

and Lucifer becoming jealous and wanting to enslave the human race.

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See also → Angels and Angel-Like Beings; → Lucifer

Fall of Humankind

- I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament
- II. New Testament
- III. Judaism
- IV. Christianity
- V. Islam
- VI. Literature
- VII. Visual Arts
- VIII. Music
- IX. Film

I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

According to a common Christian understanding, the narrative of the expulsion of the first human couple out of the garden of Eden (Gen 2–3) constitutes the “story of the fall of humankind.” By transgressing the divine commandment not to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, Adam and Eve caused the fall of all humanity into sin. This reading, which can already be found in the NT (Rom 7), does not, however, adequately render the multiple meanings of Gen 2–3. The story may be better interpreted as a reflection on human liberty and responsibility, as well as on the human condition in a broader sense. It explains why death is the destiny of humanity. Moreover, the narrative affirms that humans cannot live in the same space as the divine; humankind and God must remain separate from one another. At the same time, the story underlines that YHWH has given humans autonomy and the possibility to refuse to follow the divine law (Albertz; Römer). The origin of the motif of the expulsion of a primordial creature out of Eden may be found in Ezek 28. In this text, the king of Tyre is compared to a primordial man (in the difficult verse of 28 : 14, he appears to be identified as a cherub) who is cast out of the garden because of the multitude of his iniquities. The author of Gen 2–3 has probably taken up this motif from Ezek 28 (Van Seters). Most of so-called “fall stories” are concerned with the separation of the divine and human spheres. This is also the in Gen 6 : 1–4 where the sons of God (or the gods) who dwell in the heavenly realm take wives among earthly humans. In 6 : 4 the union of gods and humans results in the *nēpīlīm*, a word that is often translated as “giants,” although the root means “to fall.” There might be an allusion to a myth of “fallen beings” similar to Ezek 28 or 32 : 27 (Humbert). The parallel

account in 1En. 6–9 reflects a similar tradition of fallen angels.

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Thomas Römer

II. New Testament

The Gospels presuppose from the outset that human beings are in need of a saving work of God. While the Gospels may assume this need originated with a fall at the beginning of human history on the basis of teachings predominant in the HB/OT and Judaism (Moore: 1.474–96), the Gospels make no explicit reference to such a fall. Sin flows from hearts that resist God’s revelation in Christ (Mark 6 : 52; 8 : 17, 21), from deep-rooted evil (Matt 7 : 17–19; 12 : 33), and from corrupt leaders such as the Pharisees (Matt 15 : 8–9). An allusion to the fall may be contained in Jesus’ reference to the devil as “a murderer from the beginning” and as the “father” of the Jews who oppose him (John 8 : 44).

While the assumption that sin originated through a fall appears to be prevalent through much of the NT, it is only Paul who is explicit on the point. In Rom 5 : 12–21, he contrasts Adam and Christ as the two central persons in redemptive history. It was through Adam that sin entered the world and came upon all humanity. The consequences of Adam’s sin are sin (5 : 19), death (5 : 12, 17), and condemnation for all (5 : 17, 18). Paul does not explain how exactly Adam’s sin led to all these consequences. In this regard, there is considerable controversy over the last phrase of 5 : 12 and whether it means that death spread to all people (a) *in whom* (i.e., Adam) all sinned, (b) *with the result that* all sinned, or (c) *because all* sinned (for a thorough discussion of these and other views, see Cranfield; Moo). In any case, Paul thinks people are less likely to do good than evil; through the fall, they are bent on evil from birth.

Similar notes are sounded in 1 Cor 15 : 21–22. As Paul sets out to proclaim the glory of the resurrection, he makes it apparent where the need for this resurrection first arose: Death has a singular origin, for it came through the action of the first human being, Adam.

While these are the most explicit references to the fall, 2 Cor 11 : 3 makes an allusion to Gen 2 when Paul refers to the serpent who deceived Eve by its cunning. First Timothy 2 : 14 makes a similar

comment about Eve being formed first and then becoming a sinner through the very process of deception.

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Gerhard H. Visscher

III. Judaism

■ Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism ■ Rabbinic Judaism ■ Medieval Judaism

A. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism

The fall of humankind signifies the beginning of original sin – the inherent sinfulness that became part of the human condition as a result of the disobedience of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden. This concept, while pervasive in Christianity, is not found in the Judaism of the Second Temple period (516 BCE–70 CE). In this era, reflection on the origin of evil was not often based on Gen 1–3, but rather on the flood story in Gen 6–9, as the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 1–36), which was popular at the time, demonstrates (Collins 1997: 287–99). Writings from this period appeal to Adam to understand humankind's propensity for both good and evil, and associate this patriarch with the angels. The view that humans are sinful because of Adam's transgression in the garden emerges after the destruction of the second temple (70 CE), as evident in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch.

Genesis 1–3 itself is interested not in original sin but rather in providing etiologies for basic elements of life such as death and pain in childbirth. While disobedience is clearly a theme in the story, the text never uses the word "sin." The earliest extant Jewish effort to understand the human condition that utilizes Gen 1–3 is probably Ben Sira, a wisdom text written around 180 BCE. According to the Hebrew text, the sage claims that God created Adam in the power of his *yetser*, or inclination (Sir 15:14). A form of this word is used in Gen 2:7 to describe the creation of Adam (cf. 6:5; 8:21). The *yetser* is attested elsewhere in early Jewish literature, variously as a natural component of humankind that guides one's conduct or as a foreign entity that enters and overcomes people (e.g., 4Q422 [= 4QParaphrase of Gen and Exod] I, 11–12; 11QP^s XIX, 15–16; Collins: 376–81). The evil *yetser* becomes

prominent in rabbinic literature as a way to understand the human condition and humankind's propensity for sin (Rosen-Zvi). Ben Sira does not stress that the human *yetser* is evil but rather that God created humankind with the capacity for either goodness or evil and that the Torah can help one choose the right path (15:15–16; 17:11). In ch. 17 the sage emphasizes that God ordained death as an inherent element of human life, without reference to disobedience in the garden (Sir 17:2; he blames Eve for death in 25:24). Ben Sira also claims that God showed humankind good and evil, a patent allusion to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (17:7; cf. 40:1; 49:6). There is no reference to a prohibition not to eat from it (Gen 2:17).

The DSS indicate a genuine interest in Adam but not original sin. 4QInstruction is a wisdom text that, like Ben Sira, was written in the 2nd century BCE (Goff 2003). The composition claims that God has given the elect addressee (the *mevin* or "understanding one") authority over the garden, which he is to till and keep, an allusion to Gen 2:15 (4Q423 [= 4QInstruction^g] 1). Again there is no prohibition against eating from any tree (see also 4Q305 [= 4QMedCreat C] 2, 2). The *mevin* is told to resist the evil *yetser* (4Q417 [= 4QInstruction^g] 1 II, 12). 4QInstruction also distinguishes between the "spiritual people" and the "fleshly spirit," categories that most likely denote, respectively, the elect and non-elect (4Q417 1 I, 13–18). The former are like the angels and have access to supernatural revelation, as does *enosh*, a Hebrew word for "man" that here probably signifies Adam. The revelation available to the *mevin*, which the text calls the "mystery that is to be," thus constitutes a restoration of the knowledge available to Adam in the garden. 4QInstruction turns to this patriarch to teach the elect that they are like the angels. Other contemporary texts connect Adam to the angels and the elect. A treatise on the nature of humankind that is part of the Community Rule claims that the elect receive wisdom possessed by angels so that they can attain the "glory of Adam," a phrase that probably refers to attaining a blessed afterlife (1QS IV, 22–23; cf. 1QH^a IV, 27; CD III, 20). According to the *Book of Jubilees* the angels taught Adam in the garden (*Jub.* 3:15; cf. 2 En. 30:11; 3 Bar. 4:7–15).

