noted, translations and verse numbering are taken from Johnson, "Life."

Levison shows that Ap. Mos. and LAE are similar to 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra on the cause, effects and solution for the problem of sin.[229] Wells shows the close similarity between Ap. Mos. and 2 Enoch, although 2 Enoch is influenced by Philonic and Platonic speculations. He argues, "Paul and the author of 2 Enoch were near contemporaries of the original author of Ap. Mos. and moved in the same circle of ideas."[230] Nickelsburg finds many apocalyptic characteristics and sections that are apocalypses within Ap. Mos. and LAE, although he says that these apocalyptic features are typical of those found in testamentary literature.[231] He notes many similarities in form and content between these works, 1 Enoch (especially BW, BD and AW), and the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Adam* (a testament with a very large apocalypse).[232] Thus Ap. Mos. and LAE utilize a hybrid of testamentary and apocalyptic genres, with theology similar to many Jewish apocalyptic writings.[233]

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[229]Levison, 189.

[230]Wells, 130. However, Stone, *History*, 56, says that more work needs to be done to demonstrate Wells' claim.

[231]Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 257.

[232]Nickelsburg, "Some Related Traditions," 515-39. For example, LAE 25-29 contains a transmission of secret information based upon a heavenly vision, which closely parallels Enoch's heavenly ascent in 1 En. 13:7-16:4. (pp. 520, 526-529). LAE 29:2-10 is an "historical apocalypse" with many similarities to AW (1 En. 91:11-17; 93:1-10; cf. T. Levi 16-18; T. Judah 21-25; 1 En. 85-90 (pp. 520, 525, 528-533). Ap. Mos. 39:2-3 is similar to "apocalyptic predictions in other testaments" (p. 519). He even suggests that there may be a literary dependence upon 1 Enoch (p. 533).

[233]Collins, "Jewish Apocalypses," 44, notes many affinities to apocalyptic, such as "elements of apocalyptic eschatology" (e.g. Ap. Mos. 13:2-5; LAE 29), *ex eventu* prophecy (LAE 29) and the heavenly journey of Adam (cf. 25-28), although he finally classifies it as "narrative paraphrase." Wells, 131, 144, sees several small apocalypses in the book (e.g. Ap. Mos. 13:3-6) and lists a number of apocalyptic features of the books as a whole. Bertrand, 53-4, concludes that Ap. Mos. uses a composite genre, which is typical of much of the pseudepigrapha. The larger part is *haggada*, a pious legend paraphrasing and expanding on Genesis for moral teaching. A significant portion, however, uses apocalyptic techniques to make revelations about the end of Adam and Eve, the destiny of their bodies and souls and their final forgiveness by God.

2. The Corruption of Creation

a. Consequences of the Fall

Both the Apocalypse of Moses and the Life of Adam and Eve devote a large amount of space to the results of the Fall. God's judgment on the first human transgression had a profound effect on both the human race and the rest of creation.

As a result of the disobedience of Adam and Eve,[234] transgression and sin became a part of the experience of all humanity (LAE 44:3). The whole human race is under God's wrath (Ap. Mos. 14:2; LAE 49:3; 50:2) and will ultimately face God's judgment (LAE 49:3; 50:2) and destruction (Ap. Mos. 14:2). There will be two judgments: water and fire. The water judgment undoubtedly refers to the Flood. It is unclear whether the "fire" refers to the end of the world or the punishment of eternal hell fire. Since the focus is on God's wrath on the human race (LAE 49:3), it is more likely to refer to the fire of the final Judgment, although there is no vivid description of eternal punishment as in many apocalyptic writings.

Although the final Judgment is expected, the emphasis of the books is on the changes that the Fall brought to life in this world. When Adam and Eve sinned, they lost their original glory (Ap. Mos. 20:2) and were estranged from the glory of God (Ap. Mos. 21:6). Immortality was lost for all people (Ap. Mos. 28:3) and death became certain (LAE 26:2; Ap. Mos. 14:2). Life is now full of hardship, labor, (LAE 44:3; Ap. Mos. 24:2-3), enmity, strife (Ap. Mos. 25:4; 28:3), disease, pain, suffering (Ap. Mos. 25:1-3), and many evils (LAE 44:2, 4). Due to the Fall, human life is marked by its futile labor and failure: "those who rise up from us shall labor, not being adequate, but failing" (LAE 44:3; cf. Ap. Mos. 24:3). Humanity is banned from Paradise, with all its pleasures (Ap. Mos. 27-29).

There are several physical aspects to God's judgment on the human race in response to

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[234]These books particularly stress Eve's responsibility for the Fall (e.g. LAE 9; Ap. Mos. 9:2; 10:2 (LAE 3:2); 17:1 (LAE 19); 19:1-3; 25:3; LAE 5:3). Levison, 180-1, shows that LAE is particularly strong on the sin of Eve and presents Adam as a model of perfect penitence.

the Fall: (1) death, (2) disease and bodily pains, and (3) birth pangs. These physical aspects of the curse affected not only Adam and Eve, but also all their descendants (LAE 34:2; 44:2 (Ap. Mos. 14:2); 49:3; 50:2).

Death is a judgment of God due to Adam's disobedience of God's commandment (LAE 26:2; Ap. Mos. 14:2; 28:3). Not only Adam and Eve (LAE 26:2) but also all of their descendants (Ap. Mos. 14:2) die because of the transgression of Adam and Eve. Apparently human beings would not have died if Adam and Eve had not disobeyed God. In contrast to 2 Baruch, an apocalyptic work of the same era, LAE and Ap. Mos. do not indicate that this judgment of death includes a future punishment, such as eternal fire (contrast 2 Bar. 19:8; 23:4-5; 48:39-43). Although Ap. Mos. and LAE indicate that physical death became part of the human experience, they do not say whether death was a part of the natural world prior to the Fall.

Disease and bodily pains are another part of God's judgment on humanity. Both books refer to "seventy plagues"[235] on the body (LAE 34:2 (Ap. Mos. 8:2)). The number seventy is probably a symbolic number[236] indicating that the ailments affect the entire body. The widespread effect of sin in afflicting the body is also shown by the expression "from the top of the head and the eyes and ears down to the nails of the feet and in each separate limb" (LAE 34:2). This is a *merismus*, a figure of speech in which the extreme members of the body are mentioned to indicate the whole body.[237] LAE 34:2 indicates that prior to the Fall there were no diseases. When Adam is sick on his deathbed, Seth asks, "What is pain and illness?" (Ap. Mos. 5:5 (LAE 30:4); cf. LAE 31:5). Seth's query suggests that there was a delay in implementing the curse of illness until just prior to Adam's death, since illness was still unknown to Adam's children at that time.

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[235]Some MSS have seventy-two.

[236]Cf. Levison, 182; Johnson, "Life," 142.

[237]Ap. Mos. does not have this expression. It simply mentions diseases of the eyes and ears, as samples of the "seventy plagues."

Another aspect of the physical curse due to the Fall is pain in childbirth (Ap. Mos. 25:1-3). This is based on Gen. 3:16 and involves an important change in the operation of the physical world after the Fall.

Nature itself also suffered damage as a result of the disobedience of Adam and Eve. Immediately after Eve ate the forbidden fruit, all of the nearby plants in paradise lost their leaves, except for the fig tree (Ap. Mos. 20:4). This suggests a solidarity between humanity and the natural world so that when human beings sin, nature suffers damage. By contrast, when God entered Paradise to judge the original humans, all of the plants in Paradise blossomed and prospered (Ap. Mos. 22:3). God's divine glory and righteousness has a healing effect on nature, but human unrighteousness leads to corruption and damage in the natural world.

The ground was cursed so that it would no longer produce crops as easily as it did before (Ap. Mos. 24:1-3). The curse on the ground, which is based on Gen. 3:17-19, involves several aspects: (1) The ground would no longer produce crops, except through hard labor (v. 2-3). (2) The ground would never be as productive as it was before the Fall (v. 2, "it shall not give its strength"). (3) Weeds, thistles and thorns would grow easily and abundantly, but these plants would be of no value for food and would make growing food crops more difficult (v. 2). Thus the curse involved a profound change in the operation of plant life.

After Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise, they no longer had access to many of the plants that grew in Paradise (LAE 2:2; 4:1). These plants would not grow outside of Paradise and would no longer be available for human food. As a result, humans would be reduced to eating the same food as animals (LAE 4:1). The only special plants Adam and Eve could take from Paradise were certain aromatic spices (LAE 43:4; Ap. Mos. 29:3-6).

The Fall also resulted in changes to the animal world. The serpent was cursed because it allowed itself to be a vessel for the use of the devil. The serpent underwent fundamental changes in its physical nature: It was deprived of its hands, feet, ears, wings and limbs, and as a result it was forced to crawl on its belly (Ap. Mos. 26:1-4).

Although other animals did not undergo such radical changes in their physical bodies, their behavior changed profoundly after the Fall. Ap. Mos. says that animals began to rebel against the rule of human beings after Adam and Eve's disobedience (Ap. Mos. 24:4).[238] Prior to the Fall, animals were in subjection to humanity, since the image of God is in humans (Ap. Mos. 10:3). When Adam and Eve disobeyed God and ate the forbidden fruit, the nature of animals was changed (Ap. Mos. 11:3). Animals took on some of the rebellious nature that is also passed on to the descendants of Adam and Eve.

The rebellion of the animals is illustrated by the story in which a wild animal attacks and bites Seth (Ap. Mos. 10-12). In Ap. Mos. the attack is a result of a fundamental change in the animal world due to the Fall (Ap. Mos. 11:2-3; cf 10:2). The type of wild animal is not specified, since it is representative of a fundamental change in nature that affected all types of animals. In LAE, however, the animal is identified as a serpent (LAE 37:1; 44:1), the animal that was indwelt by the devil. It is virtually identified as the devil,[239] since he is also called "the cursed enemy of truth, the chaotic destroyer" (LAE 39:2). In LAE, therefore, the attack is part of the devil's attempt to destroy Adam and Eve.[240] LAE does not have the same stress as Ap. Mos. on the damage the Fall caused to the animal world. This is also shown by the omission of the passage in Ap. Mos. 26, which says that the rebellion of the animals is a result of the Fall.

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[238]Cf. Bereshith Rabba 25:2, where animals are not longer obedient to humanity.

[239]Johnson, 109:274, n. 39a. Wells, 143, says "serpent" in 38:1 is a gloss. The original story is reflected in Ap. Mos. and was a midrash explaining the beast's revolt.

[240]Cf. Nickelsburg, "Some Related Traditions," 517. Levison, 166, argues that Ap. Mos. uses the story to show the loss of dominion of humanity over the animal kingdom. He claims that in LAE, dominion is not lost at all. Adam still has command over animals, so all animals and even the river Jordan obey him during his penitence (p. 176). Levison is correct that Ap. Mos. has a stronger emphasis on the loss of dominion over the animals. Both books, however, stress that all types of animals obeyed Adam at his penitence. Furthermore, in Ap. Mos., the wild beast obeys Seth, when he commands him to be silent and leave. This shows that even in Ap. Mos., the loss of dominion is not absolute.

b. Elements of Obedience of Nature

Despite the increased rebellion of the animals, nature still exhibits a degree of obedience to humanity. In both Ap. Mos. and LAE, Adam commands the animals to surround him while he does 40 days of penitence standing up to his neck in the Jordan river (LAE 8:1-3 (Ap. Mos. 29:13-14)). The animals instantly obey him and rally to assist him in his repentance (LAE 8:3). In LAE, he commands the fish (8:1) and "all living beings" to come and to surround him (8:3). The water of the Jordan also cooperates, by stopping its current (LAE 8:3). Similarly in Ap. Mos. Adam commands the waters of the Jordan and "all birds and all animals and all reptiles both on land and in the sea" (29:13). This is a *merismus* indicating that all types of animals respond in obedience to Adam. In response to Adam's command, not only mortal creatures, but also "all the angels" surround Adam to protect him (Ap. Mos. 29:14). On the surface, this obedience of creation to human beings sounds like a contradiction to the passages that indicate that animals are in rebellion against humanity. Even in the passage where the wild animal attacks Seth, however, the beast obeys Seth when he commands it to be silent and to leave (Ap. Mos. 12:1-2). Thus although creation is corrupted, the damage to nature is not comprehensive.

3. The Redemption of Creation

a. Reversal of the Damage Caused by the Fall

Although the emphasis of Ap. Mos. and LAE is on the effects of the Fall, both books refer to an eschatological time when the damage of the Fall will be reversed. The language to describe the reversal of the Fall is similar to other apocalyptic literature.

In the "last days" humanity will be resurrected (LAE 47:3; Ap. Mos. 10:2; 13:3; 37:5; 41:3; 43:2) and will again be allowed free access to Paradise (LAE 42:1; Ap. Mos. 13:1-4). They will be given "every joy of Paradise and of God" (Ap. Mos. 13:4). Humanity will experience perfect joy (Ap. Mos. 13:4; LAE 47:3 (Ap. Mos. 39:2)) and rest (LAE 51:2). The rest that

humanity will enjoy is analogous to God's rest on the seventh day of creation (LAE 51:2). Humanity will again have access to the Tree of Life (LAE 42:1; Ap. Mos. 31:2). The Tree of Life in Gen. 2:9 is called "the tree of mercy" in these books (LAE 40:3; 42:1; Ap. Mos. 13:2).[241] From this tree flows the "oil of mercy,"[242] which gives healing and life (Ap. Mos. 13:1; cf. LAE 40:1, 3; 41:1), and which removes bodily pains (LAE 41:2). In that day, there will be no more sinners (Ap. Mos. 13:5). The evil heart (= the rabbinic *yetzer hara?*) will be removed from human beings and they will be given a good heart that worships God alone (Ap. Mos. 13:5). The reversal of the Fall will be so complete that Adam will sit on the glorious throne formerly used by the devil, who deceived and led him astray (LAE 47:3 (Ap. Mos. 39:2)). The devil will be condemned and experience great sorrow, along with all who follow him (Ap. Mos. 39:2).

Ap. Mos. and LAE generally do not have detailed descriptions of the future Paradise or other aspects of the redeemed material world. They do not address the question of whether there will be a "new earth" or a restored earth, other than to affirm that the earthly Paradise will be restored. There is, however, one extended passage (LAE 29:4-15) found in many manuscripts of LAE[243] that reflects a profound hope for the redemption of the material world. It contains a typical apocalyptic historical overview, with references to the destruction of the two temples, the judgment of the wicked, and an eschatological era of righteousness. The

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[241]Bertrand, 118.

[242]The Tree of Life was frequently identified as the olive tree in Jewish, early Christian and Gnostic writings (e.g. 2 En. 8:7; 22:8; 66:2; 4 Ez. 2:12; *Evang. Nicod.* 18; *Descent of Christ* 3; *Recognitiones* 1:45; Hippolytus 5:2; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6:27. See Ginzberg, 5:119-20).

[243]MSS groups II, III and IV include this passage. Johnson, 109:268, n. 29b, following Wells, 140, believes this is an apocalyptic interpolation. Certainly v. 9 and possibly v. 14 are Christian additions. However, the historical overview form and most of the content are typical of other Jewish apocalyptic materials. Charles rejects Well's view and argues that the passage should not be seen as Christian, except for a few added words (e.g. God dwelling in visible form on earth and the references to baptism; see Charles' editorial note in Wells, 268, n 29b). Torrey, 133, notes that v. 8 is a reference to the second temple not the messianic age (Wells, 140), since iniquity grows during that time. Since there is no reference to the destruction of the second temple, this passage should be dated at about the same time as the rest of LAE.

present evil age is temporary (v. 4), and an age of righteousness is coming (vv. 9-12). There is an important reference to the redemption of creation: "Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures will obey him and not ignore his commandment nor change its works" (v. 12). This refers to the transformation of all creation, so that even the material world will obey God's will. God will dwell on earth in the presence of human beings (v. 9, 15). While this may refer to a messianic kingdom on earth rather than a new earth, it nevertheless suggests the transformation of the material world and affirms the importance of the earth in God's scheme.

b. Earthly and Heavenly Paradises

There are two Paradises described in these books: (1) an earthly one, which is the garden of Eden (LAE 25:2); and (2) a heavenly one (LAE 25:3). There are only a few references to the heavenly Paradise, which is called the "Paradise of righteousness" (LAE 25:3) and the "Paradise of visitation and of God's command" (LAE 29:1). This is the dwelling place of God and the angels (LAE 25:3), and is located in the "third heaven" (Ap. Mos. 37:5; 40:1). The earthly Paradise receives more stress in these books, largely because of the interest in the events surrounding and resulting from the Fall (LAE 3:1; 4:1; 25:2; 36:2 (Ap. Mos. 9:3); LAE 37:1; 40:1-2 (Ap. Mos. 13:1, 2(?)); LAE 40:6; Ap. Mos. 20:4; 22:3-4; 27:1, 4; 29:3, 5-6; 38:4; 39:1; 40:6-7). This earthly Paradise still exists after the Fall, even at the end of Adam's life (LAE 36:2 (Ap. Mos. 9:3); LAE 40:6). There is some confusion of the two Paradises in the description of the burial of Adam in Ap. Mos. When Adam died, God forgave him and commanded that his body be taken immediately to the heavenly Paradise in the third heaven (Ap. Mos. 37:4-5; cf. 38:4). He was to wait there until the day of the Resurrection and the Judgment (Ap. Mos. 37:5). Yet in Ap. Mos. 39:1 and 40:7, Adam's body was buried in the ground in the earthly Paradise, near the spot where God formed him from the dust of the earth.

There is a certain ambiguity about whether the righteous will enjoy the heavenly

Paradise or the restored earthly Paradise (e.g. Ap. Mos. 13:2, 4). Adam's soul[244] is taken to the heavenly Paradise when he dies, yet this appears to be only for a temporary period while he awaits the Resurrection (Ap. Mos. 37:4-6). This does not appear to be a time of bliss for Adam, but a sort of semi-conscious state[245] in which he awaits the Resurrection. Several passages imply that the earthly Paradise of Eden will be reopened to humanity in the last days. The oil of the tree of mercy in the original earthly Paradise will be accessible to humanity (LAE 42:1 (Ap. Mos. 13:2)). This suggests that there is a material aspect to the future existence of the righteous after the Resurrection, not a purely transcendental heavenly existence. When God appeared in Eden after Eve sinned, the plants that withered were restored (Ap. Mos. 22:3), which shows that God's presence brings healing to creation. It also anticipates the restoration of Paradise in the last days. The hope of the book generally focuses on the restoration of the earthly Paradise more than on a transcendental heavenly existence.

4. The Personification of Creation

There are several passages in which nature is personified. When Adam is standing in the Jordan river to do penitence, he commands animals and the waters of the Jordan to mourn with him and to gather around to protect him (LAE 8:1-3 (Ap. Mos. 29:13-14)).[246] Their obedience is more than simply animal training. It suggests a degree of consciousness for animals and even some natural objects such as a river. Even when animals disobey a human command they show a power of conscious choice. For example, after a wild animal attacks and bites Seth, Eve and Seth engage the animal in a conversation (Ap. Mos. 10-12 (LAE 37-39)). While LAE limits this to the serpent that is indwelt by the devil (LAE 37:1), Ap. Mos. is

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[244]Ibid., 123.

[245]Cf. Ap. Mos. 39, where God speaks to Adam's soul and 41:1, where God speaks to Adam's corpse,

[246]Ap. Mos. 29:13-14 is from a section only found in MSS F and H. However, the concepts are found elsewhere in the Ap. Mos. and the passage is a direct parallel to LAE 8:1-3.

vague about the kind of animal, which implies that animal consciousness and perhaps even speaking ability was much more widespread at that time. Neither book says why animals do not speak more commonly today. unlike Jubilees, which sees the end of animal speech as a consequence of the Fall (Jub. 3:28).[247]

Animals and inanimate objects also have emotions and pray. During Adam's penitence in the Jordan, the animals mourn and weep for Adam's sin (LAE 8:1-2 (Ap. Mos. 29:14)). In Ap. Mos., the animals pray that Adam would be forgiven (Ap. Mos. 29:14; 36:1). When Adam dies, the sun and moon darken for 7 days (LAE 46:1), which Ap. Mos. interprets as prayer for Adam (Ap. Mos. 36:1-3). This sorrow and prayer for the sin of Adam show a remarkable solidarity between humans and animals and a concern for how human sin has an impact on the natural world.

The passages that personify creation serve to highlight the sin of Adam and Eve and the effects of sin on the natural world. The disobedience of animals is due to the Fall. When they do obey Adam, it is to help him repent from sin. When animals talk, they speak of how human sin brought damage to the natural world. Natural objects mourn and intercede for human sin.

5. Summary of the Apocalypse of Moses and the Life of Adam and Eve

The corruption of creation is an important theme in Ap. Mos. and LAE, since both books focus on the Fall and its consequences. The disobedience of Adam and Eve brought major changes to the natural order: death, bodily pains, disease, birth pangs and a life of hardship and labor for all descendants of Adam and Eve. As soon as Eve ate the forbidden fruit, the leaves of the trees in Eden dropped, showing a solidarity between humanity and nature. The ground began to bring forth crops only with considerable human labor, while

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[247]Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, i 1.4. See Morfill, 73-4, for Greek writers who ascribed rational thought to animals.

weeds began to grow vigorously. Ap. Mos. stresses that animals became disobedient to humanity. Yet the corruption of creation is not complete, since animals sometimes obey human commands and even intercede for human sin.

Ap. Mos. and LAE show some concern for the redemption of creation, but the theme is not developed as fully as in some other Jewish apocalyptic writings. In the last days, the effects of the Fall will be reversed: Humanity will again have access to the earthly Paradise and its Tree of Life. The evil human heart will be removed and humanity will have rest and great joy. Some manuscripts indicate that all creation, including heaven and earth, will obey God forever.

Animals and sometimes inanimate objects are personified in both Ap. Mos. and LAE. They show consciousness, emotion, power of choice and at times even the ability to speak. Nature mourns for the sin of Adam and intercedes on his behalf. Every passage in which nature is personified focuses on the sin of Adam and its effects on creation.

The following table summarizes the key points concerning the corruption and redemption of creation in Ap. Mos. and LAE:

Table 23: Summary of the Apocalypse of Moses and The Life of Adam and Eve

Corruption of Nature	Redemption of Nature	Personification of Nature
1) The Fall brought death, bodily pains, disease, birth pangs, hardship and labor to humanity. 2) After the Fall, people were forbidden to enter Paradise. 3) The Fall damaged the natural world: the ground brings forth crops only with labor; animals became disobedient. 4) Ap. Mos. emphasizes the change in animals more than LAE. 5) The corruption of creation is not complete: at times animals obey and intercede for humans.	1) In the last days, humanity will again gain access to the earthly Paradise and enjoy a life of joy and rest. 2) In some manuscripts heaven, earth and all creation will obey God forever.	1) Animals and some inanimate objects have emotion, consciousness, power of choice and sometimes speaking ability. 2) Personification highlights the effects of original sin on creation.

CHAPTER 6:

SUMMARY: THE CORRUPTION AND REDEMPTION OF CREATION IN JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

A. General Trends

The corruption and redemption of creation are frequent themes in Jewish apocalyptic literature. There are very few apocalyptic works, in fact, that do not address these issues to some extent. Collins argues that one of the major characteristics of the Jewish apocalypses is a concern with cosmic transformation. He notes also that all apocalypses deal with the underlying problem that "this world is out of joint."[1]

Of the apocalyptic writings studied here, only AW does not discuss these themes at all, though even AW has a reference to the transformation of heaven and a temporary period of material prosperity on earth. BP 2 does not discuss corruption, but it refers to the eschatological transformation of the earth. Even those writings that emphasize the regularity of nature also refer, at least in a limited degree, to the corruption of creation, especially at such critical times as the pre-Flood era and the final days of history.

Apocalyptic literature also frequently points to a solidarity between humanity and the natural world (BW 6-16; Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). The world was made for humanity, particularly the righteous people of God (4 Ez; 2 Bar). This accounts for the impact that human sin has on nature. Since the world was made for humanity and humanity is closely linked with the world, human sin profoundly affects the creation. This also implies that the redemption of creation will be associated with the eschatological return of humanity to

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[1]Collins, "Jewish Apocalypses," 27-8; Collins, "Introduction," 6-7, 17. Of the 15 apocalyptic works Collins classifies as Jewish apocalypses, 12 refer to cosmic transformation. Cf. Russell, *Method and Message*, 280-4.

righteousness and obedience to God.

B. The Corruption of Creation

Of the Jewish apocalyptic materials studied, all except for AW and BP 2 address the question of the corruption of creation. There are several approaches taken by the Jewish apocalyptic writings: (1) The majority say that the natural world has been corrupted by sin, at least to some degree (BW 6-16; BW 17-36; AB 80; AA; 1 En. Noah; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). (2) By contrast, some apocalyptic writings emphasize the consistent operation of creation or its obedience to God's laws (BW 1-5; AB, except 80; BD 83-84 (but cf. AA); Ep. En.; BP 1). (3) Others refer to the consistency of creation, but also acknowledge a limited corruption of creation. Either some parts of the natural world may be corrupted (BW 17-36; Jub.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE) or creation may be corrupted at certain times, such as prior to the Flood or in the last days (AB 80; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 2 Bar.). Thus, although many apocalyptic writings stress the consistent operation of nature, they also acknowledge that some things are not right about the natural world and that the natural world has been damaged by sin.

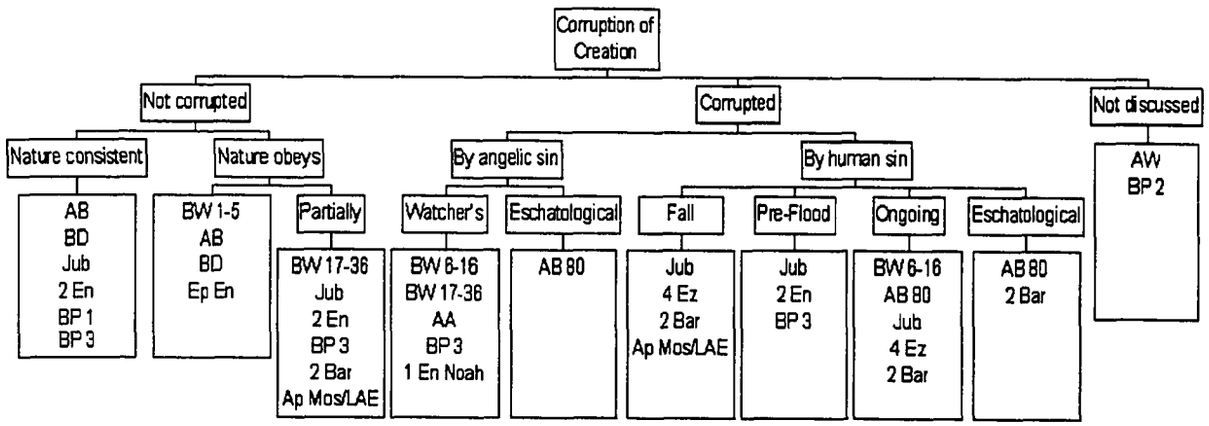


Figure 1: Apocalyptic Views of the Corruption of Creation

1. Causes of the Corruption of Creation

Whenever the created world is corrupted, it is due to sin.[2] Jewish apocalyptic writers affirm with Gen. 1 that God originally made the entire creation good. But something went wrong and now the whole created world is damaged. In the apocalyptic materials studied, however, neither the created world nor matter are inherently evil.

In the Jewish apocalyptic writings, times of increasing human sin are often accompanied by the corruption of creation and the disruption of the proper operation of nature. In many instances when unrighteousness increases there are also cosmic disasters. The pre-Flood era and the time just prior to the end of the world are both times of great unrighteousness as well as times of major changes in the operation of the world. By contrast, when the people of God return to righteousness in the new age or the messianic kingdom, nature will be perfected and become superproductive. Even the writings that generally emphasize a consistent operation of the natural world acknowledge such times of deviation from the normal patterns of nature. This is particularly striking in AB 80, which says that in the last days the stars will wander from their normal patterns, in sharp contrast to the perfect consistency of the natural order in the rest of history as described in the rest of AB.

Creation is corrupted either because of (1) human sin (2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE); (2) the sins of fallen angels or Watchers (BW 6-16; AA; 1 En. Noah); or (3) both human and the Watchers' sins (BW 17-36; AB 80; Jub.; BP 3). Human sin is the most common cause. There are several aspects of human sin that damage the natural world: (1) the Fall (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE); (2) widespread evil in the pre-Flood generation (Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3); (3) ongoing sin throughout history (BW 6-16; AB 80; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.); and (4) the eschatological increase of human sin (AB 80; Jub.; 2 Bar). Several writings combine more

[2]The only exception is the secondary thread in 4 Ezra about increasing moral and physical corruption due to the advanced state of the earth. This does not fit the major theme of 4 Ezra, however, which stresses human accountability for sin and the corruption of the age.

than one of these factors (AB 80: ongoing, eschatological; Jub.: all four; 4 Ez.: Fall, ongoing; 2 Bar.: Fall, ongoing, eschatological).

When the Fall causes the corruption of creation, the damage always affects the overall characteristics of life in this age (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Writings that focus on the Fall generally see this age as an age of corruption. Ongoing human sin also tends to be associated with a general corruption of creation throughout the age (BW 6-16; AB 80; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). On the other hand, when there is an eschatological increase in human sin, it is associated with eschatological cosmic disasters and a disruption of the normal orderly operation of the natural world (AB 80; Jub.; 2 Bar.).

