

**MATTHEW'S WISDOM CHRISTOLOGY IN ITS JEWISH
AND EARLY CHRISTIAN CONTEXTS**

Submitted by

Thathathai Singa shb
B.Ed (Thailand), M.A (Theology ACU)

A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Theology, Melbourne
Faculty of Theology and Philosophy

Australian Catholic University
Research Services
Locked Bag 4115,
Fitzroy, Victoria 3065
Australia

5 May 2011

Statement of Sources

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No other persons' work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Full name: Thathathai Singa

Signed:

Date: 5 May 2011

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my principal supervisor Associate Professor David C. Sim for his expertise, insights and patience. I thank him for his constructive criticism and exposing weaknesses in my work. For his thoroughness, I am most grateful. I acknowledge also, co-supervisor Associate Professor James S. McLaren, for his support and concern throughout my study.

I acknowledge the assistance given to me by Dr Veronica Lawson rsm, in the early years of my study and Dr Rod Doyle cfc for his teachings in Biblical Greek, and continued support in my studies. I acknowledge the academic skills advisors at Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Dr Jo Reidy and Elizabeth Powell for their constant academic advice and friendship. I also acknowledge the Library Staff at Australian Catholic University, Melbourne; Catholic Theology College Library; Dalton McCaughey Library and Whitley College Library for their assistance in my research.

I acknowledge with gratitude the Religious Communities with whom I have been associated during my years of study, the Sisters of Mercy, particularly the North Melbourne community, the Loreto Sisters at St. Mary's College, University of Melbourne and the Good Shepherd Sisters in Abbotsford. The hospitality and support of each congregation is greatly appreciated along with the Mary Ward Grant from the Loreto Sisters. In particular, I wish to acknowledge Sr Margaret Ignatius rsm and Sr Mary Lewis rsm for their untiring support, encouragement and friendship throughout my years of study.

I acknowledge with a great debt of gratitude, my own Congregation of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus of Bangkok (SHB). I thank the Congregation leaders Sr Pannee Phurunghong shb and Sr Chalieng Vetchayan shb for their generosity and constant support and for giving me the opportunity to study Theology.

I acknowledge, finally, and in the highest place my late father Taweeep Singa and my mother Yuthani Singa who were the first to teach me and did so much to give me a good education. I acknowledge all members of my family and friends from Thailand and Australia who have supported me throughout my studies.

Table of Contents

Statement of Sources	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents	4
Abstract	7
Abbreviations	9
Introduction	11
1. Survey of Early Studies	12
1.1 M. J. Suggs	12
1.2 C. M. Deutsch	15
1.3 E. A. Johnson	19
1.4 B. Witherington	21
1.5 F. T. Gench	27
1.6 E. M. Wainwright	30
1.7 S. J. Gathercole	32
1.8 Conclusion	34
2. Plan of This Thesis	36
3. Presuppositions	41
4. Methodology	44
5. Terminology	56
Chapter 1: Wisdom in Judaism	61
1. Introduction	61
2. The Meaning of Human Wisdom and Divine Wisdom	62
3. The Origin of Human Wisdom and Divine Wisdom	63
3.1 Human Wisdom in the Ancient Near East	63
3.2 Divine Wisdom in the Ancient Near East	64
3.3 Human Wisdom in Ancient Israel	65
3.4 Human and Divine Wisdom in the Jewish Wisdom Literature	67

4.	Wisdom in the Jewish Tradition	68
4.1	Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs	69
(a)	1:20-33	70
(b)	3:13-20	72
(c)	4:5-9	73
(d)	8:1-36	74
(e)	9:1-11	83
4.2	Wisdom in the Book of Job	87
(a)	Job 28	88
4.3	Wisdom in the Book of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus or Ben Sira	91
(a)	1:1-10	92
(b)	4:11-19	93
(c)	6:18-37	94
(d)	24:1-29	94
(e)	51:13-30	97
4.4	Wisdom in the Book of Wisdom	98
(a)	6:22	99
(b)	7:7-8:1	99
(c)	8:2-21	102
(d)	10:1-21	103
4.5	Wisdom in the Book of Baruch	105
(a)	3:9-4:4	106
4.6	Wisdom in the Book of 1 Enoch	109
(a)	1 En 42	109
4.7	Summary	110
5.	Pre-Existence in the Jewish Tradition	113
6.	Conclusion	116
Chapter 2: Wisdom in Early Christianity		118
1.	The Pauline Tradition	118
(a)	1 Cor 24, 30	119
(b)	1 Cor 8:6	122
(c)	Gal 4:4-6 and Rom 8:3-4	124
(d)	Phil 2:6-11	128
(e)	Summary	131

2.	The Markan Tradition	132
3.	The Q Tradition	139
(a)	Q 7:18-35 (Lk 7:18-35//Mt 11:2-19)	140
(b)	Q 11:49 (Lk 11:49//Mt 23:34a)	148
(c)	Q 13:34-35 (Lk 13:34-35//Mt 23:37-39)	152
(d)	Q 10:21-22 (Lk 10:21-22//Mt 11:25-27)	155
(e)	Q 11:31-32 (Lk 11:31-32//Mt 12:41-42)	158
(f)	Summary	160
4.	The Johannine Tradition	161
5.	Conclusion	181
Chapter 3: Wisdom in the Matthean Tradition		184
1.	Mt 11:2-19	185
2.	Mt 11:25-30	193
(a)	vv. 25-27	194
(b)	vv. 28-30	200
3.	Mt 23:34-39	212
(a)	vv. 34-36	212
(b)	vv. 37-39	218
4.	Mt 1:23	224
5.	The Matthean $\bar{\alpha}$ I Have Come \emptyset Sayings	233
6.	The Matthean Jesus and the Law	239
7.	Conclusion	254
General Conclusions		257
Bibliography		264

Abstract

This thesis aims to study the identification of the Matthean Jesus with Wisdom or Sophia, a personified feminine figure. The roots of this identification are traced to the traditions in Judaism as depicted in Proverbs, Job, Sirach, the Wisdom of Solomon, Baruch and 1 Enoch. The early Christians made use of this Wisdom tradition when speculating on the identity and significance of Jesus, and scholars have identified explicit Wisdom Christologies in Paul, Q and John. The thesis has its main focus in the Matthean tradition and demonstrates that Matthew develops a high Christology from his Jewish and Christian sources by portraying Jesus as Wisdom incarnate.

This thesis studies Matthew's Wisdom Christology from the perspective of its Jewish and early Christian contexts. How has Matthew been influenced by these traditions, and how has he developed them? The nature and roles of Wisdom in Judaism differ from text to text. In some she is a distinct pre-existent being, subordinate to and distinct from God, while in others she appears to be an aspect of God and not a distinct entity. In terms of her functions, Wisdom is assigned a variety of roles. She plays a part in the creation of the universe as the assistant of God, mediates between God and humans, plays a salvific role and is identified with the Torah. Wisdom can be described in various ways, including mother, lover and counsellor. In the Judaism of Matthew's time, Wisdom is only one of many pre-existent beings. Other figures that were thought to pre-exist and await a future revelation include the Messiah and the Son of Man, and these too play an important role in the emergent Christology of the first century.

The study of the early Christian texts reveals that the Christians accessed the Jewish Wisdom traditions in different ways. Paul uses the term “the Wisdom of God” for Jesus (1 Cor 1:24; cf. 1:30), but he seems not to use it as a Christological title. The concept of Wisdom as a distinct figure first appears in the Q tradition. In this Sayings Source, Jesus is not identified with Wisdom herself but as her messenger or envoy. The Gospel of John testifies to a further development. John has a clear Wisdom Christology, especially in the Prologue where the pre-existent Jesus is assigned many of Wisdom’s roles. But this author never refers to Jesus as “Wisdom.” He prefers the masculine term “the Word.” Between the Q and the Johannine traditions comes Matthew, and it is in this Gospel that the early Christian Wisdom Christology is most clearly attested. In distinction to Q, Matthew makes explicit the identification of Jesus with Wisdom herself and, in distinction to John, he has no qualms about using that particular feminine term. For Matthew Jesus is pre-existent Wisdom, subordinate to God and separate from God, who becomes incarnate in the body of a human through a miraculous conception.

In portraying Jesus in this way, Matthew adopts many of the attributes and roles of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition, including her role in creation, her close relationship with God, her role as prophet and teacher, her rejection by humans and her identification with the Law. Moreover, in constructing his Wisdom Christology, the evangelist reinterprets and develops some aspects of Wisdom’s traditional roles on the basis of Christian claims about Jesus. Thus in Matthew it is significant that Jesus as Wisdom is a miracle-worker, the definitive interpreter of the Law, dies on the cross to save her people from their sins and will come in the future as the eschatological judge.

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ABR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
BCOTWP	Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BGNTL	Baker's Greek New Testament library
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibTod</i>	<i>Bible Today</i>
BiSe	The Bible Seminar
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BRS	The Biblical Resource Series
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
CBC	The Cambridge Bible Commentary
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCR	Cambridge Companions to Religion
CCT	Contours of Christian Theology
<i>Com</i>	<i>Compass</i>
CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
EC	Epworth Commentaries
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAP	Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
GNS	Good News Studies
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IBCTP	Interpretation, a Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
ITC	International Theological Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	JSNT Supplement Series

<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal of the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LBS	Library of Biblical Studies
<i>LTP</i>	<i>Laval théologique et philosophique</i>
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NCT	New Century Theology
NGS	New Gospel Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	NovT Supplements
NTC	The New Testament in Context
NTM	New Testament Message
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBS	Oxford Bible Series
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Old Testament Message
<i>Pac</i>	<i>Pacifica</i>
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
<i>PP</i>	<i>Priest and People</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
SAC	Studies in Antiquity and Christianity
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>SEA</i>	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok</i>
SHBC	Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and its World
SOTSM	Society for Old Testament Study Monographs
SP	Sacra Pagina
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TBC	Torch Bible Commentaries
<i>TheTod</i>	<i>Theology Today</i>
TGST	Tesi Gregoriana Serie Teologia
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>WW</i>	<i>Word and World</i>
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

INTRODUCTION

What is meant by the identification of Jesus as Wisdom? Such a question has inspired a steady flow of scholars conducting research in recent times. However, the answer is to be found in Matthew's Gospel and its sources. The roots of Matthew's identification of Jesus as Wisdom are found in the Jewish tradition of personified Wisdom, or the Greek form of the word σοφία (Sophia), which translates the Hebrew word *hokmah*. When I am referring specifically to Wisdom I will interchangeably use the terms "Wisdom" or "Sophia"¹ Some scholars believe Wisdom to be one aspect or personification of God, while others believe Wisdom is a created, subordinate being and distinct from God.²

The sources of Matthew's Wisdom Christology were not limited to the Jewish tradition. The early Christians reckoned with the identity and role of Jesus in numerous ways, and it was not long before Jesus's relationship with Sophia became the subject of speculation. Was Jesus a messenger of Wisdom, or was he perhaps Wisdom herself? Scholars have argued for such an identification of the two in the Pauline, Q and Johannine traditions, but not all have been convinced. In the case of Matthew, there is a similar scholarly division. While the majority view today is that Matthew does indeed

¹ Scholars use various terms when referring to Jewish Wisdom in the personified form. For instance, scholars who use the terms "Wisdom" or "Sophia" include M. J. Suggs and E. A. Johnson. Scholars who use the terms "personified Wisdom" or "Lady Wisdom" include C. M. Deutsch. Scholars who use the terms "Wisdom" or "personified Wisdom" or "Woman Wisdom" include B. Witherington. Throughout this thesis, upper case letters will be used when referring to personified divine Wisdom while lower case letters will indicate human wisdom. The two terms divine Wisdom and human wisdom will be discussed later in Chapter 1.

² A minority of scholars also claim that Wisdom has no divine status. For them, Wisdom is understood as a woman preacher or prophetess, wisdom teacher or self revelation of creation. Details of this claim will be provided in Chapter 1.

have a Wisdom Christology, in which Jesus is explicitly identified with Sophia, there is a strong minority view that opposes this. But even among those who accept the evangelist's Wisdom Christology, there are clear differences in details. For those scholars who understand Wisdom as an aspect of God, the evangelist's Wisdom Christology tends to imply the divinity of Jesus. By contrast, those exegetes who conceive of Sophia as a created and independent entity view Matthew's Christology as less "high" Jesus may be Wisdom incarnate, but he is distinct from God and subordinate to God. If we are to reconstruct Matthew's Wisdom Christology, we need to take into account both his Jewish and his Christian contexts. What traditions about Wisdom and about Jesus were available to Matthew, and how did he utilize them in his narrative about Jesus of Nazareth? Scholarly responses to these and other questions have yielded quite different results, as the following survey demonstrates.

1. Survey of Early Studies

1.1 M. J. Suggs

It is appropriate that M. J. Suggs' work in 1970 on Wisdom Christology in Matthew should commence this survey.³ Wisdom Christology had been neglected over the decades prior to Suggs' time and he was one of the main scholars to bring it out of obscurity. Also, he was the one who clearly states that the Matthean Jesus is identified with the Jewish figure of Wisdom. In his book Suggs examines the Christologies of Q and Matthew and how they relate to the Wisdom tradition of Judaism. His methods are those of historical criticism and redaction criticism.

³ M. J. Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970). Further references to this work in this section will be put in brackets.

Suggs spells out Jewish Wisdom's various roles and nature in a number of passages. For him, Jewish Wisdom is pre-existent (Prov 8:23), hidden (Job 28; Bar 3:15; Sir 14:23-24; 4 Ezra 14:40-47), a heavenly resident (Sir 24:4), identified with the Law (Sir 24:23; Bar 3:9-4:4), instructor and teacher (Prov 8:32; Sir 23:32-33), bride (Wis 8:2); comforter (Wis 8:16), protector (Wis 10:10; Prov 7) and hostess (Prov 9). Also, she is portrayed as mother (Sir 4:11; 15:2), prophet (Prov 1:20; 8:1; Sir 24:1; Wis 7:1-6, 7b; 8:8), rejected (Prov 1:24; Bar 3:12; 4:12; 1 En 42; 93:8), accepted (Sir 24:8, 11) and God's revealer (Wis 7:25-26; 8:4). Suggs also sees Wisdom as caretaker (Wis 6:16), revealed (Wis 6:22; 8:8), a defender (Wis 7:25, 27; 8:2, 4, 16; 9:17-18; 10-11) and fashioner of all things (Wis 6:21-22). Additionally, Wisdom's yoke is found in Sir 6 and Sir 51 (pp. 21, 39-44, 67-69, 84, 93, 100-103, 105-106, 108, 125). In reference to Wisdom's nature, Suggs states that it is difficult to define this with precision since she is portrayed differently in different traditions. However, in general, divine Wisdom is a personified entity and potentially fully mythological (p. 44). Having stated that, Suggs sees Wisdom as an entity created by God and subordinate to God.

Suggs agrees with the common view that Matthew and Luke had Q as the source of their writings. He believes Q was composed in the middle of the first century (p. 26). Also, he sees Q as an example of the sayings of the sages and a source of Wisdom, which came between the book of Wisdom and the Gospel of Thomas. Suggs notes that, similar to Q, the Gospel of Thomas does not contain a passion story (pp. 5-13). Moreover, Suggs claims Q is "Sophialogy" (p. 58), particularly in Q 11:49-51⁴ (Lk 11:49-51//Mt 23:34-36) (pp. 13-29), Q 7:18-35 (Lk 7:18-35//Mt 2:11-19) (pp. 36-58), Q 13:34-35 (Lk 13:34-35//Mt 23:37-39) (pp. 63-71) and Q 10:21-22 (Lk 10:21-22//Mt 11:25-27) (pp. 71-89). In

⁴ I will refer to Q in this way, according to modern convention.

the original source, Jesus is seen only as Wisdom's representative and not Wisdom incarnate. It is important to note that Suggs believes that the Q texts are better represented in the Lukan version.

Suggs believes that Matthew develops this theme further, editing the Q tradition into the context of a passion-centered Gospel form and identifying Wisdom with Jesus in a number of passages. He states that Matthew's editing of Q not only identifies Jesus with Wisdom but also corrects the idea of the gnosticizing tendency in the Sayings Source (p. 130). This is done in the two redactional phrases "the deeds of Christ" in Mt 11:2 and "the deeds of Wisdom" in Mt 11:19, which "serve as brackets for the sequence Mt 11:2-19" (p. 37). However, Suggs sees Jesus in Q 7:18-35 only as Wisdom's representative (pp. 33-58).

In Mt 23:34-36 Matthew has "I send you prophets" while Luke 11:49 has "The Wisdom of God says" Suggs claims that Matthew altered the speaker of the text in Q from Wisdom to Jesus in order to identify Jesus with Wisdom (pp. 58-61). In Mt 23:37-39 Suggs claims that Matthew preserves the Q sequence of Q 13:34-35 and so continues to identify Jesus with Wisdom. But in the original Q material, according to Suggs, it is Wisdom who sends the prophets who are in turn rejected, and it is Wisdom who speaks the lament over Jerusalem. In agreement with the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom in Q 7:18-35, Jesus is identified as another rejected prophetic messenger of Sophia (pp. 63-71).

Moreover, Suggs argues that in Mt 11:25-27, the Matthean Jesus reflects Jewish Wisdom in terms of revelation, reciprocal knowledge and intimate relationship with the Father. Nevertheless, in Q 10:21-22, Suggs sees Jesus as Wisdom's representative since

the Q text highlights the relationship of Jesus with the Father rather than with Wisdom. Also, Jesus' Sonship is not emphasized in Q. His reciprocal knowledge of the Father shows that he is God's representative and not Wisdom incarnate. The Q text only illustrates that Jesus takes Wisdom's roles in revealing, knowing and mediating God (pp. 71-99). Suggs argues that Matthew creates 11:28-30 in order to confirm his Wisdom Christology. The invitation of Jesus to take up his yoke is the invitation of Wisdom to take up and obey the Law (pp. 99-115). Moreover, Suggs acknowledges the significance of Mt 5:17-48; 7:12; 12:1-14; 15:1-10; 19:18-19; 22:34-40 and 23:23 in relation to the connection between Wisdom and the Law. He claims that as Wisdom, the Matthean Jesus is identified with the Torah (pp. 115-127).

Suggs has made a strong case that there is Wisdom Christology in Matthew's Gospel. The Matthean Jesus seems to be identified with Jewish Wisdom in a number of Matthean passages. His claim that the evangelist has manufactured this from the earlier Q tradition, where Jesus is merely an envoy of Wisdom, appears to be redactionally sound. However, Suggs' presentation is rather narrow in as much as only selected passages have been studied and he does not really place Matthew's Wisdom Christology within its broader Christian context. His seminal study of Wisdom in Q and Matthew can and should be extended.

1.2 C. M. Deutsch

In 1987, Suggs' work was strengthened in C. M. Deutsch's monograph, which also emphasized historical-critical methods.⁵ Deutsch believes that Matthew's Wisdom

⁵ C. M. Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah, and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25-30* (JSNTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987). Further references to this work in this section will be put in brackets.

Christology is emphasized in Mt 11:25-30 in the context of the whole section of Mt 11:2-13:58. She divides this text into the Q component (vv. 25-27) and the Matthean component (vv. 28-30) which Matthew has combined because of their common understanding of revelation. Deutsch refers the theme of revelation in Mt 11:25-27//Lk 10:21-22 to the revelation of God in the Torah in Sir 45:5 and the revelation of Wisdom in the form of the Word in Sir 24:3. Also, she refers to other aspects of Wisdom ó pre-existent (Sir 1:1-10; 24:1-27; Prov 8:1-36); hidden (Job 28:12-28) and identified with the Torah (Sir 24:1-27; Bar 3:9-4:4). Wisdom is also depicted as teacher (Sir 4:11-19; Wis 8:6-7, 9:11), mistress (Sir 6:18-31), mother and wife (Sir 15:1-8), hostess (Sir 24:18-21), bride (Wis 8:2) and revealed (Sir 7:8-10; 34:18-22; 35:12; 39:1-11).

Moreover, Deutsch states that Wisdom plays a creative role (Sir 24:1-12; Wis 8:4) and is associated with Spirit and Word (Wis 7:22-27). The significance of seeking Wisdom can also be found in Sirach and Wisdom (Sir 1:10; 4:11; 6:27; cf. 51:13-16; Wis 7:7-8; 9:1-18; 6:12-18; 8:2). Wisdom is linked to the motifs, the fear of the Lord and humility (Sir 1:16; 19:20) as well as righteousness (Wis 4:16-17; 10:20-21). Furthermore, Deutsch highlights Wisdom's nature in the context of the book of Wisdom. Wisdom is under God's superiority and guidance (Wis 7:15) and she is God's power, emanation, reflection and image (Wis 7:25-26). Even though she is capable of doing all things (Wis 7:27), she can only be given by God to those who seek her (Wis 7:7) (pp. 55-63). Thus, Deutsch sees Wisdom as a separate being, very close to God but subordinate to God.

Deutsch spells out the title -Sonø in Mt 11:25-27. She states that Qø Jesus is identified with the Son of God who plays Wisdom's roles and is linked with Wisdom in terms of revelation. Qø Jesus reflects Wisdom through his revelation of God and his

commissioning of the disciples in Q 10:3 (cf. Mt 10:16), and in his portrayal of a mother hen in Q 13:34 (cf. Mt 23:37). Also, Jewish Wisdom is associated with the Son of Man (1 En 49:3; 51:3), who is portrayed as eschatological judge, revealing Wisdom and being the anointed Servant (pp. 104-105, 111). Deutsch spells out the title $\text{S}\text{on}\text{\o}$ in Mt 11:25-27 in the broader context of the Matthean texts of 11:28-30; 12:1-8 and 9-14. As the Son of Man, Jesus reflects Wisdom's deeds, including healing, preaching and teaching (Mt 11:2-6; 12:1-14; 15-21) (p. 104).

Deutsch suggests that the themes of filial relationship and knowledge, or revelation in Mt 11:25-27 can be found in Wis 2:13, 16 and 18. The reciprocal knowledge of the Father and Son can also be found in 1 QH 2:18; 9:30-31 and 1 En 49:4. Matthew clarifies Jesus's Sonship as he is given all things by the Father. Deutsch sees Jesus as the wise one in Wis 2:12-20, the Son of Man in 1 En 48:10 and 52:4, and as the Servant of God in Mt 12:18-21 (pp. 105-107, 111-112).

Through reflection on the parallelism between Sir 6:18-37; 51:13-30 and Mt 11:28-30, Deutsch claims that Wisdom Christology in the Matthean texts is clear. She further states that the image of the yoke can be referred to the yoke of Wisdom or the yoke of the Torah in Sir 6:31; 51:13-30; 2 Bar 41:3-5 and 2 En 48:9. By using various themes, including the figure of the sage, discipleship and familial relationship, Deutsch believes that Matthew presents Jesus in Mt 11:25-30 as Wisdom incarnate (pp. 138-139).

Deutsch extends her discussion of Matthew's Wisdom Christology in her second book written in 1996.⁶ In this book Deutsch continues to use historical-critical methods,

⁶ C. M. Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom, Jesus, and the Sages: Metaphor and Social Context in Matthew's Gospel* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996). Further references to this work in this section will be put in brackets.

but also finds feminist-critical principles useful as well. She situates the Matthean community in late first century Judaism when they find it difficult to settle down after the temple's destruction. For Deutsch, Matthew uses Wisdom in second temple literature as a metaphor to explain Wisdom in terms of a human figure (pp. 9-41). There is no need to elaborate on Deutsch's study on Jewish Wisdom in this book (pp. 15-18) again as it has been already examined in her first book.

Apart from the Matthean tradition, Deutsch also sees Wisdom Christology in other traditions such as Paul, John, the Gospel of Thomas and particularly Q. She spells out Wisdom Christology in Q where she claims that Jesus is implicitly identified with Wisdom in Q 7:35; 8:18-22; 10:21-22; 11:31-32 and 12:41-42 (pp. 42-80). Matthew makes this identification explicit. Besides the text of Mt 11:25-30 examined in her previous book, Deutsch refers to Mt 8:18-22; 11:19; 12:38-42; 13:53-58; 23:34-36 and 37-39 (pp. 42-80). Like Wisdom, Jesus is hidden, revealed and rejected. He is also a revealer, teacher, hymn singer, prophet and mother. Deutsch uses the Jesus-Wisdom role of teacher as being pivotal to other roles, including prophet, lowly sage and lowly one (pp. 81-110). Matthew's emphasis on the Torah in 5:17-48 also has Wisdom associations, since Wisdom is often identified with the Mosaic Law (pp. 92-103).

Deutsch's studies provide strong confirmation of the earlier work of Suggs that Matthew has a clear Wisdom Christology, although she departs from Suggs in her claim that Matthew only made explicit what had already been implicit in Q. This difference between them is important, however, because it affects how we understand Matthew's treatment of his sources in his construction of his own Wisdom Christology. Nevertheless, Deutsch's claim that Jesus is Wisdom incarnate in Q is probably

overstated. Suggs has the better part of that argument, as we shall see in Chapter 2, which means that Matthew has radically transformed the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom in the Sayings Source.

1.3 E. A. Johnson

In 1992, E. A. Johnson⁷ published a prize-winning work which stands in firm agreement with the claims of Suggs and Deutsch that the Matthean Jesus is Wisdom incarnate.⁷ The importance of this for Johnson resides in the fact that Wisdom is the most developed understanding of the term used for the female symbol of God. Using reconstructionist theological principles, she examines the actions of the biblical Sophia and then compares the Jewish beliefs about Sophia to the Christian tradition beliefs about Jesus, whom she believes is Sophia incarnate.

For Johnson, Jewish Wisdom has many roles: hidden (Job 28), a public speaker (Prov 1:20-33), a life-giver (Prov 4:13) and divine blessing (Prov 8:35). Also, she is active in creation (Prov 3:19; 8:22-31), a builder, butcher, wine merchant, sender of the prophets and hostess (Prov 9:1-6). While in Sir 51:26, she invites all to take up the yoke and follow her way, in Sir 24:19, 22 she invites everyone to her banquet and in v. 23 she is identified with the Torah. In Wis 7:25-26 she shows her intimate relationship with God (pp. 87-89). She is a fashioner (Wis 7:22) and orders all things (Wis 8:1). She plays a mediating role (Wis 7:27) and a salvific role (Wis 9, 10). She is accepted in Bar 3:37, but is rejected in 1 En 42 (pp. 89-90).

However, Johnson disagrees with Suggs and Deutsch in terms of the nature of Wisdom. While Suggs and Deutsch see Wisdom as a separate being from God, Johnson

⁷ E. A. Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (New York: Crossroad, 1993). Further references to this work in this section will be put in brackets.

interprets Jewish Wisdom's nature as God's personification. She does so on the basis of the equivalence between the two in terms of functions, especially their active roles in creation and salvation. Consequently, Johnson believes that "Sophia is Israel's God in female imagery" (p. 90).