Among Jews of the Diaspora during the Hellenistic period, the author most interested in Adam is undoubtedly Philo (20 BCE–50 CE). He never associates Adam with a fall (see also Wis 10:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.70). Like 4QInstruction's distinction between the fleshly spirit and the spiritual people, Philo posits a "double creation of man," in which God created a heavenly Adam that is immortal and comprehensible only by thought, and an earthly Adam that is mortal and apprehended by the senses (*Opif.* 134; Goff 2009). Adam is interpreted as a biblical allegory that represents two opposed modes of

human life, one focused on base and creaturely affairs and the other on heavenly and spiritual concerns.

Jewish writings from the 1st century CE appeal to Adam to understand the origin of sin and death. This is the period in which Paul, a Jewish follower of Christ, writes that all die because of Adam's sin (Rom 5:12–21; cf. 1 Cor 15:22). *Fourth Ezra* (also known as 2 Esdras), which is part of the Apocrypha, is filled with the pathos of a Jewish author trying to understand the destruction of the temple (70 CE; Hogan). The composition contains dialogues between the scriptural figure of Ezra and an angel. Ezra complains that humankind faces a brutal paradox in which people, who are by nature sinful, must be punished by God for their sins. Ezra lays the blame squarely on a "fall" caused by the first human:

O Adam, what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall (*casus*) was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants. (7:118)

He claims that all are sinful because of Adam's "evil heart" (*cor malignum*), a reference to the evil *yetzer* (3:21; cf. 4:30; 7:92). Similar sentiments are found in 2 *Baruch*, a text that has a close relationship with 4 *Ezra*. *Second Baruch*, however, struggles to avoid the theological conclusion that man is powerless, because of Adam's legacy of sin, to avoid divine punishment: "Adam is, therefore, not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam" (54:19; Henze 2011). The *Life of Adam and Eve*, which may have been written in the 2nd century CE, asserts that Adam and Eve's disobedience had repercussions that affected all humankind, but this idea is not prominent in this work (L.A.E. 34:3; cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 19:3; 21:6).

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Matthew Goff

B. Rabbinic Judaism

The rabbinic view of the fall is based on the sin of Adam and Eve, but relates to the entire rabbinic understanding of the primeval history of humankind and the later history of the Jewish people (see Morris). Thus, in a number of rabbinic texts from the 4th century on, the flood of Noah's time is a second fall, preceded by an idyllic period in which

life was far easier than today (*BerR* 26:5; *bSan* 108a) and followed by a complete overturning and re-creation of the natural order (*BerR* 28:2–3; 31:7; *bSan* 108a; *bRH* 11b–12a).

God's alienation from humanity is a major theme in passages on the fall. This alienation is not a single event, but a gradual process that can itself be gradually reversed by, e.g., the righteousness of the patriarchs and God's relationship with Israel. A 4th-century midrash states that the principal home of the Shekhinah is on earth. The Shekhinah departed to the first heaven with Adam's sin, and to successively remote heavens with subsequent sins – Cain's murder of Abel, the sins of Enosh's generation and the generation of the flood, the sin of the tower of Babel, of Sodom, and of the Egyptians in Abraham's time. However, with each righteous patriarch – Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as well as the ancestors of Moses – the Shekhinah descended again through successive heavens to the first heaven, after which "Moses arose and brought it down from above to [earth] below" (*BerR* 19:7).

Nevertheless, the first fall, that of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from Eden, is a unique event with lasting consequences. One strain of rabbinic thought sees Adam as originally possessing a gigantic body as well as immortality. These were removed with the fall, which also had cosmic consequences for the sun and the earth (see *BerR* 12:6; *BemR* 13:12). The dominant emphasis, however, is on the fact that the fall subjected humankind to death. This emphasis takes different forms. Although all human death is usually seen as a consequence of Adam and Eve's sin (e.g., *BerR* 19:6, 8), it is occasionally regarded as part of God's good creation (*BerR* 9:5; cf. Visotzky: 53–49). Moreover, *Bereshit Rabbah* does not say that the curses on Adam lead to humankind's eternal need for atonement, although it does mention that earning a living is twice as hard as childbirth (*BerR* 20:8–10). Rabbinic discussions of the curses on Eve and of the "women's commandments" (separating *ḥallah*, lighting the Sabbath candles, and practicing menstrual purity) are natural sites for emphasizing that it was Eve who brought death into the world (e.g., the 4th-cent. *BerR* 20:6–7; 17:8 and the difficult to date ARN B 9; cf. Baskin: 64–87).

A strong strain in rabbinic thought sees the fall as an inevitable consequence of human nature as designed by God. According to one tradition, repentance was among those things, such as the name of the Messiah, that God planned to create even prior to creating the world, implying its future necessity (*BerR* 1:4). Other traditions state that God created humankind with both a good and evil inclination from the outset (cf. *BerR* 9:7, and 27:4 in which God regrets having done so in Noah's time; *bBer* 61a), implying that the fall was certainly possible, if not inevitable.

Many passages regard the original fall of humankind as a foreshadowing or type of God's relationship with the people Israel. Kaminsky traces a midrashic tradition that extends from the 2nd century to the early medieval period, in which Israel's acceptance of the Torah is depicted as a second creation of humanity and a return to Edenic immortality before the sin of the Golden Calf. Similarly, a complex midrash on Genesis, Leviticus, Hosea, and Lamentations, among other sources, establishes a homology between Adam and Eve's expulsion from the garden and Israel's experience of exile. It teaches that God placed the primordial couple in Eden, issued a command and, when they transgressed that command, expelled them but also lamented over them, implying an unbroken relationship despite punishment. Similarly, God brought the Israelites into a fruitful land, commanded them to observe the Torah, expelled and exiled them to Babylon when they disobeyed, but still lamented over them, implying an unbroken relationship (*GenR* 19:9). Adam's sin and God's forgiveness become a model for all Jews or even all humanity to the present day:

God tells Adam: "Just as you came before the divine court and I pardoned you, so too will your descendants come before the divine court, and I will pardon them." (*LevR* 29:1; cf. Visotzky: 58)

Among the variety of early Jewish teachings on the fall, some rabbinic traditions appear to relate to patristic teachings in complex ways. Concerning rabbinic interpretations of the fall, Kaminsky stresses that "some of their readings of the Adam and Eve story have closer resemblance to early Christian readings of Gen 2–3 than is commonly acknowledged" due to their shared roots in the traditions of Hellenistic Judaism (Kaminsky: 17, 41). Visotzky shows that the broad picture of the fall and human temptation to sin found in 4th-century rabbinic texts resembles that found in the contemporaneous Pelagius, who saw the law as God's good gift and emphasized the ability of humans to choose obedience, thereby contradicting Augustine, with his emphasis on inherited sin (*ibid.*: 58–60).

In general, the rabbinic view of humanity's fall sees it as the source of death for all humans and as a pattern for future fall and redemption, national and individual, though not as the source of humanity's tendency toward sin.

