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THE HEBREW PERSONIFICATION OF WISDOM

ITS

ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE.

A Thesis.

Submitted by

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to

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

in

Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 15, 1909.



Analytical Table of Contents.

CORRIGENDA

- p. 1, l. 3, b read "is" for "in".
p. 1, l. 1, b (in notes) read "International" for "international".
p. 5, l. 11, b read "Apocrypha" for "Apochrypha".
p. 7, l. 9, b omit "to".
p. 7, l. 6, b read "Akhenston" for "Akhetaton".
p. 10, l. 3, b read "we" for "whe".
p. 14, l. 3, b read "decree" for "degree".
p. 18, l. 9, t read "Israel" for "Israeal".
p. 18, l. 3, b read "less" for "les".
p. 19, l. 3, b read "and" for "an".
p. 21, l. 1, t read "term" for "terms".
p. 22, l. 17, t read "became" for "becane".
p. 22, l. 19, t read "thought" for "though".
p. 26, l. 10, b read "of" for "for".
p. 32, l. 1, t read "dwelt" for "dwell".
p. 32, l. 16, t read "through" for "trough".
p. 33, l. 4, t read "struggled" for "struggle".

- a) From Hebrew sources.
1) Early Hebrew prototypes.
2) Jeremiah's classification of Israel's leaders.



Analytical Table of Contents.

- Introduction:** a) The Personification of Wisdom in Proverbs.
b) Task of the Thesis.
c) Method Pursued.

I. Occurrence and Meaning of the Word חכמה.

1. In Hebrew:

- a) Variety of forms.
- b) Verb form חָכַם.
 - 1) Different stems.
 - 2) Where found.
- c) The adjective form חָכָם.
 - 1) Confined largely to special books.
 - 2) Adjectival uses.
 - 3) Substantive uses.
 - 4) Development in its meaning.
- d) The noun form חֵכְמָה.
 - 1) Use parallel to adjective.
 - 2) Various occurrences.
 - 3) Applied to ethical and religious affairs.
 - 4) Personified.
- e) Development in meaning and application of all forms.

2. In cognate languages.

- a) Arabic. Primitive meaning of root.
- b) Assyrian.
- c) Syriac.
- d) Aramaic.
- e) Its development in these tongues.

II. The Rise of the Chokma or Wisdom Literature.

1. The Books included.
 - a) In the Old Testament.
 - b) In the Apochryphal Literature.
2. The time of composition of these books.
3. The influence which worked to produce them.
 - a) From Hebrew sources.
 - 1) Early Hebrew prototypes.
 - 2) Jeremiah's classification of Israel's leaders.

- 3) Movement not wholly accounted for in Hebrew influences.
- 4) The basis in Israel's religion and literature.
- b) From foreign sources.
 - 1) The Wise Men of other nations.
 - a) Edom.
 - b) Babylonia.
 - c) Egypt.
 - 1) Egypt the home of Wisdom in early times.
 - 2) Development and similarity to Hebrew Wisdom.
 - 3) Comparison shows dependence.
 - 4) Probable time of influence reaching Israel.
 - 5) Israel's close relation to Egypt.
 - 6) Evidence of the Fragments from Elephantine.
- c) Summary of probable influences entering into the formation of the Wisdom of Israel in post-exilic times.

III. The Development of Wisdom Thought in Palestine.

1. Mingling of thought and religion under Persian rule.
2. The work of the Wise Men of Israel.
 - a) Sources of inspiration.
 - b) Their writings of the Persian period.
 - 1) The middle sections of Proverbs
 - 2) The Wisdom Psalms.
 - 3) The Book of Job.
 - a) The problem of suffering.
 - b) The divine wisdom.
 - c) The spread of Greek culture after the time of Alexander.
 - d) New problems arising for the Wise Men.
 - e) Their writings during the Greek period in Palestine.
 - 1) Ecclesiastes.
 - 2) Proverbs 1-9.
 - a) Madam Folly and Wisdom.
 - b) Personification and hypostatization of Wisdom.
 - c) Importance of this hypostatization.
 - 3) Book of Ecclesiastics.
 - a) Wisdom conception repeated.
 - b) Wisdom expressed in the law.
 - d) Other occurrences of personified Wisdom.
3. Other developments in Palestinian thought.
 - a) Softening anthropomorphisms.
 - 1) In the Hebrew.
 - 2) In the Aramaic reproductions.
 - 3) In the Greek translations.
 - b) The tendency to make God transcendent.
 - c) The Apocalyptic movement and the Messianic hope.

IV. The Wisdom-Logos Speculation in Egypt.

1. Egypt as a center of Judaism.
 - a) Colonies.
 - b) Numbers and influence.
2. Literary work of the Alexandrians.
 - a) The Septuagint Version.
 - b) The Wisdom of Solomon.



- 1) Presence of Greek influences.
 - 2) Conception of Wisdom.
 - a) Based on Hebrew thought.
 - b) Related to Greek philosophy.
 - c) Expressed in terms found later in the New Testament.
 - 3) The Holy Spirit of God.
 - 4) The Identification of Wisdom with the Logos.
 - a) The three occurrences of Logos.
 - 5) General conceptions of the book.
3. The trend of Greek philosophy after Alexander.
 - a) Its change in aim.
 - b) The Stoics and their use of Logos.
 4. The attitude of the Alexandrians toward the Greek thought.
 5. The life and work of Philo Judaeus.
 - a) Period, attainments, and writings.
 - b) His Wisdom-Logos speculations.
 - 1) Wisdom largely replaced by Logos.
 - a) Reasons.
 - b) Identification of the two.
 - 2) Elements in his Logos conception.
 - a) Conception of the divine powers.
 - b) Terms applied to the Logos.
 - 3) Resumé of his Logos conception and its tendencies.
 6. The harmonizing of the Alexandrians interrupted and broken off.

V. The Wisdom-Logos Personification in Christianity.

1. Origin of the new faith in Palestine.
 - a) The call, work, and death of Jesus.
 - b) His followers take up his message and declare he is risen again from the dead.
 - c) The new Gospel of the Kingdom.
2. Paul's Life and Work.
 - a) Adherence to the new faith, and his gospel.
 - b) Mission and contact with Hellenistic thought. First writings.
 - c) His church in Corinth and his letters to it.
 - 1) Christ "the wisdom and power of God".
 - 2) Other indications of Alexandrian influence.
 - d) Further developments of Paul's philosophy.
 - 1) In the letter to the Romans.
 - 2) In the Colossian and Ephesian letters.
 - a) Christ fully identified with the Logos.
 - b) Paul's doctrine a modified Alexandrian conception.
3. The Epistle to the Hebrews.
 - a) Generally recognized as an Alexandrian production.
 - b) Constructed from the point of view that Christ is the Logos.
 - c) Alexandrian terms applied to Christ.
4. The tendency and influence of identification of Christ with the Logos.
5. The early traditions of the life of Jesus.
 - a) Not in harmony with the Logos tendency.
 - b) Jewish in character.
 - c) The Logos speculators neglect them.

6. The appearance of the Gospel of John.
 - a) The life of Jesus written from the Logos point of view.
 - b) Its Logos doctrine of Jesus Christ complete.
7. The Wisdom-Logos conception finally localized and enshrined in the Life of Jesus. The "two natures".

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Introduction.

In the first nine chapters of the Book of Proverbs there is a personification of Wisdom (Hebrew חָכְמָה) which culminates in chapter eight. Here we have no longer a mere poetical personification, but a true hypostatization.¹⁾ Wisdom is the first product of God's creative power and is exalted to a supreme place among His creatures. In her God took delight before the heavens were made, and through her the ordered world came into being. This exalted personification and hypostatization of Wisdom has had, and still has a large influence on the religious thought of the world. To throw some light on its origin, to trace its development, and to show its widespread influence will be the threefold task of this thesis.

In order to accomplish rightly this task it will be necessary to make some investigations in the occurrences and uses of the word חָכְמָה in the Old Testament and in the languages cognate with the Hebrew, to indicate the contributing influences, and to trace the development of the thought in the literatures which embody it.

I. Occurrence and Meaning of the Word חָכְמָה.

The word חָכְמָה is a feminine noun from the stem חָכַם which appears in various Semitic tongues and dialects. In Hebrew it occurs as a verb חָכַם, as an adjective חָכֵם which is sometimes used substantively, and as a feminine noun חָכְמָה; besides appearing in the proper name חֲכִימָה²⁾ used twice in Chronicles and once in a parallel passage in second Samuel.

¹⁾ „So ist es unmöglich, eine bloß poetische Personifikation der innergöttlichen Weisheit anzunehmen; die göttliche Weisheit, die vor der sonstigen Schöpfung erschaffen und bei derselben geschäftig ist, ist als eine Hypostase gedacht, als eine konkrete Gestalt und nicht mehr bloß als eine Abstraktion. Der subjektive Begriff ist bereits zur objektiven Größe verfestigt.“ Dr. Karl Marti, in „Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion“, 4. Auflage 1903, p. 245.

²⁾ The passage in II Sam. 23: 8 is parallel with I. Chron. 11: 11, and חֲכִימָה should without doubt be read with Driver, Wellhausen, and Smith, as חֲכִימָה. Cf. H. P. Smith in the International Critical Commentary, Samuel, p. 384.

The verb אָדָּר occurs in the Old Testament twenty-six times, mostly in the Qal¹⁾ with the meaning "be wise". The Piel and Hiphil are causative, while the Hithpaels²⁾ are reflexive and the Puals³⁾ are intensive passives. All of these occurrences are in the late poetic literature with the exception of one Qal in First Kings, V. 11, and one Hithpael in Exodus, I. 10; and the former of these is part of a late gloss,⁴⁾ while in the latter the wisdom suggested is that of "dealing subtly or shrewdly". It is found nineteen times in the books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, and four times in the Psalms. The use of the verb is thus practically confined to the late literature, and particularly to one class of that literature to be hereafter described.

The adjective אָדָּר occurs both adjectively⁵⁾ and substantively⁶⁾ one hundred and thirty-six times in the Old Testament. More than one-half⁷⁾ of these occurrences are found in the books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, and all of the cases where the word means to be "wise ethically and religiously"⁸⁾ are in these books and Psalm 49: 11.⁹⁾ The earliest occurrence of the word is in the Song of Deborah,¹⁰⁾ where the meaning is evidently crafty or cunning. The maidens of Sisera's anxious mother try to comfort her while she looks in vain for the return of her son. They suspect the truth, but it is a part of their wise dealing to speak words of hopefulness and represent the delay as due to the large spoil the victors are bringing with fine presents for her who waits. The use of the word in this meaning of shrewdness or craftiness is more or less prevalent through all its history.¹¹⁾ But it is also applied in the early literature to cunning or skilfulness in the arts, as in Isaiah 3: 3, and in administration, as in Genesis 41: 33, 39.¹²⁾ This meaning also occurs in the Exilic and Post-Exilic literatures.¹³⁾ An application of the term in this last signification seems at times to have been made to political advisers taken as a class, as we find in Isaiah 19: 11, 12,¹⁴⁾ while as applied to skilful actions and choices it means prudence, as in Jeremiah 8: 8, 9. But it is also used, especially in the late literature,¹⁵⁾

¹⁾ 18 times. ²⁾ Ex. 1: 10. Eccles. 7: 16. ³⁾ Ps. 58: 6. Prov. 30: 44.

⁴⁾ Kent's "Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives", p. 176, Note.

⁵⁾ 85 times. ⁶⁾ 51 times. ⁷⁾ 75 times.

⁸⁾ Brown's Hebrew Dictionary, under אָדָּר . 62 times.

⁹⁾ This Psalm Baethgen places at the earliest in the Exile. „Die Psalmen", p. 13.

¹⁰⁾ Judges 5: 29.

¹¹⁾ II. Sam. 14: 2; 20: 16. Jer. 9: 22. Job 5: 13. Prov. 3: 7, etc.

¹²⁾ Passage belongs to E. cf. Strack, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, p. 42.