In the Christian tradition, Johnson sees Wisdom reflected in Jesus as the image of the invisible God; the firstborn of all creation in Col 1:15; God's glory in Heb 1:3 and mediator in creation in 1 Cor 8:6. As Wisdom, Jesus makes people friends of God in Jn 15:15 and he is a life-giver in Jn 17:2 (pp. 94-95). Through his death and resurrection, Jesus is seen as the Wisdom of God in 1 Cor 1:22-24. Also, as Wisdom, Jesus shows an intimate relationship and mutual knowledge of God in Mt 11:25-27, which is reflected in Bar 3:32; Wis 8:3-4 and Wis 9:9. In Mt 11:28-30 Jesus as Wisdom invites all the weary to take up his yoke and hence he can be identified with the Torah. In Mt 23:37-39 Jesus as Wisdom is supportive, protective but rejected. Moreover, Johnson argues that the Gospel of John clearly presents the Johannine Jesus as Wisdom in his creative function, his sending by God, his rejection, his giving of life and themes of light and darkness (Jn 1:1-18). As further parallels between these figures in John, Johnson cites Jesus as a public speaker (7:28, 37), the "I am" statements (6:51; 10:14; 11:25), his identification with the Torah, the way, the truth and the life (14:6) and the theme of God's love and friendship (14:23; 15:15) (pp. 95-97).

Johnson's work is important since it places Matthew's Wisdom Christology in its broad first century Christian context. But, as significant as it is, Johnson's study contains some questionable elements. She maintains that the identification of Jesus with Wisdom was a common Christian conviction that finds reference in a variety of the New

Testament texts. If this were true, then Matthew's claim that Jesus was Wisdom incarnate would amount to little more than his acceptance of a widespread doctrine. It is, however, debatable whether all the texts cited by Johnson can bear the weight she places upon them. Apart from the Q tradition, it is also unlikely that Paul had a concrete Wisdom Christology (see further Chapter 2). Further, while Johnson is correct to see a Wisdom Christology in the Gospel of John, some of her claims about this text can be disputed. One of these is her contention that in the Johannine tradition Jesus is identified with the Torah. This would be similar to Matthew who also seems to emphasize this connection, but it is questionable that John contains such a motif (see further Chapter 2). Another dubious claim is that in the Jewish tradition, Wisdom must be viewed as an aspect of God or as a personification of God. The relevant Jewish texts are more nuanced and less consistent than Johnson suggests, and Matthew (and others) had a number of options in this respect in terms of his depiction of Jesus's nature as Wisdom. It is doubtful that he identified Jesus with God in any sense. But this debate is important for our topic. It is one thing to see Jesus as Wisdom incarnate, but quite another to see Jesus as an incarnate aspect of God.

1.4 B. Witherington

In 1994, B. Witherington provided a solid presentation of Wisdom Christology in his book on Jesus the Sage.⁸ His study runs parallel to Suggs's conclusion that the Matthean Jesus is Wisdom incarnate. He sees that Wisdom is created by God (Prov 8:22; Sir 24:3, 9; Wis 7:25-26) and is a pre-existent being who plays a creative role (Prov 3:19; 8:22-29; 24:3; Sir 1:4, 9-10; 16:24-17:7; Wis 1:7; 22, 24, 27; 8:1, 4-6; 9:2, 9; 11:25). Wisdom is

⁸ B. Witherington, *Jesus the Sage: The Pilgrimage of Wisdom* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).

found in the spirit (Wis 7:24, 27; 8:1; 11:25) and comes into the world for the benefit of creation (Prov 1, 8, 9; Sir 24:19-22; Wis 6:12-16; 7:22a; 8:7-9; 9:10-16). Wisdom is life-giving (Prov 1:32; 3:13-18; 8:1-5, 35; 9:1-6; Sir 1:14-20; 6:18-31; 15:1-8; 24:19-33; Wis 7:7:14), dwells with humanity (Sir 24:8-12), becomes one with the Torah (Sir 24:23; cf. 1:25-27; 6:37; 15:1; 19:20; 33:2-3; Bar 4:1) and participates in Israel's history (Wis 10:1-21). Wisdom is given by God (Prov 2:6; Sir 1:9-10, 26; 6:37; Wis 7:7; 9:4) and can be gained through discipline and ventures (Prov 4:10-27; 6:6; Sir 4:17; 6:18-36; Wis 1:5; 7:14) but is rejected (1 En 42). Furthermore, Witherington agrees with Suggs and Deutsch that Jewish Wisdom is a separate being from God and God's creation (pp. 3-116).

Witherington agrees further with Deutsch that Q contains Wisdom Christology. He states that Jesus is identified with Wisdom by the deeds of Wisdom in Q 7:24-35 and by the portrayals including the rejected Son of Man in Q 9:58 (cf. Dan 7); the one who is greater than Solomon in Q 11:31; the sender of prophets and apostles in Q 11:49; the rejected Jesus in the lament, who is the sender of prophets, the protective mother in Q 13:34-35 and the searcher for the lost sheep and coin in Q 15:1-10 (pp. 214-229). The Pauline corpus too reflects the same high Christology, particularly in Phil 2:6-11; Col 1:15-20, 1 Tim 3:16 and Heb 1:2-4 (cf. Prov 8; Job 28; Sir 24; Wis 7, 9) (pp. 249, 289). Moreover, Witherington understands that the development of Wisdom Christology could have begun with the writing of the epistle of James as early as the 40s C.E., and he argues that these Christological hymns were composed before the writing of the Gospels (p. 290).

According to Witherington, Paul makes his own contribution to early Christian Wisdom Christology. In Rom 11 Paul presents Wisdom in relation to God's salvific role and in 1 Cor 10:4, the rejected Wisdom in Judaism is seen as the crucified Christ. This Corinthian text also presents Christ's pre-existence based on Jewish Wisdom. Paul reinterprets Wisdom in Wis 10-11 as Wisdom's salvation in Jesus Christ through his death and resurrection. In Rom 10:4 Paul sees Christ as pre-existent and incarnate Wisdom but not the Torah. Paul never makes any connection between Wisdom and the Torah. Rather, he sees that the Torah is a way of being righteous, which has an end in Christ who is God's Wisdom and righteousness. In 1 Cor 1:30 Paul identifies Christ as Wisdom as a result of his death and resurrection. Witherington also claims that if Paul had read Q and taken the Wisdom tradition from there, Q must have been written no later than the late 40s C.E. as 1 Corinthians was composed in the early 50s C.E. (pp. 331-332).

Witherington claims that both John and Matthew present Wisdom Christology, which was derived from earlier sources, particularly in the Christological hymns where Jesus is never called Wisdom. However, through status and actions, Jesus is identified with Wisdom. The identification of the Word with Jesus in the Johannine Prologue (cf. Philo) was considered neuter in gender. It emphasizes the connection of Wisdom and the Word in the book of Wisdom (pp. 249-294). Furthermore, Witherington claims that the language "before", "after", "above", "below", "descending" and "ascending" in Jn 1:30 and 3:31 indicates the pre-existence of Jesus. Also in Jn 3, he sees that the Son of Man refers to the descent of the Son of Man in 1 En 70:2; 71:1 and 1 En 42. Jesus as Wisdom descends from heaven and ultimately returns to heaven. In Jn 20 Witherington sees Jesus' pre-existence, incarnation and dwelling with humans for salvific purposes. Moreover, he

believes that the H am \emptyset sayings (Jn 6:35, 51; 8:12; 10:7, 9, 11, 14; 11:25; 14:6; 15:1, 5) indicate Jesus as Wisdom.

In terms of the Gospel of Matthew, Witherington views as significant Mt 1:23 (cf. chs. 18-20) where Jesus is called Emmanuel, -God with us . This reflects Jewish Wisdom who is also present among humans (Wis 7). The call of the disciples (Mt 4:18) reflects Wisdom calling scoffers (Prov 1:22). The upholding of the Torah (Mt 5:17-20) and its commandments reflect the identification of Wisdom with the Torah (Sir 24). The Matthean Jesus gives the disciples instructions prior to beginning their mission (Mt 10) just as Wisdom gave people instructions on righteousness (Wis 7:27 cf. Sir 24:23). In Mt 23:34-36 Jesus speaks using Wisdom's words and actions in commissioning his disciples. While in Mt 11:19 Jesus is identified as Wisdom, in vv. 20-24 he reflects Wisdom's rejection (Prov 1:24-25). In vv. 25-27 Jesus presents Wisdom as revealed to the selected ones, thus reflecting Wisdom's invitation to the chosen ones (Prov 1:22-23; 9:1-6).

It is noteworthy that Witherington does not state that the Matthean Jesus is identified with the Torah. However, he claims that Jesus's invitation to take his yoke in Mt 11:28-30 is paralleled in Sir 6 and Sir 51 (pp. 239-240). In Mt 12:42 Witherington also claims that Jesus as Wisdom is greater than Solomon and in Mt 13:54 he believes that it is Jesus who speaks as Wisdom. Furthermore, he believes that the woman in the parable of the yeast in Mt 13:31-35 represents Wisdom (pp. 190-192) and in Mt 23:38 Jesus speaks as Wisdom about the desolation of Jerusalem. For Witherington Matthew even depicts Jesus as Wisdom in the passion narrative where he is rejected. Jesus, however, is accepted by God and exalted by his disciples (cf. Mt 28:9, 19) (p. 368). Witherington sees Mt 28 in terms of Jesus as Wisdom being rejected, justified by God,

accepted by all and willing to continue as Wisdom who remains with the disciples through his teachings (pp. 349-366).

In his later commentary on Matthew, Witherington substantially reaffirms his views on the evangelist's Wisdom Christology and even takes them further; Wisdom seems to underlie almost every Matthean passage and theme.⁹ He finds Wisdom Christology in Mt 1:18-25 (pp. 43-47, 68); Mt 4:1-11 (pp. 86-87); Mt 10 (pp. 217-226); Mt 11:19 (p. 235); Mt 11:20-24 (pp. 235-236); Mt 11:25-27 (pp. 237-239); Mt 11:28-30 (pp. 239-240); Mt 12:1-14 (pp. 240-243); Mt 12:38-45 (pp. 248-249); Mt 13:33b (pp. 267-270) and Mt 13:53-58 (p. 278). He also expands his understanding of Wisdom Christology in a number of Matthean passages. In Mt 2:1-23 he claims that Jesus's birth is announced by the heavenly beings and sought by the wise men, so he is the Wisdom of God (p. 68). The reception of the Spirit at Jesus's baptism in Mt 3:13-17 shows Jesus as a royal figure playing Wisdom's role in preaching (p. 81) in Sir 24:33; 39:1 and Wis 7:27 (pp. 83, 237).

Moreover, Witherington sees in Mt 4:18-22, the calling of the first disciples to follow him, reflecting Wisdom who was itinerant in 1 En 42 (cf. Prov 8:1-5) (p. 97). In Mt 5:13-16, the salt and light metaphors refer to Jesus as Wisdom (p. 142). The healing ministry of Jesus in Mt 8-9 reflects Wisdom's salvific activities in Wis 10:15-21 (pp. 175-178, 192-211), while the feeding of the five thousand in Mt 14:13-21 echoes Wisdom's banquet in Prov 9 (p. 290). He sees that Jesus reveals the Wisdom of God in Mt 13:53-58, and points out that Jesus's ability to walk on the water reflects divine Wisdom in Sir 24:5-6 (pp. 290-292). Witherington views the titles applied to Jesus as

⁹ B. Witherington, *Matthew* (SHBC; Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 2006). Further references to this work in this section will be put in brackets.

–Christø and –Son of Godø in Mt 16:21 and Mt 26:63 as indications of his identification with Wisdom (p. 311). The manifestation of Jesus in the transfiguration story in Mt 17:1-13 refers to the manifestation of Wisdom in Wis 7-8 (p. 324), while Jesusø giving back eyesight to the blind in Mt 20:29-34 confirms his identification with Wisdom (pp. 379-382).

Jesus as Wisdom presents Godø's presence in his community with his teachings in Mt 18:20 (pp. 351-352). In Mt 21:4-5 Jesus as sage and Wisdom is presented as greater than Solomon (pp. 388-389) and the parentsø instructions in Mt 21:28-32 has an affinity with Wisdomø's instructions in Prov 4:1-2 and Sir 3:3-11 (p. 401). Moreover, Witherington likens the wedding banquet in Mt 22:1-14 to the Wisdom banquet in Prov 9 (p. 407). He also sees Jesus as a sage who has Wisdom in the story of Caesarø's taxes in Mt 22:15-22 (p. 411). In Mt 23:34 Witherington views Jesus as Wisdom who sends out prophets, sages and scribes (pp. 215, 432) and is portrayed as the mother hen in Mt 23:37-39 (p. 422). Additionally, the rejection in the lament in Mt 23:37-39 reflects the rejection of Wisdom in 1 En 42 (p. 433). Jesusø ability to know the timing of the Parousia in Mt 24:1-25:46 is a further indicator of his being divine Wisdom (pp. 455-456). A further motif concerns the suffering of Godø's people in Mt 25:1-46, which can be found in Job and Ecclesiastes among the Wisdom literature (p. 458). Finally, Witherington states that Jesusø resurrection shows that he is divine Wisdom and greater than David or Solomon. As the risen one, Jesus is the sage who is Wisdom incarnate (pp. 532-537).

Therefore, Witherington agrees with Suggs, Deutsch and Johnson regarding Matthewø's Wisdom Christology. He believes that Jesus as Wisdom incarnate is

consistently presented in Matthew's Gospel from its beginning to the end (p. 229). However, unlike Johnson who understands Jewish Wisdom as an aspect of God, Witherington, along with Suggs and Deutsch, believes that Jewish Wisdom is a separate being from God. While his study is of great value, Witherington's tendency to see Wisdom in almost every Matthean passage can be questioned. He seems to prefer quantity over quality. Furthermore, it is not certain that Witherington reflects adequately on Matthew's Jewish context in terms of the identification of the Torah with Wisdom. This important aspect of Matthew's Wisdom Christology, so central to the work of Suggs, is surely more important for the evangelist than Witherington allows.

1.5 F. T. Gench

F. T. Gench's monograph focuses on Wisdom influence in Matthean Christology.¹⁰ She examines a number of key Matthean passages, 23:34-39; 11:25-30 and 11:2-19, in relation to the Gospel of Matthew as a whole and employs redaction-criticism to inform her exegetical work. Gench disagrees with the earlier work of Suggs by questioning Suggs' claim regarding "the reconstructed 'Wisdom myth', which is foundational to a wisdom construal of Matthew's Christology" (p. 26). Gench comments that Suggs suggests "one should exercise caution in attempting to draw a clear picture of a single, cohesive myth of the divine Wisdom, but she is unconvinced when Suggs also claims that the texts do portray a 'generalized picture of Wisdom which is sufficiently articulated to be significant" (p. 26). Gench does, however, agree to some extent with Suggs' position about Wisdom's nature: as a personified entity, pre-existent, revealing herself to humans, seeking humans to save them, identifying with the Law and being

¹⁰ F. T. Gench, *Wisdom in the Christology of Matthew* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997). Further references to this work in this section will be put in brackets.

rejected by humankind. However, in contrast to Suggsø claim, Gench believes that there is no recurring feature of Sophia sending her envoys to humanity in the pre-Christian Jewish tradition (pp. 27-29).

By referring to M. D. Johnson's work, Gench states that it is exaggerated to claim that the motif of Wisdom's envoy features prominently in the understanding of the Christologies of Q and Matthew.¹¹ She disagrees with Suggsø idea that Wisdom in the Jewish texts (especially Wis 7:22-8:1) sends her envoys to deliver her messages in all generations. For Gench the emphasis in the text is placed on those who seek Wisdom and not on a revelatory function, and she takes the reference to "friends of God and prophets" as those who "enjoy a close, almost mystical association with the deity" (p. 28). Moreover, Gench claims that the book of Wisdom emphasizes other Wisdom functions such as protecting, giving strength, guiding and rescuing but not sending envoys. Therefore, for Gench, it is difficult to claim Wisdom's envoys in Q and Wisdom incarnate in Matthew (pp. 26-29).

Gench also disagrees with Suggsø claims about the nature of Q, which she believes presents a gnosticizing wisdom tendency rather than Wisdom speculation, and she disputes that Mt 23:34-39; 11:25-30 and 11:2-19 contain Wisdom Christology (pp. 28-36). In Mt 23:34-39 Matthew has edited the Q tradition in order to establish a Wisdom motif but not Wisdom Christology (pp. 49-132). He sees Jesus' protectiveness in Mt 23:37 as God's own self (p. 115). Furthermore, the Matthean Jesus in Mt 23:34 is not Wisdom incarnate but the Son of God "through his teaching, healing activity, debates and parables" (p. 336). Gench also believes that Matthew emphasizes the guilt of the scribes

¹¹ F. T. Gench's argument on the sending envoy motif is heavily based on M. D. Johnson's work. See M. D. Johnson, "Reflections on a Wisdom Approach to Matthew's Christology" *CBQ* 36 (1974), 44-64.

and Pharisees and the inevitability of judgment. Matthew highlights Jesus' authority and the reliability of Jesus' words (p. 338). The phrase "Behold, I send" in Mt 23:34 (cf. Mt 10:16) confirms Jesus' divinity that can also be found throughout the Gospel of Matthew from its beginning in Mt 1:23 to the end in Mt 28:18-20 (p. 339).

For Gench, there is likewise no Wisdom Christology in Mt 11:25-30 where Jesus is simply presented as the Son of God (pp. 146-204, 340). As the Son of God, Jesus has divine status, and it is he who acts as the mediator between God and humans. In addition, the Son of God (v. 28) extends his invitation to carry his light yoke and be rewarded with eternal rest (p. 341).

Moreover, Gench disagrees with Sugg's statement regarding Jesus' identification with Wisdom in Mt 11:2-19. For her, the phrase "the deeds of Christ" in Mt 11:2 does not refer to the phrase "the deeds of Wisdom" in Mt 11:19. If Jesus is identified with Wisdom in Mt 11:19, Gench claims that the identification should be applied to both Jesus and John, as Matthew may have equated Jesus with John in terms of their ministries in his Gospel. Moreover, the deeds of Christ in Mt 11:2 can also refer to the deeds of Jesus' disciples in Mt 10. The deeds of Christ means Jesus' preaching, teaching and healing in Mt 4:17-11:1, which are applicable to the disciples' deeds as well (pp. 343-344). Gench concludes that if Jesus is Wisdom, then so too are John the Baptist and the disciples (pp. 343-346). In Mt 11:2-19 Jesus is depicted as the Messiah and this messianic context extends to Mt 16:20. Also, the renounced Messiah is identified with the Son of God in 11:25-30 and 16:16-20 (pp. 217-316, 346).

Gench presents a different understanding regarding Wisdom Christology in that she does not see Jesus as Wisdom incarnate in any Matthean text. She argues that

Matthew uses the language of Wisdom in his writing to emphasize Jesus' divinity (pp. 346-348). Gench's detailed work, which denies the presence of Wisdom Christology in the Gospel, provides an important alternative to the views of the other scholars, but a few preliminary questions are in order. Has she accurately captured the significance of Matthew's Wisdom language, and has she paid due recognition to the importance of the evangelist's redaction? The specific arguments of Gench will be fully examined in later chapters.

1.6 E. M. Wainwright

Throughout her writing, E. M. Wainwright indicates her approval of earlier scholarship that concluded that the Matthean Jesus is Wisdom incarnate. She also emphasizes that Matthew's Gospel needs to be read from a feminist perspective.¹² In terms of Wisdom's nature, Wainwright restates E. A. Johnson's claims that Jewish Wisdom is an aspect of the Israelite God, "the female gestalt of divine wisdom of the sapiential tradition" (p. 76 n. 41).¹³ Moreover, in her work Wainwright reinforces her claim by calling Jewish Wisdom "Sophia God" (pp. 63, 81) and by viewing this figure as a personification of God (p. 97 n. 45).

Wainwright uses a Jewish framework to deepen the understanding of Jesus as both Wisdom and Christ. In Mt 1:23 God's presence in Jesus reflects Wisdom's praise for her joy in residing with her people in Prov 8:22-31. As God's presence, Jesus reflects Wisdom's presence in Jacob and Zion (Sir 24:8-12) and her dwelling with humanity in

¹² E. M. Wainwright, *Shall We Look For Another?: A Feminist Rereading of the Matthean Jesus* (New York: Orbis Books, 1998). Further references to this work in this section will be put in brackets.

¹³ On the issue that Jewish Wisdom should be seen as an aspect of God, Wainwright refers to E. Schüssler-Fiorenza's feminist perspective in E. Schüssler-Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 10th edn 2002), 130-140 to which E. A. Johnson also refers.

Bar 3:37 (p. 62). Wainwright argues that the *ḥuman one* which is traditionally translated as *ḥSon of Man* in Mt 11:19, reflects the *ḥhuman one* in Dan 7:13-14 and 1 En 42:1-2. She identifies Jesus the Son of Man with Wisdom in 1 En 42 who was hidden and then revealed. She also sees in Mt 11:2-19 Jesus as Wisdom who is identified with Wisdom's deeds in Wis 10-19. Not only Wisdom's salvific deeds are found, but also her creative roles are presented (Prov 8:22-31; Sir 24:1-22; Wis 9:9) (pp. 74-78).

Wainwright claims that Jesus is identified with Wisdom in Mt 11:25-27. She sees the *ḥSon* as Wisdom who has been revealed by the Father. Through the language of the Father and the Son, there is an indication of the reciprocal knowledge between the two. Wisdom's unique knowledge of God can be reflected in a similar way. Thus, Wainwright claims that it was Wisdom who had the right to call God as *ḥFather* while *ḥSon* was used to replace Wisdom. Additionally, the invitation of the yoke in Mt 11:28-30 echoes Wisdom's invitation in Sir 51:26-28 and 6:29-31. Just as the yoke of Jesus is the yoke of Wisdom, so too the invitation of Jesus is the invitation of Wisdom (pp. 79-82).

Jesus is also associated with Wisdom in Mt 13:54. She believes that the Wisdom tradition was used in a prophetic and social context and used to link diverse communities (p. 78). Moreover, Wainwright presents the Magi in Matthew's Gospel as representatives of the Wisdom tradition. The wise ones from the East could represent the wisdom of the scholars and the learned ones rather than of those of ordinary people. The knowledge of how to find the infant Jesus came to them through the Wisdom and the prophetic traditions. Jewish Wisdom is revealed to those who seek her and similarly the infant Jesus is revealed to the Magi who seek him. For Wainwright, the knowledge of the Magi

in finding the liberator reflects Jewish Wisdom who is commonly known as the liberator (pp. 61-62).

Wainwright¹³ claims that the importance of the Wisdom symbol in a feminist interpretation of Jesus is that it can be used to resist the patriarchal subordination of women, and her work makes an important point in this respect. More importantly, Wainwright¹³ understanding of Jesus as Wisdom in the context of Matthew¹⁴ Gospel is in agreement with most scholars. Her feminist interpretation confirms the earlier scholars¹⁵ approach to Matthew¹⁶ Wisdom Christology from a different perspective. However, her feminist understanding is in accord with E. A. Johnson that Jewish Wisdom is an aspect of God, while other scholars view Jewish Wisdom as a separate being from God.

1.7 S. J. Gathercole

In his book on pre-existence in the Synoptic Gospels published in 2006, S. J. Gathercole rejects earlier claims of Wisdom Christology in the Matthean tradition.¹⁴ Even though he argues that the Matthean Jesus is pre-existent, he argues against pre-existent Wisdom. He also claims that Jesus¹⁵ pre-existence is assumed in Paul¹⁶ writings in Rom 8:3; 1 Cor 8:6, 10:4, 15:47; 2 Cor 8:9; Gal 4:4 and Phil 2:6-8. By dating Hebrews and Jude before the destruction of the temple, Gathercole also shows that Jesus¹⁷ pre-existence can be found in these books, particularly in Heb 1:2, 2:14, 17 and Jude 5-6 (pp. 1-45).

Gathercole states that the I have come and I have been sent sayings (Mt 5:17, 8:29, 9:13, 10:34-35, 20:28, Mk 1:24, 38, 2:17, 10:45; Lk 4:34, 43, 5:32, 12:49-51, 19:10) indicate a pre-existence Christology. He claims that the sayings should not be understood as Jesus¹⁸ coming from Nazareth, his coming to the public life or his coming

¹⁴ S. J. Gathercole, *The Pre-Existent Son: Recovering the Christologies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006). Further references to this work in this section will be put in brackets.

as a prophet or messiah to Israel. Rather, they refer to Jesus's life as a whole not only about either his death or specific missions (pp. 83-112). As a point of comparison Gathercole refers to the "I have come" sayings used by angels to describe the purpose of their coming into the world. These Jewish writings (Dan 9:22, 23, 10:12, 14, 11:2; Tob 5:5) show that the angels come from heaven to the world with full awareness of their pre-existence (pp. 119-122).

However, Gathercole claims that the Wisdom motifs in Matthew's Gospel are used to describe the identity of Jesus without identifying him with Wisdom. He uses Mt 11:28-30, 23:34 (cf. Lk 11:49-51); Mt 11:25-27 (cf. Lk 10:21-22) and Mt 11:18-19 (cf. Lk 7:33-35) to support his claim. For Gathercole, Mt 11:28-30 merely shows a description of the wise man Simon ben Onias as an identification of Wisdom in Sir 50 (pp. 194-199). In Mt 23:34 he claims that by having Jesus say in the time of his earthly ministry what he will do, the Matthean Jesus does not claim his pre-existence (pp. 199-201). Also, in Mt 11:25-27 Gathercole is uncertain that Jesus as Son can be identified with Wisdom as the gender of each differs (pp. 201-202). In Mt 11:18-19 he believes that the deeds of Wisdom should be applied to both John the Baptist and Jesus, in which case it becomes difficult to identify Jesus alone with Wisdom (pp. 202-204). Furthermore, Gathercole claims that in the Jewish tradition Wisdom is not a pre-existent being separate from God but an attribute of God and a means of God communicating with humanity. She is a "personification" rather than a person (pp. 207-209). Consequently, for Gathercole, the Matthean Jesus is not Wisdom incarnate but rather God incarnate for God's purposes in creation and salvation (p. 209). This is clear from Mt 23:37, where Jesus is presented as a divine and transcendent figure who gathers the brood and calls

Israel to repentance throughout history. For Gathercole, this can be considered as Jesus' pre-existence and involvement prior to his incarnation as God (pp. 210-221).

Gathercole confirms his claim that the Matthean pre-existent Jesus is not pre-existent Wisdom by examining some of the ideas of pre-existence in some of the Christological titles given to Jesus and referred to by the Synoptic evangelists. Titles such as 'Messiah' (Mk 12:35-37 (cf. Ps 110:3); Lk 1:78-79) (pp. 231-242), 'Lord' (Mk 1:2-3, 12:35-37) (pp. 243-252), 'Son of Man' (Mt 13:35 (cf. Ps 78:2) (pp. 253-271), 'Son of God' (Mt 13; Mk 12:1-2) (pp. 272-283) are explored as ways of providing more evidence for Christological pre-existence (p. 231). Thus, for Gathercole, the pre-existent Jesus is not necessarily seen as pre-existent Wisdom.

Therefore, Gathercole claims that there is evidence of Jesus' pre-existence in Matthew, but he disagrees with Suggs, Deutsch, E. A. Johnson, Witherington and Wainwright that the Matthean Jesus is pre-existent Wisdom. In this respect he agrees with Gench's understanding of the Matthean Jesus as God's personification but with no Wisdom connotations; Jesus is the incarnation of God. Gathercole's work is important as it gives yet another view to consider; Jesus is pre-existent but not Wisdom.