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(ed. E. Grypeou/H. Spurling; Leiden/Boston, Mass. 2009) 43–62.

Kris Lindbeck

C. Medieval Judaism

Medieval Jewish views on the fall of humankind follow several hermeneutical strands: traditional rabbinic exegesis, which focuses on traumatic physiological and metaphysical changes wrought upon humanity and the world by the transgression of the first man and woman; the rationalist reading, which regards the fall as a figure or allegory for the common human condition; and a mystical-mythical narrative of cosmic disruption.

1. Exegesis. Medieval aggadah (narrative theology) continues to develop and amplify themes already expressed by its rabbinic predecessors, such as the diminution of primordial humanity from a cosmic to a mundane entity. *Midrash Tanhuma* (ed. Buber; on Gen 1:18) exemplifies this, enumerating six things that God took from humanity at the fall, including a biblical proof-text for each: (1) the radiance of his face (*Job* 14:20); (2) his (macrocosmic) stature (*Ps* 129:5); (3) immortality (*Gen* 3:19 [implied]); (4) (easy access to) the fruits of the earth (*Gen* 3:17); (5) residence in the garden of Eden (*Gen* 3:24); and (6) (the primordial luminosity of) the sun and the moon (*Isa* 13:10). *Tanhuma* also reiterates the rabbinic gloss on *Gen* 3:22 that if Adam had shown immediate remorse and repented, he might have averted the expulsion from Eden (*TanB* 1.22).

Pirquei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer 14 carries forward a trope first appearing in *Bereshit rabbah* (ed. Theodor-Albeck, 19.8), that the primary consequence of the fall is that it begins God's alienation and exile from the world. This same theme is lavishly developed in *Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana* as part of an elaborate homily that deploys an intertextual reading of Genesis with Song of Songs (*pisqa* 1).

The medieval systematic exegetes, too, reiterate midrashic themes, but also put forward their own readings. Rashi (1040–1105), e.g., dismisses outright the fanciful aggadic traditions that preceded him in favor of a more "naturalistic" interpretation of the fall (comment on 3:22). Nahmanides (ca. 1195–ca. 1270) also identifies the primary consequence of the fall as the loss of eternal life and freedom from material entropy (comment on 2:17). In a more imaginative reading of *Gen* 3:15, Obadiah Sforno (ca. 1470–ca. 1550), ignores the contextual meaning and interprets the verse as an etiological explanation of all enmity between the sexes.

2. Philosophy. Saadia Gaon (882–942) seemingly views the Eden account as historical, but also sees the expulsion as the template for Israel's future experiences of exile and return (*BO* 3.9). By contrast, Maimonides (*Guide* 1.2) treats the fall as a pure allegory, interpreting the eating of the fruit as man's yielding to corporeal desire and imagination. The

consequence of this is the loss of higher intellectual apprehension – namely, the capacity to readily distinguish truth from falsehood. Instead, the diminished human mind is mostly limited to considering the lower intellectual problem of good vs. evil. Likewise, Maimonides recasts the rabbinic tradition (based on Job 14:20) that Adam lost his supernal radiance as yet another allegory for Adam's changed "inclination" (Arab. *ittijāh*), from the pursuit of intellectual perfection to the satiation of pleasure. This reduces man, according to Maimonides, to the level of "the beasts that perish" (Ps 49:13). Gersonides (1288–1344), with variations, mines the same interpretative vein (Commentary on Gen 2:10).

3. Mysticism. The various schools of Jewish mysticism offer the most complex and radical interpretations of the fall of humankind. This is because by the 13th century, the Spanish mystics had superimposed their own cosmological perception of the *sefirot* (divine emanations) over the biblical account of the fall. Included in this mystical cosmology-theology is a theurgic ideology of divine passivity and human potency. Thus the fall causes realignments on two levels: The human and the transcendent. Different mystical traditions emphasize different aspects of this ideology of "influence." The Zohar assumes that evil, emanating from the divine attribute of stern judgment, is integral to God's creative process. Therefore the sin of the first humans is to cause this necessary cosmogonic feature to metastasize, disrupting the emanations of the godhead and giving the demonic aspect of creation disproportionate influence in the lower (material) world. Scholem (1991) has translated an extended homily by Ezra ben Solomon of Gerona (d. ca. 1238) in which the sin of humanity causes the separation of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (judgment and evil) from the Tree of Life (harmony and love). The cleaving of these two pillars of the divine order simultaneously disrupts the divine unity and separates the upper from the lower soul of man, resulting in a distortion of the intellect (à la Maimonides).

The mystical school arising out of the teachings of Isaac Luria (1534–1572) teaches an account of the fall that becomes even more removed from the biblical narrative, yet which remains intimately bound to the biblical *mitsvot* (commandments). Luria proffers a gnostic-flavored account of a disruption within God (*shevirat ha-kelim*), a break-up which is reiterated within the primordial man (*adam qadmon*) who was expressly created to repair the rift, but fails before the first Sabbath. This causes even greater misalignment of the godhead and the need for an even greater *tiqqun* (repair), which must be achieved through the meticulous and mystically-intentioned performance of the biblical commandments.

Thus there is no single, or even predominant, interpretation of the expulsion from Eden and its

consequences to be found in medieval Jewish thought. Neither do any of these interpretations find their way into the mainstream of Jewish liturgy, a signal of theological preeminence, though meditations on the Lurianic *shevirat ha-kelim* are included in the mystical liturgical offshoot known as *Nosah ha-Ari*, the liturgy attributed to Isaac Luria and his school.

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IV. Christianity

- Greek and Latin Patristics and Orthodox Churches
- Medieval Times and Reformation Era ■ Modern Europe and America

A. Greek and Latin Patristics and Orthodox Churches

Sensing the discontinuity between their own ideals and what they observed around them, ancient Greeks and Romans created mythological accounts of the decline of human beings from an earlier time when people did not labor in unjust societies and were not afflicted by ignorance, malformed desires, and death (Hesiod, *Op.* 109–201; Plato, *Phaed.* 73–77, *Pol.* 269a–274e; Ovid, *Metam.* 1.89–112). Widely divergent philosophical schools and religions across the Mediterranean offered competing paths of reasoning and discipline to return adherents to their natural condition. For early Christian writers, this predicament was understood through the scriptural account of the early chapters of Genesis which were to become some of the most commented upon material in the Bible.

Genesis was an important workshop for Christians to hone their notions of human failings, freedom, and responsibility. Given the characteristic brevity of Genesis, early Christian interpreters were left to fill in the explanatory gaps in the text itself. Diverse schools of thought developed within Christianity over the centuries of continuous commentary and argument, but the lines between them are frequently difficult to draw. Early Christian Gnostics read Genesis within their own speculative mythologies as describing an extended series of divinities and generations. They understood the inferior

work of the creator god of Genesis as largely responsible for human problems, and promised that their religious insights and practices would lead those sufficiently capable not only through the problems of this fallen world, but also to the knowledge of a superior God (*Ap. John*; Brakke: esp. 52–89).