¹³⁾ Ezek. 27: 8. Ex. 28: 3; 31: 6, etc. (all in P according to Strack, p. 40). II. Chron. 2: 6, 11, 12. Prov. 20: 6.

¹⁴⁾ Cf. also Is. 29: 14 and Obadiah 8. But see next note.

¹⁵⁾ Gen. 41: 8 (found in E) is the only pre-exilic passage. Probably Is. 19: 11 f. should be included here, but this would not be an exception in regard to the time of literary use, inasmuch as Duhn (Jesaja, p. XX) puts this passage in the time of Ochoz (350—338 B. C.), and Marti (Jesaja, p. 155) inclines toward agreement.

of the astrologers, magicians, and the like, of Egypt,¹⁾ Babylon,²⁾ and Persia,³⁾ which countries seem to have been particularly noted in the later history of Israel as sources of wisdom.⁴⁾ But the use of חָכָם in an ethical and religious sense predominates over any other. As an adjective, it is applied to those who are wise of heart,⁵⁾ wise in conduct,⁶⁾ wise in giving reproof,⁷⁾ wise in the use of one's inheritance.⁸⁾ As a substantive, the term is used to refer to those who fear Jehovah and depart from evil,⁹⁾ to those who store up knowledge,¹⁰⁾ and to the sages who tell the experiences of the past,¹¹⁾ who teach knowledge to others,¹²⁾ and add learning to their own lips.¹³⁾ And these sages seem to have established something in the nature of schools, and to have become teachers since we read of pupils (חֲסִידֵי),¹⁴⁾ a discipline (חֻקֵּי),¹⁵⁾ and their words or principles (דְּבָרֵי חָכְמָה).¹⁶⁾ At great length in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes there are set forth the character and importance of their teaching, the value of following their instruction, their hard task in gaining adherents, their discouragements, and withal their moral strength and determination.

It will be noted that in the use of חָכָם there is a gradual development in its meaning and application from the material to the moral and religious, and from the general and broad application toward a more special and narrow one, until it becomes largely confined to a single field with an almost technical signification. But we must not fail to note that this approximately technical meaning is confined entirely to the three books: Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and a late Psalm.

We now turn to the noun חָכָם itself, which in its main development and use runs very closely parallel to the adjective חָכָם. The noun is found in a variety of meanings altogether one hundred and sixty-three times in the Old Testament, a large majority¹⁷⁾ of its occurrences being in Job,¹⁸⁾ Proverbs,¹⁹⁾ and Ecclesiastes.²⁰⁾ Its earliest appearance is in Isaiah 10: 13,²¹⁾ where it is used of skill in war. In I. Kings 7: 14 it is applied to Hiram in regard to his skill as a worker in brass. The prince of Tyre has wisdom in the management of his affairs,²²⁾ and Solomon shows it in his great cleverness and foresight.²³⁾ These instances are all those of wisdom of a

¹⁾ Gen. 41: 8, 33, 39 and Ex. 7: 11 (all found in P). Cf. also Is. 19: 11 f. and preceding note.

²⁾ Jerem. 50: 35 and 51: 57. Cf. also Is. 44: 25.

³⁾ Esther 1: 13 and 6: 13.

⁴⁾ Cf. I. Kings 4: 30 (Hebrew Text 5: 10). A late passage. See page 2.

⁵⁾ Prov. 10: 8 and 16: 21. ⁶⁾ Prov. 15: 20. ⁷⁾ Prov. 25: 12.

⁸⁾ Eccles. 2: 19. ⁹⁾ Prov. 10: 14. ¹⁰⁾ Prov. 14: 16. ¹¹⁾ Job 15: 48.

¹²⁾ Eccles. 12: 9. ¹³⁾ Prov. 16: 23. ¹⁴⁾ Prov. 1: 8 and 8: 32.

¹⁵⁾ Prov. 1: 3 and 8: 10. ¹⁶⁾ Eccles. 12: 11. Prov. 22: 17.

¹⁷⁾ 98 of the 163 times. ¹⁸⁾ 19 times. ¹⁹⁾ 51 times. ²⁰⁾ 28 times.

²¹⁾ This passage is dated by Duhm (*Josaiah* p. XV) in the reign of Sennacherib, (c. 701 B. C.).

²²⁾ Ezek. 28: 4, 5 etc.

²³⁾ I. Kings 2: 6; 3: 28; 5: 9, 10 etc.

worldly or prudential sort. But in some places in the later literature it is paralleled with knowledge and learning as though it were a system of thought or a body of precepts,¹⁾ and its most extensive use is found in its application to ethical and religious affairs. Here it is used of the wisdom of both man and God. Men are urged to get this wisdom as the principal possession of life.²⁾ It is of inestimable worth,³⁾ and he who has it is a man of discernment.⁴⁾ It is given by God,⁵⁾ who by it numbered the clouds⁶⁾ and founded the earth.⁷⁾ In Proverbs 1—9 this wisdom of God is personified, assumes the role of teacher and instructor, and finally in chapter eight it is given a separate existence and becomes the associate and companion of God before the world was made.⁸⁾

Thus it will be seen that there is some development in the meaning of the different words in Hebrew from this stem and a decided change in their application, from a general to a special subject, and that this change is evidently more pronounced and radical in the books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, where the words occur most frequently.

This change is seen also in the cognate languages. The Arabic⁹⁾ حَكَمَ means to restrain, hold back, decide, while the verbal adjective حَكِيمٌ means wise or learned, and حِكْمَةٌ means wisdom. Lane¹⁰⁾ suggests that the meaning "wisdom" is derived from the thought of restraining one's self from evil. This would seem a natural development of the root, which in Assyrian has also the simple meaning of prudence or wisdom of a worldly nature.¹¹⁾ In Syriac the verb حَجَر (12) means to know, and the stem is used in both the early and late Aramaic with the same general significations as in Hebrew.¹³⁾ But it will be noted that in the cognate languages the

¹⁾ Is. 47: 10. Dan. 1: 4, 17, 20.

²⁾ Prov. 4: 7.

³⁾ Job 28: 18. Prov. 8: 11; 16: 16 etc.

⁴⁾ Prov. 10: 13.

⁵⁾ Job 38: 36.

⁶⁾ Job 38: 37.

⁷⁾ Prov. 3: 19.

⁸⁾ Cf. Marti, *Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion*, 4. Auflage, p. 245.

⁹⁾ See Lane's *Arabic Dictionary*, under حَكَمَ also Dieterici, *Handwörterbuch zum Koran*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁾ *Arabic Dictionary*, as above.

¹¹⁾ Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, under חכמ.

¹²⁾ *Lexicon Syriacum*, auctore Carlo Brockelmann, Berlin 1895, p. 110—111.

¹³⁾ The word חכמ is found in the eleventh line of the Seldjiri inscription of king Panammu. See *A Text Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, by G. A. Cook, 1903, p. 171—185. Also, *Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft XI, pp. 55—84. For the late meanings consult Prof. Jastrow's *Dictionary of the Targums*, under חכמ. For the uses in Biblical Aramaic which stands in time between the other two, see the Aramaic Appendix to Brown's *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* under חכמ and חכמ.

change in meaning is not so prominent as in Hebrew, except in the case of the Aramaic, which was without doubt influenced by the Hebrew. It therefore appears that the Arabic contains the earliest idea of the root now known, and that its development and uses in the various Semitic Languages were natural and normal with the single exception of the special application in Hebrew, to which reference has been made above. Let us now turn to that field of Hebrew literature in which this special meaning and application of the stem occur, and try to trace as far as possible the influences which produced its special character.

II. The Rise of the Chokma or Wisdom Literature.

Naturally enough the literature bearing the special impress of the spirit and presence of this חכמה is called the Chokma or Wisdom Literature.¹⁾ The field has already been partially indicated. Among the canonical books of the Old Testament it includes Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and certain Psalms.²⁾ Closely allied with these are the Apocryphal books Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon, the latter written in Greek, the former in Hebrew, though known to us mainly through the Greek version.³⁾ The time of the production of these books is now generally placed after the Babylonian Exile,⁴⁾ some parts belonging to the Persian period, and other parts belonging to the Greek period.⁵⁾ Until quite recently most scholars have regarded these writings as the product of forces and influences resident in, and native to the Hebrew race alone, although it has been admitted that the very latest portions were influenced somewhat by the speculations of the Greeks.⁶⁾ Indeed there seems to be much in the early literature which favors such a view. While not of frequent occurrence, there are never-

¹⁾ See Toy's discussion in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Vol. IV, in the article: *Wisdom Literature*.

²⁾ Cf. Toy as cited above. Also Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. 5. Auflage. p. 260.

³⁾ For a thorough discussion of the relation of the recently discovered Hebrew texts to the Greek version see E. Nestle, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, under *Sirach*. He concludes that some parts of the recovered Hebrew are descended from the original Hebrew, while other parts are re-translations of the Greek.

⁴⁾ So Cornill, Toy, Cheyne, Kuenen, Stade, Budde, Frankenberg, Siegfried, Meinhold, et al. This date is determined mainly by the character of the thought and language, and the relation of the other books to Ecclesiasticus, the date of which is approximately known otherwise. Cf. Toy in the *International Critical Commentary*, *Proverbs*, pp. XX-XXIII.

⁵⁾ Toy in the *Encycl. Biblica*, under *Wisdom Lit.* gives the following order: *Job*, *Wisdom Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom of Solomon*. Prof. Barton, in the *International Critical Commentary* on *Ecclesiastes*, claims that the canonical book was written first. See discussion, pp. 53-56.

⁶⁾ Siegfried, *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, article: *Wisdom*. Cf. also Kent, *The Wise Men of Israel*, pp. 11 and 45. Also Meinhold, *Die Weisheit Israels*, p. 3.

theless several examples of the use of fables,¹⁾ parables,²⁾ riddles,³⁾ and allegories⁴⁾ which are doubtless rightly to be regarded as the forerunners of the later works of the Wise Men.⁵⁾ And there is also some influence to be found in the development traced by Meinhold⁶⁾ through the primitive conceptions of God and demons, in medicine, magic and ancestor worship; in the knowledge imparted to men, both of the arts and politics; and especially in the wisdom of life imparted through the prophets. And some have seen in the declaration of Jeremiah's opponents that "the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet" a well recognized division of Israel's guides and teachers before the days of the exile. But the passage is not by some placed among the genuine writings of Jeremiah,⁷⁾ and even if it were genuine, the wisdom referred to, as well as that which Meinhold describes, is quite different from that found in Proverbs and Job, and one must conclude that to produce such books there must have entered into Israel's life other influences than those active in the pre-exilic days.⁸⁾ And we must remember that there is no certain indication that the wisdom of the pre-exilic time developed any literature distinct from that of the prophets, lawgivers, and religious historians. Wisdom had not yet taken a moralizing or philosophic trend in Israel. But the foundation for a new development had been laid, and historical movements had prepared the way for new influences to awaken to life a vigorous literature on the wisdom basis. We will now try to discover the way in which these new forces and influences enter the life of Israel.

Other nations besides the Hebrews had their wise men, and their work and possibly their writings were not unknown to the Israelites, as we may learn from passages in the Old Testament, in Obadiah,⁹⁾ Kings,¹⁰⁾ and elsewhere, in which are mentioned the wise men of Edom, Egypt, Tyre, and the "Children of the East". Whatever there was of wisdom in ancient Edom did not get into literature so far as we now know.¹¹⁾ But from its close contact with Israel, and its similarity in race, language, and civilization,¹²⁾ as well as from the fact that Job's three friends are represented as coming thence,¹³⁾ we may well conclude that the wisdom of Edom was of a nature closely akin to that of the Hebrews in the pre-exilic days.¹⁴⁾ In Babylonian

¹⁾ Judges 9: 8 ff.

²⁾ II. Sam. 12: 1 ff. Is. 5: 1 ff.

³⁾ Judges 14: 14.

⁴⁾ Ezekiel 24: 1 ff. and 17: 1 ff.

⁵⁾ See the discussion in Meinhold's *Die Weisheit Israels*, pp. 13—30.

⁶⁾ *Die Weisheit Israels*, pp. 150—258.