1.8 Conclusion

Most scholars agree that Jewish Wisdom plays a variety of roles in different traditions. These scholars have a common understanding that Jewish Wisdom is presented in the Wisdom tradition, particularly in Proverbs, Job and in the deuterocanonical books such as Sirach, Baruch and the Wisdom of Solomon. They also agree that Wisdom appears in intertestamental literature or Pseudepigrapha, such as Enoch. However, Deutsch also

finds association of Wisdom in other traditions such as Qumran, Philo and the Tannaitic literature.

Yet these scholars draw different conclusions about Jewish Wisdom in terms of her nature. One group understands Wisdom as being *of* God, while the other as coming *from* God. As being of God, Wisdom is a part, attribute, aspect, gestalt of God or a personification of God's self. However, as coming from God, Wisdom is seen as separate, distinct from, created by and subordinate to God. These different views about the nature of Sophia come to the fore in the manner in which scholars articulate Matthew's Wisdom Christology. The feminist interpreters, E. A. Johnson and Wainwright, accept the first of these views, so that when the evangelist identifies Jesus as Wisdom, he is represented as a female aspect or a female personification of God. Wainwright even uses the terms *Sophia God* and *Jesus God*. By contrast Suggs, Deutsch and Witherington conceive of Wisdom as a created being, who is distinct from God and subordinate to God. They accept that, while Matthew identifies Jesus with this figure, there is no corresponding identification with God. Another understanding of this theme is represented by Gench and Gathercole, who both reject the view that Matthew has a clear Wisdom Christology. These scholars argue that in this Gospel Jesus is presented solely as God incarnate.

Furthermore, among those scholars who accept a Wisdom Christology in Matthew's Gospel, there are considerable differences in detail. For example, Suggs, Deutsch, E. A. Johnson and Wainwright emphasize the close connection between Jesus and the Torah which recalls the identification of Wisdom with the Torah in the Jewish tradition. Witherington, however, sees things differently. In Matthew, the Torah is a

burden for the disciples, so Jesus as Wisdom wants to alleviate that burden for them. E. A. Johnson too goes her own way by suggesting that Jesus is the Torah not simply in Matthew but in John's Gospel as well.

There is a similar diversity of views concerning Wisdom Christology in other early Christian traditions. Suggs claims there is no Wisdom Christology prior to the Gospels, and that it first appears in the Gospels of Matthew and John. In the early Q tradition Jesus is merely an envoy of Wisdom. Deutsch, Witherington and E. A. Johnson disagree with Suggs by arguing that a clear Wisdom Christology emerged very early on and can be found in both Paul and Q. Gathercole presents an entirely different view in his contention that the view of Jesus as Wisdom incarnate first appears in the Gospel of John. In distinction to all of these writers, Gench and Wainwright do not mention Wisdom Christology in other traditions but largely confine themselves to the Matthean tradition.

2. The Plan of This Thesis

The review of the literature has shown that the topic of Matthew's Wisdom Christology raises a number of important and disputed issues. An obvious issue is that of the precise nature of Wisdom in the pre-Christian Jewish literature, and the different roles she plays. In terms of Sophia's nature, is she a created being who is separate from and subordinate to God, or is she an aspect of the traditional Israelite God and not distinct from God? Or is it the case that there was no consistent depiction of Wisdom in these texts? Perhaps we find both of these views throughout the relevant Jewish literature.

Chapter 1 will discuss this very issue. This Chapter will begin with a few background matters, including the different notions of wisdom in the Jewish tradition.

These can be termed human wisdom and divine Wisdom. The first refers to human knowledge that can be taught and learnt, while the second pertains to a more transcendent form of Wisdom, a personified entity who is either an aspect of God or one of God's major creations. The chapter will particularly focus on this figure and attempt to define how she is represented in the major texts (Proverbs, Job, Sirach, the Wisdom of Solomon Baruch, 1 Enoch).

It will be argued that in most texts Wisdom is a distinct created entity in intimate relationship with God but quite distinct from God. She is inferior and subordinate to God but superior to humans. However, it will be conceded that in some texts the exact nature of Wisdom is ambiguous, and in these passages it is possible to interpret her as an aspect of God with no independent status. A major problem in deciding between these alternatives is that Sophia is attributed many of the qualities and the roles otherwise attributed to God, and it is not always easy to reconstruct how the authors understood this phenomenon. It was probably the case that the Jewish tradition had no single or consistent view of Wisdom; her precise persona and her relationship with God was perhaps understood in different ways in different texts. This is important because it means that the early Christians, including Matthew, had a number of different traditions at their disposal when exploring the relationship between Jesus of Nazareth and the Jewish figure of Wisdom.

As for the roles of Wisdom, these are expressed in a variety of ways and with many different (often female) images. For example, she is a prophet, counsellor, mediator of divine knowledge, mediator of the divine will, politician, life-giver, lover, wife, mother, protector and hostess. In some texts she plays an active and crucial part in the

creation of the universe as God's assistant, and was herself created for that very purpose. She also has a salvific function, and is at times directly identified with the Torah. Once again the variety of Wisdom's functions reveals that the early Christians had a range of options at their disposal when constructing their own Wisdom Christology.

Chapter 1 will also examine in a broader context the notion of pre-existence in Judaism. Clearly, Sophia is depicted as a pre-existent figure, but she was not the only such figure in the Judaism at the turn of the eras. Good examples of such figures are the Messiah and the Son of Man, both of which are used for Jesus in early Christian literature and both of which are important Christological titles for Matthew. This section provides an important background to the discussion of the early Christian traditions, including Matthew, because it demonstrates that any reference to Jesus's pre-existence does not necessarily pertain to his pre-existence as Sophia. The author or tradition in question may be referring to him as pre-existent Messiah or Son of Man. In order to substantiate a reference to Wisdom, more evidence than mere pre-existence is required.

In Chapter 2 we turn to the early Christian tradition. The early Christians employed a wide range of titles and concepts when trying to articulate their beliefs about the identity and nature of Jesus. He was the Messiah, Lord, Son of God, Son of Man, Son of David, and it is reasonable to explore whether some Christians identified him with the traditional figure of Wisdom. A major area of scholarly dispute, as acknowledged above, concerned the existence of a distinct Wisdom Christology prior to the Gospels.

An analysis of the Pauline tradition, especially the key texts in 1 Cor 1:24, 30; 8:6; Rom 8:3; Gal 4:4 and Phil 2:6-11, will contend that Paul did not articulate a clear Wisdom Christology. Even though Paul uses the term "the Wisdom of God" in relation to

Jesus, he does not use it as a Christological title. Moreover, Paul certainly accepts the pre-existence of Jesus and even his role in creation, but he does not identify him with pre-existent Wisdom. The study of Q will deliver similar results. While the Sayings Source, unlike Paul, does refer to Sophia as a distinct transcendent being, it does not identify Jesus with her. Jesus is rather presented as one of Wisdom's messengers, along with John the Baptist and the Old Testament prophets. The Q tradition is extremely important because it marks, as far as we can tell, the introduction of Wisdom to the life and mission of Jesus. But in this early text, Jesus is only associated with Sophia and is not yet identified with her. This discussion of the Pauline and Q traditions will therefore confirm the earlier work of Suggs that we do not find a distinct Wisdom Christology prior to the writing of the Gospels.

The Gospel of John will then be examined. It will be maintained, in agreement with the majority of scholars, that Jesus is depicted here as Wisdom incarnate. This is especially clear in the Prologue (Jn 1:1-18) where the evangelist presents Jesus in a Wisdom-like manner. He is pre-existent, has a role in creation, has an intimate relationship with God, is a mediator between God and humans, and is rejected. But it is significant that John does not use the term "Wisdom" in relation to Jesus. He uses instead the term "Word". In doing so, John may show influence from a Hellenistic Jewish tradition that is also found in Philo, who also speaks of Sophia using the masculine word *λόγος*. John's Wisdom Christology does not follow the tradition that Sophia (or the Word) is an aspect of God, but stands in agreement that Wisdom is intimately associated with God but distinct from and subordinate to God. The Johannine tradition therefore shows a considerable development from the Pauline and Q traditions. Jesus' pre-

existence and role in creation, which was found in Paul, is now merged to some extent with the tradition found in Q that Sophia was an integral figure in the mission of Jesus. The synthesis is that Jesus now becomes Sophia herself, although John has reservations about explicitly identifying Jesus with this feminine figure.

Chapter 3 is devoted to Matthew's Wisdom Christology. It builds upon the findings in Chapter 2 that Matthew has edited a number of Q texts in order to make explicit the identification of Jesus with Wisdom. It will re-examine the significant Q passages in Matt 11:2-19; 11:25-27 (28-30) and 23:34-39 but now in their Matthean context. Once it has been established that Matthew has a very clear Wisdom Christology, other Gospel passages will be considered that may also reflect this theme. Especially important are 1:23 which refers to Jesus's pre-existence, and the "I have come" sayings which have a similar function. Attention will also be paid to the Torah in Matthew's Gospel and how it relates to Jesus as Sophia. The analysis of this aspect of Matthew's Christology will involve more passages than those studied by Suggs, but it will avoid the temptation to find, as does Witherington, Wisdom references right throughout the Gospel.

The Chapter will contend that many motifs applicable to Wisdom in the Jewish tradition find expression in Matthew's depiction of Jesus as Sophia, notably her pre-existence and creative role, rejection, hiddenness, salvation, revelation, teaching, prophesying and identification with the Law. Matthew's Jesus is depicted as Wisdom incarnate. This figure is not for Matthew an aspect of God but a created entity who is distinct from God and subordinate to God. Sophia incarnates herself in the person of Jesus of Nazareth in order to fulfil the purposes of God, and having accomplished her mission she returns to God. In this respect Matthew's presentation of Jesus is not

significantly different from the incarnational Christology of John, except for the fact that John demurs in using the title "Wisdom". Writing perhaps not long before John, Matthew has no such qualms and explicitly identifies the male Jesus with the female Sophia. While this point has obvious and important implications for feminist hermeneutics, these will not be explored in this thesis.

Yet in constructing his Wisdom Christology the evangelist also conforms the traditional notions about Wisdom to his Christian beliefs about Jesus. Good examples of this are the miracle-working activity of Jesus, his death on the cross and his role as the eschatological judge. The Jewish tradition knows nothing of Wisdom in any such roles, but for Matthew they are some of Jesus' distinctive functions as Sophia incarnate. The evangelist has therefore constructed his Wisdom Christology from both his Jewish and Christian sources, reworking and adapting them to fit his own Christological schema. It is the demonstration of this point that fulfils the major intention of this thesis.

3. Presuppositions

Any study of Matthew's Gospel necessarily raises the issues of Synoptic interrelationships and Matthew's sources. In this thesis I accept the major scholarly view of the Two Document hypothesis. This involves the proposal that Matthew used Mark and Q as his major sources.¹⁵ However, there are two main alternative hypotheses. One hypothesis introduced by A. M. Farrer, M. D. Goulder and M. Goodacre also gives priority to the Gospel of Mark but claims that the Gospel of Matthew used it, while the

¹⁵ For a recent defence of the Two Document Hypothesis see J. S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 329-352.

Gospel of Luke used both.¹⁶ This theory thus dispenses with the necessity of Q. Another hypothesis against Q is the neo-Griesbach Hypothesis (or Two Gospel Hypothesis), which claims that Matthew was the first Gospel, that Luke's Gospel was written using Matthew as a source, and then Mark's Gospel was written using both Matthew and Luke.¹⁷ There are problems with each of these theories¹⁸ however, so it is valid to presume the consensus view.

I also agree with the majority of scholars that Matthew was written after the Jewish revolt against Rome, probably circa 80-90 C.E.¹⁹ The location of the Gospel and its underlying community is not precisely known. Of the many competing theories, there are only two plausible locations. One is Antioch on the Orontes, the capital of the Roman province of Syria and one of the largest metropolises in the Roman Empire.²⁰ Another is

¹⁶ See A. M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q" in D. E. Nineham (ed.), *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 55-88; A. M. Farrer, *St. Matthew and St. Mark* (London: Dacre Press, 1954), 116-176; A. M. Farrer, *A Study in St. Mark* (London: Dacre Press, 1951), 182-220; M. D. Goulder, "Is Q a Juggernaut?" *JBL* 115 (1996), 667-681; M. D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm vol. I* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 46-50; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974) 4-9, 97, 254, 289, 370, 452, 454, 474-475; M. Goodacre, *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2002), 46-120; M. Goodacre, *Goulder and the Gospels: An Examination of a New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 133; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 17-39, 42-88, 89-130, 273-291, 360-369; M. Goodacre, *The Synoptic Problem: A Way Through the Maze* (BiSe 80; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 21-23, 31, 122-161.

¹⁷ Scholars who support this hypothesis include W. R. Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus: The Pastoral Relevance of the Synoptic Problem* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, rev edn 1994); W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2nd edn 1976); B. Orchard and T. R. W. Longstaff, *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-Critical Studies 1776-1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 103-135; D. B. Peabody, *One Gospel from Two: Mark's Use of Matthew and Luke* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2002), 1-16, 17-54, 55-67, 344-347; A. J. McNicol, D. L. Dungan and D. B. Peabody, *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew: A Demonstration by the Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), 14-21; D. B. Peabody, *Mark as Composer* (NGS 1; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987).

¹⁸ See the recent discussion of R. A. Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem* (BETL 186; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005).

¹⁹ D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 31-40.

²⁰ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 40-62.

in the general region of Galilee, either Sepphoris or Tiberias.²¹ While there is better evidence for the Antiochene hypothesis, the issue of Matthew's location does not directly affect the major arguments in this thesis.

The issue of Matthew and its relationship with Judaism is a complex matter, which needs careful consideration within Matthean studies. It is generally accepted that the evangelist and his community were Jewish, but there is an intense debate as to whether they still regarded themselves within Judaism²² or as outside the parameters of Judaism.²³ While this debate has dominated Matthean studies for the past two decades,

²¹ D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (SP 1; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), 9-10; P. Hertig, 'Geographical Marginality in the Matthean Journey of Jesus' in K. H. Richards (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 36; Atlanta: SBL Press, 1999), 479; J. A. Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis: The Gospel according to Matthew* (NTC; Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), 16-19; J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 158-159; A. J. Saldarini, 'The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict in the Galilee' in L. I. Levine (ed.), *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 26-27; For arguments against Galilee, see D. C. Sim, 'The Social and Religious Milieu of Matthew' in H. van de Sandt and J. K. Zangenberg (eds), *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents in their Jewish and Christian settings* (SBLSS 45; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 122-125.

²² Scholars who hold the so-called *intra muros* view that Matthew and his community are a part of Judaism include W. Carter, 'Matthew's Gospel: Jewish Christianity, Christian Judaism, or Neither?' in M. Jackson-McCabe (ed.), *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 155-179; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew vol. III XIX-XXVIII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997), 692-704; A. M. Gale, *Redefining Ancient Borders: The Jewish Scribal Framework of Matthew's Gospel* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2005), 15-40; G. S. Jackson, *Have Mercy on Me: The Story of the Canaanite Woman in Matthew 15:21-28* (JSNTSup 228; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 16-18; Overman, *Matthew's Gospel*, 73-90; B. Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in the Gospel of Matthew: Their Redaction, Form and Relevance for the Relationship between the Matthean Community and Formative Judaism* (FRLANT 189; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 343-349; A. Runesson, 'Rethinking Early Jewish-Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict' *JBL* 127 (2008): 95-132; A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian Jewish Community* (CSHJ; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 124-164; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 109-163; D. L. Turner, *Matthew* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 3.

²³ Scholars who hold the so-called *extra muros* view that Matthew and his community are no longer a part of Judaism include R. H. Gundry, 'Matthew: Jewish-Christian or Christian-Jewish? At an Intersection of Sociology and Theology' in R. H. Gundry (ed.), *The Old is Better: New Testament Essays in Support of Traditional Interpretations* (WUNT 178; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 111-119; D. A. Hagner, 'Matthew: Apostate, Reformer, Revolutionary?' *NTS* 49 (2003), 193-209; D. A. Hagner, 'Matthew: Christian Judaism or Jewish Christianity?' in S. Mcknight and G. R. Osborne (eds), *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 263-282; D. R. A. Hare, 'How Jewish is the Gospel of Matthew?' *CBQ* 62 (2000), 264-277; U. Luz, *Matthew 1-7: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1989), 52-56; G. N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People:*

the majority view, that this Christian community still identified itself with the Jewish faith, will be accepted here. The major argument in favour of this view is that the Matthean community continued to observe the Torah (cf. 5:17-19). Its dispute with other Jewish groups, notably the scribes and Pharisees, was therefore an internal Jewish dispute and not a conflict between Judaism and Christianity.²⁴ However, it needs to be noted that the acceptance of this view does not radically affect our topic. Matthew's Wisdom Christology remains unaffected no matter whether his group was still within Judaism or had recently separated from that tradition.

4. Methodology

Historical-critical methods will be the major methods employed in this study of Wisdom Christology in Matthew's Gospel, especially redaction criticism. The historical-critical method seeks to establish the original meaning of the text by reconstructing: the pre-history, history and dating; the author's original intentions; historical events; and political, social and religious settings of the text. These disciplines need to be further refined.

Firstly, the historical-critical method has as its main concern, the pre-history and the history of the text.²⁵ The method analyzes when and by whom writings came into existence. It is believed that a biblical writing has a history of its own, which includes its time of composition and author. The dating of a text helps reinforce a chronology that

Studies in Matthew (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992), 124-131, 139-142, 151-152, 156-158; J. K. Riches, *Conflicting Mythologies: Identity Formation in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 202-225.

²⁴ Overman, *Matthew's Gospel*; Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*.

²⁵ Some scholars including J. Barton prefer to use the term biblical criticism rather than the term historical-critical method. See Barton's argument in J. Barton, *The Nature of Biblical Criticism* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, rev. edn 2007), 44-53.

provides a development of ideas as it can be used to study the meaning of all ancient texts. The chronological outline assists the reader to collate the facts that are required for interpreting a biblical passage. Also, it provides the bones on which the body of biblical history is structured.²⁶

Furthermore, chronology is the basis for the development of the ideas over a period of time. With the application of the historical-critical method, one is given insight into a particular aspect of the historical characteristics over a given time span. This would emphasize the development of the particular aspect as to whether there has been change, growth, productivity, devaluation or extinction.

Secondly, the investigation includes reconstructing the biblical authors, especially their life and background. The method seeks to establish the intended meaning of the author, while not denying that the text can have different meanings.²⁷ Its primary concern is in the original meaning of the text since each work was written for specific readers. Furthermore, due to inaccessibility of personal contact with the biblical author, reliance on circumstantial evidence is essential in establishing the original intended meaning of the author. This evidence can be found from the words, expressions the author chose, the ways he presented the writing and the genre. Moreover, the genre of any given text assists in presenting the structure and the content of the text. Different genres imply a particular method of reading on the part of the addressees. Distinct genres in the Bible include history, wisdom literature, apocalyptic literature, letters, poetry, love songs,

²⁶ E. Krentz, *The Historical Critical Method* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 37-38.

²⁷ J. Barton, "Historical-Critical Approaches" in J. Barton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (CCR; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9-12; Krentz, *Historical Critical Method*, 34; A. Pinero and J. Peláez, *The Study of the New Testament: A Comprehensive Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 3rd edn 2003), 23.

hymns and biographies.²⁸ Therefore, the method assists in understanding the original meaning of the biblical author which can be detected from the author's literary expression. It depicts the author's feeling and communicates what he wants to present.

Thirdly, the historical-critical method is used to present the biblical texts in their historical settings in which the documents were written. The Old Testament arose from the Near Eastern village culture and the semi nomadic life of the times. It is a reflection of the culture and local society of the era. The New Testament came into being as a result of influences from east and west interacting with each other. These influences began in Palestine, moved through Greece, Asia Minor, and finally reached the Roman Empire.²⁹ Furthermore, to advance the study of the biblical texts, it is important that the historical settings are first understood. Without this knowledge placing the events in their correct place in history, it is not possible to create a comprehensive understanding of the text.

Fourthly, this method assists an interpreter to understand the biblical texts in relation to other historical events that were happening at the same time. The Bible, a collection of many books, engages all events from Creation to the end of time. However, the key events in the Jewish tradition include the stories of Creation (Gen 1), Adam and Eve (Gen 2-3), Moses leading the Israelites out of Egyptian slavery (Exo 1-15) and King Solomon building the Temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 6-8). Also, the Christian tradition includes, the birth of Jesus (Mt 1; Lk 2), crucifixion of Jesus (Mt 27; Mk 15; Lk 23; Jn 19) and the apostle Paul's missionary journeys and his writings (Act 13-28). With the use

²⁸ Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament*, 75.

²⁹ Krenz, *Historical-Critical Method*, 38-39; J. M. Miller, "Reading the Bible Historically: The Historian's Approach" in S. L. McKenzie and S. R. Haynes, (eds), *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press rev. edn 1999), 16.

of this method, some questions including when, where and why the biblical events took place can be answered.

Moreover, the correlation and interrelation of these events explains the meaning of the surrounding biblical texts. By studying key events in the biblical world, an interpreter can come to understand and to write in detail about the historical and biblical context. The method seeks to establish the best possible text, to determine the origin and authenticity of the biblical writings in their original context.

Fifthly, the historical-critical method plays an important role in delineating political, social and religious milieus in which any given text was written.³⁰ The setting of the document directly influences the character and emphases of the text.³¹ The interpretation of a biblical text cannot be seen as an isolated function but it must be seen as part of the political, social and religious activities of the times. It places biblical history into the history of humanity thus showing its uniqueness and therefore removes many of the difficulties encountered when studying biblical language.³² Political settings such as ancient systems of oppression like Babylonian and Roman imperialism, the exile, monarchy, the notions of the Kingdom of God and salvation need to be investigated. Religious aspects of biblical life are also required to be studied for example activities of worship in Jerusalem and in early Christianity and their understanding of and faith in God.³³

Through the study of the historical-critical method, the political, social and religious settings, the functions of human society, the patterns of changes and the

³⁰ Miller, "Reading the Bible Historically" 17-34.

³¹ J. E. Goldingay, *Models for Interpretation of Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 174.

³² Krentz, *Historical Critical Method*, 39.

³³ Barton, "Historical-Critical Approaches" 10.

circumstances can become evident. The Bible provides many examples and aspects of changes occurring in a society. This method would imaginatively place an interpreter into the political, social and religious circumstances where the text was first created.

Therefore, in general, the method functions as a tool for collecting all aspects of data within a given timeframe. The data includes dating, chronology, authorship, historical settings and political, social and religious circumstances. This data provides an interpreter with the necessary facts to evaluate and relate all aspects of the discovery in a coherent manner, which is both comprehensive and methodical. Once all this evidence is gained, it is then possible to make a concluding interpretation of a biblical text.³⁴

As studied above, the historical-critical method covers a number of disciplines. However, in the study of Matthew's Wisdom Christology it will be restricted to two. They are dating and original meaning of the text that comes from the study of the original intention of the author.

Firstly, dating a composition is often crucial in determining the history of a text. It gives the chronological direction of the historical sequence. This method will become evident as the various writings and books are studied in their chronological order throughout the thesis. The thesis with its emphasis on Matthew's Wisdom Christology will illustrate the influence given by writers prior to the writing of Matthew's Gospel. As is revealed in the thesis, Matthew's Gospel was written towards the end of the first century, and in order to understand the context of his writing it is important to trace the chronological order and the influence of previous writings.

Therefore, the thesis will establish the chronological order of the Jewish tradition and the following books will be categorized, Proverbs, Job, Sirach, Wisdom, Baruch and

³⁴ Krentz, *Historical Critical Method*, 41.

1 Enoch. Following this, the early Christian tradition will chronologically be ordered beginning with the Pauline writings followed by Q, Mark, John and Matthew. The results of using the historical-critical method in the study, will demonstrate the influence regarding the Wisdom tradition Matthew received, from other traditions prior to his writing. It will show that the Wisdom tradition, beginning with the Jewish tradition will move into the Christian tradition thus passing into the teachings of Jesus and finally, that, which proclaims and identifies Jesus with Jewish Wisdom in the Matthean tradition. Additionally, this shows in the range of Jewish notion about Wisdom, available to the early Christian, and in terms of Matthew, the Jewish and Christian traditions available to him.

Furthermore, the original source of the terms such as $\text{ḥ}w\text{ḥ}m\text{ḥ}$ and $\text{Ḥ}w\text{ḥ}m\text{ḥ}$ will be reconstructed in order to discover the meaning of the texts in their context and era. The original meaning of the word Wisdom is *hokmah* in Hebrew for the Jewish tradition and σοφία in Greek is the original term for the early Christian tradition. Both these terms have a commonality in as much as they are both feminine nouns and biblical Wisdom is sometimes presented in a female personal form. As we look beyond this study, we find that in the ancient Near East the origins of Wisdom can be traced to prominent goddesses, which share some characteristics with personified Wisdom.

More importantly, we can discover the significance of the development of the Wisdom notion over the timeline. In the Judaism era, Wisdom will be studied in terms of her roles and status. It is important to question, in her relationship with God, is she a divine being or subordinate to God? Then this can be studied in comparison to how she appears in the period of early Christianity, her role and connection with Jesus. Within the

time condition, the study can show the development or change the notion of Wisdom tradition in a proper manner.

Secondly, in the context of the Matthean Wisdom Christology, important original meaning of the text can be reconstructed using the historical-critical method. The method is concerned about the biblical text's author or authors as mentioned earlier. Furthermore, it detects the original intentions of the author in some books in the Jewish tradition. In terms of early Christianity, the proposed plan of the study will indicate the basic understanding the author had, regarding his or her theological agenda in its original presentation.

A particular historical-critical method that is important for this study is redaction criticism.³⁵ This method studies how the final author of a work combined and edited their sources to produce the completed whole. Redaction criticism can therefore show how an author such as Matthew has creatively structured his material to suit the communication of his theological and social message. These theological emphases and intentions of Matthew can be discerned by examining Matthew's treatment of his sources, especially Mark and Q.

Redaction-criticism, which deals with all aspects of an author's treatment of his or her sources, has four major components. One is their conscious and deliberate alteration of their sources. This redactional activity indicates their dissatisfaction or disagreement

³⁵ Krentz, *Historical Critical Method*, 51. See also N. Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 2-3; C. L. Blomberg, *The Historical Reliability of the Gospels* (Nottingham: InterVarsity Press, 2nd edn 2007), 68; J. H. Hayes and C. R. Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 3rd edn 2007), 127-129; G. R. Osborne, *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, rev. edn 2006), 218; G. R. Osborne, "Redaction Criticism" in D. A. Black and D. S. Dockery (eds), *Interpreting the New Testament: Essays on Methods and Issues* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2001), 128-149; Pinero and Peláez, *Study of the New Testament*, 399-400; R. Pregeant, *Engaging the New Testament: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 28-29.

with their sources. The second emphasizes how Matthew creates material to supplement his sources. Again this is a firm indication that the author was not completely satisfied with his source, and so expanded it to make it more acceptable to his or her readers. The third component is the author's omission of his or her sources, which once more is a certain guide as to what he or she likes or dislikes. The fourth is an author's faithful conservation of his or her written sources. In these cases we are dealing with the material that met with the author's approval, which is why these sections were preserved unedited or almost so. This wholesale approach to Matthew's redaction of his sources is quite different from the work of the original redaction critics. These scholars were of the opinion that the only significant adjustments to a text were either alteration, addition or creation; the adoption of a passage was of no editorial importance. This has now changed, and scholars now appreciate the full gamut of Matthew's redactional activity.³⁶

As a final point in this connection, Matthew's redaction of Mark can be discerned easily and accurately because of the availability of Mark's text. However, Matthew's redaction of Q is less easy to reconstruct. The original text of Q (if such there was) is no longer extant and the original Q passage has to be reconstructed from the Matthean and Lukan versions that appear in these Gospels. This makes it difficult to be certain of the original Q text and the nature and extent of Matthew's (or Luke's) redaction. This problem of identifying Matthew's redaction is also apparent in unique Matthean passages. Yet the difficulties associated with these texts are not insurmountable. No matter whether the evangelist copied from his source or edited them, the fact that these pericopes appear in his Gospel means that he agreed with them to a large extent.