The developing mainstream Christian view, by contrast, rather than seeing the human predicament arising externally from a cosmic drama, increasingly located the fall within the human subject. It was, therefore, the collective misuse of human freedom that was the true fall of human beings from their natural state of flourishing. This self-destructive error, however, was frequently seen as the sort of failing that arises from innocence. For this reason, the Bible and human history came to be understood as a vast redemptive story of human education and maturation (Irenaeus, *Epid.* 12, *Haer.* 3:20.1–2, 4:38.1–4; Theophilus of Antioch, *Autol.* 2.25; Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 11.111). Trading on the Hebrew parallelism of Genesis 1:26, early Christian authors commonly understood the fall as a loss of the divine likeness, but not the destruction of the divine image in human beings. In this way, they could account for the most horrifying human perversities without renouncing the dignity and the possibility of reform that, nonetheless, remain (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.6.1, 5.16.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.22; Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis opificio* 18).

Paul's Epistle to the Romans, especially from the 3rd century forward, took on an increasingly important role as a guide to interpreting the nature and consequences of the primal sin of Genesis and its remedy. Following Paul, Christian intellectuals endeavored to flesh out a fully theorized anthropology and theodicy that understood death as the universal consequence of the sin of Adam which is undone by the new Adam, Jesus Christ (Rom 5). Few interpreters were more influential in this regard than Origen of Alexandria (185–254 CE), who sought to relate fundamental theological and philosophical commitments systematically to a coherent reading of the whole Christian Bible. By emphasizing human freedom, mainstream accounts of the fall faced a theoretical problem of explaining why human beings would rationally choose to fall in the first place. To ward off what he perceived to be the implication of certain Gnostic views that human nature must have been defective in some way, Origen famously ventured to interpret Genesis as describing the fall of preexistent minds into bodies (*Princ.* 1.4.1, 2.9.1–8). Conjecturing that minds fell to the extent that they redirected their intellectual striving away from God because of negligence or satiety, Origen suggested that this failing was responsible for the descending rank from angels to humans to demons (*Princ.* 1.6.2). He intended this speculative hypothesis to promote understanding

of divine providence and to explain the experience of inequality. Origen's more lasting legacy, however, was his highly developed account of the fall's epistemic consequences as resulting in an occluded reading of the self, the material world, and the invisible God. Origen elaborated a program wherein Scripture formed a curriculum for the mind that was a partial remedy for the fall, and where the reading process itself enfranchised coarse, mortal bodies, ordered the moral life, and rectified intellectual faculties (*Princ.* 4; Torjesen: esp. 70–107). Controversy over particular aspects of Origen's program continued in the Greek East for centuries.

In the Latin West, Augustine of Hippo's (354–430 CE) earliest dialogues evidence Origenist themes, but his emphases shifted as he matured. Although he never came to a precise position on the origin of the soul, he eventually rejected all causal explanations of evil (including ones positing the soul's preexistence). Augustine came more and more to think that such hypotheses first subtly justified the existence of evil and then glorified the human will's proud struggle against it. Instead, Augustine underscored the radical inexplicability of the human fall and analyzed the conflicted histories of desire and choice that result in internal divisions within the will. Augustine stressed the social character of the sin of Adam and compellingly delineated how Genesis narrates it as a collective experience over generations (*Civ.* 12.28–18.54). When Augustine famously spoke of "original sin" (*originalis peccatum*; *Conf.* 5.9.16), he invoked the phrase as a placeholder asserting sin's all pervasive and unavoidable qualities while refraining from further explanations of its origins (*Div. quaest. Simpl.* 2.20). Previous Christian commentators understood good human actions to be preceded by divine grace, but Augustine made this his central point and promoted a form of scriptural reading that cultivated humility and vulnerability to divine love. Other Christian contemporaries of Augustine, such as Pelagius, nevertheless continued to emphasize human self-determination and understood the fall as affecting human capacities far less dramatically.

The Origenist and Pelagian controversies over these matters that continued in the generations after Augustine's death demonstrate that, although the idea of humanity's fall served as a rich and useful resource for analyzing individual and social failures, early Christian thinkers never came to a singular position that answered all the theological and anthropological questions that it raised.

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Paul Kolbet

B. Medieval Times and Reformation Era

The brevity of the biblical account of the fall of Adam and Eve led in the Middle Ages to a body of commentary (dominated in the Latin West by interpretations by Augustine and Gregory the Great) explaining the story according to the literal and allegorical (typological, tropological, and anagogical) senses of Scripture. The principal focus was upon the primal sin and on original sin as the resultant corruptness of the flesh. Reference was made regularly to Rom 5 : 12 and humanity's share in Adam's sin. While that shared sinfulness was cancelled by the sacrifice of Christ, the residual propensity to sin remained, viewed by Augustine and later writers as *poena peccati*, the punishment for sin, passed on through the sexual act. At the same time, the fall was also seen as a *felix culpa*, fortunate in that it provided the reason for the redemption.

The commentaries expanded most aspects of the literal narrative: That the prohibited fruit was an apple depends upon a pun on Latin *malum*, meaning both apple and evil. The interpretation of the serpent-tempter as the devil required a preliminary narrative, based on Isa 14, of a prior fall into hell of Lucifer (with his follower angels, who sometimes become a diabolical council) for desiring a throne higher than God's. The devil, envious of the newly created humans for taking his place, tempts Eve as a weaker and easier target, disguised as or inside the serpent. Medieval interpretation and later art provides the serpent with a female face, mirroring Eve's own desires. Her temptation of Adam, sometimes seen as her fear of being left alone, is more often treated allegorically.

The best-known tropological or moralizing interpretation was established by Gregory the Great: The devil's *suggestio* is the beginning of sin, to which the flesh succumbs, as Eve did; the rational mind, Adam, is corrupted by the flesh, and the last stage of sin is self-justification, just as Adam and Eve tried to place the blame on each other (and thus indirectly upon God). Typology takes up the Pauline reference to the Old and New Adam as a recapitulation, the sacrifice of Christ on the cross-tree being set against the tree of disobedience, and the cross is sometimes portrayed as a living tree. The acts of eating the fruit and desiring to be as God are also seen as prefiguring Christ's refusal to make the stones bread or to assume majesty in the tempta-

tion in the wilderness. The crushing of the serpent's head in Gen 3 : 15 is interpreted either as the need to crush sin when it starts, or as the defeat of the devil by Christ or the Virgin. Anagogically, the fall is seen as having caused the loss of the heavenly homeland to which humans must return, and the notion of exile from, and the pilgrimage of return to, the *patria paradisi* becomes a topos. Literal and allegorical expansions of the story of the fall were widely disseminated, often through works like Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, into sermons, into biblically-based chronicles in Latin and other languages, and into vernacular literature.

Beside the Vg. narrative, apocryphal writings added material about the fall. One tradition among other Adamic apocrypha, the somewhat fluid Greek and Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*, tells how the hungry protoplasts attempted to return to paradise by undertaking a penance standing in the river and fasting. Eve is tempted a second time by the devil, now disguised as an angel, and she abandons her penance. Adam recognizes the devil, completes his fast, and at his death is promised the oil of mercy, the coming of Christ. The *L.A.E.* was translated or adapted in a variety of contexts into most western European medieval languages, and by the 12th century is merged in Latin and vernacular texts with part of another series of legends in which Seth returns to paradise and is given seeds to be placed in the dead Adam's mouth, from which grow the tree for the cross, the holy rood. This literalizes the link between Adam and Christ; the crucifixion on Golgatha, the place of the skull, is identified with the skull of Adam, into the mouth of which the blood of Christ sometimes flows in iconography. An eastern European version of the *L.A.E.* contains the additional legend of the cheirograph, the recording of the pact with the devil, giving him rights over humankind after the fall. Vernacular sermons, biblical poems and plays, popular literature, and folktales all present the story of the fall with added materials from the commentaries or from apocrypha, aimed often at a lay audience which would not necessarily understand how much of this was not biblical.