⁷⁾ Jeremiah 18: 18.

⁸⁾ For the difference in the wisdom of pre-exilic and post-exilic times, see Frankenberg, *Handkommentar, Sprüche*, p. 6.

⁹⁾ Verse 8.

¹⁰⁾ I. Kings 4: 30 (Hebrew 5: 10).

¹¹⁾ Toy, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, under *Wisdom Literature*, section 2.

¹²⁾ See F. Buhl, *Geschichte der Edomiter*, 1893, pp. 1 ff.

¹³⁾ See *The Book of Job*, in C. B. S., with notes by A. B. Davidson, p. 17.

¹⁴⁾ Cf. Jeremiah 49: 7.

literature, on the other hand, there lie scattered here and there some fragments of a proverbial nature comparable to the older sections of the Hebrew book of Proverbs,¹⁾ but not enough have been so far discovered to make possible any conclusion as to the relation between the two. But for ages Babylonia had been the home of astrological learning²⁾ and the culture of magical arts;³⁾ and the close contact and political dependence of Israel upon the world powers of the Tigris-Euphrates valley for more than a century and a half preceding the exile may have already influenced the thinking as well as the social life of the West-Jordan territory.⁴⁾ From both these sources it is possible and even probable that streams of influence entered Hebrew thought at the time of the exile.

When we turn to Egypt we are confronted by a puzzling situation in regard to its relation to Israel's Wisdom Literature. "Of all Israel's neighbors", says Professor Toy, "it was, so far as we have exact information, only from Egypt that she could have learned gnomic lore in the earlier period, and it is precisely from Egypt (if we may judge from religious history) that she receives the least intellectual stimulus."⁵⁾ Yet for centuries the wise men of Egypt had been putting forth and teaching their wisdom which coincides in spirit, form and content with much we now meet with in the Old Testament. Even in the schools two thousand years before Christ instruction was given in "ethics, practical philosophy, and good manners."⁶⁾ The precepts of Ptah-hotep,⁷⁾ dating back to the Middle Kingdom, and probably to to the time of the Old Kingdom, the Praise of Learning,⁸⁾ somewhat later, and other literature⁹⁾ of a similar nature, all show close relation to the Hebrew books of Wisdom of post-exilic times. And when we consider the evident influence of the Hymn of Akhetaton felt in the one hundred and fourth Psalm,¹⁰⁾ and the confident assertion of Breasted¹¹⁾ that there are Egyptian influences present in both the form and content of Hebrew Messianic Prophecy, we cannot resist the conclusion that somehow the Hebrew Wisdom is indebted to the Egyptian Wise Men, who are so frequently referred to in the Old Testament writings.¹²⁾ But how, one may well ask, did these in-

¹⁾ F. Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, Dritter Vortrag, pp. 21 f.

²⁾ R. W. Rogers, *Religion of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1908, pp. 211 ff.

³⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 144 ff. ⁴⁾ Cf. Is. 47: 10-13.

⁵⁾ *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Vol. IV, Wisdom Lit. Section 2.

⁶⁾ A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 164-165.

⁷⁾ The Precepts of Ptah-hotep, the Oldest Book in the World, by M. Philippe Virey, in *Records of the Past*, New Series, Vol. III, pp. 1-35.

⁸⁾ The Praise of Learning, trans. by S. Birch, in *Records of the Past*, Vol. VIII.

⁹⁾ See a fine selection translated with Introduction by F. L. Griffith in *Library of the World's Best Literature*, article: Egyptian Literature.

¹⁰⁾ Compared in Breasted's *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1908, pp. 273-277. This Psalm is classed by Toy in *Wisdom Lit.* See *Encycl. Bib. Wisdom Lit.*

¹¹⁾ *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 168.

¹²⁾ I. Kl. 4: 30, Gen. 41: 8, EX. 7: 11, Is. 19: 11.

fluences work their way into Hebrew Literature? The recent discoveries in the island of Elephantine¹⁾ point the way to an intelligent answer. In the first place, it may well be conceded that Professor Toy is right in thinking that there is no evidence of Egyptian influence on Hebrew Wisdom "down to the close of the sixth century B. C." For there is no evidence that Hebrew Wisdom assumed a moral or philosophical aspect that would relate it to the Egyptian Wisdom, until after the date mentioned. We have already seen that it was after the exile that the Wisdom books took their rise, and it was during, and immediately after the exile that intimate relations seem to have been established with Egypt. The recently discovered fragments from Elephantine show beyond the shadow of a doubt that a large colony of Jews was established six hundred miles up the Nile river, in the very heart of Egypt, more than four hundred years before Christ. These people were numerous enough to have their own temple, which, in a document dated 408 B. C., they speak of as having been in ruins for three years. And they further claim that this temple to Yahweh their God was built by their ancestors, and that it was standing when Cambyses entered Egypt in 525 B. C. If we may trust this last claim, and there seems to be no reason for rejecting it, we must assume that even at the middle of the sixth century a large colony of Hebrews was comfortably located in Egypt, more or less in touch with Egyptian life, but still true to the religion of their fathers. These people not only kept up the worship of Yahweh, but as late as 408, i. e. after about a hundred and fifty years of separate life, they felt themselves to be in sympathy and harmony with the priestly authorities in Jerusalem, to whom they had appealed for help; and their use of the same language²⁾ then current in Palestine shows that there existed no barrier against intimate and frequent communication. If then we accept as probable the conservative estimate of Wildeboer³⁾ that the main sections of the Book of Proverbs date from the last of the Persian period, we may be prepared to account for the rise of the Wisdom Literature in some such manner as the following. The preparation was laid first in the Hebrew language which so developed the meaning of חָכְמָה that in pre-exilic days it stood for the "power to see one's way clearly in all the situations of life, and especially to know the right course in political and judicial matters."⁴⁾ And this conception of "wisdom" had been wrought into the literature and life of the people in various ways, through priest and prophet, sacred historian and

¹⁾ Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine, von E. Sachau, 1908. Translation and comment in "The Independent", N. Y. for Dec. 5, 1907.

²⁾ The Aramaic tongue.

³⁾ Sprüche, 1897, p. XII. „Ein ernstes Studium dieses Buches hat uns in der Uebersetzung bestärkt, dies Buch datiere seinen Hauptbestandteilen nach aus dem letzten Abschnitt der Persischen Zeit und stehe der griechischen Periode schon sehr nahe, während die Endredaktion wohl in den Anfang dieser letzteren gesetzt werden muß.“

⁴⁾ Frankenber. Die Sprüche, p. 6.

court adviser. With the exile in Babylon¹⁾ came a breaking up of the old prophetic succession, which was dependent for its life upon the continuance of the state. With the loss of autonomy the death blow came to prophecy, and it only staggered into activity at infrequent intervals thereafter when the state seemed likely to establish its independent course again. Ezekiel and his exilic co-laborers were to lay upon the ruins of the old state, the foundations of a new Ecclesiastical State,²⁾ with its own laws, ceremonies and aims. But with the reviving life of the Persian period new forces were set at work to preserve and modify the attainments the great prophets had won. The exile had scattered the Hebrews to various quarters of the world, particularly to Babylonia and Egypt. Soon after the Persian conquest and rule threw open the great stores of the Persian religion. The influence of Babylonian thought was already active, and the great stores of Egyptian wisdom were ready for use. Out of all these influences, ancestral, Persian, Babylonian, and Egyptian, a new movement sprang into being, a movement securely based on the moral and monotheistic conception of God achieved by the prophets, but centering around the old Hebrew אֱלֹהִים which the new leaders, the Wise Men of Israel, filled with a new meaning born of a new age. Thus began the work of the Successors of the prophets,³⁾ in the products of whose efforts we must now trace the development of the אֱלֹהִים.

III. The Development of Wisdom Thought in Palestine.

Under the Persian supremacy the great moral and intellectual acquisitions of three distinct and ancient stocks were more or less mingled. The Aryans contributed through the Persian overlords their philosophic and dualistic speculations,⁴⁾ the Semites brought from Babylonia their stores of science and astrology, and from the Judæan Hills the moral and monotheistic conception of God, while the Egyptians supplied the wisdom of their sages, a messianic hope, and a belief in the future life.⁵⁾ For two centuries these tides of life and thought went on mingling, until Greek channels conducted them out into the western world. It was during these two centuries⁶⁾ that the Wise Men of Israel began their contributions to religion. In the presence, and doubtless under the influence, of the new thought movements of their time, they sought to sustain and interpret the old tenets to the new times. Holding fast to the monotheism of the prophets and their moral conception of God, they took up the work of applying the prophetic ethics to the life

¹⁾ 586 B. C.

²⁾ Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 121—124.

³⁾ *Die Weisheit Israels*, by Meinhold, pp. 269—271.

⁴⁾ Cf. Prof. A. V. W. Jackson's Article „Zoroaster“, in *The New International Encyclopaedia*. Vol. XVII.

⁵⁾ Breasted, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 168. *The Book of the Dead*, English Translation, by E. A. Wallis Budge, 1898, pp. LXXIX—CXLVI.

⁶⁾ From about 538—330. B. C.

of the individual.¹⁾ From Egypt they doubtless drew ethical wisdom, from Persia they absorbed something of the spirit of speculation, and in their own history and literature they found the materials of their thought, and tried to work out a rationale of life and of God's dealings with his people, a philosophy of life that would be in harmony with their ancient revelation.²⁾ The Wise Men based all their search after truth on the fundamental precept that "the fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom."³⁾ With this pre-supposition, they edited, remodeled, and added to the sayings of their fathers which had been handed down to them.⁴⁾ In the middle sections of the Book of Proverbs we have the first fruits of their labors.⁵⁾ Here "the religious proverbs mainly emphasize Jehovah's sovereignty, or all-pervading omniscience."⁶⁾ They agree with the prophetic teaching in their estimate of sacrifice, their praise of humility and warning against pride, and in their denunciation of those who oppress the poor. The wise and the foolish are contrasted, the diligent and the slothful are praised and blamed respectively, prudent speech is commended, and lying lips are called an abomination to Jehovah. The wise man is he who is honest, diligent, merciful, upright, and righteous, and this man shall prosper, for Jehovah is on his side and will uphold him. The foolish man is he who is simple enough to think he can neglect the will of Jehovah and transgress his laws, and still have the delights of life. His satisfaction is only for a moment, evil and destruction will soon follow. The basis of this contrast and the foundation of the counsel and warning lie evidently in the fact that God who directs and governs the affairs of men is wise and just and his rewards and punishments cannot fail.⁷⁾ The Wise men also gave the world such beautiful Psalms as the eighth, the one hundred third, and the one hundred thirty ninth,⁸⁾ contemplating the works of God in nature and trying to realize the immensity of his power and the graciousness of his purpose. They also revamped the thoughts of others as appears in Psalm 104, in which we have an old Egyptian Hymn to the Sun, re-modeled and stamped with the Hebrew genius, and transformed by the purifying power of Israel's monotheistic, divine reli-

¹⁾ A. B. Davidson, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XIX, p. 881.

²⁾ Toy, *International Crit. Com. on Proverbs*, Introduction, sect. 5. See also *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Art. *Wisdom Literature*, sect. 3.

³⁾ Prov. 1: 6; 9: 10. Ps. 111: 10. Cf. Job 28: 28. Prov. 10: 27; 14: 27; 16: 6.

⁴⁾ Cf. Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 407. Also the fine article by Nowack, in *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, Vol. IV. "Proverbs", sect. 3.

⁵⁾ Chapters 10—22: 16, and 25—29. Cf. Toy, in the *Int. Crit. Com. on Proverbs*, Introduction, sect. 6. See also Nowack, as above.

⁶⁾ Driver's Introduction, p. 398.

⁷⁾ This discussion is partly adapted from Driver and Nowack, as above cited. Cf. also Davidson's *Biblical and Literary Essays*, p. 33.