³⁶ These scholars include D. C. Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (SNTSMS 88; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 15-17; C. M. Tuckett, *Reading the New Testament: Methods of Interpretation* (London: SPCK, 1987), 116-122.

Redaction criticism has been used with great success in previous studies of Matthew's Wisdom Christology and is the preferred method in this study.

A further method of considerable utility in this study is that of intertextuality. The writing of a book can never be entirely treated in isolation from other writings, authors, or the author's context. Whether the author has explicit or implicit reference to other text in their writings, this forms the core concept of intertextuality. Similarly, in order to understand the way a biblical writer uses Scripture, an interpreter needs to engage in intertextual studies and approaches. The method is a tool to examine the relationships between the precursor and successor texts, by perceiving it in the broader contexts of the linguistic, literary and semiotics conventions it employs. The relationship between the writings of the original and later texts present meaning for an individual text. Through intertextuality the interpreter uses both direct and indirect references including echoes and allusions of all previous texts to understand a biblical text.³⁷

Moreover, intertextual studies that identify allusions may sometimes lead to a new understanding of the given text. It is necessary to realise that an allusion to a precursor text does not always signify agreement with the author's intentions. On occasions, this may even revise or change the intentions of the original text in its new setting. However, not every allusion or echo is clear. According to R. B. Hays, there are seven criteria in justifying the association including availability, volume, recurrence, thematic coherence, historical plausibility, history of interpretation and satisfaction. However, other scholars such as R. Brawley and D. Sim with whom I agree declare that only the first two are sufficient to establish an intertextual relationship between texts.³⁸

³⁷ D. C. Sim, "Matthew and the Pauline Corpus: A Preliminary Intertextual Study" *JSNT* (2009), 402.

³⁸ Sim, "Matthew and the Pauline Corpus" 404-405.

For the purpose of this intertextual study, the criterion on availability is important, without it, all further study is in vain. When looking at this criterion a question we must ask is, was the writer of the given text able to access the preceding text that we are examining? It is not possible to obtain a definite answer but using the other less satisfactory measures it is possible to obtain probable evidence. Also, the criterion of volume indicates the need to look for intertextual links between the precursor texts and the successor texts. Indicators of this criterion being used are the use of repetition in the text, syntax and the significance or the degree of demand for the inclusion of earlier texts.

Therefore, the method generally requires the reader to be open minded and to be integrally involved during the process of interpreting. By reading intertextually, an interpreter generates a fresh comprehension between texts therefore, the understanding is not limited, as the meaning is not an isolated phenomenon. Admittedly, the method of intertextuality utilizing either a direct or an indirect reference or even an allusion does not always give a definite answer; however, using the criteria of at least availability and volume gives creditability at some level.

In the context of the study of Matthew's Wisdom Christology, the intertextuality may be employed as a key tool in establishing the relationships between a specific Matthean text with earlier Jewish writings. In this case, the method helps in the study of how we read Matthew's meaning in the context of Judaism. To prove the authenticity of the relationship between these two traditions, the first question needing to be addressed is the availability of the Jewish materials for Matthew at the time of his writing. If Matthew had access to them and they were circulated in his community, it is probable that they influenced him when writing his Gospel.

The first point to make with respect to this issue is that the Gospel of Matthew is chronologically much later than the Jewish writings employed in the study of Matthew's Wisdom Christology. These are Proverbs, Job, Baruch, Sirach, Wisdom and 1 Enoch. To begin, Proverbs dates from the latter part of the 6th Century B.C.E. and Job was written in the period after the Exile. While Baruch was written in the 2nd Century B.C.E., the Book of Sirach was written in 180 B.C.E.. The book of Wisdom appeared in the last half of the first century B.C.E. and 1 Enoch was written over a period from early 2nd Century B.C.E. to the 1st Century C.E. However, the Gospel of Matthew did not come into being until 80-90 C.E. Hence, Matthew's writings are dated at least three or four decades after the last of the Jewish writings being examined in this study giving a clear indication, that he had access to the availability of the Jewish materials which is the part of the Sacred Scripture of Israel. Furthermore, Matthew and his community were Jewish and as a Christian community, they still considered themselves as a part of the Jewish faith. It is reasonable to conclude that he knew the Jewish materials and had access to the Jewish writings.

Evidence of the volume criteria being used to justify the intertextual connection between the Matthean writings and the earlier Jewish materials is indicated in the following references. In Mt 11:19, the Matthean text echoes the Jewish texts in Prov 1:20, 21; 8:2-3; 32-36; 9:3; Sir 4:17; 6:20; 23-31. The preaching rejected in Mt 11:16 alludes to Prov 1:22-25. Also, Wisdom is the sole mediator in Wis 6:12-9:18 and can be referred to the Son as the sole mediator in Mt 11:25-27. Furthermore, the cities reject Jesus' mighty works in Mt 11:21, 23 can be linked to Wisdom is rejected in 1 En 42. The verbal agreement can be found in the text regarding Jesus' invitation to come to learn from him in Mt 11:28-30 which is in parallel to Wisdom's invitation in Prov 8-9 and Sir

51:23, 26. Moreover, the metaphor of yoke in Mt 11:29 can be connected Sir 6:30 and 51:26.

Additionally, Jesus' sending messengers in Mt 11:34 can be associated with Sophia's sending the prophets in each generation in Wis 7:27. The protective motherly image in Mt 11:37 is a reflection from Wisdom's protective role in Prov 2:12-22. Also, Jesus' salvific role in Mt 1:23 is a thematic parallel to Sophia's salvific role in Wis 10. Finally, the command of love in Mt 22:34-40; 7:12; 5:17-48 is an echo of Sir 2:15, 16; 4:16; 7:30; 15:1 and Prov 8:15, 20.

Therefore, there is clear evidence that Matthew uses of the Jewish writings in his Gospel. In the study of Matthew's Wisdom Christology, the intertextual relationships a Matthean Wisdom text has with one or more other Jewish texts can be detected by reading the text intertextually. Through the direct, indirect reference, echo or allusion, there is affirmation that the two traditions are intertwined. The thematic and verbal parallels between the two traditions strengthen the idea that there are Jewish elements in Matthew's Wisdom Christology. This is confirmed by the discovery that Matthew is Jewish Christian who knows and has access to those Jewish materials by the time of his Gospel's composition. The above study also demonstrates that those Jewish materials had already come into existence before Matthew's writing of his Gospel.

By utilizing the intertextual method, as a reader we are given the meaning of the Matthean Wisdom texts by investigating how the words, images and themes from the Jewish texts broaden and enhance Matthew's meaning. The method generates the production of the study of Matthew's Wisdom Christology when read with other Wisdom traditions in Judaism. Moreover, it investigates the shaping of Matthean Wisdom texts'

meanings by other Jewish Wisdom texts. This includes Matthew's borrowing and transformation of a Jewish text or to a reader's referencing of one text in reading another. The result of the method in the thesis, demonstrates both dissonance and harmony between the Matthean Wisdom tradition and Jewish Wisdom traditions.

5. Terminology

The final matter for consideration is that of terminology. This thesis will utilize a number of certain terms throughout its discussion, and these need to be defined. The terms or notions in question are 'pre-existence', 'incarnation' and 'Christology'.

According to Hamerton-Kelly, there are at least four types of 'existence before' in the Jewish tradition: before manifestation, before creation, ideal and actual. Firstly, 'before manifestation' means an entity exists before its own manifestation but not before creation. This kind of pre-existence can also be known as the eschatological pre-existence. Secondly, 'before creation' means an entity exists both before its own manifestation and before creation. This kind of pre-existence can also be known as the protological pre-existence. Thirdly, 'ideal pre-existence' means an entity exists before creation but may not be manifested at all. Fourthly, 'actual pre-existence' means entities exist in heaven, without any reference to creation or manifestation.³⁹ However, in general, Hamerton-Kelly defines the term 'pre-existence' as, a term describing an entity as having an actual existence prior to it becoming evident in the world.⁴⁰

³⁹ R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom and the Son of man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-Existence in the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 11-12. See modern scholars support for Hamerton-Kelly over the definition of pre-existence in R. E. Brown, *An Introduction to New Testament Christology* (New York, Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1994), 133. Brown gives further detail of pre-existence in different periods and different passages in pp. 133-141.

⁴⁰ Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 11.

In regards to the study of Matthew's Wisdom Christology, it is important to question whether Jewish Wisdom is a pre-existent being or not. There are a number of passages which become the central point of attention regarding this issue. In the Jewish tradition, Wisdom is quite clearly presented as a pre-existent being in Prov 3:19-20; 8:23 she exists before the beginning of the world, in Sir 1:4, 9a and Wis 7:25-28, 29 she exists before creation. Thus, it can be claimed that Wisdom in the Jewish context is presented as pre-existent being.

Nevertheless, in early Christianity, Wisdom appears as pre-existent clearly only in the Johannine tradition. In the prologue, John identifies the Word with Wisdom and certainly sees Wisdom as pre-existent. Outside the prologue, John also presents the divine sonship of the Johannine Jesus as justified in his pre-existence. The Johannine Jesus proclaims publicly that he is aware of his sonship to God prior to his existence on earth. This can be confirmed when he says, "I have come down from heaven not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me" in Jn 12:49. Furthermore, we can see from that the Johannine writings the understanding of Jesus' divine sonship in terms of the personal pre-existence of a divine being who was sent into the world and whose ascension was simply the continuation of an intimate relationship with the Father. Other Christian traditions need to be discussed in regards to Wisdom Christology. In the Pauline tradition, there is a sense of pre-existence but this applies to Jesus not Wisdom. However there are no pre-existence Christological elements in Q and Mark.

In terms of the Matthean tradition, I would argue that there is pre-existence of Jesus and also of Wisdom. Similar to John's Wisdom Christology, Matthew employs the pre-existence of Jesus in his Wisdom Christology. There is a continual action of the pre-

existent Jesus Christ throughout Israel's history, as is indicated by the "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often have I longed for you" in Mt 23:37. The argument in the text is based on: Jesus speaking as a person who transcends the time of his earthly ministry throughout the entirety of Israel's history to call the nation to God. Also, through the "I have come" sayings in Mt 5:17a; 5:17b; 9:13; 10:34a; 10:34b; 10:35 and 20:28, Matthew uses the pre-existent element to continue to create his Wisdom Christology.

The term "incarnation" is defined in a number of ways. However, in general, the term refers to the act of any heavenly being's incarnation in a human body. The exalted heavenly being would descend to earth in order to incarnate as Jesus Christ, Messiah, the Son of God, the Word or Wisdom. The word "incarnation" does not appear in the bible. However, in the Johannine tradition, the incarnational language, "making flesh" in Jn 1:14 is used by the evangelist to describe an incarnation act. More importantly, John proclaims that the heavenly being who is described in Jn 1:1 as with God in the beginning becomes incarnate in a human form. That heavenly being is the Word who becomes one with Wisdom. Thus when the Word becomes incarnate it is Wisdom becomes embodied in a human form.

However, the incarnation of Wisdom is not found in the Jewish tradition as it appears in the Christian tradition. Jewish Wisdom is pre-existent but not incarnate. But in the Christian tradition the statement proclaimed by John that the heavenly being, Wisdom becomes incarnate in a human form. And this where the marriage of the two terms come into the Christian tradition.

Therefore, in the context of the Matthew's Wisdom Christology, a question can be raised as to whether Matthew adopts the Johannine tradition of incarnation in his

composition of Wisdom's Christology. It is important to examine whether Matthew sees the pre-existent Jewish Wisdom embodied in a human. Therefore, the personal pre-existence of the Word, or Wisdom is a basic ingredient in the understanding of the incarnation of the Word or Wisdom becoming flesh. By personally pre-existing before becoming flesh, the Word who is Wisdom can mediate creation.⁴¹ More importantly, the study of Matthew's Wisdom Christology will argue that the Matthean Jesus, who is identified with Wisdom incarnate, is the one who dwells among us for redemptive purposes in Mt 1:23.

Christology is a term that is primarily concerned with the person and nature of Jesus Christ. There are many types of Christology including cosmological, anthropological, eschatological, dialectical, ontological and functional.⁴² Other types of Christology which concentrate on the titles applied to Jesus include Logos (the Word), Messiah and Wisdom. Each type focuses on Christ from a different aspect and could be mingled with or inseparable from another type of Christology.

Moreover, in the process of elaborating a Christology, a study of how Jesus is to be thought of in human and divine terms is established. The tools used by the biblical writers when developing a Christology in their writings fundamentally comes from a pair of ideas or types, ascending (or low) and descending (or high). These two basic types of Christology, which govern most theological agenda, will be discussed.

Ascending Christology begins its analysis with the earthly life and ministry of Jesus. It is deeply embedded in the Synoptic Gospels. This low Christology begins with

⁴¹ G. O'Collins, 'The Incarnation: The Critical Issues' in S.T. Davis, D. Kendall and G. O'Collins (eds), *The Incarnation : An Interdisciplinary Symposium on the Incarnation of the Son of God* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3.

⁴² W. J. Wildman, 'Basic Christological Distinctions' *TheTod* 64 (2007), 285-304.

the man, Jesus of Nazareth and then moves forward to consider his significance and his relationship to God. Descending Christology begins its focus in heaven with the themes such as incarnation of the Son, pre-existence and intimate relationship of the Father and the Spirit. This form of high Christology begins with the concept of the incarnation of divinity in a historical human life and works towards the significance of the person of Jesus.⁴³

Wisdom Christology refers to a type of Christology, which focuses on how Jewish Wisdom is identified in the life and person of Jesus. In studying Wisdom Christology in the Matthean tradition, we need to acknowledge the fact that it is sourced from other traditions. The Q tradition, one of Matthew's sources, has a low Christology which presents Jesus as only a servant or representative of Sophia. However, Matthew takes that low Christology from Q and transforms Jesus into Wisdom. Here we can see a developing of Christology from low to high.

Moreover, Matthew uses the pre-existence theme as another example of high Christological material in developing his Wisdom Christology. He claims that it is the pre-existent Jesus who is identified with divine Wisdom in the text Mt 1:23 through the virginal conception. More significantly, Matthew's high Christology is confirmed when he applies the term pre-existence and incarnation in his Wisdom Christology in the text Mt 1:23. Also, he promotes the pre-existence of Jesus as Wisdom in Mt 23:34-39 when Jesus refers to his deeds in the time before his birth.

⁴³ Wildman, "Basic Christological Distinctions" 286-289.

CHAPTER 1: WISDOM IN JUDAISM

1. Introduction

Wisdom's nature and roles are significant in various books throughout the Hebrew Bible, the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. As mentioned earlier, Wisdom derives from the Hebrew word *hokmah* and its Greek equivalent σοφία. The gender of the nouns *hokmah* and σοφία are feminine. Thus, Wisdom is a grammatically feminine noun, personified as ḥeḥem in the Old Testament.⁴⁴ The Jewish Wisdom tradition has a number of different forms. It can refer simply to ḥuman wisdom, which can be taught and learnt. In this sense it applies to knowledge, skills, virtues and morals, and has affinities with the wisdom traditions of other ancient Near Eastern cultures. But wisdom also has a more transcendent or divine connotation, and often appears as a particular being who can variously be viewed as an aspect of God or as a created subordinate. This figure of Wisdom also has its roots in the cultures surrounding ancient Israel. In the Jewish tradition the personified figure of Wisdom appears significantly in the book of Proverbs, Job, Sirach (Ecclesiasticus or Ben Sira), Wisdom, Baruch and 1 Enoch.

This chapter will firstly examine briefly the background to the Jewish wisdom tradition before focusing exclusively on the figure of transcendent Wisdom. The

⁴⁴ E. A. Johnson, ḥJesus, Wisdom and our World, *PP* 13 (1999), 261. Also, A. J. Hultgren provides a concise presentation of the different views of various scholars regarding the study of Wisdom tradition in A. J. Hultgren, ḥThe Scope of Wisdom, *WW* 7 (1987), 239-240.

discussion of the relevant texts will attend to two major issues. What is the nature of Wisdom in these documents? Is she a distinct being in her own right, or is she an aspect of the Israelite God? Moreover, what are her particular roles? Towards the end of this chapter there will be an analysis of other figures in Judaism who are pre-existent. This discussion will demonstrate that Wisdom was simply one pre-existent being among others in the Judaism of Matthew's time.

2. The Meaning of Human Wisdom and Divine Wisdom

As mentioned above, the term "wisdom" has a range of applications which can be grouped into two types: human wisdom and divine or transcendent Wisdom. Human wisdom is about learning and relates to the quality of human life and its many aspects. It refers to technical skills including the design and tailoring of garments (Ex 28:2-4), those who can work with precious metals and gemstones (Ex 31:3-6) and those who build (Ex 35:10-19). Also, it refers to administrative skills (Gen 41:33, 39-40), King Solomon's gift (1 Kgs 2:6-9), native wit (Ex 1:10; Prov 17:16) and lifelong learning (Ex 1:10; Prov 4:1-5).⁴⁵ For R. B. Y. Scott, wisdom in ancient Israel was seen as a guide for the Israelites' life; it includes the values, discipline, intelligence, integrity and the truth of the life of the people. The term "wisdom" also applies to the achievement of success and social approval.⁴⁶ Human wisdom also has religious connotations. The instruction of sages starts with faith, recognizing the validity and authority of the commandments of God.

⁴⁵ A. Hunter, *Wisdom Literature* (London: SCM Press, 2006), 9-20. See also K. J. Dell, *Get Wisdom, Get Insight: An Introduction to Israel's Wisdom Literature* (Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 2000), 1-13.

⁴⁶ R. B. Y. Scott, *The Way of Wisdom in the Old Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 3.

The sapiential instruction reflects obedience to the will of God by recognition that God is beyond human limitation.⁴⁷

This notion of human wisdom developed over time and resulted in the personification of Wisdom. Divine or transcendent Wisdom eventually appears in the form of a personified female figure and is modeled on the ancient Near East goddesses. It is debatable as to whether she is a feminine dimension of the divine or a separate being entirely, but in neither case was there a threat to Jewish monotheism. Wisdom becomes a principle permeating the cosmos, a mediator of divine revelation and the teacher of nations. She is a gift from God to humans and is instrumental in the offer of salvation to those who seek her. Eventually, divine Wisdom is identified with the Torah in Sir 24 and Bar 3-4.⁴⁸

3. The Origin of Human Wisdom and Divine Wisdom

3.1 Human Wisdom in the Ancient Near East

Many scholars agree that the idea of wisdom did not arise originally in Israel, but was influenced by the traditions of the ancient Near East. This is substantiated by connections between ancient Near Eastern writings and the Jewish literature. R. B. Y. Scott states that the Jewish wisdom writings are similar to those of the Egyptians and the Babylonians.⁴⁹ The Egyptian wisdom texts were used for teaching purposes, particularly in the court. Many of these writings are comparable to the book of Proverbs. L. Boadt also states that Israel had borrowed the genre of ancient Near Eastern writings. A famous poem in

⁴⁷ L. G. Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature* (Nashville: Abingdom Press, 1994), 24.

⁴⁸ G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 449.

⁴⁹ Scott, *Way of Wisdom*, 2.

Assyrian literature, "I will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" has a similar context to that of the book of Job. Thus, many writers call the poem the "Babylonian Job"⁵⁰

K. J. Dell traces wisdom's roots chronologically in the ancient Near Eastern world. Dell states that the oldest of the Mesopotamian civilizations, Sumer, is the place where ancient wisdom sayings are first recorded. This occurred by the second half of the third millennium B.C.E. However, by 1000 B.C.E, the Sumerians were ruled by the Babylonians. At that time, there was a change in the understanding of wisdom where the emphasis was transferred from the gods to human beings in relation to the term "justice". Moreover, the new emphasis of the Babylonian wisdom writings is paralleled in the story of the suffering just man in the Jewish wisdom book of Job.⁵¹ The story says, "A man served his god faithfully but did not secure health and prosperity in return"⁵²

3.2 Divine Wisdom in the Ancient Near East

Likewise, divine or transcendent Wisdom has close connections to the cultures surrounding and influencing ancient Israel. Her origin can be traced to certain prominent goddesses, such as the Canaanite love goddess *Astarte*, the Mesopotamia goddess *Ishtar*, the Egyptian goddess *Maat* and the Hellenized form of the Egyptian goddess *Isis*. The characteristics of these goddesses have had a strong influence on Jewish Wisdom, particularly *Isis* and *Maat*.

Some biblical scholars model Jewish Wisdom on the Egyptian goddess *Isis*, while others prefer to look to *Maat* for the origin of Sophia. As J. Griffiths states, "Sophia and

⁵⁰ L. Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 474.

⁵¹ Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 99, 101-105; Scott, *Way of Wisdom*, 142-143. See J. L. Mckenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1965), 404 where Mckenzie suggests the time of Israel's settlement was about 1230 B.C.

⁵² W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 10; Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 99, 101.

Isis both save their devotees from danger and to those who honor them each grants long life and wealth; they each bestow knowledge on those who seek diligently⁵³ Alternatively, other scholars, including E. Würthwein, who likens Sophia to the Egyptian goddess *Maat*, states that *Maat* was highly significant in the portrayal of Egyptian Wisdom. Belonging to the Heliopolitan religious system, *Maat* is seen as the daughter of the sun-god. Also, *Maat* came down to be with humans at the time of creation. At his coronation, each new Egyptian king resolved to bring the order of *Maat* to his reign. The order of *Maat* brings peace and righteousness.⁵⁴ The Jewish figure of Sophia has affinities with both *Isis* and *Maat*.

Therefore, human wisdom and divine Wisdom have their origins in the ancient Near East where literary and chronological parallels have been discovered. The theme of wisdom as a way of life, as well as Wisdom writings, were already well entrenched in the ancient Near East before Israel existed. Similarly, the concept of divine Wisdom is influenced by the ancient Near East. The ancient Near East goddesses of *Isis* and *Maat* in particular have shaped the Jewish notion of personified Sophia. They had their roles in creation, saved lives and created prosperity for their followers.

3.3 Human Wisdom in Ancient Israel

As stated above, the concepts of human wisdom and divine Wisdom originated in the ancient Near East but then influenced ideas in Israel. Also, the term "wisdom" is an indication of a genre of material found in the Jewish Bible and the other books. In the

⁵³ J. Griffiths, *The Reclaiming of Wisdom: The Restoration of the Feminine in Christianity* (London: Avon Books, 1994), 12.

⁵⁴ E. Würthwein, "Egyptian Wisdom and the Old Testament" in J. L. Crenshaw (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (LBS; New York: KTAV Publishing, 1976), 117. See also N. Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?: The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature* (OBO 130; Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 1993), 267-270.

context of Jewish tradition, the concept of wisdom and wisdom writings can be accessed through five literary works, which are Job, Proverbs, Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes), Sirach (Ecclesiasticus or Ben Sira) and Wisdom (Wisdom of Solomon). The books of Song of Songs and the Psalms are sometimes accepted as wisdom writings.⁵⁵

Originally it was perceived that wisdom literature was handed down through teachings in a court atmosphere. Wisdom as expounded by Solomon (1 Kgs 4:10) and the men of Hezekiah (Prov 25:1) echoes Egyptian wisdom teachings known to have their origins in court surroundings. This enabled the preservation of wisdom experience and practice as responsible courtiers were trained to hand down this wisdom tradition. This connection between royalty and wisdom is explained in Qoheleth and in the Wisdom of Solomon.⁵⁶ The traditional teachers in Israel were priests, prophets and wise men, but only the wise men had connections with both the King and political affairs. These people often conflicted with the ideals of the prophets, who reacted against rampant materialism and the influence of pagan cults. After the fall of Jerusalem (587 B.C.E) and the subsequent exile in Babylon (587-539 B.C.E), the Israelites were forced to re-examine their fidelity to the Torah.⁵⁷ The wise men of Israel played an important role in this process by maintaining that wisdom is useless without the fear of God (Prov 1:7;

⁵⁵ See G. O'Collins and E. G. Farrugia, *A Concise Dictionary of Theology* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, rev. edn 2000), 289, where the definition and the details of wisdom literature can be concisely explained.

⁵⁶ R. E. Murphy, 'Wisdom: Theses and Hypotheses' in J. G. Gammie, W. A. Brueggemann, W. L. Humphreys and J. M. Ward (eds), *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (New York: Scholars Press, 1978), 37.

⁵⁷ J. T. Forestell, 'Proverbs' in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 1969), 495-496. See also R. N. Whybray, 'The Sage in the Israelite Royal Court' in J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue (eds), *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 133-140.

9:10). J. T. Forestell states that in post-exilic Judaism, the wisdom tradition became integrally linked to observance of the Law.⁵⁸

There was another aspect to human wisdom in ancient Israel quite apart from the royal court and its professional practitioners. This is wisdom in the context of the family. Deuteronomy 32:7 states, "Remember the days of old, consider the years long past; ask your father, and he will inform you." Similarly, in Prov 4:3-4 we read, "When I was a son with my father, tender and my mother's favorite, he taught me, and said to me, 'Let your heart hold fast my words; keep my commandments, and live.'"⁵⁹ This demonstrates the importance of the father passing on wisdom to the young. In this tradition as well, we find the close connection between wisdom and the keeping of the Law.

3.4 Human and Divine Wisdom in the Jewish Wisdom Literature

As mentioned above, the canonical wisdom books are the main entrance to the wisdom tradition in Israel. One of the most important characteristics, besides the literature genre, must be a specific concern with "wisdom" as a central theme.⁶⁰ These texts contain a mixture of both human wisdom and references to personified Wisdom. R. E. Murphy has characterized five distinct wisdom elements in these books.⁶¹ Firstly, there is the fear of the Lord which, according to the sages, is the beginning of Wisdom (Prov 1:7; 9:10; Job 28:28; Ps 111:10). However, this concept is absent from the book of the Wisdom of Solomon. Secondly, there are times when the wisdom tradition has links with creation theology, particularly in Proverbs and Sirach. Thirdly, wisdom serves as a moral source,

⁵⁸ Forestell, "Proverbs" 496.

⁵⁹ Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament*, 475-476. See also G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (OTL; London SCM Press, 2nd edn 1972), 418-449.

⁶⁰ R. E. Murphy, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther* (FOTL 13; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 3. See also F. D. Morgan, *Wisdom in the Old Testament Traditions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 20-26.

⁶¹ R. E. Murphy, "Wisdom Literature and Biblical Theology" *BTB* 24 (1994), 5.

particularly where warnings and reprimands occur. Fourthly, wisdom literature contributes to the problem of theodicy.⁶² Lastly, wisdom literature views Wisdom in female terms.