The idea that ongoing sin causes damage to the whole natural order is an extension of OT land theology. In the OT when Israel is obedient to God, the land is fruitful, but when Israel is sinning the land loses fertility (Deut. 28:1-24; 29:22-29; Lev. 18:24-28; cf. Gen 4:11-12). The OT prophets and Jewish apocalyptic writings extend the concept to the whole created order. The created order is desolate or fruitful depending upon Israel's obedience (Is. 7:23-25; 8:21-22; 9:18-21; 13:9-13; 24:4-6; 33:7-9; 32:9-14; 34:8-17; Jer. 4:23-26; Amos 4:7-9; Hos 4:1-3). Creation will be renewed when the people of God are renewed (Is. 11:6-9; Jer. 50:34; Ez. 34:25-31; Hos. 2:18-23; Zech. 8:12).[3]

An early concept in Jewish apocalyptic literature is that creation is corrupted by the sin of the fallen angels or the Watchers, who mated with human women and taught forbidden arts to humanity in the pre-Flood era. This is introduced by BW 6-11 and is followed by several writings that use the Watcher tradition (AA; 1 En. Noah; Jub.; BP 3). This is an explanation for sin and the harsher side of nature that absolves humanity of responsibility. Nevertheless, it establishes a clear relationship between sin and the corruption of creation. While in most apocalyptic materials the corruption of creation is due either to the Fall of Adam or the

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[3]Sylvia C. Keesmaat, "Exodus and the Intertextual Transformation of Tradition in Romans 8:14-30," *JSNT* 54 (1994): 43-4.

disobedience of the Watchers, Jub. combines both ideas and associates the corruption of creation with sin in general.

Generally sins at the time of the Flood do not cause a permanent change in the natural order, although the natural world suffers at the hands of sinful people and the fallen angels. BP 3 and 2 En. are exceptions, since they describe fundamental changes in the operation of the cosmos due to the sin of the Watchers, so that nature no longer operates as God designed it.

Both humans and the Watchers are accountable for their sins against the natural world (BW 6-16; Jub.; 2 En.; 2 Bar.). In 2 En. humans will be judged for mistreatment of animals. The natural world is a victim of the sins of both humans and the Watchers (BW 6-16; BW 17-36; AA; Jub.; BP 3). Personification of creation frequently stresses this idea. Thus the natural world cries out for release from oppression (BW 6-16; AB 85-90) and it even has sorrow due to human sin (4 Ez.; Ap. Mos/LAE).

In some instances, parts of the natural world disobey God's plan (BW 17-36; AB 80; Jub.; Ap. Mos./LAE). When parts of nature disobey God's design, they are held morally accountable. In some instances the natural world initiates disobedience on its own (BW 17-36). Generally, however, the disobedience of the creatures is associated with human or angelic sin, and so is a reflection of the disruption of the normal operation of creation. Even when natural objects initiate their own disobedience, it is an indication that creation has been corrupted by sin. In BW 17-36, for example, the disobedience of the wandering stars is associated with disobedient angels. Both the stars and the disobedient angels will be eternally punished. This may allude to the Watcher tradition and it may suggest that the stars wander as a result of the fall of the Watchers.

In a few passages in 4 Ez.,[4] the advanced age of the earth causes the moral and physical decay that is characteristic of this age. This idea, however, is secondary to the

[4]5:54-55; 14:10, 16-18.

emphasis that the Fall and ongoing human sin corrupted creation and led to this age of hardship and corruption.

2. Aspects of the Corruption of Creation

The Jewish apocalyptic writings frequently say that sin introduced disease, death, decay, corruption, suffering and sorrow to this life (Jub.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Regardless of whether the focus is on the sins of the Watchers (BP 3) or humans (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE), the results are similar. In materials that stress the Watchers' sins, nature is usually a victim and suffers due to the sins of the Watchers (BW 6-16; BW 17-36; AA; Jub.; BP 3). In BP 3, however, and to some in extent BW 6-16, humans also are victims of the Watchers' sins. The disobedience of the Watchers introduced sin, suffering and death into the human race. In other writings (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE), the Fall of humanity had the same consequence. A related secondary theme is that the human lifespan was shortened due to the Fall (Jub.; 2 Bar.). In Jub. and 2 Bar. premature death as a consequence of the Fall is held in tension with the idea that death itself is a result of the Fall. No attempt is made to reconcile the two views, although the emphasis in Jub. and 2 Bar. is that the human lifespan was shortened.

In general, life in this age is characterized by vanity due to the problems of life (4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Labor is futile since hardship and failure are inevitable (Ap. Mos./LAE). 2 Bar. is especially graphic in its description of the futility of this present life. The best things in life are subject to limitations and will eventually pass away in death: beauty, youth, strength, wealth, happiness. Even life in Zion is futile, since Jerusalem will soon be destroyed. However, there is hope, since the vanity of this life will end when the new world comes (4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). 2 En. also speaks of "this vain world," but in the sense that it is futile to follow the path of sin, because it will not lead to eternal life.

The Fall also led to major disruptions in the previously orderly operation of nature

(Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). The behavior of animals changed after the Fall, so that they are no longer as obedient to humanity (Jub.; Ap. Mos/LAE). Prior to the Fall, animals could speak, but that ability was lost as a consequence of the disobedience of Adam and Eve. Many apocalyptic writings say that the earth itself was corrupted by sin, either through the sin of the Watchers (BW 6-16; 1 En. Noah; Jub.) or through the sin of humanity at the Fall (Jub.; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE).

A recurrent theme is that some parts of nature disobey God's design because of human or the Watchers' sin (BW 17-36; AB 80; Jub.; Ap. Mos./LAE). The sin of the Watchers led to cosmic irregularities, such as aberrations in the patterns of certain heavenly luminaries, earthquakes, widespread crop failure, plagues, birth defects, and disturbances among animals (BW 6-16; BW 17-36; 1 En. Noah; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3). Although such aberrations were largely limited to the pre-Flood era, these problems show the close relationship between sin and the corruption of the natural world.

Similar disturbances will occur at the end of time. There will be numerous eschatological cosmic disasters (AB 80; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Jub.), such as stars, sun and moon deviating from their appointed paths, earthquakes, widespread crop failure, plagues, birth defects, and disturbances among animals. Although on one level these catastrophes are a punishment for human sin, on another level they are a sign of the disruption of the orderly operation of nature due to sin. In AB 80, for example, the stars wander due to the sin of the angels who are responsible for the operation of the cosmos. In 2 Bar., human sin even corrupts the angels, leading some into sin. This is a reversal of the pattern of the Watcher tradition, in which the sin of the fallen Watchers led to human sin (BW 6-16; BP 3).

"Corruption" has a dual sense in apocalyptic literature:[5] (1) It can be used in the

[5]The word "corrupt" (Latin *corruptus*, Greek φθαρτός, etc.) and cognate words are used especially frequently in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, and less frequently in 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch. The concept also appears even when the specific word is not used. The Aramaic word חבל is found in the Book of Giants found in Qumran in reference to the corruption brought by the

physical sense that life in this age is subject to decay, disease, death and suffering. (2) It can also be used in a *moral sense* to refer to widespread evil. All Jewish apocalyptic writings use "corruption" in both senses to some degree. Even when one aspect of corruption is primarily in view, the other tends to be in the background. This helps explain the close connection between sin and the corruption of creation. When there is widespread sin (moral corruption), there are also death, decay, suffering and the futility of life (physical corruption). Both human life and the natural world itself suffer damage from sin. This close connection between the two sides of corruption will be especially apparent in the period of eschatological trials, when there will be both widespread evil and unprecedented cosmic disasters.

3. The Degree of Corruption

There is a tension between two themes in Jewish apocalyptic literature: (1) the natural world over which God has control operates consistently and obeys God; and, (2) some things are not right about this world and age due to sin. Although these themes might appear to be at opposite ends of a spectrum, most of Jewish apocalyptic writings refer to both, at least to some extent. Those writings that stress the consistent operation of the natural world (BW 1-5; AB 72-79; BD 83-84; Ep. En.; BP 1) emphasize the regular patterns of the heavenly luminaries and the cycles of nature. Although a few writings are exclusively on the consistency side of the spectrum (BW 1-5; AB 72-79 (contrast ch. 80); BP 1), most works that refer to the consistency of nature also acknowledge certain times when sin abounds and the natural world deviates from its normally consistent pattern (BW 17-36; AB 80; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). The pre-Flood generation (BW 6-16; 1 En. Noah; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 2 Bar.) and the end times (BW 17-36; AB 80; Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.) are the major periods of deviation. Pre-Flood sin is often a type of the increased eschatological sin (BW 6-16; AW; Ep. En.; Jub.; 2

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fallen Watchers (4QEnGiants[a] 8.11). This passage is very similar to 1 En. 7:6. See Milik, *Enoch*, 315.

En.; BP 2; BP 3). Several writings suggest that only some aspects of creation are damaged, such as some wandering stars (BW 17-36; Jub.; BP 3; 2 En.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Others, however, minimize the consistency theme and lay stress on the corruption of this age and the damage that this world has suffered due to sin (BW 6-16; AB 80; AA; 1 En. Noah; 4 Ez.).

None of the Jewish apocalyptic materials studied, however, go to the extreme of saying that the material world is evil or completely corrupted. They affirm that the material world was created by God, even though it has suffered damage due to the sins of humans and the fallen Watchers. Thus Jewish apocalyptic literature generally is not world-denying. Rather, apocalyptic literature sees this world as corrupted and damaged due to human and/or angelic sin. Thus there is a forward-looking perspective in Jewish apocalyptic literature that seeks the time when this damage will be reversed and the natural world will be redeemed. The people of God are to place their hopes in the future perfect world/age, rather than the present corrupted world.

4. Summary of the Corruption of Creation

The following table summarizes the major aspects of the corruption of creation in the Jewish apocalyptic writings:

Table 24: The Corruption of Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

Aspect of the Corruption of Creation	BW			AB		BD			1 En. Bk 5		Jub	2 En	BP			4 Ez	2 Bar	Ap Mos/ LAE
	1-5	6-16	17-36	72-79, 82	80	83-84	AA	AW	Ep	Noah			Par 1	Par 2	Par 3			
1. Not discussed								X						X				
2. Not corrupted																		
Nature operates as God intended	X			X		X						X						
Nature operates consistently				X		X					X	X	X		X			
Nature obeys God's laws	X			X		X			X				X					
Nature partially obedient			X								X	X			X		X	X

Aspect of the Corruption of Creation	BW			AB		BD			1 En. Bk 5		Jub	2 En	BP			4 Ez	2 Bar	Ap Mos/ LAE
	1-5	6-16	17-36	72-79, 82	80	83-84	AA	AW	Ep	Noah			Par 1	Par 2	Par 3			
3. Sin corrupts nature																		
Angels:																		
Watchers' sin		X	?				X			X	X				X			
Eschatological angelic sin					X													
Humans:																		
Human Fall											X					X	X	X
Pre-Flood human sin											X	X			X			
Ongoing human sin		X			X						X					X	X	
Eschatological human sin					X						X						X?	
Nature is a victim of sin		X	X				X				X				X			
4. Extent of corruption																		
Earth corrupted by sin		X								X	X					X		X
Parts of nature disobey			X		X						X							X
Human lifespan grows shorter due to sin											X						X	
Death, disease, decay, vanity:											X				X	X	X	X
Watchers' sin brought															X			
Human Fall brought											X					X	X	X
Due to the Fall:																		
Led to judgment of creation																X		
Disrupted orderly operation of the natural world																	X	X
Led to change in animals											X							X
Led to angelic sin																	X	
This is an age of corruption												X				X	X	
Age of earth causes moral and physical decay																X		
Cosmic irregularities (stars, planets)		X	X		X					X	X	X			X	X	X	
Eschatological			X		X						X					X	X	
Pre-Flood		X								X		X			X			
Adam's death																		X

Aspect of the Corruption of Creation	BW			AB		BD			1 En. Bk 5		Jub	2 En	BP			4 Ez	2 Bar	Ap Mos/ LAE
	1-5	6-16	17-36	72-79, 82	80	83-84	AA	AW	Ep	Noah			Par 1	Par 2	Par 3			
5. Sin against animals																		
Accountability for sin against animals		X									X	X					X	
Judged for mistreatment of animals												X						

C. The Redemption of Creation

The redemption of creation is a major theme in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Of the 18 writings studied, all but five address the subject (BW 1-5; AB 80; BD 83-84; Ep. En.; BP 1). Further, these writings that do not mention the theme are subsections of larger portions of 1 Enoch that do deal with this theme, at least in their final redaction.[6]

In most cases, the transformation of creation or the new creation is a response to the cosmic effects of sin. God will reverse the damage that sin caused to the natural world. Yet the redemption of creation is so important in Jewish apocalyptic literature that the theme even occurs in some materials that stress the regularity of the operation of the natural world (e.g. AB)..

1. The Relationship Between the Old and New Creation

Jewish apocalyptic writings differ in their view of the relationship between the old creation and the new creation. They are fairly evenly divided between two major approaches: (1) There will be a new creation with a new heaven and earth (AB; AW; BP 3). (2) The present

[6]BW 1-5 refers to the cataclysmic end of the world, but it is in a part of BW which deals with the redemption of creation in several significant passages. BP 1 does not treat the theme, but the other parables do. Although AB 80 does not address this theme, AB 72-79, 82 does. The first dream vision (BD 83-84) does not treat the theme, but the second (AA) does. In the final redaction, Ep. En. is joined with AW and 1 En. Noah, which discuss the redemption of creation.

creation will be renewed (BW 1-5, 6-16; BP 2). Several works hold both ideas in tension (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). In Jub. the transformation of creation dominates, while in 4 Ez. and 2 Bar. the new creation motif dominates.

The writings that stress a new creation tend to speak of the end of this world and the destruction of heaven and earth, in preparation for a new creation (AW; 2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Frequently the end of the age is marked by an eschatological cataclysm, with cosmic disasters and radical changes in the normal operation of nature (BW 1; BD 83-84; 2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.).

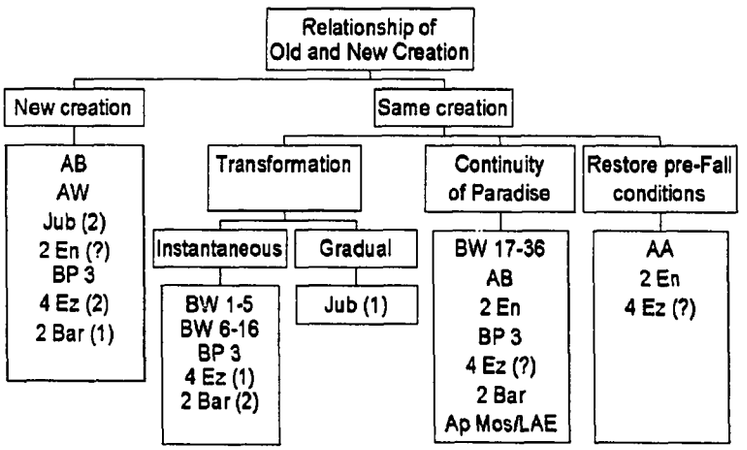


Figure 2: Apocalyptic Views of the Relationship of the Old and New Creations

The "end of the world," however, does not always refer to the actual destruction of the physical created order. Sometimes, as in 4 Ez., it refers to the "decisive turning point of history"[7] or the event that signals the start of a new age or world order. This concept is consistent with the view found in some apocalyptic writings that there will be a transformation or renewal of the existing creation. In these cases, there is an ambiguity of the term "world," which can also mean "age."[8]

Among the apocalyptic writings that stress continuity between the old and new

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[7]Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 169.

[8]Latin *saeculum*; Syriac *ʿlm*; αἰών; עולם. Stone, *Features*, 35:147-87.

creation, several motifs appear: (1) This world, including nature, will be transformed and perfected (BW 1-5, 6-16; Jub.; BP 2; to a lesser extent, 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). (2) God will reverse the damage that the Fall, the sin of the Watchers and ongoing human sin have brought to the created order (BW 6-16; Jub.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). (3) Many writings stress the continuity of the future Paradise with Eden (BW 17-36; AB; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Paradise already exists, often reserved in a secret place. (4) Some look forward to a restoration of the perfect pre-Fall conditions that humanity enjoyed on earth (AA; 2 En.; 4 Ez. (?)). (5) Others idealize the future world as even greater than the pre-Fall world (BW 6-16; BP 2).

In most cases, the transformation of the world is an instantaneous and climactic event at the end of history. It involves a recreation of heaven and earth by an act of divine power. It is a decisive change from the present age of evil and corruption to a new eternal age of righteousness and blessing. Jub. is an exception, for it describes a gradual renewal of the world. The benefits to humanity and the changes in the natural world will progressively increase in the last days.

A recurrent motif is the Flood as a type of eschatological events. Apocalyptic writings frequently speak of two judgments, with the Flood functioning as a type of the final Judgment (BW 6-16; AW; Ep. En.; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 2, 3; cf. Ap. Mos./LAE). In a few cases, the Flood serves as a type of the new creation (BP 3; 4 Ez.). In these passages, the Flood does not simply function as a judgment but it also brings renewal and the cleansing of the world. Thus the transformation of the world after the Flood is a picture of the changes in the world at the end of the age.

2. The Future Dwelling Place of the Righteous

Jewish apocalyptic writings are divided over the final dwelling place of the righteous. (1) The majority refer to an earthly dwelling for the righteous (BW 1-5; 6-16; AA; 1 En. Noah; Jub; 2 En.; BP 2, 3; 4 Ez.). (2) A few refer exclusively to a transcendental heavenly dwelling for

the righteous (AW; Ep. En.; BP 1). (3) Some allow the righteous access to both heaven and a renewed earth in eternity (2 En.; BP 2; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos/LAE (?)).

There are two types of idealized earthly dwelling places for the righteous: (1) Many apocalyptic writings refer to a temporary golden age of prosperity on earth (BW 6-16; AW; 1 En. Noah; BP 2; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Frequently this golden age is associated with the Messiah (AA; AW; BP 2; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.), although BW 6-16 has an idealized period of earthly prosperity following the Flood. (2) Other writings describe an eternal dwelling of the righteous on the new earth or in a restored earthly Paradise or Eden (BW 1-5; BW 6-16; 17-36; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Several writings include both a temporary golden age and an eternal earthly dwelling place for humanity (BW 6-16; AA; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). In some instances it is not clear which of these earthly places of blessing is in view, since the description of one can be intertwined with the other (e.g. BW 6-16) or the descriptions can be inconsistent (Jub.).

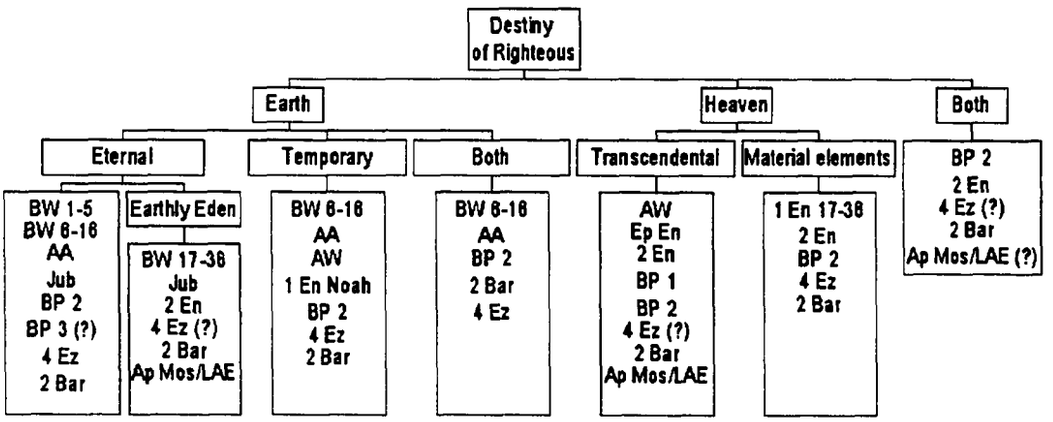


Figure 3: Apocalyptic Views of the Destiny of the Righteous

3. The Eschatological Changes in Creation

Apocalyptic writings describe many changes that will take place when creation is redeemed. There will be a transformation of heaven and earth, resulting in fundamental changes in the operation of nature. The changes are usually eternal (BW 1-5, 6-16; AB; AA; AW; 2 En. 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Jub.), although some writings refer to changes that affect primarily

the temporary golden age on earth (BW; BP 2; AA; AW; 1 En. Noah; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.).

The most widespread change will be the elimination of death and disease. The damage done by the Fall, the Watchers' sins and ongoing human sin will be reversed and the curse of death will be removed (BW 6-16; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Apocalyptic writings have two views about the reversal of death: (1) death will be eliminated completely (2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.); or, (2) untimely death will be eliminated and the human lifespan will be radically lengthened (BW 6-16; Jub.). It is frequently said that there will be no suffering, affliction or disease in the future world (BW 1-5, 6-16; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 2, 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Corruption will be eliminated both in the moral sense of sin and in the physical sense of the disease and decay that afflicts this world due to sin (2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.).

The earth and nature will undergo significant changes. Many writings refer to the transformation of the earth itself (BW 6-16; BP 2, 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Jub.). The transformation of nature will be comprehensive, affecting both plants and animals. Plants will become superproductive, producing many times their normal fruit with no human effort (BW 6-16; AA; 2 En.; 2 Bar.). Sometimes animals will have a place in the new world. The behavior of animals, however, will change so that wild animals become tame and obedient to human beings, and no longer harm people (Jub.; 2 En; 2 Bar.).

There will be cosmic changes as well. The heavenly luminaries will be transformed. They will become significantly brighter and perfectly consistent in their operation (AW; Jub.). There will be a new heaven (AW) or the present heaven will be transformed and become a place of even greater glory (BP 2; Jub.).

The redemption of creation is often associated with the eschatological righteousness of the people of God, even as the corruption of creation is associated with sin. In the new age or messianic kingdom, when the evil people are sent to eternal punishment and only the righteous dwell on the earth, the whole created order will function in a more harmonious manner (AW; BP 2; 4 Ez; Ap. Mos./LAE; Jub.). Writings that refer to a temporary eschatolog-

ical golden age or messianic kingdom also often describe nature in idealized terms — the elimination of suffering and disease, prolonged human lifespan, superproductivity of crops, harmonious animal behavior, and other features of the perfection of the natural order (BW 6-16; 2 Bar.).

4. Nature in the Future World

Many apocalyptic writings describe aspects of nature that will appear in the new world (BW 1-5, 6-16, 17-36 (?); Jub.; 2 En.; BP 2; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Plants are frequently described (BW 6-16, 17-36; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). They often become superproductive (BW 6-16; 2 En.; 2 Bar.),[9] reversing the curse on the ground as a result of the Fall (Gen. 3:17-19). Sometimes animals live in the new age, with wild animals no longer causing harm (Jub.; 2 En.; 2 Bar.). The heavenly luminaries will shine with even greater brightness than in the present age (AW; Jub.).

Whether the future human dwelling place is in heaven or on earth, it frequently includes features of nature, which are often richly described (BW 1-5, 6-16; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 2, 3 (?); 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). The references to Paradise or Eden as a place of final blessing for the righteous suggest an environment in which nature functions perfectly (BW 17-36; Jub.; 2 En.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Often this is the same Paradise that Adam and Eve enjoyed (BW 17-36; AB; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez. (?); 2 Bar.; AP. Mos./LAE). In some cases it is difficult to tell whether Paradise is an actual earthly, material location or a place of heavenly blessing described symbolically (BP 3; 4 Ez.). 2 En. and Ap. Mos./LAE postulate two Paradises, a heavenly one and an earthly one. In 2 En. both are linked so that the righteous can travel between them.

Many writings clearly identify Paradise as an earthly dwelling place with a perfected

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[9]Cf. similar prophetic descriptions of the new earth in Amos 9:13-15; Hos. 2:21-23; Is. 5:10; 30:23-25; 65:17-25; Ez. 34:26-27; 36:8, 29-30; Zech. 8:12; Jer. 31:12; Ps. 72:16.

natural world (BW 17-36; 2 En.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE; Jub.). On the other hand, in some cases the garden appears to be a picture of a heavenly place of blessing (BW 17-36 (?); BP 3; AB; 2 En.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Yet even in these cases there are descriptions of material elements, such as trees, fruit, streams, and other aspects of a garden (BW 17-36; BP 3; 2 En. 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). In some instances, such as much of BW 17-36, these features of nature in Paradise appear to be metaphorical descriptions of spiritual bliss. Frequently, however, such descriptions suggest an expectation that material features of nature will even be part of the heavenly existence of the righteous (e.g. 2 En.). They also reflect the pervasive apocalyptic expectation that the material world will be transformed and perfected in the new age.

5. Summary of the Redemption of Creation

The following table summarizes the major aspects of the redemption of creation in the Jewish apocalyptic writings:

Table 25: The Redemption of Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

Aspect of the Redemption of Creation	BW			AB		BD		1 En. Bk 5			Jub	2 En	BP			4 Ez	2 Bar	Ap Mos/ LAE
	1-5	6-16	17-36	72-79, 82	80	83-84	AA	AW	Ep	Noah			Par 1	Par 2	Par 3			
1. Not discussed	X				X	X			X				X					
2. Final dwelling of righteous																		
Heaven								X	X			X	X	X		?	X	?
Earth	X	X					X				X			X	?	X	X	
God will dwell on earth among righteous							X				X			X				X
Earthly Paradise (Eden)			X								X	X				?	X	X
3. Temporary Earthly Kingdom																		
Temporary period of material prosperity on earth		X					X	X		X				X		X	X	
Messianic kingdom							X	X						X		X	X	

Aspect of the Redemption of Creation	BW			AB		BD		1 En. Bk 5			Jub	2 En	BP			4 Ez	2 Bar	Ap Mos/ LAE
	1-5	6-16	17-36	72-79, 82	80	83-84	AA	AW	Ep	Noah			Par 1	Par 2	Par 3			
4. Relationship of Old and New Creations																		
New creation				X				X			2	?			X	2	1	
New heavens								X										
New earth																X	X	
Renewal of present creation	X	X	X	X			X				1	X		X	X	1	2	
Transformation of creation	X	X									1			X		1	2	
Continuity between old and new Paradise			X	X								X			X	?	X	X
Restoration of pre-Fall conditions on earth							X					X				?		
Gradual renewal											X							
Final conditions greater than pre-Fall		X																
God reverses damage to creation		X									X				X	X	X	
5. Type of Changes																		
Heaven																		
Heaven transformed											X			X				
Luminaries brighter								X			X							
Earth and nature																		
Earth transformed		X									X			X	X	X	X	
Animals changed											X						X	
Plants superproductive		X										X					X	
All creation will obey God																		X
Death and disease																		
Death eliminated												X				X	X	
Longer lifespan		X									X							
No sickness or affliction	X	X									X	X		X	X	X	X	
Corruption eliminated												X			X	X	X	
Changes are eternal	X	X		X			X	X			X	X				X	X	
Changes in nature follow human spiritual renewal											X					X		X

Aspect of the Redemption of Creation	BW			AB		BD		1 En. Bk 5			Jub	2 En	BP			4 Ez	2 Bar	Ap Mos/ LAE
	1-5	6-16	17-36	72-79, 82	80	83-84	AA	AW	Ep	Noah			Par 1	Par 2	Par 3			
6. Nature in eternity																		
Nature operates in new world	X	X	?									X		X		X	X	
Plants		X	X	?							X	X			X	X	X	
Animals in new age											X	X					X	
Heavenly luminaries								X			X							
Human dwelling includes nature	X	X										X						
Righteous dwell in a heavenly garden												X			X			
Heavenly Paradise has material dimensions			X									X			X	X	X	
Punishment of disobedient parts of nature			X															
7. Flood typology																		
Flood a type of final judgment		X						X	X		X	X		X	X			
Flood a type of new creation															X	X		
8. End of the world/age																		
End of this world								?				X				X	X	
Cataclysmic end of world						X						X					X	
End of this age												X				X	X	?

D. The Personification of Creation

The personification of nature is a frequent feature of the Jewish apocalyptic writings. Of the materials studied, only BD 83-84, AW and 1 En. Noah have no personification of creation.

1. Types of Personification

There are three types of personification of the natural world: (1) Most frequently natural objects such as stars, the earth and animals have individual personalities (BW 1-5; 6-16; 17-

36; AB 80; AA; Ep. En; 2 En.; BP 1, 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). (2) Occasionally the whole natural world is personified together collectively (BW 1-5; BP 1). (3) In several writings angels work behind the scenes to control the operation of nature (Jub; AB; AB 80; 2 En.; BP 1, 3). Some writings combine both the control by angels and the personification of individual aspects of nature (AB 80; 2 En.; BP 1, 3).

The most common type of personification gives each feature of nature an individual personality. The most frequently personified elements are (1) the earth (BW 2-5; BW 6-16; AA; Ep. En.; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 2; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar); and (2) the heavenly luminaries, such as sun, moon and stars (BW 1-5; BW 17-36; AB 80; Ep. En.; 2 En.; BP 3; 2 Bar.). Other features personified are (3) the weather (e.g. lightning, rain, hail, snow, wind; BW 1-5; Ep. En.; 2 Bar.; BP 1, 3); (4) seasons (BW 1-5; 2 En.; BP 1); (5) mountains (BW 2-5; BP 2); (6) seas and rivers (BP 3; Ap. Mos./LAE); (7) trees (BW 1-5); and (8) animals (2 En.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE).

The most frequent type of personification in the Jewish apocalyptic materials is anthropopathism, i.e. ascribing human emotions to inanimate objects. (1) All aspects of the natural world fear God (BW 1-5; Ep. En.; 2 Bar.). (2) Created objects have great joy in the proper fulfillment of God's design for them (2 En.; BP 2; 2 Bar.). (3) The earth, seas and animals have sorrow about human sin (4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE). (4) They suffer oppression, fear and pain due to the sins of the Watchers (BW 6-16; AA) and humans (BW 6-16; Jub.; 4 Ez.) and they cry out for release from this oppression (BW 6-16; AA; Jub.). (5) The earth and mountains have great fear as they anticipate the coming eschatological cosmic disasters (BW 1-5; Ep. En.). (6) The earth will experience relief when evil is removed in the new age (4 Ez.). (7) Creation will have great joy when the Messiah comes and the righteous dwell on the renewed earth (BP).

Many apocalyptic writings ascribe intellectual capabilities to animals and inanimate objects. (1) Intellectual understanding is frequently attributed to the whole creation, including animals, the earth, seas and rivers, heavenly luminaries, weather and seasons (BP 1, 3; 2 En.;

4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). This often involves the ability to understand the speech of humans, God and angels. (2) Animals and inanimate objects also frequently have the power of conscious moral choice (BW 1-5; 17-36; BP 1, 3; AB 80; Ep. En.; 2 En.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). (3) In most cases, the natural world uses this moral capability to obey God, which accounts for the consistent operation of nature (BW 1-5; BP 1, 3; Ep. En.; 2 En.; 2 Bar.). At times, however, this moral choice is used to disobey God's will, and so parts of creation deviate from their proper course (BW 17-36; AB 80). (4) In Ap. Mos./LAE the natural world has such a great concern for human sin, that animals, the sun and the moon intercede for the sins of people.