⁸⁾ According to Toy in *Encycl. Biblica*, *Wisdom Lit.* Dr. Briggs puts Ps. 8 in the Persian period, the others later.

gion.¹⁾ In fact all nature, all life, all experience and history furnished materials for interpretation in the light of the ancient revelation, and no problem seemed too hard for them to attempt.²⁾ But there was one at least which they were ready to acknowledge must be left unsolved.³⁾ In the book of Job, the "crown" of the wisdom literature, and "one of the most wonderful products of the human spirit",⁴⁾ the Wise men struggled with the problem of human suffering. They hint at a number of answers that may be given to the question: Why do the righteous suffer? but finally place such dispensations among the inscrutable things of God, declaring the only safe course to pursue to be one of trust and confidence in Jehovah's wisdom and righteous power. This wisdom of Jehovah no man may thoroughly compass, but there is every evidence that it permeates every department of creation, and if we could know it in its furthest reaches, all the ways of God would be justified.⁵⁾ In the 28th chapter of this book,⁶⁾ we read that man can find out marvellous things, even delving in the mines of the earth for precious stones and dust of gold, but one thing is beyond the power of man: the complete knowledge of the divine wisdom.

"Where shall wisdom be found?
And where is the place of understanding?
Man knoweth not the price thereof;
Neither is it found in the land of the living.
The deep saith, It is not in me;
And the sea saith, It is not with me.
.....
Whence then cometh wisdom?
And where is the place of understanding?
Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living,
And kept close from the birds of the heavens.
.....
God understandeth the way thereof,
And he knoweth the place thereof.
For he looketh to the ends of the earth,

¹⁾ See parallel at length in Breasted's *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 271—277.

²⁾ A. B. Davidson's *Biblical and Literary Essays*, pp. 30—33.

³⁾ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 370.

⁴⁾ Cornill's *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, p. 261. For a discussion of the date of Job, see Toy's *Introduction*, Sect. 6, in his *Com. on Prov.* and also T. K. Cheyne, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. Job (Book). I see no reason for following Cornill and others in putting Job after Prov. 1—9.

⁵⁾ Cf. H. P. Smith, as above, pp. 369—370. A fine discussion.

⁶⁾ This chapter is rejected as a later addition by some, but accepted by Cornill, Balde, et al. See discussion in Davidson's *Job*, pp. XXXV—LX.

And seeth under the whole heaven;
To make a weight for the wind:
Yea, he meteth out the waters by measure.
When he made a decree for the rain,
And a way for the lightning of the thunder;
Then did he see it, and declare it;
He established it, yea, and searched it out.
And unto man he said,
Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom:
And to depart from evil is understanding." ¹⁾

From this it appears then that wisdom in its fulness is the special prerogative of God himself. When the world and its ways become too complicated for man's poor wits to comprehend, he must cling fast to his righteous integrity and leave the results with Him who sees the end from the beginning, and whom the law and the prophets have proclaimed to be just and good.²⁾

It was apparently not long after the writing of Job ³⁾ that contact with Greek culture pressed new problems upon the attention of the Wise Men of Israel. During the two centuries of Persian influence in the west, the Greeks, in Asia, Attica, and the islands of the sea had been developing a mighty intellectual life which culminated in the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle; and when the political institutions of Greece crumbled before the rising Macedonian power, her culture, language, and thought were carried to the East in the wake of Alexander, and thus a new element was added to the conglomerate mixture of oriental thought and life. In Lydia, Syria, Babylonia, and Egypt, the conquering Macedonians established great centres of Greek influence and culture. Such cities as Alexandria, Antioch and Tarsus were soon to become rivals of Athens herself in the very culture she had fostered and developed.⁴⁾ And this expansion gave new problems and new aims to Greek thought itself. Under the stress of changed political and commercial conditions, it was to replace its speculations about the constitution and origin of the world with investigations into the inner and outer life of man, to give less attention to the ethics of citizenship than to the problem of individual happiness.⁵⁾ During this period of expansion and mixture of races, languages, philosophies, and cultures, the Hebrews became more and more scattered throughout the Hellenistic world, and came more and more into contact with Hellenic thought both at home and abroad. Sometimes

¹⁾ Job, Chapter XXVIII, Am. Rev. Version, verses 12—14, 20—21, 23—28.

²⁾ See Job Chaps. 41 and 42. Cf. also Davidson, *Biblical and Lit. Essays*, p. 35.

³⁾ Job is doubtless the work of different men, but received its final form near the close of the Persian period. Cf. Cheyne, *Encycl. Bib.* "Job".

⁴⁾ J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, Chapters I, II, VII, and IX. Fine résumé in Paul Wendland's *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*, pp. 1—15.

⁵⁾ Zeller's *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, pp. 16 ff.

they absorb, sometimes they resist the new culture of the west, and in general they treasure their own peculiar inheritance, and try to perpetuate their own religion and social customs.¹⁾ Whether the Wise Men of Israel were directly influenced by the Greeks in their conceptions of things or not is of little moment for our discussion. Possibly their problems arose from the same general conditions which turned the Greek thinkers in new directions, and it is also probable that contact with Greek thought suggested new problems for their solution, and made them solicitous to recast their old views. Already in the Persian systems the Hebrews had found a great dualism which now re-appeared in Greek speculation.²⁾ As we have seen the question of how to live a happy life had already received an answer: Men should fear Jehovah, seek his wisdom in a moral and righteous life, and trust the rest to him. But some were not satisfied with this answer and took a course which ended in the pessimism and what has been called the Hebrew stoicism³⁾ of the book of Ecclesiastes. The main line of development, however, clung to the ancestral conception of God and tried to answer all questions from that point of view.⁴⁾ And if we are to accept the results of the investigations of Friedländer,⁵⁾ who follows in the trail of early Talmudic and Christian exegetes, we have in the first nine chapters of Proverbs, which is put in the Greek period, a very strong opposition to the new learning. Here, as an allegorical person, "madam folly" or "the foreign woman" flatters with her words, allures with her beauty, and entices from allegiance to the covenant of God. Those who follow her are simple and unsuspecting, and know not that her paths lead down to the pit. But the Wisdom of the fathers is represented as standing in the broad places of the city and in the chief place of concourse, sending out her warning cry against the seductions of "the strange woman". The way of wisdom is not one of ease or pleasure but all who follow it will have years and happiness.

"Happy is the man that findeth wisdom,
And the man that getteth understanding.
For the gaining of it is better than the gaining of silver,
And the profit thereof than fine gold.
She is more precious than rubies:
And none of the things thou canst desire are to be
compared unto her.
Length of days is in her right hand;

¹⁾ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, pp. 415—425.

²⁾ T. K. Cheyne, Article Job, in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Vol. II., p. 2439.

³⁾ There is a fine discussion of the whole relation of Ecclesiastes to Greek thought in G. A. Barton's *Ecclesiastes*, in the *International Critical Commentary*, pp. 32—43. The thought is outlined in pp. 46—52.

⁴⁾ Cornill's *History of the People of Israel*, p. 180.

⁵⁾ M. Friedländer, *Griechische Philosophie im Alten Testament*, Chapter II.

In her left hand are riches and honor.
Her ways are ways of pleasantness,
And all her paths are peace.
She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her:
And happy is every one that retaineth her." ¹⁾

This wisdom is the unsearchable wisdom of Jehovah, for the Wise Man added immediately:

"Jehovah by wisdom founded the earth:
By understanding he established the heavens.
By his knowledge the depths were broken up,
And the skies drop down the dew.
.....
Keep sound wisdom and discretion;
Then shalt thou walk in thy way securely,
And thy foot shall not stumble.
For Jehovah will be thy confidence,
And will keep thy foot from being taken." ²⁾

Thus did the Wise Men emphasize wisdom as the essence of the divine government, even though it might not be wholly clear to man in its manifestations. God was wise and worthy of confidence, and would care for those who followed wisdom. Indeed, wisdom was so much associated with God that it became impossible to think of him apart from wisdom, for wisdom was a part of his very nature. And when in the presence of Greek speculation, the Wise Men began feeling for a rationale of the world and God's relation to it, they made this divine attribute the key to the explanation. Following some such notion as is found in Plato's archetypal ideas,³⁾ they saw away back in the beginning the wisdom of God personified as the mother of all right action, dispensing her gifts among the sons of men. She, from her celestial height thus speaks:

"I wisdom have made prudence my dwelling,
And find out knowledge and discretion
Counsel is mine, and sound knowledge:
I am understanding; I have might.
By me kings reign, And princes degree justice
I love them that love me;
And those that seek me diligently shall find me." ⁴⁾

¹⁾ Prov. 3: 13-18. Am. Rev. Version.

²⁾ Prov. 3: 19, 20, 21b, 23, 26.

³⁾ James Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, Vol. 1, pp. 57-61. E. Kautzsch, *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, Extra Vol. Art. Relig. of Israel, p. 729.

⁴⁾ Prov. 8: 12, 14, 15, 17. The parts omitted do not add to or modify the thought as far as this discussion is concerned.

Then with a mighty leap of the imagination the Wise Man sees this personification grow into a separate being, the companion and helper of Jehovah before ever the world was made, the first created of God.

"Jehovah possessed me in the beginning of his way,¹⁾
Before his works of old.
I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning,
Before the earth was.
When there were no depths, I was brought forth;
When there were no fountains abounding with water.
Before the mountains were settled,
Before the hills was I brought forth:
While as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields,
Nor the beginning of the dust of the world.
When he established the heavens, I was there:
When he set a circle upon the face of the deep,
When he made firm the skies above,
When the fountains of the deep became strong,
When he gave to the sea its bound,
That the waters should not transgress his commandment,
When he marked out the foundations of the earth:
Then I was by him as a master workman;²⁾
And I was daily his delight,
Rejoicing³⁾ always before him,
Rejoicing in his habitable earth;
And my delight was with the sons of men."⁴⁾

The importance of this passage for the development of Hebrew thought can hardly be overestimated. Canon Cheyne has said: "The bold originality of this passage requires no proof. It cuts away at a blow the old mythical conception of the world as the work of God's hands, and an arbitrary omnipotence."⁵⁾ Prof. Kautzsch says "this Wisdom is no longer a merely poetical personification, but a being which has come forth from God, and

¹⁾ The Hebrew reads *אֶת־יְהוָה יָדַעְתִּי מֵרֵאשִׁית דְּרָגוֹתָיו* and the Greek version *Κόσμος γενεῶν με ἀρχὴν ἔδειξεν ἀθανάτου*. The verb *ידע* may have the meaning "possess", but it also is used in the sense of create, which would be better here. So Toy (in Commentary) and Brown (in Heb. Dict.). Used in the sense of "create" in Gen. 14: 19 and 22. *אֶת־יְהוָה יָדַעְתִּי מֵרֵאשִׁית דְּרָגוֹתָיו*. The phrase "in the beginning" is in accord with the Targum, and Syriac, but the Heb. and Greek should be trans. "as the beginning". The whole verse should be read with Toy: "Jehovah formed me as the beginning of his creation. The first of his works, in days of yore."

²⁾ Hebrew *אֶת־יְהוָה יָדַעְתִּי מֵרֵאשִׁית דְּרָגוֹתָיו*. This is supported by the Greek, Syriac and Vulgate. The change to *אֶת־יְהוָה יָדַעְתִּי מֵרֵאשִׁית דְּרָגוֹתָיו* = "foster-child", made by Toy, Frankenberg, and others, seems to be made without sufficient reasons. Septuagint *ΒαΑ* = ἀνομογενής.

³⁾ Hebrew *אֶת־יְהוָה יָדַעְתִּי מֵרֵאשִׁית דְּרָגוֹתָיו* = "sporting" or "playing".

⁴⁾ Prov. 8: 22-31. Am. Rev. V.

⁵⁾ Job and Solomon, p. 161.

works independently by His side, or, more accurately, with him. And indeed we are probably not mistaken if we see in it a hypostatization of the creative ideas, — the passing into self-conscious personality of the system of archetypes, in accordance with which is determined the nature and measure of created things, — as it were, the fundamental principle of the Divine world-order." ¹⁾ The far reaching relations of the thought are thus expressed by Professor H. P. Smith: "It is not possible to avoid seeing Greek influence here; and that here is the germ of later Gnostic speculation, Jewish and Christian, is equally obvious." ²⁾ This conception of Wisdom as a true hypostasis is one of the most fruitful in the history of thought, and we may now follow it in outline through many modifications in a long course of development.

