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Christ and Spirit. A Study of Paul's Understanding of the Relationship between Christ and Spirit in the Light of Old Testament and Intertestamental Developments.

A Thesis submitted for the degree of M.Theol at the University of Durham, by Dieter Becht, 22.6.88.

In a first section this paper traces the development of Wisdom and Spirit as two interrelated concepts in Job 28, Prov 1-9, Ben Sira, Wis and Sim. A second section looks at 2Cor 3:1-4:6. Paul does not understand the cause for Moses veiling his face to be an effort on Moses' part to hide the fading of his glory. Rather, he sees the veil as a means for Moses to protect the Israelites from too great an exposure to God's glory. His aim is to contrast the former inability to stand the glory of God with the Christian's freedom. This freedom is due to the fact that Christ is experienced as the Spirit and not as letters written on stone.

It was further discovered that Paul draws both on his experience at Darnascus as also on traditions found in Philo, Pseudo-Philo and Pseudo-Jonathan. His affinity to Pseudo-Philo is particularly striking. It is evident that Pseudo-Philo has an Adam typology based on the contrast between the first Adam and Moses, the new Adam, which is akin to traditions found in Philo and Pseudo-Jonathan. This disproves the old theories about Paul drawing on an 'Urmensch-Erlöser Mythos' from another angle (as does the section on Sir 24) and places Paul's thinking in this matter squarely into the Jewish traditions of his time. In a final section, it is first postulated that Paul can identify Christ both with Wisdom (1Cor 1 and 2) and with the Spirit (2Cor 3:17) because he is working with a concept similar to that found in Sim. 'For Paul, the Messiah is identified with Wisdom as well as with the Spirit. The two are just two sides of the same coin: the Messiah is identified with the Spirit, because he is experienced by the believer as the Spirit. He is also identified with Wisdom, because the Spirit is the Spirit of Wisdom. Thus for Paul the question of a *figure* of Wisdom finally becomes meaningless, as Wisdom is linked with Jesus Christ, and in the same manner that Wisdom is linked with the Son of Man in the Book of the Similitudes, namely as the Spirit of Wisdom which is poured onto the Son of Man and through him onto the elect' (p. 133).

Secondly, Paul has enriched this concept through his use of the Adam typology found in Palestinian traditions of his time, giving it new meaning by substituting Christ for Moses as the new Adam.

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by

Dieter Becht

A thesis submitted for the degree of M.Theol. at the
University of Durham, June 1988.

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I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

Signed

Date

Foreword

The topic of this thesis is actually too large a field to cover in a little over half a year. I am very grateful for the encouragement and criticisms of my supervisor, Dr. A. Chester. I am also deeply indebted to Dr. R. Hayward, who very kindly agreed to supervise my work in Dr. Chester's absence after Easter. It is largely due to his instigation and stimulation that I stumbled on Paul's affinity to Pseudo-Philo, Philo and Pseudo-Jonathan. I would also like to thank Prof. J.G.D. Dunn and Prof. M. Hengel for kindly agreeing to correct this thesis.

It was Prof. H. Gese who in a seminar first called to my attention the inadequacy of present interpretations concerning Moses and the veil in 2 Cor 3:1-4:6. Finally, I am grateful to R. Orr, who took on himself the laborious task of proof-reading and refining my bad English at a time when he had plenty of work of his own to do.

Durham, 22.6.88

Dieter Becht

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Christ and Spirit. A Study of Paul's Understanding of the Relationship between Christ and Spirit in the Light of Old Testament and Intertestamental Developments

1. Aim and scope of this study

This paper attempts to deal with a difficult area of New Testament exegesis, namely Paul's understanding of the relationship of Christ and Spirit. Two poles will be used as orientation and in order to structure the material.

The first pole is found in 1 Cor 1ff. In Cor 130 Paul identifies Jesus with Sophia (Wisdom). Job 28, Proverbs 1-9, Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon and 1 Enoch (Book of the Similitudes) will be examined in order to ascertain the development of the so-called Wisdom tradition, its possible relevance to Paul, and in that case, precisely what kind of relevance.¹ Closely connected to this is the question concerning the relationship of Wisdom and Spirit.

2 Cor 3:17b will form the second pole. In this section I shall attempt to discover the meaning of Paul's assertion that the *kurios* is *pneuma*. Two interpretations will be kept in mind, namely the interpretation of I. Hermann^{1a} and the more recent one of J.D.G. Dunn.² They will provide the structure of this particular section.

The study will revolve around these two poles and in a final section attempt a tentative reconstruction of what concepts Paul could have in mind in both cases, and how they are related to each other in his mind. A study of these dimensions must of necessity be cursory and cannot touch on all aspects of Paul's understanding of



the relationship Christ-Spirit.

2. Wisdom and Spirit in the time preceding Christ

The beginnings of the strand of Jewish theological development known today as Wisdom lie within the limits of the Old Testament as defined by the Rabbis. We find Wisdom in the Psalms - notably Pss 1; 19,8-15; 37; 49; 73; 78; 90; 105; 106; 112; 118; 119; 127; 128; 133.³ We also have a number of didactic narratives with sapiential colour ('weisheitliche Lehrerzählung'⁴), especially Gen 37; 39-50; Job 1f; 42,7-17; Ruth, Esther, Tobit and Dan 1-6. Passages in Amos⁵ and Isaiah⁶ have sapiential motifs.

M. Weinfeld discovered a proximity of Wisdom to the Deuteronomic school, concluding that the 'Sitz im Leben' of the latter was to be found in a class of scribes with Wisdom as their base at the court in Jerusalem since the time of Hezekiah.⁷ As R. Smend has pointed out, this is not surprising, considering that the statutes of the Law and Wisdom have a strong affinity and later in fact converge in the work of Ben Sira.⁸ Bearing all this in mind, we will now turn to Job 28.

2.1 Job 28:1-27

This text is a later addition to the book of Job and a completely independent unit.⁹ The message of Job 28:1-27 is simple in spite of the baroque elaborations: Even

though man can do incredible feats, as for example going into the very roots of mountains, he still cannot find the location of Wisdom. Only God, who has given everything its law to follow, knows that. In other words, man has only partial knowledge, whereas God, existing before everything and controlling everything, has complete knowledge.

So far there is no speculation on the nature of Wisdom, and no personification of Wisdom. Merely the relationship of man and God to Wisdom comes to light.

Verse 28 is a later addition which stands close to the world of Prov 1-9, leading us to the next stage.

2.2 Proverbs 1-9

Prov 1-9 is a distinct part of the book of Proverbs. It is composed of a prescript (1-7), ten discourses (18-19; 2; 31-12,21-35; 41-9,10-13,20-27; 5; 620-35; 7)¹⁰ and three poems concerning personified wisdom (120-23; 8; 9). Besides these there are various smaller additions.

Prov 1-9 introduces motifs used in the rest of the corpus of Proverbs. Three themes dominate Prov 1-9: the wicked man, the strange woman, and the relationship between Yahweh and Wisdom, or between the Yahweh-religion and obedience to Wisdom. The first theme is found frequently in 10ff, the second hardly at all. The third is to be found in 10ff, but expressed differently and less thematically (cf Prov 16). Wisdom is not personified in 10ff, or at least not in such a thematically and

systematically developed way.¹¹ We can ascertain the difference by comparing Prov 14,1 to Prov 1-9: Dame Wisdom and Dame Folly are mentioned here, but only in the proper form of a proverb, namely short, precise and pregnant. It has its original Sitz im Leben in oral tradition. Here we have a germ of the later development of the Dame Wisdom - Dame Folly motif.

Still most probable, therefore, is the hypothesis which sets the beginnings of Proverbs in the time of the monarchy, the earliest date being the Solomonic era, and which sees the context of the latest developments (Prov 1-9) as being the Jewish congregation of post-exilic times. The date of Prov 1-9 is most likely to lie within a few generations prior to Ben Sira, at the latest by the middle of the third century BC.¹² The recently proposed date relating Prov 1-9 to the time of the monarchy is highly improbable, as it does no justice to the fact that Prov 1-9 is a later development, where a relatively small number of wisdom themes partly taken from Prov 10ff have been systematically and theologically developed.¹³

J.L. Crenshaw is right in pointing out that one cannot trace the development of sapiential thought from a 'non-religious' to a 'religious' stage, as 'religious' proverbs also belong to the oldest times.¹⁴ However, his solution is hardly convincing. He finds three stages in the development of Proverbs: the first stage is the 'clan stage', whose goal is the mastering of life in a family setting with an emphasis on human behaviour. The second stage is the 'court stage', involving table manners, court

Instructions and a general secular tendency. The third, 'theological' stage has as its aim the general public, regardless of vocation or status, and in the form of dialogue/admonition (Prov 1-9). Two aspects play a dominant role in the third stage; the 'fear of the Lord' and the personification of Wisdom/Folly.¹⁵ What makes Crenshaw's theory seem artificial is that it doesn't take into account that 'clan' and 'court' were never clear-cut in pre-exilic Israel. Clan existed alongside court before exile, and after exile both could be dispensed with in the increasing emphasis on the Jewish congregation as a religious body.¹⁶ Besides this objection, naming one type of Wisdom 'theological' implies that the other two are not theological, which would be unfair, especially since Crenshaw himself is at pains to show that one cannot distinguish 'religious' from 'non-religious' proverbs as a means of tracing an evolution. Therefore the above-mentioned option of treating Prov 1-9 as a **systematic-theological development** seems more concise and correct, as this doesn't deny the existence of 'religion' and 'theology' in the earliest stages of Proverbs.¹⁷

The proximity of Prov 1-9 to Ben Sira, especially regarding his Wisdom imagery, but also motifs such as the identification of 'fear of the Lord' with Wisdom, and the forms of expressions used, make a date not too much earlier than Ben Sira extremely likely. Prov 10ff definitely belong to an earlier stage, seeing that Prov 1-9 shows a penetration of ideas and forms found in 10ff, but not vice versa; the flow of ideas is not bilateral, but only from Prov 10ff to Prov 1-9.¹⁸

Excursus: Hypostasis and Personification (End of Excursus)

Hypostasis

The use of *hypostasis* in LXX differs from New Testament usage¹⁹ as well as from the classical Greek usage.²⁰ Furthermore, the word has assumed another meaning in the trinitarian battles leading up to Chalcedon, which, 'rejecting "natural union" with its monophysite implications, ...singles out *hypostasis*, to express the oneness of the Person, thereby distinguishing it once for all from *physis*, which it reserved for the natures.'²¹

The use of the word *hypostasis* in the present context is rather confusing, as it is used to denote diverse things. H. Ringgren quotes from W.Oesterley-G.H.Box, who define *hypostasis* as 'a quasi-personification of certain attributes proper to God, [occupying] an intermediate position between personalities and abstract beings.' (O.-Box did not actually use the word *hypostasis*).²² Ringgren also quotes from S. Mowinckel, who defined *hypostasis* as 'a divine being, a being which represents the personification of an attribute, of an efficacy, of a part, etc. of a higher deity.'²³ According to Ringgren, a hypostasis doesn't imply a personification, and a personification doesn't imply a hypostasis, as it can also be merely poetical, a metaphor or an allegory. A hypostasis deals mainly with beings having abstract names denoting qualities or functions of the deity.²⁴ The final product of a hypostasis is a new god or goddess in the pantheon. By Israel this process was aborted before it could reach the final stage. For Ringgren, only in Prov 8:22-31 is Wisdom more than a personification;

here she is 'a concrete being, self-existent beside God.'²⁵ C.V.Camp argues that even in this text it cannot be a hypostasis, as the strict monotheism of Israel rendered this impossible.²⁶ However, she fails to see that this 'hypostatization' is part of a general development which finds its fullest development in the angelology of Qumranic texts. The key difference of Wisdom or the angels from foreign hypostases is the fact that the former are subordinated to, created by and clearly distinct from Yahweh. It is always important to keep this distinction in mind when talking about hypostases in Israel.

G.v. Rad declines to use the word hypostasis altogether, deeming it to be unsuitable for Wisdom literature.²⁷ M. Küchler²⁸ has suggested using the neutral term of 'reflective Wisdom' coined by E.S. Florenza.²⁹ No attempt will be made in this paper to solve the question of whether Wisdom was a hypostasis in Judaism or not, the emphasis lying on the way in which the New Testament has developed the sapiential material. For this end, a more fruitful approach is to determine in what way Wisdom was personified.

Personification

Pfeifer argues that one should not speak of the personification of Wisdom, as the Hebrew had no conception of a person as a self-contained entity.³⁰ This concept is however changing, especially in the social sciences, where advances have been made by defining persons through their relationships to each other and their environment.³¹

Philosophers today concede that 'In the end we may come to realize that the concept of a person is incoherent and obsolete.'³² Our first task therefore is to define 'person' in an adequate manner.

The Hebrew concept of person finds its clearest expression in Gen 1 and 2: what distinguishes man from the rest of creation is the fact that God puts his own stamp on Adam; he forms him in his own image and breathes into him his own breath. This similarity enables Adam to relate to God, just as it allows him (on another plane) to relate to Eve and to other human beings as a 'person'. What then can 'person' mean in the Hebraic context? I would like to postulate that the Hebrew's understanding of human personhood rests mainly on the dual relationship to God and to other persons. It is only thus that we can understand the Lamentations within the Psalms, where the disintegration of the psalmist's relationship to others is felt as the destruction of life itself, and where the psalmist clings on desperately to the last relationship that upholds his personhood, namely his relationship to God.

Having formulated the structure or core of what 'person' could mean to the ancient Hebrew, a final question must be raised, namely: what characteristics would this personhood have? More concretely, how can it be determined whether Wisdom is here envisaged as a person or not? To merely list the characteristics of Wisdom is unsatisfactory, as it has been seen above that a 'person' does not merely consist of a set of characteristics. Rather, Wisdom's 'personhood' is determined much more

adequately in terms of a person-to-person relationship, *ie* her relationship firstly to God and secondly to other created persons. The question then arises: how does a person-to-person relationship become manifest? It becomes manifest primarily in terms of **verbal communication**³³ and has at its core the words 'you' and 'I'; to talk to someone as 'you' is implicitly to accept his/her personhood, just as to refer to oneself as 'I' is to imply one's own personhood.³⁴ Thus it is not necessary to define **Wisdom** as a certain type of entity, but rather we can ascertain her 'personhood' as an interrelated being.

The point of contact with the Christian identification of Christ and Wisdom lies in the personhood of Wisdom rather than in its 'hypostatic' function. As the following texts will show, it is the way in which the personhood of Wisdom is defined, namely through her intimate relationship to Yahweh on the one hand and her intricate relationship to the wisdom-seeker on the other hand, which made the figure of Wisdom popular in the early church, as it attempted to grasp the role of Christ.

(End of Excursus)

2.2.1 Prov 11-19

17 gives a kind of summary of the relationship of Yahweh and Wisdom which permeates the whole section. 910 has a similar formulation:

17 יראת יהוה ראשית דעת
חכמה ומוסר אוילים בוז

109 תחלת חכמה יראת יהוה

ודעת קדשים בינה³⁵

2.2.2 Prov 120-33

Prov 120-33 is the first personification of Wisdom in Proverbs. Wisdom calls on the streets, inviting everyone to come to her ('Werbung': 120-23)³⁶ and threatening those who don't ('Drohrede': 124-27),³⁷ pointing out the consequences for the disobedient (128-32) and the obedient (133).

The close parallels of Wisdom's speech in 120-33 to prophetic speech has been known for some time.³⁸ Typical of the prophetic announcement of judgment (Gerichtsankündigung) are יען (Isa 8,3; 30,12), or תחת כי in introducing the reason for something, גם-אני (Judges 23) or 1 (Isa 37:29) in introducing an announcement and אֵל in denoting the hour of judgement. In contrast to this, Wisdom literature generally uses the form 'he who (does such-and-such) will encounter (such-and-such a problem), ie a 'Tat-Folge-Aufweis'.³⁹ The form in Prov 120-33, however, stays within Wisdom thinking in that the announcement of judgement is not absolute; it allows for a turning away of the hearer from evil.⁴⁰

Many motifs in Prov 120-33 are related to prophetic utterances. שוב in 123 is reminiscent of Jeremiah and its Deuteronomistic redaction. The motif of Yahweh not answering (128) is related to Mic 3:4/ Isa 1:15/Jer 11:11/ Hos 5:6/ Amos 8:2, etc. Another motif found in prophetic literature is that of God laughing at and mocking

the wicked man.

The closeness of Yahweh and Wisdom become apparent in this text, even though Yahweh is not mentioned except in the phrase 'fear of Yahweh' (129).

'Denn die Weisheit, die in der Einladung mit Ihren Worten ihren Geist sprudeln lassen will und nach Art der Propheten in ätzender Schärfe auf Ablehnung reagiert, hat den Mantel des Propheten angelegt, um die unmittelbare Verbindung mit Jahwe hervorzuheben. Ihre Drohrede kommt überein mit den Jahweworten in den prophetischen Verlautbarungen.'⁴¹

Of special interest is the only direct mention of spirit in Proverbs:

תשובו לחוכחתי
הנה אביעה לכם רוח / אודיעה דברי אתכם

**Turn to me in order that I instruct you;
then I will make my spirit bubble for you
and will let you know my words.**

Prov 123

The prophetic context (שוב; cf Jer 3; 4) moves us to interpret רוח as meaning 'gift of Wisdom' parallel to the prophetic understanding of the Spirit as 'gift of Yahweh'. 'I will make my spirit bubble for you' and 'I will let you know my word' stand parallel to each other, so that they suggest an identity: receiving Wisdom is the same as receiving her spirit. Wisdom's activity contains a charismatic element.⁴² This very close relationship of Wisdom and Yahweh, where Wisdom has really usurped Yahweh's role, points forward towards the future development of Wisdom and Spirit in Ben Sira and Wisdom of Solomon.

2.2.3 Prov 21-11

Seeking Wisdom results in 'fear of Yahweh' and 'knowledge of God' (דעת אלהים); seeking Wisdom leads to Yahweh. Yahweh is himself the giver of Wisdom; knowledge and understanding issue forth from his mouth and come into the heart (לב) and soul (נפש) of the upright man. It (or she?) guards the wise man (21) as Yahweh does (27, 8); in other words, Wisdom seems to be the instrument of Yahweh through which he acts in the world, here specifically confined to the action of God in the spiritual sphere of man. Later in 31ff Wisdom also brings material gain.

1.2.4 Prov 313-20

The 'Heilruf'⁴³ of 313-20 is a passage in which Wisdom is on its way to becoming personified, but is curiously ambivalent. 319-20 reads like a summary of the activity of personified Wisdom at creation in Prov 8,⁴⁴ of Wisdom's cosmic activity. Although we will see that Wisdom in 822ff does not seem to have an instrumental function in the creation of the world, this passage would seem to indicate Wisdom's active role as Yahweh's instrument in creating the earth.⁴⁵

In 326 Yahweh, and not Wisdom, is the one who takes care of the wise man, thus demonstrating the interchangeability in function of Wisdom and Yahweh.

2.2.5 Prov 4

Prov 4,1-9 once again shows the interchangeability of Yahweh and Wisdom. The question arises whether the personality of Wisdom doesn't lastly derive from her

closeness to Yahweh. Thus she gains personal attributes. In the above-mentioned text, we find Wisdom taking care of the wise man (שמר) and protecting him (נצר), elevating him (גורם), giving him honour (כבוד) and placing a לויית - חן and a splendid crown (עטרת תפארת) on his head. As we have already seen, שמר and נצר are already used in 28, but for Yahweh. Thus we can infer that once again these are attributes of Yahweh.

What makes this passage curious, however, is the exhortation of the sage: the wise man is to love Wisdom (אהב) and not leave her (עזב ; V.6), he is to embrace her (חבק ; V.8). Whereas the first two terms could be neutral, the latter could contain an erotic component. There is however no indication in the context of an erotic relationship. What the passage does show is that the Hebrew could have a very intimate relationship with Yahweh through the figure of Wisdom, which he could embrace, etc. It is only with Wisdom that this new spiritual dimension can be attained, as Wisdom allows a deep relationship with Yahweh without obliterating the distinction between creator and created. The concept of Wisdom makes a relationship with Yahweh more tangible whilst at the same time retaining the distinctiveness and sovereignty of Yahweh as compared to man.

C.V. Camp compares Song of Solomon to Proverbs and finds a row of parallels, not all of which are convincing. It is possible that חבק and מצא have a trace of erotic love at times in Proverbs;⁴⁶ however, these words are used concerning seek-

ing and finding the Lord without the erotic overtones in Deut 429; 1Chr 289,2; 2Chr 152,4; Isa 556; 651; Jer 2913,14. Among the more convincing texts indicating an erotic love relationship are Prov 46-9; 74 (as opposed to 75; but אָר and מוֹדֵעַ can be translated literally as meaning 'sister' and 'relative'⁴⁷); 8.17; 9.1ff. In each of these instances, the erotic components are ambiguous and definitely not comparable with Song of Solomon.

C.V. Camp finds two motifs in Proverbs harking back to earliest times: (a) the wife as manager of the household, and (b) the wife as counselor of the husband.

The question which automatically arises: is the imagery in Proverbs not often a bit different? For example, Camp sees marriage imagery in Prov 45-9. However, here Wisdom is not the subordinate wife, but rather, as we have already seen, a being of a higher order. This perhaps shows the foreign influence on Proverbs (ie Wisdom as a 'goddess', to whom an erotic relationship was possible). One cannot therefore simply reduce Wisdom's role to that of a wife, just as Prov 120ff should not be seen as the image of the 'counselling' wife⁴⁸ but rather as that of the prophet.⁴⁹ Prov 31/141 /243-4 may well be points of departure for Prov 1-9, but they don't explain the cosmological and ruling (in a patriarchal society 'manly') character of Wisdom.

2.2.6 The alien woman (Prov 216-19; 5; 620-35; 71ff)

Three verses in the earlier collections concerning an alien woman deserve our attention: Prov 2224; 2327; 293 (in the latter verse she is contrasted with Wisdom). However, they do not shed any light on the texts.

The alien woman is at times a prostitute, at times an adulteress. 216-19 is ambivalent, as 'covenant of her god' can denote an alien religion or the Israelite religion⁵⁰

Prov 5 seems to allude to a foreign, unmarried woman. The woman in 6:20-35 is definitely a (native?) married lady. In Prov 7 the alien woman is married as well, although everything seems to point to the fact that she is of foreign origin. 'Alien' is thus curiously ambiguous, it not mattering if the lady is foreign, native, married or unmarried.

A characteristic of the 'alien woman' is her smooth tongue, her seductive words. A further characteristic is the shameful end result, which is caused through the initiative of the seduced one himself. Thus, the woman with whom one has a shameful, abnormal and foreign relationship is characterized as alien.⁵¹ What makes her alien is lastly the fact that she does not stay within the order defined and sanctioned through Yahweh, outside of which inevitably lies the sphere of death, according to ancient antique thought. Thus she can also draw others into this sphere by seducing them.

It is very likely that the image of the alien woman contains features of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar or the Sumerian goddess Inanna.⁵² As M. Hengel has pointed out, the name 'alien woman' alludes to the influence of alien goddesses in Israel, a primary aim of Proverbs being to warn against the latter.⁵³ This does not exclude the literal interpretation; the mother-goddess cults were at any rate linked with cult prostitution.

The connection between Wisdom and the alien woman has long been noted. Wisdom is always contrasted to the alien woman (cf 2:1ff to 26-19). In 5:1,2 the contrast

to 53ff is only faint. Moreover, here the actual contrast is the literal one of the alien woman to the married woman. The same is true of 620-23 to 624-35 and 71-5 to 76ff. It is not merely chance that Prov 7 stands next to Prov 8: here, as well as in 91-12 and 913-18 the contrast between the alien woman and personified Wisdom seems to be the most deliberate. Thus we can conclude that personified Wisdom has in part gained its attributes from the contrast to the alien woman (*ie* its feminine components).⁵⁴

The tantalizing hypothesis that Prov 1-9 is also the reaction to a foreign concept of Wisdom⁵⁵ has still to be conclusively proven. It is however evident from the LXX translation and elsewhere that the alien woman was increasingly interpreted as a foreign Wisdom, specifically as the Hellenistic world of thought.⁵⁶

2.2.7 Prov 8

With Prov 8 we reach the climax of Prov 1-9, in which Wisdom appears in the most developed form of personification. At this point we will turn to the question of hypostatization in Proverbs.

Prov 8 has often been compared to 120-33, with Wisdom calling in the open places, commencing with an invitation. Here the similarities in form end, as one cannot ascertain any sort of threat in Prov 8.⁵⁷ If there is any trace of the prophet imagery, it can only be seen in the opening verses, which are however also influenced through the contrast to chapter 7: Dame Wisdom calls out and invites openly, in contrast to

Thus these rulers are clearly distinguished from those who have an intimate relationship with Wisdom, her lovers (817). Again there is the love relationship between Wisdom and her followers.

With the section 822-31 we arrive at a passage which has received considerable scholarly attention. We cannot hope to deal with the passage in the depth necessary, so we will reserve our attention to a few observations.

The parallels to Egyptian ideas such as the goddess Ma'at have been demonstrated in depth by C.Kayatz. As Plöger rightly points out, the point of departure from Egyptian ideas is evident, where Wisdom in 822-31 is identified with the Wisdom in 81ff, which invites and threatens (esp. 120ff) in a manner reserved only for Yahweh.⁶¹ With the use of foreign categories, the unique character of Wisdom is accentuated.

The three verbs used describing how Yahweh acts towards Wisdom are קָנָה (קִנְיָה), בָּרָא (בְּרִיאָה) and חָלַל (חֻלְלָה) (twice)). Wisdom was created/brought forth, installed and born. As Plöger correctly states:

Für alle diese z.T. recht verschiedenartige Wendungen dient als umfassendes Band die Vorstellung, die Herleitung der Weisheit von Jahwe im Sinne einer Subordination zu verstehen... Die Weisheit ist nicht schöpfungsimmanent, sie kann aber in ihrer Herleitung von Jahwe ein "kreatürliches" Element nicht völlig abstreifen. Man könnte den Eindruck haben, daß diese Verse sich darum bemühen, mit anderen Schöpfungsvorstellungen Israels zu konvergieren, wie sie etwa in Gen 1 zu greifen sind; sie können jedoch diese Konvergenz nicht durchhalten, da sie ein Novum zur Sprache bringen wollen, das in dieser Form anderen Schöpfungstraditionen nicht ge-läufig war, eben die Weisheit in der angedeuteten Zwischenstellung zwi-

schen Jahwe und seinem Schöpfungswerk zu berücksichtigen. Denn sie ist von der Schöpfung her gesehen näher an Jahwe zu rücken, von Jahwe her gesehen verbleibt ihr eine stärkere Affinität zur Schöpfung.⁶²

830-31 portray Wisdom as a being playing in front of Yahweh and causing him delight whilst at the same time receiving knowledge about the creation of the cosmos. Thus her part in creation cannot be safely said to be that of a demiurge. She does partake in creation, but is not necessarily instrumental (the LXX, with its translation of ἀμύροισα (17X) possibly represents a later theological development).⁶³

Wisdom in her inviting and threatening manner gains characteristics of Yahweh because of her affinity to him.⁶⁴

2.2.8 Prov 9

We will briefly touch the last section of Prov 1-9. We see in Prov 9 how Wisdom invites the inexperienced into her house to a banquet. The way to fellowship with Wisdom is the way from ignorance to knowledge, from death to life. Conversely, the foolish woman in 9:13-18 leads the fool to death, as has already been stated elsewhere.

2.2.9 Conclusions: Wisdom and Spirit in Prov 1-9

It has been found that the figure of Wisdom and Spirit are interrelated in 2 passages, Prov 120-33 and Prov 8. In both it is personified Wisdom which gives the receiver of Wisdom its Spirit. This is of interest because it witnesses to the attempt of sapiential circles to link the two concepts, thus giving the acquiring of Wisdom a dynamic quality. Furthermore it has been demonstrated that Wisdom in

Prov 8 has acquired traits of the messiah announced in Isa 11: messianic traditions have deliberately been bent into the Wisdom tradition. Similarly, prophetic traditions have been diverted into the Wisdom tradition in Prov 120-33. The significance of this is that gaining Wisdom is seen as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies. The prophecy of Joel 3 concerning a universal outpouring of the Spirit implicitly finds its fulfilment as a universal outpouring of the spirit of wisdom. It is of course only later in Ben Sira, that this connection is explicitly formulated. Wisdom is not limited to a few, but rather it can be acquired by anyone who seeks it.

