

constitution which the holy ones will own at the end of time: “In those days a change will occur for the holy and chosen, and the light of days will dwell upon them, and glory and honor will return to the holy.”⁶⁰ The shining countenance of the righteous in eschatological times finds a clearer expression in *1 Enoch* 58: “Blessed are you, righteous and chosen, for glorious (will be) your lot. The righteous will be in the light of the sun, and the chosen in the light of everlasting life.”⁶¹ Another obvious formulation of this idea occurs in *1 Enoch* 62: “And the righteous and the chosen will have arisen from the earth, and have ceased to cast down their faces, and have put on them the garment of glory.”⁶²

One may conclude that several Second Temple documents reflect the tradition that human beings will be re-created at the eschaton. In addition, some of these materials assert that humans will enjoy an existence within the divine glory.

5. THE ADAM OF GLORY AND THE GLORY OF THE ESCHATOLOGICAL HUMAN BEING

We must include in this discussion a particular late Second Temple trend which incorporates Adam—commonly seen as a protological figure—in this discourse about the end of the world. Additionally, Adam’s prelapsarian ontological status was presumed to be that of a glorious being. As we have indicated above, several Second Temple materials testify to the circulation of the idea that Adam’s original status was luminous and quasi-angelic. As Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis states, “[t]his community [i.e., of Qumran] believed that in its original, true and redeemed state humanity is divine (and/or angelic).”⁶³ Meanwhile, the Qumranites also deemed that human beings would be restored to the luminous prelapsarian status.

Employing a complex network of Jewish materials (some of which this study has employed as well), Fletcher-Louis argues in his monograph that the eschatological human being will enjoy “all the glory of Adam.” A

⁶⁰ *1 En.* 50:1. Trans. Nickelsburg and Vanderkam, 64. However, the idea is already present in the *Dream Visions* (*1 En.* 89:40) which describes the righteous as sheep entering a glorious land, a book composed in the time of Judas Macabeus (164–160 BCE); cf. Nickelsburg and Vanderkam, *1 Enoch*, 9.

⁶¹ *1 En.* 58:2–3.

⁶² *1 En.* 62:15. Cf. *1 En.* 62:3; *2 Bar.* 4:16; *2 Bar.* 54:13–16; 1QH xvii 1.

⁶³ Fletcher-Louis, *Glory of Adam*, 476.

remarkable passage of the *Community Rule* synthesizes, in a wonderful manner, the eschatological re-creation of the human being, its purification from any unclean spirit, and its refashioning to the primordial glory of Adam.⁶⁴

God, in the mysteries of his knowledge and in the wisdom of his glory, has determined an end to the existence of injustice and on the appointed time of the visitation he will obliterate it for ever. Then truth shall rise up forever (in) the world, for it has been defiled in paths of wickedness during the dominion of injustice until the time appointed for judgment decided. Then God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds, and will purify for himself the structure of man (מבני איש), ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part of his flesh, and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness (ברוח קודש) from every wicked deeds. He will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth like lustral water (in order to cleanse him) from all the abhorrences of deceit and (from) the defilement of the unclean spirit, in order to instruct the upright ones with knowledge of the Most High, and to make understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven to those of perfect behavior. For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam (כול כבוד אדם).⁶⁵

Within the same era, the *Damascus Document* makes the following affirmation about the restored people of Israel:

But God, in his wonderful mysteries, atoned for their iniquity and pardoned their sin. And he built for them a safe house in Israel, such as there has not been since ancient times, not even till now. Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam (כול כבוד אדם) is for them.⁶⁶

Additionally, two other key materials for our discussion are the *Life of Adam and Eve* and one of its versions, the *Apocalypse of Moses*. In addition to the fact that these two documents conceive of the primordial Adam as a luminous being, *Vita* 13–16 recounts the fall of Satan who declined the divine commandment to worship Adam, the image of God: “And Michael went out and called all the angels, saying, ‘Worship the image of the Lord God, as the Lord God has instructed.’”⁶⁷ The text correlates, therefore, the ideas of divine

⁶⁴ The *Community Rule* is largely understood to be a text written around 100 BCE.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1QS iv 18–23. For the critical edition and English translation, see *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, ed. and trans. Florentino Garcia Martinez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 78–79.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, CD iii (= 4Q269 2)18–20. Trans. Martinez and Tigchelaar, 554–555.

⁶⁷ *Vita* 14:1. Trans. Johnson, *OTP* 2:262. Cf. *Syb. Or.* 8.442–445; *Gen. Rab.* 8–10; *B. Bat.* 58a;

glory, the image of God, and the primordial Adam. However, the passage describes this Adam as created, and not as the eternal Image of God.