Martin Luther considered mankind to be totally depraved as a result of the fall, and unable to effect salvation because of the uncertainty of sufficient contrition (Thesis 30; Luther: 493), hence dependent upon divine grace alone. John Calvin also stressed the hereditary corruption after the fall (*Institutes* II, 1–2). While insisting too on a reading of the Scriptures that removed many of the literary additions, both Luther in the lectures on Genesis (1535–36), and Calvin in his 1563 commentary on Genesis refer to the devil using the serpent, justifying his existence as being established elsewhere in the Scriptures. Protestant writers such as Hans Sachs did, however, continue to use non-biblical el-

ements, for example, in his drama of the unequal children of Eve.

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Brian Murdoch

C. Modern Europe and America

The fall is a concept closely related to sin, where fall has to do with the origin of sin. The fall from primordial goodness has its *locus classicus* in an act committed by the primordial pair in Gen 3. While the act is interpreted in different ways – unbelief, disobedience, rejection, turning away from God, breaking the law – its significance is such that (a) it dramatically changes the conditions of human existence and the cosmos, that (b) death and evil enter into human existence and world as a consequence. Thus fallenness is

... to see sin as a congenital feature of human existence [, both a] weakening of human nature resulting in a natural propensity to sin, but also a deformation of that nature rendering all human beings guilty of sin from birth. (McFarland: 1–2)

Modern Christian interpretations of Gen 3 tend to view the fall as a non-historical event because the historicity of the passage has been called into question by archeological, geological, biological, and historical evidence. Yet the doctrinal significance of “original sin” is preserved by interpreting the passage in the double sense of the tension between the contingency of an original act and the universal constraints on action that are its result. The universality of sin means that the entire human race is determined by a common condition of sin that is inescapable together with the all-encompassing condition of guilt and systemic and social sin that has arisen as the consequence of sin. Contingency means that every human person has freely chosen this state. While universality of this condition grounds the common status of sin before God, thereby meriting divine judgment, the contingency ascribes responsibility to personal free will. Immanuel Kant set the modern parameters for reconciling personal freedom as significant for the modern emphasis on individual subjectivity while acknowl-

edging the pervasiveness of sin and evil in his *Religion* treatise from 1793. While the noumenal or transcendental aspect of the self is endowed with freedom, and therefore has the possibility (Kant: Anlage B 18–19) to adopt a good maxim into its disposition, the phenomenal or empirical self demonstrates a propensity to evil (Kant: B 20–24). Nevertheless radical evil is an “intelligible act/deed” (“intelligible Tat,” Kant: B 26) of the the *homo noumenon* and – vice versa – being liberated from it is an intelligible “revolution” (“*Revolution* in der Gesinnung,” Kant: B 54). Kant wants to explain this paradox of evil and liberated autonomy as a doctrine of “radical evil” (Kant: Erstes Stück B 3–48) representing the universal condition of human existence. Thus the philosophical-theological mode of thinking has been used to assign to the biblical story of the fall a centrality in contemporary thinking about humanity as well as rational intelligibility in explaining the empirical distortions in the human will while also grounding philosophical issues of freedom and ethics.

The fall is also interpreted in ontological terms. The “fall” from essence to existence is a prevalent modern trope that explains the foundational tension between universality and contingency. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel saw the fall to be rooted in freedom that is a requirement for the development of subjectivity. The subject must come to itself by an act of alienation, which results in a division (*Ent-zweiung*) of an original unity of self with itself. Thus the fall is necessary to human becoming, while it also introduces evil into human existence (Ringleben: 135). Hegel’s view is balanced by Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, who categorized the fall in terms of “positive freedom.” The treatise on *Freedom* from 1809, considered the foundational text of existentialism, sees the fall as a deliberate yet contingent act of freedom to choose the self as the center of the universe. With Schelling, the fall precipitates a tragic dimension to human existence that is “read back” into an original creation in Gen 1–2. Likewise Søren Kierkegaard locates before the fall Adam’s anxiety in the face of the tension between God’s command and his freedom to obey or not. Anxiety, or *Angst*, thus emerges as the significant feature of human existence. The discontinuity between original goodness and fallen condition is blurred in Kierkegaard’s reading that already defines human createdness as a tension between finitude and infinitude. Similarly Marilyn McCord Adams overcomes the moral reductionism associated with free will theories of the fall by explaining that humans are created as constituted by a metaphysical mismatch between body and development of the self that leaves humans vulnerable to horrors (McCord Adams: 38).

The opacity of sin is a trope that recovers Luther’s reformation insight for modernity. Humans

participate in sin without full recognition of their condition (Ps 19:13; Rom 7:15). The enormity of sin is seen only from divine perspective. Karl Barth sees original sin as the judgment of God.

Adam is not a fate which God has suspended over us. Adam is the truth concerning us as it is known to God and told to us. (Barth: 509)

Humans furthermore cannot have an epistemic grasp of the conditions for their own knowing because the “power of sin is deeper than one’s own capacity for self-knowledge (1 Cor 4:4; cf. Phil 3:6)” (McFarland: 15). Yet by maximizing the effects of the fall, the theological correlation between original sin and doctrine of redemption is underlined: original sin magnifies grace in Christ (cf. Rom 5:12, 15). The integration of sin with redemption is all the more poignant when Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher ascribes sin to God (§ 81). God is the author of sin because sin exists only as attached to the universal redemption that the divine causality wills for creation.

Schleiermacher’s emphasis on the corporate feature of the fall is significant. Schleiermacher sees the affliction of evil as the tragic result of original sin; original sin is “in each, the work of all, and in all, the work of each” (§ 71:2). Contemporary theology focuses on the systemic feature of sin in institutions so that individual actions are not reducible to intentionality, and it is also critical of the biases underwriting the doctrine’s alleged universality. Saiving in a ground-breaking essay identifies “pride” and the “will-to-power” as the original sin of men that is not relevant to women whose existence is characterized by “negation of the self” (Saiving: 109). As Stephen Ray critically points out, the doctrine has socio-political effects when it is applied selectively to condone oppression (Ray: 15).

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Christine Helmer and Johannes Schwanke

V. Islam

Although the main actors in the accounts of the fall of human beings found in the book of Genesis and the Qur’an are the same, the significance and effects of this incident are understood differently by Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

Unlike the Bible, which offers the reader a continuous narrative, references in the Qur’an to the creation and fall of Adam are brief and scattered. Many details, such as the name of Adam’s wife, do not appear, while others find parallels only in non-canonical writings, including the Jewish *Life of Adam and Eve* (*Greek Apocalypse of Moses*). When organized together, the relevant verses show the main thrust of the story is the favored status of human beings: Adam is created as God’s *khalifa* (vicegerent), before whom even the angels must bow as if before God himself (S 2:34; 20:116; 15:29, etc.). God shows extraordinary favor to Adam by teaching him the names of all things, knowledge that remains hidden to the angels (S 2:30), and so raises his status above all other creatures. This status is questioned by the angels, leading to the principal conflict of the story.