The new quality of **Wisdom** is emphasized in the intimate love-relationship between the **Wisdom**-seeker and the figure of **Wisdom**. Wisdom's relationship to Yahweh is less clear-cut. At times she (it?) appears to have been instrumental at creation (Prov 313-20), at times not necessarily so (Prov 8). Through its position half-way between Yahweh and his creatures, it at times seems closer to Yahweh, at other times closer to creation. 'Denn sie ist von der Schöpfung her gesehen näher an Jahwe zu rücken, von Jahwe her gesehen verbleibt ihr eine stärkere Affinität zur Schöpfung.'⁶⁵ When one takes all of this into account, the conclusion is inevitable that the figure of Wisdom is a unique development in Judaism and one which stands only partly parallel to the development of an angelology in Judaism.

Notes from 1 to 2.2

1. Philo's concept of Sophia has deliberately been neglected due to limits of time and space. It has been summarily mentioned in 3.5.2.2. For a thorough discussion of Sophia in Philo's works cf U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen bei Philo von Alexandrien*, Leiden 1968, 172-63; cf also J.A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit. An Investigation of 1Cor 1.18-3.20 Against the Background of Jewish Sapiential Tradition in the Greco-Roman Period*, Lanham/New York/London 1984, who makes the assertion that Wis and Philo share 'a common context of meaning' (50), in this dependent on D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon [AB]*, New York 1979. This however only papers over the differences, which U. Früchtel's study demonstrates clearly enough (cf esp. 172-5).
- 1a. I. Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma. Studien zur Christologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe*, München 1961.
2. J.D.G. Dunn, 'II Corinthians 3.17 - "The Lord is the Spirit"', *JTS NS* 21 (1970), 309-20.
3. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart [...] ²1981, 299-301.
4. Cf H.-P. Müller, 'Die weisheitliche Lehrerzählung im AT und seiner Umwelt,' *WO* 9 (1977), 77-98.
5. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung*, 175-6.
6. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung*, 150-1.
7. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School*, Oxford 1972, 244-274.
8. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung*, 215.
9. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung*, 203.
10. B. Lang, *Die weisheitliche Lehrrede [SBS 54]*, Stuttgart 1972; the exact proportions are however still a matter of debate; cf O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia) [BKAT ; 17.1-4]*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981-3, 3-7.
11. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 110-114.
12. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 110-114; M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, Tübingen ²1973, 275.
13. Against C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1-9*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1966; with M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 280. Kayatz's Egyptian parallels are impressive but do not necessarily imply a pre-exilic authorship. H.H.Schmid's assertion that Ma'at had become a mere legalistic term by the third century BC (H.H.Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit [BZAW ; 101]*, Berlin 1966, 152 n.45) is not correct, as O.Keel, *Die Weisheit spricht vor Gott. Ein ikonographischer Beitrag zur Deutung des m^esahäqät in Sprüche 8,30f*, Freiburg [Schweiz] 1974, 63, n.140, has pointed out.
14. J.L.Crenshaw, *OT Wisdom. An Introduction*, London 1981, 76-77,92; cf O. Plöger, *Sprüche*, 34 (concerning Prov 31-12): 'So scheint es mir nicht ratsam, hier eine bewußte 'Jahwesierung' einer religiös neutralen Weisheit zu vermuten; es ist dies weniger eine Durchdringung weisheitlichen Denken mit der Jahwefurcht, als mehr

eine Berücksichtigung des Jahweglaubens, so daß Divergenzen vermieden werden sollen.'

15. J.L. Crenshaw, *OT Wisdom*, 91-99.
16. S. Herrmann, *Geschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit*, München 1980, 374, 392-413.
17. C.V.Camp, *Wisdom and the Feminine*, Sheffield 1985, 233-282, dates Prov 1-9 in the early post-exilic period. While at times stimulating, Camp frequently spoils her promising approaches through wild speculation (cf her linking of Dame Wisdom calling aloud at the city gate with Ruth and Tamar at the gate; 125-33). Her assertion that the personification of Wisdom as a female indicates the increasing status of women in the early post-exilic times has to be rejected as not proven, and indeed highly improbable.
18. O. Plöger, *Sprüche*, 113: 'Was mich bedenklich macht ist die Form von Anfügungen und Einschaltungen vorgenommener Durchdringung der Mahnreden durch andere Formen weisheitlicher Beschäftigung, wie sie in den Sentenzensammlungen zu Worte kommt, in umgekehrter Richtung ist dies jedenfalls in Blick auf die großen Kernsammlungen in 10,1-22,16 und in Kap 25-29 nicht der Fall, in denen keine Durchsetzung mit Bestandteilen nach Art der Mahnreden festzustellen ist. Bei der Annahme einer zu vermutenden Gleichzeitigkeit beider großen Linien weisheitlicher Beschäftigung wird man eher eine bilateral Durchdringung erwarten können, wenn überhaupt eine solche gegenseitige Beeinflussung als notwendig erachtet wurde.'¹
19. Cf H. Köster, ὑπόστασις [TWNT ; VIII], 580-589.
20. Cf H. Köster, ὑπόστασις [TWNT ; VIII], 572-589.
21. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, London ²1960, 341.
22. W. Oesterley/G.H. Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, London 1911, 195.
23. S. Mowinckel, 'Hypostasis' [RGG ; II], ²1928, col. 2065.
24. H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 8.
25. H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 104.
26. C.V. Camp, *Wisdom and the Feminine*, 49.
27. G.v. Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, London 1972, 147.
28. M. Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen. Zum Fortgang weisheitlichen Denkens im Bereich d. frühjüd. Jahweglaubens*, Freiburg [Schweiz]/Göttingen 1979, 36, n.8; 556-62.
29. E.S. Fiorenza, *Wisdom Mythology and the Christological Hymns of the New Testament*, in: R.L. Wilken (ed.), *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* [Univ. of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity ; 1], London 1975, 29.33f.
30. G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen im Judentum* [Arbeiten zur Theologie ; I], Stuttgart 1967.

31. Cf *Personality, Roles, and Social Behaviour*. Ed. by W. Ickes/E.S. Knowles, New York [...], 1982; *Close Relationships*, H.H. Kelley..., New York 1983.
32. D. Denneth, 'Conditions of Personhood,' in: *The Identities of Persons*, ed. by Amélie Oksenberg Rorty, Berkeley [CA] 1976.
33. Thus E. Leisi, *Paar und Sprache. Linguistische Aspekte der Zweierbeziehung*, Heidelberg 1983, seeks to evaluate the relationship between couples by analyzing their verbal communication.
34. I readily admit my indebtedness to M. Buber, *Ich und Du*, transl. into Engl. as *I and Thou*, Edinburgh 1937.
35. LXX has translated **פַּחַד** in 17 and **הַחֵמָה** in 910 both times with σοφία. Here is evidence for a later systematization of σοφία, where it has clearly become the only word to describe the fear of Yahweh.
36. 'Werbung' (O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*).
37. 'Drohrede' (O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*).
38. Cf the discussion by C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1-9*, 119-133.
39. C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1-9*, 122.
40. C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1-9*, 123.
41. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 20.
42. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 18.
43. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 36.
44. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 37.
45. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 36-38: ...man [wird] eine personhafte Vorstellung der Weisheit nicht gut entbehren können (38). Differently G.v.Rad, *Wisdom of Israel*, London 1972, 155.
46. Cf C.V. Camp, *Wisdom and the Feminine*, 99-103.
47. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 73.
48. C.V. Camp, *Wisdom and the Feminine*, 84-97.
49. See above p.10f.; O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 18-21.
50. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 82.
51. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 81-3.
52. Cf especially 724-27, which reminds one of the above-mentioned goddess's function both as goddess of love and goddess of war; O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 81.
53. M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 280-1.
54. Cf H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, Lund 1947, 134; G.v. Rad, **הַחֵמָה** [THAT I], 457f: 'Blut und Leben hat die personifizierte Weisheit zu einem guten Teil von ihrer vitaleren Gegenspielerin, der Liebesgöttin Astarte empfangen' (458).
55. M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 281-2.
56. M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 281-2.
57. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 87.
58. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 88.
59. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 90 against H. Cazelles, 'Sacra Pagina I. L'enfante-

ment de la sagesse du Prov VIII,' *BeThL* XII (1959), 511-515.

60. Cf also O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 90: 'Aber sehe ich recht, dann ist dieser Hinweis auf die Mächtigen doch nur eine paradigmatische Veranschaulichung ihres Tuns, das in jede Form von Leben hineinwirkt'.
61. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 91; after G.v. Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*.
62. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 92-93.
63. Cf O. Plöger's discussion of אָמֹן (830) (O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*) and O. Keels's discussion of מִשְׁהֵקֶה in: *Die Weisheit spricht vor Gott. Ein ikonographischer Beitrag zur Deutung des m^esaḥāqāt in Sprüche 8,30f*, Freiburg [Schweiz] 1974.
64. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 97.
65. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 93.

2.3 Ben Sira

Because of the difficult text-critical questions involved in the exegesis of Ben Sira, extensive use of O. Rickenbacher's study, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira* will be made.¹ The texts which will be examined are: 11-27; 411-19; 618-37; 1420-1510; 1623; 241-34; 3834c-3911. Ben Sira is unanimously held to have been written between 190 and 175 BC by Jesus ben Eleazar ben Sira.²

2.3.1 Sir 11-27

11-27 has traditionally been regarded as a thematic development of Wisdom, with Wisdom as the subject. Rickenbacher has however given conclusive evidence to the contrary. He finds the actual subject of the passage to be the 'fear of the Lord', whereas Wisdom is the predicate. "Die hintergründige Frage lautet doch: "Was ist Weisheit?" Und die Antwort wird gegeben: "Die Furcht des Herrn, das ist Weisheit."³ Ben Sira doesn't ask about the fear of the Lord; this is taken for granted. Rather he wants to lead people to wisdom and thus defines Wisdom in the light of the fear of the Lord.⁴

Wisdom is very much in the limelight. The book opens with a description of Wisdom. Wisdom was by God from eternity (עולם 11; cf 4221) and was created (αὐτίκω) by God from eternity (עולם cf 14; 248-9); thus Wisdom is again very close to God, the אל עולם (3622), who determines the transitory or eternal character of everything (cf 12.9; 29; 1627; 1628; 1712; 181; 3920; 4218; 4223; 436; 4418; 457.13.15.24; 4711; 4825;

4912; 5023; 510).⁵ We again see the need of the sages to define Wisdom's relation to God in terms of a subordination.

Wisdom has a certain role in creation: she is given to all creatures. It would seem that Wisdom is given to all 'flesh,' but especially to those who fear God.

No one has seen and measured the totality and the root of Wisdom except for its creator, God. If the root is interpreted as the hidden part of the plant, it correlates well with the hidden things of 16b: Man can see the results of Wisdom, certain manifestations of it, but the root, the hidden side of it, is known only to Wisdom itself and Yahweh.⁶

2.3.2 Sir 411-19

When one discards the old scholastic categories in the manner outlined in the *Excurs on Hypostasis and Personification* (see p. 6), it becomes evident that Wisdom is definitely a person: she teaches (בִּין) and admonishes (עֹר (hi.); H: עֹד - Rickenbacher suggests emendation to עֹר (hi.)),⁷ clearly a teacher - student relationship (411), which in the Orient was a much deeper relationship than it is today, in many ways resembling a father - son relationship; it is really an extension of the father - child relationship. Her 'own' love her (אהב) and seek her (מצא) (412,14b), suggesting a 'family' relationship; probably a parent - child relationship is alluded to here, as any explicitly erotic terms evincing a husband - wife relationship are missing. The wisdom - lovers are also described as being servants (משרתים), hence denoting a

master - servant relationship.

The seekers of Wisdom will be loved by God; in other words, a love - relationship with Wisdom results in a love - relationship with God.

A few general terms present in every type of personal relationship also appear: hearing Wisdom (שומע), taking heed of Wisdom (מאזין), trusting in Wisdom (בחר). The teacher - student relationship resurfaces in 17ff: the teacher tests her pupil in order ultimately to strengthen him and reveal to him yet more of her secrets (417,18). If her pupil 'disowns' her, she will disown him (419).

2.3.3 Sir 618-37

This passage does not contribute a great deal to our questions concerning Ben Sira. It suffices to note two aspects: no personal relationship to Wisdom surfaces. The pictures of the sower/reeper (619) and of slavery (?; 623-25) are depicted. 626ff emphatically urges the listener to seek Wisdom, as does the whole thrust of the passage, but Wisdom would seem to be more of a possession.

2.3.4 Sir 1420-1510

Ben Sira seems to be using old patterns in this passage; perhaps he is carrying out a midrash on Ps 1 or a related text.⁸ It is equally possible that he has other texts in mind as well.⁹ It is therefore not necessary to postulate a pre-Siracide core.¹⁰

The passage uses a number of metaphors. The motif which holds everything to-

gether is the seeker of Wisdom, who in turn gives to the seeker fulfilment of his desires. The relationship to wisdom seems an amalgam of relationships. Although Wisdom is called a mother (152a; 152b: 'woman of his youth' probably has the same meaning. Interpreting this to mean 'wife' or 'bride' is not strictly logical, as a wife tends to be around after one's youth as well⁴¹). Experience teaches us that people don't usually seek their mothers in the described manner. It is hard to find any picture that fits 1421-23. Ben Sira is obviously intending to convey the wisdom-seeker's anxiety to gain Wisdom through spy imagery: the spy endeavours to extract valuable hidden information from a person by listening in secret everywhere, especially in the vicinity of the person's most private life, in his home. 1424-25 expresses the need of the sage to live next to Wisdom. In 1426-27 (Wisdom as a tree) the wise man seeks protection under the auspices of Wisdom. It can in conclusion be said that no personal relationship is evident in 1424-27.

152 evokes the parent - son, specifically the mother - son relationship again. She nourishes the sage (153), gives him authority over his neighbors (155) and happiness culminating in the acquiring of an 'eternal name' (156).

155 causes one to pause: Wisdom opens the mouth of the sage in the **קהל**. In the OT and Qumran only Yahweh opens the mouth of people (and asses) (cf Num 2228; Ezek 3322; 327; Ps 5117; 1QH 107; 1233).¹² Here it is Wisdom who is opening the mouth of the sage. We remember that one of the aims of Wisdom in Prov 1-9 is the impart-

ing of the ability to speak 'words of understanding' (Prov 12). The parallels in the OT would suggest a kind of prophetic speech, a speech deriving from Yahweh through Wisdom. This once again leads to the conjecture that Wisdom has assumed the role of Yahweh's spirit. The 'water of understanding' mentioned in 153 would seem to be an equivalent of Prov 123, where Wisdom lets her spirit bubble forth in the wisdom-seeker.¹³

151 identifies the fear of the Lord with holding the law (תורה) and obtaining Wisdom. "For Ben Sira the three are inseparable."¹⁴ It is not the only passage relating these three elements, as the analysis of Sira 24:1-34 below demonstrates.

2.3.5 Sir 24:1-34

Most scholars hold this passage to contain the culmination of the book. Rickenbacher's observations on the structure of Sira 24 will be used as the base for the following discussion.¹⁵ Rickenbacher adheres to the view of L. Alonso-Schoekel¹⁶ that Sir 24 can be divided into 6 strophes: I (24:1-6): the origin of Wisdom and its function cosmica; II (24:7-11): Wisdom's search on earth until it finds Jerusalem/Israel; III (24:12-15): Wisdom's growth and fragrance; IV (24:16-22): Wisdom's invitation to men; V (24:23-29): the sage talks about the Torah; VI (24:30-34) the sage talks about himself.

The source of Ben Sira's picture of Wisdom descending onto Mount Zion has been vigorously debated. Although the earlier supposition linking the descending-Wisdom

concept with a gnostic myth (Bultmann, U. Wilckens, G. Fohrer et al.) has generally been abandoned, the opinions of scholars pertaining to the origins of this concept tend to differ quite widely; the only agreement which has been reached is the fact that Ben Sira is working with a combination of sources deriving from the the Old Testament. However, the Leitlinie - the overall concept - has not yet been adequately determined. The main contributing factor to Ben Sira's descending-Wisdom concept, which I haven't come across yet in any interpretations of Sir 24, would seem to be rather obvious. The framework of Sir 24 would have sprung into the mind of the temple-centralized Jew at once: **Sira is carrying out a midrash on 1Kings 8**; he is interpreting the 'enthronement' of Yahweh in the temple, which had already gone through several stages of interpretation in 1Kgs 8, in the light of his Wisdom-theology. This will become sufficiently clear in the following exegesis:

2.3.5.1 *1 Kings 8*¹⁷

There is general consensus on the fact that 1Kgs contains old material in 81-13, especially in 812-13,¹⁸ which has subsequently seen several additions through later writers. The passage has been developed in 814ff through the Deuteronomistic redaction.

The Deuteronomistic circles considered the old narrative of the transferal of the ark of the covenant and of the dwelling of Yahweh over the ark as worthy of elaboration and correction. For in the old narrative contained in 81-13, Yahweh is actually

located at the temple, with the ark of the covenant most probably functioning as his footstool.¹⁹ 810-11 has been taken from Exod 40:34-35 ('P') nearly word for word, with the apparent function of showing that Yahweh had accepted this dwelling in the same way that he had accepted the tabernacle as his dwelling-place.²⁰ Yahweh himself dwells in the cloud (ענן) in the same way that he was in the pillar of cloud/fire in Exodus. In the same way that he rested on the tabernacle in the cloud after the covenant at Sinai, he now rests on the temple, his כבוד causing not Moses, but rather his representatives the priests, to retreat from the temple.

We can also note that ערפל (812)²¹ is used in Exodus (and Deut) specifically for the appearance of Yahweh on Sinai (esp Exod 20:21; Deut 4:11-5:22). Thus we have yet another allusion to the Sinai covenant at Mount Sinai. When we look at 81-13 with this Sinai-perspective in mind, it doesn't come as a surprise to observe that it is expressly mentioned that the two stone tablets from Horeb were in the ark of the covenant (89).

814ff endeavours to supplement the preceding narrative in several important aspects. Yahweh himself doesn't dwell in the temple; only his 'Name' does (816,17,19,20,29), for Yahweh now lives in heaven (832,36,39,43,45,49). 829 gives us the meaning of Yahweh's 'Name' dwelling in the temple: it means that he directs his eyes towards the temple at all times and answers the requests of his servant which the latter offers there or in the direction of the temple (= qibla).²² To refer to the name as a 'hypostasis' (Pfei-

fer) is dubious at best, even though it demonstrates the later tendency to 'transcendentalize' Yahweh.²³

Chronicles carries the development of Sinai-motifs even further in its version of the building of the temple. Thus the temple structure differs from that portrayed in 1 Kgs, here assuming characteristics of the tabernacle as described in Exod 25ff.²⁴ The parallel account to 1 Kgs 8 found in 2Chr 5-7 demonstrates this tendency as well: the passage has even closer allusions to Exod 40.²⁵

One other text which deals with the same theme is Ezekiel 43, where the prophet beholds Yahweh filling the (new) temple with his presence once more. The interesting thing about Ezek 43 is the filling of the **future** temple with Yahweh's presence: just as Yahweh filled the Solomonic temple (and the tabernacle) with his presence, so he will fill the future temple with his presence.²⁶

Also striking is Ezek 43:7 because of its description of the temple as the place on which the soles of Yahweh's feet rest.²⁷ Again, Yahweh is imagined to reside in 'heavenly heights' above the actual temple.²⁸ This incidentally gives another clue as to how the 'Name'-theology of the Deuteronomistic circles should be treated. Just as the 'soles' of Yahweh's feet cannot be treated as a hypostasis but rather as an integral part of Yahweh, so also the name of Yahweh cannot be treated as a hypostasis.²⁹

It has become sufficiently evident that the inauguration of the temple in Jerusalem was a source of much thought and interpretation. The later texts all demonstrate

that the grafting of Sinai traditions onto the temple in Jerusalem was entirely successful.

2.3.5.2 *Sir 24*

Having noted that 1Kgs 8 had received considerable attention already, it should not come as a surprise to find that Ben Sira has given this passage a new interpretation in the light of his own research. After all, all that is needed is to combine the two passages 8:1-11 and 8:14ff, the motif of Yahweh filling the temple in a cloud and Yahweh in heaven. How can these two apparently contradictory views be combined? Ben Sira says: it's simple--of course Yahweh is transcendent, but he sends Wisdom to 'represent' him in the cloud in the Exodus and the temple. Thus was born the so-called 'gnostic myth'. And just as in 1 Kgs 8 the covenant at Sinai forms the base of the narrative (see above), so it also forms the base in Ben Sira as he draws together the two concepts of Wisdom and Torah. This has to be discussed in detail.

2.3.5.2.1 *Sir 24:1-6*

The discourse in 24 'is reminiscent of Prv 8':³⁰ The preface echoes the opening lines of Prv 8. The influence of some form of Isis-Aretology seems to be visible in the passage.³¹ We find Wisdom praising herself everywhere on earth and in heaven.

Rickenbacher rightly points out that the description of wisdom's emanation out of Yahweh's mouth can only be understood as its creation, not as the 'word of God'

(דבר) (cf 248).³² Admittedly the meaning of the sentence is not entirely clear, but the intention is certainly to affirm Wisdom's divine origins.³³ Sir 244b provides us with a link to 1Kgs 8. The Hebrew *Vorlage* behind $\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\iota}\chi\lambda\eta$ has conclusively been proven to be ערפל.³⁴ It is worth taking a closer look at the use of ערפל in the OT:

Excurs: ערפל in the Old Testament

Exod 2021

Moses approaches the ערפל where God is situated (Sinai).

Deut 411; 522

ערפל is the location of Yahweh (Horeb).

2Sam 2210; Ps 1810

Yahweh has an ערפל under his feet when he comes to answer the petitioner in the Psalm. This manifestation is of a different kind, it is the just God rooting out evil and saving the righteous one. In the context of the psalm, the Sinai theophany is combined with the cult: the psalm is a 're-presentation' of the theophany, an actualisation of Sinai the setting of the Temple-cult.³⁵

Isa 602

The peoples are still in the dark cloud, although the light is about to come. The coming of the light upon Zion leaves the rest of the world in darkness (v.2).³⁶ Yahweh's presence for the Israelites is light, whereas for the other peoples it is darkness, the numinous aspect of Yahweh.

Jer 1316

Judah is expecting Yahweh's light to come; instead, 'he turned the light into darkness (צלמות); he made it to gloom (ערפל).'³⁷

Ezek 3412

Yahweh says he will gather together those who have been scattered on the day of ענן and ערפל, a reference to the day of God's wrath when he sent Judah into exile.

Joel 22

The day of darkness (חשך) and gloom (אפלה), the day of cloud (ענן) and dark

cloud (ערפל) is coming, which is synonymous with the day of Yahweh (Joel 1:15; 2:1; 2:31). Here again the destructive, numinous side of Yahweh becomes visible, in which he comes in an army of locusts (and subsequently as saviour (2:18ff)).

Zeph 1:15

Again it is in the context of the 'day of Yahweh' that ערפל is mentioned: God's wrath is drawing near in the form of an invasion:

יום עברה החזא יום צרה ומצוקה
יום שאה ומשואה יום חשך ואפלה
יום ענן וערפל

Ps 97:2

This psalm is written in the form of a hymn.³⁸ This psalm recalls the Sinai theophany.³⁹ ענן and ערפל surround (סבב) Yahweh. 97:3,4 show that here again the numinous aspects of Yahweh are being highlighted (fire (v.3), devouring his enemies (v.4), lightning (v.5), the melting mountains (v.5)). For the wicked, Yahweh's terrible manifestation spells annihilation, whereas the righteous rejoice at his coming.

Job 22:13

Eliphaz puts the argument of the godless into Job's mouth: God is so far away - he is shrouded in the ערפל, veiled (סתר) in the עבים (cf Exod 19:9); therefore how can he possibly know our actions and direct our lives? This argument is based on the fact that God manifests himself on earth in the ערפל and עבים, that theophanies occur in this manner.⁴⁰

Job 38:9

God describes his might at creation, here specifically the way in which He controlled the sea and set its boundaries. Here ענן is used by God as a garment for the sea and ערפל as its swaddling band. ערפל is then in some way related to Yahweh's work at creation.⁴¹

2 Ch 6:1 = 1Kgs 8:12

Sira 4:5

Moses goes into the dark cloud at Sinai.

All of the above references conclusively demonstrate that the use of ערפל is re-

stricted to manifestations of God, either in his wrath or his grace. It is always used to illustrate the might and the numinous aspect of God's presence. In one case (Job 389) it is used in the context of God's work at creation (*End of Excurs_λ*).

As we have seen, ערפל is the location of God when he manifests himself, be it at creation (Job 389) or before man. G.I. Sheppard tries to explain the occurrence of ערפל as a combination of Gen 12 and 26 by Ben Sira. In order to do this, he has to combine the interpretations of the Targum of Onkelos and the Palestinian Targum (which understand the אד in Gen 26 as an ענן descending from 'the throne of glory'), with the 'darkness' (חשך) mentioned in Gen 12.⁴² Now this does not seem to be the most illuminating way to explain the term, as one ends up with too many variables. It is not necessary to assume such a complicated chain of thought.

As has been observed above, ערפל appears in Job 389 as present at creation. It is in itself a certain parallel to Gen 12, with God's ערפל standing in the stead of רוח אלהים. Now why should not Ben Sira use this word in the context of creation as well? Job 389 uses the metaphor of swaddling the sea, as one would a baby, whereas Ben Sira uses the word 'covering' (κατακαλύπτω); thus we can conclude that whilst the imagery used is not the same, clearly Ben Sira's intent is the same: the portrayal of ערפל as being present at creation. It is quite possible that the imagery of Gn 12 and Gn 26 influenced Ben Sira secondarily.

One final point must be made. As noted above, ערפל is otherwise used in the context of God's manifestation to man. The word derives its meaning primarily from

the Sinai theophany (Exod 20:1; Deut 4:11; 5:22; 2 Sam 22:10; 1Kgs 8:12; 2Chr 6:1; Ps 18:10; (eschatologically:) Isa 60:2; Ps 17:2; (weakly:) Job 22:13). Ben Sira himself uses it thus in 4:55. This allows the postulation that the other references which don't refer to the Sinai theophany (ie God's manifestation as wrath (Jer 13:16; Ezek 34:12; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15) and as creator (**Job 38:9**)) derive from the Sinai theophany as well, which after all is also portrayed as the place of the golden calf. Job 38:9 could be seen as a projection of the Sinai theophany into creation, whilst the eschatological references are the projection of the Sinai theophany into the future. In the light of the numinous presence of Yahweh as experienced at Sinai, it was natural to conclude that his might extended to the past and the future; one way of expressing this might was with the word ערפיל, which apparently conveyed the experience of the awesome forces made manifest through the presence of Yahweh.