In some instances animals and inanimate objects have speaking ability (2 En.; BP 1, 3; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos/LAE). This ability is used (1) to praise God and give thanks (2 En.; BP 1, 3); (2) to cry out for release from the oppression and sin of humans and the fallen Watchers (BW 6-16; AA; Jub.); and (3) to testify in the judgment against humans who treat them improperly (2 En.).

In many apocalyptic writings, the angels control the operation of various aspects of nature (AB; AB 80; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 1, 3). In most cases this emphasis suggests that God is in control of his creation through the mediation of his angels. It also emphasizes the consistency of the cycles of creation. In AB 80, however, some of the heavenly luminaries will deviate from their proper course in the last days, because the angels controlling them will disobey God's commandments. The association of angels with the operation of the natural world highlights the connection between righteousness and the operation of creation. When the angels are obedient to God, creation operates as God designed; when the angels disobey, the creation is corrupted.

2. Functions of Personification

In Jewish apocalyptic literature, the personification of the natural world is closely

related to the message about the present and future state of nature. It is not incidental to the message but serves to convey the message of apocalyptic more intensely.

There are several major functions of the personification of creation in apocalyptic literature: (1) It can stress the regularity of the operation of the natural world (BW 1-5; AB; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 1, 3; 2 Bar.). This is especially associated with passages that focus on the obedience of creation or the control of angels over the operation of the natural world. (2) The obedience of nature to God's will can serve as a model for humans to emulate (BW 2-5; Ep. En.; BP 1). This paraenetic function is closely related to the regularity of the natural world. When parts of nature disobey God's will, this serves as a model of accountability for sin (BW 17-36). (3) Personification can stress the corruption of creation (BW 6-16; 17-36; AA; AB 80; Jub; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE). This can be due to the effects of the Fall (Ap. Mos./LAE), the pre-Flood sins (BW 6-16; AA), ongoing human sin (Jub.; 4 Ez.), or eschatological sins resulting in deviations from the normal cosmic order (AB 80). (4) Personification can highlight eschatological events. The natural world has fear about the impending cosmic disasters (BW 1-5; BP 2; 4 Ez.). It also has joy about the coming transformation of creation and the renewal of human righteousness (BP 2). (5) Personification can demonstrate the solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation. Human sin has consequences for the whole created world, not simply the human race. This is shown by the pain and sorrow of the natural world due to the sins of humans (BW 6-16; AA; Jub.; 2 En.; 4 Ez.), by the intercession of the creation for human sins (Ap. Mos./LAE) and by the joy of creation when humanity is restored to righteousness in the new world (BP 2).

3. Summary of the Personification of Creation

The following table summarizes the major aspects of the personification of creation in the Jewish apocalyptic writings:

Table 26: The Personification of Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature

Aspect of the Personification of Creation	BW			AB		BD		1 En. Bk 5			Jub	2 En	BP			4 Ez	2 Bar	Ap Mos/ LAE
	1-5	6-16	17-36	72-79, 82	80	83-84	AA	AW	Ep	Noah			Par 1	Par 2	Par 3			
1. No personification						X		X		X								
2. Types of personification																		
Emotions																X	X	X
Fear							X		X							X		
God									X							X		
Eschatological disasters									X							X		
Due to sin of Watchers/ Giants							X											
Joy												X		X			X	
In fulfillment of duties												X		X			X	
Coming of Messiah, righteous on new earth														X				
Suffers pain due to sin		X					X									X		
Sorrow due to human sin																X		X
Relief when evil removed																X		
Speaking ability												X	X		X	X		X
Praises God												X	X		X			
Intercede for humans																		X
Testify in judgment												X						
Cries out for release from oppression		X					X				X							
From Watchers/Giants		X					X											
From humans		X									X							
Intellectual																		
Intellectual understanding																X	X	
Conscious moral choice	X		X										X					X
Nature obeys God	X								X			X	X		X		X	
Parts of nature disobey			X		X													
Judged			X										X					
3. Personalities of natural objects																		

Aspect of the Personification of Creation	BW			AB		BD		1 En. Bk 5			Jub	2 En	BP			4 Ez	2 Bar	Ap Mos/ LAE
	1-5	6-16	17-36	72-79, 82	80	83-84	AA	AW	Ep	Noah			Par 1	Par 2	Par 3			
Individual personalities	X	X	X		X		X		X			X	X		X	X	X	X
Angels operate natural world				X	X						X	X	X		X			
4. Function of personification																		
Stress regularity of nature	X			X							X	X	X		X		X	
Paraenetic	X		X						X				X					
Model of moral obedience	X								X				X					
Model of moral accountability			X															
Stress corruption of creation		X	X		X		X				X	X				X		X
Due to the Fall																		X
Due to pre-Flood sins of Watchers and humans		X					X											
Due to ongoing human sin											X					X		
Due to eschatological sin					X													
Highlight eschatological events	X													X		X		
Stress hope for a renewed earth														X				
5. Aspects of nature personified																		
Whole natural world	X												X					
Earth	X	X					X		X		X	X		X		X	X	
Mountains	X													X				
Heavenly luminaries	X		X		X				X			X			X		X	
Seasons	X											X	X					
Weather (lightning, hail, rain, snow, wind)	X								X				X		X			
Trees	X																	
Seas, rivers														X	X			X
Animals		X										X					X	X

SECTION III:

INTERPRETATION OF ROMANS 8:19-22 IN THE LIGHT OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

CHAPTER 7:

EXEGESIS OF ROMANS 8:19-22

A. The Theme and the Relationship of the Passage to Its Context

Rom. 8:19-22 focuses on two major themes: (1) the present corruption of the subhuman creation that resulted from the Fall of Adam; and, (2) the eschatological deliverance of creation from corruption to be transformed into a state of freedom and glory. In order to understand how this pericope fits into the larger context, it is essential to see that Paul repeatedly alternates between these twin themes of the corruption and redemption of creation.

Rom. 8:19-22 is a subsection of a larger passage (vv. 18-30)[1] that speaks of the hope of future glory amidst present suffering. Although believers can expect to suffer with Christ in this age (v. 17), their suffering is insignificant compared to the glory that they will enjoy in eternity (v. 18). Christians groan in suffering as they await the redemption of their bodies (v. 23), even as the rest of creation groans because of the corruption that resulted from the Fall (vv. 20-22). Yet believers should have hope (vv. 23-25) and confident assurance (v. 28-30) that they will be glorified with Christ, even as the subhuman material creation will be set free and transformed (vv. 19, 21). The Spirit of God helps believers through life in this age and intercedes for them (vv. 26-27).

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[1]The extent of the larger passage is debated. Most see the passage as vv. 18-30 (e.g. Käsemann, *Romans*, 231; Christoffersson, 141; Balz, 93; Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Römer 8 Als Beispiel Paulinscher Soteriologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), 139; Douglas Moo, *Romans 1-8*, The Wycliffe Exegetical Commentary, ed. Kenneth Barker (Chicago: Moody, 1991), 544-5). The shift to a series of rhetorical questions in v. 31 marks the start of a new section (Christoffersson, 141). Moo believers the inclusion formed by δόξα in v. 18 and δοξάζω in v. 30 marks the boundaries of the section. Some start the section at v. 17 instead of v. 18 (e.g. Cranfield, *Romans*, 404). Some believe the passage ends at v. 27 (Balz, 33). Others extend the passage to v. 39 (Edwin Lewis, "A Christian Theodicy. An Exposition of Romans 8:18-30," *Int* 11 (1957): 405).

Vv. 19-22 both support and expand on the themes of vv. 17-18: (1) Paul supports the thesis that believers will enjoy eternal glory despite their present suffering by showing that the created order also suffers but will one day be transformed to glory. (2) Paul expands the hope of glory to include the transformation of the natural world when believers are glorified.

Paul uses the divine promise of the ultimate redemption of creation (vv. 19-22) as support for the Christian hope of eternal glory (vv. 17-18).[2] This relationship is shown by the γάρ that links v. 19 to v. 18.[3] God plans that the natural order will be restored to its proper operation so that it may fulfil the purpose for which it was created. The creation eagerly awaits the time when believers will appear with Christ in glory (v. 19), because when the children of God are glorified then the creation also will be delivered from its slavery to corruption and futility (v. 21). The implication is that if God is going to deliver the natural world from the corrupting damage of sin and death, he can also be trusted to redeem the material bodies of his children (v. 23) and glorify them with Christ (vv. 17-18). The content of Christian hope encompasses all of creation, not only believers (vv. 19, 21). The redemption of the bodies of believers (v. 23) flows out of the divine plan to deliver the material world from slavery to death and decay (v. 22).

Vv. 19-22 also develops further the theme of suffering introduced in vv. 17-18. Suffering is a normal part of the Christian life. Believers must share in the sufferings of Christ in order to share in the eschatological glory of Christ (v. 17). Vv. 20-22 develop this theme further and extend it to a cosmic principle. The suffering of believers is not isolated, but it is related to the corruption of creation that is characteristic of this age.[4] The whole creation was

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[2]Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 36-7; Barrett, *Romans*, 165; Balz, 31.

[3]Cranfield, *Romans*, 410, notes that all of vv. 19-30 supports v. 18.

[4]Gore, 1:298-9. Barrett goes too far when he says that Paul is not concerned about creation for its own sake (Barrett, *Romans*, 165; but contrast Cranfield, "Observations," 229). Gager correctly notes that Paul universalizes the tension between suffering and glory in vv.19-22, even though Gager limits κτίσις to humanity (Gager, "Functional Diversity," 328, 330).

subjected to futility and enslaved to death and decay due to the impact of the Fall of Adam. This extends the principle of the far-reaching impact of Adam's sin even beyond what Paul described in Rom. 5:12-21. Adam's sin not only brought sin and death to all of Adam's descendants (5:12-21), it also put the whole created order in bondage to death, decay, corruption and futility (8:20-22).[5]

Yet the present suffering is not purposeless or without hope. The suffering-leads-to-glory principle that is characteristic of the Christian life (v. 17) is also part of the operation of the cosmos in this age (v. 20-22).[6] The agony of the natural world in this age is interpreted through the eyes of faith as birth pangs leading to a glorious new world rather than the death pangs of a dying creation (v. 22). Lewis sees vv. 18-39 as a type of theodicy that justifies God's ways with humans in terms of suffering as a prerequisite for glory. By focusing on the ultimate end of the suffering, which is glory, there is a basis for hope and a reason to patiently endure the suffering.[7]

The suffering and glory shared by believers and the rest of creation presupposes a solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation. Creation suffers due to the Fall of humanity and will be transformed when redeemed humanity is resurrected and glorified.

Paul may be trying to counteract an overly realized eschatology that could be inferred from his teachings about victory in the Spirit earlier in Rom. 8. The presence of the Spirit in every believer (vv. 4-16) should not be understood triumphalistically as if believers have already obtained heavenly glory and will no longer suffer in this life (v. 17).[8] Even Christians

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[5]D. M. Russell, 188-9, notes that the "movement from individual to cosmic concerns in Romans 8 mirrors the same emphasis in 5.1-21." Nils A. Dahl, "Two Notes on Romans 5," *ST* 5 (1952): 37-48, also notes that Rom. 8:14-39 elucidates the themes of Rom. 5:1-11.

[6]Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 36-7; Gore, 1:298-9.

[7]Lewis, "Christian Theodicy," 405-8.

[8]Käsemann, *Romans*, 229, 231. Käsemann believes "enthusiasts" in Rome emphasized glossolalia and interpreted glossolalia as proof of freedom in the Spirit, whereas Paul inter-

face suffering and death in this life, since the entire creation suffers from the consequences of sin in this age (vv. 20-22). The time is coming when both believers and the natural world will experience freedom and glory (v. 19, 21, 23, 29-30). Glory and the redemption of the bodies of believers will be part of the new world, which both the material creation and believers eagerly await (v. 19, 23).

B. Structure of the Passage

There have been numerous suggestions about the structure of vv. 18-30.[9] Zahn's analysis has influenced many later exegetes. He argues that the theme of the passage is the greatness of the coming glory, which is stated in v. 18 and then developed in the following verses. The threefold groaning is the key to the structure:

1. Thesis: the greatness of the coming glory (v. 18)
2. Threefold groaning:
   a. Creation (vv. 19-22)
   b. Believers (vv. 23-25)
   c. The Spirit (vv. 26-27)
3. Assurance of coming glory (vv. 28-30)[10]

One weakness of this approach is that the type of groaning is not the same in each case. In particular, the groaning of the Spirit is quite different than the groaning of creation and believers. The Spirit groans in intercession and thus has a positive function, while the groaning of believers is due to their anxiously awaiting the redemption of their bodies. The groaning of creation is due to its enslavement to corruption, but it also looks forward to its

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preted it as a cry for freedom. Although Käsemann's concept of the background of the passage has not been widely accepted, he is probably correct that Paul's teachings about suffering as a preparation for glory were written to help counteract an overly realized eschatology.

[9]See Christoffersson, 28-33, 141 for an extensive discussion of various alternatives.

[10]Zahn, 515; cf. Nygren, 329-30; Beker, "Vision of Hope," 28-9; John Bolt, "The Relation Between Creation and Redemption in Romans 8:18-27," *Calvin Theological Journal* 30, no. 3 (April 1995): 41-3 and Balz, 33 (who develops the structure in more detail).

redemption as the creative groaning of childbirth.[11]

Another drawback of Zahn's scheme is that it does not do justice to the dual themes of suffering and glory that repeatedly recur throughout the passage. Zahn believes that the overall theme focuses on glory, even though the large groanings section (vv. 19-27) focuses on suffering. Even many who follow Zahn's basic structure disagree about the central theme. Some see the unifying theme in the vv. 18-30 to be glory[12] or the hope of glory.[13] Others believe the passage focuses on bringing comfort to believers in sufferings.[14] A few stress the role of the Spirit in the passage,[15] but this is not effective as a unifying theme since it only plays a part in vv. 23, 26-27 (contrast vv. 1-16, where πνεῦμα appears in the majority of verses).

The most satisfactory understanding of the unifying theme combines the motifs of suffering and hope of glory into one dual-sided theme. Christoffersson agrees with Zahn that the theme statement is in v. 18. His theme statement, however, more satisfactorily integrates the dual motifs: "the present suffering is nothing as compared with the future glory."[16] He argues that the theme of suffering is developed in vv. 19-25 and the theme of glory is developed in vv. 28-30, with a turning point in the work of the Spirit in vv. 26-27. He proposes the following structure:

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[11]Cf. U. Luz, *Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus* (Munich: Kaiser, 1968), 377.

[12]Moo, *Romans*, 544-5; Zahn, 515.

[13]Henning Paulsen, *Überlieferung und Auslegung in Römer 8* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1974), 107 (hope); Cranfield, *Romans*, 403 ("indwelling of the Spirit – the gift of hope"); cf. Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*. Also Schlatter, 264; Karl Kertelge, *The Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972) (infuse certainty of salvation).

[14]Nygren, 335.

[15]Dunn, *Romans*, 465-6, "the Spirit as firstfruits."

[16]Christoffersson, 143.

1. Transition from the preceding and basis for the thesis (v. 17)
2. Thesis: the present suffering is nothing as compared with the future glory (v. 18)
3. The present suffering (vv. 19-25)
   a. Testimony from Creation (vv. 19-22)
   b. Testimony from the believers (vv. 23-25)
4. The turning point at the spirit's intercession (vv. 26-27)
5. The coming glory (vv. 28-30)

Christoffersson correctly notes that verse 17 serves both as a transition from the preceding section and a foundation for the following section: Sharing in Christ's suffering is essential for sharing in future glory with him. The thesis statement of v. 18 is based on this proposition.[17] This view describes the theme statement of v. 18 more accurately than Zahn's approach, since it combines both suffering and glory. Nevertheless, this outline does not go far enough to show that both suffering and glory appear in each of the major subsections. It misses the strong theme of hope and anticipation of future glory found in vv. 19-22 and 23-25. The unifying motif is neither suffering nor glory alone. Only a combination of the present suffering and the hope of future glory unites the passage.

The following structural model better takes into consideration this dual theme:

0. Transition: Believers share in the present suffering of Christ and will share in the future glory of Christ (v. 17).
1. Thesis: the present suffering is insignificant compared with the future glory of believers (v. 18)
2. Hope of future glory amidst present suffering:
   a. All creation groans in suffering, yet looks forward with hope to future glory (vv. 19-22)
   b. Believers groan as they await in hope the future redemption of their bodies (vv. 23-25)
   c. The Spirit's groaning in intercession helps believers in this age of suffering (vv. 26-27)
3. Confident assurance of the coming glory (vv. 28-30)

As this outline shows, the themes of present suffering and hope for future glory are tightly intertwined throughout the passage.[18] Paul moves back and forth between the two

[17]Ibid., 142; cf. Beker, "Vision of Hope," 30. Beker notes the shift from the present triumph of the Church through the Spirit (vv. 1-17b) to the future hope of glory (vv. 18-30). Vv. 1-17b describe the Church against the world, but vv. 18-30 describe the Church for the world in solidarity with it. Beker argues that v. 17c marks the shift by introducing the theme of suffering and glory.

[18]A possible exception is vv. 26-27. Yet even though this section on the intercession of the

themes easily because his goal is to give assurance of future glory to believers who are in the midst of suffering. Vv. 19-22 show that this is true not only for believers but also for the rest of creation.

Within vv. 19-22, Paul alternates back and forth between these dual themes of the present suffering and the expectation of future glory:

Glory:	Creation looks forward expectantly to the revelation of the sons of God (v. 19)
Suffering:	Creation is subjected to futility (v. 20a-b)
Glory:	Creation hopes to be set free and brought into the freedom of the glory of the children of God (vv. 20c-21)
Suffering:	Creation groans and suffers the pains of childbirth (v. 22)

In addition to the theme of suffering, v. 22 also has an underlying motif of hope for future glory, since the agony of childbirth is a productive pain that leads to a positive result.

The close interplay of these two themes shows that no structural suggestion that focuses on only one motif is adequate. The entire passage (vv. 18-30) focuses on enduring present suffering with a hopeful expectation of future glory. The corruption and redemption of creation discussed in vv. 19-22 both supports this dual sided central motif and extends it beyond focusing only on believers to show that God is also concerned for the subhuman created order.

C. The Meaning of Κτίσις

The meaning of **κτίσις** is one of the most critical interpretive issues of this passage. In classical Greek the basic meaning of **κτίσις** does not necessarily have a theological connotation.[19] In the LXX and NT, however, the word consistently refers to that which is created by God. There are several meanings in the LXX:[20] (1) Most often **κτίσις** refers to "the creation of

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Spirit helps believers through present suffering, it is still forward looking and hopeful.

[19]Liddell and Scott, 1003.

[20]Although the Greek version that probably lies behind the Latin version of 4 Ezra is not extant, it is interesting that the Latin *creatura* in 4 Ezra parallels this range of usages: (1) the material world (5:44, 45, 55, 56; 7:75 (possibly creation as a whole); 8:45; (2) an individual

God in its totality" (Jdt. 9:12; 3 Macc. 2:2; 7; 6:2; Wis. 5:17; Sir. 16:17; 49:16?).[21] The LXX often uses the expression "the whole creation" or "every creature." (2) In several passages, κτίσις refers to creatures. It can refer to humans, animals and created things in nature (Jdt. 16:14; Tob. 8:5) or exclusively creatures in nature (Tob. 8:15; Sir. 43:25). (3) There are several instances where the term is limited to the non-human material creation or "nature." These references can be collective (Wis. 2:6; 16:24; 19:6, as shown by the succeeding verses even though it says ὅλη ἡ κτίσις) or they can refer to individual creatures (Tob. 8:15; Sir. 43:25 (sea creatures)). (4) In Sir. 49:16 the word may be restricted to human beings, for Adam is said to have been honored above every created thing in a list of highly honored people. It is also possible, however, as Nelson suggests that this is another reference to creation as a whole.[22] (5) Nelson believes Tob. 8:5, 15 refer to rational creatures, including humanity.[23] In Tob. 8:15, however, "creatures" are clearly distinguished from believers and angels, indicating that κτίσις is limited here to creatures in nature.[24] Tob. 8:5 may refer to rational creatures, since they are called to bless God, but it is more likely a reference to earthly creatures (animate and inanimate), in contrast to heavenly ones ("heaven" may be metonymy for creatures in heaven). This wide range of uses in the LXX shows that the exact nuance of κτίσις can only be determined by its usage in a particular context. Even apparently comprehensive expressions like "all creation" and "the whole creation" may be limited to a subset of created things (Tob. 8:15; Wis. 19:6; Sir. 43:25; 49:16).

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creature (e.g. 7:62; 11:6); (3) people: the people of God (8:47; 13:26), a baby (8:8); and (4) the verbal sense of act of creating (6:38).

[21]Nelson, *Groaning*, 142.

[22]Ibid., 152. Adam is honored ὑπὲρ πᾶν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει, which could mean κτίσις refers to every created thing.

[23]Ibid., 143. It is interesting that these are the only verses in the LXX to use the plural.

[24]"Let the holy ones and all your creatures and all the angels and your elect praise you."

The range of uses for κτίσις in the NT is similar to that of the LXX: (1) The most common use is the collective sense of "the sum total of everything created"[25] (Mk. 10:6; 13:19; Col. 1:15, 23?; Heb. 9:11; 2 Pet. 3:4; Rev. 3:14 (possibly verbal)). (2) Another common use refers to an individual creature or created thing. This usage can be limited to humans and animals (Rom. 1:25, cf. v. 23) or it can comprehensively refer to any type of created thing (Rom. 8:39; Heb. 4:13[26]). It is never used in the NT in the plural, however, and the collective meaning is never far from view, even when individual creatures are referred to. (3) A few instances limit the meaning to humankind in a collective sense (Mk. 16:15; possibly Col. 1:23). (4) An important variation of the human category refers to the new human creatures created by the transforming work of God through the new birth, which is like a second creation (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal 6:15). (5) At least one verse uses the word in a verbal sense to refer to "the act of creation"[27] (Rom. 1:20). Gal. 6:15 also has a verbal nuance when it refers to the new creation of God in transforming a believer. (6) The only secular meaning of κτίσις in the NT refers to an authoritative institution or government created by people (1 Pet. 2:13).

In both the LXX and the NT, the expression "all creation" (πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις) sometimes refers only to a part of the creation of a certain class. It can be limited to animals (Tob. 8:15; Wis. 19:6 (ὅλη ἡ κτίσις); Sir. 43:25) or humankind (Mk. 16:15; Col. 1:23; Sir. 49:16, ὑπὲρ πᾶν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει). These expressions sometimes indicate comprehensiveness within the scope of the creation that is in focus.

Modern scholars have generally followed the same classification alternatives[28] as the Church Fathers for the meaning of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22: (1) Universal: Many scholars

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[25]BAGD, 456.

[26]This verse describes a general principle that is applied to human beings. Cf. NIV: "nothing in creation"; BAGD, 456. Nelson, 245, limits it to humans.

[27]BAGD, 455.

[28]The classification names are taken from Christoffersson, 19-21, 33-6.

understand κτίσις in the widest possible manner to include all of creation, including humanity and angels.[29] (2) Cosmic: The most widespread view is that κτίσις refers to the subhuman creation, both animate and inanimate, or essentially what is called nature today.[30] (3) Anthropological: Some have followed the Augustinian view that κτίσις is limited to humanity,[31] with a few limiting it (3A) only to believers,[32] or (3B) only to unbelievers.[33] (4) Cosmo-anthropological: Some believe the word refers to both the subhuman creation and unbelieving humanity.[34] This is similar to the universal view, but it excludes angels, demons and believers. (5) Angelogical: Fuchs takes the unusual position that it refers to angels.[35]

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[29]E.g. Nelson, *Groaning*, 192-3, 249-53; Gibbs, "Cosmic," 471; Gerber, 64-8; Barrett, *Romans*, 166; Michel, 173; Griffith, "Apocalyptic," 178; Brunner, *Creation and Redemption*, 2:439. But in Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, 72), he says κτίσις refers to unbelieving humanity.

[30]E.g. Cranfield, "Observations," 225; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 506; Moo, *Romans*, 551; Dunn, *Romans*, 469; Murray, 303; Dodd, *Bible*, 108; Godet, *Romans*, 102; Zahn, 400; Meyer, *Romans*, 2:374; Fritzsche, 151; Bardenhewer; W. Manson, "Notes," 163; Gaugler, 1:1:299; Francis, 150; Boylan, 142; Loane, 81, 90; Sanders, *Paul*, 473; Bridger, 299-230; Leon Morris, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1988), 322; Thackeray, 40; Barth, *Romans*, 306-8. But in Barth, *Shorter*, 99, he says κτίσις is mainly humanity.

[31]Schlatter, 274; Gager, "Functional Diversity," 328-9; T.W. Manson, 966; E. W. Hunt, *Portrait of Paul* (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1968), 163; Barth, *Shorter*, 99 (but in his longer commentary he takes the cosmic view). Schlatter says it refers to "the homogeneous, closed circle" of humanity.

[32]Reumann, 98-9; Vögtle, "Röm 8,19-22," 351-66; Vögtle, *Zukunft des Kosmos*, 183-207; Hommel, 7-23; H. Schmidt, *Römer*, 145. Reumann and Hommel believe that Paul used an apocalyptic fragment that originally referred to the world awaiting transformation. Paul, however, changes the meaning to refer to believers awaiting the glory that is "not yet" for them (p. 101; cf. Gager, "Functional Diversity," 337). Vögtle says the passage is not a creation theology but an expression of anthropology and soteriology.

[33]Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, 72, n. 16. Gager, "Functional Diversity," 329, argues that κτίσις in this passage originally referred to the whole created order, but for Paul this cosmic dimension is limited to humans.

[34]Käsemann, *Romans*, 232-3; Leenhardt, 219; Werner Foerster, "Κτίζω," TDNT, 3:1031.

[35]E. Fuchs, *Freiheit*, 109.

The universal view is appealing in light of the reference to "all creation" (v. 22).[36] Nelson says, "Paul's reference in Romans 8:19 is probably the widest possible, without intention to exclude any category."[37] The reference to πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, however, is not decisive. For in both the LXX and NT, "all creation" and "whole creation" can be less than comprehensive, when a particular class of creature is in focus in the context. Most commentators find it difficult to consistently maintain the universal view, and so tend to drift toward the cosmic view. Nelson, for example, contradicts his generally universal position when he comments on v. 20, "because of the presence of the expression οὐχ ἑκοῦσα the creation in this reference should probably be limited to the non-human order." Similarly Gibbs says "ἡ κτίσις undoubtedly refers to the whole creation," yet later he appears to distinguish "creation" from humanity: "There is a solidarity between man and creation, so that the creation suffers under the pain of man's Fall."[38]

Since κτίσις and even πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις have a wide range of possible meanings in the LXX and the NT, the context of Rom. 8:19-22 must determine what κτίσις refers to. Most scholars start with the broadest meaning of the word and then eliminate certain aspects of the created order that are incompatible with the passage.[39]

Angels should be excluded since good angels have not been subjected to futility or corruption, either because of human sin or their own actions (vv. 20-21). Demons should also be excluded since they will not be redeemed (v. 21) and they do not long for the revealing of the sons of God (v. 19). Furthermore, the subjection of demons to the consequences of sin was because of their own disobedience, so the expression "not according to their own will" would

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[36]Nelson, *Groaning*, 253; Gibbs, "Cosmic," 471.

[37]Nelson, *Groaning*, 192.

[38]Gibbs, "Cosmic," 471-2.

[39]Murray, 301.

not be appropriate (v. 20). Heaven, as well, can be excluded since it has not been subjected to futility or decay (vv. 20-21).[40]

The NT occasionally uses κτίσις in the sense of the unbelieving world (Mk. 16:15). Hommel points out the similarity between Rom. 1:21 and Rom. 8:20. In Rom. 1:21 the Gentiles became futile in their thinking because of their refusal to honor God. Hommel argues that this is similar to the subjection of creation to futility in Rom. 8:20.[41] In Rom. 1:21, however, κτίσις is not used,[42] so the verse does not clarify the use of this word. More importantly, unbelievers should be excluded from the meaning of κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22, because unbelievers are hardly eagerly awaiting the revealing of the children of God (v. 19).[43] This view also implies that all people will be saved and delivered from bondage to sin and its consequences (v. 21). The NT use of κόσμος would fit this view better than κτίσις, since it is often used in the NT to refer to the world of unbelievers.[44]

The view that κτίσις refers to believers would fit the theme of the context about the suffering and glory of Christians. Paul also is able to use κτίσις to refer to believers (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15),[45] although in those passages he refers to believers as a new creation.[46]

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[40]Plumer, 404-5.

[41]Hommel, 19.

[42]Though in Rom. 1:20 κτίσις is used in a verbal sense.

[43]Murray, 302.

[44]Käsemann, *Romans*, 232; Cranfield, *Romans*, 411. Nelson, *Groaning*, 149-51, has an illuminating discussion of the similarities and differences of κόσμος and κτίσις. "Whereas κόσμος participates in the sin and is characterized by it, and thus in its estrangement from God can only be transitory, the κτίσις is said by Paul to be under a subjection for which it is not responsible; to which it submitted in hope; and from which it expects to be delivered" (p. 151).

[45]Hommel, 19; Gager, "Functional Diversity," 328.

[46]On the surface Heb. 4:13, appears to use κτίσις in reference to people. In fact it applies to humanity a general principle about the accountability of all creatures to God.