It is not surprising that such a striking conception should soon be taken up and repeated. Accordingly we find in the book of Ecclesiasticus, written not long after ³⁾ the first nine chapters of Proverbs, the opening statement that "All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with him forever." "Wisdom hath been created before all things." The Lord "created her, and saw, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works." ⁴⁾ In the 24th Chapter of this book Wisdom speaks in much the same manner as in the passage quoted from Proverbs.

"I came forth from the mouth of the Most High,
And covered the earth as a mist.
I dwelt in high places,
And my throne is in the pillar of the cloud." ⁵⁾

After describing her search for a suitable place on earth to rest, she continues:

"Then the creator of all things gave me a commandment;
And he that created me made my tabernacle to rest,
And said, Let thy tabernacle be in Jacob,
And thine inheritance in Israel.
He created me from the beginning before the world;
And to the end I shall not fail." ⁶⁾

In these passages we have the eternal, universal, unsearchable Wisdom conceived as the formative, creative power in the world, and yet itself created

¹⁾ Hastings' Bib. Dict. Extra Vol. p. 729.

²⁾ Old Testament History, p. 433. Cf. Franz Delitzsch, *Biblischer Kommentar über die Poetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, Job, 2. Aufl., p. 11.

³⁾ Probably within 50 years. See Toy's art. in *Encycl. Bib., Ecclesiasticus*. H. P. Smith (in *Old Test. Hist.*) seems without reason to put Prov. 1-9 later.

⁴⁾ Ecclesiasticus, 1: 1, 4, 9.

⁵⁾ Ecclesiasticus, 24: 3, 4.

⁶⁾ Ecclesiasticus, 24: 8, 9.

and established in Jerusalem, finding a tabernacle in Israel. A little further on in this same chapter we learn that Wisdom finds her great expression in "the law which Moses commanded."¹⁾ In this law she manifests herself to Israel. It is the covenant of "the Most High God." Thus are the Wise Men still true to the inheritance of Israel, the revelation of Israel's God, who is now the God of the whole world. The entire book²⁾ breathes the spirit of devotion to the old ideals, and loyalty to the old religion; and to fear the Lord is still the beginning of human wisdom.³⁾ The same conception of Wisdom finding a final resting place and an adequate expression in the Jewish law, is set forth at length in the Apochryphal book of Baruch.⁴⁾ In one of the chapters of the Book of Enoch Wisdom is said to have searched among the children of men for a dwelling, but finding none she returned to her place among the angels. In another place God is represented as saying: "On the sixth day I commanded my Wisdom to make man."⁵⁾ These quotations show how fertile the conception of personified Wisdom really was, and how widespread its use became even in books of a decided Palestinian and orthodox cast. And before we turn our attention to the literature which arose outside of Palestine and so partook more fully of the nature and thought of that larger Hellenism which encompassed and sometimes threatened to engulf Palestinian culture and life, it may be well for us to note some of the tendencies that were paving the way for this more cosmopolitan expression of Judaism, and see how well justified the later writers were in believing themselves thoroughly in harmony with what had gone before.

As the Jewish life was thrown more into contact with other peoples and religions, their thinkers came to prize the more their pure monotheistic faith; but they were also put on the defensive in regard to it.⁶⁾ Unlike the early Greek mythology, belief in which had been torn away by philosophy,⁷⁾ the myths and legends of the Hebrews had been sustained in the thought of religious leaders until their religion had obtained a sure footing in ethics, and from this new vantage point the gross anthropomorphisms and mythical stories of the early times were being slowly smoothed away into symbols, or interpreted in higher spiritual realities by the allegorical method. Generations before the time at which we have arrived the crude story of the origin of the world and man, given in Genesis II.⁸⁾ had been re-written on

¹⁾ Ecclesiasticus, 24: 23.

²⁾ Cf. Toy, *Encycl. Biblica*, Article Ecclesiasticus, Sect. 21.

³⁾ Ecclesiastes, 1: 20. For a good discussion of Wisdom in this book see J. Drummond's *Philo Judaeus*, Vol. I, pp. 144—155. Drummond was slightly misled by the immature Biblical criticism of the time when he wrote.

⁴⁾ Baruch, 3: 9 ff.

⁵⁾ Quoted in Bonneset's *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 396.

⁶⁾ E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, Vol. I. 3. Aufl., pp. 187 ff.

⁷⁾ E. Zeller's *Pre-socratic Philosophy*, Vol. II, pp. 402—404.

⁸⁾ Found in J, date about 850 B. C. Cf. Kent, *Begin. of Heb. Hist.*, pp. 36 and 53.

a Babylonian model¹⁾ and prefixed to the old account, and the work is now accomplished by the word of God, instead of being his handiwork. The Psalmist well expresses it when he says: "By the word of Jehovah were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth."²⁾ When men cry unto Jehovah, "he sendeth his word and healeth them."³⁾ Men spoke no longer of looking upon God, but rather of seeing his glory (רִכְבּוֹ), or beholding his dwelling (מִקְדָּשׁוֹ).⁴⁾ When the Aramaic Targum of Onkelos was made, the Hebrew expression in Exodus 24: 10, "And they saw the God of Israel",⁵⁾ was softened in the Aramaic equivalent to "And they saw the Honor of the God of Israel",⁶⁾ while the Greek translators rendered it "And they saw the place where the God of Israel stood."⁷⁾ Soon it became customary in Palestinian Judaism to substitute "the speech of God", or "the word of God" for "God".⁸⁾ The tendency of Hebrew thought was toward making God transcendent and removing him from that old and intimate connection with the world and with men. A great dualism was creeping in. On one side was God, all-powerful, holy, just and good, whose nature was spiritual, and on the other side was the material world which had received his impress, and man, who had been made in his image, but was now separated from him by sin.⁹⁾

Knowing that these tendencies were current in Palestine, the home of Hebrew conservatism and orthodoxy, we should not be surprised at the developments which took place elsewhere. There was another development centering in the home land to which we must refer later, but with which we do not meet in the Diaspora. I refer to the growing messianic hope with its parallel conception of a cataclysmic end of the present order, in which the chosen people were scattered, subject and oppressed.¹⁰⁾ This hope showed itself in the apocalypses from Daniel onward, and kept the popular mind more or less excited and expectant, ever on the verge of revolution, in which at intervals the nation became involved.¹¹⁾ It is now time to turn to the Dispersion to follow the developing thought of the Wise Men of Israel.

¹⁾ Gunkel's Genesis, in Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, pp. 92 ff.

²⁾ Psalm 33: 6. Dr. Briggs (in Commentary) puts this Ps. in the late Greek period. Vol. I. p. 286.

³⁾ Psalm 107: 20. This Psalm is put by Dr. Briggs in Greek period.

⁴⁾ W. Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums, 2. Aufl., 1906, p. 362.

⁵⁾ Hebrew: רָאוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל.

⁶⁾ Aramaic: רָאוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדֵי־אֱלֹהֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל.

⁷⁾ Greek: Καὶ εἶδον τὸν τόπον ὃν ἔστηκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

⁸⁾ E. g. in Ex. 19: 17, we read: "And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet God." Hebrew: וַיֹּצֵא מֹשֶׁה אֶת־עַמְּיָו לִמְעַבְדֵי יְהוָה. Cf. Bousset, op. cit., pp. 362-363.

⁹⁾ Bousset, op. cit. Kap. XV.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. R. H. Charles, Enc. Bib., Art. Apocalyp. Lit.

¹¹⁾ See Cornill's Hist. of the People of Israel, pp. 226, 248, 264 etc.

IV. The Wisdom-Logos Speculation in Egypt.

One of the greatest centres of Jewish life and culture outside of Palestine was found in Egypt.¹⁾ In the earlier days they planted large colonies, in Persian times they multiplied, under Alexander and his successors fresh colonies were established and the older ones strengthened, and in the period of the later Ptolemies the Jews became a prominent factor in politics, commerce and learning; obtaining special concessions from the rulers of the land. Philo²⁾ estimates that in his time, soon after the beginning of the Christian era, the Jews in the Nile country numbered more than a million. Here in this greatest centre of Hellenistic culture, with its vast libraries and museums, its famous schools and teachers, the Jews built their temples, erected synagogues, translated their sacred books, and sought to bring their religion into harmony with the larger life and thought they found around them.³⁾ The first, and in some respects the greatest, result of their literary labors is found in the Greek translation of the ancient Hebrew Scriptures.⁴⁾ In this, as we have already seen, they tried to soften some of the harshest expressions and make their Scriptures conform somewhat to Greek ideas.⁵⁾ They also made a large number of additions of their own to the literature of their race, but these additions were clothed in the new tongue they had acquired. Some additions were made in the form of interpolations or extensions of books translated from the Hebrew,⁶⁾ others were new works entirely, though sometimes written under an ancient name. One such book written by the Wise Men who were seeking a larger field of influence for Judaism, has come down to us under the title of "The Wisdom of Solomon".⁷⁾ In this book the influence of Greek ideas is apparent but not very prominent. "The conceptions of a beautiful and logically arranged cosmos, and of a wisdom which is the divine agent in creation and in control of the world betray the influence of the Platonists and the Stoics."⁸⁾ Nevertheless the author's orthodoxy and zeal for the Jewish religion are very evident. His doctrine of Wisdom is based securely on the teaching of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. "He thinks of Wisdom as imma-

¹⁾ Hermann Guthe gives a full discussion of the situation of the Jews in Egypt in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. *Dispersion*. Cf. also O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, Sections 29, 30. Also the great work of Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*. Vol. III, 1-135.

²⁾ In *Flaccum*, sections 6 and 8.

³⁾ Cf. Mahaffy's *Greek Life and Thought*.

⁴⁾ H. B. Swete, *Introd. to the Old Test. in Greek*, Chapter I.

⁵⁾ See many examples in Drummond's *Philo Judaeus*. Vol. I, p. 158.

⁶⁾ Complete list with discussion in Swete, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-285.

⁷⁾ The date and authorship of this book are given by both Toy (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. *Wisdom (Book)*), and Siegfried (*Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Wisdom, Book of*) as the first century B. C., by an Egyptian Jew. His aim was to "comfort his people (and warn their enemies) by assuring them that God is on their side". — Toy.

⁸⁾ Toy, as above, section 20.

ment in God, as something belonging to the divine essence, but, on the other hand, also as something independent, existing side by side with God."¹) Wisdom was with God when he made the world, she knew his will, she sits by him on his throne, she is his intimate associate.²) She knows, directs and controls all things. She transforms the souls of men and bestows on them all virtues, guiding their outward fortunes, and coming to dwell with them as a beloved friend and counsellor.³) In a remarkable passage in the seventh chapter the nature of Wisdom is set forth at some length.⁴) This description, both in its language and thought, looks backward towards Judaism, outward towards Greek philosophy, and forward towards Philo and the New Testament. "For she⁵) is a spirit quick of understanding, holy, only-begotten, manifold, subtil, freely moving, clear in utterance, unpolluted, distinct, unharmed, loving what is good, keen, unhindered, beneficent, loving toward man, steadfast, sure, free from care, all-powerful, all-surveying, and penetrating through all spirits that are quick of understanding, pure, most subtil; for Wisdom is more mobile than any motion; yea she penetrateth and pervadeth all things by reason of her pureness. For she is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty; therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her. For she is an effulgence of everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the energy of God, and an image of his goodness. And she, being one, hath power to do all things, and remaining in herself, reneweth all things". The connection of this description with the previous development of the Wisdom thought is quite evident, but there are also new elements which require special mention if we are to understand its further relations. In the "spirit quick of understanding",⁶) and in the "pure, most subtil"⁷) we find terms of the Greek philosophy. In the "only-begotten"⁸) we find the term applied to Christ in the Gospel of John 4 times, and once in the first Epistle of John. In "sure" and "steadfast"⁹) we are reminded of a similar application of these terms in the Epistle to the Hebrews. When Wisdom is spoken of as an "effulgence",¹⁰) a "mirror",¹¹) and an "image",¹²) we remember that these are terms used by Paul and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in making a rationale of the influence of Jesus. In another passage¹³) we meet with the expression "holy spirit", which is also

¹) Siegfried, as above, section IV.