It may therefore safely be concluded that Ben Sira has projected the Sinai theophany into creation itself. This is no coincidence. Rickenbacher has already shown, especially on the basis of 17:8-14, that the Torah has been projected into the time of creation.⁴³ "Wir halten...das Hineinstellen der Torah in die Schöpfungsordnung als deren Ziel und mindestens zum Teil auch als deren Anfang."⁴⁴

In 24:4a Wisdom encamps in the high places. Two options for the underlying verb of the sentence are probable: (a) נטע אהל (or תקע) [S] or חנה (G); (b) שכן / לון / ישב.⁴⁵ (a) is most probable,⁴⁶ as not only 24:3b and 24:4b, but also the whole

passage is alluding to the tabernacle and the wilderness experience (cf esp. 24b)⁴⁷ - both **נִמְעַ אֵהָל / תִּקַּע** or **חֲנָה** would fit into this setting.⁴⁸ The fact that Wisdom dwelt 'in the high places' is significant, as 'the high places' is the location of the firmament and God by Ben Sira (cf Sira 13; 1617; 1732; 244; 2616; 4011; 431)⁴⁹ as well as often in the prophets and Psalms (Ps 1134-5; 13214; Isa 335,16; 5715).⁵⁰ The difference of Wisdom to God lies in the fact that Wisdom only temporarily has her abode there, before moving on until she reaches Zion.⁵¹

In 24b Wisdom has her throne in a pillar of cloud.⁵² A throne is the seat of a human ruler or of God. In the context of a pillar of cloud, which clearly alludes to Exodus, it can only be the setting of God (cf Exod 337-11, etc.). Wisdom has here usurped a function originally belonging to God; in Exodus it is God himself who moves in the pillar of cloud.⁵³ This is comparable with the Deuteronomistic attempt to interpret any reference to Yahweh on earth as a manifestation of his Name.⁵⁴

Verses 5 and 6, although probably showing traces of an Isis Aretalogy⁵⁵ 'are thematically related statements about God that are interpreted anthologically in Sirach for Wisdom.'⁵⁶ Sheppard very nicely shows that Sira is drawing mainly on Job 98 (God treads the **בְּמַחֵי** of the sea), Job 2214 (God walks [**יִתְהַלֵּךְ**] on the circle of heaven) and Job 3814 (God enters the springs of the sea and walks in the recesses of the deep), which all have God as their subject.⁵⁷ These verses are the only references in Job where God is said to be ambulating in this manner, and together they

form the four cosmic points of reference over which only God has authority.⁵⁸ Once again Wisdom has assumed God's role.

2.3.5.2.2 Sir 247-11

247 introduces the second strophe with the theme of **Wisdom's** search on earth for a resting-place. Through the expression *μετὰ τούτων πάντων*, Ben Sira links **Wisdom's** search on earth to its cosmic wanderings.⁵⁹ Sheppard points out that the words used in the whole strophe all point to the Exodus tradition. The seeking for rest has three close parallels: Judges 18¹ describes how the Danites 'sought for themselves an inheritance to settle upon.' Most importantly, Num 10³³ mentions the Israelites' three-day journey from Horeb, where the ark of the covenant is leading them 'to seek out a resting place' (לְחֹרֶר לָהֶם מִנוּחָה) = LXX κατασκέψασθαι αὐτοῖς ἀνάπαυσιν), with the cloud of Yahweh over them. In Deut 1³³ Yahweh himself is said to have led Israel in the fire/cloud in order to search a place for them to pitch their tents (לְחַנְתְּכֶם לְחֹרֶר לָכֶם מִקּוֹם), rendered by Sheppard into the Greek as ζητεῖν... κατασκηναῖ).⁶⁰ Sheppard concludes that this term is thus used exclusively for the Israelites seeking their inheritance.⁶¹ However, as we have seen, it is Yahweh who searches for the inheritance for the children of Israel in the two closest parallels (Num 10³³; Deut 1³³). Inheritance (נוחלה; נוהל) is a very common word used to describe the land Israel received from Yahweh (cf eg Exod 23³⁰; 32¹³; Num 26⁵⁵; 32¹⁸⁻¹⁹; Deut 19¹⁴; Josh 16¹⁴). This suffices to show that wisdom is still acting

in the role of Yahweh in the wilderness. In 248 Yahweh assigns Wisdom to Zion and gives her Jacob as her inheritance.⁶² This is an allusion to the tabernacle being localized in Jerusalem; as we have seen, a part of the message of 1Kgs 8 is to show the localization of the tabernacle in the form of the temple and to show that Yahweh (81-13), or his Name (814) resides in the temple.⁶³

249 is a break in the flow of thought - the thought reverts back to the creation of Wisdom then rebounds forward into eternity. Although not strictly logical, this insertion is however a typical characteristic of Ben Sira's love for the creation-motif and his tendency to relate everything to creation.⁶⁴ This has the effect firstly of accentuating the status of Wisdom and secondly of planting Wisdom's inheritance in Israel *expressis verbis* from Exodus/Zion squarely into creation itself,⁶⁵ thus indirectly of planting the Torah itself into creation.⁶⁶ The Torah is elsewhere seen to exist at creation, notably in Sira 178-14.⁶⁷ Lastly, 249 places Wisdom into the row of created beings, as does 248, just as Prv 822 (probably) has. Here Wisdom clearly stands apart from God as the created being to its creator.

2410 briefly recapitulates the movement of the tabernacle from Sinai to Zion. We observe that v.10 alludes to the priestly function of Wisdom in the Tabernacle. This is a clear reference to the pillar of cloud which filled the tabernacle and later the temple: Wisdom, whose throne is on the pillar of cloud here acts as an intermediary between God and man. Indeed, if we glance back to 1Kgs 8, we can surmise that

this is an interpretation of 1Kgs 8:10-11, where the priests cannot minister in the temple because of the cloud in the temple. The following line of thought is a distinct possibility: (a) Wisdom, not God is in the cloud for Ben Sira; (b) the priests could not serve in the temple as the cloud was in it (1Kgs 8:10-11); therefore (c) Wisdom was serving in place of the priests in the temple. After all, what human being can really serve the awesome living God Yahweh? There must be some kind of mediator. This is in any case another step beyond the Deuteronomistic circles in trying to define God's transcendence and yet hold on to his care for and relationship to Israel.

24:11 recapitulates 24:8, Wisdom finding her rest and the sphere of her rule in Jerusalem. For Ben Sira, all might and authority to rule belongs to Yahweh (cf 7:4; 10:1, 4f; 16:27; 41:6),⁶⁸ therefore it is natural for Wisdom to have this rule allocated to her. Also, Jerusalem is the place from which the king rules over all Israel.⁶⁹ In Sir 36:12-13 it is again Yahweh who dwells in Jerusalem and fills the temple with his glory (once again the influence of 1Kgs 8 is noticeable). Thus again the interchangeability of Yahweh and Wisdom is demonstrated.

24:7-11 points to another factor in Ben Sira's theology: his need to explain universal Wisdom as well as a special Wisdom allocated to Israel. He manages to do this by mentioning Wisdom's might over the whole cosmos in 24:3-6 but showing the 'particularistic,' special aspects of Israel's Wisdom through the combination of 24:3-6 with the specifically Sinai/Zion motifs of 24:7ff. More accurately, Ben Sira projects the

Wisdom of Israel onto the cosmos, defining the Wisdom of the cosmos in the light of the Wisdom of Israel. Thus he balances a universal cosmic order and a special order reserved for Israel, which however determines the cosmic order.

2.3.5.2.3 Sir 24:12-15

24:12-15 develop the aspect of Wisdom's growth and fragrance in Israel/Zion. Shephard translates 24:12 as 'I took root among an honoured people and in the portion of the Lord was my inheritance';⁷⁰ however, in 12b it seems better to adhere to S, not G, as Rickenbacher does, thus resulting in a different sense: 'Ich fasst[e - author's note] Wurzel (oder: ich wuchs empor) in einem geehrten Volke, im Anteil des Herrn, **in seinem Erbesitz;**⁷¹ For Ben Sira's use of inheritance see the discussion of 24:7-8. 24:13-14,16-17 illustrate the growth of Wisdom - it thrives like the garden of Eden (cf Gen 2; Ez 31:2b-9; Isa 41:17-20 et. al.). For the present purposes it suffices to note the allusions to Eden, which suggests the specially lavish growth as in the beginning and in the future, when Israel's state will be comparable to Eden.⁷² This also directs one's attention to the beginning. These allusions are also present in v. 23ff (see below).

24:15 clearly alludes to the tent/temple ministry; here, Ben Sira has apparently fused Exod 30:23 and 30:34.⁷³ The elements mentioned are all used to indicate the presence of the Divine. Thus again we can see Wisdom performing the ministering functions in the temple.

2.3.5.2.4 Sir 24¹⁶⁻²²

24¹⁶⁻²² represents the fourth strophe (Wisdom's invitation to men), whereby admittedly v. 16-17 continue the train of thought started in v. 12 (see above). Verse 17 is interesting, as the vine-metaphor has an important parallel in John 15, where not Wisdom, but Jesus is identified with the vine (cf 30²⁵⁻²⁷; 51^{15ab}).⁷⁴ V.21 then reminds one of other passages in John (cf Sir 24^{21b} with John 4:14; Sir 24^{21a} with John 6:51; and Sir 24^{21a,b} to John 6:35 with the intended difference by John that Jesus gives satisfaction into all eternity). The important point is that Wisdom invites the wisdom-seekers to 'think' of her (זכר), to eat and drink of her, to hear her voice and obey her. 24¹²⁻²² is really a version of Prov 12:1ff and Prov 8, however without the hortatory character of Prov 12:1ff. When compared to Prov 8, it is rather pale in comparison, even though the elements of self-praise and invitation are there.

2.3.5.2.5 Sir 24²³⁻²⁹

24²³ introduces another element into the arena: the Torah. Text-critically it would appear that the βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου is secondary.⁷⁵ Rickenbacher offers the translation: 'Dies alles ist das Gesetz, das uns (?) Moses gebot, als Erbteil für die Gemeinde Jakobs.'⁷⁶ Sheppard looks in the right direction for the source of Ben Sira's Wisdom, namely Deuteronomy.⁷⁷ However, a great deal of his argumentation depends on his regarding 'book of the covenant' as primary. If we approach the verse from the perspective of 1 Kgs 8, everything falls into place. As shown above,⁷⁸ 1 Kgs 8 emphatically demonstrates the fact that the pillar of cloud and the ark of the

covenant find their ultimate resting-place in the temple, thus sanctioning the temple in Jerusalem as the official sanctuary of worship of Yahweh and as the official guardian/trustee of the Torah (not as a book, of course). Now these are the two pervading elements of Sir 24: the pillar of cloud and the Torah. Already in 1Kgs 8 the pillar of cloud and the ark of the covenant encasing the stone tablets are somehow linked, as the ark of the covenant forms the footstool of the throne of Yahweh/the pillar of cloud. **Thus Ben Sira is not really saying anything new at all by identifying the Torah with Wisdom. It is his identification of the pillar of cloud and Wisdom that is new, and which leads to his identification of Wisdom and the Torah.** Again, this does not necessarily exclude Sheppard's interpretation - it is possible that other texts from Deuteronomy influenced Ben Sira's thinking. The important point is that 1Kgs 8 forms the backbone of Sir 24.

2425-9 again alludes to paradisiacal conditions, with the rivers mentioned clearly being derived from Gen 2.⁷⁹ This 'Eden' is of course not universal: it is limited to Wisdom as she is anchored in the temple in Jerusalem; moreover, only the true wisdom-seekers can experience this. In the light of 2423, these wisdom-seekers are then defined through their observance of the Torah.

2.3.5.2.6 Sir 2430-34

Ben Sira then turns the spot-light on himself, portraying himself as having acquired the 'water' of Wisdom and acting as a channel through which Wisdom flows. This reminds one of Prov 123: the 'water' imagery has been strongly developed by Ben Sira.⁸⁰

The parallels between Sir 2430-31 and Ezek 471-9 are quite striking.⁸¹ Although there are other parallels (cf eg Isa 5811), Ezek 471-9 is the closest, as here an increase in the quantity of water also takes place.⁸² Wisdom gushes through the channel in Ben Sira, growing ever larger until it becomes a sea. It appears in the form of παιδεία and προφητεία. Rickenbacher translates ὡς προφητεία as 'als Prophetenwort', arguing that ὡς is the translation of כ, following the Syriac text.⁸³ 'Man kommt dort an einem נבואה nicht vorbei. Wenn dazu noch das כ aus S dem ὡς des G vorgeht, dann wird die Frage laut, ob Ben Sira sich nicht nur als Weisheitslehrer, sondern auch als Prophet betrachtet habe.... es [wäre] bei seiner ausgeprägten theologischen Auffassung der חכמה durchaus noch möglich, dass er sich selber als eigentlichen Nachfolger der Profeten in einer veränderten Zeitlage betrachtet hätte.'⁸⁴

When the strophe is seen in the light of v. 33, one is entitled to search for other indications of God's Spirit. Now the connection of the Spirit and water imagery is not very old. It appears in the prophets mainly in connection with the eschaton, when Israel will finally reach a state of perfection, when the Spirit *will be poured out* on everyone; in that aeon, *everyone* will prophesy.

Excurs: The Spirit and water Imagery in the OT

Isa 2910 speaks of a 'spirit of lethargy' (רוח תרדמה) which Yahweh has poured (נסך I (qal.)) on the inhabitants of 'Ariel' ie Jerusalem. This is a reference to the false prophets and seers who are claiming to be touched by Yahweh's Spirit in their utterances. Thus Yahweh also works negatively through his Spirit (cf Isa 1914; 1Kgs 2220ff; 2Kgs 1971f).⁸⁵

The other main references all relate to the eschaton. Isa 32:15-20 combines the pouring (ערה) (ni) of the Spirit on the Jews with an abundance of water, which signifies life. The universal aspects of this outpouring are still rather vague, but the whole land will benefit from it at any rate. "Die Terminologie ist also nicht verfestigt, Geistausgießung noch nicht einfach die erste Phase im Ablauf der eschatologischen Ereignisse."⁸⁶ The people aren't thought to necessarily be affected by the **Spirit**, the situation of the land itself will merely be changed.⁸⁷

Isa 44:3-4 emphatically underlines the connection of water and Spirit noted in Isa 32:15-20: the concepts are interlocked. Here the outpouring (יצק) of the Spirit causes a renewal and subsequent growth of the people and the land.⁸⁸ Ezek 39:25-9 also prophesies a final outpouring of God's Spirit on all of Israel (שפך על) after he has brought them all back out of exile. The time will be characterized as a time when Yahweh will not hide his face from Israel. In the light of earlier references within the book of Ezekiel, we can conclude that this outpouring will contain two major aspects: the inner renewal of the heart (36:27) and the revivication of the person as such (37:14).⁸⁹

Joel 3:1ff probably utilizes Ezek 39:29 and develops on it.⁹⁰ The radical message of Joel is: the revived nation shall become a nation of Prophets; this applies to everybody without social barriers, including women. This 'outpouring' (שפך) of the Spirit will express itself in dreams and visions. 'Wohl knüpft Joel damit an die alte Tradition der ekstatischen Prophetie an, doch wird diese grundlegend geändert: "Prophet sein" wird zu einem stetigen Zustand, der ein besonders nahes Verhältnis zwischen Gott und seinem Volk bezeichnet (vgl. Num 11,29) und alle soziale Unterschiede aufhebt (v. 2).'⁹¹

In Zechariah 12:10 the outpouring (שפך) of the Spirit causes people to change and to bewail the mysterious one whom they have themselves pierced.

(End of Excurs)

It would seem that Ben Sira is utilizing this tradition of an 'outpouring' of the Spirit

In an adaptation inclining towards his Wisdom feelings (as has already Prv 123 before him⁹²). We note that Wisdom, if poured into a person, will both change his innermost nature and also cause his subsequent material 'revivification,' which includes material gain; the wise man is also the one who will live long and gain materially and in terms of honour. The sage becomes a prophet through wisdom imparted to him and thus can himself be used as a canal to 'pour out' Wisdom onto others. Of course, the 'outpouring' is universal only in the sense that everyone who accepts it will also become wise; only the sage however is understood to be in the proper sense 'as a prophet'. Thus Solomon is described in terms very similar to 24:30ff (47:14).

2.3.6 Sir 38:34c-39:11

After listing different occupations (38:24-34b), Ben Sira goes on to extol the sage, whose reflections are not just tied to one profession and to the earning of bread. Of particular interest to us is 39:6. Rickenbacher translates his reconstruction from G and S thus:

'Wenn es dem höchsten Gott gefällt,
wird er mit dem Geiste der Einsicht erfüllt;
er selbst sprudelt zwiefältig von weisen Sprüchen,
und gibt dem Herrn Bekenntnis im Gebet.'⁹³

The 'bubbling' activity of the Spirit is reminiscent of Prov 123. Indeed, the Hebrew text, if existent, could contain the same word (נבט hi.; cf Sir 10:13; 16:25.⁹⁴ Here the emphasis however lies on the human being that bubbles over, not on the figure of Wisdom causing the human being to bubble over; for Ben Sira it is not Wisdom who

is the prophet **as** in Prov 1, but rather the sage himself). The proud man will 'bubble forth' filth (Sir 10:13), whereas the wise man will 'bubble forth' his spirit, producing knowledge and understanding.

This imagery fits in very well with the water imagery used elsewhere by Ben Sira (cf esp. 15:5; 24:30-33; see above). Thus, here as in Prov 12:3 the bubbling signifies a charismatic, prophetic activity related to the 'outpouring of the Spirit'-motif which has been demonstrated above.⁹⁵

39:6b is reminiscent of Isa 11:2:⁹⁶ πνεῦμα συνέσεως is an attribute of the Messiah in Isa 11:2, whereas here it is used of the sage. Thus once again the sage has appropriated attributes from another source. Again, it is perhaps significant that a similar adaptation of Isa 11:2 is found in Prov 8:14,⁹⁷ with the difference once more lying in the fact that there it is Wisdom, not the sage who has the attributes of the Messiah.

2.3.7 Conclusions: Wisdom and Spirit in Ben Sira

In Ben Sira we have noted how the two concepts of the figure of Wisdom and Spirit have been linked in a manner similar to Prov 1-9. Central are the passages Sir 15:5, 24:30-33 and Sir 38:34c-39:11. The use of Old Testament material became apparent; Isa 11:2 and Joel 3 are alluded to. It is the **Wisdom-seeker** in whom the **Spirit of Wisdom operates and the sage who in being filled with the Spirit of Wisdom** receives the charisma of prophecy.

As in Prov 1-9, the figure of Wisdom stands between God and man and is linked

to the Torah, especially in Sir 24. It is a created being, is identified with the pillar of cloud of the Exodus which fills the temple in 1Kgs 8 and ministers before God. One cannot help feeling that here we see again an attempt to have a mediator with God **which at the same time stands** in an intimate relationship to him. A curious inconsequence lies in the fact that Wisdom is a created being on the one hand but on the other hand stands in an intimate and unique relationship to God differing from that of the angels.

This unique relationship also expresses itself in the appropriation by the figure of Wisdom of characteristics of the Spirit of God. And it is precisely this which allows for the intimate relationship of the figure of Wisdom with man and for its dynamic activity within man. Into the equation of God and Spirit a third factor has been inserted, namely the figure of Wisdom. The reasons for this insertion are not entirely clear. It is the factor of the Spirit which also makes the figure of Wisdom so difficult to put into any one category. The consequent question would be to ask how the Spirit relates to Wisdom: is it created along with Wisdom, or does it work through the figure of Wisdom, which only acts as a kind of vehicle? Ben Sira does not attempt an answer. All that can with certainty be said is that (a) the Spirit of Wisdom is identified with the Spirit of God, (b) the Spirit of Wisdom has acquired the characteristics of Wisdom (eg the link with the Torah, etc.) and (c) these characteristics are transmitted to the wisdom-seeker and activated in his life.⁹⁸

Notes to 2.3

1. As he himself notes, his study has the primary aim of laying the text-critical foundation for later theological studies, O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, Freiburg [Schweiz]/Göttingen 1973, IV.
2. M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, Tübingen 1973, 241.
3. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 6; 11-12.
4. Cf the discussion O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 5-14; esp. 11-12.
5. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 22-24.
6. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 24.
7. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 37.
8. Cf Rickenbacher's comparison of Amenemope 4, Jer 17s-8, Ps 1 and our text, O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 80-82.
9. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 82.
10. As W. Fuss does, *Tradition und Komposition im Buche Jesus Sirach*. Diss. an der evgl.-theol. Fakultät Tübingen, 1963 [typed manuscript].
11. Cf O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 78-9.
12. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 92-94.
13. See O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen*, 168-9, for a fuller discussion of water by Ben Sira.
14. R.A.F. MacKenzie, *Sirach*, Wilmington [DA] 1983, 71.
15. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 113-18.
16. L. Alonso-Schoekel, *Estudios de Poetica hebrea*, Barcelona 1963.
17. M.Noth, *Könige I* [BKAT 9.1], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968, 168-193; J.A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings* [ICC], Edinburgh 1951, 185-201.
18. M. Noth, *Könige I*, 181.
19. M. Noth, *Könige I*, 179 following R. de Vaux, *MUB* 37 (1961), 96f.122f; O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. Eine neue Deutung der Mäjestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4. Mit e. Beitrag v. A.Gutbub über die vier Winde in Ägypten* [Stuttgarter Bibelstudien; 84/85], Stuttgart 1977, 15-37.
20. M. Noth, *Könige I*, 180-1.
21. See *Excurs* on ערפל below, p.?? and M. Noth's discussion of ערפל, the 'dark cloud' or 'Wolkendunkel,' in: M. Noth, *Könige I*, 182.
22. M. Noth, *Könige I*, 193.
23. But cf A.S. van der Woude [THAT II], שם, 953-7.
24. R. Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, [Freiburger Theologische Studien; 29], Freiburg i. Breisgau/Basel/Wien 1973, 136-147.
25. R. Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, 147-155.
26. Cf W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel II* [BKAT ; 8.12-18], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1959-63, 1070-88.

27. Cf W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel II* [BKAT ; 8.12-18], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1959-63, 1079-81.
28. Cf W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel II* [BKAT ; 8.12-18], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1959-63, 1079-81.
29. Similarly Isa 6: Yahweh's train already fills the temple; see for further references, O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. Eine neue Deutung der Mäjestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4. Mit e. Beitrag v. A. Gutbub über die vier Winde in Ägypten*, [Stuttgarter Bibelstudien; 84/85], Stuttgart 1977; H. Schmid, 'Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem,' *ZAW* 67 (1955).
30. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct. A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament* [Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft ; 151], Berlin/New York 1980, 21.
31. Against G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 34-8. This doesn't exclude the fact that Ben Sira is everywhere using OT motifs. Of course, H. Conzelmann, 'Die Mutter der Weisheit,' in: *Zeit und Geschichte*, ed. by Erich Dinkler, Tübingen 1964, has definitely gone a bit too far in this respect; cf M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 275-318, esp. 284-292.
32. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 151-5.
33. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 22.
34. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 23; O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 133-4.
35. A. Weiser, *The Psalms. A Commentary* [Old Testament Library], London 1962, 189-191.
36. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66. A Commentary* [The Old Testament Library], London 1969, 358.
37. W. McKane, *A ICC on Jeremiah. Vol. 1*, Edinburgh 1986, 298.
38. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments* [Theologische Wissenschaft ; 1], Stuttgart [...] 1981, 199; cf S. Mowinkel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, Vol. I, Oxford 1962, who postulates a 'liturgy of the Enthronement Festival of Yahweh'; A. Weiser, *The Psalms. A Commentary*, London 1962, p. 631; opposing this idea: H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen II* [BKAT ; 15.2], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1960, 670-5: He conjectures an eschatological theophany: 'Der König kommt und erscheint vor aller Welt - das ist die entscheidende Aussage des 'Jahwe-Königs-Hymnus'' (674).
39. A. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 632.
40. Cf E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, Leiden 1967, p.331-2.
41. E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 577-8.
42. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 23-26.
43. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 85-9.
44. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 89.
45. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 27-31.
46. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 27-31.

47. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 28-9.
48. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 28-9.
49. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 134-6.
50. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 30.
51. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 30.
52. S has the plural form. In light of all the references to Exodus, G is still more probable, with G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, against O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 121.
53. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 31-3.
54. See 2.3.5.1 to 1Kgs 8:14ff; cf Philo, *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres*, §42, 385.
55. Too extreme is the view of H. Conzelmann, 'Die Mutter der Weisheit', *Zeit und Geschichte*, ed. by E. Dinkler, Tübingen 1964, 228; more cautiously on the whole matter of Isis Aretalogy and Ben Sira - J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira*, Bonn 1971, 34-96; (references in Th. Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus*, Leiden 1973, 20-1). To deny completely the influence of the Isis Aretalogy on Ben Sira 24, as G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 34-38, does, is the other extreme; the provenance of underlying biblical motifs does not necessarily exclude the other interpretation; cf M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 284-92.
56. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 38.
57. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 33-8.
58. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 33-8.
59. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 38-43.
60. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 41.
61. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 41.
62. for 'inheritance' see above.
63. See 2.3.5.1.
64. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 141-58, esp. 151-2.
65. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 141.
66. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 46.
67. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 85-9.
68. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 162.
69. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 162.
70. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 48.
71. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 111; 112-123.
72. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 52-6; O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 123-4.
73. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 56-60; O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 123-4.
74. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 162-4.
75. Against G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*; O. Rickenbacher,

Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira, 125-7, offers solid evidence for excluding this unsiracidical phrase.

76. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 112.
77. G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 60-6.
78. See 2.3.5.1.
79. Cf G.T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 78-81; O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 127-8.
80. The verb נִבֵּץ hi. was actually used by Ben Sira in 1013 (neg. of the fool); 1625 (pos. of the sage).
81. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 168-9.
82. Discussed in detail in O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 169.
83. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 129-130.
84. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 170-1. To the view of ὤς merely as a comparison and not as a identification cf H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter* [WUNT ; 6], Tübingen 1980. Similarly J.A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit. An Investigation of 1Cor 1.18-3.20 Against the Background of Jewish Sapiential Traditions in the Greco-Roman Period*, Lanham/New York/London 1984, 23. Unfortunately, he bases his arguments here and elsewhere heavily on J.Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* [BBB ; 7], Bonn 1971, who has a tendency not to take the underlying Hebrew text seriously enough. His definition of Wisdom as 'eine dichterische Personifikation für Gottes Nähe und Gottes Wirken und für persönlichen Gottes Anruf' (129) not wrong, but the question remains if he has taken the figure of Wisdom as such seriously enough. The other book Davis draws on to a large degree is G. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, which again is at times text-critically weak compared to O. Rickenbacher.
85. "Eine 'Geistausgiebung' mit negativem Vorzeichen," H. Wildberger, *Jesaja III. Jesaja 28-39. Das Buch, der Prophet und seine Botschaft* [BKAT ; 10.3], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, 1116; see also 1112-17.
86. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja III. Jesaja 28-39. Das Buch, der Prophet und seine Botschaft*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, 1277.
87. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja III*, 1277-8.
88. Cf K.Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I. Jesaja 40,1-43,7* [BKAT ; 11.1], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978.
89. Cf W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel III* [BKAT ; 13.12-18], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1965-69, 1262-1265.
90. H.W.Wolff, *Dodekapropheten II. Joel und Amos* [BKAT ; 14.2], Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, 71.78-9.
91. R. Alberz/C. Westermann, פִּיָּר [THAT II], 752.
92. See 2.2.2.
93. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 177; cf 185.
94. Cf Th. Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenis-*

mus, 41.

95. See 2.3.5.2.6 to Sir 2430ff.
96. O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira*, 196.
97. See 2.2.7.
98. J.A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 26, comes to different conclusions, even though he has recognized a connection between Wisdom and spirit. These are partly due to his weak textual criticisms (see n.88), but also to his not taking the figure of Wisdom seriously; he does not therefore pursue the relationship between the *figure* of Wisdom and the spirit of understanding and how this spirit relates to the Spirit of God of the OT.

2.4 Wisdom of Solomon

2.4.1 Authorship, date and location

The authorship, date and location of Wisdom of Solomon have yet to be established with any amount of certainty. The authorship has been found to be single¹ and composite,² the date to lie between 220 BC and 50 AD,³ and the location in Alexandria⁴ or Syria.⁵ The root of the problem is that there are no references or allusions in the writing which could precisely locate it in one place at one time. It suffices for us to establish that the composition was written after the time of Ben Sira (its apocalyptic passages already point to a later date) and at the latest during the time of Caligula.

Although certainly influenced by Greek thought (having been written entirely in Greek), it is hard to place Wisdom of Solomon into any one Greek philosophical system.⁶ It would seem safer to take D.Georgi's view, who has pointed out that the writing seems to be drawing on many sources. 'Sap will aber, trotz ihrer Vertrautheit mit dem philosophischen Wissen der Zeit, keine logisch gegliederte philosophische oder theologische Information geben.'⁷

2.4.2 Wisdom and Spirit in Wisdom of Solomon

Wis 1 opens with an invitation to seek God (χύριος). Seeking God results in Wisdom (σοφία) entering into the seeker (14); Wisdom is here equated with the Holy Spirit in 15 (ἅγιον πνεῦμα παιδείας) and 16a (φιλόανθρωπον γὰρ πνεῦμα σοφία). 16c abruptly changes over to God as subject again; 16a.b expresses Wisdom's function

as judge; then the flow of thought jumps to God's omniscience in 16c.d. Just as abruptly the 'Spirit of the Lord' (πνεῦμα κυρίου) becomes the subject in 17; he who fills the οἰκουμένη and holds all things together (συνέχων) has knowledge of all articulations. 17 is really elaborating on 16c.d, on the aspect of God's omniscience.