Paul, however, frequently contrasts believers and κτίσις in Rom. 8. The creation eagerly awaits the revealing of the sons of God (v. 19) and will benefit from the freedom of the glory that believers will enjoy (v. 21). V. 23 also contrasts believers with κτίσις as described in v. 22. The phrase "not only so, but we ourselves also" (οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ) shows that believers groan (v. 23) in a similar way to the rest of creation (v. 22). It also distinguishes believers from that part of creation that is groaning with the pains of childbirth (v. 22).[47]

In support of the view that κτίσις refers to humanity in general, some have suggested that the emotional and volitional descriptions are literal human responses, not personifications of the natural world. Schlatter argues that terms such as eager expectation (v. 19), frustration (v. 20), choice (v. 20), hope (v. 20) and groaning (v. 22) are personal acts indicating consciousness, which suggest that Paul has humanity in mind.[48] This view, however, combines the weaknesses of both the believers and the unbelievers views. In particular it makes no sense of the contrasts between κτίσις and believers (vv. 19, 21, 23), and it implies universal salvation of all people (v. 21). Furthermore, it could not be said that humanity was subjected to futility "not of its own will." For humanity was subjected to futility because of the disobedience of Adam, its representative and primal member.[49] In one sense, of course, humanity could be said to be subjected to futility not of its own will since people inherited the curse from Adam. Yet it is unlikely that Paul would distinguish Adam from the rest of humanity without pointing out such a distinction.[50]

Since angels, demons, humanity and heaven are excluded, it is most likely that Paul uses κτίσις in Rom. 8:19-22 in the sense of the subhuman material creation, which is roughly

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[47]Cranfield, *Romans*, 411; Murray, 302.

[48]Schlatter, 269-70.

[49]Murray, 302; Cranfield, "Observations," 225.

[50]Cranfield, *Romans*, 411.

equivalent to the modern term "nature." As has been shown, the LXX uses κτίσις in this sense both collectively (Wis. 2:6; 16:24; 19:6) and of individual creatures of the natural world (Tob. 8:15; Sir. 43:25). This is even done in references to πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις (Tob. 8:15; Wis. 19:6; Sir. 43:25).[51]

The emotional and volitional terms in Rom. 8:19-22 do not exclude the natural world. The personification of the natural world is frequent in both the OT and Jewish apocalyptic literature. Various aspects of nature are frequently described with emotions, intellect and will. The earth and other parts of nature have sorrow or pain due to human sin. They rejoice at human righteousness, the display of God's glory, the vindication of God and the presence of the righteous in the messianic kingdom.[52] Rom. 7-8 has other examples of personification (sin, death, the Law, the carnal mind).[53] The OT also refers to the suffering of the natural world due to human sin as well as to the transformation of nature in a future golden age of righteousness.[54]

Thus although the rhythm and structure of Rom. 8:19-22 are not typical of poetry, the language is richly poetic in its colorful imagery, personification and emotional sensitivity.[55] Even though the descriptions are figurative, the message of the passage regarding the suffering

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[51]Godet, *Romans*, 102; Zahn, 400; Meyer, *Romans*, 2:374.

[52]Cry of pain and sorrow due to sin: Gen. 4:11; Is. 24:4, 7; Jer. 4:28; 12:4. Joy: Ps. 65:12f; 98:4, 7-9; Is. 14:7-8; fear in God's presence: Ps. 77:16; 97:4-5; 114:3-8; consciousness, intellectual understanding: Is. 1:2; cf. Lk. 19:40 (stones cry out Jesus' identity); joy when the righteous are in the messianic kingdom: Is. 55:12.

[53]Plumer, 405-6.

[54]The suffering of nature because of sin: Gen. 3:17; Is. 24:4-7; 33:9; Jer. 4:4, 11, 26-28; the eschatological transformation of nature: Is. 11:6-9; 65:17-25; 66:22-23.

[55]Dodd, *Romans*, 133; Cranfield, *Romans*, 404-5. Deichgraber calls it a "cosmic liturgy" or a hymn of praise, cf. Rom. 11:36; 15:9-12; Phil. 2:10; Col. 1:20; Rev. 5:13; 19:5 (Reinhard Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1967), 211). Deichgraber correctly recognizes the poetic quality of the passage but he overplays the liturgical function of Rom. 8:19-22, which is more clearly evident in his other examples.

of the natural world due to sin should not be demythologized or anthropologized. The present suffering of creation is very real, and God will bring this suffering to an end when Christ returns.[56]

D. The Interpretation of Verse 19

Creation is anxiously longing (ἀποκαραδοκία . . . ἀπεκδέχεται) as it waits for the sons of God to be revealed. Ἀποκαραδοκία is a rare word. The noun has not been found prior to Paul, although the cognate verb ἀποκαραδοκέω was occasionally used in literary Koine as early as the second century B.C.[57] The word means "expectant waiting" or "eager expectation."[58] The etymology implies "straining the neck (or head)," "craning forward to see something."[59] This suggests an image of a crowd standing on tiptoe straining with outstretched heads to catch the first glimpse of a person or event eagerly longed for (such as the arrival of a victor's chariot).[60] Both NT occurrences are associated with ἐλπίς (cf. Phil. 1:20), which suggests that ἀποκαραδοκία involves "confident expectation.[61]" In Rom. 8 the forward looking character of the word is shown by the hope that creation will be delivered from subjection to decay and share in the freedom of the glorified children of God (vv. 20b-21). Bertram sees an element of anxiety ("anxious, doubtful waiting") due to the suffering that creation is now experiencing (vv.

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[56]Cf. Gore, 1:305.

[57]James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament. Illustrated From the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources* (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1930), 63, believe that Paul coined the noun. The root verb καραδοκεώ is found in 5th-6th C. B.C. classical writers such as Heroditus and Xenophon (Liddell and Scott, 877).

[58]BAGD, 92.

[59]Cranfield, *Romans*, 410.

[60]Stacey, "Paul's Certainties," 180; G. Bertram, "Αποκαραδοκία," *ZNW* 49 (1958): 265; Loane, 82.

[61]G. Delling, "Αποκαραδοκία," TDNT, 1:393; D. R. Denton, "Αποκαραδοκία," *ZNW* 73 (1982): 138-40.

20-22).[62] The context, however, shows that the expectancy is marked by confidence that God's promise will be fulfilled, which leads most modern scholars to reject any negative nuances for the word.[63]

The verb ἀπεκδέχομαι reinforces the idea of eager waiting. It means "to await eagerly or expectantly for some future event," "to look forward eagerly."[64] It is always associated in the NT with the idea of eschatological hope, particularly in relation to the second coming of Christ (e.g. Phil. 3:20; 1 Cor. 1:7; Heb. 9:28) or the final perfection of believers (Gal 5:5).[65] In the immediate context the word is associated with the hope of creation for deliverance from bondage to decay (v. 20) and the hope of believers who wait eagerly for their final adoption and the redemption of their bodies (vv. 23, 25). Thus the whole creation eagerly awaits the revelation of the sons of God, even as believers eagerly await the redemption of their bodies.

Grammatically ἀποκαραδοκία rather than κτίσις is the subject of the verb ἀπεκδέχεται. This is somewhat surprising since the verb expects a personal subject rather than an abstract one. Many English translations, in fact, make "creation" the subject,[66] since logically (if not grammatically) the creation does the waiting (ἀπεκδέκετα) for the sons of God to be revealed. This is also confirmed by the subjective genitive τῆς κτίσεως, which indicates that creation

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[62]Bertram, "Αποκαραδοκία," TDNT, 1:264-70. Theodore of Mopsuestia believed the word had a negative connotation because the prefix α- negated καραδοκέω ("to hope") and so ἀποκαραδοκία means "to despair" (*Patrologiae Graeca* 66:824). This etymology is rejected by most modern scholars.

[63]E.g. Delling, "Αποκαραδοκία," TDNT, 1:393; Denton, 138-40; Nelson, *Groaning*, 190-1; Moo, *Romans*, 550, n. 15.

[64]Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988-1989), 25:63.

[65]Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 2nd ed., trans. William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 83.

[66]E.g. RSV, NIV, NEB, NRSV, but contrast the more literal rendering of KJV and NASV, which keep the "anxious longing" the subject.

performs the implied verbal idea of the subject, ἀποκαραδοκία, and thus "eagerly expects." Christoffersson suggests that making ἀποκαραδοκία the subject of the sentence intensifies the longing of creation.[67]

Schlatter argues that the eager waiting of creation suggests that κτίσις refers to humans rather than the natural world, since animals, plants and mountains are not normally thought to have emotional responses or consciousness.[68] This type of figurative language, however, abounds in this passage: creation waits eagerly (v. 19), it is frustrated, it has the ability to choose, it has hope (v. 20), it will share in the freedom of the redeemed (v. 21), and it groans in pain (v. 22). As has been shown, personification of the natural world is a common poetic device in the OT and Jewish apocalyptic literature.[69] In this instance, the personification highlights the close relationship between the eschatological fate of the natural world and redeemed humanity. The natural world "eagerly awaits" the revelation of the sons of God in glory, because it is at that time that creation will be set free from its slavery to corruption and will be transformed to share the freedom of the glory of the redeemed children of God (v. 21).

The meaning of "the revelation of the sons of God" (τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ) has been much discussed. The use of ἀποκάλυψις with believers as the object is unusual. In what sense will the sons of God be "revealed"? Christoffersson sees this as a major argument against the claim that τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ refers to believers. He argues that revelation implies that something is hidden, which is not true of Christians.[70] It will be shown, however, that it is quite reasonable to use ἀποκάλυψις with believers.

Ἀποκάλυψις is used several times in the NT to refer to events surrounding the Second

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[67]Christoffersson, 103, n. 40.

[68]Schlatter, 274.

[69]See section II. Cf. Fritzsche, 151.

[70]Christoffersson, 103-4.

Coming of Christ. 1 Cor. 1:7 refers to "waiting for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ." Similarly 2 Th. 1:7 refers to "the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with angels" (cf. 1 Pet. 1:7, 13).[71] In these references ἀποκάλυψις is not the revelation of a message but the appearance or unveiling of a person – Jesus Christ. The nuance of ἀποκάλυψις in these passages is very close to the meaning of φανερόω and cognate words. This is the sense of ἀποκάλυψις in Rom. 8:19, which says that the sons of God are revealed. Other passages refer to eschatological events surrounding the Second Coming: the eschatological glory to be revealed at the Second Coming (1 Pet. 4:13; 5:1), the final Judgment (Rom. 2:5) and the final salvation of believers (1 Pet. 1:5). The eschatological use of ἀποκάλυψις, therefore, involves a whole complex of events surrounding the Second Coming of Christ, in which believers participate. Furthermore, references to the glory of believers are significant in light of v. 18, which refers to the revelation of glory to believers (cf. v. 21).

There are many suggestions about the meaning of "the revelation of the sons of God": (1) Some, such as Stuhlmacher, Sanday and Headlam, say that it refers to the coming of the redeemed with Christ at his Second Coming.[72] (2) Boylan says that it involves a public manifestation of the glory of believers.[73] (3) Others stress that the true status of Christians will be shown.[74] For example, Moo says that "Christians, suffering (v. 18) and weak (v. 26) like all other people, do not 'appear' in this life much like sons of God, but the last day will

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[71]Several passages in Jewish apocalyptic literature also refer to the Messiah being revealed in the sense of appearing at the end of the age: 4 Ez. 7:28, "my son the Messiah shall be revealed" (*revelabitur*); 2 Bar. 39:7, his dominion is revealed; 1 En. 52:9; 62:7, Son of Man was concealed but will be revealed to the elect; 69:27. Cf. 1 En. 1:4, which says God will appear (φανήσεται) from heaven.

[72]Sanday and Headlam, 207-8; Peter Stuhlmacher, *Paul's Letter to the Romans*, trans. Scott J. Hafemann (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 134.

[73]E.g. Boylan, 143; Cranfield, *Romans*, 412.

[74]Dunn, *Romans*, 470; Moo, *Romans*, 550; Cranfield, *Romans*, 412; Murray, 303.

publicly show our real status."[75] Similarly, Cranfield says that although believers are already sons of God in this life (vv. 14-16), their sonship is veiled except to faith. Believers have been adopted, but at that future time their adoption will be publicly proclaimed (v. 23).[76] (4) Moo also notes that the event is more than an unveiling: there is an actual transformation of believers into glory at that time by a divine act (cf. v. 18, 21, 23).[77]

The concept of the revelation of the sons of God is a complex idea with several dimensions: (1) Ἀποκάλυψις and ἀποκαλύπτω often have the idea of appearing, particularly with reference to Christ's Second Coming. At the most basic level, it refers to the appearance of glorified believers with Christ at his Second Coming (cf. Col. 3:4; 1 Jn. 3:2).[78] (2) The event also reveals the identity of the children of God. At any time in history, only a limited number of believers are visible on earth. Many are hidden because of death[79] and others have not yet been born. The unveiling of believers in glory will be the first time that the entire Church will be gathered together and seen as a whole. (3) It also involves the revelation of the glory of the children of God, after they receive their glorified resurrection bodies.[80] As Moo observes, this glory involves the transformation of believers into glory in their new resurrection bodies (vv. 18, 21, 23), as well as the public unveiling of their glorified state. That which believers have "in preliminary form and in hiddenness will be brought to its final stage and made publicly

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[75]Moo, *Romans*, 550; cf. Schlatter, 268.

[76]Cranfield, *Romans*, 412.

[77]Moo, *Romans*, 550-1; cf. Murray, 303.

[78]Sanday and Headlam, 207-8. Col. 3:4; 1 Jn. 3:21 use φανερόω to refer to this event. 1 Th. 4:16-17; 1 Cor. 15:23 also describe the coming of believers with Christ.

[79]Cf. Robert Govett, *Govett on Romans* (1891; reprint, Miami Springs, Florida: Conley and Schoettle, 1981), 329.

[80]Boylan, 143; Govett, 329. Govett says the glory of believers shall appear in the Resurrection even as Christ's glory was shown in His resurrection (1 Cor. 15:42-43).

evident."[81] (4) Although believers are already children of God (vv. 14-17), in a sense their adoption will not be completed until their bodies are resurrected (v. 23). Until the body is redeemed, their sonship is not complete. Hence, the time when believers are revealed as sons of God will be the first time that they are fully sons of God, with all the associated privileges.

Most scholars believe that τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ refers to glorified believers, in light of the frequent references to believers as sons of God in the context (e.g. vv. 14-17, 23).[82] Christoffersson, however, proposes that the phrase refers to the angels of the final Judgment who will come with Christ at his Second Coming. His arguments against interpreting the phrase as a reference to believers are: (1) No other NT passage speaks of a revelation of Christians.[83] (2) The revelation of the sons of God is a revelation to the sub-human creation, but revelation usually is directed to people. (3) There is nothing in 8:18-27 that identifies the sons as believers. Christoffersson argues that this passage comes from a different background than the context, so it is not appropriate to use vv. 13-17 for the identification of the sons of God in v. 19. (4) Believers long for their adoption as sons, which they do not yet have, at least in full measure.[84]

Christoffersson offers the following arguments for his interpretation of τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ as angels: (1) In his other letters Paul refers to angels who come with Christ (1 Th. 4:15-17; possibly 3:13;[85] 2 Th. 1:7; cf. Mt. 25:30f; Jude 14 (citing 1 En. 1:9?)). 2 Th. 1:7 is particularly important because it speaks of the revelation (τῇ ἀποκαλύψει) of the Lord Jesus with angels. (2) Several Jewish apocalyptic passages refer to the coming of angels with the Messiah (e.g.

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[81]Moo, *Romans*, 550-1.

[82]E.g. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 507; Cranfield, *Romans*, 412; Dunn, *Romans*, 459, 470.

[83]Christoffersson, 104, 120; cf. Balz, 38.

[84]Christoffersson, 120-1.

[85]Although τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ in 1 Th. 3:13 may refer to believers, not the angels.

1 En. 38:1-4; 4 Ez. 7:28; cf. 1 En. 1:4, 9 (God appears with angels in Judgment)). 4 Ez. 7:28 says the Messiah will be "revealed" when he comes in judgment, which is a close parallel to Rom. 8:19.[86] (3) There are some Qumran texts that refer to good angels as sons of God (1 QS 4.22; 9.8; 1 QH 3.22). Although no apocalyptic passage directly calls angels "sons of God," 1 En. 6:2 comes close when it calls the fallen Watchers "angels, the children of heaven."[87]

Christoffersson's helpful study shows many parallels between Rom. 8 and Jewish apocalyptic literature. Nevertheless, his arguments for the interpretation of **τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ** as angels are not persuasive. There is strong evidence that **τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ** refers to believers in this passage:

(1) The context speaks of believers as sons of God. The theme of the larger section is the suffering and glory of believers (vv. 17-18). Paul clearly uses "sons of God" (both **υἱοί** and **τέκνα**) for believers in the context (vv. 14-17, cf. 23 (**υἱοθεσία**)). It is believers who will be glorified (vv. 17-18, cf. v. 21). Christoffersson argues that Paul refers to believers in vv. 14-17, but switches to angels in v. 19. The change from **υἱός** (vv. 14, 19) to **τέκνον** (vv. 16, 17, 22) is not significant,[88] for both **υἱοί** (v. 14) and **τέκνα** (v. 16) refer to believers and are related to the Spirit's work in confirming believers' identity as children of God. Elsewhere in his letters Paul consistently uses the singular "son of God" (**ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ**) to refer to Christ and he uses the plural "sons of God" (**υἱοί θεοῦ**) to refer to believers. He never uses either singular or plural to refer to angels.[89]

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[86]2 Bar. 39:7 says the "dominion of my Anointed One . . . will be revealed." But this refers to the unveiling of his kingdom, not the person.

[87]Ibid., 122-4.

[88]Ibid., 98, n. 21, acknowledges that there is no basis for distinguishing between the two words in the NT (citing Bruce, 167). Nevertheless, he still tries to press a distinction in Rom. 8.

[89]In the Pauline corpus **τέκνον** always refers to Christians (Rom. 8:16, 17, 21; 9:8; Eph. 5:1; Phil. 2:15), except when it refers to ordinary children or when it is used metaphorically (e.g.

(2) While Christoffersson is correct that there is no other instance of ἀποκάλυψις with believers as an object, there are several instances where a similar concept occurs in different words. As has been shown, ἀποκάλυψις and ἀποκαλύπτω are used elsewhere almost in the sense of "manifest" or "appear." In eschatological contexts, ἀποκαλύπτω is roughly equivalent to φανερόω.[90] Louw and Nida classify φανερόω in the same semantic domain as ἀποκάλυψις and ἀποκαλύπτω: primary domain "know" and subdomain "well known, clearly shown, revealed." They indicate that in this sense φανερόω means "to cause something to be fully known by revealing clearly and in some detail - 'to make known, to make plain, to reveal, to bring to the light, to disclose.'"[91] Mundle observes, "In the NT the meaning of both words is virtually interchangeable, so that . . . any attempt at precise conceptual distinction only leads to artificial demarcations."[92]

There are some important passages with φανερόω in which believers appear with Christ: Col. 3:4 says that when Christ appears, believers will "appear with him in glory." The parallel concept is strengthened by the reference to δόξα, an important aspect of the eschatological future of believers in Rom. 8:18, 21. 1 Jn. 3:2 also refers to Christ's appearing and the appearing of transformed believers with him.[93] 1 Pet. 5:1, 4 speak of the eschatological glory

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spiritual children, children of wrath). Except for references to ordinary children or metaphorical usages (e.g. "children of Israel"), υἱός refers either to believers (Rom. 8:14, 19; 9:26 (quote); 2 Cor. 6:18 (quote); Gal. 3:26; 4:7) or Christ (Rom. 1:4, 9; 5:10; 8:3, 29, 32; 1 Cor. 1:9; 15:28; 2 Cor. 1:19; Gal. 1:16; 4:4, 6; Eph. 4:13; Col. 1:13; 1 Th. 1:10). The phrase υἱοί θεοῦ always refers to believers (Gal. 3:26; Rom. 8:14, 19) and the singular ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ always refers to Christ (Rom. 1:4; 2 Cor. 1:19; Gal. 2:20; Eph. 4:13).

[90]Φανερόω can be used in the strict sense of "reveal." A divine "mystery" is revealed with φανερόω in Col. 1:26 and ἀποκάλυψις in Rom. 16:21 and Eph. 3:3.

[91]Louw and Nida, 28.28-28.56.

[92]Wilhelm Mundle and Colin Brown, "Revelation," in NIDNTT, ed. Colin Brown (Grand Rapids, Mi.: Zondervan, 1978), 3: 312.

[93]Cf. Rudolf Karl Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), 120.

of believers in the context of the Second Coming (ἀποκαραδοκία) of Christ. In 1 Peter there is a shift from ἀποκαλύπτω (5:1) to φανερόω (5:4), while still speaking about Christ's Second Coming and the believer's future glory. There is, therefore, a close relationship between these terms in eschatological contexts, which supports the concept that believers will be revealed at the coming of Christ.

(3) The content of the eager expectation of creation is amplified in vv. 20c-21 as the hope of sharing in the freedom of the glory of the children of God.

(4) Although there are several NT passages that refer to angels coming with Christ at his Second Coming (2 Th. 1:7 is the clearest), Paul never refers to them as "sons of God." Despite the OT precedents (Gen. 6:2, 4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7), the NT does not pick up this usage. In light of the immediate context, which clearly identifies the "sons of God" as believers, it is unnecessary to reach further for an obscure reference to angels.

(5) While Christoffersson is correct that there are Jewish apocalyptic passages in which angels appear at the coming of the Messiah, the angels are not called "sons of God" in these passages nor elsewhere in the writings he cites. Some of these references may, in fact, refer to the redeemed coming with the Messiah. 1 En. 38:1 (Parable 1) probably refers to believers who come with the Messiah, rather than to angels as Christoffersson claims[94]: "The congregation of the righteous" is explained by v. 4, which refers to "the holy, the righteous and the elect" as the ones who will possess the earth (cf. v. 2). A similar expression is used in 1 En. 62:7-8 (Parable 3): "The congregation of the holy ones shall be planted and all the elect ones shall stand before him."[95] This shows that the "congregation of the righteous" refers to believers,

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[94]Christoffersson, 122, acknowledges that this is a possible interpretation. Several of Christoffersson's examples are not discussed here because they only refer to the revelation of the Messiah, not angels. He acknowledges the weakness of his position that the texts that he uses to support his thesis do not call the angels "sons of God" (p. 123).

[95]Cf. 51:4-5 (parable 2), the "righteous ones" and "elect ones" are believers who will dwell on the earth during the Messianic age when "the Elect One has risen." However, although it also mentions angels ("the faces of all the angels in heaven shall glow with joy"), they do not appear

who will be gathered with the Messiah (v. 7).

These factors support the conclusion that in Rom. 8:19 creation eagerly awaits the appearance of glorified believers with Christ. Although Christ's Second Coming is not specifically mentioned in vv. 19-22, vv. 17-18 say that believers will be glorified with Christ and v. 23 refers to the redemption of their bodies. These verses establish the eschatological context for the appearing of the sons of God (v. 19). Creation awaits this eschatological glory of the children of God (v. 21).[96]

E. The Interpretation of Verse 20

The post-positive γὰρ indicates that vv. 20-21 explain why creation waits so eagerly for the revelation of the sons of God. It is because creation has been subjected to futility and is enslaved to corruption. Thus creation looks forward to being set free to share in the freedom that the children of God will experience when they are glorified.

Creation was subjected to futility (ματαιότητι ἡ κτίσις ὑπετάγη). Paul stresses the futility of the present state of creation, by putting ματαιότητι first in the clause.[97] This involves a change from the original state of the creation; it is not part of "createdness itself," as Barth claims.[98] The present condition of nature is not as God originally designed. The timing of the event that brought the change is closely linked to the interpretation of who did the subjecting.

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on the earth as the righteous do.

[96]Ἀποκαραδοκία is used with the eschatological glory of believers in 1 Pet. 4:13; 5:1 (cf. 5:4, which uses φανερόω). These passages also have the present suffering-future glory motif found in Rom. 8:17-25.

[97]Cranfield, *Romans*, 413.

[98]Barth, *Romans*, 308, believes the futility is part of the way the material world was created. Similarly, C. F. D. Moule, *Man and Nature*, 11-2, argues that death was inherent in nature from the beginning. Cf. R. H Allaway, "Fall or Fall-Short?," *ExpTim* 97, no. 4 (1986): 109-10.

There has been much debate about who subjected (ὑπετάγη) creation to futility. (1) The most common view is that God subjected creation as a judicial pronouncement in response to Adam's disobedience. This links the passage to the curse on the ground in Gen. 3:17-18.[99] (2) Others believe that Adam subjected creation when he fell.[100] Since Adam was given dominion over the world, his sin subjected the world to futility.[101] (3) A few have suggested that humanity in general is in view.[102] (4) In his later *Shorter Commentary on Romans*, Barth takes the unusual position that Christ subjected the whole of creation to futility by the judgment pronounced and executed on the cross.[103] (5) A few claim that Satan or the "Satanic power of sin" resulted in creation being subjected to futility.[104] Christoffersson argues that the fallen Watcher tradition from 1 Enoch is the background. The fallen angels taught humanity forbidden and sinful knowledge, leading to a deformation of the world.[105]

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[99]E.g. Cranfield, *Romans*, 413; Käsemann, *Romans*, 235; Murray, 303; Francis, 152; Gaugler, 1:303; Bruce, 172; Sanday and Headlam, 208; Hill, "Construction," 297; Griffith, *Romans*, 95; Dodd, *Romans*, 134; Stacey, "Paul's Certainties," 179; Loane, 179; Hodge, 272; Lagrange, *Romans*, 208; Leenhardt, 220-1; Nelson, *Groaning*, 196-8; Best, 198; Boylan, 143; Denney, 449; Rust, 733; Govett, 336-7; Scroggs, 91; Barth, *Romans*, 309. Barth later changed his view in his *Shorter Commentary on Romans*. Philip takes the unusual position that Satan, Adam and God are involved in a full answer: Satan tempted, Adam transgressed and God pronounced the sentence. Finally, however it is God who subjected creation to vanity (Philip, 415).

[100]E. Fuchs, *Freiheit*, 109; Lampe, "New Testament Doctrine," 458; Balz, 41; Lyonnet, 228; Giblin, 394; Stauffer, 74; Hunt, 96; Foerster, "Κτιζω," TDNT, 3:1031; G. Delling, "Τάσσω," TDNT, 8:41; D. Smith, 4:344.

[101]Lampe, "New Testament Doctrine," 458.

[102]Stauffer, 74; Zahn, 221; Evdokimov, 1.

[103]Barth, *Shorter*, 99-100.

[104]Satan: P. Dubarle, "La théologie du cosmos," in *Initiation théologique*, ed. P. Dubarle (1952), 322, cited by Leenhardt, 221; A. Pallis, *To the Romans* (1920), cited by Käsemann, *Romans*, 235. Satanic power of sin: Heim, 125. Heim explicitly rejects the idea of the Fall of Adam and the existence of a personal devil.

[105]Christoffersson, 130-1.

It is most likely that the Fall of Adam is in view in v. 20.[106] In Rom. 5:12-19, Paul explains that Adam's sin brought sin and universal death to humanity. In Rom. 8:20-22 Paul extends the impact of the Fall to the rest of creation. All of creation is now enslaved to corruption (φθορᾶ) and futility (ματαιότης) due to Adam's sin.[107] Yet it is God, not Adam, that subjected creation to this futility. In a judicial pronouncement, God cursed the ground (Gen. 3:17-18). Only God could subject creation with a hope for its future redemption (v. 20, ἐφ' ἐλπίδι). Neither Adam, nor humanity nor evil spirits have this ability.[108] The term ὑποτάσσω suggests an authoritative action, which is not suitable for Satan, Adam or humanity.[109]

The view that Adam is the one who subjected creation is close to the truth. Gen. 3:17 describes the curse on the ground, which shows that the judgment for the Fall had an effect on the natural world. This is not, however, a natural consequence of Adam's disobedience, nor was it something that Adam directly caused. Rather the curse on the ground was a judicial action of God in response to Adam's sin. The curse on the ground is connected with Adam's dominion over creation. Since Adam was accountable to God to rule the earth and tend the garden, his sin had an effect on the natural world that he cared for.[110] This suggests a solidarity between humanity and the natural world, so that human sin affects the rest of creation.

The view that human sin in general is responsible for subjecting creation to futility is partially true. It correctly notes that nature is a victim of human sin.[111] But the aorist

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[106]Murray, 330, says, "In relation to this earth this is surely Paul's commentary on Gen. 3:17, 18."

[107]Cf. Rust, 234-5.

[108]Leenhardt, 226-31; Murray, 303; Francis, 152; Hill, "Construction," 297.

[109]Cranfield, *Romans*, 413.

[110]Lampe, "New Testament Doctrine," 458.

[111]Evdokimov, 1.

ὑπετάγη suggests that Paul has a single past event in mind. In light of his prior discussion of the consequences of the "one trespass" of Adam (5:18), the Fall is most likely in view.

Barth's view that Christ's crucifixion subjected creation to futility turns the work of the cross on its head. The cross brings life, not death and futility. Nelson correctly observes that the cross is the ultimate answer for the situation described in Rom. 8:20.[112]

Paul is not likely to have Satan or evil spirits in mind because they could not subject creation "in hope." This view is also close to an un-Pauline dualism.[113] Christoffersson's evidence for the fallen Watcher story as the background for Rom. 8 is weak. By contrast, Paul does discuss the impact of the Fall of Adam in Rom. 5. Christoffersson is correct that sin is the reason for the subjection of creation to futility. It is not, however, the sin of evil spirits, but the sin of Adam that resulted in the profound change in the natural world.

Creation was subjected to futility "not of its own will" (**οὐχ ἑκοῦσα**), but according to the will of God who subjected it (**ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα**). **Οὐχ ἑκοῦσα** indicates that the subjection of creation was not voluntary or by the choice of creation.[114] God cursed the earth not because of any disobedience on the part of the non-human creation but because of the disobedience of Adam and Eve. Thus creation was a victim of human sin.[115] The personification that gives the non-rational creation a will stresses that the natural world primarily acts according to God's design, except where it has been damaged as a result of human sin.

On the surface it would appear that **διὰ** plus accusative ("because of the one who subjected it") would indicate the reason for the subjection of creation to futility. This would

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[112]Nelson, *Groaning*, 197-8.

[113]Bruce, 173.

[114]Loane, 83.