It is not a stretch to say that the central protagonist in the passages is neither Adam nor his wife, but Shayṭān (Satan), who is also given the name Iblis. The angel Iblis refuses to bow to Adam, a creature made of clay, and is consequently cursed by God and cast out from heaven (S 7:12–13; 15:33–35; 38:74–78). Iblis then vows that he will take revenge by deceiving human beings, but agrees that he will not have power over God’s own “sincere servants” (S 15:41–43; 17:61–65; 38:82–85). It is after this event that Adam and his wife are placed in the garden by God and told not to eat of the tree, which will only lead to misery (S 2:35; 7:19; 20:117).

But Shayṭān tempts them with the promise that they will become like the angels and live forever, doing so in order “that their shame would be revealed to them” (S 7:20), and so they eat of the tree. It is here that the story takes a rather different turn from that found in Genesis. God calls out to them, reminding them that Shayṭān is their enemy, and, knowing that they have violated God’s command, they in turn beg for forgiveness. The Qur’an does not state that they are forgiven, but simply that they are sent out of the garden to live on earth for a time (S 7:22–25). The account given in S 7 is followed by an extensive commentary on the paradoxical nature of human beings as both weak and strong, and the dangers of rejecting the signs sent by God through his Messengers and of following the counsel of those who follow Shayṭān.

While Muslim commentators on the Qur’an differ in their interpretation of some aspects of the events and characters, they agree that the Qur’anic account presents Adam’s fall as having dramatically

different consequences than found in the Bible, explicitly rejecting Jewish and Christian teachings on this matter. Most importantly, Adam and his wife are not understood as representing humanity, but only as individual actors who are held accountable for their own sin, and as examples to all human beings. "Adam's fall" does not result in a "fall of human beings" since the consequences of his disobedience are not passed on to his descendants. Rather, each person must make a choice whether to listen to Shaytān, the avowed enemy (S 15: 41–43; 35: 5–6). Neither should creation be regarded as disordered – it is as perfect now as when God created it, even while Iblīs and his minions wreak havoc and lead humans off the "straight path."

God's assurance that Iblīs will not have power over the righteous descendants of Adam is accompanied by the promise of special guidance to be followed (S 2: 38; 20: 123). Traditionally, this is not understood to be a kind of "natural knowledge," such as Christians believe to be available to all people through creation (cf. Rom 1: 16–20), but the revelations given by God through the prophets as a "mercy" to all people (S 16: 36–37; 17: 82; 3: 73; etc.).

A particular theological problem raised here is how to understand God's relationship to those who fall under the power of Shaytān. Adam and his wife are sent from the garden when they disobey God's command and listen to Shaytān, even though they are created as God's perfect servants – does this mean that Adam's "fall" is willed by God? Further, how should human free will be reconciled with God's absolute power over creation? Several verses of the Qur'ān state that God "does not guide those whom He leaves to stray" (e.g., S 16: 36–37). Alī (n. 2062) comments that a person loses God's help and guidance only once he has rejected it, a position that preserves God's goodness along with human free will. Muslim theologians have continued to struggle with the implications of these verses and a wide variety of solutions have been proposed.

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Sandra Toenies Keating

VI. Literature

The fall is a pervasive theme in Western literature. Here we can only survey some highlights. It was Augustine whose version of the fall influenced its earliest dramatization by such Latin poets as Avitus. A distinctive feature of the Old English *Genesis B* and also the Middle High German *Anegenge* (ca. 1170) is the diabolical council in which Satan and his crew plan the temptation.

European mystery plays were divided between the few which simply followed the Genesis account (such as the Florence play) and the rest which adumbrated the redemption, either following Ire-

naeus in making the drama a battle for the human soul between God and the Devil (as in the Anglo-Norman *Adam*), or following Anselm in making it a question of debt and forgiveness (Gréban, Bologna etc.) In Text A of the Norwich play, Adam and Eve depart from paradise, wringing their hands in despair, yet in Text B their encounter with the allegorical figures of Dolor and Misery is relieved by the appearance of the Holy Ghost to arm them with righteousness, faith, and salvation.

One erratic Irish medieval tradition has Eve bear a son *before* the fall. This was Seir, an ancestor of the Syrians. It seems related to legends about the survival of Irish ancestors alongside Noah's family at the time of the flood. More central to medieval literary development was the *Ancrene Wisse*, which made the fall a warning against temptation for women as the daughters of Eve.

In Spanish literature from the 15th century onwards, the fall of Adam and Eve becomes a major mythos for the fall of Spain to the Moors which had occurred back in 711 with the defeat of Rodrigo, last king of the Visigoths. In this narrative, La Cava was Eve. In the *Romancero del Rey Rodrigo*, the king finally undergoes purgation through falling prey to the Satanic snake, who devours him. In later literature, Isabella of Castile as the new Eve redeemed the nation. Lope de Vega wrote a grand play about the opening chapters of Genesis, emphasizing the outworking of the fall in the story of Cain and Abel, entitled *La creacion del mundo y primera culpa del hombre* (ca. 1610).

Milton influenced the sense of the fall as a privatized subjective or psychological state. In *Paradise Lost* (1667), Adam and Eve are created as perfect and complementary beings, who succumb to temptation when Adam allows his governing quality of reason to be overcome by Eve's predisposition to passion, after Satan manages to work on Eve's animal spirits to subvert the balance of impulses between the protoplasts. Adam effectively abdicates his responsibility as the guardian of reason by allowing his love for Eve to cloud his judgment, yet, unlike Eve, "he was not deceav'd," making him the more guilty partner.

Later the English Romantic poets Blake, Coleridge, and Shelley explored the idea of the "Fortunate Fall" as a graduation from untested innocence to various sorts of higher innocence. In Wordsworth's poetry (e.g., in "On the Power of Sound," 1835) the end of history is to be accompanied by a restoration of the primal Voice which was heard before the fall.

More disturbing themes operate in Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness* (1902), with its three-fold descent into the awful reality of European colonial exploitation of the Congo. The core narrative about the fall of the colonial figure Kurtz from a paradisaical state to one of utter inhumanity and the outer narratives

about the corruption of knowledge became for many a metaphor for later European and African history. In contrast, Hermann Hesse's *Demian* (1919) relates the complex Nietzschean graduation of the character Sinclair through degrees of innocence and guilt until rescued by Frau Eva, who through the agency of the Christ-like Demian, enables his (and civilization's) regeneration.

D. H. Lawrence's novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), although pioneering in its eroticism, represents an idealization of the prelapsarian state of Adam and Eve which subsequent serious fiction about the sexes found hard to sustain. James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* (1939) has been read as denoting the fall of language into a meaninglessness from which arises a new "postlapsarian" playfulness. Here the fall is "retaled" and the reader experiences a new freedom from the mock solemnities of past history and literature.

The fall was a major concern in the writings of C. S. Lewis, whose science-fiction novels *Perelandra* (1943) and *That Hideous Strength* (1945) handled the theme especially powerfully.

Whilst the most obvious treatment of the theme in the works of Albert Camus is in *The Fall* (1956) where the character J.-B. Clamence, a judge, confesses to the inner reality of his own life, equally significant are the short stories "The Adulterous Woman" and "The Renegade" in *Exile and the Kingdom* (1957), which deal respectively with the futile attempts of a modern Eve and a modern Adam to escape the absurd.