This puzzling interchange of subjects happens once more in 19, where once again it is the κύριος before whom the words of the wicked man will come. How is this interplay of concepts to be understood? What frame of reference lies behind the text? The answer would seem to lie primarily in the fact that Wisdom, who is the Spirit, is identical with God, is the 'part' of God which is present and active on earth. 'Spirit of God' has in this sense been derived from the OT. The 'Holy Spirit' of God is a relatively late expression first occurring in Trito-Isaiah.⁸ The Wisdom of Solomon has developed this term. It has already been seen that Proverbs indirectly and rather discreetly indicates the charismatic qualities of personified Wisdom.⁹ *Similarly, Ben Sira understands the Sage to have in some measure replaced the prophet and personified(!) Wisdom to be poured into the hearts of the wisdom seeker. The identification of Wisdom and Spirit is implicitly present.¹⁰ In Wisdom of Solomon, thanks to its (one is tempted to say pseudo-)Platonic categories, this identification has become explicit. The importance lies not so much in the identification of Wisdom and Spirit as such, which are already linked in the Old Testament, eg Isa 112. Rather, it lies in the identification of **personified** Wisdom and the Spirit of God. And whereas in Pro-*

verbs and Ben Sira personified Wisdom stands alongside the primary (unpersonified) concept of Wisdom, Wisdom of Solomon lets the second kind of Wisdom recede into the background;¹¹ Wisdom is completely person, even though she perhaps also remains less vivid and more abstract than personified Wisdom in Proverbs (eg in Wis 7:22ff).

6:12-20 praises Wisdom, who here appears in somewhat the same guise as Prv 8: she is easily found by her lover/seekers. He who seeks her early in the day will find her sitting in front of the door, ie already present (v.14). She is here also aggressive, going around on the streets looking for those who are worthy of her (v.16). The type of relationship between seeker and Wisdom cannot be precisely defined here; it would seem to be the relationship of a charismatic leader to his follower (in the same sense as Jesus' relationship to his followers).

In 7:1ff the (lightly disguised) figure of Solomon appears. Through his speech the role of Wisdom is supposed to become evident in his exemplary life. The theme of Solomon's prayer for Wisdom (1Ki 3:6-15) is developed: Solomon called to God, and the **Spirit of Wisdom came (7:7)**. A little removed from this line of thought, Solomon chooses the Spirit of Wisdom instead of material goods but subsequently also receives material goods (7:8ff); Wisdom is the γενετιν (v.12) of all other material things. God is the guide (ὁδηγός) of Wisdom. He has given Solomon *gnosis* of all things (7:17ff) - Wisdom, the architect (τεχνῆτις; 7:22; cf 8:5; 14:2) of all things has taught him.¹² 7:22-23

lists 7 x 3 attributes of Wisdom.¹³ 723 defines Wisdom as:

καὶ διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων
νοερῶν καθαρῶν λεπτοτάτων.

This indicates that spirituality is still thought of in terms of quantity and materialistically.¹⁴ Wisdom is ἀτίμις and ἀπόρροια (725), *ie* she is the emanation of God's might and glory. Again, this emanation is not thought of as being merely of a moral nature; rather, it consists of a substance, albeit a substance of the finest consistency.¹⁵

Thus Wisdom can pass through everything else (724); but nothing, including anything tainted can pass through her (725). 726, in using the sun-symbolism of Wisdom as light from God the source of that light, demonstrates that the concept of the one God (as the active divine principle) besides a second godly principle (as the concretion of the godly in its manifestation) is self-evident.¹⁶ *Striking is the fact that Wisdom of Solomon has completely abandoned the concept of Wisdom's subordination to God as a created being as we have found to be the case in Sir 24 and Prv 822ff.*

This dramatic departure from traditional thought underlines the fundamental new developments in this writing. *It is only the consequence brought about by the full identification of Wisdom and the Spirit of God, as the Spirit of God is nowhere in the OT said to be created.*¹⁷ Of course, it is also agreeable to the Hellenistic concepts of the writer(s) of Wisdom of Solomon. Wisdom also enters into 'holy souls' (transmigration, μεταβαίνω in the sense of the Pythagorean teachings; cf 1016).¹⁸

819-20 and 1511-14 show that the 'soul' (ψυχή) is thought of in distinctly Platonic cate-

gories.¹⁹ Wisdom is revealed to be the godly dynamics which hold the world together and renew it (727.30; cf 121). Besides these general dynamics in everything, she has an intimate (sexual) relationship with the wise man which brings about a relationship between the wise man and God (728; cf 82ff).

In 82-18 Solomon seeks to make Wisdom his bride and describes his love to her in distinctly erotic terms. In this also Wisdom has gone much further than Proverbs or Ben Sira, where no distinctly erotic components can be found. What makes this passage so startling is on the one hand the (sexually) intimate relationship of Solomon to Wisdom (82.9.16-18) and on the other hand Wisdom's (sexually) intimate relationship to God (83).²⁰

In this passage we also find Wisdom's role in creation formulated more clearly: she creates (not: is created!) everything (τὰ πάντα ἐργαζομένης; 85), is architect of all that is (τῶν ὄντων... τεχνίτις; 85; cf 722; 142). She is thus actively involved in creation, again differing from Proverbs and Ben Sira, where there is a vagueness about the exact role of Wisdom at creation. Wisdom is then also initiate (μύστις) in the knowledge of God and chooser (αἰρετής) of his works (84). Because of all that she is, she can give birth to virtues in the life of the seeker for justice (87) and give knowledge to the seeker of (encyclopedic) knowledge (88). She will thus help the wisdom seeker to obtain honor amongst the people, wealth and power (810-15).

Wis 9 contains a prayer of the love-stricken Solomon to God, in which 1Ki 86-9 is

developed. In 91-2 λόγος and σοφία are used synonymously.²¹ 92.9 shows the integral part of λόγος/σοφία in the godhead, as here it is once more God who created all creatures. God has 'framed' (κατασκευάζω) man to rule over the creatures, to administer the world righteously and to judge justly. Wisdom is God's throne-companion (94; cf 910; Prov 830; Sir 244).

Striking is the interpretation of 1Ki 8 in Wis 98ff; there is here no development of Wisdom in the manner of Sir 24: no Wisdom descending onto Jerusalem, no 'localization' of Wisdom there, and a different concept of the relationship of Wisdom and God's commandments (ἐντολάς). Wis takes care not to localize Wisdom in Jerusalem, as Wisdom is here not restricted in terms of cult to Jerusalem; rather, Solomon, or the wisdom-seeker can ask for and receive Wisdom everywhere: Wisdom 'comes down' from God's throne for each individual (910ff). Secondly, God's commandments are not identified with the Torah, ie God's commandments to Israel. True, in 99 Wisdom knows what is right according to God's commandments (ἐντολάς), but nowhere is she identified with the commandments; furthermore, nowhere are commandments identified as the Torah (cf the use of νόμος in 211-12; 64.18; 95; 1416; 166; 184.9). Thus, the concept of Wisdom has acquired a universal aspect, ie a denationalized aspect (cf 166). This conforms with the manner in which none of the Jewish 'righteous ones' are mentioned by name. By doing this, the writing could be read by Hellenistic readers in their non-Jewish context in one way and by the Jew in the light of the Torah,

le in a specifically Jewish frame of reference.

Wis 10ff generally concern the activity of Wisdom, more specifically her leading and guarding qualities in the lives of the 'righteous.' 184 mentions the pillar of fire, but there is no explicit identification with **Wisdom**.

Finally, one must note the elements of eschatology which have appeared in Wisdom of Solomon, in this also differing from the earlier wisdom writings (cf 31-10; 5). 'The author's eschatological descriptions form a sort of chiaroscuro, lacking any clear definition.'²² 'Aber jetzt ist entgegen der Apokalyptik die eindeutige Tendenz, die Grenzen zwischen Himmlischem und Irdischem, zwischen Zukünftigem und Gegenwärtigem zu verwischen.'²³ Besides this, Wis does not display any traces of a resurrection; rather it displays a belief in immortality.²⁴

2.4.3 Conclusions: Wisdom and Pneuma in Wis

It has already been noted that Prov 1-9 and Ben Sira are not very consistent in their linking of Wisdom and Spirit (see above, 2.3.7). This could be seen in the ambiguity with which Wisdom's role at creation and the relationship between the figure of Wisdom, Spirit and Yahweh were treated. Furthermore, the figure of Wisdom stood alongside other uses of wisdom.

Wis has freed itself of these inconsequences by using a new instrument which its fore-runners did not have at their disposal when grappling with their difficulties: it has used Platonic categories, which has allowed it to identify Wisdom and Spirit more consistently.

Wisdom is the light, whereas God is the source. She stands in an erotic relationship to God and man. Being the divine dynamics which hold the world together and renew it, she is actively involved in creation. Finally, any particularistic tendencies such as are found in Sir 24 are repressed.

Notes to 2.4

1. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Garden City [N.Y.] 1979 [AB; 43], 12-18.
2. As the product of a school: D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos* [Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit ; 3], Gütersloh 1980, 391-5.
3. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 20; Winston himself suggests the time of Caligula, 37-41 AD (p. 20-25), whereas D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, wants to place the writing into the late 2nd century BC on the ground that Wisdom of Solomon does not directly refer to Sir 24. Neither position has fully convincing arguments. Cf also Georg's critique of Winston, D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 400-1.
4. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 20-25.
5. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 395-7.
6. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 391-4; 400-1; against D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 18-20, who understands it as a religious-philosophical invitation to live with Wisdom written in the style of the 'logos protreptikos' and drawing its inspiration from Middle Platonism.
7. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 393.
8. R. Alberz/C. Westermann, חן [THAT II], 752.
9. See 2.2; for a summary see 2.2.9.
10. See 2.3; for a summary see 2.3.7.
11. But cf Wis 69.
12. Cf LXX Prv 830: ἀρμόζουσα.
13. Cf D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 427; D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 178-83.
14. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 428; cf D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 182.
15. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 428.
16. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 428; cf Plutarchus' introduction to De Iside et Osiride.
17. Significantly, the Qur'an has understood the Spirit of God to be a created being; cf J. Bouman, *Gott und Mensch im Koran. Eine Strukturform religiöser Anthropologie anhand des Beispiels Allah und Muhammed*, Darmstadt 1977, 64, n.198.
18. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 428; cf D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 188.
19. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 433: 'allerdings im Sinne eines milden, d.h. optimistischen und nicht wirklich dualistischen Platonismus'; cf D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 25-32.
20. For the erotic components in 82-18 cf D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 429-33; D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 191-6.
21. Cf the earlier references to σοφῶν's role in creation and 1626; 1815-16.
22. D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 32; cf 32-3 and his comments to Wis 35.
23. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 416; cf his comments to Wis 35.
24. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 410.

2.5 The Book of the Similitudes (Ethiopian Enoch)

2.5.1 Date, authorship and location

The Similitudes are increasingly being viewed as a Jewish work. Thus Milik's hypothesis, which states that it was written under Christian influence at the time of Trajan has been strongly criticized by the SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminar in Tübingen (1977) and Paris (1978); the latter arrived at the consensus that the Similitudes were written in Jewish circles by the end of the 1st century AD. E. Isaacs¹ also adheres to this view, as does S. Uhlig.²

It lies beyond the limits enforced upon the present study to ascertain whether the Book of the Similitudes originated out of Jewish circles or not. It is also not necessary, as the aim of the present study is to examine Sim for the underlying concepts and how these could relate to Christian traditions, not to prove a direct dependence of Christian traditions on the writing itself.

2.5.2 Wisdom, Spirit and the Son of Man in Sim

God is referred to as the 'Lord of the spirits' in the Similitudes. This can only be understood on the background of apocalyptic developments in Judaism, in which a new 'mythologization' took place: earlier on, Israel's thinking had subordinated all other gods in the area to Yahweh, at first making them mere messengers of Yahweh, then denying their existence altogether (thus Deutero-Isaiah). In the apocalyptic development, the need for mediators between God and man, and the desire to describe everything in terms of its regulation through God with the help of mediators

led to a new perspective. A quasi-pantheon of angels in a strict hierarchy, with God at the top, developed. The phrase 'Lord of the spirits' derives from this background (cf 612: 'every spirit of light (shall bless him)').

Another use of the word 'spirit,' which has to be distinguished from the above use is found in 493: the Elected One has the Spirit of Wisdom and insight, the Spirit of knowledge and strength and the Spirit of the righteous who are dead. Similarly 6221, which can only be interpreted as meaning that the Lord of the spirits has seated the Elect One in glory and poured the Spirit of righteousness on him.³ This derives from Isa 112, part of a description of the Messiah. What makes the Book of the **Similitudes** (= Sim.) concept so interesting is the way in which the Spirit of God is associated with both the elect and the Son of Man. The Spirit dwelling in the Elect One is identical with that of the righteous. This is the Spirit of Wisdom (493), which is poured out like water (491; cf Sir 24). This Spirit is also the Spirit of the 'Lord of the Spirits' (when seen in the light of Isa 112: the Spirit of Yahweh rests upon the Messiah). Thus the link between Isa 112 (the Spirit of Wisdom and of God resting upon the Messiah) and Joel 3 (the Spirit of God that will be universally poured out on all) is provided.

It is because of this notion that the righteous drink of the fountain at the place where the 'Antecedent of Time' sits (481). Through this Spirit of Wisdom they become holy, righteous and elect (481).

'And him, the First Word, they shall bless, extol and glorify with wisdom. They shall be wise in utterance in the Spirit of life and in the Lord of the Spirits' (617).

'On that day, they shall lift up in one voice, blessing, glorifying, and extolling in the Spirit of faith, in the Spirit of wisdom and patience, in the Spirit of mercy, in the Spirit of generosity' (611i).⁴

Light plays a large role in the Similitudes: similar to Ps.-Ph., light originates from God, so that the righteous are associated with light; but the wicked are doomed to destruction (466). Similarly to Ps.-Ph. the light of the Lord of the Spirits shines upon the faces of the righteous (381.4), so that in their reflecting this light, the wicked will not be able to look at them (384); the wicked will perish because they cannot even exist in the presence of the glory of God as radiated from the faces of the righteous (385-6). That the Messiah will be the 'light of the gentiles' (48) receives new overtones in this context. For the Similitudes, the righteous shall receive this at death and at the end of time, when the Messiah will come. Hence the wording of 493: the Messiah's Spirit of Wisdom is identical with the Spirit of the righteous dead, who are interceding before God (394-8). It is because the Spirit of God dwells in them that the righteous are selected and saved on the day of the Messiah (511). Conversely, it is because of the absence of this that the unrighteous lastly have no 'substance'; they inevitably perish before the glory of God and cease to exist. The bodies of those who deny the Spirit of the Lord will be burned and their Spirits transmuted for ever (6710). Enoch also cannot bear God's glory whilst he is alive (3914; 603-4), but at his

translation to heaven, his Spirit is transformed and he stands amongst the righteous glorifying God (711-12).

There is an interesting parallel to the reflection of God's light from the faces of the righteous: In 415-7, the sun and moon gaze directly into the glory of God (417), obey him in keeping to their allocated orbits (415-7) and reflect his glory in giving thanks and praise. In 418-9 the connection to man is made: sun and moon have a blessing and a curse. Why? Because their light derives from God and is thus a blessing for the righteous, who can bear the light and reflect it; but a curse for sinners, who can't bear it and perish. For the righteous it is light but for the sinners darkness and judgement.⁵

Believers can also be likened to stars who revolve according to God's pre-destination, and their reflected glory to lightning (43). There are also fallen stars, who don't keep to their paths but arise (apparently an indication of hybris) and are therefore doomed (44).

Revelation in the Similitudes is a sign of the elect; the secrets of the earth will be revealed to them in order to strengthen them (615.13); they are revealed on earth before the coming of the Messiah in order to give the righteous hope and strength till the day of the Elect One (615). This is of course the purpose of the Similitudes themselves and of all its revealing of cosmic secrets: to strengthen the believer by showing him how the world is being held by God's hand, and showing him the τέλος

of his existence on earth. Revealing the secret things to the condemned is however a deadly sin (64:11).

Finally, the question remains how 4Q2 fits into its present setting. Even if it was first circulated independently, what function does it have in its present context? The answer to this question lies in Enoch's understanding of the role of the Messiah: the thrust of 4Q2 is that personified Wisdom came onto the earth but could not find a dwelling-place; hence she returned to heaven. This could well be the author's critical response to Sir 24: wherever Wisdom went, even to Jerusalem, it found only death and corruption. In this the writer is both more pessimistic and more realistic than Ben Sira. He recognizes that the present world is corrupted wherever one looks, even in Jerusalem. He doesn't leave it at that, however. He has an answer to this problem, which is linked with the coming of the Messiah: the Elect One will come with the **Spirit of Wisdom**, thereby enabling the elect to come before the throne of God. This Spirit, which has been poured on him, is poured onto the elect and they are transformed, as Enoch (71:11), into people who can gaze at God and reflect his glory. Wisdom has a dynamic quality.

On the day of the coming of the Messiah, there will be a 'new' covenant for the righteous but judgement for the sinners.

Linked with this concept of Wisdom is that of the concealment/revelation of the Son of Man. 'The Son of Man was concealed from the beginning, and the Most High

One preserved him in the presence of his power; then he revealed him to the elect ones. The congregation of the holy ones shall be planted, and all the elect ones shall stand before him' (627-8). But the rulers of the earth will not be able to bear his presence and will perish (629-11).

This passage is illustrated in 48: the Son of Man has been given a name by God before creation (482) and has been concealed prior to creation (486). He was chosen in order to become a staff for the righteous, a light to the gentiles and the hope of the sick of heart (484). Therefore all who dwell upon the earth shall worship him (485). He will be revealed to the elect in the last days (627; 6927.29) and will in turn reveal the Wisdom of God to them (487; cf 513), the Wisdom which could not find a dwelling-place on earth itself (42), but which now comes as the 'Spirit of Wisdom' (493) poured out onto the Messiah (6221) and through him onto the elect (481; 711).

This pneumatology of Enoch leads us into the proximity of the NT. It is at first sight strange how the gospels can relate the account of the Holy Spirit resting on Jesus at his baptism, and then seemingly without any connection write of the first Christians receiving the Holy Spirit. On the background of the Similitudes it becomes understandable: evidently the church linked the Spirit of the Messiah and the Spirit which they received in a sense similar to the Similitudes, namely through linking Isa 112 and Joel 3.

2.5.3 Conclusions: Wisdom, Spirit and the Son of Man in Sim

Sim has developed the relationship of Wisdom and Spirit differently through its introduction of another factor, namely the factor of the Son of Man, the Messiah. It makes the other two factors dependent on the Son of Man; the figure of Wisdom is not an independent being, but rather Wisdom works through its Spirit, which is poured out upon the Son of Man and through him upon the elect. Sim has thus in its own way solved the inconsequences and contradictions found in Prov 1-9 and Ben Sira.

Notes to 2.5

1. E. Isaacs, '1 Enoch,' In: *OT-Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1, ed. by J.H. Charlesworth, Garden City [NY] 1983, 7.
2. S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, [JSH-RZ ; 5.6], Gütersloh 1984, 575; for a balanced view of the redaction of the Similitudes see the same, 573-5; E. Isaacs, in: *OT Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 1, 4-89.
3. Cf Sim 627; 49; thus also S.Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*, 613 n. 622a; otherwise: E. Isaacs, '1 Enoch.'
4. E. Isaacs, '1 Enoch.'
5. Here also light is linked to creation; cf 583.5; 6210 to Ps.-Ph.'s related understanding of the sun and moon in LAB 12.

3. 2Cor 31 - 46

3.1 The Structure and Composition of 2 Cor 31-46

3.1.1 Observations on the Structure of 2Cor 31-46

Several considerations justify regarding 2Cor 214-46, and not 2Cor 31-46 as a composite whole. There is one motive underlying the whole passage: Paul is seeking to reinforce the message which he has brought to the Corinthians. This message is inextricably linked to his person as an apostle. This thread of course runs through the whole epistle in Paul's effort to undermine the position of the 'super-apostles' in Corinth.¹ The interesting thing in the present passage is that he draws a parallel between his own message and God's revelation at Sinai and between the office of Moses and his own office. This is what binds the whole passage together and which must be kept in mind when interpreting the passage.

Thus Paul deliberately uses sacrificial language in 214-17 (δομή; εὐωδία; cf δομή εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ: רִיח־נִיחֹחַ לַיהוָה, Gen 821; Exod 2918; Lev 19.13.17; 2313.18, etc.). His use of the concept of Christ as a soothing odour before God has acquired a new direction parallel to the OT-usage. The soothing odour is Christ, who is being revealed everywhere through Paul in such a way that Paul can identify himself with the odour. As he later says, he carries this incense in a earthen vessel so that Jesus is revealed through him (47-15). At the same time, the odour of Christ is the revelation of God itself. That is what gives Paul's message its authority: his message is

Jesus Christ himself, the one who has been crucified as the atonement for many.

31-6 alludes to the new covenant written on tablets of 'fleshy' hearts and not on tablets of stone (cf Jer 31:33; Ezek 11:19), thus again drawing from the Sinai-account.

37-46 has as its central theme the contrast between Moses and Paul.

47-15 is also linked to the preceding passage, but not as closely, as Paul here concentrates on the carrier of God's revelation (namely earthen vessels), whereas 214-46 deals with God's revelation itself. The present discussion will concentrate chiefly on 31-46, as this is the relevant setting to a proper understanding of 2Cor 3:17.

Certain words hold 31-46 together. We find διακονία and related words throughout the text (see table 1). It is in line with what was mentioned earlier concerning Paul's intent to reinforce his message. Paul is the διάκονος/δοῦλος of God through whose service the Corinthians exist, who has proclaimed the new covenant and reflects the glory of Christ.

πνεῦμα appears in 31-6 and in 37-18. The question of why it suddenly appears again within 37-46 and what relationship it has to 31-6 will have to be answered. 31-6 itself can be subdivided into 31-3 (the Corinthians are Paul's letter) and 34-6 (the new covenant). What holds them together is the fact that the new covenant is of Spirit and can therefore be written not on tablets of stone but rather onto the living hearts of men. 37-46 is held together through several threads. δόξα and related words dominate the passage. 37:13 and 44 have related sentence structures (37: ὥστε

μη + Inf.; 313: πρὸς τὸ μη + Inf.; 44: εἰς τὸ μη + Inf.) and stand parallel in content as well (see table 1 and the exegesis). Other key words are κάλυμμα (and related words)/πρόσωπον/καταργέομαι (see table 1). Important to note is also the use of εἰκών in 318 and 44. 313 (καὶ οὐ καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς) is contrasted with 318 (καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος; see table 1).

In 41.2 Paul repeats what has already been said in 217 and 31, namely that his message is a ministry given from God and that he is not working out of self-interest. One expects Paul to stop at this point, but he proceeds to develop the theme of 37-18 again in 43-6. It is however very important to keep these last verses in mind when interpreting 37-18, as they throw light on the rest of the passage.

3.1.2 The article

Paul's free usage of the article has earned him well-deserved acclaim.² At a first glance 2 Cor 31-46 would seem to confirm this. Listed below are anarthrous words found in the passage, followed by how one would expect them to appear:

- 33 ἐπιστολῇ χριστοῦ: ἡ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ χριστοῦ
πνεύματι θεοῦ ζῶντος: τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντος
- 36 καινῆς διαθήκης: τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης
ἀλλὰ πνεύματος: ἀλλὰ τοῦ πνεύματος
- 314 ἐν χριστῷ: ἐν τῷ χριστῷ
- 316 πρὸς κύριον: πρὸς τὸ κύριον
- 317 τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου: τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κυρίου
- 317 ἐλευθερία: ἡ ἐλευθερία (?)
- 318 τὴν δόξαν κυρίου: τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κυρίου
καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος: καθάπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ πνεύματος
- 44 εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ: ὁ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ
- 45 Ἰσοῦν χριστὸν κύριον: Ἰσοῦν τον χριστὸν τὸν κύριον:
- 46 πρὸς φωτισμὸν: πρὸς τὸν φωτισμὸν
ἐν προσώπῳ [Ἰησοῦ] χριστοῦ

καινῆς διαθήκης (36) omits the article, although its counterpart in 314 (τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης) is anarthrous. It is in the present context best understood as being deliberately indefinite: The old covenant is established, the new covenant is being introduced. It may be paraphrased thus: '...who has enabled us to be ministers of a new covenant.' The same applies to πρὸς φωτισμόν (46): whereas φωτισμός needs an article in 44, the sense is indefinite in 46: '...who has shone [light] in our hearts with the purpose of illumination.'

εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ (44) is a definite predicate noun in 44; therefore the omission of an article is correct³ (cf 318, where εἰκὼν is used with the article).

πρόσωπον (46) is used with the article in all the other occurrences of the word in this passage (37 twice; 313). 318 is an exception, where the sense is indefinite and plural in typical Semitic idiom.⁴ This leads to two possible interpretations of the phrase in question.

The first option takes its inspiration from LXX-usage, the second from the context.

3.1.2.1 πρόσωπον in LXX and 1 & 2 Cor

We find anarthrous πρόσωπον in Proverbs:

Prv 830	לפני:	ἐν προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ
Prv 43	לפני אִמִּי:	ἐν προσώπῳ μητρός
Prv 257	לפני יְדֵי:	ἐν προσώπῳ δυνάστου ⁵

In the references above, the phrase ἐν προσώπῳ + anarthrous genitive derives from the Hebrew לפני + the word it governs. It means 'before.' At first sight, ἐν

προσώπῳ [Ἰησοῦ] χριστοῦ (2Cor 4:6) is analogous to עֲלֵי + the proper name, (cf Gen 17:1; 18:22; 27:7, etc.). One would otherwise expect the article before χριστός.⁶

In 2Cor 5:12 the usage is without a following genitive and meant differently: it is contrasted with ἡ καρδία; the sense is clearly 'in appearance' (= עֲלֵי). Cf 1Kgs - 167:

אֵל תֵּבַט אֵל מִרְאֵהוּ וְאֵל לִבּוֹ קִימְתוּ כִּי מִמַּחְסֵי אֵל לֹא שָׂא פָנָיו
 אֵת אֵת כִּי אֵת עֲלֵי אֵת וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶי אֵת לִבָּב.

Μὴ ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ εἰς τὴν ἔξιν μεγέθους αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐξουδένωκα αὐτόν· ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἐμβλέπεται ἄνθρωπος, ὄψεται ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὄψεται εἰς πρόσωπον, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὄψεται εἰς καρδίαν.

824 (εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) clearly means 'in front of, before;' εἰς πρόσωπον can be understood as a translation of עֲלֵי as well (cf LXX Ezek 320; [Codex Alexandrinus:] 1Kgs 620; 2Kgs 515; 1915). Certainly it is not classical Greek.⁷

κατὰ πρόσωπον (2Cor 10:1.7) without the dependent case is however attested in classical Greek, meaning 'personally present,' 'eye to eye.'⁸

In the case of 111, it should seriously be considered if Paul does not have the concept of 2Cor 3 in mind already (cf 2Cor 3:18: ἀνακεκαλλυμένῳ προσώπῳ). This would account for his singular use of the word in this passage. This becomes more probable if one postulates that the Corinthians have already discussed the veil-topic before.⁹

2Cor 11:20 (εἰς πρόσωπον ὑμῶν δερεῖν) can only mean 'to strike in the face.' The loss of the article is again best understood as a Semitism such as כֹּפְנֵי כֶּם.¹⁰ This

phrase gains significance in the light of 2 Cor 3-46, as the face is the place where the doxa of Christ shines forth.

In 1Cor 13:12 and 14:25 Paul is consistent with LXX-usage.¹¹

The same phrase as in 2Cor 4:6 is found in 2:10. As shown above, the LXX-usage would indicate this phrase to mean 'in front of Christ.' Now the difficulty with this meaning is that it fits approximately in 2:10 but does not make much sense in 4:6. This was obviously felt by W. Bauer in his dictionary, where he notes that ἐν προσώπῳ χριστοῦ means 'on the face of Christ.'¹² in 4:6. Now as we have seen, the problem lies in the missing article and in the fact that we have no analogous use by Paul. Thus the most likely of options is one which in my knowledge has not been considered yet. ?