It is the final point that is of importance in the present context. Wisdom as a personified and female entity emerges clearly in the midst of Wisdom literature and alongside but not in competition with the elements of human wisdom.⁶³ Her presence there is one of the most significant theological aspects of the Wisdom literature.⁶⁴ Having emerged in the early texts, she continued to attract interest and speculation, and there are further references to her in later Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical texts, notably Sirach, Baruch, the Wisdom of Solomon and 1 Enoch. We shall examine below what all of these texts have to say about Sophia.

4. Wisdom in the Jewish Tradition.

The focus here will be on two related elements. First, what is the precise nature of Sophia? Here there is a serious division among scholars. Wisdom is understood as a woman preacher or prophetess, wisdom teacher,⁶⁵ the personification of cosmic order,⁶⁶ a metaphor used for academic purposes,⁶⁷ and a poetic expression of a divine attribute.⁶⁸

Also, she is seen as a hypostasis with the meaning of a quasi-personification of many

⁶² See too OøCollins and Farrugia, *Concise Dictionary of Theology*, 262.

⁶³ E. J. Schnabel, "Wisdom" in G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin and D. G. Reid (eds), *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 1993), 967-968. See M. V. Fox, "Wisdom in Qoheleth" in L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 115 where Fox clarifies this further.

⁶⁴ Schnabel, "Wisdom" 967-968.

⁶⁵ W. McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1970), 273.

⁶⁶ von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 144-176. See where von Rad's study is cited in E. A. Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God: A Biblical Basis for Non-Androcentric Christology" *ETL* 61 (1985), 271.

⁶⁷ Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 271.

⁶⁸ R. N. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs: The Concept of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9* (SBT 45; London: SCM Press, 1965), 92-104. See also Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 271 where Whybray's study is cited.

attributes of God,⁶⁹ a personification of God's own self in a creative and saving power in the world,⁷⁰ an expression of the divine presence, using female imagery,⁷¹ and a symbol and not an anthropomorphism.⁷² Additionally, Wisdom is interpreted as a distinct being created by God and subordinate to God. The second issue is less divisive. What roles does Wisdom play in the various texts?

The discussion of these questions will involve a detailed study of the relevant texts, particularly Prov 1, 3, 4, 8, 9; Job 28; Sir 1, 4, 6, 24, 51; Wis 6, 7, 8, 10; Bar 3-4 and 1 Enoch 42. Prior to the analysis of Wisdom in these books, some preliminary comments will be made in terms of genre, author, date and purpose of these texts.

4.1 Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs

Proverbs is the earliest of the Old Testament wisdom books.⁷³ It appears as a compilation or collection of instructions, speeches, poems and two line sayings designed to educate human beings in wise living.⁷⁴ The following are the nine titles of these collections: (i) Prologue; (ii) Proverbs of Solomon (10:1-22:16); (iii) Thirty Sayings of the Wise (22:17-24:22); (iv) Further Sayings of the Wise (24:23-24); (v) Hezekiah's collection of Solomon (25:1-29:27); (via) Agur's Oracle (30:1-14); (vib) Agur's Numerical Sayings

⁶⁹ H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostalization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: H. Ohlssons, 1947), 174. See also Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 271 where Ringgren's study is cited.

⁷⁰ Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 207-209; See also Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 271.

⁷¹ Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 274; Schüssler-Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 130-140; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 3-116.

⁷² Murphy, "Wisdom Literature" 6.

⁷³ T. P. McCreech, "Proverbs" in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 453. See also R. E. Clements, "Proverbs" in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 437.

⁷⁴ R. J. Clifford, *Proverbs: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999), 1-3.

(30:15-33); (viiia) Lemuel's Mother to Her Son (31:1-9) and finally (viiib) Lemuel's Mother on the Noble Wife (31:10-31).⁷⁵

Most scholars agree that *masal* is the genre of the book of Proverbs.⁷⁶ The author could be Solomon. However, some collections are not assigned directly to him (Prov 25:1). Thus, they could have other authors as well.⁷⁷ Scholars, particularly C. R. Fontaine, T. P. McCreesh, B. K. Waltke and R. N. Whybray, date the final editing as early as post-exilic times, probably the latter part of the sixth century B.C.E.⁷⁸ The book aims to encourage all to embrace the goals of Wisdom with the conviction that Wisdom is accessible to all (1:1-6).⁷⁹ The transcendent figure of Sophia mainly appears in 1:20-33; 3:13-20; 4:5-9 and most significantly in 8:1-36 and in 9:1-11.

(a) 1:20-33

In 1:20-33 Wisdom appears in a personal form and feminine gender, playing a prophetic role.⁸⁰ In vv. 20-21 she invites all to follow her way. Her loud cries (v. 20a) show her passionate desire to be heard. This is evident when, "she raises her voice" (v. 20b) in a

⁷⁵ B. K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 4. A similar reference can be found in R. N. Whybray, *Proverbs* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 15-18.

⁷⁶ See the agreement of the literary form of Proverbs in McCreesh, "Proverbs" 454; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 13; R. E. Murphy, *Proverbs* (WBC 22; Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998), XXII; B. K. Waltke gives the clear definition of "Proverb" bringing a better understanding of the literary form in Proverbs. See Waltke, *Proverbs*, 55-57.

⁷⁷ J. Aitken, "Proverbs" in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 406. See also Clements, "Proverbs" 437; E. Jones, *Proverbs and Ecclesiastes: Introduction and Commentary* (TBC; London: SCM Press, 1961), 44; McCreesh, "Proverbs" 453; Murphy, *Proverbs*, XX; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 5.

⁷⁸ McCreesh, "Proverbs" 453-454. See also where some scholars agree with McCreesh regarding the date of Proverbs. Clements, "Proverbs" 437; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 29; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 6-7. However, Murphy disagrees with this. See Murphy, *Proverbs*, XXII where he states "while the dating of the book of Proverbs remains uncertain, the most satisfactory division is pre-exilic and post-exilic (respectively, chs. 10-29 and 1-9)".

⁷⁹ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 3. Also, Whybray shows various meanings of the word "wisdom" in Proverbs in Whybray, *Proverbs*, 3-5.

⁸⁰ Clements, "Proverbs" 439; McCreesh, "Proverbs" 455; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 200; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 43.

situation that is fervent and emotional⁸¹ She publicly distributes her own instructions to the audience, the simple ones (v. 22).⁸² The reception or the rejection of Wisdom's instructions can bring security or disaster. Wisdom also uses God's language, especially in v. 23, "Give heed to my reproof" and in v. 28, "they will seek me diligently but will not find me" These echo many passages in the Psalms and prophets (cf. Ps 78:34; Hos 5:15), which speak of calling upon and seeking God.⁸³ In vv. 22-33 the third person has switched to the first person,⁸⁴ thus denoting that Sophia speaks as a distinct person.

In vv. 24-25 after beginning her address with denunciation, she concludes with judgment. This denunciation is followed with warnings of consequences to those who have rejected her counsel (v. 25).⁸⁵ These warnings are spelt out in the imagery of a storm or whirlwind, being a metaphor of judgment (Isa 17:13; Amos 1:14), particularly that of divine theophany (Ps 18:7-15; Nah 1:3-5). In v. 26 Wisdom does not rejoice in disaster but rather in the triumph of good over wickedness.⁸⁶

While panic often describes the dismay of those who have been punished by their rejection of the divine will (cf. Isa 2:10-21), Wisdom's role is that of being a gratified onlooker (v. 26; cf. Ps 2:4; 59:8). In v. 28 the motif of Wisdom's withdrawal is presented. As the street preacher, Wisdom says "then they will call upon me, but I will not answer; they will seek me diligently, but will not find me" In vv. 29-30 the sense of reproach is again experienced. It is made clear that the rejection of Wisdom becomes synonymous with that of the rejection of the fear of the Lord. Misfortune is seen as the natural

⁸¹ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 201-202.

⁸² McCreesh, "Proverbs" 455-456; Murphy, *Proverbs*, 10.

⁸³ Whybray explains further about Wisdom's use of God's language. See Whybray, *Proverbs*, 44. Waltke supports this by stating, "Submission to Wisdom is equated with submission to God" See Waltke, *Proverbs*, 210.

⁸⁴ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 43.

⁸⁵ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 205.

⁸⁶ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 207.

consequence of the fate of the foolish for their waywardness and complacency.⁸⁷ This section ends with a promise of security for those who follow her way (v. 33).⁸⁸

(b) 3:13-20

Wisdom is depicted as a source of happiness for her followers (v. 13), and is represented as more precious than silver, gold and jewels (vv. 14-15). Verse 16 speaks of ‘Long life is in her right hand; in her left hand are riches and honour’ She appears with the sign of life, the *ankh* and a scepter in one hand, and a symbol of riches and honour in the other,⁸⁹ which reflect images of wisdom and justice associated with the Egyptian goddess *Maat*.⁹⁰

Waltke makes a connection with Wisdom and the saying ‘the fear of the Lord’ when he refers to Prov 22:4. He states that Wisdom and ‘the fear of the Lord’ are connected by riches and honour, which are Wisdom’s benefits. The value of ‘life’ is emphasized by being placed in the right hand of Wisdom. Also, it shows that Wisdom is of greater value than wealth and honour. However, instead of focusing on which benefit is the best, these benefits from Wisdom should be aligned to Wisdom’s characteristics or personality as indicated in the following verse (v. 17). ‘Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace’ is seen as a connotation of Wisdom being kind and beneficial.⁹¹ Wisdom’s bestowal of ‘life’ and ‘happiness’ are greatly re-emphasized in v. 18 where she is presented as ‘a tree of life’ and making her followers happy.

In vv. 19-20 the creative and mediating roles of Wisdom are revealed. She plays a creative role when God created the cosmos. The text shows that she was there with God

⁸⁷ Aitken, ‘Proverbs’ 407.

⁸⁸ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 44.

⁸⁹ McCreesh, ‘Proverbs’ 456 and also see Murphy, *Proverbs*, 22; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 258; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 67. However, Murphy comments further that, ‘Riches and glory [honor] have royal associations; e.g. 1 Ch 29:28 and Prov 8:18, they are attributed to Woman [personified] Wisdom’

⁹⁰ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 22; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 258; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 67.

⁹¹ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 258.

in creation, but does not present how she functioned in this role. However, it probably presents what can be called her cosmological role, being a creative instrument of God. Moreover, she is presented with having another role of mediating as a bridge between God and human beings. In this section, some scholars such as Murphy and Whybray, state that Wisdom appears in a personal form. By referring to the text, which speaks of Wisdom's hands in v. 16, Murphy agrees with Whybray that Wisdom in these verses appears as God's instrument in creation and not as a divine attribute.⁹²

Wisdom is important to the Lord, for it was through Wisdom he created the earth (3:19; cf. 8:22-31) and maintained it (3:20). Thus, the Lord with Wisdom as his helper creates the universe. Likewise, according to Waltke, the firmness, stability and permanence of the universe can be likened to Wisdom, reflecting her gift of long life to humankind and thus being portrayed by the metaphor of a tree of life.⁹³ The implication of God's creation of the earth, heavens and sea can metaphorically be seen as a house built on firm ground. This makes gaining Wisdom, understanding and knowledge by the followers, equal to building a house by the acquisition of Wisdom's virtues (24:3-4; cf. Ps 127:1).⁹⁴

(c) 4:5-9

In this section, there are human actions, which suggest that Wisdom is personified as a bride or lover. In v. 5 parental advice emphasizes the importance of gaining Wisdom (cf. 16:16). In this verse, Wisdom is interchangeably used with the term insight. While the personification of Wisdom is implied in v. 5, there is a clearer indication of this in

⁹² Murphy, *Proverbs*, 22; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 68. See also A. Lenzi, "Proverbs 8:22-31: Three Perspectives on Its Composition," *JBL* 125 (2006), 698.

⁹³ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 261.

⁹⁴ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 263.

vv. 6-9. In v. 6 Wisdom is seen as a person who cannot be forsaken but loved. Her lover will be guarded in return. In v. 7 the parental advice emphasizes the importance of the son's striving for the acquisition of this pearl of great price, (cf. 3:13-18; 23:23; 31:10), which is synonymous with Wisdom. Likewise, all he treasures that is not Wisdom must be relinquished.⁹⁵ In v. 8 Wisdom is metaphorically portrayed as a bride or lover who needs to be highly respected and embraced by her lover and she will give her lover honour in return.⁹⁶ In v. 9 by elevating her, her lover will be honoured by a decoration of a wreath and a crown.⁹⁷

(d) 8:1-36

In vv. 1-3 Wisdom's invitation is opposite to the calls of the woman in 7:6-23.⁹⁸ Moreover, Wisdom's speeches here are the personification of Solomon's teachings, appearing as a heavenly mediatrix. She equates her speeches to Solomon's wisdom, which is the fundamental reason for Proverbs (1:1-2). Likewise, Solomon identifies his book's aim with Wisdom's understanding of "knowledge" and "the fear of the Lord" (1:29; cf. 1:7). He parallels his preamble (1:1-7) of her two speeches to the gullible (1:20-33; 8:1-36).⁹⁹

Whybray compares the setting of Wisdom in 8:1-3 and 1:20-21. There are some similarities between the two scenes. The terms "call", "raise her voice", "cries aloud" and "gates" appear in both passages (1:20-21; 8:1-3). Another similarity between these two

⁹⁵ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 281.

⁹⁶ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 78. Wisdom here could be seen as a virtuous woman who was either a virgin in her father's house or a married woman. See Waltke, *Proverbs*, 282.

⁹⁷ Whybray explains that a "beautiful crown" is not necessarily kingly. It can be used by a bridegroom at his wedding (Song 3:11) or during a festival occasion (Isa 28:1) or it can be used as an ornament to signify an honorable status (Ezek 16:12; Lam 5:16). See Whybray, *Proverbs*, 77.

⁹⁸ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 49; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 367-368; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 122.

⁹⁹ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 86-87, 394. See Waltke for a clear explanation of personification in Waltke, *Proverbs*, 83-87.

texts is that Wisdom is found in public places: in the street, in the markets, on the top of the walls (or on the noisy street) and at the gate of the city.¹⁰⁰ However, in 8:1-3, Wisdom appears “on the heights, beside the way, at the crossroads she takes her stand; beside the gates in front of the town and at the entrance of the portals”¹⁰¹

In v. 4 Wisdom embraces all of her audience, including fools (cf. 1:22),¹⁰² and she speaks in a domineering¹⁰³ and commanding manner.¹⁰⁴ However, she offers both moral and intellectual messages.¹⁰⁵ She commends her speeches for their ethical style and content in vv. 6-9. In this section, Waltke discovers the seven qualifiers: firstly “what is right”¹⁰⁶ or “straight” secondly “what is upright” (v. 6), thirdly “truth”¹⁰⁷, fourthly “what is reliable” (v. 7), fifthly “righteousness” sixthly “not deceitful” or “perverse” (v. 8)¹⁰⁸ and lastly “straight” or “right” (v. 9). She calls all to follow her ways which she believes cannot compare to any precious jewels (v. 10).

In v. 11 Wisdom interrupts her discourse by the use of the third person. It closely resembles 3:15. However, in v. 12 the first person is again used. In vv. 12-16 Wisdom speaks of her intellectual prosperity, gifts and promises to those who follow her ways. She has power and insight in politics and her teaching can be used to influence and calls for respect for those who govern the nation.¹⁰⁹ Verse 13 is in keeping with Wisdom’s

¹⁰⁰ See Murphy, *Proverbs*, 49 for the description of “city gate” as the most important designation in vv. 2-3.

¹⁰¹ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 121-122.

¹⁰² Murphy, *Proverbs*, 49. See the agreement in Murphy, *Proverbs*, 49; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 122.

¹⁰³ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 396.

¹⁰⁴ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 50.

¹⁰⁵ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 49; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 396.

¹⁰⁶ Both Waltke and Whybray offer the emendation of the word “noble things” which is found in some translations such as NRSV. They prefer to use the sense of “what is right” See Waltke, *Proverbs*, 397; Whybray *Proverbs*, 123.

¹⁰⁷ The qualifying noun “truth” parallels “wisdom” in Ps 51:6[8] and contrasts to “wickedness” See Whybray, *Proverbs*, 123.

¹⁰⁸ The verses 7-8 echo the description of the Lord in the Song of Moses which is found in Deut 32:4-5. See Murphy, *Proverbs*, 50.

¹⁰⁹ Clements, “Proverbs” 444. See also Waltke, *Proverbs*, 400.

description of herself, but it interrupts the flow of v. 12 and v. 14. While the ‐fear of the Lord‡ is in keeping with the sage‡ teachings, the second and the third lines reflect earlier ideas (cf. 4:24; 6:12). However, they support the morality of the Wisdom tradition.¹¹⁰

In v. 13b to evil behavior, Wisdom adds, ‐and a perverse mouth‡ indicating that this evil is opposed to God‡ teaching. Also, ‐I hate‡ signifies that vices cannot be aligned with Wisdom‡ virtues.¹¹¹ Wisdom implies in v. 14 that because she possesses these virtues, she can bestow them on those who love her. These virtues include counsel (advice in NRSV) and resourcefulness (sound wisdom in NRSV). It is possible that in this context these could refer to the political and military advice given to a king (cf. 2 Sam 7:7; 1 Kgs 1:12; Prov 20:18). In v. 14b Wisdom identifies herself in the expression, ‐I am‡ to show that ‐insight‡¹¹² is her fundamental quality and her other attributes encircle this quality. These attributes are dispersed to humans when they accept her teachings.¹¹³ Again Wisdom speaks of owning ‐heroic strength‡ (or ‐I have strength‡ as found in NRSV translation).¹¹⁴

Verses 15-16 are statements about Wisdom‡ influence over diverse types of rulers including kings, governors and nobles. ‐What is just‡ (v. 15b) can be referred to Prov 8:8. However, in these verses, Wisdom guides these rulers to govern justly. Wisdom‡ influence over the authorities is indicated as both verses begin with ‐by me‡ (or ‐through‡ in both Murphy‡ and Waltke‡ translations).¹¹⁵ Similarly, in 1 Kgs 3:28

¹¹⁰ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 50-51. Waltke finds that here ‐Fear of the Lord‡ although similar to Job 28:28 and Prov 3:17; 16:6 is worded differently. See Waltke, *Proverbs*, 401.

¹¹¹ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 401.

¹¹² NRSV and Waltke both use the words ‐insight‡ and ‐strength‡ while Murphy chooses ‐understanding‡ and ‐power‡ See Murphy, *Proverbs*, 46.

¹¹³ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 402.

¹¹⁴ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 401-402. ‐Strength‡ is often used to denote the political or military power of kings. Closely associated with strength is a Hebrew word ‐counsel‡ See Whybray, *Proverbs*, 125.

¹¹⁵ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 51; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 402-403.

Wisdom influences Solomon in carrying out justice. A succession of synonyms, beginning with *ḥ-m-l* (cf. 14:28; 16:10-15; 19:10, 12; 22:29; 24:21; 25:1-7; 29:4, 14; 30:31; 31:4).¹¹⁶

In v. 17 Wisdom is revealed and declares the mutual love that exists between herself and those who love her.¹¹⁷ This mutual love conveys a personal bond between Wisdom and her lovers, which can be likened to the spiritual affection developed between the sage and his pupils who accept his teachings. They will become an integral part of each other (2:1-5).¹¹⁸ In v. 18 *ḥ-m-l* and *ḥ-n* (cf. 3:16; 10:4) either complement (cf. Esth 1:4; 5:11) or oppose each other (cf. 11:16). *ḥ-m-l* suggests that sustaining wealth is closely associated with gaining Wisdom. Thus, she is free to offer those gifts as she wishes, but she bestows them on her lovers.¹¹⁹ As mentioned in 3:14-15, the riches offered by Wisdom and obtained through Wisdom have a greater value than silver or gold. This wealth will be enduring.¹²⁰

In v. 19 the metaphor *ḥ-m-l* affirms Wisdom's fruit as being superior to worldly wealth, which highlights the essential relationship between the spiritual internal cause and the material external effect. *ḥ-m-l* (cf. 3:12, 14) raises Wisdom's favours to the realm of the spiritual rather than material. Wisdom's lovers will avoid a materialistic outlook (8:10-11; 23:40) but rewards could be bestowed upon the

¹¹⁶ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 402-403.

¹¹⁷ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 51.

¹¹⁸ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 404.

¹¹⁹ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 404.

¹²⁰ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 126.

faithful follower (cf. 8:18, 21). ‘And my yieldø (cf. 3:14) connects the discovery of Wisdom’s virtues and their ensuing benefits.¹²¹

A close relationship between Wisdom and morality is demonstrated in vv. 20-21. In v. 20 the metaphor of the way or path is used. Unlike 1:15; 2:13-15 and 4:14-15, which depicts the paths of evil, here it is Wisdom herself who travels the path of righteousness and justice.¹²² Only those who love Wisdom will prosper and they will be given rich rewards (v. 21). These ‘treasuriesø might refer to the treasure houses and vaults filled with valuable things (1 Kgs 7:51; 14:26) or to precious metals and expensive furnishings (cf. Josh 6:19, 24; Isa 2:7; 39:2; Jer 15:13; 38:11).¹²³

More important for our purposes are vv. 22-31. These verses speak of Wisdom’s priority in all things and her presence in creation. She speaks of being in and even before creation, making her its first product, and this raises the question of her origin and nature. The translation in Prov 8:22 of *qanani* as either ‘acquiredø ‘establishedø ‘conceivedø ‘formedø or ‘createdø by God, is important in establishing her particular status. Many scholars accept that it means ‘createdø in which case Sophia here is depicted as a being in her own right,¹²⁴ but there is some ambiguity. The same can be said of v. 23; ‘Ages ago I was set up, at the first, before the beginning of the earthø Wisdom is certainly pre-

¹²¹ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 405. Whybray connects this verse with 3:14, 16:16 and 18:20 where the words ‘fruitø and ‘yieldø are expressed in a figurative sense of the consequence of the action. They are used as material advantages to be gained from Wisdom. See Whybray, *Proverbs*, 127.

¹²² Murphy, *Proverbs*, 51; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 406. Both Murphy and Waltke agree that v. 20 is spoken by Wisdom herself, and demonstrates the connection between Wisdom and morality. However, Murphy prefers the word ‘justiceø as it is found in NRSV while Waltke uses the word ‘righteousnessø

¹²³ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 406.

¹²⁴ J. Hadley, ‘Wisdom and the goddessø in J. Day (ed.), *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 237. See also Clifford, *Proverbs*, 96. However, some scholars argue against the meaning of the verb *qanani* as ‘to createø including M. V. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9: A New Translation and Commentary* (AB 18A; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 279; Lenzi, ‘Proverbs 8:22-31ø 687-714; B. Vawter, ‘Prov 8:22: Wisdom and Creationø *JBL* 99 (1980), 205-216; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 130.

existent,¹²⁵ but her exact nature is not certain. Some scholars see that Wisdom in this verse cannot be separated from God. According to M. Turner, Wisdom's existence coincides with Yahweh's existence as creator. That means that if God is eternally creator then Sophia is eternally creator.¹²⁶ Others agree and suggest that Wisdom is a personification of Yahweh's wisdom,¹²⁷ or a self revelation of the female personification of God's own being¹²⁸ or the personification of God's own being.¹²⁹

The dispute about the nature of Wisdom in this passage extends to the verb *amon* in Prov 8:30.¹³⁰ It could mean 'little child'¹³¹ or 'master architect'¹³² J. J. Collins and J. M. Hadley believe that images of a divine child at play, being present before creation are the result of the Egyptian influence and are ideas usually associated with the goddess

¹²⁵ J. J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, rev. edn, 1997), 11; Lenzi, 'Proverbs 8:22-31' 700; M. Turner, 'God as Wisdom' *Com* 42 (2008), 2-12.

¹²⁶ Turner, 'God as Wisdom' 2-12.

¹²⁷ Scholars who hold the view that Wisdom is a part or attribute of God include Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 11; L. W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 46-47; T. Longman, *Proverbs* (BCOTWP; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 212.

¹²⁸ Scholars who hold the view that Wisdom is a female aspect of God include Johnson, *She Who Is*, 91.

¹²⁹ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 12; R. E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn 1996), 138-139.

¹³⁰ See the detailed discussion of the interpretation of the verb *amon* in Waltke, *Proverbs*, 417-422.

¹³¹ Scholars who understand the verb *amon* as 'little child' or 'darling child' include J. L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), 97; C. M. Deutsch, 'Wisdom in Matthew: Transformation of a Symbol' *NovT* 32 (1990), 20; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 15; M. V. Fox, 'Amon Again' *JBL* 115 (1996), 699-702; M. V. Fox, 'Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs' *JBL* 116 (1997), 613-633; V. A. Hurowitz, 'Nursling, Advisor, Architect? *Mwn* and the Role of Wisdom in Proverbs 8, 22-31' *Bib* 80 (1999), 391-400; L. G. Perdue, *Wisdom Literature: A Theological History* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2007), 55.

¹³² Scholars who understand the verb *amon* as 'master architect' or 'artisan' include A. Hurvitz, 'Toward a Precise Definition of the Term *amon* in Proverbs 8:30' in S. Japhet (ed.), *The Bible in the Light of Its Interpreters: Sarah Kamin Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), 647-650; Lenzi, 'Proverbs 8:22-31' 714; C. L. Rogers, 'The Meaning and Significance of the Hebrew Word *amon* in Proverbs 8, 30' *ZAW* 109 (1997), 208-221. See also M. Dahood, 'Proverbs 8:22-31' *CBQ* 30 (1968), 513, 518-519. Scholars who see Wisdom as 'advisor' include H. Cazelles, 'Ahiqar, *Ummān* and *Amun*, and Biblical Wisdom Texts' in Z. Zevit, S. Gitin and M. Sokoloff (eds), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 45-56. See also J. C. Greenfield, 'The Seven Pillars of Wisdom (Prov 9:1) ó a Mistranslation' *JQR* 76 (1985), 13-20. However, R. J. Clifford and W. McKane prefer to understand the word *amon* as 'scribe, sage; heavenly sage' See Clifford, *Proverbs*, 100-101; McKane, *Proverbs*, 358. Differently, R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes* (AB 18; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 72 interprets the verb *amon* as 'unifying'

Maat.¹³³ Moreover, this group of scholars view Wisdom as connected to divinity but subordinate to God as God's creation.¹³⁴ Whybray explains that Prov 8:22-31 is a demonstration of the relationship between Yahweh and Wisdom. Wisdom is described as being subordinate to Yahweh but having authority over human lives. This relationship is peculiar to the monotheism of the Israelite tradition.¹³⁵ He states further that the act of Yahweh 'begetting' Wisdom would only be a metaphor for Yahweh's act of creation. Likewise, he takes the verb 'born in' vv. 24-25 as a metaphor for Yahweh's creation of Wisdom. No matter how the association was formed, Wisdom was present when Yahweh brought forth the various acts of creation.¹³⁶ Whybray's argument is supported by Waltke's statement regarding Wisdom's nature, 'She is no ordinary prophetess [but] a one-of-a-kind heavenly mediatrix who mediates God's wisdom to humanity. Though more closely related to God than human beings' ø.¹³⁷

Also, R. E. Clements argues that Prov 8:22-31 shows Wisdom as the first creation of Yahweh.¹³⁸ He maintains that all polytheistic features have been eliminated from Proverbs as well as the notion that God needed an assistant at creation. Instead, Sophia speaks of her own presence at creation. Wisdom observes the order of creation with its wholeness.¹³⁹ Murphy speaks of Wisdom as she was begotten by the Lord and is in

¹³³ Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 11; Hadley, 'Wisdom and the goddess' 238. See also the detailed discussion in Hurowitz, 'Nursling, Advisor, Architect?' 391-400.