Arthur Miller's play *After the Fall* (1964) dramatizes the discovery that human beings, after the Holocaust, can never be innocent. For the character Quentin, clearing the ground to begin his third marriage, hope consists solely in the "wager on re-birth," which begins with abandoning false claims on innocence and learning to forgive one's own participation in humanity. LeRoi Jones' (later Amiri Baraka) play *Dutchman* (1964) relocates the fall to a New York subway scene where Clay the black man and Lula the white woman play out the roles of Adam and Eve in a racist world.

Christa Wolf's novel *Störfall: Nachrichten eines Tages* (1987, *Accident: A Day's News*) treats the Chernobyl nuclear explosion as the ultimate expression of the fall (*Sündenfall*), the moment when human rapacity reaches its final and catastrophic phase, threatening all life, not just human life.

In Irène Némirovsky's *Suite française* (2004), there are frequent allusions to rural France as a receding Eden as the full horrors of the occupation unfold. The fall is a slide into all the moral compromises and surrenders which are described by the term "collaboration."

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Anthony Swindell

VII. Visual Arts

Most representations of the fall of humankind consist of four iconic elements: a tree, the figure of Eve, that of Adam, and the serpent, visually presenting the biblical narrative (Gen 3:1–7). The most representative scene focuses on the temptation and has Adam and Eve standing on either side of the tree with the serpent present in the tree (though any number of scenes surrounding the temptation, including the expulsion from the garden, are associated with the fall). The biblical text does not specifically reveal the species of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but western art popularly identifies it as an apple tree, and the forbidden fruit as an apple (e.g., Lucas Cranach the Elder's *Adam and Eve*, 1526, Courtauld Institute of Art, London). This interpretation is based on the Latin word *malum* in Gen 3:5, which can be rendered as both "evil" and "apple." However, the tree is also depicted as a fig tree, with the fig leaves used as cover for the nudity of Adam and Eve. An example is Michelangelo's *Temptation* frescoed on the Sistine Chapel ceiling (1508–12; cf. Gen 3:7 and the entry "Fig, Fig Tree VI. Visual Arts").

In some representations, the serpent is given human-like characteristics. This may refer to the biblical text, "the serpent was more crafty than any other wild animal" (Gen 3:1) and to the detail in the narrative stating that the serpent spoke to Eve. The serpent painted by Michelangelo has a serpentine tale winding around the tree, but a human head and human torso with female breasts. Hugo van der Goes' intriguing representation of the serpent (1470, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) features a creature with a human face and a reptilian body which as yet has legs (cf. Gen 3:14). On the other hand, in his etching, *The Fall of Man*, Rembrandt van Rijn's "serpent" is a dragon-like figure (1638, Rembrandt House, Amsterdam, see fig. 15), a motif that may recall both classical mythology and folkloric traditions that hold dragons, in addition to serpents, serve as guardians of trees.

As part of the temptation, Eve usually holds the forbidden fruit in her hand. This imagery has proved to be such a powerful symbol that it still dominates representations of the fall of man in the 20th and 21st centuries, though Marc Chagall de-



Fig. 15 Rembrandt, H. v., *The Fall of Man* (1638)

parts from tradition in his frequent representations of Adam and Eve by portraying Adam holding the fruit alone or jointly with Eve (as in a 1960 lithograph). By pictorial tradition, Adam and Eve also appear naked with fig leaves covering their genitals (see “Fig, Fig Tree VI. Visual Arts”). The latter motif seems to combine the scene of the temptation and that of their subsequent shame.

Since Jesus’ crucifixion is interpreted as the redemption of mankind, Christian images of the crucifixion often include Adam’s skull at the base of the cross at Golgotha (“The Place of the Skull”). Wood from the tree with the forbidden fruit was also understood as the wood from which the cross was made. The “tree of death,” related to the story of the fall, is put in sharp contrast with the “tree of life,” i.e., the cross.

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Dolores G. Kamrada

VIII. Music

The fall of man is presupposed in most Christian liturgies through the centuries. However, it is mostly referred to indirectly through the importance of prayers for forgiveness and mercy, for instance the *Kyrie eleison*, “Lord, have mercy” and the

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, “Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world,” both from the Roman mass (Harper: 266–69). More directly, in numerous grand oratorios, but also in hymns and other liturgical chants, the narrative of Adam and Eve has been importantly received and interpreted musically throughout music history (see “Adam and Eve, Story of VII. Music” and “Eden, Garden of VIII. Music”).

Especially the figure of Adam was used to symbolize the fundamental sinfulness of humankind, referring not least to the theological opposition between Adam and Christ in Romans 5:12–21 and 1 Cor 15:21–22 (see “Adam [Person] IX. Music”). The notions of the old and new Adam (see above “IV. Christianity”) appear in medieval Latin hymns and chants, as in the following stanza from an anonymous hymn, *Agnoscat omne saeculum* (Let every age now recognize),

What that old Adam had defaced
the new Adam again wiped clean;
what Adam in his pride threw down,
Christ’s deep humility restored. (Walsh: 237)

Similarly, although differently described, in Venantius Fortunatus’ famous hymn *Pange, lingua, gloriosi* (Sing, my tongue, of that engagement; 6th cent. CE), the second stanza states,

Owing to our first-formed parent’s
injury, the maker grieved;
when he bit the baleful apple
and thereby collapsed in death,
he himself the wood then marked out
that wood’s damage to repair. (Walsh: 97)

The same opposition was famously emphasized musically in George Friederic Handel’s *Messiah* (1741) in its setting of 1 Cor 15:21–22 in Part 3 of the oratorio (see again “Adam [Person] IX. Music”).

In Martin Luther’s hymn *Nun freuet euch, lieben Christen gmein* (1523; Dear Christians, one and all, rejoice), general human sinfulness, as so often in his hymns, is evoked; in the fourth stanza, however, it is also made clear that

God had seen my wretched state
before the world’s foundation, (Leaver 2007: 161)

thus pointing to the notion of sinfulness as a general condition for all humankind.

Whereas many oratorios representing the biblical narrative of Adam and Eve and similarly many Passion oratorios or oratorio Passions telling the narrative of Christ’s redemptive death refer to the necessity of such a redemption because of the general sinfulness of man, such oratorios or Passions rarely refer directly to a theological notion of the fall of man or of original sin. Heinrich Schütz’ *St Matthew Passion* (from the 1660s) concludes in a *Kyrie eleison* and in Johann Sebastian Bach’s *St Matthew Passion* (1727, revised in 1736), the sinfulness

of man is circumscribed in many places, not least through the appropriated hymns, among others the use of Sebald Heyden's hymn "O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross" (O Mankind, mourn your great sins), but a notion of the fall or of original sin is not explicitly referenced. In Joseph Haydn's *The Creation* (1798), the narrative ends before the fall, but a final recitative (by Uriel) indirectly points to the fall by warning Adam and Eve,

O happy pair, and always happy yet,
if not, misled by false conceit,
ye strive at more, as granted is,
and more to know, as know ye should! (Temperley: 64)

An early opera, on the other hand, chosen to open the new opera house in Hamburg in 1678, the first opera house north of the alps, in its title explicitly refers to the notion of the fall, Johann Theile's *Adam und Eva oder der Erschaffene, Gefallene und Aufgerichtete Mensch* (Adam and Eve or the Created, Fallen, and Restored Human Being) (Schipperges: 21).