²) Chapter 9: 4, 9 and 8: 3.

³) Chapters 7 and 8.

⁴) Verses 22—27.

⁵) The Greek text in some MSS. reads "for in her". The thought would hardly be different. Ms. B reads *Ἐστὶν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ*. A reads *Ἐστὶν γὰρ αὐτῇ*.

⁶) *Πνεῦμα σοφῶν*. Stoic term quoted from Stobaeus by Zeller: *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, p. 144.

⁷) Used of the *νοῦς* by Anaxagoras. Cf. Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*. Vol. I, p. 49.

⁸) *Μονογενής*. John 1: 14, 18; 3: 16, 18. Epistle 4: 9. Hebrews 11: 17.

⁹) *Βεβαίωτος, ἀσφαλής*. Cf. Heb. 6: 19.

¹⁰) *ἀκτίνωσεν*. Heb. 1: 3.

¹¹) *Ἐσπερίων*. Cf. verb form *καταειρηδύμενος* in II. Cor. 3: 18.

¹²) *Εἰκόν*. Cf. II. Cor. 3: 18; 4: 4. Col. 1: 15; 3: 10.

¹³) Chapter 1: 4—6.

identified with God and with Wisdom,¹⁾ and seems to be a term equivalent to the "being or person of God". Toy says "it is an anthropomorphic expression, based on the assumption that God, like man, has a separate inward principle or true being."²⁾ Like Wisdom, this Holy Spirit of God is sent from heaven to console and teach men. In this book for the first time in our investigation we find Wisdom identified with the Logos or Word of God.³⁾ God is said to have made all things by his Logos, and by his Wisdom to have formed man.⁴⁾ In the sixteenth chapter the visitations of God upon his people are described, and the manner in which he came to their help by healing them of disease and sending them food in time of famine is gloriously set forth. "For of a truth," says the writer, "it was neither herb nor emollient that cured them, but thy Logos, O Lord, which healeth all things".⁵⁾ A few lines further on, after speaking of the coming of the manna, the account continues: "For thy nature (*ἰσότης*) manifested thy sweetness towards thy children."⁶⁾ Whether we should regard "nature" as parallel and interchangeable with the previous Logos seems to be a question,⁷⁾ but if we do not we must see in it an expression for the manna itself, and then we shall find a hint of a speculation in regard to the manna which we shall have occasion to mention further on. Again in the eighteenth chapter the Logos is pictured as the messenger of God in the destruction of the first-born of Egypt. "For while peaceful silence enwrapped all things, and night in her own swiftness was in mid course, thine all-powerful⁸⁾ Logos leaped from heaven out of the royal throne, a stern warrior, into the midst of the doomed land, bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned commandment; and standing he filled all things with death; and while he touched heaven, he trode upon the earth."⁹⁾ This conception seems to be influenced by the story of the destroying angel of Chronicles¹⁰⁾ as well as by the developing Wisdom speculation. On the whole, however, we must conclude that these passages show that the writer identified more or less clearly the Wisdom of God and the Logos of God, although at times the conceptions seem to be running somewhat parallel. Enough has been said to show that this book in spirit and devotion is true to the faith of the fathers, but at the same time is largely influenced by Greek thought.¹¹⁾ Under this influence the Alexandrians were removing God farther and farther from contact with his world, and trying to find some

¹⁾ Chap. 9: 17. Cf. Drummond's Philo Jud. Vol. I, pp. 213—218.

²⁾ Encyclopaedia Biblica. Vol. IV, col. 5340.

³⁾ Heinze's Die Lehre vom Logos i. d. Griechischen Philosophie, p. 202. P. J. Gloag, in the Presb. and Ref'd Review, vol. 2, p. 55, quotes without reference a passage from Ecclesiasticus which connects the two, but I have not been able to find the quotation in reading the book.

⁴⁾ Chap. 9: 1, 2.

⁵⁾ Verse 12. Cf. Psalm 107: 20.

⁶⁾ Verse 21.

⁷⁾ See Toy, Encycl. Biblica. Vol. IV, col. 5341.

⁸⁾ Greek παντοδύναμος.

⁹⁾ Verses 14—16.

¹⁰⁾ I. Chronicles 21: 16.

¹¹⁾ Drummond's Philo Judaeus. Vol. I, p. 177.

suitable method of keeping him still in touch with it, as the older revelation declared he was. He no longer makes the world himself, he does so through his "associate on his throne, Wisdom or the Logos. He no longer visits his people or punishes their enemies; these things are accomplished through his holy Spirit, his Wisdom, or his All-powerful Logos. These messengers, images, or effluences of him are really the healing powers which are active in the forms of herbs and emollients, they are indeed the manna which fell from heaven to feed the hungry multitudes in the desert.

The use of the word Logos in the Wisdom of Solomon prepares us for some remarks in regard to Greek philosophy which must be made before we proceed to the next and greatest of the Alexandrian writers. We have already noted the fact that Greek speculation was soon turned into new channels after the transformation of the Hellenic into the Hellenistic world.¹⁾ Greek philosophy flourished more than ever before. With many it took the place formerly held by religion, and in general it became the possession of the people instead of the property of the elect.²⁾ But in its expansion a great change took place. Its interests and aims became more those of the man of the street than those of the savant.³⁾ One great section of philosophic thought seized upon the fundamental notion of the greatest of the Pre-Socratic philosophers, Heraclitus of Asia Minor, and developed it along practical lines that appealed to great masses of the thinking Hellenistic world. Heraclitus⁴⁾ had looked upon the world as a primitive fire substance, out of which all things were derived and developed into a cosmos, with a kind of hidden harmony to which all things are subject. This universal world order he conceived sometimes "as efficient force", and "called the world-ruling wisdom, the logos".⁵⁾ This term with the monistic theory for which it stood was taken up by the Hellenistic stoics and made the philosophic basis of their ethical system which was formulated largely upon the results of the life and teaching of Socrates. "Live according to nature", was the first great principle they announced. Nature is greater than man and he must be subject to it. But nature is rational, permeated by divine reason, the Logos; therefore the rational life, the life lived in accordance with the Logos,⁶⁾ or reason is the highest and best life; and the great problem of philosophy is to find and map out the life of reason. "The Logos was God, the eternal Reason, unfolding himself in beautiful and varied manifestations." "Pervading all things it became a providence, presiding over the administration of the

¹⁾ For the use of these terms, see Mahaffy's *Greek Life and Thought*, page XXXVIII.

²⁾ See Mahaffy as above, p. 4, and 140-146.

³⁾ Zeller's *Stoics*, etc. Chap. II.

⁴⁾ For discussions of Heraclitus see Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Phil.* Vol. II, pp. 1-116. Fine treatment with fragments of text preserved, by G. T. W. Patrick, Ph. D., in *Am. Journal of Psychology*. Vol. I, pp. 357-690.

⁵⁾ Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Phil.* Vol. II, pp. 42-43.

⁶⁾ Zeller, *Stoics Epicureans and Sceptics*, pp. 210-216.

universe, inspiring the noble and virtuous, and still educing good from ill.”¹⁾ This philosophy soon spread over every land where Hellenistic culture held sway. Its disciples were everywhere, its teachers were in all great centres of learning, and its thought and language familiar to great masses of the people. This philosophy found a receptive soil in Egypt, where more than a thousand years before a “primitive logos” doctrine had been thought out by that remarkable people.²⁾ And it is not at all surprising that this great school of thought should influence both the conceptions and language of the Alexandrian Jews. How to meet this materialistic, godless philosophy was one of the problems which engaged the attention of these men. And they faced the problem as we have already seen in the spirit of compromise. Its high ethical precepts they accepted, and some of its terminology they adopted, and one of their great protagonists tried to show that all the good in it as well as the valuable part of the other Greek philosophy was already found in the Jewish law when rightly interpreted. In his interpretation he continued the allegorical method which doubtless his predecessors, perhaps as far back as the time of the writing of Proverbs 1—9, had learned from the Greek thinkers, and he often appealed to Plato and the older Greek schools to substantiate his views. It is to this master of Jewish law and custom, equally well skilled in Greek speculation, that we now turn for further light on the development of our subject.³⁾

Philo, called Judaeus,⁴⁾ to distinguish him from others of the same name, was an Alexandrian Jew of noble birth, and solid attainments in many lines of culture, who lived from about 20 B. C. to about 40 A. D. He was well versed in Greek philosophy, which he admired, but he always lived a devout and faithful Jew, holding the Mosaic law as the highest wisdom and the source of all true revelation. In the midst of a great city where the tides of Greek thought and Oriental mysticism were mixing and mingling, Philo tried to harmonize the two and the results of his labors have come down to us in works and fragments enough to fill six or eight good sized volumes. It is neither necessary nor possible for us to make any extended review of Philo's philosophy. We need only note the particular stamp which he gave to the conception of Wisdom which we have been tracing. In the first place

¹⁾ Drummond's *Philo Judaeus*. Vol. I, p. 123. In the same connection is found a fine summing up of the logos doctrine of the stoics.

²⁾ Breasted's *History of Egypt*, p. 358.

³⁾ For the subject in general see Drummond, *op. cit.* and W. R. Inge, *art. Alexandrian Theology*, in *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*.

⁴⁾ The known facts in regard to the life of Philo are clearly and concisely stated by Drummond in the Article, *Philo*, in the Extra Vol. of the *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 197 ff. On Philo's thought see besides the article mentioned, Bousset's *Die Religion des Judentums*, Kapitel XXIII, *Schürer's Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, III, p. 487 ff. Drummond's *Philo Judaeus*, in two volumes, Siegfried's *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger*, etc., *Aall's Geschichte der Logosidee in der G. Phil.*, p. 184 ff., and Wisnisch, *Frömmigkeit Philos.*

we find in Philo that Wisdom is still used as the title of God's agent in dealing with the world, although it is largely replaced by the Logos, probably under the influence of the current stoicism, but at the same time fully justified by the history of Judaistic thought as we have seen. It is difficult to find any definite theory which Philo followed in regard to the uses of the two words. It is probable that the use of Wisdom is due in large measure to his adherence to the form and thought of his Jewish inheritance, while he found Logos more in consonance with the new philosophy he was absorbing into Jewish thought. He was doubtless also influenced by the gender of the words. Inge thinks he did not like the gender of Wisdom¹⁾ which, although feminine, Philo says is by nature masculine,²⁾ and on this account avoided the use of the word. The masculine Logos would of course be the more natural term to use for an entity which he regarded as masculine. But there were times when the feminine form Philo found better adapted to his service, as for example, when Wisdom is represented as the mother of the universe.³⁾ So it seems he was influenced somewhat by the suitability of the gender for the task in hand. In some cases the Logos is said to be derived from Wisdom as from a fountain,⁴⁾ or born of her as of a mother. In a passage of this character, God is represented as the father, Wisdom as the mother, and the Logos as the child.⁵⁾ In many cases Wisdom and the Logos are identified⁶⁾ and the terms are used interchangeably for the same conception. It would perhaps be a just inference to say that Philo did not have a definite theory about the relation of the Wisdom and the Logos of God, but used them as interchangeable terms, according to convenience; at the same time leaning toward a use of Wisdom for the power of God at rest or brooding over men, in which sense it is often identical with the Spirit of God,⁷⁾ and toward a use of the Logos in the sense of the more active qualities of his power.⁸⁾ The main fact that commands our consideration is the identification of the two and the transfer of the attributes of Wisdom as we have studied them to the more perfected doctrine of the Logos. This doctrine in Philo is formed by a kind of composition of Platonic, Stoic, and Hebraic elements, more or less fused together.⁹⁾ From the philosophic standpoint Philo looked at the world as permeated and held together and bound into a symmetry and unity by certain divine "powers".¹⁰⁾ These powers are dependent upon God, by whom they were used in creation, and who still uses them in upholding and ruling the world.¹¹⁾ They correspond in some aspects to the

¹⁾ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Vol. I, p. 311.