¹³⁴ Scholars who hold the view that Wisdom is God's subordination and God's creation include Clements, 'Proverbs' 444; Hadley, 'Wisdom and the goddess' 234-243; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 15; Lenzi, 'Proverbs 8:22-31' 714; Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 57; Vawter, 'Proverbs 8:22' 205-216; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 83-87; S. Weeks, *Early Israelite Wisdom* (OTM; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 75; Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs*, 76-104; D. H. Williams, 'Proverbs 8:22-31' *Int* 48 (1994), 276-277; B. Witherington, *The Christology of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 51.

¹³⁵ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 127.

¹³⁶ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 127. Whybray's idea here in this paragraph is cited by Hadley, 'Wisdom and the goddess' 237.

¹³⁷ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 85.

¹³⁸ Clements, 'Proverbs' 444.

¹³⁹ Clements, 'Proverbs' 445.

creation before anything else. In explaining about her origin and age, Murphy looks at the syntactical constructions that appear in these verses. The words “from” or “of old” in vv. 22-23 are used four times, while the expressions of “not yet” or “when” or “before” in vv. 24-26 are used five times. These prepositions show Wisdom’s origin is before all else.¹⁴⁰

McCreesh holds a different interpretation of Wisdom’s identity in stating that the word *amon* could indicate that Wisdom is seen as a part of God. The word *amon* may be translated as either “little child” or “master architect (or craftsman or artisan)”. He suggests that interpreting *amon* as “little child” fits in the Proverbs’ context of Wisdom as God’s creation, a separate being from God. However, the interpretation as master architect could fit with the reference to Wisdom in Wis 7:22-8:1 where the nature of Wisdom is portrayed as identifying with God. By inferring this, McCreesh implies that as master architect, Wisdom could be seen as a part of God. The study of Wis 7:22-8:1 will be found later in this chapter.¹⁴¹

Another alternative view regarding Wisdom’s nature in Prov 8:22-31 can also be found. Some scholars view Wisdom simply as a woman preacher or prophetess,¹⁴² wisdom teacher¹⁴³ or self-revelation of creation.¹⁴⁴ As G. von Rad states, “the best

¹⁴⁰ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 52.

¹⁴¹ McCreesh, “Proverbs” 457. There is little support available for McCreesh’s suggestion that Wisdom in Prov 8:30 could be seen as a part of God. However, there are scholars who see that the word *amon* refers to God and not Wisdom. These scholars include Dahood, “Proverbs 8:22-31” 513, 518-519; Rogers, “The Meaning and Significance of *amon*” 208-220.

¹⁴² Scholars who hold the view that Wisdom is a woman preacher or prophetess include S. L. Harris, *Proverbs 1-9: A Study of Inner-Biblical Interpretation* (SBLDS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 87-109; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 95-96.

¹⁴³ Scholars who hold the view that Wisdom is not a prophetess but a wisdom teacher include McKane, *Proverbs*, 273.

¹⁴⁴ von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 144-176.

element of creation, [Wisdom] was herself already a witness of creation¹⁴⁵ Also, von Rad argues that Wisdom in Proverbs has no divine status; therefore she is not a hypostasised attribute of Yahweh. He believes that Wisdom is created by Yahweh to do God's work. Nevertheless, Wisdom is clearly distinguished from the whole of creation. She is an entity, who belongs to this world, but is the first of the works of creation and becomes the creature above all creatures.¹⁴⁶ She is also seen as an attribute of the earth as, "creation was raised by God to a state of wisdom or understanding"¹⁴⁷ Other scholars identify her persona with different kinds of women, "the wise wife, the lover, the provider and the scorned lover"¹⁴⁸ Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that these texts are open to interpretation.

The text Prov 8:32-36 speaks of the fact that Wisdom needs her appeal to be heeded. In this section she addresses her audience as "children" She calls all to follow her ways (v. 32a) and her instruction (v. 33). Those who follow her ways will be happy (v. 34). Her statement in v. 35, "for whoever finds me finds life" shows that she is a life-giver. This statement is further clarified in v. 36, where Wisdom warns that those who reject her will face "injury and death" However, Wisdom's statement in v. 35 is a matter of debate regarding Wisdom's nature. While E. A. Johnson also holds the view that

¹⁴⁵ von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 151.

¹⁴⁶ von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 151-157. Also in p. 147 n. 3 von Rad refers to S. Mowinckel's definition describing the term hypostasis as "a divine being which is half independent and half regarded as a revelatory form of a higher deity, a being which represents the personification of an attribute of an efficacy, of a part, etc. of a higher deity"

¹⁴⁷ von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 155.

¹⁴⁸ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 83-85.

Wisdom is presented as divine,¹⁴⁹ Whybray states that she speaks as an independent entity.¹⁵⁰

(e) 9:1-11

Chapter 9 of Proverbs can be divided into three sections. The first theme tells about an invitation to the banquet of Wisdom (vv. 1-6). Wisdom is seen as a teacher and a house symbolizes her school. She sets up the banquet inviting all people to come and enjoy with her. The banquet symbolizes her teachings in which she calls every one to follow her way. The second section in vv. 7-12 relates how the scoffer is ignored and is not corrected by Wisdom but made to take responsibility for his own actions. He is left to his own fate. The third section relates to an invitation to the banquet of Folly (vv. 13-18). Folly appears in a person. She sets up a rival banquet, which contradicts Wisdom in all ways enticing others by the promise of an easy life rather than the long discipline of Wisdom. The choice between Wisdom and Folly becomes a choice between life and death.¹⁵¹

In v. 1 there has been much debate over the meaning of *ḥayit*¹⁵² Whybray suggests it has three main aspects; the cultic, the cosmological and the literal. Firstly, the house is to be regarded as a temple where Wisdom is a substitute for a foreign goddess of love or the *ḥayit* of Heaven. Secondly, in the cosmological sense, the house represents the world, as the seven pillars connect or hold up the seven heavens or the seven planets.

¹⁴⁹ Johnson, *She Who Is*, 94.

¹⁵⁰ N. Whybray, *Wisdom: The Collected Articles of Norman Whybray* (SOTSMS; Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 42.

¹⁵¹ McCreesh, *ḥayit* 457. Waltke distinguishes the words *ḥayit* and *ḥayit*. By the use of the feminine *hokmah* and *kesilut* both Wisdom and Folly are personified as a woman (Prov 9:13-18). Waltke, *Proverbs*, 83-85.

¹⁵² See C. R. Fontaine, *ḥayit* in J. L. Mays (ed.), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 508.

This house is also seen as the \neg inhabitable world \emptyset of 8:3, Wisdom being both its builder¹⁵³ and inhabitant. Thirdly, today \emptyset scholars do not base this interpretation of Wisdom \emptyset house solely on this verse, but discover a wider hypothesis about the figure of Wisdom from the interpretation of other texts. It is possible that it is an example of poetic imagery when compared with the figurative language of Prov 1:20-33; Prov 8 and elsewhere in chs. 1-7.¹⁵⁴

Verse 2 relates that Wisdom requires a house where guests can be invited for a meal. The food is briefly indicated. \neg She has slaughtered her animals \emptyset refers to Gen 43:16; Ex 22:1 (21:37); Deut 28:31 (cf. Mt 22:4; Lk 15:23). Both slaughtering and the activity of building a house were jobs for men (cf. Gen 18:7; Judg 6:19; 1 Sam 25:11). However, Wisdom being an extraordinary woman, prepares a feast,¹⁵⁵ considered a lavish banquet.¹⁵⁶ \neg She has prepared her table \emptyset (\neg She has also set her table \emptyset in NRSV) is used as a substitute for a symbol of joy highlighting Solomon \emptyset teachings in contrast to Folly.¹⁵⁷

In v. 3 Wisdom delivers her invitations through \neg maidservants \emptyset (or servant-girls in NRSV). Referring to 8:2 (cf. 1:21), Wisdom addresses her speech at the city gates (cf. 8:3) where the invited will be reached.¹⁵⁸ The invitation of Wisdom is demonstrated in vv. 4-6. This is open to all including the gullible. Similarly, in Sirach, invitations are given to the students: \neg Draw near to me, you who are untaught, and lodge in my school \emptyset

¹⁵³ The term may allude to Wisdom \emptyset architectural role in creation (cf. 8:30). See Fontaine, \neg Proverbs \emptyset 508.

¹⁵⁴ Whybray, *Proverbs*, 142-143. Murphy focuses on the ownership of Wisdom \emptyset house as he mentions in Prov 14:1 and Prov 24:3, it is explained that the house is built by Wisdom, and established by understanding. See Murphy, *Proverbs*, 58-59. For Waltke, \neg seven \emptyset becomes symbolic of perfection (cf. 6:16; 24:16; 26:16, 25) in Waltke, *Proverbs*, 433.

¹⁵⁵ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 433.

¹⁵⁶ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 59, Whybray, *Proverbs*, 144. Waltke says, \neg According to Isa 1:22, adding water to wine is deplorable \emptyset in Waltke, *Proverbs*, 434.

¹⁵⁷ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 434-435.

¹⁵⁸ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 59. Waltke explains that Wisdom, being feminine chooses feminine maidservants, not male to create a close intimacy between Wisdom and the maidservants. These \neg young women \emptyset invite young men to school rather than to bed. See Waltke, *Proverbs*, 435.

(Sir 51:23). This point will be followed up later in this chapter. The gullible are invited to come to her house (v. 4) and to dine on her food (v. 5).¹⁵⁹ Wisdom's invitation is contrary to the invitations of the wicked. It contradicts the diet of the wicked, which contains "the food of wickedness and the wine of violence" (Prov 4:17).¹⁶⁰

In v. 6 Wisdom contributes the metaphor of "way" (see 1:15, 20-33) to the fool. She demonstrates that repentance is a turning back to Wisdom's way, which brings life (3:18; 4:13, 22; 5:6, 6:23; 8:32-35). She also encourages the foolish to turn aside and desert their old companions (v. 6a) with the promise of eternal life. By inviting them to dine on her food, she is also inviting them to the way of insight. "Leave your ways" ("Lay aside immaturity" in NRSV) emphasizes "turn aside" (v. 4). "And live" (v. 6) can be seen as synonymous with life connecting to abundant life in union with God.¹⁶¹

Verses 7-12 are seen by scholars as an interruption of Wisdom's invitation.¹⁶² They show the different ways of acceptance of corrections between the scoffer and those who have chosen Wisdom. While the scoffer abuses the corrector and rejects his correction, the Wisdom's follower accepts his correction with love.¹⁶³ Verse 10 has the only reference to God in Prov 9. The phrase "the fear of the Lord" is the beginning of Wisdom shows that Wisdom is the way leading to God. Whoever participates at

¹⁵⁹ The phrase "Dine on her food" is a metaphor meaning "to accept her teaching" cf. Isa 55:1-3; Sir 15:3; 24:19; Jn 6:35. See Waltke, *Proverbs*, 437. As food and drink are needed for life, the teachings of Solomon give spiritual life. Waltke relates these ideas to the invitation Jesus gave to the banquet in the Kingdom of God (Lk 14:15-24).

¹⁶⁰ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 437.

¹⁶¹ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 437-438. See also Waltke, *Proverbs*, 104-105. In these pages, Waltke clarifies the connotations of "life" in a detailed way.

¹⁶² Murphy, *Proverbs*, 59; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 438; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 141.

¹⁶³ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 439.

Wisdom's banquet is justified and accepts the Lord's authority.¹⁶⁴ In v. 11 the first person refers to Sophia even though she finished her speech at v. 6. Because Wisdom is connected with life as in v. 6b (cf. 3:16, 18; 4:13b; 8:35), it appears that these are the words of Wisdom rather than those of the parent teacher.¹⁶⁵

To summarize the discussion of Wisdom in Proverbs, this figure connects the heavenly and the earthly in order to link the created order and the human search for knowledge and wisdom.¹⁶⁶ She exists before the beginning of the world, and has a primary role in the creation of the cosmic order. As such she is superior to the rest of creation. Her immanence appears in creation generating all meaning throughout this world. Proverbs is not always clear as to the exact nature of transcendent Wisdom. The ambiguity of the relevant passages makes it difficult to decide whether she is an aspect of God responsible for creation or a created being who assists God in this endeavour. The second possibility, which is well supported in the scholarly literature, perhaps has the better part of the argument. She does, however, rejoice in God's presence, playing everywhere in this new world and taking delight in human beings.

Wisdom's invitation to all to become her followers can be found in 1:20-21; 8:1-3, 32-36 and 9:1-11. In these passages, Wisdom also plays a prophetic role. She appears as a prophet in public places in 1:20-33; 8:1-36. She is a counsellor in 1:25; 8:14. In 9:1-11 she is depicted as a street preacher, compelling hostess, building a house, setting her table and inviting all to come to her banquet and take her instructions. Her rewards for her followers are security (1:33; 4:6), happiness (3:13), life, riches and honour (3:16),

¹⁶⁴ Waltke, *Proverbs*, 441. The plural normally relates to *qedosim* and refers to holy, saintly or heavenly beings. However, most scholars equate the Holy One as singular, representing Yahweh. See Murphy, *Proverbs*, 60; Whybray, *Proverbs*, 146.

¹⁶⁵ Murphy, *Proverbs*, 60.

¹⁶⁶ Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 30.

pleasantness and peace (3:17), life and happiness (3:18; 8:34-35) and exaltation and honour (4:8-9). Also, Wisdom can be withdrawn from humans (1:28) or revealed to them (8:17). She is not only about knowledge but also about love and all the moral issues with which she associates (8:20-21). More importantly, she speaks God's words (Prov 1:23, 28) and her way can be seen as God's way (Prov 9:6).

4.2 Wisdom in the Book of Job

The book of Job is difficult to categorize in terms of literary genre.¹⁶⁷ Also, there are different theories regarding the authorship of Job.¹⁶⁸ However, by analyzing the author's characteristics, the theory of J. E. Hartley seems to be credible. Hartley argues that Job's author could be a highly educated and wise person who was dedicated to the service of Yahweh.¹⁶⁹

Various dates have been proposed for the book of Job ranging from the time of the patriarchs to the post-exilic era.¹⁷⁰ However, most recent scholars are in agreement that the book of Job is more likely to have been composed in the period after the exile.¹⁷¹

The purpose of the book is to explain how Job dealt with his suffering. The book shows how Job, who is known in the Hebrew tradition as a holy man, a man of unblemished

¹⁶⁷ See Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom*, 107; Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 46-47; J. E. Hartley, *The Book of Job* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 37-43; R. A. F. MacKenzie and R. E. Murphy, "Job" in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 468; H. H. Rowley, *The Book of Job* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 5.

¹⁶⁸ Rowley, *Job*, 20. See N. H. Snaith, *The Book of Job: Its Origin and Purpose* (SBT 11; London: SCM Press, 1968), 8. See further R. Gordis, *The Book of Job and Man: A Study of Job* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, rev. edn 1965), 110-112, 209-215; W. A. Irwin, "Job" in M. Black and H. H. Rowley (eds), *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: Nelson, rev. edn 1962), 391.

¹⁶⁹ Hartley, *Job*, 15-17.

¹⁷⁰ N. C. Habel, *The Book of Job: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1985), 40; Hartley, *Job*, 17; Rowley, *Job*, 21.

¹⁷¹ See the argument that the book of Job could have been written in the seventh century B.C. in K. J. Dell, "Job" in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 337; Habel, *Job*, 42; Hartley, *Job*, 17-20; MacKenzie and Murphy, "Job" 466; Rowley, *Job*, 21.

character and piety, richly blessed in his family and possessions¹⁷² showed patience, steadfastness and perseverance in a time of trial. The way Job came to understand the mystery in suffering was through the understanding of wisdom of that time, which was to do good and retain trust in God.¹⁷³

(a) Job 28

In vv. 23-24 God alone knows where Wisdom can be found. Unlike human beings, this omniscient God has knowledge of the whole universe. Therefore, Wisdom is known and mastered by God.¹⁷⁴ This is followed in vv. 25-26 by a reference to God's creative works. This refers to Wisdom being present within creation rather than being present before it. Scholars include D. Bergant, N. C. Habel and Hartley believe that there is a similarity here to the image of Sophia in Prov 8:22.¹⁷⁵ Dell compares this hymn with Prov 8 and Sir 24, where personification of Wisdom also appears. Wisdom both participates in the mystery of creation and can only be found by God.¹⁷⁶

Habel and Hartley also link Sophia in v. 27 with that of Prov 8:22-23. In both, Wisdom is perceived as being known by God and sharing his creative role.¹⁷⁷ Habel further clarifies the four main verbs, which occur in v. 27: *to see*, *to declare* (some

¹⁷² Rowley, *Job*, 2.

¹⁷³ R. W. L. Moberly, 'Solomon and Job: Divine Wisdom in Human Life' in S. C. Barton (ed.), *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Wisdom in the Bible, the Church and the Contemporary World* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), 16-17. Moberly compares Job's request for Wisdom (Job 1:1-2:10) with Solomon (1 Kgs 3:3-28). Habel also observes the association of the word 'discernment' (*bina*) and the word 'wisdom' (*hokmah*). He sees Job's complaint as expressed in not being able to discern the presence of God. See Habel, *Job*, 397.

¹⁷⁴ Hartley, *Job*, 382; Dell, 'Job' 357.

¹⁷⁵ D. Bergant, *Job: Ecclesiastes* (OTM 18; Wilmington: Glazier, 1982), 140-141; Habel, *Job*, 400; Hartley, *Job*, 382-383.

¹⁷⁶ Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 41-42, 44-45. J. J. Collins agrees with these scholars by comparing both Wisdom in Prov 8 and Job 28. See Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 13-14.

¹⁷⁷ Habel, *Job*, 400; Hartley, *Job*, 382-383.

scholars including Habel prefer to use of the verb ‘appraise’,¹⁷⁸ ‘establish’ and ‘search’.

‘To see’ means recognizing Wisdom’s all pervading presence in nature. She co-operates with God in the design and establishment of the world as he ‘appraises’ and ‘establishes’ her as a focal point in creation. Searching can be metaphorically likened to the probing of the dark earth (v. 11). It can also be likened to the process of closely examining a jewel (vv. 15-19) in order to discover any flaws. Wisdom becomes a pivotal point in the universe discerned only by God.¹⁷⁹

In v. 28 Wisdom is revealed for mankind.¹⁸⁰ At least two scholars differentiate between Wisdom found in v. 27 and v. 28. Wisdom in v. 27 is accessible only to God. Habel calls this the Higher Order of Wisdom, while S. L. Harris names it divine Wisdom, which is directly accessed only by God. However, in v. 28 human beings can indirectly access Wisdom through piety or practical religion. Human beings should learn to embody the virtues of *musar*: ‘the fear of the Lord’ and ‘departing from evil’ (v. 28). Habel calls this Lower Order while S. L. Harris names it human wisdom.¹⁸¹

As mentioned earlier, some scholars such as Bergant, Habel and S. L. Harris agree that Wisdom in Job 28 is Sophia who has a close relationship with God. However, there has been much debate regarding Wisdom’s nature in Job 28. Some scholars, including Murphy, claim Wisdom’s nature in Job 28 is similar to that of Prov 8:22-31 in

¹⁷⁸ Habel, *Job*, 400. See too Hartley, *Job*, 382; M. H. Pope, *Job* (AB 15, Garden City: Doubleday, 1973), 183. For Pope, the verb ‘appraised’ could mean ‘count, number and evaluate’.

¹⁷⁹ Habel, *Job*, 400; Hartley, *Job*, 382-383. Harris argues that by using the third person as ‘it’ rather than ‘her’ the object of the verb in v. 27 can be seen as ‘creation’ rather than ‘wisdom’ see S. L. Harris, ‘Wisdom or Creation? A New Interpretation of Job 28:27?’ *VT* 33 (1983), 421. I have not found any other scholars agreeing with Harris.

¹⁸⁰ Hartley, *Job*, 373-384; Rowley, *Job*, 179.

¹⁸¹ Habel, *Job*, 400-401; Harris, ‘Wisdom or Creation’ 420. Many scholars believe that v. 28 is added later for various reasons. See L. G. Perdue, ‘Wisdom in the Book of Job’ in L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 96; Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 44; Habel, *Job*, 400; Hartley, *Job*, 383 n. 3; Rowley, *Job*, 206.

which they view Wisdom as a divine attribute.¹⁸² However, other scholars disagree.¹⁸³ G. Fohrer claims that Wisdom's nature in Job 28 is "a heavenly pre-existent and distinct entity side by side with God at a place to which God alone had access. It is not here a personified power of God or a distinctively evolved entity in the form of a hypostasis"¹⁸⁴ Also, S. E. Balentine and J. A. Wharton argue that the words "he gave" (v. 25), "he made" (v. 26), "he saw" (v. 27a), "he declared" (v. 27a) and "he searched" (v. 27b) imply that God created Wisdom. Moreover, Balentine believes that Wisdom should not be seen as God but God's possession.¹⁸⁵ Hence, this group of scholars argues that Wisdom in Job 28 is close to God but separate from God.

However, D. J. A. Clines, R. W. L. Moberly and von Rad have some differing views regarding Wisdom in Job 28. Clines believes that Wisdom in this text is not closely connected to Wisdom in Proverbs 8. Even though he acknowledges Wisdom's coexistence with God in creation, he emphasizes Wisdom in terms of religious and moral behaviours.¹⁸⁶ Also, Moberly sees Wisdom in Job 28 as the reality of God, which is shown in human life. Moberly compares this view of Wisdom in the book of Job with that of von Rad. He agrees with von Rad who asserts that Wisdom in Job 28 is neither directly divine and mythological nor Sophia. Because of the references to human activities, such as men digging the earth, von Rad believes that Wisdom here, while

¹⁸² Murphy, *Tree of Life*, 34-135; Murphy, "Wisdom Literature" 5.

¹⁸³ Dell, "Job" 357; Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 41; MacKenzie and Murphy, "Job" 482; Perdue, "Wisdom" 96. For instance, Perdue claims that Wisdom in Job can be seen as knowledge, as discipline and as world-construction. See his detailed claim in Perdue, "Wisdom" 73-97.

¹⁸⁴ G. Fohrer, "Sophia" in J. L. Crenshaw (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (LBS; New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1976), 489-490. See the detailed discussion regarding Wisdom as a separate being in E. van Wolde, "Ancient Wisdoms, Present Insights: A Study of Job 28 and Job 38" *SEA* 71 (2006), 55-74.

¹⁸⁵ S. E. Balentine, *Job* (SHBC; Macon: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2006), 426-427; J. A. Wharton, *Job* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999), 116.

¹⁸⁶ D. J. A. Clines, *Job 21-37* (WBC 18A; Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2006), 908-926. Cf. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 145-148.

elusive, is to be found in the world. He sees Wisdom as separate from creation. However, Moberly disagrees with von Rad that Wisdom is beyond human beings' accessibility and comprehension. Moberly clarifies further that Wisdom in Job 28 can never be separated from human life. Although being inaccessible to human beings, human beings can reach Wisdom according to how they respond to God. They are encouraged to fear God and turn from evil. Therefore, in this tradition, the qualities of Wisdom are both inaccessible and accessible to those who desire her. These qualities appear to be God's qualities, both transcendence and immanence.¹⁸⁷

To summarize, Wisdom in Job 28 appears as a personified divine entity, playing creative and mediating roles. She is inaccessible to human beings (vv. 1-22) and only God knows her and can master her. The creative role of Wisdom in vv. 25-26 does perhaps differ from her role in Prov 8. Here Wisdom is within creation while in Prov 8 she exists before creation. In v. 28 humans are able to access the elusive Wisdom by having 'fear of the Lord' and by 'departing from evil'. Thus, Wisdom in Job is seen as a bridge between divinity and humanity. Therefore, in spite of some apparent differences, Wisdom in both Job 28 and Prov 8 share similar characteristics.

4.3 Wisdom in the Book of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus or Ben Sira

The original title in Hebrew is 'The Wisdom of Yeshua [Jesus] ben [son of] Eleazar ben Sira'. The title of the book Sirach, is a transliteration of the name found in Greek. It is one of the deuterocanonical Old Testament books. The author of the book is Ben Sira¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Moberly, 'Solomon and Job' 3-17.

¹⁸⁸ A. A. Di Lella, 'Sirach' in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 496. A. A. Di Lella and D. Bergant also define the word 'Ecclesiasticus' as 'Church'. See D. Bergant, *What Are They Saying about Wisdom Literature?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 67. However, although the author is Ben Sira, his profession and social position is unclear. See further argument in P. C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 35-37.

A plausible date given for the composition of this text is 180 B.C.E. The panegyric in 50:1-21 on Simeon II, high priest from 219 B.C.E. to 196 B.C.E., points to this date.¹⁸⁹

Ben Sira who was highly regarded as a scribe and teacher, committed his life to the study of the Law, Prophets and Writings. He endeavored to illustrate that the Jewish way of life had superiority over Hellenistic culture. He also emphasized that it was in Jerusalem, not Athens, where true wisdom was to be found.¹⁹⁰ In Sirach, Sophia appears mainly in five texts: 1:1-10; 4:11-19; 6:18-37; 24:1-29 and 51:13-30.

(a) 1:1-10

Sir 1:1-10 introduces the theme of Wisdom's origin, pre-existence and her residing among humans. God is Wisdom's source and seat (vv. 1, 4, 8). In v. 1 Ben Sira asserts that the source of all Wisdom is God, while in v. 4 he asserts that Wisdom existed -before all other things- which echoes Wisdom as existing -before all else- in Prov 8:22-23. God created her (v. 9), and only God can know her (v. 6). She is given by God as a gift for those who love him (v. 10). This also echoes Wisdom in Job 28 where Wisdom is described as being known and understood by God alone. Particularly in v. 8, God is declared to be the only one who possesses Wisdom.¹⁹¹ Her dwelling among -all living- or

¹⁸⁹ Di Lella, -Sirach- 496-497. Various kinds of literary genres similar to that of the book of Proverbs are found in Sirach. See Di Lella, -Sirach- 496.

¹⁹⁰ Di Lella, -Sirach- 496. See further A. R. Ceresko, *Introduction to Old Testament Wisdom: A Spirituality of Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999), 127. Although the book of Sirach is labeled as a wisdom book, scholars vary widely as to whether -Wisdom- is the primary theme of the book. See P. W. Skehan and A. A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 75-76.

¹⁹¹ Di Lella, -Sirach- 498; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 183. Cf. Prov 2:6; 8:22-30; Job 12:13; Wis 7:26-7; 9:4, 6. See also Ceresko, *Introduction to Old Testament Wisdom*, 128; E. Jacob, -Wisdom and Religion in Sirach- in J. G. Gammie, W. A. Brueggemann, W. L. Humphreys and J. M. Ward (eds), *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (New York: Scholars Press, 1978), 254; Murphy, *Tree of Life*, 129; Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 237.