Antonio Draghi's *La vita nella morte* ("Life in Death," composed and performed in 1688), with a libretto by Nicolo Minati, is a staged oratorio-like music drama for Holy Week in Vienna, a so-called *sepolcro* (see "Drama VI. Music A. Music Drama"). In this drama, allegorical figures present the overall salvation history of humanity taking the point of departure in the expulsion of man from paradise, thus having the fall of man as a fundamental point of reference although not representing the story of Adam and Eve, except through the brief appearance of these figures at a much later point, where they confess how they sinned in paradise (Petersen). From the outset of the drama, the sin of the figure of humanity is described, making it clear that he presumed to be God's equal, thus referring to Gen 3:4–5.

In Charles Gounod's oratorio *La rédemption* (1882), first performed at the Birmingham Festival the same year, although it is mainly an oratorio about Christ's crucifixion and resurrection as well as Pentecost, a prologue describing the creation and fall contains a section entitled "The Fall" (Smither: 4:588; Huebner).

In a different way, Hildegard of Bingen's so-called liturgical drama *Ordo Virtutum* (The Ceremony of the Virtues) composed in the mid-12th century deals with a story about the fall of a human being, named *anima felix*, happy soul, but *anima infelix*, unhappy soul, when she falls. The seemingly allegorical narrative which clearly is inspired by Hildegard's monastic context, describes how *anima felix* decides to break out of the community with the virtues (Lat. *virtus*) in order to enjoy the world. Once fallen, she comes back, filthy and in need of help from the virtues, who overcome and bind the devil, where after the whole community, virtues and souls, praise God and his redemption (Dronke).

The play is explicitly about the fall and restoration of the soul (*anima felix*), and it may be read as an allegory on the fall of humankind.

Also in popular music, the notion of the fall of man is found. For example, in the album *Black Hand Inn* (1994), the German heavy metal group Running Wild (see Anonymus) included a song "Genesis (The Making and the Fall of Man)" in which are found the lines "Mankind will never learn, their blinded pride, the evil side [...] The malice and the pride is the death and the fall of man."

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Nils Holger Petersen

IX. Film

Adam and Eve's fall from innocence into a state of sinful disobedience to God and subsequent banishment from paradise into a world of suffering and death is "realistically" rendered within *The Bible: In the Beginning...* (dir. John Huston, 1966) using wild weather to force expulsion. The Mexican *El pecado de Adán y Eva* (dir. Miguel Zacarías, 1969, *The Sin of Adam and Eve*) begins with the primordial pair's banishment but flashes back to their naked prelapsarian days before being chased from the garden by a pair of floating flaming swords, whilst the Italian *Adamo ed Eva, la prima storia d'amore* (dir. Enzo Doria/Luigi Russo, 1983, *Adam and Eve*) uses a rolling boulder to force the transgressors from Eden into a cursed post-expulsion world full of monstrous danger.

Contemporary dramas utilizing fall themes include *Lord of the Flies* (dir. Peter Brook, 1963) starring boys marooned on an island without adult guidance who lose their veneer of civilization and descend into social savagery before being rescued and redeemed (physically, socially, and morally). *Thelma & Louise* (dir. Ridley Scott, 1991) is a feminist fantasy about lost innocence, new-found knowledge, and female freedom that results in law-break-

ing, social ostracism, and the protagonist's defiant but ill-considered deaths – literally by a great fall into the Grand Canyon. *The Shape of Things* (dir. Neil LaBute, 2003) showcases nerdy museum guard Adam being smitten by Evelyn, an alluring but deceptive artist whose dark antics prompt Adam to revamp his life (physically, socially, and psychologically) before she ultimately betrays him. The film analogously features the serpent, biblical garden, forbidden fruit, temptation, new knowledge, emerging sexuality, and the fall from innocence – including Adam's confession "I fell" to *textually* explain his unnecessary nose surgery and *subtextually* identify his compromised moral state.

Comedy renditions of the fall include *The Truman Show* (dir. Peter Weir, 1998) starring insurance clerk, Truman Burbank, who lives happily in a suburban paradise (albeit a fake and media-mediated Eden) until his innocence is "corrupted" by a woman trying to reveal the truth about his manufactured life. Disturbed but empowered, he eventually rebels, disobeys his God-like father's commands, and expels himself into a challenging new (non-TV) world outside his Edenic environs. *Pleasantville* (dir. Gary Ross, 1998) features a 1950s sitcom fantasy world that creatively subverts Christian interpretations of the temptress Eve who triggered the fall. It employs human sexuality to explore human creative potential, personal eroticism, and living in accordance with one's true inner nature. The monotonous black-and-white town's post-fall colored future (literally and metaphorically) offers its liberated citizenry a scary and uncertain but challenging new world to explore and mold.

Science fiction, fantasy and horror renditions of the fall include *Blade Runner* (dir. R. Scott, 1982) featuring Adam and Eve-like "replicants" (engineered clones) with deliberately truncated life spans. Banned from Earth to do harsh off-world work, some rogue replicants return to seek reconciliation with their creator. Specialist detectives ("blade runners") act as subtextual cherubim with flaming swords who bar these fallen ones' re-entry into a dystopian Eden. After committing deicide, the replicants' leader accepts their engineered demise and commits a Christ-like act of compassion by unexpectedly saving the life of his doggedly pursuing nemesis. *RoboCop* (dir. Paul Verhoeven, 1987) subtextually recreates *Paradise Lost* when a former mutilated policeman-turned-cyborg revisits his Edenic family home following his physical fall but quickly realizes he could never return (physically, socially, or psychologically), and so he fully embraces his cybernetic fate as a professional fallen man. Indeed, the whole vampire genre is premised upon lost innocence, fallen natures, immortality, death, dying, and miseries leading to either quests for redemption or eventual extinction via sunlight, staking, silver, fire, or decapitation.

Non-biblical films that variously echo this iconic scriptural incident include *After the Fall* (dir. Gilbert Cates, 1974), *Legends of the Fall* (dir. Edward Zwick, 1994) and *Before the Fall* (dir. Dennis Gansel, 2004).

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See also → Adam (Person); → Adam and Eve, Story of; → Eve; → Genesis, Book of; → Paradise Lost; → Sin (Deity)

Fall of the Angels

→ Fall of Heavenly Beings

Falla, Manuel de

Manuel de Falla (1876–1946) was a Spanish composer. Original compositions include incidental music to an anonymous 13th-century auto sacramental, *Misterio de los reyes mago* (1923, unpubl.), and to a 1935 production of Lope de Vega's play *La vuelta de Egipto* (1644, Flight into Egypt). De Falla also produced arrangements (*versiones expresivas*) of polyphonic works by Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611), among them settings of the *Ave Maria*, the *Miserere*, and of the responsory *Tenebrae factae sunt*.

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False Decretals

A collection of canon law combining genuine and forged texts, including councils and papal letters, was prepared in northern France, possibly near Reims, during the 9th century. It was attributed to an otherwise unknown Isidorus Mercator (not Isidore of Seville as once was thought), and it is often referred to as "Pseudo-Isidore." This collection is also known as the "False Decretals" due to the numerous spurious papal letters it contains. It circulated in as many as 100 surviving manuscripts or manuscript fragments in various versions. The collection, compiled during the troubled reign of Louis the Pious (reigned 813–40), supported the powers of bishops and the pope, yet it downgraded the role of archbishops as intermediaries between