Adam's saga in the *Apocalypse* continues with his repentance and the way God restores, postmortem, the forefather to his original condition. The narrative stages the angels coming on earth, taking Adam's dead body to Paradise (*Apoc. Mos.* 39:1), and washing his soul three times in the presence of God. The Lord God commands the angels to then cover Adam's body with cloths of linen brought from Paradise:

[O]ne of the six-winged seraphim came and carried Adam off to the Lake of Acheron and washed him three times in the presence of God. He lay three hours, and so the Lord of all, sitting on his holy throne, stretched out his hands and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael, saying to him, "Take him up into Paradise, to the third heaven, and leave (him) there until that great and fearful day which I am about to establish for the world."⁶⁸

Then he [God] spoke to the archangel Michael, "Go into Paradise in the third heaven and bring me three cloths of linen and silk (τρεις σινδόνας βυσσίνας και σηρικας)." And God said to Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, "Cover Adam's body with the cloths and bring oil from the oil of fragrance and pour it on him (ελαιον εκ του ελαιου της ευωδιας εκχέατε επ' αυτον)."⁶⁹

The gesture of covering Adam with white clothes and oil echoes the Enochic passage where God commands his angels to cover with garments of glory and anoint the inspired scribe Enoch.⁷⁰ The *Vita* relates in the same fashion how angels take Adam's soul and clothe him with three linen garments:

Apoc. Sedr. 5–7. See also David Steenburg, "The Worship of Adam and Christ as the Image of God," *JSNT* 39 (1990): 95–109.

⁶⁸ *Apoc. Mos.* 37:3–5. Trans. Johnson, *OTP* 2:289–291.

⁶⁹ *Apoc. Mos.* 40:1–2. The story appears in similar forms in all the five extant versions; cf. Anderson and Stone, *Synopsis*, 68–71.

⁷⁰ See 2 *En* 22:8–10 [A]: "The Lord said to Michael, 'Take Enoch, and extract (him) from the earthly clothing (земныхъ ризъ). And anoint him with the delightful oil (елеемъ благовонъ), and put (him) into the clothes of glory (ризы славы).' And Michael extracted me from my clothes. He anointed me with the delightful oil; and the appearance of that oil is greater than the greatest light (видѣние масла паче свѣта великаго), its ointment is like sweet dew, and its fragrance like myrrh; and its shining is like the sun. And I gazed at all of myself, and I had become like one of the glorious ones (яко единаго шитъ славы), and there was no observable difference." Trans. Andersen, *OTP* 1:139 (J version is very similar). For the critical edition, see André Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1952), 24–26. It is worth mentioning that 1 *En* 71:11 already reports a change in Enoch's nature. Thus, we find Enoch's spirit transformed in front of the heavenly throne and immediately after that performing the angelic function of blessing, glorifying, and extolling with a great voice as well as by the spirit of the power.

“Again the Lord said to the angels Michael and Uriel: ‘Bring me three linen shrouds (*sindones bissinas*) and stretch them over (*expandite super*) Adam.’”⁷¹

6. PAULINE EIKONIC SOTERIOLOGY

This section will argue that Paul synthesized the two Adam/Anthropos trends of exaltation and hypostasization into an intricate theory of salvation which I have called “*eikonic* soteriology.” Even before the *Vita* 12–14, Paul linked the protological Adam with the ideas of divine glory and Image of God. In addition, it was in his theology that the *eikonic* anthropology of Genesis 1 (Adam is the *eikon* of God) became connected with the Second Temple tradition about the eschatological reconstruction of the human being. As a distinctive note, the archetype of the eschatological reconstruction is not the primordial (even glorious) Adam but Jesus Christ’s Divine Image.

As addressed within the chapter devoted to the emergence of Anthropos speculations, Paul defended the idea that Christ was the Image and Form of God. Furthermore, in 1 Cor 2:8 Paul also calls Christ the “Lord of Glory,” an ancient term echoing the biblical “Yahweh Sabaoth” (Lord of Hosts), a title obviously ascribed to Yahweh. Hence, the reconstruction will take place according to the primeval model of the Divine Image and Anthropos, in Pauline theology identical with Jesus Christ. Since the human being is re-fashioned according to the Image of God, an appropriate name of this type of salvific theory would be “*eikonic* soteriology.”

One’s review of 1 Cor 11:7 illustrates clearly that Paul conceives of the human being as the image of God: “A man (*ἀνὴρ*) must not cover his head, because man is the image (*εἰκὼν*) of God and the mirror of his glory (*δόξα*).” It is also evident that this image involves a mirroring of God’s glory. In his seminal study on Paul’s Glory Christology, Carry Newman describes Pauline soteriology in *eikonic* terms. While commenting on Rom 3:23 (“all have sinned and are falling short of the glory of God”), Newman avows that, through Adam’s fall, humanity lost something that was making the connection between God and humans, in fact the original glory of God: “Normally interpreted as a reference to the lost glory that Adam (supposedly) possessed at creation, this verse, however, refers to the relationship between God and humanity.”⁷² Paul sees, therefore, the ontological status of

⁷¹ *Vita* 48:1.

⁷² Newman, *Paul’s Glory-Christology*, 225. In his footnote to this commentary, Newman