It has been noted above that 'Paul often has the singular to denote something shared by a group of people, as in the Semitic idiom'¹³ (cf καρδία in 2Cor 3:15). Furthermore, πρόσωπον is used in the singular in 2Cor 3:18. Given the whole message of 2Cor 3-46 based on the motif of the face of the Christian and especially of Paul reflecting the glory of Christ,¹⁴ we are led to interpret πρόσωπον in a similar way as a Semitic plural in 4:6. It would then refer not to the face of Christ but rather to our faces, which are 'of Christ' or 'christ-like' in appearance.¹⁵ 2Cor 2:10 however is less clear; it is understandable in this sense or in the sense of the LXX-usage spelled out above.

3.1.2.2 θεός in LXX and in Paul's writings

The one occurrence of θεός without the article (33) could be understood as a kind of genitivus materiae,¹⁶ which is generally not arthrous. It might seem strange at first sight to use θεός as a 'material;' however, one must bear in mind the context: the letter of Christ has been written not with ink, but rather with the 'Spirit of the living God; the picture is that of the material used to write the letter instead of ink. There is however another explanation which becomes more probable in the light of LXX-usage:

Paul uses θεός both arthrously and anarthrously. This becomes evident in 2Cor.

Arthrous: 2Cor 11a.2.3b(?).12b.20a; 217b.c; 33; 51.11.13.19.21; 64.7.16a.b; 71.9.10.11; 85; 112; 1219; 134

Anarthrous: 2Cor 11b.3a.4.9.12a.18.19.20b.21.23; 214.15.17a; 34.5; 42.6a.b; 47.15; 55.18.20(2x); 61.16c; 76.12; 81.16; 97.8.11.12.13.14.15; 104.5.13; 117.11.31; 122.3; 1221; 137.11.13

E.Stauffer states that θεός is usually equivalent to אלהים,¹⁷ which is undoubtedly correct. He is however wrong in asserting that θεός without the article 'seems to be almost always appellative.'¹⁸

The degree to which θεός is used anarthrously seems to depend on the degree to which the respective translator adhered to the Hebrew. In most of the anarthrous cases θεός is nomen rectum in the construct state. This direct translation often causes the nomen regens to remain anarthrous in the Greek.¹⁹ רוח אלהים / אלהין¹⁹ is regularly translated as πνεῦμα θεοῦ.²⁰ φόβος θεοῦ is also represented.²¹ The same

expressions are often expressed with the article and without.²²

θεός less frequently occurs as the nomen regens in the construct state,²³ sometimes as **לְאֱלֹהִים** + pronominal suffix.²⁴

θεός is normally arthrous after prepositions as well, but here also the rule is flexible. Frequently the phrase **לְאֱלֹהִים** + personal suffix **לְיָהוּא** is translated as *εἶναι τινὶ εἰς θεόν*.²⁵ Other prepositional phrases translated very literally:

παρά

- Gen 236: βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ οὐ εἶ ἐν ἡμῖν
וְשֵׂא אֱלֹהִים אִתְּךָ בְּחֹכֶם
- 4925: παρὰ θεοῦ [A.:τοῦ θ.] τοῦ πατρός σου
מֵאֵל אָבִיךָ
- 1Kgs 20(21)25: μὴ μοι γένοιτό παρὰ θεοῦ μου δοῦναι κληρονομίαν πατέρων μου σοί
חֲלִילָה לִי מִיְהוָה מִתְּחִיל אֶת-נַחֲלֹתֶיךָ אֲבֹתַי
- Ps 23(24)5: καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην παρὰ θεοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ
וְצַדִּיקָה מֵאֱלֹהֵי יְשׁוּעָה
- Jer 27(50)15: ἐκδίκησις παρὰ θεοῦ [S.:τοῦ θ.] ἐστίν
כִּי נִקְמָת יְהוָה הִיא הַנִּקְמָה בָּהּ
- Prov 165: ἀκάθαρτος παρὰ θεῷ πᾶς ὑψηλοκάρδιος
תְּעֹבֵב יְהוָה כָּל-גֹּבַהּ-לֵב
- 167: δεκτὰ δὲ παρὰ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ θύειν θυσίας
בְּרָצוֹן יְהוָה דַּרְכֵי-אִישׁ וְגַם-אֲוִיבֵי יִשְׁלֵם אֹתָם
- 173: A: οὕτως ἐκλεχταὶ καρδίαι παρὰ θεῷ
וּבִחֹן לִבּוֹת יְהוָה
- 1715: ἀκάθαρτος καὶ βδελυκτὸς παρὰ θεῷ
תְּעֹבֵב יְהוָה וְגַם-שֹׂנֵאֵיהֶם
- 1822: ἔλαβεν δὲ παρὰ θεοῦ ἰλαρότητα
וַיִּפְקֶר רָצוֹן מִיְהוָה
- 1914: παρὰ δὲ θεοῦ ἀρμόζεται γυνή ἀνδρί
וּמִיְהוָה אִשׁ מְשַׁכְּלֵל
- 213: ποιεῖν δίκαια καὶ ἀληθεύειν ἀρεστὰ παρὰ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ θυσιαῶν αἵμα
עֲשֵׂה צַדִּיקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט וּבַחֲרֵךְ לִיְהוָה מִזֶּבֶחַ

παρὰ θεοῦ can be used to translate a number of things; the translation of the construct state (Gen 236; Prov 165.7; 173.15; Jer 27(50)15) with παρά is clearly used to avoid misunderstandings. (eg θεοῦ in the combination βασιλεὺς θεοῦ (Gen 236) could

be understood as a genitivus oblectivus). Otherwise παρά is the translation of מן

(Gen 49:25 1Kgs 20(21):3 Ps 23(24):5 Prov 18:22 19:14) and once of ל+dative case (Prov

21:3).

ἐπί

- Prov 35: ἴσθι πεποιθὼς ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ ἐπὶ θεῷ
בטח אל-יהוה בכל-לבבך
- 16:20: πεποιθὼς δὲ ἐπὶ θεῷ μακαριστός
ובוטח ביהוה אשריו
- Ps 83(84):3: ἠγαλλιάσαντο ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα
ירגוּ אל אל-חי

μετά

- Gen 32:29: ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ
עם-אלהים

ὑπό

- Deut 21:23: κεκατηραμένος ὑπο θεοῦ
קללל יהוה
- Prov 31:1: Οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι εἴρηνται ὑπο θεοῦ

- Hos 9:8: σκόπος Βεφραμ μετὰ θεοῦ ἡ προφήτης
צפה אפרים עם-אלהי וביא
[corrupt text]
- Isa 65:23: σπέρμα εὐλογημένον ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐστιν
זרע ברוכי יהוה המה

αντί

- Gen 30(R): μη ἀντί θεοῦ [Α. τοῦ θ.] ἐγὼ εἴμι
תחת אלהים אנכי

ἀπό

- Deut 32:15: ἀπέστη ἀπὸ θεοῦ σωτήρος αὐτοῦ
וינבל צור ישעיהו

ἐν

- 1Sam 21: ὑψώθη κέρας μου ἐν θεῷ μου
רמה קרני ביהוה
- 1Chr 5:25: ἐν θεῷ πατέρων αὐτῶν
באלהי אבותיהם

144:	ἠρώτησε Δαυιδ ἔτι ἐν θεῷ וַיִּשְׁאַל עַד דָּוִד בְּאֱלֹהִים
2Chr153:	ἐν οὐ θεῷ ἀληθινῷ לֵלֵא אֱלֹהֵי אֲמַת
2020:	ἐμπιστεύσατε ἐν κυριῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν הַאֲמִינּוּ בַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם
Hos 127:	καὶ σὺ ἐν θεῷ σου ἐπιστρέψεις וְאַתָּה בַלְהִיךְ חָשׁוּב
Ezra 821:	ἐνώπιον θεοῦ ἡμῶν לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ ^{25a}

πρός

1Kgs 861:	καὶ ἔστωσαν αἱ καρδίαὶ ἡμῶν τέλεια πρὸς κύριον θεὸν ἡμῶν וְהָיָה לְבַבְכֶם שְׁלֵם עִם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
Job 15:	ἐνενόησαν πρὸς θεόν לְזַכְּרוֹ אֱלֹהִים
Hos 124:	καὶ ἐν κόποις αὐτοῦ ἐνίσχυσεν πρὸς θεόν [A. τὸν θ.] וּבְאוּנוּ שָׂרָה אֶת־אֱלֹהִים

There are a number of cases where anarthrous θεός stands alone or with an adjective.²⁶

Interesting for 2Cor 3-46 is the occurrence of anarthrous θεός ζῶν in Deut 433.34 (φωνήν θεοῦ ζῶντος: חַיִּים אֱלֹהִים קוֹל); Joshua 310 (ζῶν as predicate: ὅτι θεός ζῶν ἐν ὑμῖν: כִּי אֵל חַי בְּקִרְבְּכֶם: 2Kgs 194.16/Isa 3717 (ὀνειδίξειν θεὸν ζῶντα: לֵהֵם בְּנֵי אֶל־חַי (לְחַרְרֵי אֱלֹהִים חַי); Hos 21 (ἔκειτ' ἀληθῆσονται καὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος: חַי אֶל־חַי (יֵאמֶר); Ps 83(84)4 (ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα: אֵל אֶל־חַי). One glance at the concordance shows that normally in these cases θεός does have an article affixed to it. Thus θεός is arthrous or anarthrous according to how literal the translator wanted to be. In conclusion it can be postulated with a fair amount of certainty that Paul and Josephus²⁷ are following the lead of LXX in their own mixed use of θεός.

Specifically in the case of 33, Paul is using a phrase which has lost its articles

due to the literal LXX-translation. πνεῦμα θεοῦ ζῶντος is a combination of אלהים רוח and אלהים/אל-חי

3.1.2.3 πνεῦμα in LXX and in Paul's writings

πνεῦμα is mainly used arthrously in 2Cor:

Arthrous: 122; 213; 38.17.18; 413; 55; 713; 1218; 1313

Anarthrous: 33.6; 66; 71; 114

66 and 71 refer to the spirit of man as opposed to the σάρξ (cf 1Cor 210, where Paul draws an analogy between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man); they are intended to be indefinite. In 114 Paul is referring to 'another spirit' besides the Spirit of God. In 317a πνεῦμα is the predicate of the sentence and should be anarthrous. That it still has an article can only be explained as a deliberate emphasis of the word. Anarthrous πνεῦμα in 36 is a genitivus materiae;²⁸ the new covenant is not 'of letter' (γράμματος) but rather 'of spirit' (πνεύματος). As demonstrated above (under θεός), the anarthrous use of πνεῦμα in 33 is a 'septuagintism' (ie a translation of רוח אלהים). It is probably also influenced by Paul's parallel usage of μέλανι without the article. Why Paul uses πνεῦμα anarthrously in 318 is more difficult to decide. The sense is however clearer: Paul is building on 317a (the Lord is the Spirit) whilst at the same time contrasting his role with that of Moses (cf 312). His intention is to say that his role is not like that of Moses but rather like that of the Lord who is the Spirit.²⁹

3.1.2.4 κύριος

That the risen Jesus is κύριος is stated throughout the NT.³⁰ Paul is here no exception.³¹ It is well-known that in LXX κύριος, usually anarthrous, is mainly used to translate $\overline{\text{רַבִּי}}$ and ׳אֲדֹנָי . For Paul, the boundaries between NT- and LXX-usage overlap. In the absolute κύριος could thus express the comprehensive lordship of Jesus. It would convey that God has given Him "all ἐξουσία in heaven and in earth" (Matt 28:18). If κύριος expressed all this, then LXX passages which spoke of the κύριος could be referred to Jesus. In him God acts as is said of the κύριος of the OT.³²

Paul reserves (ὁ) κύριος for Jesus, except for in 2Cor 6:16-18, where he quotes LXX and expressly equates κύριος with ὁ θεός.³³ Paul uses κύριος arthrously and anarthrously without implying any distinction of meaning. It seems rather to be a matter of stylistic differences.^{33a}

Anarthrous: 12; 212; 316; 317b; 318; 617.18; 1117; 121.

Arthrous: 13.14; 317a; 414; 56.8.11; 128; 1310.

45 is anarthrous because it stands as the predicate of κηρύσσεισθαι (Ἰσοῦς Χριστός forming the outer object of the same).³⁴ κύριος appears anarthrous especially after prepositions, thus after ἀπό (12; 318; but arthrous: 56), πρὸς (316; but arthrous: 59),³⁵ ἐν (212, analogous to ἐν χριστῷ in 217; 314; 122.19; 517.19) and κατὰ (1117). The scope of the present study does not allow for any detailed analysis for reasons for Paul's (mis?-)use of the article with κύριος. The only use of arthrous κύριος in the passage under discussion is found in 317a and furthermore is brought into prominence by the particle δέ. This will be discussed in detail in the exegesis below.³⁶

3.1.2.5 Χριστός in LXX and in Paul's writings

Paul's use of this word is also mixed:

Anarthrous: 11.2.3.19.21; 210.12.15.17; 33.14; 44.5.6; 516.17.18.19.20; 615; 89.23; 913;
 107.14; 1110.13.23; 122.10.19; 135.13
 Arthrous: 15; 214; 34; 510.14; 101.5; 112.3; 129; 133

Χριστός is very much still a fluid term, sometimes tending more towards a proper name, sometimes more towards the word in its actual meaning of messiah. One can speculate that the use with Ἰησοῦς without the article was the starting point, from whence Χριστός gradually came to be used without Ἰησοῦς. It is already risky to postulate that Paul tends to use the article with Χριστός when he is emphasizing the functional aspect of the word (Cf 518). Probably in many instances Χριστοῦ in the genitive case was used without the article in an attempt to use the word as an adjective, as there was no word in Greek for 'Christian.' To this could be counted: 210/46; 215; 33; 615; 823; 107(2x); 1110.13.23. It is a sort of *genitivus materiae* to express the adjective Christian. The English phrase 'of x,' eg 'of stone,' is comparable to this, (although 'of Christ' would normally be understood differently in English, as 'Christ' is always a proper noun; cf. however 'of Spirit').

In summary, there is no clear-cut solution for the anarthrous use of χρῑστός in our passage. Funk comes to a similar conclusion.³⁷

3.2 Moses and the veil (Exod 34:29-35)

There is a wide consensus that Paul is alluding to Exod 34:29-35 in 2Cor 3:1-4:6. This passage needs to be examined before dealing with 2Cor 3:1-4:6, as the exegesis of it has caused a great amount of confusion among New Testament scholars.

Paul's use of *δόξα* (12x in 2Cor 2:14-4:6 in addition to *δοξάζομαι* 2x) reminds us in particular of a specific strand of Old-Testament theology, namely the priestly source, in which *יהוה י כבוד* plays a dominant role.³⁸ Other terms used in 2Cor 2:14-4:6 point especially to the Sinai-account (*διαθήκη, ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντετυπωμένη λίθοις, (ἐλευθερία/ΠΙΠΠ ?), etc*) and in particular to Exod 34:29-35 (*κάλυμμα/ΠΙΠΠ, etc*) in 2Cor 3:12ff. The point of departure will therefore be Exod 34:29-35 in the context of the Sinai pericope and particularly in the light of P's theology.

The present discussion as to the sources underlying the Sinai-pericope has not yet managed to establish a wider consensus regarding most of the text. As E. Zenger notes, 'An der Sinai-perikope scheinen mehr Hände als in der meisten Texten des übrigen Pentateuch beteiligt gewesen zu sein.'³⁹ On the part of some, this has led to an increasingly differentiating division into sources and allocation of the 'hands' involved,⁴⁰ while it has caused others to discard the whole documentary hypothesis altogether.⁴¹ The latter option has not really commended itself however, as it has not till now presented any better alternative. A positive step forward would seem to be a general tendency in Old Testament research, exemplified in E. Zenger's newer publications,⁴² to take seriously the final text as it now stands. A wider consensus has been reached respecting P, as here the 'Sitz im Leben' and theology are much more clear-cut.⁴³ Thus Exod 24:15b-18a is for example unanimously allocated to P.⁴⁴ Exod 34:29-35 is held to be P by most scholars,⁴⁵ with however a few notable scholars

recently disagreeing. Thus M.Noth assigns the entire section to a 'Sondergut' (excepting v.29a, which he holds to be JS and v.32b, which he holds to be J).⁴⁶ H.Seebass finds the entire passage to be J excepting v.29a,31a (JP) and 32a (P).⁴⁷ Their criticism has mainly stemmed from the observation that the actual content of the passage does not seem to be priestly and that the priestly terms which would seemingly indicate its origin from P (such as 'two tablets of testimony' (v. 28) and 'congregation' (v. 31)) could have been inserted at a later date.⁴⁸ The contention that the passage does not seem to be 'priestly' can easily be rebutted, as the following exegesis shows.

G.v.Rad has unravelled two different strands of P out of the passage in consideration of observation that v. 34f shifts the attention from Moses descending from the mountain to the iterative process of Moses going into the (as yet not built) tent of the tabernacle. Furthermore there is a 'doublet' in v. 31-32.⁴⁹

We have already noted above the tensions within 34-35. The observations made by G.v. Rad and in a more differentiated form by E. Zenger are undoubtedly true. The problem in v.Rad's observation lies in the fact that the fragments which are culled out of the text (*ie* V.31.34f) are not in themselves coherent, as G.v.Rad himself admits,⁵⁰ E.Zenger's 'Elohistic' Fragments (29a.30a*.b.31a*.b) are coherent but are in content so close to the rest of the passage that it makes one wonder why he doesn't assign them to another Priestly source. In short, although there are

tensions precisely in those areas pointed out by Zenger and v. Rad, they do not diverge in content enough to allow the conclusion that another tradition or theology is at work. It is perfectly legitimate to be content with assigning the whole passage in question to one source, albeit acknowledging the fact that fragments stemming out of the same tradition have been added. For our exegetical purposes the text can be treated as a whole.

The passage divides into two sections, v. 29-33 and v. 34-35. Verses 29-33 correlate to Moses' iterative going into the tent of the tabernacle, thus presupposing the existence of the same. The intention is clearly to equate Moses' meeting with God on Sinai with his later meetings in the tent of the tabernacle. This is without doubt an element of P, one of whose aims is to portray the tent as the 'Sinai auf der Wanderung,' and who wants to show that Yahweh was not bound to one area, namely the Sinai, but that he 'went' with Israel into Palestine in the form of the tent of meeting. As Israel had met God at Sinai through Moses, so it could now meet God in the tent of meeting (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד) through Moses and later through the priests.⁵¹

'Als innerster Kern des 'Begegnungszeltes' (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד) ist die כַּפֶּרֶת der Ort der Präsenz Gottes in Israel: der Ort, an dem der transzendente Gott als der im Sühnegeschehen begegnende Gott ist, kondeszendiert. Modus der Gegenwart Gottes ist das auf eine 'Begegnung' (יָעַד nif., מוֹעֵד מֵאֵל 'Begegnungszelt') mit Mose bzw Israel zielende 'Verweilen' (שָׁכַן) seines כַּבֹּוֹד 'inmitten der Israeliten' ebenso wie sein Mose, dem Repräsentanten Israels, geltendes 'Begegnen' (יָעַד nif.) auf der כַּפֶּרֶת. Mit dem Blutritus an der כַּפֶּרֶת wird dem in tiefste Schuld verstrickten exilisch-nachexilischen Israel am großen Versöhnungstag die mit dem Sinaigeschehen (Ex 24,15bff.) inaugurierte Wirklichkeit der Selbstoffenbarung Gottes an den Menschen und damit die *tröstliche Nähe der göttlichen Gegenwart* wieder gewährt.⁵²

The discussion relating to קרן in the meaning of 'to be horned' need not be pursued. The meaning of 'to glow/shine' is assumed here.⁵³

The parallel structure of 3434-35 and the P account of Moses ascending/descending is apparent even after a cursory glance:

A = Moses in the Sinai account
B = Moses in the tent of tabernacle

ויבא משה בתוך הענן וניעל אל-ההר ⁵⁴	3418	A
וכבא משה לפני יהוה לדבר אתו...	3434a	B
<hr/>		
ויהי ברדת משה מהר סיני	3429a	A
ויצא	3434b	B
<hr/>		
וירא אהרן וכל-בני ישראל את-משה והנה קרן עור פניו	3430a	A
וראו בני-ישראל את-פני משה כי קרן עור פני משה	3435	B
<hr/>		
וייראו מגשת אליו	3430b	A
-----	-----	B
<hr/>		
ויקרא אלהם משה וישבו אליו אהרן וכל-העשאים בעדה	3431a	A₁
ואחרי-כן נגשו כל-בני ישראל	3432a	A₂
-----	-----	B
<hr/>		
וידבר משה אלהם...ויצום אה כל אשר דבר יהוה אתו בהר סיני	3431b	A
ודבר אל-בני ישראל את אשר יצום	3435bβ	B
<hr/>		
ויכל משה מדבר אתם ויתן על-פניו מסוה	3433	A
והשיב משה את-המסוה על פניו מסוה על-פניו [עד באו לדבר אתו]	3435b	B

In B it is not explicitly stated that the Israelites are frightened and run away. This

is understandable in the light of the fact that A is a unique event, whereas B is an

iterative process which they have grown used to. Besides this, the account of the people seeing Moses' shining skin has slipped from its logical sequence after Moses' emergence from the tent to after his proclamation of God's commandments (possibly a sign of a certain disorder in the text). The implied logical sequence is however doubtless the same as in A.

The account is best seen in the light of the theology of P. The phrase *עור פניו* *קרן* has an affinity to *כבוד* in P. For it is the effect of the *כבוד יהוה* that causes the skin of Moses' face to glow. The reason why *כבוד* itself is not used in the passage lies particularly in the fact that P does not want to associate *כבוד* with Moses himself, as this is a term reserved alone for Yahweh.⁵⁵ The nature of Moses' shining face can be determined through the response of the Israelites: they are afraid to come near, and they flee. Their fear lies in their exposure to the holiness of God, which has 'rubbed off' on Moses through his own exposure to God. It is thus in keeping with the theology of P, which illustrates this holiness through passages such as Lev 10 (Nadab and Abihu), Num 1-3 (the two concentric rings with the Levites and priests living in the immediate vicinity of the tent and the rest of the Israelites living in the outer ring) and through its many minute regulations.⁵⁶ Thus Moses does not put on a veil later out of a sense of modesty or humility, but rather in order to protect the Israelites from too great an exposure of that *כבוד* which he has experienced and which shines through him. The passage is grappling with the difficulty of how

God's word came to the Israelites without their being destroyed (הלך pl.) through the sheer exposure to God's glory. 'Der Mensch als solcher, in seiner Gottferne, ist angesichts der Offenbarung der göttlichen Doxa dem Tod verfallen.'⁵⁷ Even through Moses as a medium the drastic effects of God's holiness are underlined (as 'der ganz Andere', to use K. Barth's terminology).

Moses' act of first laying the veil on *after* uttering God's commandments is perhaps more of a practical nature than commentators would have us believe: Of necessity Moses has to have his face uncovered in order to be able speak to the Israelites clearly.

Basically the veil of Moses functions in an analogous manner to the veil in front of the holy of holies (cf Exod 26 31-33; 36 35-37; 39 34; 40 3). In the same way that the veil in front of the holy of holies protects the Israelites from the glory of God, the veil on the face of Moses protects the Israelites from the glory of God shining through him. In this function the veil is the equivalent of the cloud which protects the Israelites from exposure to God (Exod 24 15-18).⁵⁸ Hereby it is not so much Moses himself who is being legitimized in his office⁵⁹ as that which he is bringing, namely God's revelation to the Israelites. It is because of **what** Moses has to mediate that his face shines, not because of any inherent qualities. The accent lies not on his special office but rather on the amazing revelation he has to bring to the Israelites from God.

The above-mentioned use of the veil must be carefully distinguished from another

usage also found in Exodus, namely Exod 36 and Exod 33:18ff (cf 1Kgs 19). Here the veil also has the function of protecting man from the holiness of God, but 'the other way around': a veil/covering is not placed in front of the divine presence, but rather in front of sinful man. Thus Moses covers his face in Exod 36 out of fear of the presence of God as does Elijah (1Kgs 19).⁶⁰

Exod 33:18ff illustrates the same motif: as God passes by Moses, he puts him in a crevice and covers him with the palm of his hand, as 'no man can see me [scl. Yahweh] and live' (Exod 33:20). When God has passed by he will remove his palm so that Moses can see God's 'back' (רָאִיתָ אֶת – אַחֲרָי). The parallel usage of פָּנִים and אַחֲרָי assists us in determining the nature of v. 23: Just as God's פָּנִים indicates his personal presence⁶¹ and not a hypostasis, so also the sense of אַחֲרָי can only be the point between God's personal presence and his absence. It is the 'peripheral' personal presence of God that Moses is able to witness, not the direct personal presence of God itself. It is just enough to be able to say that he has witnessed God, but not enough to say he has witnessed God 'face to face.'⁶²

3.3 Exegesis of 2Cor 3:1-4:6

3.3.1 2Cor 3:1-3

Paul has been stung by charges that he has been acting out of self-interest. Thus the rhetorical question: Ἀρχόμεθα πάλιν ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνειν; He proceeds to say that he does not need a συστατικὴ ἐπιστολή, as some do. After all, isn't the Corin-

thian church proof enough of his ministry? They are Christ's letter ministered through Paul, written not with ink or on stone tablets but rather with the Spirit of the living God (רוח אלהים חיים) on their hearts of flesh.

3.3.2 2Cor 34-6

Paul has trust in God through Christ. It is not as if he has the ability to proclaim all of this as of himself, but he has received his ability from God,⁶³ who has enabled him to be a servant of the new covenant. This covenant has been written onto their hearts through the Spirit of the living God (cf 33). For the letter kills but the Spirit makes you come alive. Paul very skillfully combines Jer 31:33 with Ezek 11:19, ie the image of a new covenant written on the hearts of the people with the picture of God giving the people a new heart of flesh in place of the heart of stone, and a new spirit. The hearts of the people are of stone because of the old covenant, which is written on stone. The question arises: where does Christ fit into the picture. Although he is mentioned in 33, it still remains unclear how he relates to πνεῦμα and θεός.

3.3.3 2Cor 37-46

The tenses in this section are quite ambiguous. Strangely enough, this does not seem to cross the minds of most commentators. One sees this in the translation of 2Cor 3:11: καταργουμένον is usually translated in the past tense whereas μένον is translated in the present; cf NEB: "For if that which was soon to fade had its moment of splendour, how much greater is the splendour of that which endures." καταρ-

γούμενος/η/ον is used in 37.11.13 and in each case could be translated into any tense. The present participle could be interpreted as a durative (linear or progressive) or an iterative action. In addition to this, καταργεῖται in 314 could also be durative (linear/progressive) or iterative.⁶⁴ καταργέομαι can mean firstly 'to make ineffective, powerless, idle,' of which only the figurative sense 'to nullify' is possible in this context. Secondly it can mean 'to abolish, wipe out.'⁶⁵

The interpretation of this whole passage rests on 313 to a large extent, specifically on the interpretation of εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου. A majority of scholars have interpreted this to mean that Moses laid a veil on his face so that the Israelites could not see the end of the fading glory on Moses' face, ie so that they wouldn't be able to see that the glory was only transitory. I would like to suggest a different interpretation.

As has been demonstrated above,⁶⁶ 313 runs parallel to 37 and 44. The sense of 37 is quite clear: Paul continues the comparison of ministry of letter and Spirit which he has begun in 31-6. Thus he contrasts the ministry of death with that of Spirit (37.8), the ministry of judgment with the ministry of righteousness, that which is καταργουμένον with that which is μένον. In each case, the second element of the pair is infinitely superior to the first because its δόξα overflows (περισσεύω) and surpasses (ὑπερβάλλω) the δόξα of the second element. This is the reason why the glory of the old covenant counts for nothing (καὶ γὰρ οὐ δεδόξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ

μέρει; 310). In this context, τὸ καταργουμένον means 'that which is abolished' (linear?): if that which is now abolished has glory, how much more glory does that have which endures, which is permanent.