–all flesh in v. 10 indicates that she is present throughout all creation and resides among human beings¹⁹²

(b) 4:11-19

In Sir 4:11-19 Wisdom is personified as a concerned mother who explains that only those who follow her way can be called her children. She both instructs her children and assists them to find her (v. 11). Similar to Proverbs, in v. 12, to love Wisdom equates to loving life.¹⁹³ A pattern emerges in vv. 12-14; those who love her (vv. 12a, 14b); those who seek her out (v. 12b); those who hold her fast (v. 13a) and those who serve her (v. 14a). This pattern implies that Wisdom speaks in the accent of Yahweh. The verbs –seek and –serve can be seen in many places for God or Yahweh as a direct object (e.g. Deut 4:28; Zeph 1:6; 2:3; Hos 3:5; 5:6; 1 Chr 16:10; 2 Chr 11:16; 20:4). Those who seek Wisdom seek God, while those who serve Wisdom serve the Lord. The words –life in v. 12a and –joy in v. 12b represent the Lord’s favour, while the references to glory and honour in v. 12a represent the Lord’s blessing.¹⁹⁴

Ben Sira urges the seeker and the lover of Wisdom to worship the Lord, who will love in return. Also, Wisdom is connected with fear of the Lord (cf. 1:11-30). In vv. 17-19 Wisdom tests her followers (cf. Gen 22:1; Ex 15:25; Deut 8:2). For the faithful who accept her discipline she will reveal her secrets, but those who fail to do so will be abandoned.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 238.

¹⁹³ Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 48.

¹⁹⁴ Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 170-171.

¹⁹⁵ Di Lella, –Sirach 499. See J. J. Collins, –Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 673. Collins illustrates the connotation of Wisdom in Sir 4 in a terminological way.

(c) 6:18-37

This section is delivered by the sage, Ben Sira and not by Wisdom herself. The section is unclear as to what the term "wisdom" really means. However, there are places where the words "her" and "she" appear, which could imply the presence of the personified Wisdom figure. There is an invitation to come to Wisdom (vv. 19, 26). The invitation also encourages all to "put [their] feet into her fetters, and [their] neck into her collar. Bend [their] shoulders and carry her, and do not fret under her bonds" (vv. 24-25). By doing so, those who accept the invitation will be under her protection and glory (v. 29). Her yoke is seen as "a golden ornament" "her bonds will be a purple cord" (v. 30), the "collar" will become "a glorious robe" (v. 31), and will belong to those who seek her. Those who accept her invitation (vv. 30-31) will no longer be burdened but will become free. Moreover, they will receive knowledge of her (v. 27), rest and joy (v. 28), cleverness (v. 32), wisdom (v. 33), insight (v. 37) and their desire of her will be attained (v. 37).

(d) 24:1-29

Sir 24 speaks in praise of Wisdom and is another place where Wisdom speaks for herself.¹⁹⁶ In vv. 1-2 Ben Sira sets the scene for Wisdom's speech. She praises and glorifies herself and associates with the heavenly council (cf. Ps 82:1), being likened to an angelic being. "Her people" in v. 1 could refer to this heavenly gathering, or to Israel, where Wisdom establishes her home (vv. 8-12). Therefore, she speaks simultaneously from an earthly and a heavenly point of view.¹⁹⁷

In v. 3 Ben Sira illustrates that Wisdom is created by the word of God (cf. Gen 1:3-3:22), being as a spirit that pervades the earth. Then in v. 4 Wisdom states that she

¹⁹⁶ See Collins, "Ecclesiasticus" 678; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 49.

¹⁹⁷ Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 50.

lives in the heights¹⁹⁸ The term pillar of cloud in v. 4b is a reminder of God manifesting his nearness during the desert wandering (Ex 13:21-22), emphasizing that Wisdom dwells with God. In vv. 5-7 Ben Sira derives the imagery and ideas from Prov 8:15-16, 24, 27-30. In these verses, Wisdom is presented circuiting everywhere throughout the heavens and earth searching for a residing place. Also, it is shown that Wisdom was present and active throughout history.¹⁹⁹

In Sir 24:8-12 Wisdom is presented as God's creation and her settlement in Israel is also depicted. Wisdom calls God her creator (v. 8), and states that God created her before the ages (v. 9). In v. 8b God commands Wisdom to find a dwelling place in Jacob and Israel. She ministers before God in the temple at Zion in v. 10, and her settlement in Israel is emphasized in vv. 11-12. Her settlement could be likened to the command Israel received to create a place of worship (cf. Deut 12). Sirach suggests that Wisdom's settlement took place before Israel was formed as a nation. This indicates that Wisdom had already ministered in the tabernacle, which was contained in the tent shrine of the desert (Ex 25:8-9).²⁰⁰

In Sir 24:13-17 the metaphor of Wisdom's taking root among the people is further emphasized in the description of various types of native trees. She is compared to a cedar in Lebanon and a cypress on Hermon (v. 13), a palm tree in Engedi and roses in Jericho (v. 14). Wisdom gave forth perfume, myrrh and different rich spices and incense (vv. 15-16). The description ends with the statement that she grew like a vine and gave forth abundant fruit (v. 17). The imagery here is similar to Prov 3:18 where she

¹⁹⁸ The words in the heights also appear in Prov 8:2. However, Collins suggests its meaning should be understood as heavenly for this context. See Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 51.

¹⁹⁹ Di Lella, *Sirach* 504.

²⁰⁰ Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 51.

was identified with the tree of life.²⁰¹ Also, in vv. 19-22 Wisdom issues a special invitation to her disciples to come to her and be filled with her fruits or her rewards. Her invitation has parallels with Prov 9:1-6.

The first explicit identification of Wisdom with the Jewish Law or Torah appears in vv. 23-24 (cf. 1:11-30; 6:32-37). After Ben Sira shows how Wisdom reaches Israel where she takes up residence, he shows that she no longer stands at the gates and streets of cities. She has come to reside in the Torah, the book of the covenant of God. By doing so, Ben Sira makes the claim that she is the book of the covenant of God which is identical with the Law that Moses gives to all. This is a significant development in the history of the Wisdom tradition, and understandable in the light of the central role occupied by the Torah in post-exilic times. Wisdom makes her home in Israel in the form of the Torah. This indicates a strong theology of presence.²⁰² Wisdom becomes the presence of God, traveling with Israel to the settlement in Jerusalem, dwelling in the tent and then finally in the Law (Sir 24:23; cf. Deut 33:4).²⁰³

The imagery of flooding rivers (Pishon, Tigris, Euphrates, Jordan, Nile and Gihon) in vv. 25-27 is presented as Wisdom's life-giving powers to creation and sovereignty over the nations.²⁰⁴ These rivers refer to the waters in the Garden of Eden which flow all over the earth (Gen 2:10-14). Moreover, Wisdom's instruction is seen as the two rivers, the Nile and the Gihon, which brought life to Egypt. Thus, the abundance

²⁰¹ Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 246.

²⁰² R. E. Murphy, "The Personification of Wisdom" in J. Day, R. P. Gordon, and H. G. M. Williamson (eds), *Wisdom in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 226.

²⁰³ Murphy, "Personification of Wisdom" 226.

²⁰⁴ Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 247.

of these rivers metaphorically presents the life-giving powers of Wisdom.²⁰⁵ In v. 28 Wisdom is beyond human understanding, an idea also found in Job 28:23-24.²⁰⁶ This is further emphasized in v. 29; Wisdom is beyond the total grasp of humans.²⁰⁷

(e) 51:13-30

In Sir 51:13-30 Ben Sira also echoes his invitation to Wisdom as it is found in Prov 8:1-3; 32-36; 9:1-6 (cf. Sir 14:20-27; 24:7-8, 19). This section is an acrostic poem written for the instruction of students in order to encourage them to persevere in their own search of Wisdom. In v. 23 "Draw near to me, you who are uneducated" implies that Wisdom is calling for her chosen ones to learn from her. Verse 26, which reads: "Put your neck under her yoke and let your souls receive instruction; it is to be found close" shows that the yoke is identified with Wisdom. By following the instructions of Wisdom, her followers will be able to access God and also be rewarded and gain full life and satisfaction (v. 30).

To summarize, Ben Sira reproduces many of the Wisdom traditions that are found in the earlier texts. Her existence before the creation of the world separates her from humans (Sir 1:9a), which recalls Wisdom's superiority over humans in Prov 3:19-20. Wisdom is from God (Sir 1:1), being created, but before all else (Sir 1:4). She is found only in God or dwells with God (Sir 1:6). She is a gift from God (Sir 1:10). She is a concerned mother (4:11). In Sir 24:3 she is once again shown that she is from God and is created by God. She issues her invitation to all to follow her way in Sir 24:19-22. In this book, Wisdom serves as a mediator between the human and divine realms, as she does in

²⁰⁵ Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 247. Perdue claims that in vv. 30-34, Wisdom's life-giving powers are emphasized. She is portrayed as water nourishing the garden. However, I am unconvinced as the text appears to mention Ben Sira's portrayal as water not Wisdom's.

²⁰⁶ Di Lella, "Sirach" 504-505; Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 248.

²⁰⁷ Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 248.

both Proverbs and Job. However, Wisdom is even more accessible to human beings in Sirach, since she dwells in the human realm and is identified with the Torah. Wisdom is poured out by God on all creation, but especially on human beings, even those outside Israel, because God is generous in giving.²⁰⁸

4.4 Wisdom in the Book of Wisdom

The book of Wisdom, also known as the Wisdom of Solomon, is recognized both as a Wisdom book and a deuterocanonical book. Wisdom is dated many centuries after the time of Solomon, possibly the last half of the first century B.C.E. Despite claims of Solomonic authorship, the author of the book remains anonymous. It is probable that Wisdom was written by a learned Greek-speaking Jew who was familiar with philosophy, rhetoric and culture. Likewise, that it is the work of more than one author is often debated.²⁰⁹ The genre is the protreptic discourse, which is known from Hellenistic literature.²¹⁰

The main purpose of the Wisdom of Solomon is to encourage its readers, who were being lost to the dominant Greek culture, to become once again proud of their Jewish cultural heritage and to return to their ancestral beliefs.²¹¹ The structure of the book has two main parts. The first part Wis 1:1-11:1, the Praises of Wisdom, is where divine or transcendent Wisdom is found. The second part Wis 11:2-19:22, is known as

²⁰⁸ A. R. Ceresko, *Introduction to Old Testament* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1992), 127.

²⁰⁹ G. A. Wright, "Wisdom" in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 510. See also A. P. Hayman, "The Wisdom of Solomon" in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 763.

²¹⁰ Wright, "Wisdom" 511. Hayman shows another way of defining the literature genres of the book of Wisdom. See Hayman, "Wisdom" 763.

²¹¹ Hayman, "Wisdom" 764.

God's fidelity to his people in the Exodus²¹² and has little or no emphasis on Sophia. The relevant passages in the first section are Wis 6:22; 7:7-8:1; 8:2-21 and 10:10-14.

(a) 6:22

In this verse the author, speaking as King Solomon, promises to search for answers as to who Sophia is, as well as her origins and her secrets. These will be traced from the beginning of creation (v. 22), which echoes her origins at the time of creation (cf. Job 28:23-28; Prov 8:22-31; Sir 1:4; 24:9), and how God at that time possessed her (cf. 1 Kgs 3:1-15).²¹³

(b) 7:7-8:1

This section can be divided into two different parts, Wis 7:7-22a and Wis 7:22b-8:1. In the first part, when Solomon prayed, Wisdom came to him from God. This shows that Wisdom has a divine origin bringing special powers and gifts. Further, in v. 12 Wisdom is briefly described as a mother, and she is valued as one of the highest gifts that any person could receive. Wisdom is the ultimate prize for Solomon who esteemed her above all else. Those who gain Wisdom and follow her way will be considered as having a close friendship with God. Among the gifts that belong to Wisdom are our words, understanding and skill in crafts found in God's hands (cf. v. 16).

In the latter section of Wis 7:22b-8:1, the characteristics of Wisdom are revealed. She is presented as the fashioner of all things (v. 22b), she is identified with the Spirit and pervades and penetrates all things (v. 24) and renews all things (v. 27). In fact

²¹² Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 294-295.

²¹³ Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation*, 303; J. M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 46-49.

Wis 7:22b-24 speaks of twenty-one attributes in relation to Wisdom,²¹⁴ including intelligence, holiness, uniqueness and subtlety.²¹⁵ By the use of terms such as ðbreathð ðemanationð ðreflectionð ðmirrorð and ðimageð in vv. 25-26, Wisdom's relationship with God can be perceived as extremely close. This intimacy between Wisdom and God makes it appear impossible to separate the two. Also, v. 27 speaks of ðin every generation she passes into holy souls and makes them friends of God and prophetsð In Wis 7:29 there is a return to the cosmic dimension of Wisdom as she is described as above the sun, stars and light, and in 8:1 she is said to order all things well. Finally, there is a moral dimension of Wisdom against which evil cannot prevail (v. 30).²¹⁶

The exact status of Wisdom in this text is a subject of much debate. Some scholars argue that Wisdom here is not an aspect of God but is an independent being who is close to God yet subordinate to him. J. S. Webster maintains that Wisdom in the book of the Wisdom of Solomon cannot be equated with God, even though she is intimately connected with God, because she is presented as mobile and active in her own right. The text emphasizes her mediating and prophetic roles but not her divine status. Moreover, Webster claims that the text emphasizes her identification with the Word, a masculine term, not with God (Wis 18:14-16).²¹⁷ Furthermore, D. Winston prefers to present

²¹⁴ Hayman, S. Schroer and D. Winston prefer the word ðepithetsð rather than the word ðattributesð See Hayman, ðWisdomð 769; S. Schroer, *Wisdom Has Built Her House: Studies on the Figure of Sophia in the Bible* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000), 100; D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 43; Garden City: Doubleday, 1979), 178; D. Winston, ðWisdom in the Wisdom of Solomonð in L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 152. Winston also presents the parallels for the list of the twenty-one epithets on pp. 152-153.

²¹⁵ Hayman, ðWisdomð 769. In vv. 22-23, the qualities attributed to Wisdom are much the same as those attributed to Isis a Greek pagan goddess of Wisdom. See Wright, ðWisdomð 516.

²¹⁶ D. J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 65. Scholars who claim that Wisdom in the Book of Wisdom is not an aspect of God but another separate being and subordinate to God include Suggs, *Wisdom*, 39-44; Witherington, *Matthew*, 238-239.

²¹⁷ J. S. Webster, ðSophia: Engendering Wisdom in Proverbs, Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomonð *JSOT* 78 (1998), 78. Webster also claims that Wisdom in the book of Wisdom ðfades into a male deity through

Wisdom's nature in the book of Wisdom by referring to Wis 8:4; that is, he portrays Wisdom as "chooser of God's works." He further refers to Wis 9:9 which states, "Wisdom who knows [God's] works and was present when [God] created the world." This text also suggests that Wisdom and God are separate beings.²¹⁸

However, other scholars interpret the nature of Wisdom in this text differently. For these scholars she is a personification of God with no independent reality. L. L. Grabbe believes that Wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon is a hypostasis, which he understands as "[Wisdom] is both product of God and also a manifestation of him. She represents him and she is him. Thus, many statements about God are interchangeable with statements about Wisdom."²¹⁹ Perdue's understanding is similar. He defines Wisdom in this text as "an attribute of God, who, partaking of his essence becomes not a divine virtue. Thus, cosmic Wisdom is transcendent and participates in the nature and activity of God."²²⁰ J. D. G. Dunn also supports the idea that Wisdom is the personification of God, even though he states that Wisdom's nature in the book of Wisdom is unclear. He argues that Wisdom should not be interpreted outside the Jewish monotheistic context. For him, there is no clear indication that the Wisdom language [in the book of Wisdom] has gone

masculine verbs and the association of Sophia with the Logos and a male deity in Webster, "Sophia: Engendering Wisdom" 74-76.

²¹⁸ Winston, "Wisdom" 153.

²¹⁹ L. L. Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon* (GAP 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 78; Grabbe's understanding of Wisdom as a hypostasis is supported by Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 137; Gench, *Wisdom*, 311.

²²⁰ Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 306. Scholars who agree that Wisdom in the book of Wisdom is equal to God include D. Edwards, *Jesus the Wisdom of God: An Ecological Theology* (Homebush: St Paul's, 1995), 28-31; Dell, *Get Wisdom*, 136-137; J. S. Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia in the Book of Wisdom" *HTR* 75 (1982), 57-84; Murphy, *Tree of Life*, 142-145; A. Niccacci, "Wisdom as Woman, Wisdom and Man, Wisdom and God" (Wis 10:1-2), in J. Vermeylen and N. Calduch-Benages (eds), *Treasures of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom* (BETL 143; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 383; K. M. O'Connor, *The Wisdom Literature* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1988), 178; Wright, "Wisdom" 516. See also Perdue, *Wisdom and Creation*, 305-306. Moreover, in L. G. Perdue, *The Sword and the Stylus: An Introduction to Wisdom in the Age of Empires* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 346, Perdue states that "Wisdom as the hypothesis of God is portrayed as his female consort who permeated creation, ruled the cosmos, gave it life, chose kings to rule and entered the pure souls of the righteous, guiding their behaviour and giving them eternal life."

beyond vivid personification.²²¹ E. A. Johnson also agrees with the idea that Wisdom presents herself as a female personification of God's own being in creative and saving involvement with the world.²²² Furthermore, S. Schroer claims that in the book of Wisdom, Wisdom's attributes, speaking and doing are God's. For her, Wisdom is Israel's God in the image of a woman and a goddess.²²³

Once again the evidence is ambiguous, and texts can be cited to support both sides of the debate. One point, however, is worthy of note. Dunn's argument that any view of Wisdom as a being distinct from God compromises Jewish monotheism is not tenable. The Jewish tradition knows of many supernatural or transcendent entities who were created by God. Apart from the heavenly angels, there are figures such as the Messiah and the Son of Man. Provided the being in question is created by God and comes below him in the heavenly hierarchy, there is no threat at all to monotheism.

(c) 8:2-21

In Wis 8:2-21 Wisdom is portrayed as a bride, and Solomon brings his bride to his home (cf. Sir 15:2).²²⁴ It is her all-knowingness, not her beauty that becomes the reason for the wise king making her his spouse. Only because Wisdom has knowledge of the divine and of all things, she can be a perfect counsellor to a wise king (cf. Prov 8:14). It is only with the help of Sophia that a human being can recognize and execute the divine will (cf. Wis 9:17). Her instructions are of the utmost importance for human salvation.²²⁵

²²¹ J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: SCM Press, 2nd edn 1996), 173.

²²² Johnson, *She Who Is*, 91; Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God", 275; A. M. Sinnott, *The Personification of Wisdom* (SOTSM; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 163.

²²³ Schroer, *Wisdom Has Built*, 110.

²²⁴ Hayman, "Wisdom", 770.

²²⁵ Schroer, *Wisdom Has Built*, 102.

As well as her loving relationship with Solomon (Wis 8:2), Sophia also has an intimate relationship with God (vv. 3-4). What she has to offer is greater than all human possessions (v. 5) and understandings (v. 6). Wisdom becomes the beginning of all virtues (v. 7), the first being 'righteousness' which in the biblical sense means the proper relationship with God and with all humans. Other virtues are familiar from Greek philosophy: self-control, prudence, justice and courage.²²⁶

In v. 8 Wisdom is described as having knowledge of 'the things of old and infers the things to come' She has an understanding of 'speech and the solutions of riddles' and a foreknowledge of 'signs and wonders' Through her all-knowingness, Solomon desired her as his counsellor and consoler who provides care, encouragement, glory, honour, respect, immortality, rest, companionship, joy, delight and wealth (vv. 9-18). However, Wis 8:19-21 makes clear that Wisdom cannot be attained by human effort. She is a gift from God.

In this particular text, we find that Sophia has a number of dimensions, a cosmic dimension, a personal dimension and an historical dimension.²²⁷ A. M. Sinnott believes that the portrayal of Wisdom as saviour in Wis 9:17-18 encouraged Jews, distracted by Hellenistic views, to study their ancestral heritage and thus return to and live anew the significant traditions of their own culture.²²⁸

(d) 10:1-21

In ch. 10 Sophia is a saviour and imparts her gifts on the heroes of God's chosen people. This material celebrates how the Israelite tradition offers salvation to true believers.

²²⁶ Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha*, 66.

²²⁷ Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha*, 75.

²²⁸ A. M. Sinnott, 'Wisdom as Saviour' *ABR* 52 (2004), 30. Sinnott also states that Wisdom as a saviour is unique and offers a new line of thinking in the book of Wisdom on pp. 19-31.

In vv. 1-2 by using the term "first-born" the author makes reference to Adam who was protected by Sophia. The responsibility to direct all things was not limited to him alone (cf. 9:2-3). Verse 4 alludes to Noah, while v. 5 highlights Abraham's heroic obedience as an example of Sophia's role in teaching "what pleases" God (9:18). In vv. 6-9 the fate of Lot's enemies is likened to the future punishment of Israel's oppressors. Sophia is portrayed as a rescuer of this righteous man (v. 6). Then in vv. 10-12 Sophia becomes a protector of Jacob. Opening to him an understanding of godliness, enabled her to enlighten others as to what is possible for those who trust in God. Following the biblical narrative further, Joseph was delivered by Sophia from his unjust and dangerous situation (vv. 13-14). Here Sophia is seen as a liberator.

Finally, vv. 15-21 speaks of God's chosen people and Wisdom's salvation. It begins by presenting Wisdom as delivering the people of Israel from their oppressors, entering Moses's soul and then accompanying the Israelites on their Exodus journey. She performs salvific functions by rewarding, guiding, sheltering and protecting the Israelites and by drowning their foes in the Red Sea. Those who were saved by Wisdom praised God for their salvation (vv. 20-21). On the other hand, similar to the Egyptians, those who reject Wisdom and her ways will be destroyed.

To summarize, Wisdom in the book of Wisdom is also seen as a personal form. The author brings together both the Greek and the Hebrew aspects of Sophia. The Greeks viewed Wisdom as a means of gaining knowledge both cosmic and divine.²²⁹ However, for the author, Wisdom in Wis 6:22, who is present with God, is revealed and given as a gift to humans by God. The author also uses the sapiential traditions from Prov 8, Sir 24 and Job 28, in his personification of Wisdom. Here, he emphasizes her specific role both

²²⁹ Murphy, "Personification" 229.

in creation and in human affairs. Because she was present in creation, she becomes a bridge between humans and God. As she knows God's works and what is pleasing to God, she brings others to this relationship. The Wisdom of Solomon is not altogether clear on the exact nature of Sophia. It is possible to interpret her either as a personification of God or as an independent and inferior being, though the point needs to be mentioned again that the second alternative does not compromise Jewish monotheism.

Also Wisdom is seen as the lover, a perfect counsellor to a wise king, and the teacher of the virtues. She knows the past and can foretell the future and understands riddles and clever speeches. By following her guidance one can gain honour, glory and respect over others. She also brings immortality and lasting remembrance for those who desire her. Similar to Job 28, Wisdom is presented as a gift attained only from God. It is Sophia who redeems the -holy people of Israel from her oppressors, and who acts as their saviour.²³⁰

4.5 Wisdom in the Book of Baruch

The book is known in Greek tradition as Baruch, the Epistle of Baruch or 1 Baruch. The meaning of -Baruch in Hebrew is -the Lord bless, which is a shortened form of *Berechyah*, -the Lord blesses.²³¹ There has been much debate over who is the author of the book; however, none of the arguments put forward has been conclusive.²³² The time of writing was the second century B.C.E. This is based on the use of Sirach (c. 180

²³⁰ Schroer, *Wisdom Has Built*, 102.

²³¹ A. Salvesen, -Baruch in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 699. To distinguish Baruch or 1 Baruch from the non-canonical books designated as 2 Baruch and 3 Baruch see D. J. Harrington, -Baruch in J. L. Mays (ed.), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 855.

²³² A. Fitzgerald argues that the first three books are attributed to Baruch while the fourth is attributed to the prophet (Bar 6:1). D. J. Harrington disagrees with Fitzgerald. See the argument A. Fitzgerald, -Baruch in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 564; Harrington, -Baruch 855. See further Salvesen, -Baruch 699.

B.C.E.) in Bar 4:36-5:9.²³³ The earliest existing text is written in Greek. However, there are indications that it was originally written in Hebrew.²³⁴ The book of Baruch consists of an introduction (Bar 1:1-14) together with a prayer written about the Jewish exiles in Babylon (1:15-3:8). This is followed by a poem telling of Wisdom being one with the Law (3:9-4:4) and another poem in Israel's exile depicting restoration (4:4-5:9).²³⁵

In compiling his writings, Baruch relied heavily on earlier Old Testament writings. In the prayer, extracts from Dan 9, Deut 28 and Jer 11 are freely used. Ideas from Job 28 and Sir 24 are incorporated in the Wisdom poem. The poetry of Bar 4:5-5:9 relies on Isa 40-66, while the criticism against idolatry is similar to that in Jer 10 and Isa 44. Baruch emphasizes that God is with his chosen people. The exile is over and now Israel must serve God faithfully by studying and following the Torah.²³⁶ Since in Baruch, as in Sirach, Wisdom and the Law are one and the same, the possession of Wisdom and observance of the Torah are inseparable.²³⁷

(a) 3:9-4:4

In Bar 3:9-4:4 Sophia is patently identified with the Law. The opening line implies this by stating that '[to] hear the commandment of life [is] to give ear and learn from Wisdom'. This initial identification is substantiated in vv. 10-13 where the text points out that the Israelites are in exile, as they did not follow the way of God; that is, the way of Wisdom leading to a peaceful life.

²³³ J. J. Schmitt, 'Baruch' in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 799.

²³⁴ Fitzgerald, 'Baruch' 564. See also Harrington, 'Baruch' 858.

²³⁵ Harrington, 'Baruch' 855. Some scholars including Harrington and Salvesen do not include chapter six in the book of Baruch but prefer to have this chapter separated from the book. Others such as L. Boadt, Fitzgerald and Schmitt disagree. See Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament*, 502; Fitzgerald, 'Baruch' 564; Harrington, 'Baruch' 855; Salvesen, 'Baruch' 699; Schmitt, 'Baruch' 799.

²³⁶ Schmitt, 'Baruch' 799. See also Salvesen, 'Baruch' 699; Harrington, 'Baruch' 855.

²³⁷ Fitzgerald, 'Baruch' 566.

The section in vv. 15-31 spells out that Wisdom is beyond human reach. This section has a likeness to Job 28. Precious metals and stones can be found by careful searching but Wisdom is beyond all this. No one is capable of discovering her as Wisdom; this can only be obtained by practising the Law.²³⁸ Moreover, only God knows her (v. 31) and can find her (v. 32). In vv. 33-35 Baruch personifies the sunset, the sunrise, the sun and the stars to emphasize that God who governs the universe gives Wisdom to Israel (v. 36) where she dwells with humans (v. 37).

Then in 4:1 the equation of Wisdom and the Law is made complete; she is the book of the commandments of God, the Law that endures forever. This recalls Sir 24:23. Her dwelling with humans in v. 37 is further clarified so that she lives with people in the form of the Law. In vv. 1b-4 Israel is called to return to the Torah. The Israelites are fortunate to be in possession of the Torah and thus know what is pleasing to God. It is in the book of the Law, given by God to Moses where Wisdom dwells.²³⁹

It is clear that the identity of Sophia in the book of Baruch has some connections with Proverbs, Job and Sirach. The role of Sophia in the book of Baruch is seen as that of God's assistant. She also is a mediator between divinity and humanity. By gaining Wisdom, human beings can understand what life is and how to live wisely. Thus, human beings can reach God by Wisdom. The poem within the book of Baruch (Bar 3:9-4:4) both combines the questions of Job 28 (cf. Bar 3:15) concerning the mysteries of Wisdom with definite answers about the ways and understanding of Wisdom (Bar 3:20, 23, 27, 31, 36). The answer is similar to that found in Job. Wisdom is with God (Bar 4:36) who has

²³⁸ Fitzgerald, *Baruch* 566.