[115]Cf. Paul J. Achtemeier, *Romans* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1985), 142.

support the view that the subjection was because of Adam's sin.[116] BAGD suggests that διὰ plus accusative of person indicates the efficient cause for the subjection of creation, not the reason.[117] It is also possible that the idea of "will" is implied by the contrast with ἑκοῦσα: "not because of its own will but according to [the will of] the one who subjected it." Either way, it indicates that creation was subjected not of its own will, but according to the will of God who subjected it.

Hill takes the unusual position that ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα is a parenthetical phrase that explains ἐφ' ἐλπίδι: "the creation was subjected to vanity, not willingly (indeed) but (nevertheless) in hope because of him who subjected it; for this reason creation shall be set free . . . ." The basis of the hope of creation is the one who subjected it.[118] This makes little grammatical sense of ἀλλὰ. "In hope" does not make a good contrast with "not because of its own will."

What is the nature of the "futility" (ματαιότης) to which creation has been subjected? BAGD says ματαιότης means "emptiness, futility, purposelessness, transitoriness" and in Rom. 8:20 "frustration." It has the sense of being "without result" (μάτην), "ineffective," "not reaching its end."[119] The underlying idea is "the ineffectiveness of that which does not attain its goal." Creation is not able to fulfil the purpose for which it was made.[120] If the nuance of "frustration" is in view, this may be an anthropopathism that implies that the created world wants to

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[116]So Godet, *Romans*, 314.

[117]BAGD, 181, "by the one who subjected it." This is followed by Käsemann, *Romans*, 235; Moo, *Romans*, 552. There are a few instances where διὰ plus accusative functions like διὰ plus genitive (e.g. Jn. 6:57); cf. Moo, *Romans*, 552.

[118]Hill, "Construction," 247.

[119]Sanday and Headlam, 208; cf. Francis, 152.

[120]Cranfield, *Romans*, 413-4; Murray, 303; Stacey, "Paul's Certainties," 179; Sanday and Headlam, 208; Hunt, 96.

act as God designed, but is restricted due to the damage of human sin.

The background of Gen. 3:17-19 in the passage suggests that this futility refers to the change that the natural order experienced as a result of the Fall.[121] Since the ground was cursed, it now brings forth weeds more easily than crops and it produces crops only as a result of hard and painful labor. Cranfield says "the subhuman creation has been subjected to the frustration of not being able properly to fulfil the purpose of its existence, God having appointed that without man it should not be made perfect."[122] Since humanity was given dominion over nature (Gen. 1:26, 28), when Adam sinned, the world for which he was responsible became frustrated in its purposes and can no longer be all it was created to be. Creation looks forward to the "freedom of the glory of the children of God" (v. 21), because when humanity is restored to its proper obedience to God, the rest of creation benefits.

There have been many attempts to refine the understanding of the "futility" of the creation within this basic picture. Leenhardt refers to the futility of existence and its lack of meaning.[123] Gaugler says creation was deprived of the glory that it should have received.[124] Rust notes the seemingly meaningless struggle for existence and the process of

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[121]Cranfield, *Romans*, 413. By contrast, Giblin argues that Paul does not mean that the physical world was actually different prior to the Fall. He says that the apocalyptic perspective is fundamentally theological, not phenomenological or physical. Paul refers to a certain frustration of the powers of God in creation without presupposing an actual deterioration of creation after the Fall (Giblin, 394-5). Allaway, 109-10, similarly argues that the world was not created in a state of glory that was lost, but it was always an imperfect world that had hope of eventual glorification (Rom. 8:20-21). Although Giblin wisely cautions about taking everything "literally" in apocalyptic literature, he is inconsistent since he believes there will be an eschatological transformation of the natural world. This view does not do justice to the strong language of the passage about the present state of creation and the use of the aorist ὑπετάγη, which suggests that the subjection to futility was a change that took place are a certain time. It also implies that Paul does not accept the reality of the curse on the ground in Gen. 3:16-17.

[122]Cranfield, *Romans*, 413-4.

[123]Leenhardt, 220.

[124]Gaugler, 1.

repeated death:

> The great wastage in which the generative powers of nature seem involved, the internecine warfare in which nature seems red in tooth and claw, the seemingly meaningless and even evil forms of organic life which the process of nature has produced, the unending struggle for existence which underlies the whole natural order. . . . The whole process of nature seems subject to emptiness, futility. In the animal order and in the realm of plants, the cycle of birth and death repeats itself, continuing ever onwards in an unending stream of descendants.[125]

Some believe Ecclesiastes is the background for ματαιότης in this passage.[126] Ecclesiastes has 32 of the 47 occurrences of the word in the LXX and shapes the OT understanding of the term. This book stresses the "vanity" of all of life apart from God. Bauernfeind calls Rom. 8:20 "a valid commentary" on Ecclesiastes. Rom. 8:20 agrees with Ecclesiastes that vanity exists in the world. Yet it goes beyond Ecclesiastes by explaining that there was a beginning to the present state and it focuses on hope by promising there will be an ending to the vanity.[127] In addition, Ecclesiastes is largely focused on the vanity of human experience, but Rom. 8:19-22 looks at the larger picture of the futility of the whole created order in is present state.

Several other suggestions have been made about the meaning of ματαιότης: (1) It is sometimes assumed that ματαιότης is a simple synonym for "corruption" (φθορά; v. 21), in light of the parallel ideas "subjected to futility" and "slavery to corruption."[128] It refers to the mutability and mortality of creaturely existence. Certainly part of the futility of life is that death is inevitable and creation is continually decaying. However, ματαιότης is a broader term

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[125]Rust, 234.

[126]Sanday and Headlam, 208; O. Bauernfeind, "Μάταιος", TDNT, 4:523; Francis, 152; Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption*, 42-3; Cranfield, *Romans*, 413.

[127]Bauernfeind, "Μάταιος," TDNT, 4:523.

[128]Dunn, *Romans*, 470, says the words are "nearly equivalent"; cf. Euthymius, 92, cited by Cranfield, *Romans*, 413. Boylan, 144, combines this idea with idolatry.

than φθορά.[129] Futility and frustration are results of the slavery to death and decay.

(2) Some have argued that ματαιότης refers to evil spiritual powers that rule the cosmos. The LXX uses ματαιότης to refer to false gods and idols in Ps. 31:6 (LXX 30:7). Elsewhere Paul calls this "subjection to the elements of the world" (Gal. 4:4).[130] It is certainly true that Paul sees evil forces at work in the cosmos,[131] but it is unlikely that they are in view in this context. Although the LXX occasionally uses the adjective μάταιος to refer to idols, it only uses the noun ματαιότης in this sense in one instance (Ps. 31:6). In the LXX the word predominantly refers to the vanity or futility of following a life of sin. In contexts that speak of false gods, the point of μάταιος is often the vanity of following idols (e.g. 2 Ch. 11:15; Is. 44:9; Jer. 10:3; Ez. 8:10). Most of the references referring to false gods are speaking of idols, not demons.[132] The biggest weakness of this view is that if God is behind the passive verb ὑπετάγη, this would imply that God subjected creation to evil powers.[133] Subjection to demons would make no sense of the fact that the subjection was "in hope" of the final redemption of creation.

(3) A variation of this view sees the term as a reference to idolatry and false gods. Rom. 1:21 uses the cognate verb ματαιόω to refer to the futile thinking of people who worship idols.[134] Although Rom. 1:21 is related, Rom. 8:20 focuses on the futility that is part of the

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[129]Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 507.

[130]Lietzmann, 85; James D. Hester, *Paul's Concept of Inheritance*, Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers, no. 14 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968), 81-2; Wilfred L. Knox, *Saint Paul and the Church of the Gentiles* (Cambridge University: Cambridge, 1939), 107; Denton, 166.

[131]E.g. Gibbs, 43, lists Rom. 7:21-23; 1 Cor. 5:3; Eph. 2:2; 6:12; Col. 1:13; 1 Th. 2:18.

[132]There are in fact comparatively few references to idols using μάταιος (1 Kings 16:13, 25; Is. 2:20; Jer. 8:19; Hos. 5:11). One possible reference to demons is Lev. 17:7.

[133]This is particularly a flaw with Gibbs, p. 43.

[134]Boylan, 143. He also sees the mutability of creaturely existence. He also lists Acts

created order, not the vain ways of humanity. This view has many of the same weaknesses as the evil powers view. Furthermore, when the adjective **ματαίος** is used as a noun referring to idols it is always plural and the noun **ματαιότης** is only used of idols once in the LXX (Ps. 30:7). The use of the term to refer to idols in the LXX (cf. Acts 14:15) fits within the larger OT picture of the futility of a sinful life apart from God. This view also makes no sense of "subjection." If the subjection to futility refers to the divine curse as a result of the Fall, it cannot refer to human idolatry since God did not cause the idolatry.

(4) Käsemann believes that **ματαιότης** refers to the "spiritual emptiness" that is the status quo of fallen creation. "It misses existence and opts for illusions."[135] This existential interpretation focuses on human experience and misses the broader implications of the Fall for all of creation. It is not consistent with Käsemann's view that God subjected creation, although it fits the anthropological interpretation of Vögtle and others.

This passage raises the important question of whether one can speak of a "fallen creation." (1) Bruce, who is typical of those who believe creation to be fallen, says, "Like man, creation must be redeemed because, like man, creation has been subject to a fall." Humanity was put in charge of the "lower" creation and involved it in its fall. A cosmic fall is implied in Gen. 3, where the ground was cursed, and Rev. 22, where there will be no more curse.[136] Similarly, Heim says since nature is fallen, animals attack one another and the whole of

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14:15, where **τῶν ματαίων** refers to idols. Dunn, *Romans*, 470 also stresses the relationship to Rom. 1:21. The futility of creation is in its being deified or seen solely in relation to humanity, for humanity's use or abuse.

[135]Käsemann, *Romans*, 235; cf. Delling, "**Τάσσω**," TDNT, 8:523 ("the meaninglessness of existence without God"); Vögtle, *Zukunft des Kosmos*, 194; Heinrich Schlier, "Das, worauf alles wartet. Eine Auslegung von Römer 8, 13-30," in *Interpretation der Welt. Festschrift für Romano Guardini zum achtzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Helmut Kuhn (Würzburg: Echter, 1965), 603; Gerber, 68.

[136]Bruce, 169; cf. Stacey, "Paul's Certainties," 179; Käsemann, *Romans*, 235; Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 132.

nature is perverted to an unnatural state.[137] (2) By contrast Lampe says nature is not fallen and indeed is incapable of falling into disobedience.[138] Forde says nature is not corrupt and does not have an evil will.[139] Brunner says there is nothing wrong with creation as it now exists – decay is part of the original design.[140] (3) Paul's position is probably somewhere in between these extremes. It is true that Rom. 8:19-22 speaks of the damage that human sin caused to the non-human creation. Creation is not in the state in which it was originally created.[141] Yet it is not correct to speak of a *fallen* creation, as if that implies that the subhuman creation disobeyed God. Foerster correctly says, "It is better not to speak of a fallen creation but of a creation which is subjected to corruption."[142] Evdokimov says that nature is morally neutral, but the repercussions of the Fall of Adam perverted not only the relationship of humanity to God but also the relationship of humanity to the cosmos.[143] The subjection of creation to futility was not according to the will of creation; it was not due to any sin committed by nature. Rather, nature is a victim of human sin. Yet it goes too far to say that nature is the way it always was. Although creation is not "fallen," Rom. 8 shows that nature has been corrupted by human sin and is not the way it was originally created because of the curse God made after the Fall. Creation will be transformed when believers are glorified

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[137]Heim, 103-4.

[138]Lampe, "New Testament Doctrine," 452, 461; cf. Gowan, "Fall and Redemption," 100-1.

[139]Gerhard O. Forde, "Romans 8:18-27," *Int* 38, no. 3 (1984): 284-95.

[140]Brunner, *Creation and Redemption*, 2:128. He admits Rom. 8:20f may be an exception, but he does not make use of the passage because it is "obscure and there is much controversy about its meaning." He wants to avoid a dualistic view of the world, which implies that the world is the work of the evil one.

[141]Cf. Heim, 133.

[142]Foerster, "Κτίζω," TDNT, 3:1031.

[143]Evdokimov, 1. Plumer, 490, says nature is not sinful, but it experiences the results of human sin.

and receive their resurrection bodies.

Despite the fact that creation was subjected to futility, it still has hope for redemption (ἐφ' ἐλπίδι). This probably alludes to Gen. 3:15, where God promised that the seed of the woman would bruise the serpent's head.[144] When God pronounced judgment for the sin of Adam and Eve, he also promised that redemption would come in the future. This promise is the basis for hope for both fallen humanity and the whole creation, which was damaged by the Fall. This hope is the reason for the eager waiting (ἀποκαραδοκία) of creation (v. 19). Again the use of personification stresses the close relationship between humanity and the natural world in its present state and future redemption. Creation waits eagerly for the revelation of the sons of God, because at that time the promise will be fulfilled and creation will achieve the potential for which it was created. At that time creation will be delivered from its futility and slavery to corruption and share in the glory of the glorified children of God (v. 21).

Grammatically it is best to see ἐφ' ἐλπίδι[145] as connected with ὑπετάγη rather than ὑποτάξαντα.[146] Creation was subjected to futility, yet at the same time with a promise giving hope for its deliverance. This fits perfectly the Gen. 3 account where God cursed the ground (3:17-18) and at the same time promised deliverance (3:15) in response to Adam's sin.

There is a strong parallel between the present state and future hope of humanity and the present state and future hope of the wider material creation. Käsemann argues that the hope of the enslaved creation for redemption is the cosmic basis for the hope of the enslaved

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[144]Cranfield, *Romans*, 414.

[145]Some MSS have the spelling variant ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. This is due to the evolution of the aspiration of the word. See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961), 10-1.

[146]Sanday and Headlam, 208; Cranfield, *Romans*, 414; Nelson, *Groaning*, 196. Contrast Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 508, who says the hope goes with the nearer verb ὑποτάξαντα. Hill, "Construction," 247, says the hope is based on the nature of the person who subjected creation (ὑποτάξαντα).

person who cries for deliverance (7:21-25).[147] Rom. 8:20-21 anticipates the climax of Romans 1-11, which is in 11:32. God shut all under disobedience so he could show mercy to all (11:32), a principle that is extended in Rom. 8:20-21 to the entire creation. God subjected the material order to futility and slavery to decay, in anticipation of its final transformation in glory.[148] The hope of redeemed humanity for its final Resurrection and glorification (8:24-25) is part of the larger hope of creation for deliverance (8:20-21). The hope for the redemption of creation is contingent upon the redemption of humanity, not independent of it (v. 19, 21).

F. The Interpretation of Verse 21

This verse represents the climax of this section. It describes the glorious future to which creation looks forward.

The textual evidence is fairly evenly divided between the textual variant ὅτι or διότι for the initial word. There are good quality, early MSS with either reading.[149] The difference is largely stylistic and does not affect the interpretation of the verse, since both words can mean either "that" or "because" in Hellenistic Greek literature.[150]

Scholars are divided between translating ὅτι as "that"[151] or "because."[152] (1) If it

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[147]Käsemann, *Romans*, 236.

[148]Foerster, TDNT, "Κτίζω," 3:1032; cf. Käsemann, *Romans*, 236; Rust, 237-8.

[149]It is likely that the δι- was added to ὅτι by dittography from the ending of the previous word, ἐλπίδι (Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 509). It is also possible, of course, that the δι- was accidentally deleted from διότι by haplography. Cranfield argues that ὅτι is the easier reading, since it would be natural to expect it to introduce a statement of the content of the hope. He concludes, therefore, that διότι is original since it is the more difficult reading (Cranfield, *Romans*, 414-5). This argument has little force, however, since in Hellenistic Greek both ὅτι and διότι can be used to introduce content as well as causal clauses (Moulton and Milligan, 164-5; cf. Nelson, *Groaning*, 126-7). Although Paul prefers ὅτι (250 to 10), 4 of the 10 usages of διότι appear in Romans. The majority of scholars today slightly favor ὅτι, since most early uncials and the two oldest papyri have this reading. See the extensive discussion in Nelson, *Groaning*, 124-7.

[150]A. Viard, "Expectatio Creaturae (Rom., VIII, 19-22)," *RB* 69 (1952): 334; cf. Moulton and Milligan, 164-5.

[151]E.g. Sanday and Headlam, 208; Denney, 644; Bruce, 173; Francis, 153; Moo, *Romans*,

functions to indicate content ("that"), v. 21 explains the contents of the hope of creation: Creation was subjected in hope that it would be liberated from bondage to corruption. (2) If the function is causal ("because"), v. 21 explains the reason why the creation has hope: Creation has hope because it knows that it will be liberated one day. Both ideas are true and it is difficult to distinguish between them based on either grammar or context. The main idea is not affected by either interpretation. The translation "because" indicates a slightly greater degree of certainty that the hope will be fulfilled. There is nothing in the context, however, that would suggest that the hope is only potential, rather than confidence based on a divine promise for the future of creation.

The expression **καὶ αὐτὴ** gives emphasis to **κτίσις**: "even creation itself." It conveys a sense of wonder: "Even the creation itself is going to be set free!"[153] The expression also makes clear that **κτίσις** is to be distinguished from believers. Not only the children of God, but even creation itself will be set free from slavery to corruption.[154]

The present condition of creation is not only subjected to futility (v. 20), but also enslaved to corruption (**φθορά**, v. 21). The genitive **φθορᾶς** indicates that to which creation is enslaved (Moo suggests it is an objective genitive),[155] rather that in which the slavery consists (genitive of apposition)[156] or the slavery that comes from corruption (subjective geni-

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553; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 509.

[152]E.g. Dunn, *Romans*, 471; Hill, "Construction," 297; Boylan, 144; Barrett, *Romans*, 166; Cranfield, *Romans*, 414-5. Most who translate **ὅτι** "that," insert a comma before **ἐφ' ἐλπίδι**; when **ὅτι** is translated "because," a comma is placed after. See Nelson, *Groaning*, 128, for the positions of various translations.

[153]Moo, *Romans*, 553.

[154]Cf. Loane, 84.

[155]Godet, *Romans*, 315; Lange, *Romans*, 272; Moo, *Romans*, 553.

[156]Murray, 304, n. 30; Meyer, *Romans*, 2:77. Murray says this is the same as the genitive **τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης**. This is not compelling, because the latter could be interpreted as the freedom that is a result of the glory or part of the glory.

tive).[157] Creation is helplessly enslaved to corruption.

Φθορά can be used in two major senses: (1) death, decay and destruction (Gal. 6:8; 2 Pet. 2:12); and (2) moral corruption and evil (1 Pet. 1:4; 2:19). A third derivative sense is "that which is perishable" or "corruptibility," in the sense of being subject to death (1 Cor. 15:42, 50).[158] Even when φθορά is used in the sense of death, in the NT a moral connotation underlies it (e.g. Gal. 6:8, sowing sin results in destruction; 2 Pet. 2:12, evil creatures will be destroyed). Even the sense of the perishability of the body in 1 Cor. 15:42, 50 has the connotation of being unsuitable for heavenly dwelling, because the earthly body has "dishonor" and "weakness" (v. 43), and lacks heavenly "glory" (vv. 40-41, 43). In Rom. 8:19-21 the sin of Adam is in the background as the cause for the corruption. The idea that Adam's Fall led to universal death in humanity, which is expressed in Rom. 5:12, 14, is extended in Rom. 8:19-21 to the rest of creation, which is universally enslaved to death and decay.

In Rom. 8:21, φθορά primarily refers to death and decay[159] and perhaps by implication to the transitoriness of life.[160] In Paul's writings, the noun is never used in the sense of moral corruption, although the cognate verb φθείρω is sometimes used to mean "corrupt morally" (1 Cor. 15:33; Eph 4:22), "deceive" (2 Cor. 11:3) or "cheat" (2 Cor. 7:2). The consistent use of the noun in a non-moral sense in Paul's writings supports the interpretation of φθορά as death and decay rather than moral evil. Only in 2 Pet. is the word used morally. This is reinforced by the fact that in this verse κτίσις refers to the non-human material world, which is not capable of moral evil. Being "enslaved to corruption" is close to the sense of "perishability"

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[157]Cranfield, Romans, p. 414].

[158]Günther Harder, "Φθείρω," TDNT, 9:102-4.

[159]Dunn, *Romans*, 471-2; Cranfield, *Romans*, 414; Moo, *Romans*, 553; Lagrange, *Romans*, 209; Lewis, "Christian Theodicy," 407; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 509. Fitzmyer extends it to include "not only perishability and putrefaction, but also powerlessness, lack of beauty, vitality, and strength that characterize creation's present condition."

[160]Cranfield, *Romans*, 414; Rust, 234.

as used in 1 Cor. 15:42, 50, where the term is applied to perishable earthly human bodies. Creation is in slavery or bondage (δουλεία) to this state of corruption. It has no power to free itself from the cycle of death and decay that is so characteristic of the natural world in this age.

Paul probably has in mind the punishment of death described in Gen. 3:19,[161] which fits the other allusions to Gen. 3 in the context. Paul also alludes to the curse in Rom. 5:12, 14, although in relationship to humanity. Although Genesis apparently limits the punishment of death after the Fall to humanity, Paul extends it to all of creation in Rom. 8:21. The Fall of Adam had cosmic consequences.

In Is. 24:3-4, φθορά and the cognate verb φθείρω are used in a similar sense. The earth will be completely corrupted (φθορᾷ φθαρήσεται) due to the sins of the people (v. 5). It is also significant that v. 4 says "the earth mourns" (ἐπένθησεν ἡ γῆ), which associates the corruption (or devastation) and mourning of the earth. The use of πενθέω is a similar concept to "creation groans" in Rom. 8:22. Another similarity is that God causes these changes to the earth as a judgment for human sin (v. 1, 6). Although Is. 24:1-6 refers to earthly results of divine judgments for human sin in history and Rom. 8:20-21 refers to the results of the divine judgment after the Fall, the concepts are remarkably similar. Both describe the changes that human sin brings to the natural world as a result of God's judgment.[162]

Heim believes this slavery to corruption also includes the fact that various parts of

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[161]Govett, 340; Loane, 89.

[162]Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic. The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, Revised ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 313-4, argues that Is. 24-27 is early apocalyptic. Themes such as worldwide destruction, return to chaos, inauguration of the new age, imprisonment of the heavenly host and resurrection certainly show its affinity to later apocalyptic writings. It is probably more accurate to say that it is "proto-apocalyptic," as argued by William R. Millar, *Isaiah 24-27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 114; cf. D. M. Russell, 66, n. 58.

nature are constantly attacking and destroying each other.[163] This is certainly an aspect of the enslavement of nature to death and decay, which is deeply ingrained in the operation of nature as it now exists. If this is what Paul had in mind, the eschatological transformation of creation will involve a fundamental change in the operation of the natural world.[164] By contrast, C. F. D. Moule argues that death, such as predation in nature, is an inherent part of the natural world in God's initial design.[165] This view assumes that the way nature operates now is the way it always operated. Paul, however, says that creation was subjected to futility at a certain historical time (v. 20), which implies that nature is now different than it was prior to the Fall. Rom. 5:12-14 indicates that death became part of the human experience after the Fall and Rom. 8:20-21 may extend this to the whole natural order. Nevertheless, Paul is not explicit about the type of changes that took place in nature after the Fall, nor does he describe the exact changes that will occur in nature in the eschaton.

Moule argues that the corruption refers to the human abuse of nature, to which nature is subject. When humanity treats nature properly as God's vice-gerent, nature will be set free.[166] Moule raises some valid implications of humanity's dominion over nature, but this ecological concern is not what Paul has in mind by φθορά.

Lewis acknowledges that φθορά primarily has the physical sense of death, but he also believes that the idea of death as alienation from God is also in view.[167] There is no doubt that Romans uses death in this sense (e.g. 6:23), but only in relationship to sinning humanity. There is nothing in Rom. 8:19-22 that suggests that the subhuman creation "sinned"; rather, it

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[163]Heim, 108-9.

[164]Ibid., 135-7. Cf. Loane, 84-5 and Boylan, 144, who argue that physical death will end (cf. 1 Cor. 15:54].

[165]C. F. D. Moule, *Man and Nature*, 11-2; cf. Leenhardt, 223-6.

[166]C. F. D. Moule, *Man and Nature*, 12, 14.

[167]Lewis, "Christian Theodicy," 409-10.

is a victim of human sin (v. 19). It goes beyond the sense of v. 22 to extend corruption to alienation from God. Barrett believes that φθορά refers to corrupt spiritual powers[168], but this does not fit the use of the word elsewhere in Paul's writings.

Although "subjection" (ὑπετάγη, v. 20) is related conceptually to "enslavement" (δουλείας, v. 21), the enslavement of creation to corruption is not the same as the subjection of creation to futility. Rather the futility is a result of the enslavement of creation to death and decay. Since death is an inescapable part of the cycle of nature since the Fall, there is a sense of futility in the patterns of life in this age. This provides another reason why creation eagerly awaits its future deliverance.

This pathetic present corruptibility of creation is contrasted to the future glory that creation will share with glorified believers. This will result in creation being freed from enslavement to the cycle of death and decay.

The expression "children of God" (τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεου) refers to Christians (cf. vv. 16-17). Paul uses τέκνον interchangeably with υἱός to refer to believers in the context (cf. vv. 14-17).[169] Believers are the "children of God" who will be glorified with Christ (v. 17). The "glory of the children of God" (τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεου) refers to the eschatological glory that believers will share with God for eternity.[170] Believers will be glorified with Christ at his Second Coming. They will share in his glory and reflect his glory (v. 17). The unspeakable glory of God also will be revealed to them (v. 18). A similar concept is expressed in Col. 3:4, which states that believers will appear with Christ in glory at his second coming.

Creation eagerly awaits the revealing of the children of God (v. 19) because at that time creation itself will be redeemed, transformed and set free from slavery to corruption (v. 21).

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[168]Barrett, *Romans*, 166, although he admits the personification of creation in the passage is "not impossible."

[169]See p. 367.

[170]Käsemann, *Romans*, 234.

The eschatological redemption of the material world is connected with the final glorification of believers because of the stewardship that humanity was given over the earth. Even as the dominion of humanity resulted in the corruption of creation when Adam fell, so it will result in the redemption of creation when humanity assumes its proper role in God's plan.

Vögtle (followed by Käsemann) argues that the parousia is uniquely described here in exclusively anthropological terms as the manifestation of the children of God.[171] This is partially true, but it misses the main point of the passage. Certainly the focus of the expectation here is on the glorification of believers, rather than the appearing of Christ, because, from the perspective of creation, the most significant eschatological event is the glorification of humanity. This is because when believers are exalted, creation itself will be redeemed and share in that glory.

The eschatological freedom (ἐλευθερωθήσεται, ἐλευθερίαν) of creation is sharply contrasted with its present state of slavery (δουλείας). Even as creation is currently enslaved to corruption, it will be set free to share in the glory of the children of God. The freedom involves both a negative and a positive dimension.[172] Creation will be set free from slavery to corruption. The ongoing cycle of death and decay that characterizes the created world in this age will end. Creation will also experience the "freedom of the glory of the children of God" (εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεου). Freedom is one aspect of the glory that believers will enjoy in eternity and the material creation will share this freedom with the redeemed.

The freedom of the subhuman material world, however, is not exactly the same type as the freedom of believers. It is a freedom and glorification appropriate to its non-rational nature.[173] Creation will become all that God intended it to be, but which it was prevented

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[171]Vögtle, *Zukunft des Kosmos*, 187; Käsemann, *Romans*, 234.

[172]Moo, *Romans*, 553.

[173]Cf. Murray, 304.

from becoming due to the impact of human sin. All of nature will bring glory to God. Cranfield correctly says that creation will have "the freedom fully and perfectly to fulfil its Creator's purpose for it, that freedom which it does not have, so long as man, its lord (Gen. 1.26; Ps. 8:6) is in disgrace."[174] Tennant observes that the present condition of creation is "neither original nor final." The work of Christ in redemption finishes the work of God in creation, by bringing the creation to its intended state so it may fulfil the purposes for which it was created.[175] Christ's redemption does not merely affect humanity, but it has cosmic consequences that affect all of creation.

The significance of the genitive **τῆς δόξης** has been debated: (1) Some Bible versions (KJV, RSV, NIV, TEV) translate **τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης** as "glorious freedom." In this view, **δόξης** is seen as a genitive of quality or an adjectival genitive, perhaps based on a semitic idiom. Sanday and Headlam correctly observe, however, that this turns things around by making the freedom the primary term. The primary term is **δόξα**, to which **ἐλευθερια** is subordinate. Freedom is one aspect of the eschatological glory.[176] (2) Murray and Nelson see it as appositional. Murray says it is "the liberty that consists in the glory of God's children."[177] Freedom and glory, however, are not precisely the same. (3) Cranfield believes it makes more sense structurally to see **τῆς δόξης** as the same type of genitive as **τῆς φθορᾶς**. The liberty "results from, is the necessary accompaniment of, the (revelation of the) glory of the children of God."[178] Barrett also believes that the freedom arises out of the eschatological

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[174]Cranfield, *Romans*, 416.

[175]F. R. Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), 271; Cf. Griffith, *Romans*, 115; Dodd, *Bible*, 106; Leenhardt, 222.

[176]Sanday and Headlam, 208; cf. Morris, *Romans*, 322.

[177]Murray, 304; cf. Nelson, *Groaning*, 204. Käsemann, *Romans*, 234, combines this view with the content view.

[178]Cranfield, *Romans*, 416-7.

glory.[179] (4) Moo believes the sense is "loosely possessive," meaning "the freedom that belongs to, is associated with, the state of glory." It is a freedom that only comes with the coming eschatological glory.[180] Moo is close to the exact meaning, although perhaps it should be called a genitive of content, rather than possession. Liberty is one aspect of the eschatological glory.[181]

Regardless of the precise classification of the genitive, the sense is a combination of the view of the third and fourth views. The freedom is both an aspect of the eschatological glory (content) and the freedom will flow out of or result from the glory (source). Although the two terms are not precisely the same, freedom is a result of the glorification of believers.[182] The non-rational creation will join with believers in this freedom that is part of eschatological glory.