We can now turn to 37: It is the Paul of Romans speaking here: the old covenant was administered through Moses, who radiated such a glory from his face that the Israelites could not look at it. This is fully in line with Exod 34:29-35, the awe and feeling of fear and insignificance of the Israelite when he came into contact with כבוד יהוה. This makes it all the more significant when Paul calls this כבוד one which has been abolished/ nullified. This is the meaning which fits in most naturally in 37, as the old δόξα is linked to the old covenant engraved on stone; when this is abolished, the δόξα naturally is similarly abolished. There is no need to go as far as to interpret καταργέομαι as meaning 'to be transitory' or anything similar.⁶⁷

44 has a slightly different perspective. Paul has gone into great detail in 37-18 in order to demonstrate that his message is one of great freedom and openness (312). In 43 we catch a glimpse of the reason behind his elaboration: he is trying to fend off accusations that his εὐαγγέλιον is κεκαλυμμένον (veiled) to some. Paul says: I have preached the εὐαγγέλιον with an open face and great outspokenness, not with a veil on my face like Moses, who put it on so that the Israelites would not disintegrate upon coming in contact with this כבוד. If however my message still does not reach the hearts of some, it is because of the god of this world, who has blinded their

minds so that they cannot see the light of the δόξα of Christ, who is the εἰκὼν of God. Of significance is the fact that Paul here identifies δόξα/דְּבָרָא with φωτισμός. As we have noted earlier, Exod 34:29-35 does not actually use the term דְּבָרָא in referring to Moses' illuminated face, although it is implied that the radiance on his face is an effect of the דְּבָרָא of God. Paul here explicitly identifies the radiance with δόξα.

3.3.3.1 2Cor 3:13

We can now turn to 3:13 and from there to 3:12-18. Paul is still seeking to highlight the contrast between himself and Moses. Thus Paul's ministry is one of outspokenness, not like Moses; he laid a veil on his face so that the Israelites would not look εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου. Now ἀτενίζω means 'to look intently, εἰς τι at something or someone. It is therefore generally automatically assumed that εἰς τὸ τέλος means that the Israelites gazed 'at the end.' It then follows that one has to try to accommodate τοῦ καταργουμένου in the translation. Generally it is done by understanding the word as referring to 'the fading glory.' This solution however leaves a lingering uneasiness in the recesses of the mind: how does one 'look' at a τέλος? Why does τοῦ καταργουμένου suddenly mean 'fading,' when we have seen that it means 'to nullify' or 'to abolish, wipe out?' And how does this sense fit in with the following ἀλλὰ ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν? Frankly speaking, it doesn't, if we cling onto the traditional interpretation. We are thus justified in looking for other alternatives.

The question then arises: Is this phrase Greek at all, or is it perhaps a Semitism?

There are good reasons for believing it to be Semitic. We often find ל being used temporally in Hebrew 'expressing concurrence (at) rather than duration (in)'.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the expression ׀קל/קול + a time expression is found in late Hebrew and Qumran.⁶⁹ We have one example for the translation of ׀קל as εἰς τὸ τέλος, namely

Dan 11:13(θ):

עֲנִי עֲנִי עַד קֵץ
εἰς τὸ τέλος τῶν καιρῶν

Another translation of ׀קל is very likely found in Luke 18:5: ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιάζη με (׀קל/קול + participle of כָּבַד).⁷⁰

Finally, one should not forget that the Greek language also knows the use of εἰς in the temporal sense.⁷¹

The material mentioned above is decisive enough to allow us to interpret εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου as a Semitism deriving from the construction ׀קל + x, here perhaps עַד קֵץ ׀קל/קול. The sense of 3:13 would then be: Moses laid a veil on his face so that the Israelites would not be able to see his face 'at the end of that which is nullified/abolished,' i.e. when he had finished speaking the words of the covenant, which is now nullified, to the Israelites. In other words, Paul is following Exod 34:29-35 closely: Moses spoke to the Israelites with an unveiled face; when he had finished speaking to them, he put a veil on his face in order to protect them from too strong an exposure to the כֹּבֶד הַיְהוָה. This interpretation assumes that

there is an ellision in the sentence, namely that the object of ἀτενίζω is not εἰς τὸ τέλος but rather εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μωϋσέως, which has been elided.

The beauty of this interpretation is the fact that (a) it corresponds nicely to the sense of 37, (b) the face is the object of the gaze of the people throughout the passage, (c) it stays within the account of Exod 34:29-35, and (d) it makes the following line coherent: Moses put the veil on his face after he had finished speaking in order to protect the Israelites; however, even the slightest exposure to the כבוד of the old covenant of stone was enough to cause their minds to become hardened.

3.3.3.2 2Cor 3:14b

Thus enlightened we can now proceed to understand 3:14bff. Till this day the same veil which protected the Israelites from too great an exposure of the כבוד of God as manifested in the old covenant remains on the reading of the old covenant, as (ὅτι)⁷² in Christ it is nullified/abolished. The subject of καταργεῖται can only be δόξα (cf 37) or ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη. κάλυμμα is out of question. It is not really so important if the subject is δόξα or ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, as both are inextricably linked.

3.3.3.3 2Cor 3:15-16

For till this day, the veil settles on their hearts every time Moses, /e the old covenant, is read. Every time someone turns to the Lord, however, the veil is taken away. 3:16 is not remotely connected to Moses' going into the tent; ἐπιστρέφω (כָּשַׁב) is found chiefly in the language of Jeremiah and the Deuteronomical circles and is used

for denoting the act of turning back to God.⁷³ There is not much to commend viewing 316 as a *pesher*-midrash relating to Exod 34:29-35.⁷⁴ ἐπί + τῆ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης (314) and ἐπί + τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν (315) stand parallel to ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ (313): The veil that lay on Moses' face now lies on the reading of the old covenant and on the hearts of the non-Christian Jews. The imagery has shifted to accommodate the fact that Moses himself is not present any more, but the function of the veil is the same: it is there of necessity because the letter kills (36); the veil literally protects the Jew from dying. The δόξα of stone is too great for him to survive any amount of exposure to it. When however the Jew turns to the Lord, the veil is removed.

M. McNamara,⁷⁵ following the lead of R. le Deaut,⁷⁶ has made it plausible that Paul is drawing on a tradition which is found in Ps.-Jon. to Exod 33:5,7,8. One can see the parallels to Paul very clearly in Ps.-Jon. to Exod 33:7: 'And everyone that used to return in repentance in a perfect heart used to go out to the tent of the house of consultation that was outside the camp, confessing his guilt and praying on account of his guilt, and praying he was forgiven.' Ps.-Jon. has interpreted the biblical text here (LXX πᾶς ὁ ζητῶν κύριον) to portray the function of the tent not so much as the place of revelation than as the place of repentance for the Israelites. Thus it makes it probable that Paul's attention has shifted in 2Cor 3:16 from Exod 34:29-35 to Exod 33:5ff.

3.3.3.4 2Cor 3:17-18

The question then arises: why is the veil removed? The answer which Paul gives is: Because the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. J.D.G. Dunn is undoubtedly correct in stating that δέ causes κύριος in 3:17 to refer back to πρὸς κύριον in 3:16 (as a sort of δέ explicativum).⁷⁷ The article before πνεῦμα emphasizes the word.⁷⁸ We all can however reflect the glory of the Lord with uncovered faces, at the same time being transformed into the same image, not of Moses, but of the Lord, who is the Spirit. With ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες Paul is apparently referring to all who pass on the good news in its unpolluted form. The reason why Paul can have such freedom in proclaiming the gospel lies in the fact that the Lord is the Spirit and not letters engraved on stone, thus being able to make alive (3:6). Why can he make alive? Because he is the Spirit of God who is θεὸς ζῶντος (3:3) and he writes not on tablets of stone but on hearts of flesh (3:3).

εἰκὼν is found not only in 3:18 but also in 4:4: Christ is the εἰκὼν of God. There is only one place Paul can be alluding to, namely to Gen 1:26, where man is made in the image of God. This leads us once again to Paul's Adam-typology: The old Adam is the fallen image of God, Christ as the new Adam is the perfect image of God. In 3:18 we are transformed into the same image of the Lord. Now this is only understandable if κύριος refers to Christ: It makes no sense for us to be transformed into 'the same image' if it refers to Yahweh; Yahweh is not the image, Christ is. As pro-

claimers of the good news we are thus in a dynamic process of illumination (φωτισμός; 44) through the δόξα of Christ, of reflection/radiation of this δόξα and parallel to that of continual transformation into the image of Christ through the δόξα of Christ.

3.3.3.5 2Cor 45-6

45 again plainly identifies Jesus Christ with κύριος. This and the observations concerning 318 mentioned above are decisive enough to conclude that the κύριος Paul is thinking about is Christ. Even though the oblique nature of the first part of 316 seems to indicate a citation, Paul interprets it as meaning Christ. For Paul turning to God can only mean turning to Christ, especially in the present setting, where he is obviously thinking of the Jews in the preceding verses. In 46 Paul indicates the origin of the φωτισμός in the Christian's heart: God is the origin of light, and it is he who has illuminated our hearts as he has illuminated the world in the beginning, so that we radiate this light with faces of Christ.⁷⁹

3.4 2 Cor 3-46 and 1 Cor 11

The problem of the veil is to be found not only in 2Cor 31-46 but also in 1Cor 11, where Paul is regulating the use of the veil in the Corinthian church. One is in a better position to understand 1Cor 11 in the light of 2Cor 31-46. In 1Cor 11 it is the woman's role which is highlighted. Paul clearly already has an argumentation of the kind which he exhibits in 2Cor 31-46 in mind here. This is evident when he says that man is the εἰκὼν and δόξα of God. We can infer from 2Cor 31-46 that he means that men

who live in the light of the new covenant reflect Christ's glory and change into his image, which is the image of God; man is transformed into that which he was meant to be in the beginning. Undoubtedly Paul does not mean that women are not transformed; rather that they are transformed not into the new Adam but into the new Eve. Thus the order of creation is still maintained in this world, namely that woman is the δόξα of man and is ἐξ ἀνδρός, created because of man (διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα), even though man exists διὰ τῆς γυναικός. A woman's δόξα is reserved for her husband. Presumably the question at stake did not concern the *putting on* but rather the *leaving on* of the veil; the veil was not restricted to the services. The issue was most likely raised in connection with the services because in Corinth the women were unveiling their faces when prophesying and praying.

3.5 The conceptual world of 2Cor 3-4⁶

3.5.1 The origin of δόξα in Paul

δόξα plays a considerable role in Paul's thinking, as the analysis of 3-4⁶ has shown. One is justified in asking the question of how he came to think in terms of δόξα and light. Basically there are 2 approaches to this problem: (a) to understand δόξα as the result of his experience of God and (b) to understand it as the result of Paul's reception of Jewish sources. It will become clear that both play a role in Paul's mind.

(a) Two texts enable us to trace the experiential origins, namely Acts 9, 22 and 26 - the passages dealing with his so-called Damascus experience. The inconsisten-



cles are well-known⁸⁰ and need not concern us. Certain elements are common to all three accounts, particularly the element of light:

Acts 9³ ἐξαίφνης τε αὐτὸν περιήστραψεν φῶς ἐν οὐρανοῦ.

Acts 22⁶ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περιαστράψαι φῶς ἵκανὸν περὶ ἐμέ.

Acts 26¹³ οὐρανόθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου περιλάμψαν με φῶς.

Paul states that he was blinded because of the δόξα τοῦ φωτός (Acts 22¹¹): the result of his exposure to the δόξα of Christ is that he is blinded. Significantly, Ananias tells Paul in 9¹⁷ that he has been sent by Jesus ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ πλησθῆς πνεύματος ἁγίου: Paul receives his sight when he receives the Holy Spirit. It could be argued that this is Luke's own pneumatology shining through and not historical. However, the affinity to 2Cor 3-4⁶ is striking. Paul is blinded because of his exposure to the δόξα of the light (22¹¹); the Holy Spirit is instrumental in restoring his sight to him. In 2Cor 3-4⁶ it is because Christ is the Spirit that the Christian can stand the exposure to his δόξα and radiate it. Paul could not stand the exposure to Christ's δόξα as long as he was tied to the old covenant of stone; when he received the Holy Spirit, however, he had the new covenant written not onto stone but onto his heart. Thus his sight was restored. Paul has himself also experienced how the old Adam is transformed into Christ's, the new Adam's own image (3¹⁸); it is only thus that he is able to . . . go soon afterwards into the synagogues and proclaim Jesus as Lord:

Acts 9:20 ἐκήρυσσεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ

2Cor 4:5 Οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν ἀλλὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κύριον

It is clearly Paul's experience which has shaped his thinking on this point.⁸¹

(b) Concerning Paul's sources, Exod 34:29-35 is a text which has flowed into his experience, as 2Cor 3:1-4:6 demonstrates. It is also worth while to examine the inter-testamental period for other possible sources.

3.5.2 Intertestamental sources and 2Cor 3-4:6

3.5.2.1 Josephus: Jewish Antiquities III.53-294

Josephus is intent on portraying Moses as the general (στρατηγός; Ant.III.65) and superman of the ordered army of Israel. He has streamlined the Sinai account and altered many details in a rather free manner. Moses ascends Mount Sinai twice, the first time remaining there for three days (III.75-82) and the second time for 40 days (III.95-101). It is not by chance that the account of the golden calf and Moses' subsequent pleas before God on behalf of the people found in Exod 32-34 are passed over in silence (perhaps out of embarrassment). Instead, Moses addresses the people on his first descent and they themselves hear a 'voice from on high' teaching them the Ten Commandments (πάντες τε ἤκουον φωνῆς ὑψόθεν παραγενομένης εἰς ἅπαντες; Ant.III.90; cf Exod 24).

The duration of the second ascent is marked by the noble grief of the Israelites, in stark contrast to Exod 32, in spite of allusion to the same. Moses then comes down bearing the two stone tablets and instructions from God concerning τὸν τε

τρόπον καθ' ὃν εὐδαιμονήσουσι πολιτευόμενοι and σκηνην ὅτι βούλεται γενέσθαι αὐτῷ [scil τῷ θεῷ] - Ant.III.99). The rest of the account is devoted to the tent of the tabernacle, the institution of the priests, sacrifices and general commandments, which he draws up (συνετάττετο) in the tent of the tabernacle κατά τὴν ὑπαγόρευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ (III.213).

III.83-88 (the first descent of Moses) seems to allude to Exod 34:29-33:

[Οὕτως δ'αὐτῶν διαχειμένων] ἐπιφαίνεται Μωυσῆς γαυρός τε καὶ μέγα φρονῶν. ὀφθείς τε οὖν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάσσει τοῦ δέους αὐτοῦς καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων κρείττονας ὑπετίθετο τὰς ἐλπίδας, αἴθρος τε καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ αἶψα τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου παθῶν ἦν Μωυσέος παραγεγονότος (III.83).

The structure of Exod 34:29-33 has been fundamentally altered by Josephus. The reaction of the Israelites is not one of fear and trembling but rather their fears are allayed through Moses' return. Therefore the veil also has been deliberately omitted by Josephus, as it doesn't fit into his interpretation of Moses' return to the Israelites. This fact is underlined by Ant.III.212; Moses is described there as πᾶσαν τιμὴν παραιτησάμενος... ἰδιωτεύων καὶ τῇ στολῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄγων ἑαυτὸν δημοτικώτερον καὶ μηδὲν βουλόμενος τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρειν δοκεῖν ἢ μόνῳ τῷ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν βλέπεσθαι.

3.5.2.2 Philo: Moses and veil

3.5.2.2.1 Exod 34:29-35 (De Vita Mosis II)

Philo deals with the Sinai account in his discourse on the superior qualities of Moses as the giver of the Torah, high priest and prophet (cf Moses II.1-7), more

specifically in the section of Moses as priest (Moses II.66-186).

Philo seems to be thinking of several ascents of Moses onto Sinai, but he is very vague about the order of events; thus Exod 34 (mainly v.28-35) appears in the beginning (Moses II.70-71), the story of the golden calf being mentioned much later in order to explain the function of the Levites in the tent of the tabernacle (Moses II.159-73). Attached to the account from Exod 34 (Moses II.70-71) is an account of how Moses carries out instructions on how to construct the tabernacle (Moses II.72-140) according to godly παραδειγματα (II.127; cf II.71) and how to perform the sacrifices.

The text which interests us particularly is Moses II.70-71. Philo is interested particularly in two aspects of the Exodus account, namely Moses' ascetic, abstemious life (his interpretation of the 40 days which Moses spent on the mount without water and bread) and the dazzling appearance (ἄψις) of Moses at his descent. Moses cleanses himself (καθαρεύω) in soul (ψυχῆ) and body (σῶμα) before ascending. Philo underlines the fact that Moses was much more beautiful when he came down than when he ascended:

[καί] ἡμέραις ὕστερον, ὡς ἐλέχθη, τεσσαράκοντα κατέβαινε πολὺ καλλίων τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὅτε ἀνῆει, ὡς τοὺς ὀρῶντας τεθηπέναι καὶ καταπεπληχθαι καὶ μηδ' ἐπὶ πλεον ἀντέχειν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς δύνασθαι κατὰ τὴν προσβολὴν ἡλιοειδοῦς φέγγους ἀπαστράπτοντες (Moses II.70).

The dazzling appearance of Moses explicitly correlates to his καθάρσις and is deliberately connected with the former: it is the picture of the godly man who frees

himself of worldly things which weigh him down and thus purified wings into the ethereal divine realms. His 'descent' is marked by a change of countenance (ὄψις). This is all written in a distinctly Platonic vein. It would seem that Philo is thinking more of Moses' soul ascending, which in returning changes his body; thus Moses is described as:

τροφᾶς ἔχων ἀμείνους τὰς διὰ θεωρίας, αἷς ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταπνεόμενος τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐβελτιοῦτο, καθ' ἑκάτερον πρὸς τε ἰσχὺν καὶ εὐεξίαν ἐπιδιδούς, ὡς τοὺς ἰδόντας ὕστερον ἀπιστεῖν (Moses II.69).

The last part of the sentence indicates that Philo is thinking of Moses' ascent of the mount. That he means the ascent of the soul is also evident from his description of the mountain as being the highest (ὑψηλότατον) and holiest (ἱερώτατον), a mountain inaccessible (ἀπρόσιτος) and impassable (ἄβατος; Moses II.70). Finally, it is only thus that we can understand Moses' construction of the tent of the tabernacle according to divine παραδείγματα which he has received on the mount:

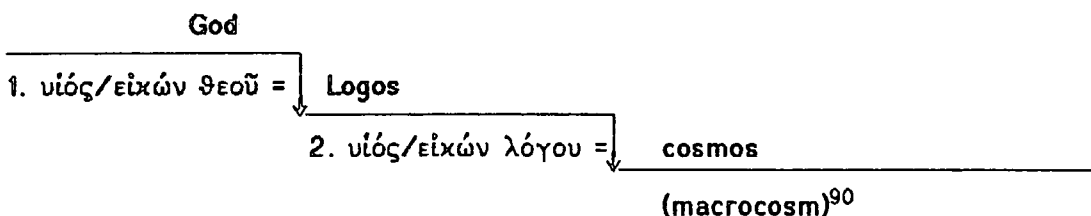
τῶν μελλόντων ἀπολελεῖσθαι σωμάτων ἀσωμάτους ιδέας τῆ ψυχῆ θεωρῶν, πρὸς αἷς ἔδει καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς καὶ νοητῶν παραδειγμάτων αἰσθητὰ μμήματα ἀπαικονιοθῆναι (II.74).

That what Moses sees in his soul transforms his body and makes him unbearable to look at. Although Philo thus in many ways differs from Exod 34, he has in his manner conserved the element of Moses appearing in a light which is so overwhelming that the Israelites cannot bear to look at him.

3.5.2.2 Moses in the context of Philo's theology

Concerning the question of how the figure of Moses relates to the rest of the Philonic corpus, U. Früchtel has contributed valuable insights.⁸² In summary, she finds a link between the creation accounts of man and Moses.⁸³ Philo has taken the verses Gen 126,27 and 27 to mean that God created a prototype of Adam and a protoplast, both of which are not identical to each other. The prototype was engraved as the image of God (κατ' εἰκόνα τετυπῶσθαι θεοῦ), whereas the protoplast was formed (πέπλασμα).⁸⁴ The Logos is sometimes identified with the prototype. 'Der Logos als Prototype besitzt die Ebenbildlichkeit in ihrer Totalität, der empirische Mensch oder Protoplast nur partikular durch seinen Verstand.'⁸⁵ The prototype (εἰκών) belongs to the κόσμος νοητός, the protoplast (εἰκών εἰκόνος) to the κόσμος αἰσθητός.⁸⁶ The protoplast Adam was a perfect man in body and soul.⁸⁷ The fall of Adam is viewed as a gradual decrease in the qualities of man,⁸⁸ which has been caused by the disease of sensuality, desire and unreasonableness (which are identified with Eve).⁸⁹

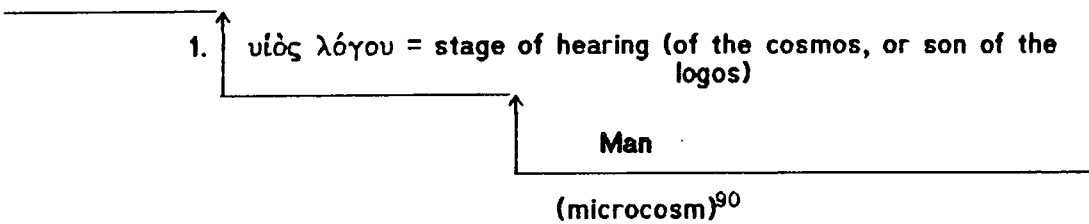
Now Philo thinks of the relationship of God, Logos and cosmos as a series of stages descending from God to the cosmos. U. Früchtel illustrates this descent in the following manner:



Philo also shows how a man can ascend to become first a son of the Logos and

then higher become a son of God:

2. υἱὸς θεοῦ = stage of seeing (of the logos, or son of God)



In the first stage of ascent, the soul ascends to the ethereal realm, which is still in the realm of the senses. In the second stage, the soul becomes transformed in the process of the ὁμοίωσις θεῶ into the εἰκῶν which the first protoplast, Adam, was.⁹¹ How does one ascend? By becoming of the cosmos and imitating the hierophant Moses, who was also once clothed in the garment of the cosmos, but then clothed himself in the garment of the Logos.⁹² The real man ascends to the first stage through hearing, to the second by seeing, through which he is transformed into the Logos like Moses at Sinai.⁹³ He becomes a son of God. For Philo, Moses as ἱεροφάντης ὀργίων καὶ διδάσκαλος θείων, as the priestly and prophetic Logos, becomes a mediator between God and man.⁹⁴ 'Der Hierophant ist es, der herbeigerufen wird, wenn uns die Kraft zur Schau fehlt. Er muß in den verborgenen Klang der heiligen Worte einführen (μυσταγωγῶν), uns das Verschlüsselte zeigen (τὰ κατάκλειστα) und den Uneingeweihten auf die unsichtbaren Schönheiten hinweisen.'⁹⁵

Through Moses, the high priest can reflect the same light as the former after his descent from Sinai, symbolized in the white garment which he wears when entering the holy of holies.⁹⁶ This can then for Philo be generalized to include the wise man.

Philo überträgt die Ereignisse um Mose auf den Hohenpriester überhaupt und von da aus verallgemeinernd auf die Vorgänge in der Seele des Weisen.⁹⁷

Now for Philo, the beginnings of this society of mystics lie not with Moses but rather with Abraham. Philo projects the Sinai-event backwards to the patriarchs without denying the uniqueness of Sinai. The patriarchs are the first wise men, who take part in the θείασις τῶν σοφῶν ψυχῶν⁹⁸ and can experience a wonderful mystery.⁹⁹

The Spirit of God is also connected with the illumination of the wise man at his ascent: Philo connects it with Gen 27: God's breathing into man is linked with his giving man of his Spirit.¹⁰⁰ Finally, it should be noted in passing that Philo clearly links the path of wisdom and the ascent of the wise man with the Torah.¹⁰¹

3.5.2.3 Pseudo-Philo: Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum

The probable date of Pseudo-Philo (= Ps.-Ph.) lies around the time of Jesus, i.e. before 70 AD.¹⁰² C. Dietzfelbinger rightly finds the law and covenant at Sinai to be at the heart of Ps.-Ph.'s theology.¹⁰³

The Sinai account has to be observed within the framework of Ps.-Ph.'s theology and the role which Moses plays in Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (= LAB). Ps.-Ph. basically follows the biblical narrative. The interpretation of Exod 34:29-35 given in 12:1 has been placed before the incident of the golden calf, but the beginning of 12:2 (*et dum esset in morte...*) could be seen as an indication of the author that 12:1 is actu-

ally a parenthetical remark belonging to another setting.¹⁰⁴ Central in the book is the account of Moses and the Exodus/Sinai narrative (9-19).

Moses stands at a pivotal point in the book: through Moses God's commandments are revealed to mankind. Because of his role as mediator of God's revelation, he assumes a cosmological significance. This becomes clearest in 9:

- 97 ...et ideo ecce nunc quod genitum fuerit ex eo mihi serviet in eternum et per eum faciam mirabilia in domo iacob, et faciam per eum signa et preodigia populo meo que non feci ulli; et faciam in eis gloriam meam et annuntiabo eis vias meas.
- 98 Ego Deus incendam pro eo lucernam meam que habitet in eo, et ostendam ei testamentum meum quod non vidit ullus; et patefaciam ei superexcellenciam meam et iusticias et iudicia, et lumen sempiternum luceam ei, quoniam pro eo cogitavi in antiquis diebus dicens: Non erit mediator meus in hominibus his in sempiternum, eo quod sunt caro, et erunt dies eorum anni CXX.

Moses achieves such a great significance by Ps.-Ph. not so much because of any inherent qualities on his part, but rather because of that which God has predestined him to be, namely mediator of God's commandments. The parallel phrases in 98 clearly show that God's *lucernam* (lamp)/*lumen* and his *testamentum* (covenant)/*iusticia/iudicia* are one and the same. Particularly the typological treatment of Genesis 63 in 98 (cf 32) is curious: because man is flesh, God's spirit won't be mediator in eternity; rather, he has predestined a man to act as mediator in the flesh. The extraordinary nature of Moses is underlined by the fact that he will perform *mirabilia*, *signa* and *preodigia*. Furthermore, he was born *in testamento Dei et in testamento carnis eius*, i.e. he was born circumcised (912) (as opposed to Exodus). In every way, *gloriosus factus est super omnes homines* (916).

At the time of Moses' descent, God says:

- 111 **Dabo lumen mundo, et illuminabo inhabitabilia, et disponam testamentum meum cum filiis hominum, et glorificabo populum meum super omnes gentes, in quem eiciam excelsa sempiterna, que eis erunt in lumine, impiis vero in punitionem...**
- 112 **dabo verba mea in ore tuo, et illuminabis populum meum in eo quod dedi in manus tuas legem sempiternam, et in hac omnem orbem iudicabo. Erit enim hec in testimonium. Si enim dixerint homines: Non scivimus te, et ideo non servivimus tibi, propterea hoc vindicabo in eis, quoniam non cognaverunt legem meam.**

Moses appears not only as mediator to Israel (cf 302), but to man as such. The aim of the covenant is focussed upon in this passage: it is to illuminate Israel first of all (cf 127: *splendebat visus eius*; 384: *nunc vero vivicant sunt igne vivo et liberati sunt*), but then also the whole world. Nobody is excluded, and therefore everyone falls under the jurisdiction and judgment of God. Man has received God's *lex* through Moses. Recognizing (*recognoscere*) it is identical to knowing (*scire*) God (concerning the idea of God's *lex* illuminating the people (cf 156; 194.6; 223; 239)).¹⁰⁵

Knowing (*scire*) and recognizing (*recognoscere*) play an important role by Ps.-Ph. Recognizing is often linked with belief in God, non-recognition with unbelief (cf 277; 619; 629).¹⁰⁶ Thus it is significant that the builders of the tower of Babel cannot recognize each other (*non cognovit unusquisque fratrum suum*; 75; 73), and that Joseph recognizes (*cognoscere*; in 121: *recognoscere*) his brothers but they don't recognize (*agnoscere*; in 121: *non recognoscere*) him (810). The Israelites similarly do not recognize Moses, although he recognizes them.¹⁰⁷

The actual narration of Exod 34:29-35 is found in 121:

Et descendit Moyses. Et cum perfusus esset lumine invisibili, descendit in locum ubi lumen solis et lune est; vicit lumen faciei sue splendorem solis et lune, et hoc nesciebat ipse. Et factum est cum descenderet ad filias Israel, videntes non cognoscebant eum. Cum autem locutus fulset, tunc cognoverunt eum. Et erat simile factum hoc sicut in Egipto, quando cognovit Joseph fratres suos, ipsi autem non cognoverunt eum. Et factum est postea cum sciret Moyses quoniam gloriosissima facta fuerat facies eius, fecit sibi velamen unde cooperiret faciem suam.