²⁾ Tom. III, p. 125. This and the following references to Philo's works are made to the Tauchnitz Text of Philo, in Eight volumes, Leip. 1851-3.

³⁾ Tom. I, p. 300.

⁴⁾ Tom. III, p. 333.

⁵⁾ Tom. III, p. 139.

⁶⁾ Tom. I, p. 82, and Tom. II, p. 34.

⁷⁾ Tom. II, p. 55.

⁸⁾ Cf. Drummond, Philo Jud. Vol. II, pp. 200-213.

⁹⁾ Cf. Drummond, Philo Jud. Vol. II, p. 156.

¹⁰⁾ *Jeriproc.* Tom. V, p. 331. Tom. II, p. 372. Tom. II, p. 361.

¹¹⁾ Tom. V, p. 165.

archetypal ideas of Plato, and are sometimes so called by Philo.¹⁾ At the head of all these divine powers and ideas stands the Logos, who is next to God.²⁾ He is like a driver managing these forces or powers of the universe, as it were the speech of God, who is likened to the Rider, who through his word or Logos communicates with the powers.³⁾ The Logos is both the thought of God and in another aspect the expression of that thought, in the cosmos. Yet he is above and before the cosmos, "the oldest and most universal of all the things that have come into being".⁴⁾ He is the "image"⁵⁾ of God, in the likeness of which men are made and stamped as with a "seal".⁶⁾ God is the source or "fountain"⁷⁾ of the Logos, who is his "eldest" or "first-born son".⁸⁾ "For if we", he says, "have not yet become fit to be considered children of God, at least we are children of his eternal image, his most sacred Logos; for the oldest Logos is an image of God".⁹⁾ As thought is the expression of man so is the Logos the expression of God. He is not "unbegotten as God" is, nor "begotten as men" are, "but in the midst between the two, like a hostage as it were to both parties."¹⁰⁾ God is a kind of pattern upon which the Logos is formed, and he in turn becomes the archetype of other things in the cosmos. He is the shadow of God, which was used as a model or stamp in making the world, an "express image", such as is found upon a coin. He is the architect of all things as well as the organ or instrument through whom the world was made.¹¹⁾ As the mighty cosmic Thought ever linked to God as his source, he acts for and instead of God in upholding the world; he "links the cosmos to the infinite source of power and order".¹²⁾ The Logos is divine, as it were a "second God", for "the supreme Father of all" is above the Logos.¹³⁾ The infinite is inscrutable, men cannot behold him. But through the Logos men may approach God, for the Logos is like reflected light from the sun, which men may behold when they cannot look upon the sun itself.¹⁴⁾ He is the mediator between man and God, and as such he is symbolized by the high priest,¹⁵⁾ pure and undefiled. He is the manna which fell in the desert,¹⁶⁾ and the smitten rock out of which devoted souls may drink.¹⁷⁾ In short, it seems that so far as men can know or come into contact with God, it is through the Logos, who is an eternal image, copy, expression, thought, wisdom of God. "Wherever we turn", says Principal Drummond in summing up the doctrine, "these Words, which are really Works, of God, confront us, and lift our minds to that uniting and cosmic Thought which, though comprehending them, is itself

¹⁾ Tom. I, pp. 5-6.

²⁾ Tom. I, p. 120.

³⁾ Tom. III, pp. 137-8.

⁴⁾ Tom. I, p. 181.

⁵⁾ *Εἰκών, ἀπειράκις*. Tom. III, p. 294.

⁶⁾ Tom. I, p. 256.

⁷⁾ *Πρωτόγονος*. Tom. II, p. 284.

⁸⁾ Tom. II, p. 303.

⁹⁾ Tom. III, p. 46.

¹⁰⁾ Tom. I, pp. 157-8.

¹¹⁾ Drummond, *Philo Jud.*, II, p. 193.

¹²⁾ Quoted from fragments by Drummond, *Philo Jud.*, II, p. 197.

¹³⁾ Tom. III, pp. 279-281.

¹⁴⁾ Tom. III, pp. 139-140.

¹⁵⁾ Tom. I, p. 179.

¹⁶⁾ Tom. I, p. 120.

dependent, and tells of that impenetrable Being from whose inexhaustible fulness it comes, of whose perfections it is the shadow, and whose splendors, too dazzling for all but the purified intuitions of the highest souls, it at once suggests and veils".¹⁾ This conception of the Wisdom-Logos of Philo seems to lack what moderns would call personality. But as Inge has remarked, "neither Philo nor any Greek cared to define personality, a concept which has no name in the Greek language."²⁾ And perhaps it ought to be added that Philo's conception of God is put by some in the same category with his conception of the Logos, for Siegfried has said that "the God of Philo was an imaginary Being, who in order to gain power over the world, had need of a Logos, to whom the palladium of Israel, the unity of God, was sacrificed."³⁾ While this may be an over emphasis, it is doubtless true that the Logos was as personal as its exalted divinity would allow without destroying the unity of God as Philo conceived Judaism to hold it. It is certain that we have moved a long way from the primitive conception of God's wisdom manifested in the law and personified in Job and Proverbs. One can hardly see how further advance could be made without destroying Judaism. Speculation had been carried to the utmost in removing God from all defiling contact with the world, and at the same time providing an eternal, exalted channel for him to order and control it. So far the Alexandrians went on the basis of their ancient faith and the wisdom of their Wise Men, who to the last were devotedly true to the law and the prophets. But Philo was the last great thinker among the Alexandrian Jews to carry on this battle for a harmony between Judaism and Greek philosophy, and the victory was not at hand. For in spite of their great service, the Wise Men left God too transcendent, and the mediator too indefinite, too intangible for the average man to grasp in a way that would minister to his religious needs in an age for extreme emphasis on the concrete and definite. If they could not go further Judaism must needs take its stand once more on the concrete Law of Moses. Possibly their wisdom now turned into philosophy would have gone further, had they not been interrupted by a new current of thought which swept them from their course, and which marks a new phase in the development of the personification of Wisdom.

V. The Wisdom-Logos Personification in Christianity.

During the life of Philo a new movement had sprung up in Palestine, a movement along the lines of the Apocalyptic hopes already mentioned.⁴⁾

¹⁾ Drummond's Philo Judaeus, II, p. 273.

²⁾ Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics. Vol. I, p. 311.

³⁾ *Ibidem* p. 312.

⁴⁾ For the beginnings of Christianity see especially *Das Leben des Heilands*, by Gustav Frenssen, *Rudolf Otto's Leben und Wirken Jesu*, Bonsses's *Jesus*, in the *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, and *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, edited by J. Weiss. Vol. I.

A humble Galilean peasant had listened to the message of a desert prophet and had heard the voice of God calling him to take up the work of establishing a great kingdom of love and good will on the old prophetic basis. Up and down the land he went, healing and helping, and above all preaching the new Kingdom which he said was at hand. After a brief success a tide of opposition rose gradually against him, and when he came into conflict with the guardians of the sacred law and the holy temple of Jehovah, these leaders in religion conspired against him and compassed his death. But death did not end all. Soon it began to be noised abroad that his faithful adherents had seen him alive again. His followers took up his message of the Kingdom. They asserted that his death at the hands of wicked men had only delayed the kingdom, that he had risen from the dead and ascended into heaven, and that he would soon come again to complete his work, for he was the long expected Messiah and the kingdom was now to be restored to Israel. And so they started out to preach this new Gospel of the Messiahship of Jesus, his resurrection from the dead, his coming again to destroy the old age and usher in the new, and especially the need of repentance, faith and a righteous life on the part of all those who would participate in the new order.¹⁾

Among the early adherents of the new movement was Paul of Tarsus,²⁾ a native of a great university centre, a man of good family, large training, keen mind, and possessing an unbounded enthusiasm for whatever he took up. He had never seen, except in a vision, the Messiah whom he proclaimed. He cared little about his earthly life; it was enough for him that he had seen his risen Lord. Paul had been trained in the Jewish law which to him was all in all, and in his zeal to fulfil it his life had been split on the rock of his own impotence, and the Law which was holy, just and good became to him an intolerable burden revealing to his horror stricken soul the way of sin and death. From this living death Paul had been delivered by his vision and acceptance of Jesus as the crucified Messiah.³⁾ So he went forth to preach this Messiah and risen Lord, as the Saviour of men from the power of the law and from the wrath to come. Starting his work in Antioch, the great meeting place in Syria of Jew and Greek, he soon found his new faith adapted to a wider circle, and left Syria for the great centres of Greek culture of the west. Paul's first writings that have come down to us tell us only of the crucified and risen Messiah who sets men free from the law of sin and death, and prepares them for participation in the consummation of the apocalyptic hopes. But even so Paul was no more prof

¹⁾ For a fine summary of the faith and preaching of the early disciples of Jesus, see Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*. Erster Band, p. 55.

²⁾ For Paul's life and work see Mc Giffert's *The Apostolic Age*, pp. 113—439. B. W. Bacon's *The Story of Paul, and St. Paul, the Man and his Work*, by H. Weinel.

³⁾ See Weinel, as above, pp. 68—84.

against the currents of Hellenistic Judaism, than Judaism had been proof against Greek speculation. His notions about the Law drove him more and more from the orthodox Jews into the society of the Hellenists and Gentiles. His apocalyptic hopes had to be modified, and in his contention with the Judaistic section of the new faith he falls back on the allegorical interpretation current among the Hellenists.¹⁾ A significant occurrence is at hand indicating a new trend in St. Paul's thought.²⁾ He had established a congregation of believers in Corinth where, in his absence, a certain Alexandrian, Apollos by name, had taken up the work, and his brilliancy in expounding the new faith had thrilled his hearers. Paul himself had been working for some time in Ephesus, the birth-place of Heraclitus, and a centre of Greek speculation and oriental mysticism. Divisions arose in Corinth over the value of Paul's exposition of religion as compared with that of Apollos and others. In his letter trying to bring about harmony Paul says he did not preach unto them any extended theory, only the crucified Messiah, for they were not fullgrown; but, to those who are able to receive it, Christ is both "the power of God and the Wisdom of God".³⁾ Again, he speaks of this "Wisdom of God", as having been hidden from men's sight, but "which God foreordained before the worlds".⁴⁾ He refers to a mystery which he has received from the Spirit of God, which only those who have special insight can discern.⁵⁾ We can only guess at this mystery, but we may be sure that it concerned the position of Christ. In chapter eight Paul declares that "to us there is one God, the Father, out of whom are all things, . . . and one Lord,⁶⁾ Jesus Christ, through whom are all things".⁷⁾ In a later letter to the same Church, Paul speaks of the faithful as "beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord", and being "transformed into the same image",⁸⁾ and further on we read that Christ "is the image of God",⁹⁾ and that "the glory of God" has been manifested "in the face of Jesus Christ".¹⁰⁾ Not long after this Paul wrote a letter to the Romans from the city of Corinth. In this letter he says that God has foreordained that all who are called according to the purpose of God, that is, those who are new creatures in Christ, should be "conformed to the image of his son, that he might be the firstborn among

¹⁾ See Galatians, Chapters 3—4. For these first letters (the two to the Thessalonians and Galatians), see Bacon, as above, pp. 229—265.

²⁾ Bacon has a fine discussion of the Corinthian situation and the contents of these letters. *The Story of Paul*, pp. 266—291.

³⁾ I. Cor. 1: 24. Greek: *θεοῦ δυνάμις καὶ θεοῦ σοφία*. These are Alexandrian terms for the Logos.

⁴⁾ I. Cor. 2: 7.

⁵⁾ I. Cor. 2: 7—16.

⁶⁾ *Κύριος*, Bacon takes this as "world-ruler". If this is correct we might compare with it "the driver" *ἡγήσας* applied by Philo to the Logos.

⁷⁾ I. Cor. 8: 6. *Ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν πάντα . . . ὁ δὲ πρὸς πάντα* = Alexandrian.

⁸⁾ II. Cor. 3: 18.