A related idea is expressed in 1 Cor. 15:42-43, where Paul contrasts the perishability of the present human body with the glory of the future resurrection body. Rom. 8:23 also refers to the resurrection of the body that believers await. The perishable bodies of believers are part of the perishable creation that is enslaved to corruptibility. Both the believers' bodies (Rom. 8:23, cf. 17-18; 1 Cor. 15:42, 50) and the rest of the material creation (Rom. 8:21) will be delivered from enslavement to corruptibility and will share in eternal glory. Ronald Knox is correct that the bodies of believers will be redeemed as representatives of the material world,[183] but he goes too far when he claims that this is primarily what Paul has in mind in Rom. 8:21. The redemptive work of Christ does not merely affect humanity. It has cosmic

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[179]Barrett, *Romans*, 166.

[180]Moo, *Romans*, 554.

[181]Godet, *Romans*, 315.

[182]Cf. Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 509. He says freedom is a characteristic of the glory. Käsemann, *Romans*, 234, says "eschatological glory is perfected freedom and this in turn is the content of the eschatological glorification of the children of God." This is a combination of the apposition and content views.

[183]Ronald Knox, 2:100.

consequences that affect all of creation. The whole creation (πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, v. 22) is involved in the present suffering. The subhuman material creation will also be delivered from slavery to corruption and death to share in eternal glory (v. 21). Denney observes that this new glorified, redeemed world in which righteousness dwells will be a suitable dwelling for redeemed and glorified humanity (cf. Is. 65:17; 2 Pet. 3:13; Rev. 21:1).[184]

In Paul's concept of the new creation in this passage, he does not appear to have in mind the destruction of the present world and the creation of a new world.[185] The picture is of the redemption and transformation of the present material world. Creation does not look forward eagerly to its own destruction, but it anticipates with hope its future liberty and glory. The future certainly will involve a fundamental change in the operation of the natural world, since death and decay are such integral parts of the operation of nature as it now exists. Paul, however, only alludes to these changes and does not elaborate on their nature.

An important question is whether Paul has in mind a restoration of the pre-Fall conditions of the material world (e.g. Achtemeier, Stacey, Francis, Dahl)[186] or a transformation of creation to an even greater state than the original creation (e.g. Tennant, Griffith, Nelson, Giblin).[187] There are several indications that Paul conceives of the final state of creation as even greater than its pre-Fall condition: (1) The overall outlook of the passage is forward looking. Creation does not look back with nostalgia at what it lost, but it looks

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[184]Denney, 649; cf. Nygren, 331.

[185]Bruce, 170; Murray, 304, n. 28; Moo, *Romans*, 554. Contrast H. C. G. Moule, *Romans*, 150, who says creation will "die" (be destroyed) and be "resurrected" to a new heavens and earth. This view is derived from such passages as 2 Pet. 3:10 ("destroyed by fire") and Mt. 24:35, but this goes beyond the ideas in Rom. 8:19-22.

[186]Achtemeier, *Romans*, 142-3; Stacey, "Paul's Certainties," 180; Francis, 154; Dahl, 441. Dahl classifies this passage in the "restitution" category. Francis points to the rabbinic tradition that one of the six things Adam lost at the Fall the divine glory reflected on his face (cf. Sanday and Headlam, 85).

[187]Tennant, 271; Nelson, *Groaning*, 276-7; Griffith, *Romans*, 115; Giblin, 395 and possibly Leenhardt, 222.

forward with anticipation to what it will gain (vv. 19, 21). (2) The final state of redeemed humanity will be a glory that is greater than that which Adam lost. Believers are children of God and will share in the glory of Christ (vv. 17-18). Paul says that creation participates in this glory (v. 21).[188] (3) The childbirth metaphor (v. 22), suggests the creation of a new life or a new state of affairs, rather than the return to a previous condition. Thus the damage to creation due to sin will not simply be removed, but creation will be glorified so that the future state of creation will be even greater than that of the pre-Fall world.[189]

G. The Interpretation of Verse 22

This verse supports (γὰρ) what Paul has said in the previous verses, both in terms of the present state and the future hope of creation. It supports the present futility and slavery of creation to corruption (vv. 20-21) by showing that all of creation groans in agony. It also supports the hope of v. 21,[190] by indicating that the present suffering of creation can be interpreted as birth pangs bringing in a glorious new world. Murray observes that "these groans and travails are not death pangs but birth pangs."[191] The present state of suffering in creation confirms the future hope of the glory of creation.

Paul says that the whole creation groans and suffers. The expression πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις indicates that it is not simply humanity that suffers due to the Fall.[192] The entire creation was affected.

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[188]Giblin, 395, believes that since the glorification of creation will be associated with the glorified Christ rather than Adam, its glory will be of a different type than that Adam knew in Paradise.

[189]Nelson, *Groaning*, 276-7.

[190]Murray, 305.

[191]Ibid.

[192]The general rule is that πᾶς with an articular noun means "the whole," in contrast to the usage with an anarthrous noun, which means "each" or "every." Although this rule is sometimes broken in biblical Greek, it is followed here (Moo, *Romans*, 555).

"We know" (οἴδαμεν) introduces something that the writer assumes is generally accepted by the readers and thus serves as a common ground on which he can base his argument.[193] This word has been understood in two major ways: (1) Many scholars believe this refers to general knowledge, based on the observation of nature. Anyone who looks about at the natural world with sensitivity can see the cycle of suffering, death and decay that grips nature in its relentless hold.[194] (2) A more likely view is that this is something generally known among Christians, based on divine revelation in the Old Testament and refined through Christian teaching.[195] Gen. 3:17 indicates the damage the creation suffered due to the Fall. Other OT passages refer to the damage of sin on nature (e.g. Is. 24:4-7; 33:9; Jer. 4:4, 11, 26-28). Both OT and NT refer to the future transformation of creation, which is a basis of hope despite the present suffering of creation. (e.g. Is. 11:6-9; 65:17-25; 66:22-23; Acts 3:21; 2 Pet. 3:13; Rev. 21:1f). Cranfield, Stauffer, Dunn and Nelson extend this to include the tradition of Jewish apocalyptic literature, which refined the OT understanding of the impact of sin on nature.[196] Paul consistently uses οἴδαμεν to refer to something known to believers by faith through revelation, not something that is common knowledge.[197] Although a sensitive

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[193]Cranfield, *Romans*, 143.

[194]H. C. G. Moule, *Romans*, 151; Godet, *Romans*, 315; Lenski, 539; Sanday and Headlam, 208-9; Moo, *Romans*, 554; BAGD, 558; Loane, 87; W. A. Whitehouse, 40-1. Boylan, 144, believes it is both known to the senses and by revelation.

[195]Cranfield, *Romans*, 416; Boylan, 144; Lampe, "New Testament Doctrine," 458; Breech, 76; Meyer, *Romans*, 2:326; B. Weiss, *Römer*, 365; Leenhardt, 222; Gaugler, 1:306-9. Stuhlmacher, *Romans*, 134, says it is both the knowledge the Romans gained from experience and from their faith.

[196]Cranfield, *Romans*, 416; Stauffer, 74; Dunn, *Romans*, 472; Nelson, *Groaning*, 211-2. E.g. Nelson cites 4 Ez. 7:31-33; Sib. Or. 3:752.

[197]Cf. Rom. 2:2 (the judgment of God falls on hypocrites); 3:19 (whatever the Law says it says to those under the Law); 7:14 (the Law is spiritual); 8:28 (God causes all things to work together for good); cf. 1 Cor. 8:1, 4; 2 Cor. 5:1; 1 Tim. 1:8. The function of οἴδαμεν is different in 8:26, where he says we do not know how to pray. 2 Cor. 5:16 may be an exception to the shared experience of believers, since it may be limited to Paul and a few others. Paul, however, never uses the word to refer to a generally known truth evident to all people.

person could perceive the suffering of nature, only the eyes of faith in light of divine revelation can see that the suffering of creation is the travail of birth, not the agony of death.

All of creation is "groaning together" (συστενάζει) throughout the ages. Although συστενάζω is only used here in the NT, the cognate στενάζω occurs 6 times in the NT and 17 times in the LXX. The basic meaning of στενάζω is "to sigh," "to groan" or "to wail." It expresses a deep distress of spirit in response to an undesirable circumstance.[198] Creation groans due to its subjection to futility and its bondage to corruption, which is the result of the curse in response to the Fall (vv. 20-21).[199] The biblical usage of στενάζω often has the positive expectation of an imminent resolution of the cause of distress.[200] Creation eagerly awaits the day when the sons of God will be revealed and creation will be delivered from its bondage (vv. 19, 21). The groaning is not futile, but it is associated with the eager expectation of a glorious future (v. 19), in light of the fact that God subjected creation in hope of its future deliverance (v. 20). This positive expectation is also suggested by the birth pangs metaphor (v. 22), since birth pangs imply an imminent joy after the travail is complete (cf. Jn. 16:21). Indeed, the groaning is naturally associated with the birth pangs and suggests the cries of a woman in labor. Thus the groaning has a two-way focus: it cries for release from the present condition of the corruption of creation and looks forward to the time of deliverance as a positive hope. This vision transforms the groaning so it does not indicate despair.[201]

Contrast Moo, *Romans*, 554.

[198]J. Schneider, "Στενάζω," TDNT, 7:600. Cf. Ex. 6:15; Job. 3:24; Is. 11:6; 51:11.

[199]Ibid., 601-2. Barth, *Romans*, 310, misses the point of the passage when he says the groaning is due to "createdness" and the temporal nature of things (cf. Glacken, 163, who says the groaning is part of God's design for nature and is not related to sin).

[200]Nelson, *Groaning*, 222, 255. E.g. Ps. 38:9 (expects God to deliver him from the crisis); Ex. 6:5; Ps. 11:6; Is. 51:11 (redemption is about to be accomplished); Jn. 16:21 (childbirth); 2 Cor. 5:2, 4 (believer's groaning to be clothed with the heavenly body; cf. v. 5 for the guarantee).

[201]Heil, 86-7; Nelson, *Groaning*, 256-7.

Is. 24:4-7 also says that the natural order groans in pain due to human sin. The earth mourns (πενθέω) due to human sin, which "pollutes" the earth (vv. 4-5). The LXX uses στενάζω, much like Paul uses συστενάζω in Rom. 8:22, to refer to the groaning of part of the natural order due to the devastation of sin (v. 7). The new wine groans in sorrow due to its inability to produce a fruitful harvest. The entire natural order groans and suffers since it is spoiled by human sin.

Paul personifies the natural world and says it suffers and groans due to human sin.[202] This anthropopathism stresses the damage that human sin does to the natural world. Creation has been seriously damaged and it was set off course from its original created purpose. Even though Paul uses personification, this does not mean the suffering of creation is not real.[203]

There is a three-fold dimension to the groaning in the context: (1) All creation groans as it longs for deliverance from slavery to corruption (v. 22). (2) Believers groan as they await the redemption of their bodies (v. 23; cf. 2 Cor. 5:2, 4). (3) The Spirit groans in intercession for believers (v. 26). This structural device stresses the solidarity between believers and the rest of creation. Both groan for complete deliverance from the corruption of the physical world. The Spirit supports the longing of believers as they express in prayer their desire for deliverance.

Paul also says that creation suffers the pains of childbirth (συνωδίνει). Although this compound form with συν- is unique in the NT, the root verb ὠδίνω (Gal. 4:19, 27; Rev. 12:2) and the cognate noun ὠδίν (Mt. 24:8; Mk. 13:8; Acts 2:24; 1 Th. 5:3) are used several times in the NT. The metaphor of birth pangs points to intense and prolonged pain that leads to a

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[202]According to Vögtle, *Zukunft des Kosmos*, 193 and Paul Althaus, *Der Brief an die Römer übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), 82, only believers can actually hear and interpret this groaning.

[203]Gore, 1:305, believes there is actual suffering, particularly among animals.

joyous and positive outcome.[204] It is a bipolar metaphor that combines both pain and a positive future outcome. This can be more precisely broken down into several aspects that are emphasized in various degrees in particular passages: (1) intense pain, struggle and suffering; (2) suffering that continues for an extended period; (3) future joy, which is often sharply contrasted to the sorrow and pain; and (4) the development of new life or a new state of affairs that is better and more glorious than the present. The following table shows the significance of birth pangs in the NT:

Table 27: Birth Pangs in the New Testament

Passage:	Pain:		Positive Outcome:		Literal Birth:
	Intense Pain:	Extended Pain:	Future Joy:	New, Better Future State:	
ὠδίνω:					
Gal. 4:19	X	X		X	
Gal. 4:27			X	X	
Rev. 12:2	X			X (e.g. v. 5)	
Rom. 8:22	X	X		X	
ὠδίν:					
Mt. 24:8	(Primary)			(Secondary)	
Mk. 13:8	(Primary)			(Secondary)	
Acts 2:24	Agony of death				
1 Th. 5:3	Suddenness of the pain				
τίκτω:					
Jn. 16:21	X		X	X	
Gal. 4:27			X	X	
Heb. 6:7				Ground brings vegetation	
Jam. 1:15				Lust gives birth to sin	
All other (13)					give birth, be born

Τίκτω is included in this chart because it semantically overlaps with ὠδίνω. In most cases (13 times) this word is used literally to mean "give birth" or "be born." But when it is

[204]Leenhardt, 222.

used metaphorically (4 times), its function is very similar to ὠδίνω. In Gal. 4:27 (a quotation of Is. 54:1), τίκτω is in poetic parallelism to ὠδίνω, showing the close similarity of the words. This chart shows that either or both aspects of the bipolar metaphor may be in view, depending on the context.

In Rom. 8:22 the birth pangs metaphor shows that the groaning and suffering of creation will not be in vain. From one vantage point, the creation suffers as a consequence of the divine curse due to the Fall. Yet this subjection of creation was not in vain or without hope (v. 20). The birth pangs metaphor interprets the pain and groaning of creation due to the Fall as a hopeful sign that glorious changes are soon coming to the world. Birth pangs are a productive pain that result in new life.[205]

The birth pangs metaphor, however, does not necessarily imply that Paul has in mind that the earth will be recreated or a new earth will be born.[206] As has been shown, v. 21 suggests he has in mind the transformation of the present material creation. The birth pangs metaphor is flexible enough to include a positive future outcome without requiring the creation of something new.

Gempf argues that the birth pangs metaphor only refers to intense pain and does not allude to the birth of a new world. Although the passage as a whole speaks of hope, the birth pangs metaphor only refers to the present pain of the world. He argues that the metaphor often refers to helpless pain, frustration and futility.[207] Gempf's study correctly demonstrates that birth pangs often focus on great pain, particularly in the LXX, where the outcome of the pain is frequently not in view.[208] He overstates his case, however, since the birth

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[205]Cf. Gore, 1:306; Loane, 87; Murray, 305.

[206]Contra G. Bertram, "Ὠδίν," TDNT, 9:673.

[207]Conrad Gempf, "The Imagery of Birth Pangs in the New Testament," *TynBul* 45, no. 1 (1994): 123-4.

[208]Gempf argues for several uses of the metaphor in the Bible: (1) intense pain (Jer. 4:21;

pangs metaphor inherently has nuances of expectation and orientation to the future[209]. Birth pangs passages in the LXX can focus on any phase of the process or outcome of birth.[210] In many of Gempf's examples the outcome of the pain is of major interest.[211] Furthermore, as the above chart shows, in the NT ὠδίνω and ὠδίν are usually concerned with the outcome of the pain, with two exceptions that focus on the pain itself (Acts 2:24; 1 Th. 5:3). Τίκτω always focuses on the outcome, when it is used metaphorically. In each case the context determines which aspect of this bipolar metaphor is in view. The context of Rom. 8:22 focuses on eschatological hope (vv. 20, 24-25), which suggests that the birth pangs metaphor also has the future glory of creation in view. In vv. 17-18 the suffering-glory theme is applied to believers, whereas in vv. 19 and 21 the focus is on the future glorious state of creation and its deliverance from bondage to corruption. V. 19 also has the theme of waiting for an extended period for a positive future outcome. The birth pangs metaphor is another way of tying together all of these images of extended suffering and final glory. The birth pangs metaphor is ideally suited for this purpose since it naturally combines both sides. It also implies that the present suffering of creation, although intense and prolonged, will not continue forever. This too reinforces the theme of hope.

Tsumura argues that the reference to birth pangs alludes to Gen. 3:16, in which pain in childbearing is part of the punishment for the Fall.[212] Keesmaat also points out that there

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30:4-7; 1 En. 62:4-6; Mk. 13); (2) helpless pain (Is. 13:4-8; Jer. 48:41; Ps. 48:4; Is. 42:13-14; cf. 1QH 5) (124-126); (3) productive pain (Jn. 16:21; Is. 66:6-9; Mic. 4:10; 5:3-4; cf. 1QH 3; bSanhedrin 97-98); (3a) frustration of an unproductive birth process (Is. 26:17-18; Hos. 13:13); (3b) the birth rather than the process (Rev. 12:1-6; Gal. 4:19); (4) pain that must run its course, related to helplessness (Mic. 4:9-10; 5:3; Mk. 13:8; Mt. 24).

[209]Cf. Heil, 87.

[210]Bertram, "Ὠδίν," TDNT, 9:668-70.

[211]Gemph's category 3, productive pain: Is. 66:6-9; Mi 4:10; 5:3-4; Jn. 16:21; cf. 1QH 3; bSan. 97-98; and, category 3b, focus on the birth rather than the process: Rev. 12:1-6; Gal. 4:19.

[212]D. T. Tsumura, "An OT Background to Rom 8:22," *NTS* 40, no. 4 (1994): 620-1; cf.

is a verbal parallel with the word "groaning," which has the same root in both Gen. 3:17 (στεναγμόν) and Rom. 8:22 (συστενάζει). Paul uses the language of the curse to show that creation suffers the anguish of the Fall.[213] If this is true, it strengthens the link between Rom. 8:19-22 and Gen. 3, since both the curse on the ground (Gen. 3:17-19) and the pain of childbearing (Gen. 3:16) are in view. Although the LXX uses λύπη rather than ὠδίν for the pains of childbirth, Paul may have thought of this metaphor for the pains of the earth because Gen. 3 was in his mind. Nevertheless, the pains of childbirth in Rom. 8:22 are clearly metaphorical rather than the literal birth pangs of Gen. 3:16.

Birth pangs are often used as an eschatological symbol in both the Bible and non-canonical Jewish literature. In the OT, eschatological suffering is often compared to the pains of childbirth (Is. 13:8; 21:3; 26:17-18; 66:7-8; Jer. 4:31; 22:23; Hos. 13:13; Mic. 4:9-10). In the NT, Mk. 13 and Mt. 24 are especially significant, because they refer to such cosmic disasters as earthquakes and famines that will precede Christ's second coming (cf. 1 Th. 5:3). Many scholars believe the concept of cosmic suffering in Rom. 8:20-22 is similar to the "birth pangs of the Messiah" (BPM) in the OT and Jewish literature. This concept refers to a period of cosmic disasters and suffering that will occur at the end of the age as a prelude to the coming of the Messiah.[214] There is much in common between Rom. 8:20-22 and these passages: (1) They speak of eschatological cosmic disasters that precede the coming of the

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Keesmaat, "Exodus," 392.

[213]Keesmaat, "Exodus," 392, also sees a similarity to the Exodus accounts of Israel's groaning in bondage (Ex. 2:23-24; 6:5; cf. Jer. 38:19).

[214]The concept is found in Qumran and Jewish apocalyptic (e.g. 1QH 3:7-18; 1 En. 62:4; cf. the Christian addition to 4 Ezra in 16:37-39). However, Strack and Billerbeck, 3:1:950, 4:564, 1042, 1067, show that it is more fully developed in rabbinic literature; e.g. Tg. Ps. 18:4; Pro. on 2 S. 22:5. Nevertheless, many point to the similarities between Rom. 8:22 and these BPM passages. Cranfield, *Romans*, 416; Bruce, 173; Best, 98; Francis, 155; Käsemann, *Romans*, 232; Vögtle, "Röm 8,19-22," 191, 198, 206; Richard Batey, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans* (Austin, Texas: R. B. Sweet, 1969), 114; Gerber, 61, 75; Balz, 52; Schlier, "Worauf," 600, 606; Michel, 175.

glorious new age. (2) In many passages the cosmic disasters are a consequence of an increase in human sin.

The differences, however, are significant enough that Rom. 8:20-22 cannot be used as an example of BPM: (1) In the BPM passages, the intense cosmic tribulation occurs over a short period prior to the coming of the Messiah. By contrast, in Rom. 8:20-22 the creation suffers throughout the age from the Fall to the end times.[215] This is shown by the phrase ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν. (2) In most of the OT and rabbinic passages, the focus is the suffering of humans rather than the natural world.[216] Jewish apocalyptic goes further in looking at the eschatological sufferings of nature, but the emphasis is still on how this leads to human suffering. (3) In later Jewish passages, the tribulations are part of a process of bringing about the Messianic age, a concept that is less clear in Rom. 8 and not at all developed in the OT.[217] Although Paul's idea of cosmic groaning and birth pangs is not exactly the same as BPM, it is a closely related concept of cosmic travail.

The significance of the συν- compound verbs (συστενάζω and συνωδίνω) has been understood in various ways: (1) Tholuck, Fitzmyer and others believe that the subhuman creation groans with believers, in light of v. 23, which describes the believers groaning for the redemption of their bodies.[218] V. 23, however, seems to contrast believers from the creation

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[215]Cf. Meyer, *Romans*, 2:326; B. Weiss, *Römer*, 366; Lange, *Romans*, 273.

[216]E.g. Is. 26:17; 66:8; Jer. 4:31; Hos. 13:13; Mic. 4:9-10; 1 En. 62:4; bKet. 111a; bSanh. 98b; 118a. Bertram, "Ὠδίν," TDNT, 9:672; Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel From Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, 3rd ed., trans. W. F. Stinespring (New York: Macmillan, 1935), 440-50.

[217]E.g. R. Eliezer (c. A.D. 90) says the goal is preservation through the sorrows and afflictions of the last time. Loane, 88; Bertram, "Ὠδίν," TDNT, 9:672.

[218]Tholuck, 263; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 509; Calvin, *Romans*, 302-3. According to Meyer, *Romans*, 2:326, Ewald also took this position. Schlatter, 269-70, says it refers to the common complaint of humanity, which yearns for redemption. He rejects the cosmic interpretation of κτίσις.

of v. 22 ("not only this but we also," οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ).[219] (2) The majority of scholars believe that the συν- compounds indicate that creation in its entirety suffers "together" or "in one accord."[220] This is supported by the subject "all creation" (πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις). The συν- compound verbs point to the solidarity of creation in its suffering due to human sin and reinforce the universal impact of the Fall.

The phrase ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν indicates that the suffering and groaning of creation has been continuous throughout the age since the Fall. The expression implies that this state of affairs has been in existence continuously for a long time.[221] The only other NT usage is in Phil. 1:5, where it means "right up to the present time." This expression shows that the suffering of creation is not an eschatological increase in trials just prior to the end of the age (unlike Mt. 24:6-8, 29 and BPM passages). Rather the suffering is a characteristic of this age and will continue until believers are glorified (v. 21).

Käsemann, Barrett, Balz and Dunn see an eschatological meaning in νῦν. Käsemann says it refers to "the eschatological moment which precedes the parousia," when the suffering of creation will end.[222] The strong eschatological context in Rom. 8 suggests an eschatological nuance may be implied in this word. The passage has an undertone that the promised redemption of creation is imminent. Yet at the present time the new world order has not arrived, so this eschatological dimension must not be overplayed.[223] Believers (v. 23) along

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[219]Sanday and Headlam, 209.

[220]Dunn, *Romans*, 472; Cranfield, *Romans*, 417; Moo, *Romans*, 555; Schneider, TDNT, "Στενάζω," TDNT, 7:601, n. 5; Boylan, 145; Murray, 305; Denney, 650. Käsemann, *Romans*, 236, "the chorus from the depths fills the whole world."

[221]Cranfield, *Romans*, 417. The expression refers to the "uninterrupted nature of the process" (G. Stählin, "Νῦν," TDNT, 4:1007).

[222]Käsemann, *Romans*, 236. Similarly Barrett, *Romans*, 166, says it is "the decisive moment, when God's purposes are fulfilled." Cf. Balz, 52; Dunn, *Romans*, 473; Stählin, "Νῦν," TDNT, 4:1110; Nelson, *Groaning*, 217.

[223]Murray, 305.

with all creation are still part of the suffering, corrupted state of affairs, looking forward to the time of cosmic transformation and deliverance. In Phil. 1:5, the phrase does not indicate the state of affairs is ending. Furthermore, the fact that the suffering of creation is self-evident ("we know") would be meaningless, unless it was equally apparent that the change had already begun. The purpose of ἄχρι του νῦν is to stress that the long anticipated transformation of creation has not yet come, even though there is a basis for hoping that it will come soon. The phrase denies an overly realized eschatology, since the promised redemption of creation has not yet occurred. It is the "not yet" aspect of the present rather than the fulfillment that is in view both here and in v. 18.[224] Nevertheless, the continuing sufferings of creation are a basis for hope, because the birth pangs, which anticipate the redemption of creation, have not ceased throughout this age.[225]

H. Summary of Major Themes in Rom. 8:19-22

This passage is the fullest discussion of the corruption and redemption of the natural world in Paul's letters. In both the LXX and the NT, κτίσις can refer to all of creation or any part, depending on the context. In Rom. 8:19-22, the word refers primarily to the subhuman creation, both animate and inanimate, or roughly equivalent to "nature." Thus Rom. 8:19-22 has important implications for the present and future state of the natural world.

1. The Corruption of Creation

1. The human Fall had cosmic consequences. Creation was subjected to futility and is enslaved to death and decay as a result of the Fall of Adam. This passage extends the principles of the impact of the Fall described in Rom. 5:12-21. Adam's sin not only brought sin and death to humanity, but it also brought the entire created order under

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[224]Cranfield, *Romans*, 416, n. 2.

[225]Murray, 305.

bondage to death, decay, corruption and futility. The passage has many allusions to the consequences of the Fall described in Gen. 3:15-18.

2. Creation is not presently in the state in which it was originally created. In some profound sense, nature is different now than prior to the Fall. Nature was not always subject to death, decay and futility. Corruption is not part of "createdness" itself but a consequence of God's curse after the Fall.
3. Creation itself is not fallen, in the sense of being evil or disobedient to God. The natural world is a victim of the human Fall and *ongoing* human sin. Although nature has been damaged by sin, it is not evil. The subjection of creation was "not due to its own will" (v. 20), but it was due to the curse on nature in response to the Fall of Adam.
4. Creation was subjected to futility, which implies that the natural world no longer is able to fulfil the purpose for which it was made. This alludes to Gen 3:17-18, where the ground was cursed after the Fall, with the result that the ground brings forth weeds more easily than food crops and produces crops only in response to frustrating human labor. The futility of life apart from God described in Ecclesiastes may also be part of the background. It may also refer to the apparently meaningless cycle of death and the struggle for existence that characterizes the present patterns of nature.
5. Creation is enslaved to corruption. All life in the natural world is subject to a cycle of death and decay. Although corruption is not used in a moral sense here, the physical aspect of corruption is a consequence of the moral evil of the Fall. This may allude to Gen. 3:19, where death is the punishment for the disobedience of Adam and Eve. The suffering of believers (Rom. 8:17-18) is not isolated, but it is related to the corruption of creation that is characteristic of this age.
6. God subjected creation to futility as part of the curse due to the Fall. The subjection of creation is a judicial pronouncement described in Gen. 3:17-18, where God cursed the ground in response to Adam's disobedience. Although in one sense Adam's sin brought the

created order under death, decay and corruption, God is primarily the one who subjected creation to its present futility in an act of judgment. Only God could subject creation in hope with a view to its future redemption (v. 20; cf. Gen. 3:15).

7. The natural world suffers due to human sin. Creation is groaning in agony and in deep distress of spirit due to its slavery to corruption and its subjection to futility. The groaning of creation, however, does not indicate despair, but a longing for a glorious future.
8. The present suffering of creation is interpreted as part of the birth pangs leading to a glorious new world, rather than the death pangs of a dying creation. The birth pangs metaphor in Scripture is a bipolar metaphor indicating an intense, prolonged pain that leads to a joyful and positive outcome. The metaphor ties together both major themes of the passage: present suffering and hope for a glorious future. The groaning and suffering of creation will not be in vain. Although the suffering of creation is due to the Fall, it also can be seen as a hopeful sign that glorious changes are coming to the world. Unlike the birth pangs of the Messiah concept in the OT and Jewish non-canonical literature, the birth pangs are not eschatological cosmic disasters preceding the coming of the Messiah, but they have been continuously present since the Fall.
9. The corruption of creation due to human sin is a consequence of the fact that humanity was given dominion over the earth (Gen. 1:26). Since Adam had stewardship over the earth, his disobedience had an effect on the earth. There is a solidarity between humanity and the natural world. Both the subhuman creation and believers groan for deliverance from the corruption of the physical world.

2. The Redemption of Creation

1. The redemption brought by Christ will have cosmic consequences. God plans that the natural order will be restored to its proper operation so that it may fulfil the purpose for which it was created.

2. The subjection of creation to futility was done with a view to the hope for the future redemption of creation. This may be based on God's promise that the seed of the woman would crush the head of the serpent (Gen. 3:15).
3. Creation eagerly awaits the eschatological revelation of the children of God. At that time the natural world will be set free from its futility and slavery to corruption and it will share in the final glory of the children of God.
4. The redemption of creation is associated with the Resurrection and eschatological glorification of believers. Due to the solidarity between humanity and the natural world, the redemption of the natural world is dependent upon the final redemption of the children of God. The redemption of creation will only occur when humanity assumes its proper role in God's plan and appears with Christ in glory.,
5. The eschatological freedom of creation to share in the glory of the children of God is contrasted with its present slavery to corruption. This freedom involves both negative and positive dimensions: (1) freedom from slavery to corruption and the end of the ongoing cycle of death and decay; (2) sharing in the eschatological glory of the children of God and a freedom and glorification appropriate to its non-rational nature. Creation will become all that God intended it to be, without the limitations brought by human sin.
6. The redemption of the bodies of believers is one aspect of the redemption of the whole material world. The glorified, redeemed natural world in which righteousness dwells will be a suitable dwelling for the redeemed and glorified humanity.
7. The passage does not describe the destruction of the present world or the creation of a new heaven and earth. Rather it suggests the redemption and transformation of the present material world. Nature will enjoy liberty and glory, and there will be fundamental changes in the operation of nature.
8. The final state of creation will not be simply a restoration of the pre-Fall conditions of nature, but it will be even greater than the original creation. Creation will gain more in the

new age than it lost due to the Fall of Adam.