Ps.-Ph. evidently thought Mount Sinai to jut into the heavens above the sun and moon; Moses' ascent is here similar in character to the apocalyptic ascension-narratives. The light of the commandments which Moses has 'imbibed' has left an indelible mark on him, so much so that the sun and moon can't compete with his (invisible?!) light.

The Israelites do not recognize Moses at first. This is only understandable on the background of Ps.-Philo's theology that recognizing God's *lex* is identical to knowing God (see above). The Israelites are first able to recognize Moses, the mediator of God, after he has communicated the *lex dei* to them, through which they in turn become illuminated, which enables them to recognize Moses and know God.

Ps.-Ph. seems to have understood the action of Moses' putting a veil on his face in a sense close to the original meaning: Moses did not want the Israelites to be exposed to too much of the light (by 'invisible' does Ps.-Ph. mean that men can't bear to look at it?).¹⁰⁸ It is however interesting to observe that any element of fear amongst the Israelites is not alluded to in this passage.

This passage appears to be the biblical root of Ps.-Ph.'s pre-occupation with light

and glory; it is here that the other passages find their origin regarding light. The basic supposition running through the entire work is that God is light: **Tu es enim qui omne lumen es** (129). One other narrative from Exodus is associated with this one in LAB, namely the flaming thorn bush: **Et cum Moysen illuminabat veritas, per senticem illuminabat eum** (373). God has already illuminated Moses before the Sinai pericope through the flaming thorn bush. Ps.-Ph. regards Exod 3 as the starting point of God's illumination of mankind, which is confirmed by LAB 538, which mentions that God illuminated his people in Egypt. It is also not by chance that none of the characters before the Exodus including Abraham are described as 'illuminated.'

We also find one case of a negative recognition: In LAB 26, the fact that the Amorites recognize Cenas leads to their own destruction. Here the opposite of that, what the Israelites experienced at Sinai (in 121), has happened: the Israelites received illumination through the *lex dei* and were themselves transformed in their recognition, whereas the Amorites did not receive illumination but rather the sword (of Cenas) and were blinded through an angel, so that they contributed to their own destruction.

The last passage of importance is 916:

[God tells Moses about past and future times in a cryptic message:]

Et audiens Moyses, repletus est sensu, et mutata est effigies eius in gloria, et mortuus est in gloria secundum os Domini, et sepelivit eum iuxta quod promiserat ei.

Moses is transfigured on account of having heard God's plan for the aeons of the earth. It is the last resounding chord in the finale. The uniqueness of Moses is made manifest through the fact that the angels aren't allowed to sing on the day of Moses' death, a prohibition which has never happened before and will never happen again after Moses according to the author.

This process of illumination is clearly not limited to Moses, as we have seen. This is shown by Ps.-Ph. in the following history, particularly in the case of the charismatic leaders. Thus Joshua receives the vestments of Moses' wisdom and the belt of his knowledge and is changed into another man (**et immutaberis et eris in virum allum**; 202); **Incensa meus eius et spiritus eius commotus est** (203; 362). Thus also Cenias: in fighting the Amorites **induit eum spiritus Domini** (279; cf also Gideon in 362) . This becomes manifest in **splendor eius sicut coruscus acutus** (279), in the fact that he **Indutus est spiritu virtutis et transmutatus in virum allum** (2710). In other words, receiving the Spirit of God is an integral part of receiving illumination and in being transformed (similarly Bileam receives the Holy Spirit and is illuminated; 183.4.11). Illumination is a dynamic process. *Thus one can conclude that the elements of illumination/lumen - lex/testamentum - spiritus domini are all components of Ps.-Ph.'s pneumatology of transformation.*

The supreme illumination through the law is to be distinguished from the illumination through which select persons prophesy through the Holy Spirit (cf 910: Maria

alia Miriam; 183.4.11: Bileam [Illumination and Holy Spirit are mentioned synonymously]; 286: Cenas; 319.14: Deborah; 622: Saul). Certain leaders also have a special role in illuminating the people through God's law: so Deborah (331.3), Samuel (513.6.7), the priests (specifically Pinchas; 283).

Ps.-Ph. alludes darkly to the reason for God's sending his light into the world in Cenas' vision (287-9): **Inter medium autem fundamentum superioris et inferioris, de lumine invisibilibus loci advenerunt quasi imagines hominum et perambulabant** (289). Cenas sees creation in his vision; one can feel how the author is struggling to describe the incomprehensible; perhaps he is also trying to avoid depicting it too 'materialistically': the flames don't burn, etc (the flames that don't burn are also an allusion to Exod 3, where the thorn bush doesn't burn). Man's origin is out of an invisible light (one need not be reminded that in 121 Moses' light is invisible). Ultimately this light is linked to God the creator; man has originated out of the flame that doesn't burn, out of the indescribable. God has brought illumination to man because it is the original state of man. In this he is made in God's image according to Ps.-Ph.^{108a} Therefore illumination transforms man back into the complete image of God, **et sic mutabantur** (289).

Iniquos autem concludet (scd. deus) in tenebris, nam iustis conservat lumen suum. Et cum mortui fuerint iniqui tunc peribunt et cum dormierint iusti tunc liberabuntur (515).

At death the righteous are liberated and experience the complete and irreversible transformation into the full image of God in the ultimate illumination. This is thus

the ultimate fulfillment of the Sinai-event, symbolized by the 12 precious stones (26:13.15). Conversely the unjust are transformed in a negative sense (cf Saul, 644; the builders of Babel, 73.5), which ultimately leads to their complete destruction.

All the above-mentioned observations lead one to deduce that Ps.-Philo has a real old Adam - new Adam typology. It is from this perspective that the rest of his theology becomes cohesive. The tree-parable of LAB 37 sums it up nicely in 37:3:

Nascente spina, veritas in specie spine prelucebat. Et quando iudicatus est protoplastus mortis, spinas et tribulos adiucata est proferre terra. Et cum Moysen illuminabat veritas, per senticem illuminabat eum. Et nunc erit, ut de me vobis veritas audiat. Et si in vero dixistis rubo ut in veritate regnaret super vos, sedete in umbra eius. Sin autem in hypocrisi, exeat ignis et devoret et comedat ligna campi, quia malum factum est in castigatores, et ficus facta est in populum, et vinea facta est in processores.

In the beginning the thorn-bush was destined to shine forth truth. When Adam the *protoplastus* was cursed to die at his fall, the earth was cursed to bring forth thorns and thistles, the vehicles of God's illumination. The thorns are here a beacon of God's faithfulness. Therefore it was through a thorn-bush that Moses received his illumination, the *lex dei*, through which, as we have seen, he is transformed into the original image of God. He is thus the 'new Adam.' Through him, the Israelites can also be transformed. As the thorn bush says, they can sit in the shade of the thorn bush and acknowledge it as their king. If they don't, they will experience God's judgement on them, like the Amorites. If Moses is the new Adam, then Israel is the new Eve. Thus Deborah can talk of Israel as the rib of the first-born (*de costa eius nasceretur Israel*; 32:5; cf 2Cor 11:2f; Eph 5:22-33).

It is interesting that Adam himself is a rib taken from the earth (*terra*; 3215), which again has also brought forth the thorn-bush of light. LAB 16 offers an interesting insight into the problems which Ps.-Philo has to face. It is not by chance that he develops God's answer to Korah's question '*quid si ponitur nobis lex insufferibilis?*' Ps.-Philo uses the whole history of Israel to show how the law is not unbearable, but rather that it is linked with a process of illumination through the Holy Spirit which transforms the believer, the 'gnostic,' and enables him to observe the law. In 16, Ps.-Ph. uses the story of Korah to illuminate a certain aspect of his Adam-typology: God says: '*ego precepi terre, et dedit mihi hominem*' (162). The earth gave God man out of itself. But the earth disobeyed God at the death of Abel, as it took back the latter person's blood: '*et festinans terra deglutivit sanguinem eius*' (162). Therefore God cursed the earth and said that it would not devour blood anymore (162). Because of man's rebellion however he will order the earth to swallow the unbelievers completely, '*corpus et animam.*' They will live in darkness in the state of non-creation, and at the renewal of the earth (*ero innovans terram*) they will cease to exist. This is exactly what then happens to Korah and his followers. How different is the state of the followers, who live in light, not darkness, and are transformed to that what they were intended to be.

In the same way as the people who have become unclean are swallowed up by the earth, so also the book and precious stones which Cenas finds to be unclean

(26): they are to be destroyed and swallowed up by the earth because they have been corrupted (*eo quod contaminate sunt ab idolis Amorreorum; 264*). Similarly to man, who was of light but was corrupted, so also the precious stones and books had certain powers and radiated light (cf 2512) but were contaminated through the idols of the Amorites and had to be destroyed. Cenas praises God when he sees that the books are indestructible by human hands. If we follow AP, Cenas says:

Benedictus Deus qui fecit tantas virtutes in fillos hominum, et fecit protoplastum Adam, et ostendit ei omnia ut, cum pecasset in ipsis, Adam tunc hec universa abnegaret ne ostendens hec generi hominum dominarentur eis.

God showed Adam everything in order that he might fulfill his role in the world; at his fall however God denied him access to all these things, lest he show them to future generations and they have mastery over them. Apparently the books and stones belong to these things which were shown to Adam. This is the only way in which Cenas' praise fits with the preceding text. Thus we see from another angle once more what a large role, according to Ps.-Ph., God's revelation and knowing/recognizing play. It hangs together with the role of man as he should have been, so that becoming transformed back into the proper image of God is linked to recognition, which will become complete at the renewal of the earth. This adds to the significance of Moses being told the cryptic message of 915, which somehow figures as the ultimate revelation of God by Ps.-Philo (It is because of this factor that Moses is filled with understanding and transformed into glory through the message).

3.5.2.4 Pseudo-Jonathan and Ex 34:29-35

3.5.2.4.1 εἰχώρ in Pseudo-Jonathan

Pseudo-Jonathan (= Ps.-J.) has modified the story of Moses and the veil in a way suitable to ^(its) own tastes. Moses is described as descending from Sinai not knowing that the splendour of the אִיקוֹנִין (= εἰχώρ) of his face shone brightly (אִיקוֹנִין דְּאַנְפִּי) (אִשְׁתַּבַּח זֵיו), which he had received from the glory of the splendour of Yahweh's Shekinah (זֵיו אִיקָר שְׁכִינַת דְּה') at the time he was speaking to him (Exod 34:29). Ps.-J.'s formulations at this point become very cumbersome through its insertion of אִיקוֹנִין. It is nevertheless steadfastly used with respect to Moses, namely in Exod 34:29.30.33.34.35. The question inevitably arises: why does the translator stick to this incredibly obtuse reformulation of the Hebrew text? The answer lies in Ps.-J.'s εἰχώρ-theology.

אִיקוֹנִין / אִיקוֹנִין appears especially in the targum to Genesis. A key passage is Gen 1:27: God makes man in his צֶלֶם / אִיקוֹנִין (cf Gen 9:6; Deut 10:13). Adam is unique (יְחִידִי) in this world (Gen 1:27); Adam and Eve are wise (חֲכִים) and have glory (אִיקָר) (Gen 1:26). At their fall, however, they lose their glory (Gen 3:7). It becomes clear that the fact that man now has knowledge of good and evil is interpreted by Ps.-J. as meaning that the *righteous will know to distinguish between good and evil* (Gen 3:22). These are characterized through observation of the Law and through their walking in the paths of the way of life (Gen 3:24). Gen 3:24

implicitly identifies the Law and the tree of life; thus the Garden of Eden was created for the righteous to live in and the tree of life for the righteous to eat. The righteous already partake of this fruit in the present life by walking in the paths of the way of life. The Glory of the Shekinah is significantly found at the gates of the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:24). As God's εἰκών, man has also received God's Holy Spirit, in order that he may do good works (Gen 6:3). In conclusion, for Ps.-J. man was made in the εἰκών of God, which has however been spoiled through Adam's fall, so that now only the righteous are restored into that image through their observance of the Law, the source of life. Their full restoration is of course reserved for the judgment day, when the righteous will partake of the tree of life, the wicked however of the coals of Gehenna (Gen 3:24). Nevertheless, even the fallen image of God has a dignity about it. This is evident in Deut 21:23, where it is prohibited to leave the body of an executed criminal unburied overnight, as he was created in the Image of God.

The fact that it is henceforth only the righteous man who is the εἰκών of God becomes readily apparent throughout Genesis. Thus Ps.-J. goes into great detail to show that Cain was not the εἰκών of Adam (Gen 5:3); indeed, the latter was conceived from Samael, the angel of death (Gen 4:1). A bit illogically, perhaps, but in the sense of dramatic overkill, it is stated that the εἰκών of Cain's face fell, or sank (כַּכְּשׁוּת) at God's disapproval of his offering and before his murder of Abel. In order to leave the reader in no doubt about this, Gen 5:3 then goes on to say that

Seth was the εἰκών of Adam.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, it is emphasized that Isaac, not Ishmael is the εἰκών of Abraham (Gen 25:19) and Joseph is the εἰκών of Jacob (Gen 37:3).

The line of reasoning in all of the cases pointed out above is clearly this: Adam was the likeness of God, therefore Seth, who was the likeness of Adam, was himself the εἰκών of God as well. Similarly, the descendants who are the εἰκών of their righteous fathers are the εἰκών of God, i.e. they are righteous and walkers in the paths of the way of life (Gen 32:4). The same thought is seen from a different angle in Gen 28:12: Jacob's image is engraved on the throne of glory.

In light of the use of εἰκών outlined above, the use of εἰκών in Exod 34:29-35 becomes clear. Moses' face is in accordance with the εἰκών of God in its restored form; as the one who brings the Law to the Israelites, he is bringing them of the tree of life itself. Whereas Adam and Eve lost their glory (אִיקָר) at their fall (Gen 22:5), Moses radiates such a powerful glory that the Israelites are afraid to draw near. As was pointed out above, God's glory rests between the two Cherubim at the gates of Eden (Gen 32:4). This all points to the fact that for Ps.-J., Moses is radiating the restored glory which Adam and Eve lost at their fall.

3.5.2.4.2 εἰκών in the context of Pseudo-Jonathan

3.5.2.4.2.1 The structure of Ps.-J.

How does Ps.-J's εἰκών-theology relate to the structure of the targum? R. Hayward has offered valuable insights concerning the structure of Ps.-J. in his lucid essay entitled 'The Present State of Research into the Targumic Account of the Sacrifice

of Isaac:¹¹⁰ R. Hayward has demonstrated the centrality of the Isaac-Account in the targumim. This is certainly the case for Ps.-J. As he points out, it is no coincidence that Abraham and Isaac are called unique (יִיְדִיבִי) in the same way that Adam was before leaving Eden (cf Gen 22.12.16 to Gen 322):

'Ps-Jon and other Targums which describe Abraham and Isaac as Unique ones tell us that what Adam was before he left Eden, Abraham and Isaac are as a result of the *Aqedah*. The relevance of Ps-Jon's dispute between Isaac and Ishmael [ie Gen 22 - author's note] is thus thrown into relief. Isaac's sons alone, the people of Israel, inherit from Abraham because they share his uniqueness, the very quality which Adam had had before he left Eden. Adam's original status before God is restored in Abraham and Isaac by their obedience to God's will, and their descendants are to share in that restoration, since Israel, son of Isaac, is a Unique people. It is the *Aqedah* which bestows this uniqueness, through sacrifice offered on the altar in Jerusalem. Future sacrifices "recall" the *Aqedah* and take their meaning from it; they, too, are designed to restore broken relationships between God and the offerers. ...Isaac is the lamb of sacrifice, and all future lamb offerings were held to be a "memorial" of his *Aqedah*.¹¹¹

R. Hayward further demonstrates how the centrality of Gen 22 is linked with the centrality of the Passover and Isaac, the lamb of the burnt offering, with the Passover lamb (Ps.-J. to Lev 92-3).¹¹² Israel's history starts with *Aqedah*, not with the Exodus, which is more or less a restatement of the *Aqedah*. Thus we have a *Heilsplan* culminating in the *Aqedah*. This proceeds in a series of stages for Ps.-J. linked by the (re-)building of an altar located on the site of the future temple in Jerusalem. Thus Adam builds an altar which is demolished by the generation of the Division, to be rebuilt by Abraham (Gen 229; cf Gen 820).¹¹³ Every act of treason on the part of man is followed by a greater act of God's mercy; it is a crescendo of mercy on the part of God standing parallel to and outbidding the evil of man, starting with Adam,

moving to Noah and culminating in the Aqedah.

Abraham's covenant is not accompanied by the rebuilding of the altar, as Ps.-J. has subordinated this episode and related it to the Aqedah. This is corroborated by the account of Exod 12:40-41, where Abraham's covenant as well as Isaac's birth are said to have taken place at the time of the Passover, on the fifteenth of Nisan, which as we have seen, relates to the Aqedah. Similarly, the covenant of Israel at Sinai (Exod 24) plays a subordinated role.

It is in keeping with this pattern that Ps.-J. mentions the 'Poem of the Four Nights,' which structures the history of the world into four nights in which God revealed himself: the first was at creation, the second to Abraham, the third at the Passover and the fourth on the future day of Israel's deliverance from among the nations. Of significance is the fact that only the first revelation is of a general nature. The other three relate only to Israel; the turning-point is the revelation to Abraham, which really includes the following two.

3.5.2.4.2.2 Torah and the restoration of the image

Thus we see that everything moves towards a full restoration of man as the Image of God, culminating in Abraham. Symbolized by the rebuilding of the sanctuary altar, this follows in the aspect of the Torah as well. The Law was created before creation (Gen 3:24). It also is restored bit by bit at each rebuilding of the altar: at the offering of Cain and Abel the offerings are measured on the grounds of whether Cain

and Abel have done their work well or not (Gen 47). Noah's rebuilding of the altar occasions the noachian precepts (Gen 9:1-7).¹¹⁴ Finally, it is said of Abraham that he kept the law (Gen 26:5).¹¹⁵

It should be emphasized that the Law has been *restored* to its pristine form through Abraham. Abraham and his descendants practise the restored law before it is actually revealed to them at Sinai. It then only follows that the patriarchs received their knowledge of the law from another source. For Ps.-J. this source is the *בֵּית מִדְרָשׁ*, the 'school (*מִדְרָשׁ*) of Shem' (see Gen 9:27; 22:18-19; 25:22.27; 33:17 et al).¹¹⁶

3.5.2.4.2.3 The 'holy language' and the restoration of the image

Furthermore, Abraham and his descendants are the speakers of the 'holy language (*לִישׁוֹן לִקְדוֹשׁ*) by which the world was created at the beginning' (Gen 11:1),¹¹⁷ and which had been confounded at the building of the tower of Babel (Gen 11). In line with this, Jacob is said to speak the language of the sanctuary (*בֵּית קִדְשׁ*; Gen 31:47; 32:3); the same applies to Joseph and his brothers (Gen 42:23; 45:12).¹¹⁸ It would have been natural for Ps.-J. to make this assumption, the idea being that it would be necessary for the patriarchs and Moses to speak the same language as God in order to communicate with him. And was not the law committed verbally at Sinai?

3.5.2.4.2.4 The Tradition of the well and the restoration of the image

In passing, another tradition may be mentioned which has found a niche in Ps.-J., namely the tradition of the well, according to which a well follows the Israelites

through (parts of) the desert (Num 21). It is interesting to see how it is again a phenomenon which begins with Abraham and the patriarchs and is 'rediscovered' by Moses and Aaron (Num 21:8). The reason for this is indirectly given: in Num 21:20 it is stated that the well was hidden at times when the Law was not kept. Thus it had its beginning with Abraham, just as the Law also had its beginning (in the sense of a full restoration of the *Urform*) with Abraham.

3.5.2.4.2.5 Glory/light and the restoration of the image

The restoration of the Law is also coupled with a restoration of the glory and light of the original state of man, which is linked to the revelation of God's glory of the Shekinah to Abraham. Yahweh's throne of glory is first revealed at the Aqedah of Isaac (Gen 22:1), then to Jacob (Gen 28:12,17); both times it occurs on the site of the temple, which is consistently referred to as the place of the revelation of the throne of glory (Exod 15:17), parallel to Mount Sinai (Exod 24:10; 34:18). The latter is however deliberately diminished in importance when it is written that it is only the amplification (רבוּי) of an hour, and its holiness (קִדּוּשׁ) the holiness of three days, whereas the amplification of the tabernacle/sanctuary is eternal (Lev 1:1).¹¹⁹

This revelation of God manifests itself in the glory of his servants. It has already been noted above that Moses is said to radiate this glory.¹²⁰ But it is not limited to him. Joshua receives some of Moses' glory (מִזֵּי יִקְרָא; Num 27:20). The fact that Jacob has his image engraved on the throne of glory (Gen 28:12) also implies that

he has some of this glory. Joseph receives the splendour of glory and honour (אקרא ושיבהורא) when he is blessed by his father (Deut 33:17) and will guard the glory of his brothers (וזהיר כיקרא אחוי; Gen 49:26). The just are said to illuminate the world through their merit (Exod 40:4). The brightness of the woman innocent of adultery will shine forth (וזויה מנהר; Num 5:28). Finally, Bilearn says that the light of the Israelite faces shines like the brightness of the firmament (ינהר כזיו רקיעין; Num 24:6).

Besides Exod 33:29-33, the glory/light-motif is directly linked with the Sinai event in Deut 33:1-6, which states that the splendour of the glory of God's Shekinah (שכינתיה) shone forth in majesty and glory on Mount Sinai and was received by the Israelites. For Ps.-J., this does not conflict with the fact that illumination/radiation of glory is extended from Moses to the patriarchs, thus including the complete 'house of Israel.'

3.5.2.4.3 Philo, Ps.-J. and Ps.-Ph.

In respect to its εἰκῶν-theology, Ps.-J. has a strong affinity to Ps.-Ph. As it has been shown, above, the illumination of the Israelites through the Law is also manifest, if not as strongly as in Ps.-Ph. Its use of εἰκῶν is similar, and it is similarly tied to the concepts of Law and illumination. A principal difference from Ps.-Ph. lies in Ps.-J.'s theme of restoration of the Law and of the image of man culminating in Abraham. The picture by Ps.-J. is thus that of a *gradual* restoration of man in the whole complex called 'House of Israel', whereas by Ps.-Ph. it is a *sudden* restoration

of man in the new Adam, Moses.

The study above has conclusively shown a common realm of thought behind Philo, Ps.-Ph. and Ps.-J. It has further shown that all three must be drawing on older sources. For all of Philo's Platonism/middle-Platonism, he has a surprising number of contacts with Ps.-Ph. and Ps.-J. All three have the structure of the old Adam and the new Adam, Moses; Moses' transformation is linked to his mediation and obedience to the law, which is transferred to anyone who turns to God and obeys the law. Common to all three is also the linking of illumination and light with transformation of the person involved into the image of the first Adam as happened to Moses. Here of course Philo deviates from the other two with his distinction of the prototype of Adam and the protoplast. All three explicitly attribute this transformation to the activity of God's Spirit.

In one important respect Philo and Ps.-J. have something in common in their structure which Ps.-Ph. does not manifest. This lies in their projection of the Sinai event to the time of the patriarchs, so that from Abraham onwards the forefathers of the Israelites can be illuminated/transformed. For Ps.-Ph., this is strictly limited to the time following Moses, thus also placing this writing closer to Paul.

These points of contact demonstrate that the common traditions underlying Philo, Ps.-Ph. and Ps.-J. concerning the Adam typology must have been present at least at the time of Paul and probably much earlier, as Philo's use proves. Ps.-Ph. and Ps.-J. both point to the origin of these traditions in Palestine.

3.5.2.5 Paul's affinity to Philo, Pseudo-Philo and Pseudo-Jonathan

Due to Philo's reworking of the Adam traditions mentioned above with the help of his peculiarly Platonist/middle-Platonist hermeneutics, Paul's thinking lies closer to the thought-world of Ps.-Ph. and Ps.-J., but especially of Ps.-Ph. It becomes increasingly evident, the longer one ponders, to what a large extent Paul's thinking lies in the proximity of Ps.-Philo's theology.

For both thinkers the starting-point is the Sinai event. Both connect the light-motif of Sinai with God's light at creation (cf 2Cor 4:6; LAB 297-9). Both have an Adam typology; in Ps.-Philo the new Adam is Moses, in Paul it is Christ. Both have the picture of light which originates from God and illuminates mankind again through the new Adam, who is the εἰκὼν of God. In both the 'elect' who receive illumination are transformed into the same image and can together be compared with the new Eve (2Cor 11:2f). Both have the concept of *cognoscere/agnoscere*: the 'elect' recognize God and his messenger/message, the unbelievers don't recognize and in some cases are blinded (as the Amorites by Cenias and 2Cor 4:6). In the thinking of both, the Holy Spirit is connected with the illumination and transformation of man.

Paul's use of *lex dei* in 2Cor 3:1-4:6 is even similar to that of Ps.-Ph.: for both writers, the law transforms man because it is of the Spirit, thus illuminating and transforming man. Here of course the similarities end, as for Paul Christians are living under the new covenant and not under the Mosaic covenant; according to the promptings of the Spirit, not according to the Mosaic law.

As has been noted above, for Paul, man is ἐκ θεοῦ (cf 2Cor 2:17); more precisely, woman is ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, but both man and woman are ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (1Cor 11:2). Now ἐκ is never used with θεός or κύριος in the LXX. We do however find it in Ps.-Ph.: man originates *de lumine invisibilis loci* (289). The idea of coming 'out of' a source is part of the light-metaphor. It is possible that this is also a root of Paul's use of ἐκ θεοῦ.

Insofar as Ps.-J. has an affinity to Ps.-Ph., it also has an affinity to Paul, namely in its use of εἰχών as pointed out above (see 2.5.2.4.3). Of interest is especially the connection between the restoration of the Law, the restored image of man and his restored glory. As noted above, the difference lies in the different structure of Ps.-J., with its restoration in stages culminating in Abraham and the 'House of Israel.' As noted in 3.5.2.4.3, this structure is also found in Philo and represents a different tradition from that of Ps.-Ph. at this point.

4 Paul and the Book of the Similitudes

As has been demonstrated above, Paul identifies Christ with the Spirit in 2Cor 3:1-4:6. Now Paul also identifies Jesus with σοφία in 1Cor 1 and 2. The question arises: is there any connection between these two? Does Paul have a concept in mind from which he can draw these two seemingly disparate affirmations? We have seen that the Book of the Similitudes **does** link the Spirit with Wisdom, with the Messiah and with God. Does Paul have a similar concept? The following reconstruction will try to answer this question.

In the typological interpretation of the Exodus found in 1Cor 10:4, Paul states that the Israelites drank of the spiritual Rock that followed them, which was the Christ (ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας, ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ χριστός). Here again we find Christ and Spirit somehow linked. 1Cor 12 sheds some light on this: the Christians are said to be members (μέλη) of the body of Christ (σῶμα χριστοῦ) (12:12-27). This is explained in 1Cor 12:13:

καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβάπτισθημεν...
καὶ πάντες ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν.

As Christians we are all baptized into one body, which is Christ, and all are given one Spirit to drink. This Spirit is inextricably linked to Christ, so that Paul can say that the Lord is the Spirit (2Cor 3:17) and that we drink of a spiritual rock, which is Christ. The Spirit is Christ amongst us; when we drink of the Spirit, we drink of Christ.