⁹⁾ II. Cor. 4: 4.

¹⁰⁾ II. Cor. 4: 6.

many brethren",¹⁾ and in chapter ten²⁾ we find a parallel to Baruch 3: 29 to 37, in which Paul substitutes Christ for "Wisdom" in commenting on a passage from Deuteronomy.³⁾ He had already done this implicitly in I. Corinthians 10: 4 when he identifies the "rock", from which the fathers drank, with Christ, for this as we have seen was identified by Philo with the Wisdom-Logos.⁴⁾ These quotations show us the trend of Paul's thinking and seem to indicate that he already held a Logos doctrine in regard to Christ. Whether he desired it or not he was slowly forced into the attitude of a philosopher.⁵⁾ It is not surprising then that Paul, after a long fight with the Judaistic section of the new faith, a long ministry in Asia Minor, Greece, and Macedonia, when he is under a prison guard made necessary by the hatred of Palestinian Jews, should have written such epistles as those to Colossae and Ephesus. What more probable than, with his experience and Hellenistic tendencies, he should have tried to meet a falling away into a "worship of angels"⁶⁾ by the assertion that Christ was seated "on the right hand of God",⁷⁾ "far above all rule, and authority, and power, and dominion?"⁸⁾ Here, without the Logos being directly mentioned, Christ is given his attributes and characteristics and is identified with him. Paul says that God has delivered us out of the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of his beloved son; "in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins; who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon earth, things visible, and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him, and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him do all things consist."⁹⁾ As the Spirit of God, the Wisdom, or the Logos of the Alexandrians "filled"¹⁰⁾ the world and held together all things,¹¹⁾ so Christ is the "fulness"¹²⁾ of God in the world.¹³⁾ In the fourth chapter of Ephesians we have a picture of Christ as the head of all things, supporting, administering, building up, and infusing the divine personality into redeemed creation. Christ is the vehicle of God to men and the means of approach to God on the part of men. Such is Paul's doctrine of Christ in which he identifies him with the Logos-Wisdom of the Alexandrians. And here we must note a modification of the doctrine in that the conception becomes more concrete, and of course its content is somewhat modified. Nevertheless Paul leaves the whole subject in the philosophic field, for his identification is with the risen Christ whom he has seen only in a vision. But whatever modifications Paul may have made in the

¹⁾ Romans 8: 29. The Logos was the *eliasis* of God, and his "image" was in turn the model for men. With *απειροτατος*. Cf. *απειροτατος* of Philo.

²⁾ Verses 6-9.

³⁾ Deut. 32: 12-14.

⁴⁾ Cf. above, p. 25.

⁵⁾ Cf. Bacon's Story of Paul, p. 318.

⁶⁾ Colossians 2: 18.

⁷⁾ Colossians 3: 1.

⁸⁾ Ephesians 1: 21.

⁹⁾ Colossians 1: 13-17.

¹⁰⁾ *Πληρομας*.

¹¹⁾ Cf. *Wisd. of Sol.* 1: 7.

¹²⁾ *Πληρομας*.

¹³⁾ Colossians 1: 19.

content of the conception, there can be no doubt that for him Christ was the Logos-Wisdom of Hellenistic Judaism, and so far as his influence went Christianity was committed to such a rationale of the nature, power and office of the risen Christ.

And now having found Paul, who started as a very orthodox Jew, at the close of his life thoroughly permeated with this Alexandrian thought of the Logos, we are surely prepared to find a book like the Epistle to the Hebrews which is by common consent an Alexandrian production,¹⁾ wholly constructed from the point of view that Jesus Christ is the Logos, and should have applied to him all the attributes and characteristics of the Logos. Christ is here the Word or "Logos of God" living, and active;²⁾ he is the great high priest of our profession; and is the mediator³⁾ between God and men. He is the son through whom God made the world, and whom he appointed heir of all things; "who being the effulgence (*ἀπαύλασμα*) of his glory, and the express image (*χαρακτῆρ*) of his substance (*ἰσότησις*), and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."⁴⁾ He is the head of all principalities and angels, and in him the law is fulfilled and must pass away, for the law which was of old the expression of God's wisdom was but the shadow, and so gives way before the "very image" and substance which is Christ, the Wisdom itself.⁵⁾ Thus do the followers of Jesus introduce a new phase of the Wisdom-Logos speculation, and make themselves heirs of the Wise Men of Alexandria, by identifying the sacrificed, risen, and enthroned Christ with the Logos-Wisdom of philosophy. Their purpose in so doing and the tendency of their work is well stated by Professor von Soden who in speaking of the possible writer of the Hebrews says: "This Apollon — or whoever he may be — was the leader of those Alexandrian thinkers whose vocation it was to present Christianity in such a form as would admit of its being appropriated by the ancient world of culture, but who at the same time, as the process went on, exceeding their vocation, so involved the simple religious kernel in speculations that interest was more and more concentrated on this until at last — must it be said? — the kernel was lost sight of and disappeared."⁶⁾ Christianity was itself transformed from a Gospel of the Kingdom to a Philosophy of life under the magic touch of Hellenistic thought, and the man Christ Jesus was lifted from the solid earth of fact into the clouds of speculative thought. Yet the process was not quite complete or thorough, and should it go no further Christianity must either give it up or lose a more priceless pos-

¹⁾ For a good discussion of Hebrews see H. von Soden in the *Encycl. Biblica*, article, Hebrews (Epistle), also Zahn, *Einleitung i. d. N. T.* pp. 110—158. For Alexandrianisms see Siegfried, *Philo von Alex.*, pp. 321—330.

²⁾ Heb. 4: 12. Cf. Siegfried, as above, p. 325.

³⁾ Heb. 8: 6.

⁴⁾ Heb. 1: 2—3.

⁵⁾ Chapters 8—10.

⁶⁾ *Encycl. Biblica*, Vol. II, Col. 2900.

session which it had inherited. Along with the mission of Paul and the spread of Hellenistic Christianity, there had gone the traditions of the life of Jesus and his teaching.¹⁾ As time went by these teachings and the traditions about his life and work were embodied in books of instruction, and these still stood as a stumbling block in the way of the advancing speculation. These traditions arose among the early disciples and followers of Jesus, and although they were variously edited and adapted to Jewish and Gentile readers, not a single hint is given in them that Jesus was the embodied Wisdom of God, the Logos of light and truth.²⁾ And this too in spite of the fact that the writers and Jesus himself show many similarities in language and thought to the Alexandrians.³⁾ Jesus is a holy man, a great teacher, a prophet, a healer, the Messiah, the Son of Man, even the Son of God, — in a Jewish sense, but not in an Alexandrian or philosophical one, — but there is no reference to his pre-existence with the Father of all, or to his assumption of any attribute or office usually ascribed to the Logos-Wisdom of speculation.⁴⁾ So far the Logos advocates were under the necessity of obscuring the earthly career of Jesus and emphasizing the risen Messiah and Saviour who might be spiritually apprehended. With Paul they sought to know Christ no more after the flesh but after the spirit.⁵⁾ Such was the situation between these apparently irreconcilable tendencies in early Christianity, when a writing appeared which gave the Logos speculation a new and firm hold upon Christian thought and religious experience. According to tradition, it was in Ephesus, the birth-place of Heraclitus, the city in which Paul had labored with the Alexandrian Apollos, and from which he had written his Epistles to Corinth, in which we find his first hints of a Logos doctrine, this city so rich in its traditions and philosophical associations, that St. John is said to have written the Fourth Gospel.⁶⁾ Whoever may have been the author it seems fitting that the place of composition should be regarded as Ephesus. For in this Gospel we have the life of Jesus re-written from the Logos point of view. The Jesus who had appeared in history was identified with the Logos of philosophy, and the writer seeks to interpret the life in accordance with this supreme fact. "In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was towards (*πρός*) God, and the Logos was Divine (*θεός*)." "All things were made through (*διὰ*) him."⁷⁾ This "Logos

¹⁾ Cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, Vol. II, pp. 158—172. Weiss, *Schriften d. N. T.*, pp. 28 ff.

²⁾ Even Luke 21: 26 refers to the risen Messiah.

³⁾ Cf. Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 314.

⁴⁾ See W. C. Allen, *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, pp. 143 ff.

⁵⁾ II. Cor. 5: 16.

⁶⁾ For questions connected with St. John's Gospel see Schmiedel, *John, Son of Zebedee*, in *Encycl. Biblica*, Vol. II. E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*. W. Heitmüller, in *Die Schriften des N. T.*, Vol. II, pp. 685—801. Zahn, *Einleitung*, Vol. II, pp. 445—626. Bacon's Introduction.

⁷⁾ John 1: 1—3.

became flesh and dwell among us."¹) He is the "only begotten Son", who coming from the bosom of the Father has revealed Him.²) It is the fact that the Logos is present in the flesh that the author is desirous of tracing in all the acts and words of Jesus. As Professor Schmiedel has said: "The entire gospel is nothing else but an elaboration of the thought, 'we saw his glory'."³) All his miraculous power, his words of mystical meaning, and his activities among men show that behind the Jesus of the flesh is the Logos of God. "Before Abraham was, I am" are the enigmatic words called forth by the question: "Whom makest thou thyself?"⁴) "Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died . . . I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever."⁵) Not only is he the manna from heaven but in another Logos figure, he is the true fountain of living waters.⁶) He lives by the Father who sends him forth into the world.⁷) He is the mediator between God and men. He is the light of the world,⁸) the way, the truth, and the life, and no man approacheth the Father but through him.⁹) These and similar expressions lead us inevitably to the conclusion so well stated by Prof. Scott, that "the Fourth Gospel is based on a doctrine of the Logos which to all appearance is closely similar to that of Philo."¹⁰) His Logos doctrine of course differs from that of Philo in the very important particular that it is no longer a mere speculation but is localized in the life of Jesus, and so has a historical as well as a philosophical interest, and in the fusion is made the basis of religious faith. When all allowances are made for this necessary modification, "we still have to reckon with the main fact that he (the writer) rests his account of the Christian revelation on a speculative idea, borrowed, with whatever differences, from Philo. Into the historical tradition of the life and teaching of Jesus he works a hypothesis which in its origin had nothing to do with Christianity, and which had come into being to meet a philosophical rather than a religious need."¹¹) Thus does the speculation at last find solid ground and become localized in the earthly life of Jesus, and henceforth philosophy and history must go hand in hand. The Wisdom-Logos had at last been given an undoubted personality. There it abides in an historical document which was for centuries the insoluble riddle of philosophers and historians, when they tried to give it systematic statement or historical definition. That interpreters should disagree and interpretations sometimes prove inconsistent with themselves is not to be wondered at, for the Gospel itself "wavers throughout between these two parallel interpretations of the life of Christ, — that suggested by the history

¹) John 1: 14.

²) John 1: 18.

³) *Encycl. Biblica*, Vol. II, Col. 2536.

⁴) John 8: 53, 58.

⁵) John 6: 48-51.

⁶) John 7: 37-38.

⁷) John 6: 57.

⁸) John 8: 12.

⁹) John 14: 6.

¹⁰) *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 154.

¹¹) Prof. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 100.

and that required by the Logos hypothesis. Superficially the two conceptions are drawn together, but they are disparate by their very nature and will not admit of a true reconciliation." ¹⁾ Since the writing of the Gospel of John, Christianity has struggled to understand the "two natures" here mingled, and the end is not yet.

Such is the origin, history, and culmination of the great Wisdom-Logos speculation. It was developed by the Wise Men of Israel in their struggle to maintain Hebrew monotheism in a world of philosophic doubt and criticism. It was transformed into a philosophy under the influence of Greek thought; and early Christianity, under the magic spell of Hellenism, received it on the basis of her belief in the risen Messiah, and finally embodied it in the life of Jesus, where it has been the storm-centre of Christian thought for eighteen hundred years.

¹⁾ Prof. Scott, in the Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, Vol. II, p. 51.

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A Thesis.

Submitted by

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ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE.

A Thesis.

Submitted by

Charles Everett Hesselgrave, M. A.,

to

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

in

Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the

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