3. The Personification of Creation

1. The personification of nature is frequent in this passage, particularly anthropomorphism and anthropopathism. Creation is described with emotions, intellect and will. The natural world has eager expectation (v. 19), frustration (v. 20), the ability to choose (v. 20), hope for future redemption (v. 20), longing for future freedom (v. 21), groaning in agony (v. 22), and suffering pain like childbirth (v. 22).
2. The subhuman creation as a whole is personified, rather than individual parts of nature, such as the sun, stars or wind.
3. The personification of creation is central to the message of the passage and serves to highlight most of the central themes:
   a. Human sin and the Fall caused extensive and intense damage to the cosmos. Creation suffers due to human sin and longs for release from futility and slavery to corruption.
   b. Creation is not fallen or disobedient to God. Creation eagerly awaits the revealing of the sons of God and has hope that it will be set free to share in the glory of the children of God.
   c. Personification emphasizes the solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation. Both humanity and the natural world suffer and groan together due to sin, and both long for release from this present state of corruption.
   d. The natural world primarily acts according to God's design, except where it has been damaged as a result of human sin. The corruption of creation is not due to the disobedience of the natural world.
   e. The natural world has a certainty of its future redemption and looks forward with hope to that day.
   f. There is a close relationship between the eschatological redemption of the whole

creation and the glorification of believers.

CHAPTER 8:

COMPARISON OF ROMANS 8:19-22 AND JEWISH APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE ON THE CORRUPTION AND REDEMPTION OF CREATION

The survey of past research has shown that scholars frequently consider Rom. 8:19-22 to have an apocalyptic theology. This study of apocalyptic materials, however, shows that it is not enough simply to say that Rom. 8:19-22 expresses an apocalyptic theology, since the themes of the corruption and redemption of creation are treated in diverse ways within the Jewish apocalyptic writings. It is important to determine the particular stream of apocalyptic thought that is reflected in the passage and to notice the differences between Paul's approach to the subject and a Jewish apocalyptic approach.

A. The Corruption of Creation

1. The Impact of Sin on the Natural World

This study has shown that within the Jewish apocalyptic writings there are three streams of thought about the impact of sin on the natural world: (1) The natural world has been severely corrupted by sin (BW 6-16; AA; 1 En. Noah; 4 Ez.). (2) Creation operates consistently and obeys God's laws (BW 1-5; BP 1; AB, except 80; BD 83-84; Ep. En.). (3) Although creation generally operates consistently, there is a limited corruption of creation, either in some parts of the natural world (BW 17-36; Jub.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE) or at certain times, such as prior to the Flood or in the last days (AB 80; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 2 Bar.).

Rom. 8:19-22 affirms the corruption of creation, which corresponds to the first position quite closely. The Fall of humanity had severe cosmic consequences. Creation was subjected to futility and is now enslaved to corruption, death and decay. The corruption of creation is an

ongoing characteristic of this age and is not simply restricted to a time of cosmic disasters near the end of the age, as suggested by some apocalyptic works of the third stream of thought described above.

The diversity of views in the Jewish apocalyptic writings reflects a tension between two ideas: (1) the belief that the natural world is under God's control and therefore operates consistently; and (2) the view that this world is corrupted and out of order because of humanity's sin. Even those apocalyptic writings that stress the consistent (even mechanical) operation of nature acknowledge that there are times when the natural world deviates from its consistent operation due to the impact of increased and widespread sin. The pre-Flood era (BW 6-16; BP 3; 1 En. Noah; 2 En.; 2 Bar.; Jub.) and the last days (BW 17-36; AB 80; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Jub.) are seen as times of severe and widespread sin, and so have experienced, or will experience, a severe disruption of the natural order. The impact of sin on the natural world is acknowledged by most of the Jewish apocalyptic writings.

There is no discussion in Rom. 8:19-22 concerning the consistent operation of the natural world. Certainly Paul teaches elsewhere that God is in control of all of history. This is even affirmed later in this chapter in vv. 28 and 38-39, although Paul's interest in these latter verses concerns the impact of God's sovereignty on believers. The general tone of Rom. 8:19-22, however, indicates that creation is not at present completely as God wants it to be, due to the impact of human sin. The "futility" of creation indicates that it is not able to achieve the purpose for which it was created. The expectation is that one day God will transform creation so that its corruption and futility will be eliminated, and so that the creation will achieve the purpose for which God made it. This picture of a damaged creation closely fits the most common Jewish apocalyptic perspective on the natural world.

2. The Cause of Cosmic Corruption

In the Jewish apocalyptic writings there are two common competing theories as to the

cause of the corruption of creation: (1) human sin (BW 17-36; AB 80; Jub.; BP; 2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; AP. Mos./LAE); and (2) the sin of the fallen angels or "Watchers" (BW 6-16, 17-36; AA; 1 En. Noah; Jub.; BP). In addition, (3) some works refer to both human sin and angelic sin as an explanation for the corruption of creation (BW 17-36; AB 80; Jub.; BP 3). When taken alone, the fallen Watcher viewpoint largely absolves humanity of responsibility for the origin of sin and the corruption in this age. Yet it still establishes a strong cause-effect relationship between sin and the corruption of the natural world.

There are several aspects of human sin that bring damage to the natural world, according to the Jewish apocalyptic writings: (1) the Fall of humanity (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE); (2) widespread evil in the pre-Flood generation (Jub,; BP 3; 2 En.); (3) ongoing human sin throughout history (BW 6-16; AB 80; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.); and (4) the increase in sin that will occur at the end of this age (AB 80; Jub.; 2 Bar.). Many of the writings combine several of these causes (AB 80: ongoing, eschatological; Jub.: all four; 4 Ez.: Fall, ongoing; 2 Bar.: Fall, ongoing, eschatological). The general principle throughout these Jewish apocalyptic materials is that times of increasing sin bring increased disruption to the cosmic order.

Paul agrees with the Jewish apocalyptic perspective that there are cosmic consequences of sin. He traces the corruption of creation to the Fall of humanity. Rom. 8:19-22 is consistent with that strand of Jewish apocalyptic materials that emphasizes human responsibility for the corruption of the world, rather than blaming it on fallen angels. Rom. 8:19-22 contains numerous allusions to the divine curse in response to the Fall (Gen. 3:15-19). The Fall had cosmic consequences, including enslaving creation to death and decay and subjecting it to futility. Although Romans, particularly in 1:18-3:20, places a strong emphasis on the ongoing sinfulness of the human race, 8:19-22 traces the corruption of creation to a specific starting point (v. 20). This is consistent with Paul's teaching in 5:12-19 that death was introduced to the human race through Adam's transgression. Furthermore, the corruption of creation is not an eschatological state associated with a widespread increase in human evil,

but a general characteristic of the period from the Fall to the Second Coming. Like those Jewish apocalyptic writings that refer to the Fall as the cause of the corruption of creation, Rom. 8:19-22 teaches that corruption within creation is an ongoing characteristic of life in this world.

Paul indicates that the present state of creation is not as God originally created it. The natural world, with its futility and slavery to corruption, presently is profoundly different than it was prior to the Fall. The subjection of creation happened at a point in history. This agrees with the most common Jewish apocalyptic perspective. For the apocalyptic writings say this age is characterized by decay, disease, death (or a shortened lifespan) and suffering, which are not as God intended (Jub.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). At times such cosmic disruptions extend even to the movements of the stars, sun and moon, which do not follow their divinely ordered paths. These problems are generally traced to specific historical causes, and so to have a specific starting point in history; either (1) the Fall of humanity (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE); or (2) the sins of the Watchers prior to the Flood (BW 6-16; BW 17-36; AA; Jub.; BP 3). The Jewish apocalyptic writings also look forward to a new world or to the transformation of creation, which often involves a restoration of the original Paradise that was lost due to the Fall (BW 1-5; BW 6-16; 17-36; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). The contrast of the present state of the world with these descriptions of Paradise also confirms that the natural world is not now as it was originally created.

The one exception to this connection between sin and the corruption of creation, is the theory in 4 Ezra that the advanced state of the earth has led to the moral and physical decay in the world. This, however, is a secondary feature even in 4 Ezra, which primarily emphasizes the impact of the Fall and ongoing human wickedness on this age. There is nothing comparable to this approach in Rom. 8:19-22.

3. Is Creation Itself Fallen or a Victim of Sin?

An important question is whether the corruption of creation implies that the natural order itself is fallen, in the sense of being evil or disobedient to God's design. The Jewish apocalyptic writings are ambivalent about this issue. (1) The majority of works do not present creation as fallen. Those writings that describe a consistent operation of nature, often under the guidance of angels, stress God's control over the natural order and the perfection of its operation (BW 1-5; AB, except 80; BD 83-84; Ep. En.; BP 1). Among the works that refer to the corruption of creation, that corruption is generally attributed to sins of humans or the Watchers, rather than to anything inherently wrong with creation. The natural world is the victim of the sins of humans and Watchers (BW 6-16; BW 17-36; AA; Jub.; BP 3). This is frequently shown by the personification of creation, in which the natural world cries out for release from oppression (BW 6-16; AA) and even has sorrow due to human sin (Ap. Mos/LAE). In this stream of apocalyptic writings, the material creation is not itself evil or fallen, even though it is damaged by sin.

(2) On the other hand, in some apocalyptic writings certain parts of the natural world disobey God's plan (BW 17-36; AB 80; Jub.; Ap. Mos./LAE), especially in the pre-Flood era (BW 17-36) or at the end of the age (AB 80; Jub.). When these parts of nature disobey God's design, they are held morally accountable and will be punished. In a few instances the natural world even initiates disobedience on its own (BW 17-36). This suggests that in these apocalyptic materials at least parts of the natural world are fallen and disobedient to God.

Nevertheless, this disobedience of the natural world is generally associated with human or angelic sin, and is viewed as a reflection of the disruption of the normal operation of creation. When natural objects initiate their own disobedience, it is an indication that creation has been corrupted by sin. Even in BW 17-36, the clearest example of a disobedient creation, the disobedience of the wandering stars is associated with disobedient angels. Both the stars and the disobedient angels who control them will be eternally punished. This is probably an

allusion to the Watcher tradition, and therefore suggests that the problem of the wandering stars is due to the fall of the Watchers. Thus the general pattern of Jewish apocalyptic is that the natural order is a victim of human or angelic sins.

In Rom. 8:19-22 Paul presents the natural world as a victim of human sin, particularly due to the Fall. Creation is not itself fallen, in the sense of being disobedient to God. This is consistent with the view of the majority of Jewish apocalyptic writings and differs from those apocalyptic writings that present natural objects as sometimes disobedient on their own. There is nothing in Rom. 8:19-22 comparable to the concept expressed in BW 17-36 that creation rebels. Paul explicitly says that creation was not subjected to futility as a result of its own will (v. 20). Creation is a victim of sin, not an initiator of wrongdoing.

Both Paul and the Jewish apocalyptic writings use the personification of creation to support the idea that nature is basically obedient to God and a victim of sin. In the Jewish apocalyptic materials, the natural world cries out for release from the oppression it suffers because of the sins of humans and the Watchers (BW 6-16; AA). Furthermore, the natural world has sorrow about human sin (4 Ez.; Ap. Mos/LAE). Similarly in Rom. 8:19-22, creation groans in deep distress and suffers because it is enslaved to corruption and futility. Creation eagerly awaits the revealing of the sons of God and has hope that it will be set free to share in the glory of the children of God.

4. Aspects of the Corruption of Creation

In the Jewish apocalyptic writings, the corruption of creation due to sin commonly involves several changes to the natural world: (1) Most frequently, sin brings to the world corruption, disease, death, decay, suffering and sorrow (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; BP 3; Ap. Mos./LAE). Due to the sins of human beings (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE) or the Watchers (BP 3), these features characterize life throughout this age. Although in most of the apocalyptic writings, death becomes a part of the cycle of nature and human experience, in

Jub. and 2 Bar. the human lifespan is also shortened because of the Fall. Thus Jub. and 2 Bar. hold in tension premature death and death in general as the consequence of sin.

(2) Another common result of sin is the vanity of life in this age due to the problems of life (4 Ez.; 2 Bar. Ap. Mos./LAE). Labor is futile since hardship and failure are inevitable (Ap. Mos./LAE). 2 Bar. says that even the best things in this life, such as beauty, youth, strength, wealth and happiness, are subject to limitations and will eventually pass away in death. 2 En. speaks of "this vain world" in a different sense: It is futile to follow the path of sin, because it will not lead to eternal life.

(3) Sin also brings about major disruptions in the orderly operation of the natural world (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Animals changed their behavior after the Fall, so that they were no longer as obedient to humans, nor could they speak (Jub.; Ap. Mos/LAE). The earth itself was corrupted by the sin of humanity at the Fall (Jub.; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE) or the sin of the Watchers (BW 6-16; 1 En. Noah; Jub.). Numerous cosmic irregularities occur during times of extensive sin, such as during the pre-Flood era (BW 6-16; BW 17-36; 1 En. Noah; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3) and in the last days (AB 80; Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). These cosmic changes include aberrations in the patterns of heavenly luminaries, earthquakes, widespread crop failure, plagues, birth defects and disturbances among animals.

Rom. 8:19-22 is in general agreement with these apocalyptic motifs, but Paul does not unpack the aspects of the corruption of creation to the same degree as the Jewish apocalyptic writings. He simply describes the present state of creation in two general ways: Creation is (1) enslaved to corruption, and it is (2) subjected to futility. Rom. 8:19-22 has no detailed descriptions of the nature of the corruption and futility of creation. Paul apparently assumes that the features of corruption and futility described by the apocalyptic writers would be understood by his readers.

The meaning of corruption and futility in Rom. 8:19-22, therefore, is clarified against a background of Jewish apocalyptic literature. In Rom. 8:19-22, as in the Jewish apocalyptic

writings, corruption involves the pattern of death and decay that characterizes the natural world since the Fall. In the Jewish apocalyptic writings, corruption has a moral dimension (widespread evil) as well as a physical dimension (death, decay, disease and suffering). These two dimensions of corruption are generally closely linked, so that when there is moral corruption, physical corruption generally follows. In Rom. 8:19-22, the focus is on the physical corruption of creation. Nevertheless, just as in the Jewish apocalyptic materials, physical corruption is linked to moral corruption, which is due to the Fall of humanity in Rom. 8:19-22.

Paul also speaks of the futility to which creation is subjected. Much like the Jewish apocalyptic writings, in Rom. 8:19-22 futility carries the implications of God's curse on the ground based on Gen. 3:17-18, as well as the futility of life apart from God as described in Ecclesiastes. As in the Jewish apocalyptic materials, this futility is closely related to the corruption of creation, so that the natural world is subjected to an apparently meaningless pattern of death and struggle for existence.

There is nothing in Rom. 8:19-22, however, that is comparable to the detailed description of cosmic disorder found in many Jewish apocalyptic works. Paul does not describe any disturbances in the heavenly luminaries nor any changes in the animal world. This is consistent with the generalized discussion of the corruption and futility of creation in this passage. Furthermore, there is no discussion of cosmic disasters in the pre-Flood or eschatological eras, since Paul focuses on the corruption of creation as a general characteristic of creation since the Fall.

5. The Period During Which Creation is Corrupted

In the Jewish apocalyptic materials, the period of time during which creation is corrupted varies, depending on the cause of the corruption: (1) When creation is corrupted because of pre-Flood sin, either that of the fallen Watchers or widespread human evil, the

corruption usually ends after the Flood (BW 6-16; AA; 1 En. Noah; AB 80; Jub.). Nature suffers intensely due to this sin, but the changes and suffering are not permanent. (2) 2 En. and BP 3 are important exceptions to this pattern of pre-Flood sin. In these works the sins of the Watchers introduce fundamental changes to the operation of the cosmos, so that nature no longer operates as God originally designed. (3) When the focus is on the results of the Fall of humanity, the corruption of creation becomes a characteristic of this age (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). This corruption will end when the new world/age comes. (4) When the corruption is due to ongoing human sin, corruption is a characteristic of this age (BW 6-16; AB 80; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). (5) When the corruption is due to widespread eschatological human evil, there are numerous cosmic disasters and disruptions of the normal operation of nature that are limited to this eschatological period and will end when the new world/age comes (AB 80; Jub.; 2 Bar.). The general pattern is that times of increasing sin are accompanied by disruptions in the operation of the natural world. Certain events, however, such as the Fall of humanity and, in some works, the sins of the Watchers, produce permanent changes in the natural world, which will not be reversed until the new age comes.

Unlike many Jewish apocalyptic writings, Rom. 8:19-22 does not address the question of pre-Flood or eschatological cosmic disasters. The focus is entirely on corruption and futility as ongoing characteristics of creation. This is consistent with the association of the corruption of creation with the Fall. The Fall was a primordial event that substantially changed the created order when God pronounced a curse on the earth (Gen. 3:17-18). This corrupted state will continue until creation is transformed by God in the eschaton.

On the surface it might appear that the birth pangs metaphor in v. 22 points to a temporary, eschatological period of intense suffering, as described in Mk. 13:8, rather than the corruption of creation as a feature of creation since the Fall. The use of birth pangs imagery to refer to a period of eschatological suffering (the "birth pangs of the Messiah") is common in rabbinic literature. This use of the birth pangs metaphor, however, is not fully developed in

the Jewish apocalyptic writings.[1] When the birth pangs metaphor is used in the Jewish apocalyptic materials to refer to suffering, it focuses on human suffering, rather than on the suffering of creation (e.g. 1 En. 62:4; cf. Mk. 13:8).[2] In Rom. 8:22, however, the birth pangs metaphor stresses the intensity of the suffering of the natural world and points to a positive outcome, when the world will be transformed in the eschaton. It does not refer to the eschatological human suffering implied by the "birth pangs of the Messiah" concept.

6. The Solidarity Between Humanity and the Natural World

Jewish apocalyptic literature frequently points to a solidarity between humanity and the natural world (BW 6-16; Jub.; 2 Bar.; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE). This is due to several factors: (1) humanity was made from the dust of the earth (4 Ez.); (2) humanity was given dominion or stewardship over the earth (4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE); and (3) the world was made for humanity, particularly the righteous people of God (4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Not only the earth and animals but even the heavenly bodies were made to serve humanity (4 Ez.).

This solidarity implies that human sin profoundly affects the creation, since everything humanity does has an impact on the world. When Adam sinned the ground was cursed. The promised land was cursed or blessed several times in Israel's history depending on whether the people of Israel were obedient to God (BW 6-16; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Jub.). This is rooted in biblical passages that indicate that sin defiles the land (e.g. Lev. 18:25-28; Num. 35:33-34; Deut. 24:4; Jer. 2:7). In the OT prophets, this idea is extended further so that human sin

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[1]4 Ez. 16:37-39 might appear to be an exception, since it says "the world will groan" when eschatological calamities come on the earth and it compares these sufferings to the pains of childbirth. This part of the book, however, is a later Christian addition (5 Esdras ch. 15-16), which appears to be dependent on Rom. 8:22 and Mk. 13.

[2]The birth pangs metaphor is used in 4 Ez. 10:6-16 to refer to the earth as the mother, which brought forth humanity (an allusion to Gen 2:7, where humans were formed by God from the dust of the earth). In 4 Ez. 4:40-42 it indicates that the righteous will only have to wait in Hades for a limited time before they will receive their reward (stress on short period and certainty of the outcome in the proper time). The concept of pain recedes in both metaphors.

causes damage to the entire earth, not simply the land of promise.[3] The Jewish apocalyptic writings also follow this cosmic pattern. Solidarity is often reflected in the personification of creation, so that the natural world has pain and sorrow about human sins (BW 6-16; AA; Jub.; 2 En.; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE) and intercedes on behalf of humanity (Ap. Mos.).

Rom. 8:19-22 also presupposes a solidarity between humanity and the natural world, as shown by the συν-compound verbs. This solidarity explains why the Fall subjected creation to futility and corruption. As in the Jewish apocalyptic writings, this solidarity is often based on the dominion that God gave humanity over the world (Gen. 1:26, 28), so that when Adam fell, the world for which he was responsible also suffered.

B. The Redemption of Creation

1. The Hope of the Eschatological Redemption of Creation

The redemption of creation is an important and frequent theme in most of the Jewish apocalyptic writings (BW 6-16; 17-36; AB; AA; AW; 1 En. Noah; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 1-3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). God does not plan to leave his creation in its present damaged state. He will either create a new heavens and earth, or he will transform the existing creation to become even more glorious. Even some writings that do not refer to the corruption of creation refer to a new creation (e.g. AB).

Paul has the same perspective in Rom. 8:19-22. The redemption that Christ brings is not simply for humanity, but also has cosmic consequences. The present futility of nature will be removed so that it fulfills the purpose for which it was created. The theme of hope for the future of creation runs strongly through the passage. Even when God subjected creation to

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[3]Keesmaat, "Exodus," 43-4, for a discussion of the effects of Israel's obedience on the fruitfulness or desolation of the land. The OT prophets extend the concept to the rest of created order, which becomes desolate or fruitful depending upon Israel's obedience (Is. 7:23-25; 8:21-22; 9:18-21; 13:9-13; 24:4-6; 33:7-9; 32:9-14; 34:8-17; Jer. 4:23-26; Amos 4:7-9; Hos. 4:1-3). The renewal of creation is linked to the renewal of people of God in prophetic literature (Is. 11:6-9; Jer. 50:34; Ez. 34:25-31; Hos. 2:18-23; Zech. 8:12)

futility as a judicial act in response to the Fall of humanity, he gave creation the hope that this condition would be reversed in the future (vv. 20-21). This may allude to the promise that God gave along with the curse after the Fall, that the serpent would ultimately be crushed (Gen. 3:15).

2. The Relationship Between the Old and the New Creations

There are two major streams of thought within the Jewish apocalyptic writings about the relationship between the present creation and the future creation: (1) God will create a new creation, i.e. a new heaven and a new earth (AB; AW; BW 3); or (2) God will renew the present creation (BW 1-5, 6-16; BP 2). Several works hold both ideas in tension (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.), although usually one idea dominates in a particular work. In Jub. and 4 Ez. the transformation of the present creation dominates, whereas in 2 Bar. the new creation motif dominates.

Writings that refer to a new creation tend to refer to the end of the present world in terms of its destruction (AW (?); 2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Usually there is an eschatological cataclysm at the end of this age, with cosmic disasters and radical changes in the normal operation of nature (BW 1-5; BD 83-84; 2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.).

Yet not all of the Jewish apocalyptic writings refer to the destruction of this world and the creation of a new world. An equal number refer to the transformation of the present creation and stress the continuity between the present and the future creation. Even when the language of the "end of the world" is used, it can refer to a transition to a new age, rather than the destruction of the present created order (e.g. 4 Ez.).

The following motifs stress the continuity of the new and old creation: (1) This world, including nature, will be transformed and perfected, rather than destroyed and recreated (BW 1-5, 6-16; Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; BP 2). (2) God will reverse the damage that the Fall, the sin of the Watchers, and ongoing human sin have brought to the created order (BW 6-16; Jub.; 4

Ez.; 2 Bar.; BP 3). (3) There is continuity between Eden and the future Paradise (BW 17-36; AB; 2 En. 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE; BP 3). (4) The present earth will be restored to its perfect pre-Fall condition (AA; 2 En.; 4 Ez. (?)) or it will be transformed to an even greater state (BW 6-16).

Rom. 8:19-22 is consistent with that stream of Jewish apocalyptic thought that looks forward to a renovation of the present creation. There is nothing in this passage that suggests the destruction of the world and the creation of a new world. Creation eagerly looks forward to the future changes, which would be unlikely if the world were to be destroyed and recreated. The present creation will be delivered from its slavery to corruption and futility. It will be set free to share in the glory of the glorified children of God. Thus the present creation will be able to fulfill the purposes for which it was created, but which were blocked by the damage that human sin brought to the whole created order.

Rom. 8:19-22 has forward looking expectation of the great eschatological glory of creation. Even though it traces the present plight of creation to the Fall, it does not use the language of a return to Paradise or the restoration of pre-Fall conditions. The redemption of creation will not involve a return to the pre-Fall conditions, but rather creation will gain more than it lost due to the Fall. The natural world will share in the greater glory of the resurrected and glorified children of God.

3. The Time of the Redemption of Creation

The majority of the Jewish apocalyptic writings view the transformation of creation as an instantaneous and climactic event that God will perform at the end of history. The only exception is Jubilees, which describes a gradual renewal of the world, wherein the benefits to humanity and the changes in the natural world will progressively increase in the last days.

Rom. 8:19-22 is consistent with the majority apocalyptic perspective that the transformation of creation will be a decisive eschatological event. Although the passage does not

describe a precise timetable of eschatological events, as can be found in many of the apocalyptic works (Jub.; 2 En.; BP 2; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE), the passage clearly implies that the redemption of creation will be part of the cluster of eschatological events that surround the coming of Christ. The transformation of creation is associated with the "revealing of the sons of God" (v. 19), which refers to the appearing of believers with Christ at the Parousia. The redemption of the bodies of believers, which is part of the redemption of the material world, also occurs in that same cluster of eschatological events (v. 23).

4. The Redemption of Creation and the Eschatological Destiny of the People of God

In the Jewish apocalyptic writings, the redemption of creation is often associated with the eschatological righteousness of the people of God, just as the corruption of creation is associated with sin. At the time when evil people are sent to eternal punishment and only the righteous dwell on the earth, the whole created order will function in a more harmonious manner (AW; Jub.; BP 2; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Passages that refer to a temporary eschatological golden age or messianic kingdom also describe nature in idealized terms – the elimination of suffering and disease, prolonged human lifespan, superproductivity of crops, harmonious animal behavior, and the perfection of other aspects of the natural order (e.g. BW 6-16).

Rom. 8:19-22 has this same perspective. Creation looks forward to "the revealing of the sons of God," because when they appear in eschatological glory, then the creation itself will be delivered from its futility and corruption. Creation will share in the freedom of the glory of the children of God. Thus when redeemed humanity assumes its proper place in God's order and experiences the full benefits of redemption, the damage to the created order caused by the Fall will be reversed and all of creation will become what God intended it to be. The underlying assumption of both Paul in Rom. 8:19-22 and the various Jewish apocalyptic authors is that there is a solidarity between humanity and the natural world, so that when humanity is redeemed, the material world over which humanity has dominion also will be redeemed.

5. Eschatological Changes in the Natural World

Many Jewish apocalyptic writings describe fundamental changes that will occur to the operation of the natural world when creation is redeemed. The damage that the natural world suffered because of the curse after the Fall and the sin of the Watchers will be reversed.

Apocalyptic materials often have detailed descriptions of the transformed creation. The eschatological changes fall into several basic categories: (1) The elimination of death will be the most fundamental change (BP 6-16; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Some writings describe the complete elimination of death (2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.), while others believe the human lifespan will be significantly lengthened (BW 6-16; Jub.). (2) Suffering and disease will not be a part of life in the future world (BW 1-5, 6-16; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 2, 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). (3) Corruption will be eliminated, both in terms of sin and in terms of the disease and decay that afflicts the world due to sin (2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). (4) Creation will no longer be subject to futility and vanity, so it will be able to achieve the purpose for which it was created (2 En (?); 2 Bar.; 4 Ez.). (5) The earth and nature will undergo significant changes, so that plants will become superproductive and animals will undergo major behavioral changes (BW 6-16; Jub.; BP 2, 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Often these changes are a reversal of the changes that nature underwent as a result of the curse on the ground after the Fall (BW 6-16; 2 En.; 2 Bar.; Jub.). Many works depict nature as part of the new creation and the eternal dwelling place of humanity (BW 1-5, 6-16, 17-36 (?); Jub.; 2 En.; BP 2, 3(?); 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Similarly, Paradise is often described in terms of idealized aspects of nature (BW 17-36; 2 En.; 2 Bar.; Ap Mos/LAE). Even many writings in which Paradise is portrayed as a heavenly place of blessing include descriptions of an idealized nature (BW 17-36; 2 En.; BP 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). (6) The entire cosmos will be transformed to greater glory. The heavenly luminaries will shine with greater brightness and will become perfectly consistent in their operation (AW; Jub.; BP 2). Even heaven will be transformed to greater glory (Jub.; BP 2) or recreated (AW). (7) The bodies of the righteous will be resurrected to dwell in this perfect new world of glory (AA; AW; BP 2, 3;

4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap Mos/LAE).

One fundamental difference between Rom. 8:19-22 and the Jewish apocalyptic writings is that Rom. 8:19-22 does not include significant descriptive details about the future changes in the transformed creation. Nevertheless, this passage refers to all of the basic categories of changes described above: (1) Creation will be set free from slavery to corruption (v. 21). Death and decay, which are so pervasive in nature, will be eliminated, and so creation will no longer be enslaved to them. Paul's statement encompasses in a concise fashion the types of changes spelled out in the Jewish apocalyptic writings (items 1, 2 and 3 above). (2) There will be an end to the futility that is a result of the cycle of death, decay and corruption (v. 20). The natural world will be able to achieve the purpose for which it was created, but which it could not achieve due to human sin. This corresponds exactly to a major Jewish apocalyptic pattern (item 4 above). (3) The natural world will be transformed into great glory (v. 21). Although Rom. 8:19-22 does not describe the transformed glory of creation in detail, the concept may be similar to the Jewish apocalyptic expectations of a glorified cosmos and a perfected nature with superabundant productivity (items 5 and 6 above). (4) Creation will enjoy freedom as a result of the end of corruption and sharing glory with the glorified children of God. This hope for freedom from the old enslaving patterns of this age lies behind much of the Jewish apocalyptic expectations for the eschatological changes that God will bring to the world. (5) The bodily resurrection of believers is an aspect of the redemption of the material world (v. 23) and is also a frequent theme in Jewish apocalyptic literature (item 7 above).