Paul identifies Christ with wisdom in 1Cor 1 and 2 (cf 12:4.30; 27). It is a Wisdom which has been ordained by God before the world (27) and was hidden before the eyes of the rulers of this world; it has however now been revealed through the Spirit of God (2:10). For the ἄνθρωπος ψυχικός, that which the Spirit of God reveals is μωρία (2:14); this implies that that which the Spirit of God reveals is σοφία, ie Jesus Christ, for the ἄνθρωπος πνευματικός.¹²¹

Jesus the Messiah is the Wisdom of God, who has been revealed through the Spirit of God. Thus when we drink of the Spirit, we drink of Christ = Wisdom =

spiritual rock = Lord. It is because of the **spiritual** quality of Christ that the new covenant is one written onto hearts of flesh, giving the Christian the freedom to radiate the light and glory of Christ, at the same time transforming him into the image of Christ (2Cor 3-4). It is also because of the **spiritual** quality of Christ that the Christian is baptized into the body of Christ in receiving the one Spirit. Linked to this idea is that of the Christian being a $\nu\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ corporately (1Cor 3:16; 2Cor 6:16) and individually (1Cor 6:13,19).

It is only if one sees Paul's argumentation from the pneumatological perspective that many of the references to the Spirit become clear (as in 2Cor 3-4). Hence also Paul's emphasis that the Spirit has been given as an $\acute{\alpha}\rho\rho\alpha\beta\acute{\omega}\nu$ in our hearts (2Cor 12:1-22); it is through the Spirit that we experience Christ. Therefore also the person speaking in the Spirit of God cannot curse Jesus Christ (1Cor 12:3). The person who clings to Christ is one Spirit (with him) (1Cor 6:17), as he clings to Christ through the agency of the Spirit. Paul speaks with the power ($\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$) of the Lord Jesus Christ (1Cor 5:4), which is demonstrated ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\iota\varsigma$) through the Holy Spirit (1Cor 2:4). One can also observe the closeness of Christ and the Spirit in 1Cor 6:11.

Where are the similarities to the Book of the Similitudes and where the dissimilarities? The answer to the dissimilarities lies in the unexpected turn of events by Jesus. The circles who penned the Book of the Similitudes expected a Messiah who was ordained before creation but has been concealed before the eyes of the rulers of

this world till he will be revealed and will execute justice on the wicked but show mercy, glory and light to the righteous through the Spirit of Wisdom which is in him. In the case of Christianity, the Messiah was also pre-ordained, etc., but he was concealed before the eyes of the rulers unto death. He was only revealed after his resurrection from the dead, and then only to a select few (as Paul is at pains to demonstrate in 1Cor 15:1-5). For the other Christians, it is the risen Christ who is revealed through the Holy Spirit to the elect as the σοφία of God. Thus the concept of the Messiah who had the Spirit poured on him by Yahweh, and of the righteous who received the Spirit of Wisdom through the Messiah is still there in a modified form. For Paul also the light imagery (but developed much more strongly, on the lines of Ps.-Ph.) and water imagery is used for the Spirit; for both Paul and Sim, the righteous are transformed and radiate the Messiah's light, for both the righteous drink of the Spirit of Wisdom. But because of the concealed coming of the Messiah and his leaving without revealing himself, the concept takes on a new dimension for Paul: the revealing of the Messiah to all will still occur, but on the judgment day, when the Lord returns. Till that time, the Messiah is being revealed solely through the Holy Spirit, which acts as ἀπαβῶν.

The Book of the Similitudes identifies the Spirit with Wisdom but does not explicitly identify Wisdom with the Messiah; the Messiah is revealed through the Spirit of Wisdom in the Similitudes - we recall that Wisdom could not find a dwelling-place on

earth, implying that only the Messiah can bring Wisdom into this world through his person, which is anointed with the Spirit of Wisdom. For Paul, the Messiah is identified with Wisdom as well as with the Spirit. The two are just two sides of the same coin: the Messiah is identified with the Spirit, because he is experienced by the believer as the Spirit. He is also identified with Wisdom, because the Spirit is the Spirit of Wisdom. Thus for Paul the question of a *figure* of Wisdom finally becomes meaningless, as Wisdom is linked with Jesus the Christ, and in the same manner that Wisdom is linked with the Son of Man in the Book of the Similitudes, namely **as the Spirit of Wisdom which is poured onto the Son of Man and through him onto the elect**. It should be stressed here that no attempt has been made to prove a direct dependence of Paul on Sim. The thrust of this endeavour has been to discover the frame of reference within which Paul is working, and how Paul has related the concepts of Wisdom, Spirit and Christ. With this intention in mind, it seems more probable that Paul is drawing on and developing messianic traditions as exemplified in the Book of the Similitudes than that he is directly dependent on Prov 1-9, Ben Sira or Wis.¹²²

As a second step it has been discovered that Paul has enriched his own theology through concepts borrowed from Palestinian traditions which have also found their way into Ps.-Ph., Philo and Ps.-J. Paul's thinking lies especially close to the thought-world of Ps.-Ph. This is apparent in his εἰχών theology, in his use of the Adam

typology, and in his pneumatology of transformation and illumination (see 3.5.2.3 for details). The conclusion has become probable that Paul reacted to and drew upon a theology which was in the proximity of the above-mentioned circles.

Admittedly, any further speculations are based on too many unknown variables to ultimately be of much use. However, the thought should at least be voiced that an Adam typology could very naturally be harmonized with a Son of Man concept, as one could very naturally identify the new Adam with the Son of Man.¹²³

Notes on 3

1. See C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* [BNTC], London 1973, 37-50.
2. Cf R.W. Funk, *The Syntax of the Greek Article: Its Importance for Critical Pauline Problems* [Ph.D.], Vanderbilt University 1953; in his summary one notices what difficulty he has in finding clear-cut rules. Given his results it surprises the reader with what ease Funk can use this aspect of Paul to dismiss certain Pauline texts as interpolations.
3. Cf E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* [2 Vol.], München 1938ff, II.B.I.1.d.β., p. 24. This furthermore conforms with Colwell's law: 'E.C.Colwell (JBL 52, 1933, 12-21) formulates rules for the article with predicate nouns in NT in sentences in which the verb occurs. He finds that (a) definite predicate nouns take the art., if (as is usual) they follow the verb; (b) otherwise they usually lack it; (c) proper nouns lack it; (d) in relative clauses it does not apply since nouns always follow the verb, anarthrous or not' (J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol.IV: *Style*, N.Turner, Edinburgh 1976, 184).
4. 'Contrary to non-Biblical Greek, Paul often has the singular to denote something shared by a group of people, as in the Semitic idiom, e.g. *heart* (Rom 12i 2Cor 3i5 Phil 17 Col 3i6 v.l. Eph 1i8 4i8 5i9 65) or *body* (Rom 823 1Cor 6i9.20 2Cor 4i0)' (N. Turner, *Style*, Vol. IV, 91).
5. Cf E. Lohse, *πρόσωπον* [TWNT; VI], 768-780, esp. concerning LXX: 771-4.
6. Cf LXX to Exod 1634 306 405.6 Num 338 7i0 al.; 1Kgs 62i 749.
7. Cf E. Lohse, *πρόσωπον* [TWNT; VI], 768-770.
8. E. Lohse, *πρόσωπον*, 777.769; LXX normally uses it with the dependent case, cf E. Lohse, *πρόσωπον*, 769.
9. Cf 1Cor 11; see below, 3.4, for a fuller treatment.
10. Cf Num 12i4 Deut 259; LXX Hos 55 (?) 7i0 (?).
11. 1425: *πρῶτων ἐπὶ πρόσωπον*: cf Num 145 1622 (עַל-פְּנֵי) etc.; 1Cor 13i2: *πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον*: cf Gen 323i (פְּנֵים אֶל-פְּנֵים).
12. W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature*. [A Transl. and Adaptation of the Fifth Ed. of W. Bauer's *griech.-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften d. NT's u. d. übrigen urchristl. Literatur* by W.F. Arndt/F.W.Gingrich] [= Bauer/Arndt/Gingrich], London ²1958, 731, col.1.
13. see above, **Notes on 3**, n. 4.
14. See below, 3.3 (Exegesis of 2Cor 3i-46), for details.
15. See the actual exegesis, 3.3, for further details.
16. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II.B.I.4.e.IV.1, pp. 128-9.
17. E. Stauffer, *θεός* [TWNT; III], 90.
18. E. Stauffer, *θεός* [TWNT; III], 90.
19. Cf Gen 33i0; 355; 4i38; Exod 8i9(15); Num 242.4(2x).i6(2x); Deut 43i.33; 526; 83; Judges; 320; 634; 1Sam; 10i0; 1920.23; 14i6; 5i1; 2Chr 2420; 103; Neh 59; Isa 1i3; 582(2x); Dan 45.6.i5(9); 5i1(9); Ezek 1i24; Prov 17; Hos 2i, etc.
20. Cf Gen 12; 4i38; Num 242; Judges 634; 1Sam 10i0; 1920.23; 2Chr 2420; Dan 5i1(9); 45.6.i5(9); Ezek 1i24.

21. Gen 35: **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי**; Neh 59: ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ ἡμῶν: **בִּירַתָּ אֱלֹהִים**; 515 οὕτως ἀπὸ προσώπου φόβου θεοῦ: **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִרְאַתָּ**; Prov 17: φόβος θεοῦ: **יְהוָה יִרְאַתָּ**; Isa 113 = Prov 1533: πνεῦμα φοβοῦ θεοῦ: **וְהִיחוּ בִירַתָּ יְהוָה**.
22. Cf **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי מְלָאכִי**/ **מְלָאךְ**: ἄγγελος/οι θεοῦ (Gen 217 etc) with ὁ/οἱ ἄγγελος/οι τοῦ θεοῦ (Gen 322).
23. Cf Gen 4925; Exod 36.15.16; 45; 1622; 1Chr 525; 2Chr 1512; 306.
24. Cf 1Kgs 861; 2Kgs 511; 2Chr 2020; 305; Ezra 821; 103; Neh 59; 127.
25. Gen 178(R); 2821; 1Chr 1722; Ezek 1120; 1411; Jer 723; 114; 247; 38(31)33; 39(32)38; Zech 88; εἰς θεός = **לְצֹרֵךְ** in Ps 70(71)3.
- 25a. Cf Neh 14 (A.B.).
26. Gen 3231; Lev 2415; Num 1622; 2322; 248; Deut 324(2x).17.18(2x); Joshua 310; 1014; Judges 1322; 1Sam 37; 107; 29(21)13; 2Kgs 194.16; 2Chr 618; 49(50)6(B); Isa 3717; Jer 321; Prov 1917; Joel 113; Nah 12 Zech 823 (AB); Mal 38; Mal 314.15.18; Ps 83(84)3; Ps 105(106)21(AS)).
27. E. Stauffer, *θεός*, 90, esp. n. 117.
28. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II.B.I.4.e.IV.1, pp. 128-9.
29. Cf the exegesis of this verse in 3.3.
30. W. Foerster, *κύριος* [TWNT ; III], 1089.
31. Cf W. Foerster, *κύριος* [TWNT ; III], 1089-1094.
32. W. Foerster, *κύριος* [TWNT ; III], 1094.
33. According to R.W. Funk, *The Syntax of the Greek Article*, the arthrous use of *κύριος* in 2Cor 317 can be dismissed as being 'phraseology borrowed from the LXX' (p.186). But can it be dismissed quite so easily? Funk's attack on *B.Weiss*, 'Der Gebrauch des Artikels bei den Gottesnamen,' *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken* 84 (1911), 319-392; 503-538, whom he regards as having failed to distinguish LXX-usages from the actual usage of Paul (R.W. Funk, *The Syntax of the Greek Article*, 150) doubtlessly has a point; he however fails to see that the LXX-quotations have often been altered, and in many cases are not necessarily from the LXX or quotations at all.
- 33a. J.D.G. Dunn, '2Cor 3.17-the Lord is the Spirit,' (basing his observations on N. Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the NT*, Edinburgh 1965, 127), argues that normally ὁ κύριος (with article) is Christ, while κύριος (without article) is Yahweh, then proceeds to contradict this statement in a footnote (317, n.3). As demonstrated above, there are no clear-cut rules in Paul's use of the article with κύριος. N. Turner incidentally already identified κύριος with Yahweh on the basis of the above argument in *A Grammar of NT Greek. Vol III: Syntax*, 174.
34. Cf E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II.B.I.4.d.II.3, pp.78-83.
35. 316 is *not* a citation, see 3.3 for details.
36. See 3.3.
37. R.W. Funk, *The Syntax of the Greek Article*, comes to a similar conclusion, 192-8.
38. C.Westermann, 'Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift,' in: *Forschung am Alten Testament*. Ges. Studien II, hrsg. v. R.Alberz/ E.Ruprecht, München 1974: 'In der Priesterschrift erhält der Begriff [כְּבוֹד] seine differenzierteste Ausprägung und hat eine das ganze Werk bestimmende Bedeutung, so daß die Frage

- nach der Bedeutung von *kabod* in ihr zugleich die Frage nach ihrer Theologie ist.'
39. E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie. Untersuchungen zum jahwistischen und elohistischen Geschichtswerk*, Würzburg 1971, 46.
 40. Cf E. Zenger's own analysis in *Die Sinaitheophanie*. Zenger's chart of the leading positions since Wellhausen, 206-232, illustrates this point very clearly.
 41. Eg R. Rendtorff, U. Cassuto; critical of all: R.W.L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God. Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34*, Sheffield 1983.
 42. E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai. Analysen und Interpretationen zu Exodus 17-34*, Altenberge ²1985; the same, *Das Buch Exodus* [Geistliche Schriftlesung], Düsseldorf 1978.
 43. Cf W. Beyerlin, *Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinaitradiation*, Tübingen 1961, 4-8.
 44. E. Zenger, *Die Sinaithopanie. Untersuchungen zum jahwistischen und elohistischen Geschichtswerk*, Würzburg 1971, 217-218.
 45. J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, Berlin ³1899; R. Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament*, Marburg 1896; B. Baentsch, *Exodus* [HK], Göttingen 1900; R. Smend (sen.), *Die Erzählung des Hexateuch auf ihre Quellen untersucht*, Berlin 1912; H. Greßmann, *Mose und seine Zeit. Ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen* [FRLANT ; 18], Göttingen 1913; O. Eißfeldt, *Hexateuch--Synopsis. Die Erzählung der fünf Bücher Mose und das Buch Josua mit dem Anfang des Richterbuches*, Leipzig 1922 (unaltered opinion in: *Die Komposition der Sinaierzählung Exodus 19-34* [Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 113,1], Berlin 1966); W. Rudolph, *Der 'Elohst' von Exodus bis Josua* [BZAW ; 66], Tübingen 1939; C.A. Simpson, *The Early Traditions of Israel. A Critical Analysis of the Pre-Deuteronomic Narration of the Hexateuch*, Oxford 1948 (excepting V.29b, which he regards as a later addition); G. Hölscher, *Geschichtsschreibung in Israel. Untersuchungen zum Jahwisten und Elohisten*, Lund 1952; W. Beyerlin, *Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinaitradiationen*, Tübingen 1961; S. Mowinkel, *Erwägungen zur Pentateuch-Quellenfrage*, Tronheim 1964; E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie* (excepting V.29a, which he regards as a EP and 30a*.b.31a*.b, which he regards as E., 94-100.108.109-118.230-31).
 46. M. Noth, *Das zweite Buch Mose. Exodus* [ATD], Göttingen ³1965.
 47. H. Seebass, *Mose und Aaron, Sinai und Gottesberg* [AeTh ; 2], Bonn 1962.
 48. M. Noth, *Das zweite Buch Mose*, 220.
 49. G.v. Rad, *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch literarkritisch untersucht und theologisch gewertet*, Stuttgart/Berlin 1934.
 50. G.v. Rad, *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch*, 80.
 51. B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschrift und zur Wurzel KPR im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, deals with this in great length, 279-362, esp.336-346 (summary on 355-362); cf more generally E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai*, 114-129.
 52. B. Janowski, *Sühne Als Heilsgeschehen*, 361.
 53. Cf B.S. Childs' rebuttal, *Exodus. A Commentary* [OTL], London 1974, 609; similarly M. Noth, *Das zweite Buch Mose*, p. 220; J.I. Durham, *Exodus* [Word Bib-

- lical Commentary ; 3], Waco [Texas] 1987, 466-7 against Greßmann and his descendants; the suggestion that קָרַב 'is a clear echo of the calf' (R.W.L.Moberly, *The Mountain of God*, 109) is unsound, as it would be against the intention of any of the sources to portray Moses as a substitute for the golden calf.
54. Cf E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie*, 79 n. 85.
 55. Cf C. Westermann, כָּבֹד [THAT II], 794-812, esp. 808-810; C. Westermann, 'Die Herrlichkeit Gottes', 115-137.
 56. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, 54-56.
 57. H. Gese, *Die Sühne*, in: *Zur biblischen Theologie. Alttestamentliche Vorträge* [BEvTh ; 78], München 1977, 67f.
 58. C. Westermann, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes*, 118-123; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen*, 303-308.
 59. Thus B.S. Childs, *Exodus*, 609-10.617.
 60. A discussion of 1Kgs 19 is found in J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1965, 112-115.
 61. A.S.van der Woude, פָּנִים [THAT II], 446-449.
 62. A.S.van der Woude, פָּנִים [THAT II], rightly concludes: 'An all diesen Stellen handelt es sich also nicht nur um einen Begriff, durch den Gottes Gegenwart mittels eines als *pānīm* bezeichneten Mittelwesens (etwa ähnlich dem Boten Jahwes) angedeutet wäre, sondern um eine dem profanen Gebrauch von *pānīm* entsprechende, die persönliche Anwesenheit zum Ausdruck bringende Redeweise' (p. 448).
 63. Paul's use of ἐκ with θεός is not to found in the LXX: see 3.5.2.5 for a possible source.
 64. Cf F.Blass/A.Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the NT and Other Christian Literature*. [A Tranl. and Rev. of the Ninth-tenth German Ed. Incorporating Supplementary notes of A. Debrunner by R.W.Funk][= Blass/Debrunner/Funk], Chicago/London 1961, §318, pp. 166-7.
 65. Bauer/Arndt/Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 417, col. 1+2.
 66. p. 73-4.
 67. as Bauer/Arndt/Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, does, p. 417, col 2.
 68. W. Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* [Engl.transl.], Oxford 1907, 516, col.2(6); cf Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar* [as ed. and enlarged by E.Kautzsch and revised by A.E.Cowley], Oxford 2¹⁹¹⁰, §119,6(c).
 69. Cf 2Chr 18; Neh 13; Dan 11.13; (of the Aramaic fragments:) 1QapGen 20¹⁸ (ולסוף תרתין שנים); (Hebrew :) 1QH 92; f105; H 27,2,2 (?); 1QMyst 22; CD 614; 4QpPs 37,1,6.
 70. Blass/Debrunner/Funk, *A Greek Grammar*, §107,3 prefers the sense 'completely, fully, absolutely,' but this is by no means convincing, especially if we translate εἰς τέλος as חֲלוּט/חֲלוּט.
 71. Blass/Debrunner/Funk, *A Greek Grammar*, §206; Bauer/Arndt/Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, εἰς 2γ: εἰς can also be an 'indication of the time at which something takes place' (pg.228, col. 2); cf εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν/ εἰς τρίτην Plato, *Hippias Major* 286b; Xenophon, *Institutio Cyri* 5.3.27; ἐς τότε at this time

- v.l. In *Odyssey* 7.317; ἐς ὕστερον/τὸ ὕστερον *Od.*12.126, *Thucydides* 2.20; ἐς αὔριον *Ilias* 8.538, *Pl.Lg.* 858b; ἐς ἑσπέραν in the evening *Appian*, *Mithrid.* 74 §321; αὔριον ἢ εἰς τὴν τρίτην *Epict.* 4,10,31; (closer to Paul:) οἵτινες ἔσονται εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης) εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν in their time 1 *Enoch* 1,1; εἰς τὸ μέλλον in the future *Lk* 120; εἰς τέλος in the sense of 'in the end, finally' is found by *Hdt.* 3,40; *Gen* 464 (LXX), *Ps-Clem.*, *Hom.* 182.
72. ὅτι is here understood to be causal, as C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 120-1, does.
73. The only two references of turning back to the Lord in the NT are found in *Acts* 9:35; 11:21, where the phrase denotes conversion; similarly, M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, Rome 1966, 178-9.
74. Thus J.D.G. Dunn, '2 Corinthians III.17 - "The Lord is the Spirit,"' *JTS* 21 (1970), 309-19. Dunn's argument rests on the exegesis concerning Moses and the veil discussed above (i.e. the assumption that Moses puts on the veil to hide the fact that his glory is fading). If his assumption that 'verses 7-18 are a Christian midrash on *Exod* xxxiv, and...that 16 is a peshet text' (315) is incorrect, then his identification of κύριος with Yahweh stands on a weak foundation. And Dunn himself readily concedes with I. Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, that 2Cor 3:16 is not a quotation from *Exod* 34:34 (p. 314).
- Already before Dunn, L. Cerfaux, *Le Chretien dans la theologie paulinienne* [*Lectio Divina*], Paris 1962, 244f., offered the solution of a loose identification of κύριος and πνεῦμα in 2Cor 3:17 in the manner of a peshet, which M. McNamara, *The NT and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, took up and developed (182-8). Whilst McNamara's work is thorough, it fails to convince at this point on the grounds given below. Here it is important to emphasize Paul's differing views as shaped through his Christology.
75. M. McNamara, *The NT and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, 179-181.
76. R. le Deaut, 'Traditions targumiques dans le Corpus Paulinien?', *BiB* 42 (1961), 28-48.
77. See 3.1.2.4 for a discussion of arthrous and anarthrous κύριος; specifically to 2Cor 3:17 see n. 33a. As pointed out in 3.1.2.4, arthrous κύριος +δέ stands out in the passage.
78. See 3.1.2.3.
79. see discussion on πρόσωπον for details on the phrase ἐν προσώπῳ χριστοῦ.
80. In *Acts* 9, the companions see nothing but hear a voice, in *Acts* 22 they see a light but hear no voice.
81. F.F. Bruce, 'Christ and Spirit in Paul,' *BJRL* 59 (1976-77), 259-61, already recognized the link between Paul's conversion at Damascus and 2Cor 3:1-4:6.
82. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen bei Philo von Alexandrien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Genesisexegese* [ALGHJ], Leiden 1968.
83. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 75-77.
84. *Leg. all.* 1.31; U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 31.

85. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 31.
86. Quis rer. div. heres 231; Leg.all. I.31ff; de conf. ling. 62; U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 31.
87. De opif.mund. 136ff; U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 37.
88. Cf de opif.mund. 141; U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 37.
89. Quis rer.div.heres 53; U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 39.
90. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 111.
91. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 35-6.
92. Vita Mosis II.135; U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 110-11.
93. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 111.
94. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 112.
95. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 112. Cf De somn. I.14.
96. De somn. I.217,218,220.
97. U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 80; cf Quis rer.div.heres 303 (the high priest = the wise man). To the illumination of the wise man cf also F.-N. Klein, *Die Lichtterminologie bei Philo von Alexandrien und in den hermetischen Schriften*, Leiden 1962, 1-79.
98. De plant. 58.
99. See U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen*, 92-3.
100. Leg all. I.36-38; cf Plant 23-24. Cf J.A.Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 54-60.
101. J.A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 50-4.
102. D.J. Harrington, 'Pseudo-Philo,' in: J.H. Charlesworth [ed], *The OT Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2, Garden City [NY] 1985, 299; C. Perrot/P.-M. Bogart, *Pseudo-Philo. Les Antiquitates Bibliqués. Vol 2 [Sources Chretiennes]*, Paris 1976, 28-74. C. Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo. Antiquitates Biblicae*, Gütersloh 1975, 91,95-96, places it between 70 and 132 AD.
103. C. Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo*, 91.
104. C. Dietzfelbinger, *Pseudo-Philo*, 133, n. XII2a.
105. Cf the illumination of the people through the 12 stones at the end of days, 2613.15.
106. Cf however a different usage in 277.15; 533.
107. 121: a typological interpretation of Genesis 63/LAB 32; see below for an interpretation of this passage.
108. C. Dietzfelbinger, *Antiquitates Biblicae*, 133, n. XII1a.
- 108a. Cf 311; of course, it would be fundamentally wrong to interpret this passage as being gnostic.
109. The OT already emphasizes that Seth was made in the likeness of Adam (G.v. Rad, εἰκῶν [TWNT ; II], 391-2.
110. R. Hayward, 'The Present State of Research into the Targumic Account of the Sacrifice of Isaac,' *JJS* 32.2 (1981).
111. R. Hayward, 'The Present State of Research into the Targumic Account of the Sacrifice of Isaac,' *JJS* 32.2 (1981), 139.
112. R. Hayward, 'The Present State of Research into the Targumic Account of the Sacrifice of Isaac,' *JJS* 32.2 (1981), 139-140.

113. R. Hayward, 'The Present State of Research Into the Targumic Account of the Sacrifice of Isaac,' *JJS* 32.2 (1981), 133-4.
114. Altered a bit to conform to later legal practices; see J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature*, Cambridge 1969, 173.
115. J. Bowker, *The Targums*, 235-6.
116. J. Bowker, *The Targums*, 178. Significantly, Moses later places the broken stone tablets (which don't have anything written on them any more (T.Exod 32:19)) in the ark of the covenant, but the second set into the Bet haMidrash (T.Exod 40:20).
117. R. Le Deaut, *Targum du Pentateuque. Tome I; Genese*, Paris 1978, 142-3, n. 1.
118. Cf Neofiti I: Gen 22:1; 35:18; etc.; Ps.-J. Deut 25:7; 27:7.
119. Ps.-J. has here developed the Deuteronomistic tradition concerning the identification of the tabernacle and the temple.
120. See 3.5.2.4.1.
121. Unfortunately, time and space have not allowed for a detailed exegesis of Wisdom and Spirit in 1Cor 1-3. For further reference see esp. C.K.Barrett's excellent commentary, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, London 1968, who finds at four different uses of the word σοφία (17-20); also A. Schlatter's stimulating commentary, *Paulus der Bote Jesu. Eine Deutung seiner Briefe an die Korinther*, Stuttgart ⁴1969, to 1Cor 1-3.
122. I am thinking of attempts such as that by F.F. Bruce, 'Christ and the Spirit in Paul,' 279-81, who draws parallels between Paul's use of εἰκών and Wis 7:26. Cf J. Jervell, *Imago Dei. Gen 1,26 im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis u. i. den paulin. Briefen*, Göttingen 1960, 50: Wisdom is the εἰκών τοῦ θεοῦ, 'Die εἰκών τοῦ θεοῦ ist aber kein Humanitätsprädikat,' man is not referred to as the image of God in Wis.
123. A part of modern scholarship relates the two concepts of Son of Man and Adam typology; cf J. Jeremias, 'Ἀδάμ [TWNT ; I], 142-3; C. Colpe, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου [TWNT ; VIII], 395-6; H. Hegermann, *Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfungsmittler im hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum*, Berlin 1961, 47ff. Following Philo, it postulates that Paul is similarly distinguishing Gen 1:27 as "the creation of ideal man in God's image (= Logos)" from Gen 2:7 as "the creation of Adam" (J. Jeremias, 'Ἀδάμ, 143). This is however unduly speculative, even for Philo, and becomes unnecessary in the light of Pseudo-Philo, who is undoubtedly closer to Paul and does not have any traces of this so-called 'Eastern redeemer myth.'" (J. Jeremias, 'Ἀδάμ, 142). The same is true of Ps.-J.

A classical formulation of the above view is found in E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk. Eine Untersuchung zum Hebräerbrief* [FRLANT ; 37], Göttingen ³1959, esp. 65ff and 133f, to which cf U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen bei Philo*, 35 n. 1, who rightly refutes the view of an 'Urmensch-Erlöser' myth. An earlier rebuttal is found in J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, who however is still too caught up in the prevailing ideas concerning gnosticism being expounded in the academic circles of that time.

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The bibliography and abbreviations follow the guidelines found in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 95.2 (1976), p. 331-346, supplemented by *Periodical Title Abbreviations: By Abbreviation. Vol. 1*, L.G. Alkire [jun.], Detroit 1986.

In 2.3, S = Syriac, G = Greek text.

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