In the Jewish apocalyptic writings, these eschatological changes in the natural world are frequently eternal (BW 1-5, 6-16; AB; AA; AW; Jub.; 2 En. 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Some works also describe changes that will take place in a temporary messianic kingdom or golden age on earth (BW; AA; AW; 1 En. Noah; BP 2; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Rom. 8:19-22 does not explicitly say whether the changes in the natural world will be eternal. Yet the fact that the transformation of creation is associated with the eschatological glorification and bodily resurrection of believers

(vv. 19, 23) suggests that the transformation of creation will be permanent.

6. Two Age Dualism

Most scholars consider two age historical dualism to be one of the defining characteristics of Jewish apocalyptic theology.[4] There is a sharp distinction between this present evil age, which is corrupted by sin, and the future perfect age of righteousness and glory. The corruption of creation in this age was caused by the Fall (Jub.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE), ongoing human sin (BW 6-16; AB 80; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.) and the sin of the fallen Watchers (BW 6-16, 7-36; AB 80; AA; 1 En. Noah; Jub.; BP 3). Life in this age is characterized by vanity due to the problems of life (4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE).

Although the Jewish apocalyptic materials are pessimistic about the world in this age, they are hopeful about the future perfect age. Frequently the end of this age is marked by an eschatological cataclysm, with cosmic disasters and radical changes in the normal operation of nature (BW 1-5; BD 83-84; 2 En.; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). In the new age evil people will be sent to eternal punishment and only the righteous will dwell on the earth. All corruption and evil will be removed, and the whole created order will be transformed so that it functions in a harmonious and perfect manner (AW; Jub.; BP 2; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE). With the exception of Jubilees, the transition from this corrupt age to the new age is depicted in the apocalyptic writings as an instantaneous and climactic event at the end of history. This transition involves (1) a recreation or transformation of heaven and earth by God's divine act, and (2) a decisive change from the present age of evil and corruption to a new eternal age of righteousness and blessing.

Although the common apocalyptic term "age" (αἰών) does not appear in Rom. 8:19-22, Paul uses the word elsewhere.[5] The immediate context uses language that is quite close to

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[4]E.g. Koch, *Rediscovery*, 28-33; Vielhauer, 581-607; Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 136 and Morris, *Apocalyptic*, 34-67.

[5]Although two age language is not as dominant in Paul as it is in the Jewish apocalyptic

the apocalyptic language of two ages: The expression "the sufferings of this present time" (v. 18, τά παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ) parallels the apocalyptic language of this age of suffering (e.g. 4 Ez.). Rom. 8:19-22 expresses concepts that agree with the essence of an apocalyptic two age theology. Creation is now corrupted and futile (vv. 20-21). The present state of creation is not as it was originally created, because creation was corrupted at a particular point in history by human sin (v. 20).

Furthermore, this present time of suffering (cf. v. 22) is contrasted to the future time of glory (v. 21). Not only will believers be glorified with Christ at that time, but all of creation will share this glory (vv. 17-18, 21, 23). The suffering, corruption and futility that are characteristic of life at this time will be brought to an end (vv. 19, 21). Thus even though Paul does not explicitly use αἰών in this passage, concepts normally associated with two age dualism are dominant in the passage – including creation's present corruption, suffering and futility, as contrasted with its future glory and freedom.[6]

7. The Solidarity Between Humanity and the Natural World

The solidarity between humanity and the natural world plays an important part in the redemption of creation. The eschatological fate of the natural world and that of the righteous are closely related. Since the world was made for humanity, in the last days when the people of God return to righteousness and obedience to God's Law, the world itself will be redeemed and perfected, and nature will become more fruitful (BW 6-16; Jub.; BP 2; 4 Ez.). The

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writings, he does speak of two ages (using αἰών), even in the undisputed Pauline writings: Rom. 12:2; 1 Cor. 1:20; 2:6-8; 3:18; 10:11; 2 Cor. 4:4; Gal. 1:4. Although Beker is correct that some of the apocalyptic new age expectation has been transformed into realized eschatology (Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 145), yet many of these passages still view believers as living in an evil age, looking forward to a perfect future age. Beker notes that two age theology is present in Paul in other language (p. 146). The apocalyptic two age theology is also clear in Eph. 1:21 ("this age and the one to come"); 2:2, 7 and 3:9, passages that Beker does not accept as written by Paul.

[6]Cf. Keck, 235-6; Beker, *Paul the Apostle*, 137.

personification of creation is often associated with the coming of the righteous people of Israel with the Messiah in the last days (AA; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Sometimes nature rejoices when humanity is restored to righteousness in the new world and the Messiah comes (BP 2). At other times natural objects intercede for human sins (Ap. Mos./LAE) and the land protects the righteous from eschatological tribulation (2 Bar.).

In Rom. 8:19-22 the solidarity of humanity and the natural world in redemption is indicated in several ways: (1) The redemption of creation is associated with the time when "the sons of God" will appear with Christ (v. 19). Thus creation eagerly awaits the revelation of the children of God in glory, because at that time the creation itself will be delivered from the corruption it suffers due to sin. (2) Creation will share in the freedom of the glory of the children of God (v. 21). (3) The redemption of the bodies of believers is part of the redemption of the material world (v. 23). (4) Much of the personification of the natural world focuses on the sin and eschatological glorification of redeemed humanity. Creation eagerly awaits the revelation of believers, and it hopes to share in the freedom and glory of those resurrected and glorified believers. Thus the entire creation will only achieve its full potential when redeemed humanity is resurrected and glorified. The redemption of creation is part of the eschatological scenario that creation will share with redeemed humanity.

C. The Personification of Creation

1. Aspects of the Natural World Personified

The personification of the natural world is frequent in both the Jewish apocalyptic writings and Rom. 8:19-22. This stylistic feature plays an important role in communicating the apocalyptic message.

Jewish apocalyptic writings personify nature in several ways: (1) Most frequently such natural objects as stars, the earth and animals are given individual personalities (BW 1-5; 6-16; 17-36; AB 80; AA; Ep. En.; 2 En.; BP 1, 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE). Nearly every part

of nature is personified in one or more works: the earth, heavenly luminaries (sun, moon, stars), weather (lightning, rain, hail, snow, wind), seasons, mountains, trees and animals. (2) Less often the natural world is personified together as a whole (BW 1-5; BP 1). (3) In several writings angels work behind the scenes to control the operation of nature and to ensure that it operates according to God's will (BP 1, 3; AB, including 80; Jub.; 2 En.).[7] Some works combine both the control of nature by angels and the personification of individual aspects of nature (AB 80; BP 1, 3; 2 En.).

The personification of nature also plays an important role in communicating the message of Rom. 8:19-22. The only type of personification used in this passage is the personification of creation as a whole. Collectively creation eagerly awaits, was subjected, wills, hopes, groans and suffers. There is no personification of individual parts of the natural world in the passage in contrast to Jewish apocalyptic literature, in which this is the primary type of personification. There is also nothing in this passage comparable to the apocalyptic concept that angels control the operation of the natural world.

2. Types of Personification

Anthropopathism is the most frequent type of personification in the Jewish apocalyptic writings. A variety of emotions are ascribed both to inanimate objects and to animals: (1) fear of God (BW 1-5; Ep. En.; 2 Bar.); (2) great joy in the proper fulfillment of God's design for them (2 En.; BP 2; 2 Bar.); (3) sorrow about human sin (4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE); (4) the suffering of oppression, fear and pain due to the sins of the Watchers (BW 6-16; AA) and humans (BW 6-16; Jub.; 4 Ez.), accompanied by crying out for release from the impact of this sin (BW 6-16; AA; Jub.); (5) great fear concerning the coming eschatological cosmic disasters (BW 1-5; Ep. En.); (6) relief in the eschatological time when evil will be removed in the new age (4 Ez.);

[7]In AB 80, however, this concept explains the eschatological corruption of creation, since the angels behind nature begin to disobey God.

(7) hope for the day of Judgment when the wicked will be judged and the righteous rewarded, and when the earth will be relieved of the stress of wickedness on it (4 Ez.); and (8) great joy when the Messiah comes and the righteous dwell on the renewed earth (BP 2).

Although individual parts of the created order are not personified in Rom. 8:19-22, the range of emotions ascribed to the natural order is similar to that found in the Jewish apocalyptic materials: (1) Paul says that creation groans in agony because of the corruption of creation and that it suffers the pains of childbirth in anticipating the renewal of creation (v. 22). A similar sense of the suffering of creation is found in many apocalyptic writings. Creation has sorrow about human sin (item 3 above) and suffers oppression, fear and pain due to the sins of the Watchers and humans (item 4 above). As a result, it cries out for release from the impact of such sin (item 4 above). This sense of the intense suffering of creation because of human sin is the strongest point of correspondence between Paul and the Jewish apocalyptic writings in the use of personification. (2) Creation eagerly awaits the eschatological revelation of the children of God (v. 19). This expresses a delight in the righteousness of humanity that is related to the joy of the world in the messianic age (item 8 above) and to the hope of the earth for the day of Judgment when the righteous will be rewarded (item 7 above). There is nothing in the Jewish apocalyptic writings, however, that is exactly comparable to the concept that the created order eagerly looks forward to and anticipates the coming of a new world and the coming of the righteous. (3) Creation has hope that its present state of futility and frustration will come to an end (vv. 20-21). In 4 Ez. the earth looks forward with hope for the day of Judgment when the wicked are punished and the righteous rewarded (item 7 above). This will be the time when the corruption of creation will end and when righteousness will reign on the earth, so that the earth "may be refreshed and relieved" (4 Ez. 11:46). Creation cries out for release from its suffering due to sin (item 4 above).

Some types of anthropopathism found in the Jewish apocalyptic materials do not have a strong correspondence with Rom. 8:19-22: (1) Rom. 8 does not describe the created order as

having a fear of God (item 1 above) or as expressing joy in the fulfillment of God's design (item 2 above). This theme fits, rather, that strand of apocalyptic thought that stresses the perfection and consistent operation of the created order. Nevertheless, there is the underlying sense in Rom. 8:19-22 that the created order is a victim of sin and that its subjection to futility was not due to any disobedience of the subhuman creation (v. 20, "not of its own will"). In addition, creation looks forward to a time when the damage of sin will be removed, and when both the natural order and humanity will be restored to their proper places. (2) Rom. 8 has nothing corresponding to the fear of creation about the coming eschatological cosmic disasters (item 5 above). This is consistent with the focus of this passage on the corruption and suffering of creation as an ongoing feature of this age, rather than on an eschatological crisis. Furthermore the tone of Rom. 8 expresses hope and a positive expectation that God will reverse the damage to creation, rather than fear of the process of bringing about this new cosmic order.

Another type of personification common in the Jewish apocalyptic writings is that of ascribing intellectual and moral capabilities to animals and inanimate objects. These capabilities include: (1) intellectual understanding, including the ability to understand speech (2 En.; BP 1, 3; 4 Ez.; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE); (2) the power of conscious moral choice (BW 1-5; 17-36; AB 80; BP 1, 3; 2 Bar.; Ap. Mos./LAE), which usually results in obedience to God (BW 1-5; Ep. En.; 2 En.; BP 1, 3; 2 Bar.), but at times results in disobedience (BW 17-36; AB 80); (3) intercession for sinful humans (Ap. Mos./LAE); (4) speaking ability on the part of animals (2 En.; BP 1, 3; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE), who praise God and give thanks (2 En.; BP 1, 3), cry out for release from the sin of humans and the fallen Watchers (BW 6-16; AA; Jub.), and testify at the Judgment against humans who treat them improperly (2 En.).

The personification of the natural world in Rom. 8:19-22 suggests intellectual and moral capabilities, although the concept is not as thoroughly developed as in many Jewish apocalyptic works. (1) The created order has consciousness, which is reflected in its aware-

ness of its present state of corruption and futility and its longing for release from that state. (2) The created order has a moral will (v. 20), which it chose not to exercise in rebellion against God. Its present state is one of slavery to corruption and futility so that it cannot achieve the full purpose of its existence (vv. 20-21).

There are also significant differences in the intellectual personification of creation: (1) There is no sense that creation intercedes on behalf of human sins (item 3 above), even though creation longs for the day when redeemed humanity will be revealed in its full glory (vv. 19, 21). (2) Rom. 8:19-22 does not refer to nature's ability to speak or understand human speech (item 4 above), although the idea that creation cries out for release from the impact of sin (BW 6-16; AA; Jub.) is close to the sense that groans and anxiously longs for release from its present state of corruption and futility. The difference is that there is no sense of actual speech involved in Rom. 8, as in some apocalyptic writings. (3) The intellectual personification of creation is collective in Rom. 8, rather than a self-awareness or an intellectual capability of individual animals or inanimate objects, as in many Jewish apocalyptic writings. The focus of Rom. 8:19-22 is that creation as a whole suffers and longs for release from its corruption due to humanity's sin.

3. The Functions of Personification

In the Jewish apocalyptic writings, the personification of the natural world is closely related to the message about the present and future state of nature. Personification has several major functions in conveying the apocalyptic message, which vary with the purpose of the individuals writings: (1) It stresses the regularity of the operation of the natural world in those works that minimize the corruption of creation (BW 1-5; AB; Jub.; 2 En.; BP 1, 3; 2 Bar.). (2) The obedience of nature to God's will serves as a model for humans to emulate (BW 2-5; Ep. En.; BP 1). When parts of nature disobey God's will, nature serves as a model of accountability for sin (BW 17-36). (3) Personification stresses the corruption of creation due to

human or angelic sin (BW 6-16; 17-36; AA; AB 80; Jub.; 4 Ez.; Ap. Mos./LAE). (4) Personification stresses the solidarity between humanity and the rest of creation, including the consequences of sin for the whole created order. This is shown by the pain and sorrow of the natural world because of the sins of humans (BW 6-16; AA; Jub.; 2 En.; 4 Ez.), the intercession of the subhuman creation for human sins (Ap. Mos./LAE), and the joy of creation when humanity is restored to righteousness in the new world (BP 2). (5) Personification highlights eschatological events. The natural world has fear about the impending cosmic disasters (BW 1-5; BP 2; 4 Ez.), but it will have joy when creation is transformed and humanity is restored to righteousness (BP 2).

The personification of creation also is closely related to the central themes of Rom. 8:19-22 and serves to convey these ideas. Many of the functions of personification are nearly identical to those in the Jewish apocalyptic writings: (1) The primary function of personification in Rom. 8:19-22 is to stress the extensive damage that the Fall and ongoing human sin have caused to the created order (item 3 above). Humanity's sin has corrupted creation, so that creation cries out in agony and longs for release. (2) As in the Jewish apocalyptic materials, personification in Rom. 8 points to the solidarity between humanity and the natural world, both of which suffer together in this age due to human sin (item 4 above) and both of which will be redeemed together. (3) Much of the personification in Rom. 8:19-22 looks ahead to eschatological events. Creation eagerly looks forward to the revelation of redeemed humanity with Christ, and its hope for redemption is centered in sharing eschatological freedom and glory with the glorified children of God (vv. 19, 21). The difference in Rom. 8 is that the tone is one of hope for the eschatological deliverance of creation, rather than fear about the eschatological cosmic disasters that precede it. Personification serves, therefore, to stress the certainty of the redemption of the whole natural world.

Since Rom. 8:19-22 focuses on the corruption of creation rather than on the perfection and consistency of the natural order, personification types 1 and 2 are not found in this

passage. Nature is not a model for obedience, nor is its joy in obedience described. Nevertheless, there is a sense that the natural world wants to operate according to God's design, since the corruption of creation was due to human sin and not due to the disobedience of the natural world itself

D. The Function of the Corruption and Redemption of Creation Themes

Although there are many similarities in perspective between Paul and the Jewish apocalyptic writings concerning the corruption and redemption of creation, Paul's purposes in introducing these themes are not entirely the same as those of Jewish apocalypticism.

To a large degree, Jewish apocalypticism was anthropocentric in its approach to the created order. Several apocalyptic writings explicitly say that the world was created for humanity, particularly for the righteous people of God (4 Ez.; 2 Bar.). Thus the apocalyptic concern for the redemption of the natural world is often that there will be a perfected physical environment in which the righteous will dwell, either in the messianic kingdom or in the new age.

Yet the Jewish apocalyptic writings also reflect a divine concern for the cosmos itself. Those apocalyptic works that stress the regularity of the operation of nature emphasize God's concern for the perfect operation of his creation. The apocalyptic writings are also concerned that this world is corrupted and out of order, not as God intended it to be. God cares enough about the physical order to reverse this corruption of creation and to redeem the entire creation, not simply humanity, so that all creation can become what God originally intended it to be. Redemption in the Jewish apocalyptic writings, therefore, is a cosmic event. When God gives the righteous the eschatological benefits of their redemption, the cosmic order will also benefit.

In the Jewish apocalyptic writings, the stress on the corruption of the world reinforces the widespread impact of sin. Sin is not only pervasive in the human race, but its effects have

permeated the entire created order in this age. One of the functions of mentioning the cosmic effects of sin is to emphasize the impact and significance of moral corruption. Moral corruption results in the physical corruption of the natural world. In writings that stress the Fall and ongoing human sin, the cosmic disruptions reinforce the problem of human sin. In passages based on the Watcher tradition, however, there is a tendency to absolve humanity of blame for the present corrupt state of affairs. Yet even many passages that reflect this Watcher tradition indicate that widespread human sin quickly followed the Flood. Although in these writings the Watchers started the problem of sin, humanity continued to become more corrupt, even after the Watchers and their evil offspring were judged and removed from the scene. Hence the sinful pre-Flood era functions as a type of the eschatological sinful generation, in which the apocalypticists believed themselves to live. The Flood functions as a type of the final Judgment in which human sin will be judged and after which the cosmic damage of sin will be reversed.

Most of the Jewish apocalyptic writings studied here are not world-denying. They stress that this world is out of order and not as God intended it. Yet there is nothing inherently evil about the material creation. Its present state is the consequence of sin that has corrupted the world. Jewish apocalyptic writers looked forward to the time when either this world will be perfected and glorified, or a new perfect material world will be created for humanity to enjoy. Although the hope of some apocalyptic writings focuses on a transcendental, heavenly state for redeemed humanity, most describe a material environment for the glorified human existence. Even some works that depict a heavenly final state for the righteous refer to certain aspects of nature in the eternal state or the possibility that the righteous can travel between heaven and an earthly Paradise. The natural order, therefore, is not destroyed but perfected.

Thus an emphasis on the corruption and redemption of creation in the Jewish apocalyptic writings leads to placing one's hope in a future perfected world-age rather than in

this world-age, which is thoroughly corrupted by sin. The hope is founded on the expectation that God will dramatically intervene in the near future and will transform the world through the exercise of divine power in an act of recreation. The certainty of the coming transformation of creation provides hope to the suffering people of God in the midst of a sinful and corrupt world that seems hopeless. Despite the damage of sin, God has not abandoned his creation. He will one day redeem it, so believers can enjoy a life of blessing in the midst of a perfect world, free from corruption and sin.

Paul agrees with the Jewish apocalyptic writers that there is a cosmic impact of sin. One purpose of Rom. 8:19-22 is to show that the entire created order suffers because of the Fall. Thus the implications of the Fall described in Rom. 5:12-21 are extended to encompass not only death in the human race, but also corruption and futility in the natural order.

Paul, however, also wants to put the suffering of Christians into a cosmic context. The principle that suffering leads to glory applies not simply to the redeemed, but is also part of the cosmic pattern. For just as God will not abandon his creation, but will deliver it from its present corruption and suffering, so he will glorify his children who suffer with Christ (vv. 17-18). The discussion of the cosmic effects of sin and of the hope for cosmic redemption reinforces the principles of suffering and glory in the Christian life, which is a major theme of the larger context in Rom. 8:17-39.

Paul also emphasizes cosmic hope in this passage. God's plan encompasses his entire creation, not simply humanity. The concern for the redemption of creation for its own sake is stronger in Rom. 8:19-22 than in most Jewish apocalyptic writings. For although the eschatological redemption of the natural world is connected with the resurrection and glorification of believers at Christ's second coming (vv. 19, 21, 23), Paul does not go so far as to say that the world only has value because it was made for humanity. God wants to reverse the impact of human sin, which resulted in the futility of creation, so his creation can become what he intended it to be. The fact that this day is surely coming provides hope for believers

that their eschatological glory with Christ is coming as well. Thus even the suffering of creation is transformed into a basis for Christian hope, which is a reversal of the apocalyptic theme of the corruption of creation. The groanings of creation are not simply a sign of the impact of sin. They are also like birth pangs introducing a new cosmic order. The theme of hope, both for the cosmos and for the people of God, is more explicit in Rom. 8:19-22 than in most of the Jewish apocalyptic writings that discuss the corruption and redemption of creation.

Thus although the major motifs are similar, the emphasis in Rom. 8:19-22 is different than in the Jewish apocalyptic materials. Both agree that sin has corrupted this world and both agree that God will redeem his creation and remove the corrupting results of sin on the cosmic order. Jewish apocalypticism uses the corruption of creation to stress the seriousness of sin and to urge the righteous to focus their hope on the future perfect world-age rather than on this present corrupted world-age. Paul, however, uses the motifs to provide a cosmic context for understanding suffering and to give hope to suffering believers that God will reverse the impact of the Fall, including the patterns of suffering, corruption, death and futility that are characteristic of this world because of humanity's sin.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that there are many close similarities between the concepts of the corruption and redemption of creation found in Rom. 8:19-22 and the Jewish apocalyptic literature. In addition, both Romans and the Jewish apocalyptic materials personify the natural world in order to emphasize these theological perspectives. The numerous points of contact in most fundamental theological points show that Paul's perspective in this passage may be reasonably labeled "apocalyptic".

A. Apocalyptic Theology or Literary Genre?

The similarities between Rom. 8:19-22 and the Jewish apocalyptic writings are not so much in the form or literature genre as in the content of the message and the theological outlook. Paul did not write an apocalypse in Rom. 8:19-22, yet he expresses an apocalyptic perspective similar to that found in many Jewish apocalyptic writings.

Paul does not incorporate many of the common literary features of apocalypses, such as a heavenly journey to view the hidden operation of the world, angelic revelation, *vaticinia ex eventu* prophecy, or vivid symbolic language describing eschatological events. He does not describe in detail the operation of the present world nor the changes that will take place in the future world.

Yet in the central theological teachings of the passage, Paul is remarkably close to a Jewish apocalyptic perspective on the corruption and redemption of creation. The corruption and redemption of creation are central concepts in the theology of a wide range of Jewish apocalyptic writings. Thus Rom. 8:19-22 shares a common theological perspective with many Jewish apocalyptic writings on several important issues.

B. The Question of Literary Dependence

Although there are many similarities between the concepts in Rom. 8:19-22 and the Jewish apocalyptic writings, there is no clear evidence in the passage of literary dependence upon one or more particular apocalyptic writings, at least in the precise phrasing of ideas. Various attempts to find specific literary allusions to known Jewish apocalyptic writings have not been successful.[1] Christofferson correctly concludes that "Paul's allusions are not made in words which can be proved to be dependent on any known specific text which represents the Flood tradition."[2] This conclusion can also be extended to other strands of Jewish apocalyptic writings to which Paul's thought is similar, not simply to the Flood tradition.

The link between Rom. 8:19-22 and Jewish apocalyptic literature is not one of direct literary borrowing but one of a shared theological outlook. Paul uses numerous apocalyptic themes and motifs in this passage which are commonly found in a wide range of Jewish apocalyptic writings. Much of the terminology is similar as well, yet he does not appear to have used a particular known text as a model. The primary link is in a particular way of viewing (1) the nature of the world, (2) the present problem with the world, and (3) the eschatological changes that will reverse this problem. Paul's basic perspective of the present state and future hope of creation follows that strand of Jewish apocalyptic writings that sees the world as corrupted by the Fall of Adam and looks forward to the eschatological transformation and perfection of creation through a decisive divine act. Rom. 8:19-22 is part of the same thought world as Jewish apocalyptic literature. Yet Paul did not directly borrow from any

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[1]E.g. Biedermann, 40-47, lists numerous apocalyptic parallels but finally rejects a literary connection to these texts. Wilckens, Römer, 148-150, finds no coherent background for the passage, but finds that Paul alludes to many motifs in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Christoffersson, 138-139, sees a religious-historical background in the Jewish apocalyptic development of the Flood tradition, but he does not find dependence upon any specific text, even though he claims that all motifs in the passage not otherwise found in the NT are in BW 1-36. See chapter 2 above.

[2]Christoffersson, 138.

known apocalyptic work for his literary expression of these concepts.

C. The Strands of Jewish Apocalyptic Thought Closest to Rom. 8:19-22

The diversity of the Jewish apocalyptic writings shows that it is not enough simply to label the theology of Rom. 8:19-22 as "apocalyptic". Rather, it is important to identify the particular type of apocalyptic thought closest to Paul's ideas. The Jewish apocalyptic materials represent several distinct strands of thought, all of which are "apocalyptic" in perspective, despite their diversity. These ideological strands can be distinguished by their treatment of three key issues: (1) the corruption of creation in this age; (2) the cause of the corruption of creation; and (3) the future hope for the redemption of the material creation.

(1) There is a tension in many Jewish apocalyptic writings between the creation as under God's control and the creation as damaged by sin. Although a few writings stress the perfection and consistent operation of the natural world, the majority describe creation as corrupted due to sin. Even many writings that emphasize the normally consistent operation of creation indicate that at least parts of creation are corrupted or that creation is corrupted at specific times in history. Rom. 8:19-22 follows that majority stream of Jewish apocalyptic writings that stresses that creation has been corrupted by sin.

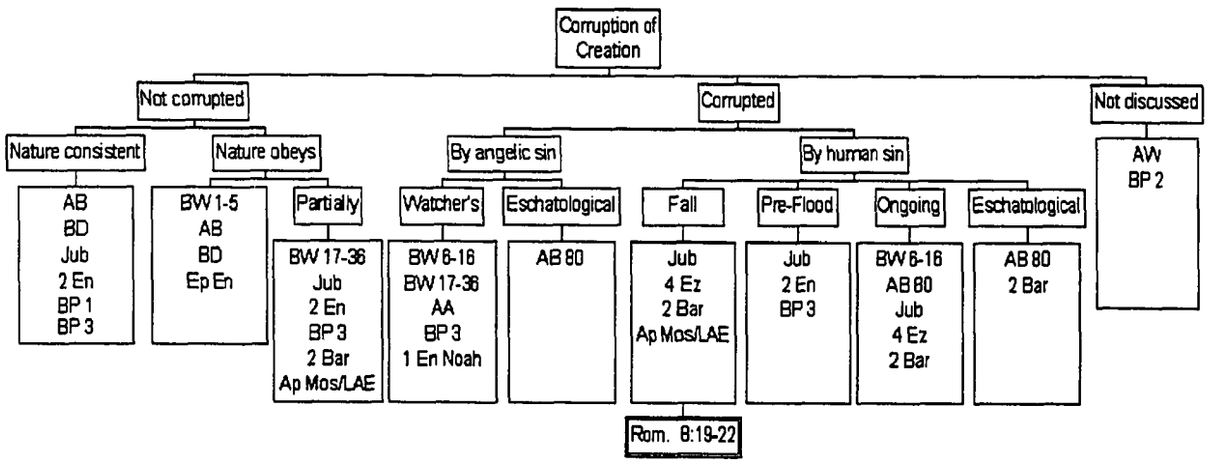


Figure 4: The Corruption of Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic Writings and Rom. 8:19-22

(2) Jewish apocalyptic writings are divided concerning the cause of the corruption of creation. The source of the corruption of creation may be the sins of the fallen Watchers, human sins, or both. Among those works that focus on human sins, the corruption may either be due to the Fall, ongoing human sins throughout history, or eschatological human sins. Rom. 8:19-22 focuses on the decisive damage that the Fall of humanity brought to the created order, resulting in the present enslavement of creation to corruption and futility.

(3) The majority of Jewish apocalyptic writings look forward to an eschatological redemption of creation. Some anticipate a new creation, while others expect the transformation of the present creation – either to its pre-Fall condition or to a perfect state that exceeds what it lost due to sin. A temporary, earthly golden age with a perfected natural world is also found in many of these works.

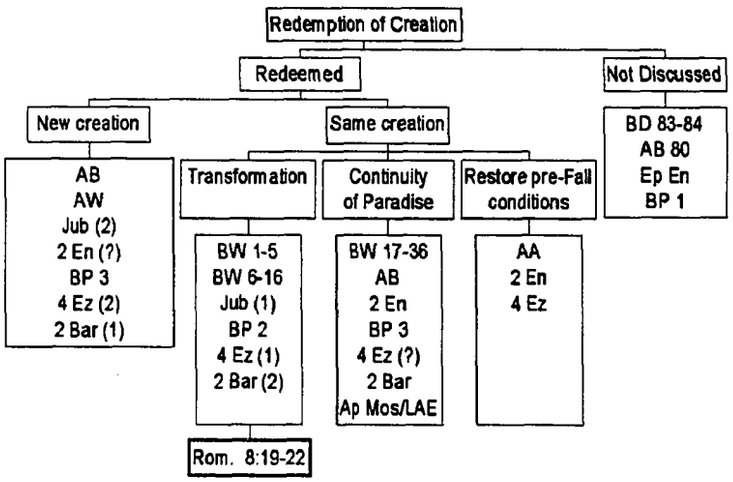


Figure 5: The Redemption of Creation in Jewish Apocalyptic Writings and Rom. 8:19-22

In Rom. 8:19-22 Paul follows that stream of apocalyptic thought that looks forward to the transformation of the existing creation, with the removal of the damage of sin and the perfection of creation in line with the glory and freedom of the glorified children of God. Paul, however, does not describe the exact types of eschatological changes that the natural world will undergo, in contrast to the vivid descriptions found in many Jewish writings. Like the stream of Jewish apocalyptic literature that looks forward to an eternal transformation of

creation, Rom. 8:19-22 implies that the eschatological perfection of creation will be permanent, since it accompanies the eternal glorification of the resurrected people of God.

In summary, Paul's perspective of the present state and future hope of creation is similar to that stream of Jewish apocalyptic thought that believes that the Fall of Adam corrupted the world and that looks forward to an eschatological transformation and perfection of creation through a decisive divine act.

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