²³⁹ Schmitt, *Baruch* 801. This implies that if Israel fails to obey and follow the Torah, it will be abandoned by God and the Law will be given to another nation (Ex 32:10; Num 14:12; Deut 9:14). See too Fitzgerald, *Baruch* 566.

given her to Israel. The poem seems to be searching for a reason for the exile. Israel in exile is a punishment for forsaking Wisdom (Wis 3:10-12) rejecting its knowledge and Law, which has been given to Israel (Bar 3:36-4:1).²⁴⁰ Bar 3:9-4:4 also shows how difficult it is to understand divine Wisdom. It is equally challenging to understand why God allowed the exile to happen. In many ways, the poem portrays similar language and content to that of Job 28. The poem, however, makes an important theological contribution of its own. It identifies Wisdom and the Torah, which complements and reinforces the same notion in Sirach.

Like Sir 24, Wisdom becomes accessible by following the Law. The Wisdom poem in Baruch speaks forcefully and with surety to the paradoxes and tensions of modern life. In Baruch, Wisdom is perceived as both personal and universal. The God who created and controls the universe knows the world and humankind intimately. God gives human beings Wisdom to overcome their ignorance and limitations. This brings about an understanding of our world in all its depths, as well as the knowledge of how to live well. For Baruch, Wisdom is the commandments and the Law. She is found in a simple accessible place, Israel's accepted biblical tradition, the Law of Moses. The Wisdom poem offers a knowledge that demands commitment and total involvement. It shows that to acknowledge and obey God in union with the world is the way to Wisdom, while to reject God leads to chaos.²⁴¹ This re-emphasizes the concept of Wisdom in Prov 9:6 that Wisdom's way is God's way.

²⁴⁰ Murphy, "Personification" 228.

²⁴¹ A. J. Saldarini, "Baruch: Letter of Jeremiah" in D. L. Peterson and G. M. Tucker (eds), *The New Interpreter's Bible vol. VI* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), 970.

4.6 Wisdom in the Book of 1 Enoch

The book is known by the title Ethiopic book of Enoch (*Henok*) or 1 Enoch.²⁴² It is the oldest of the Pseudepigraphal books ascribed to Enoch.²⁴³ The book of 1 Enoch was composed of five main sections written from the early second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. As has been substantiated from the finding of the Dead Sea scrolls, apart from the Parables of Enoch (chs. 37-71), Enoch was written in Aramaic. The original Aramaic seems to have been translated into Greek and possibly again translated into Geʿez, the language of ancient Ethiopia. The book of Enoch is part of Holy Scripture in today's Ethiopian Church.²⁴⁴ 1 Enoch is neither wisdom literature nor apocalyptic literature. Nevertheless, the book illustrates the concept of divine or transcendent Wisdom, and betrays some influence from both Sirach and Baruch.

(a) 1 En 42

The reference to Sophia appears in the section known as the Parables of Enoch, and chapter 42 in particular. The Parables provide a discourse on the future judgment both of the righteous and the wicked. Other themes depicted here are that of the Messiah, the Son of Man and the Elect One. Heavenly secrets are revealed as well as the resurrection of the righteous and the punishment of the fallen angels.²⁴⁵ The figure of the Son of Man is an important factor in Enoch's vision of Wisdom. Like Wisdom, the Son of Man pre-exists

²⁴² The book is called 1 Enoch to distinguish it from two later Enoch books. See D. C. Olson, 1 Enoch in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 904.

²⁴³ E. Isaac, 1 Enoch in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 5.

²⁴⁴ D. S. Russell, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Patriarchs and Prophets in Early Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1987), 26-27.

²⁴⁵ Isaac, 1 Enoch 5. This fragment of a wisdom poem is introduced somewhat abruptly. Isaac makes a comparison of Wisdom in some passages: Job 28:12f.; Sir 24: 7. However, here Wisdom is rejected by men and returns to heaven. See M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 203.

(1 En 48:3) and like Wisdom he is both hidden and revealed (1 En 62:7).²⁴⁶ The figures of the Messiah and the Son of Man will be discussed further in relation to the notion of pre-existence in the following section in this chapter.

Wisdom in 1 En 42 has a connection with both humanity and divinity. She descends from the heavens to live among humankind. Not finding a suitable dwelling place, she returns to the heavens (vv. 1-3).²⁴⁷ In this way she becomes inaccessible to those who desire her as she remains among the angels. This is in contrast to Sir 24 and Bar 3-4, where Wisdom had come to be equated with the Law of Moses and thereby dwelt in Israel, but it does bear some similarity to Job 28. While only a short text, 1 En 42 does emphasize Wisdom's desire to live among humans and her rejection by that group. By returning to God, she becomes inaccessible and can only be found through God. In this late text, there is no indication that Wisdom is anything but a being in her own right who lives in the heavenly realm.

4.7 Summary

The study shows the various roles of Jewish Wisdom and her nature to some extent. She plays a mediating role in creation being present with God from the beginning (Prov 8:22-31; Job 28: 25-26; Wis 6:22) and existing even before creation (Prov 3:19-20; 8:23; Wis 7:25-28, 29; Sir 1:4). She is a fashioner of all things (Wis 7:22), speaking God's word and showing the way of God (Prov 1:23, 28; 9:6). Wisdom also plays a salvific role as a saviour, showing saving power in the world (Wis 9:10), as a protector (Wis 10:1-5, 10-12, 13-14), a rescuer (Wis 10:6-9) and a liberator (Wis 10:15-21). She has prophetic and

²⁴⁶ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 19.

²⁴⁷ Deutsch clarifies this further when personified (Deutsch uses the word 'Lady') Wisdom was forced to withdraw not because of her transcendent quality, but rather because she did not find acceptance or a suitable dwelling place among humans. See Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 18.

teaching roles (Prov 1:20-33; 8:1-36; 9:1-11; Sir 24:19-22; 51:13-30). Moreover, she is portrayed as a bride or lover (Prov 4:5-9; Wis 8:2-21), a concerned mother instructing and protecting her children (Sir 4:11; Wis 7:12), and a counsellor (Prov 1:25; 8:14; Wis 8:8; 9:19). She is connected to moral issues including righteousness and justice (Prov 8:20-21; Wis 8:6-7; Bar 3:10-14).

At times she dwells with human beings (Sir 1:10; 24:23; Bar 3:37), while at other times she is rejected by humans (1 En 42:1-3). She is beyond human understanding (Job 28:23-24; Sir 24:28; Bar 3:15-31), and can become inaccessible to humans (Prov 1:28; Job 28:1-22). She is revealed to human beings (Job 28:28; Wis 6:22) and reveals her secrets to them (Sir 4:18). Her revelation to human beings is further shown when she is identified with the Torah (Sir 24:23; Bar 3:9-4:4). She has been present and active throughout the history of Israel (Sir 24:5-7; Wis 7:24; 8:1). Moreover, Wisdom extends her invitation to all to follow her ways (Prov 1:20-21; 8:1-3, 32-36; 9:1-11; Sir 24:19-22) and to take up her yoke (Sir 6:19, 26; Sir 51:13-30). In Sir 6 she will give her followers knowledge of her (v. 27), rest and joy (v. 28), cleverness (v. 32), wisdom (v. 33), insight (v. 37) and their desire of her will be attained (v. 37). Also, she provides security (Prov 1:33; 4:6), life and happiness (Prov 3:8, 13-20; Sir 24:13-17, 25-27; 51:30; Wis 8:5) and life, riches and honour (Prov 3:16; 4:8-9) for her followers.

As for the nature or status of this figure, there is no easy answer because of the often ambiguous nature of the texts. When she performs actions that traditionally were associated with God, does it necessarily mean that she is a mere aspect, personification or attribute of God himself?²⁴⁸ Or was Wisdom considered to be a creation of God, the first

²⁴⁸ Scholars who see Jewish Wisdom as a part of God include Dunn, *Christology*, 168, 176; Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 207-209; Gench, *Wisdom*, 335-348, Kloppenborg, *Isis and Sophia* 73-78; Johnson,

creation who acted as God's assistant in the process of cosmic creation and in his interaction with the human world?²⁴⁹ Texts can be produced to support both views, and it may well be the case that both were held by different people in the Jewish tradition. It does, however, appear that there are sufficient texts which do seem to speak of Sophia as a created being who was intimately connected with God but independent of God.

This figure was with God in the beginning, even prior to creation, and she played a major part in the creative process (Prov 3:19-20; 8:22-31; Sir 1:1; 24:3, 8; Job 28:27; Wis 6:22). She is God's gift to humanity (Sir 1:10; Wis 8:19-21), which comes to fullest expression once she was identified with the Torah (Sir 24:23-24; Bar 3:9, 4:1-4). Sophia is the mediator between the divine and heavenly realms, and the revealer of God's will, and she plays an integral role in protecting those who follow her path (Wis 10:1-21). Such a figure, both created and subordinate to God, posed no problem for Jewish monotheism. If 1 En 42 provides any guide, then it may well have been the case that this notion of Sophia had become well established by the first century of the common era. In any event, the above review of the relevant texts demonstrates that Jewish speculation about Wisdom was an ongoing process, a living tradition that developed significantly over the centuries.

-Jesus, the Wisdom of God 271, 274; Murphy, "Wisdom Literature" 6; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 174; Schüssler-Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 130-140; Sinnott, *Personification*, 163; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 3-116; Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs*, 92-104. As mentioned earlier, scholars including Grabbe, Dell and Perdue also see Wisdom as a hypostasis of God.

²⁴⁹ Scholars who see Jewish Wisdom as a separate being from God include Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 55-63; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 15; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 44. Also, Clements, "Proverbs" 444; Hadley, "Wisdom and the goddess" 234-243; Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 57; Vawter, "Proverbs 8:22" 205-216; Waltke, *Proverbs*, 83-87; Weeks, *Early Israelite Wisdom*, 75; Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs*, 76-104; Williams, "Proverbs 8:22-31" 276-277; Witherington, *Christology of Jesus*, 51.

5. Pre-Existence in the Jewish Tradition

One of the important characteristics of Wisdom in Judaism is that she is pre-existent. R. G. Hamerton-Kelly defines pre-existence in general terms as ‘a mythological term which signifies that an entity had a real existence before its manifestation on earth, either in the mind of God or in heaven’²⁵⁰ Wisdom of course was created before the act of general creation and existed in heaven before her manifestation on earth in the form of the Torah. But it is important to note that Sophia was not the only pre-existent being in the second temple Judaism. Other figures who were pre-existent include the Messiah and the Son of Man, and a brief discussion of each is in order.

The concept of the Messiah, an eschatological saviour or liberator anointed by God, arose in the second temple period in response to the oppression of the Jewish people by foreign powers. There was no single view of this figure. In the Psalms of Solomon 17, he is depicted as a fully human warrior figure in the likeness of King David who will destroy the Romans. There is no indication in this text that this conception of the Messiah involved pre-existence, since he does not come down from heaven to achieve his aims. The Dead Sea scrolls know of two Messiahs, a royal Davidic figure and a priestly Messiah, but again there is no suggestion that either was pre-existent prior to their manifestation.

Despite the claim that a pre-existent Messiah can be traced back to certain Old Testament texts,²⁵¹ the first clear and unambiguous reference is found in 4 Ezra, a Jewish

²⁵⁰ R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-Existence in the New Testament* (SNTSMS 21; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 11.

²⁵¹ This view is especially associated with W. Horbury, who cites Isa 9:5-6; 11:2-4; 61:1; Amos 4:13; Lam 4:20; Num 24:17; Jer 23:5; Zech 3:9; 6:12; Ps 2:7; 72:17 (cf. 1 En) and Ps 110:1-3. He regards these texts as reflecting a broad understanding of the Messiah as a pre-existent being. See W. T. Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM Press, 1998), 90-96. For a critical response, see A. H. I.

apocalyptic work that was written towards the end of the first century C.E. Two texts in particular, 4 Ezra 7:28 and 12:32, are important in this regard.²⁵² The first and less important of these states that, "For my son the Messiah shall be revealed with those who are with him" – The suggestion here is that the Messiah is kept hidden by God and then finally revealed. A clearer statement is found in 12:32, which reads: "This is the Messiah whom the Most High has kept until the end of days, who will arise from the posterity of David, and will come and speak to them" – This verse testifies that the Messiah, now resident in heaven, will be revealed at the end of time. He is pre-existent before his manifestation on earth.

The concept of the Son of Man has its origins in the one like a Son of Man in Dan 7:13-14. The identity and nature of this Danielic figure are not immediately clear, and there are many scholarly hypotheses. He is variously believed to be a heavenly being,²⁵³ God "in human terms"²⁵⁴ "a divine figure"²⁵⁵ "an angel"²⁵⁶ "a collective symbol"²⁵⁷ or "a

Lee, *From Messiah to Pre-Existent Son: Jesus' Self-Consciousness and Early Christian Exegesis of Messianic Psalms* (WUNT 2/192; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 105-110.

²⁵² See B. M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra" in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 550; M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 360 and J. H. Charlesworth, "From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology, Some Caveats and Perspectives" in J. Neusner, W. S. Green, and E. S. Frerichs (eds), *Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 246.

²⁵³ C. C. Caragounis, *The Son of Man: Vision and Interpretation* (WUNT 38; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 35-81, 188-189.

²⁵⁴ D. McCready, *He Came Down from Heaven: The Pre-Existence of Christ and the Christian Faith* (Leicester: Apollos, 2005), 172-174; A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 261. Segal also gives an alternative interpretation of the Son of Man as an angel.

²⁵⁵ J. E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 167, 171.

²⁵⁶ J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 305. See also J. J. Collins, "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel" *JBL* 93 (1974), 50-66. Scholars who support the Messianic interpretation include G. R. Beasley-Murray, "The Interpretation of Daniel 7" *CBQ* 45 (1983), 44-58. Scholars who support the Angelic interpretation include J. J. Collins, R. Hammer, A. Lacocque and C. Rowland. See J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (BRS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn 1984), 82-83; R. Hammer, *The Book of Daniel* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 79; A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979), 133; C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Christianity* (New

personification of the people of the saints of the Most High²⁵⁸ Given that the identity of this figure is not clear, it is difficult to speak in terms of his pre-existence.²⁵⁹ It is apparent from later literature, both Jewish and Christian, that the "one like a Son of Man" in Daniel became the object of intense speculation, and was eventually transformed into "the Son of Man" Such a figure is found in 1 Enoch, and he is clearly a development of the earlier figure in Daniel.²⁶⁰

In 1 Enoch the Son of Man is identified with the Elect or Chosen One in 46:3 and the anointed one or Messiah in 1 En 48:10 and 52:4. His pre-existence is referred to in 48:3, 6 and 62:6.²⁶¹ In 1 En 48:3, "the Son of Man was given a name, in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits, the Before Time" and in 48:6 "[He] became the Chosen One; he was concealed in the presence of (the Lord of the Spirits) prior to the creation of the world, and for eternity" 1 En 62:7 provides further evidence; "For the Son of Man was concealed from the beginning, and the Most High preserved him in the presence of his power; then he revealed him to the holy and the Elect ones" Most scholars accept that these are clear and unambiguous references to the pre-existence of the Son of Man.²⁶²

York: Crossroad, 1982), 178-182. Dunn has a different classification for the possible character of the second figure in Dan 7:3. See Dunn, *Christology*, 68.

²⁵⁷ R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1965), 35.

²⁵⁸ R. A. Anderson, *Signs and Wonders: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ITC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 87. Furthermore, Anderson states that there is also no specific connotation of messiahship. Thus, he should be seen simply as a man.

²⁵⁹ McCready, *He Came Down from Heaven*, 174.

²⁶⁰ Dunn, *Christology*, 78. Dunn claims that 1 En 46:1-2 is where the Son of Man in 1 Enoch can be seen to be linked to the Son of Man in Dan 7:13-14 See also K.-J. Kuschel, *Born Before All Time?: The Dispute over Christ's Origin* (London: SCM Press, 1992), 214-215; McCready, *He Came Down from Heaven*, 174-175; D. S. Russell, *From Early Judaism to Early Church* (London: SCM Press, 1986), 126-127.

²⁶¹ Dunn, *Christology*, 75. Dunn claims that the Son of Man who is identified with Enoch in 1 En 71:14 should not be seen as a pre-existent man. See Charlesworth, "From Jewish Messianology" 225-247; Dunn, *Christology*, 296, n. 64.

²⁶² J. Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 2/76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 95. See also Charlesworth, "From Jewish Messianology", 239-241; Dunn, *Christology*, 75; Lee, *From Messiah*, 109; Russell, *From Early Judaism*, 127; J. C. Vanderkam, "The Messiah" in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Messiah: Developments in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 180-181.

The depictions of the Messiah in 4 Ezra and the Son of Man/Messiah in 1 Enoch demonstrate that Judaism conceived of figures other than God as having pre-existence. They too are created by God for a particular purpose and reside in the heavenly realms until the appointed time. Sophia was therefore only one of a number of such heavenly and pre-existent figures in Judaism at the time of the birth of the Christian tradition.

6. Conclusion

The preceding discussion of the Wisdom tradition in Judaism has established a number of important points in the context of this thesis. The origins of this feminine figure lie in the cults of the ancient Near East where she is modeled on the Egyptian goddess *Maat* and the Hellenistic goddess *Isis*. In her manifestation in the Jewish tradition, she is a central feature of some texts and a peripheral figure in others. The various descriptions of Sophia and her roles do not always correlate with one another, and this suggests that there were a number of different notions concerning Wisdom rather than a unified and cohesive tradition. This lack of clarity is evident when we try to pin down Wisdom's status and nature. She can be variously depicted as an aspect of God and not distinct from him, or as a created and subordinate being who carries out the will of God. These two notions of Sophia's nature can appear even in the same Jewish text, which reveals that the Jewish traditions of the Wisdom tradition were not always clear on this issue.

In either case, however, there is no doubt that Wisdom enjoys an intimate and unique relationship with God. She plays a significant role in creation, and is God's gift to human beings. She can share a relationship with humans and reveal heavenly secrets to them. In an important later development, she becomes identified with the Torah and

invites her followers to take up her yoke. Her presence and active involvement in salvation can be seen throughout Israel's history, but there are alternative traditions where she is hidden from humans and beyond their reach or where she is rejected by humans and returns to heaven. In the texts reviewed in this Chapter, Wisdom plays various roles; creative, mediating, liberating, salvific, protective, prophetic and teaching. Her feminine aspect is emphasized when she is seen as a bride and a protective mother. She is strongly associated with all the virtues, including righteousness and justice.

It is clear from the above that by the time of the emergence of the Christian church the Jewish Wisdom tradition was firmly established. It was not, however, a single or unified tradition, but rather a composite of interrelated themes, motifs and concepts. In the case of the nature of Wisdom, her relationship with God was open to interpretation, and different texts could be cited to support one view or the other. What is important is that all the documents analysed above were written well before the Christian period and were widely distributed in Jewish circles. All of them, therefore, were available to the early Christians when they pondered the significance and the nature of Jesus the Christ. The early Christians had at their disposal a range of views concerning Sophia, and in the next two Chapters we shall investigate how the variety of possibilities played out in the diverse Christian tradition. It will be shown that some Christians, like Mark and Paul, showed little interest in the Wisdom tradition as an interpretive lens for understanding Jesus, while others, such as John and Matthew, were heavily influenced by it.

CHAPTER 2: WISDOM IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The early Christian tradition emerged as a response to the life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. In the initial decades of the Christian movement, there was considerable interest in the exact identity of Jesus and the roles he played in the divine plan. Many Christological titles were utilized to define just who Jesus was (and is) ó Messiah, Lord, Son of Man, Son of God, Son of David and others. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine whether and in what ways Jesus was linked or associated with the Jewish Wisdom tradition. This will enable us to see how Matthew fits into his Christian context, how he developed the Christian traditions that preceded him and how he relates to those that were contemporaneous. The discussion will begin with the pre-Matthean traditions, the Pauline corpus and the Sayings Source Q, both of which have been claimed as having a clear Wisdom Christology, and will then turn to the Johannine tradition.

1. The Pauline Tradition

While Paul seems to identify Jesus as the Wisdom of God in 1 Cor 1:24, 30, there is dispute about the meaning of this in his Christology. Some scholars believe other texts that do not mention Wisdom (σοφία) refer to Jesus in the role of Wisdom (cf. Rom 8:3; Gal 4:4; Phil 2:6-11), but other scholars disagree and view Wisdom as a minor aspect of Paul's Christology. In this section, I will examine the relevant texts and consider two

main issues: one is the pre-existence of Jesus and the other is whether this pre-existence can be identified with Jewish Wisdom.²⁶³

(a) 1 Cor 1:24, 30

In 1 Cor 1:24 Paul makes the statement that Christ is the Wisdom of God (Χριστὸν θεοῦ σοφίαν), but the issue is whether this was intended by the apostle as a Christological statement. Paul here is responding to a situation where the Corinthians believe that they already have wisdom. He replies by telling them that true wisdom is the Wisdom of God because he also realizes that the Corinthians need to distinguish between human wisdom and God's Wisdom. The point of comparison here between human wisdom and divine Wisdom indicates that Paul is probably not making a Christological declaration that Jesus is Sophia incarnate.

The meaning of the statement that Christ is the Wisdom of God needs to be related to what directly precedes in vv. 21, 23. In v. 21 Paul states that God cannot be known or accessed through human wisdom. Therefore, God can be reached only through his own self-revelation. As Paul explains, this wisdom from above or the Wisdom of God is associated with salvation through Christ's witness, which brought him to the cross.²⁶⁴ Through the cross, the wisdom of this world becomes folly, because it does not provide

²⁶³ The first letter to the Corinthians was written sometime in the 50s. See S. C. Barton, "1 Corinthians" in J. D. G. Dunn (ed.), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 1315; N. M. Watson, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (EC; London: Epworth Press, 1992), xix-xx. See also H. Doohan, *Paul's Vision of Church* (GNS 32; Wilmington: Glazier, 1989), 243; M. J. Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 44-45.

²⁶⁴ B. Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 79, 116-117. See also A. C. Tolpingrud, "Light Shines in the Darkness and the Darkness Has Not Overcome Her: Women and Wisdom" *WW* 7 (1987), 292-297 particularly pp. 295-296 and see G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn 1987), 87 where Fee states that Jesus is Wisdom "who redeems from sin and leads to holiness"

the knowledge of God and the understanding of the true meaning of the cross.²⁶⁵ This association of Christ and the cross can be found in v. 23 where Paul connects it with the Wisdom of God when he proclaims Christ crucified. This is part of Paul's overall statement about the Wisdom of God, which commences in v. 22 and is completed in v. 24. Thus, Paul's statement that Christ is the Wisdom of God in v. 24 shows that he understands that the Wisdom of God is associated with Christ's death on the cross and not that he is identified with Jewish Wisdom.

In v. 30 Paul also makes another possible statement about Jesus as Wisdom when he affirms that "Christ, who became for us Wisdom from God" (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῖν ἀπὸ θεοῦ). Paul explains further that Wisdom is contained in a series along with three other benefits provided by God in the crucified Christ. These benefits are righteousness, sanctification and redemption.²⁶⁶ Wisdom is now redefined through the cross, and is recognized as the means of salvation with "Jesus Christ" as the real wisdom from God. Through his salvific act, Christ the Wisdom of God brings righteousness, sanctification and redemption to the Corinthians.²⁶⁷ The redemptive role of Christ in v. 30 is supportive of his salvific role found in v. 24.

What does Paul understand of Wisdom (σοφία) in 1 Cor 1:24, 30? Even though Paul clearly named Jesus Christ as the Wisdom of God,²⁶⁸ the exact meaning of the expression is not clear. Scholars are in dispute as to whether it suggests that Jesus is

²⁶⁵ E. Schüssler-Fiorenza, "1 Corinthians" in J. L. Mays (ed.), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 1171.

²⁶⁶ See the controversy over the interpretation of the benefits righteousness, sanctification and redemption in Fee, *First Corinthians*, 85-88; A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle on the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 190-195.

²⁶⁷ Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 190-195; R. A. Horsley, *1 Corinthians* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 52-53.

²⁶⁸ R. F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (SP 7; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), 108, 112.

Sophia,²⁶⁹ or whether it simply refers to God's salvific plan. Some scholars, including A. C. Thiselton and Dunn, argue that Paul uses wisdom language, as it was already familiar to the Corinthians, to challenge the opposition in Corinth. It can be seen that the Christians in Corinth have tried to define their knowledge as the Wisdom of God (1 Cor 2:10-3:4).²⁷⁰ Thiselton and Dunn argue further that wisdom in Paul's statement (1 Cor 1:24) is Christ crucified, and in that respect Christ becomes wisdom from God for us (1 Cor 1:30). Paul makes no connection to Jewish Wisdom; rather he emphasizes the salvific action of God in Christ rather than the identity of Christ.

Moreover, Thiselton agrees with Dunn's assertion that Paul has his own view of God's Wisdom (1 Cor 1:24). For Paul, Jesus Christ is not Wisdom as pre-existent, but he is subject to the fulfilment of God's salvation plan through his death and resurrection (1 Cor 1:30). Jesus Christ is the one who realizes God's wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. Therefore, wisdom here is seen as a quality, which characterizes Christ and is imparted by Christ.²⁷¹ The notion of wisdom here has no link to pre-existent Sophia in the Jewish tradition.²⁷² Other scholars support this

²⁶⁹ Scholars who view Jesus in 1 Cor 24, 30 as Wisdom include Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 277-278; Johnson, *She Who Is*, 165-166; E. A. Johnson, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Paul" in L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of J. G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 276; C. S. Keener, *1-2 Corinthians* (NCBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 28; S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT 2/4; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981), 117; E. J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul* (WUNT 2/16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 242-244, 261; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 116; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, ch. 7.

²⁷⁰ Dunn, *Christology*, 177; J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 274; Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 192. Other scholars who believe that Jesus in 1 Cor 24, 30 is not Wisdom incarnate include Fee, *First Corinthians*, 76-77; G. D. Fee, *Pauline Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007), 102-107, 599-600.

²⁷¹ A. C. Thiselton gives the details of scholars' discussion of wisdom seen as a quality along with righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. See Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 190-192.

²⁷² See Dunn, *Christology*, 167, 177-179. On p. 179, Dunn states that, "the embodiment of God's plan of salvation and the measure and fullest expression of God's continuing wisdom and power" Dunn believes that Wisdom is presented as God's attribute. Therefore, he does not claim that Jesus is Wisdom incarnate. Rather, he claims that Jesus is God incarnate. See Dunn's argument in Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 274-275 (cf. Fee, *Pauline Christology*, 607).

view.²⁷³ While it is true that the salvific role of Christ in these texts finds a very faint parallel in the role of saviour that Wisdom plays in Wis 9-10, it is not certain at all that Paul was even aware of it.

(b) 1 Cor 8:6

1 Cor 8:6 speaks of ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν εἷς θεός), the Father, (ὁ πατήρ) from whom are all things (ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα) and for whom we exist (καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν), and one Lord (καὶ εἷς κύριος), Jesus Christ, through whom are all things (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα) and through whom we exist (καὶ ἡμεῖς δι’ αὐτοῦ)ᶜ This text seemingly shows the participation of Christ in creation and salvation. The phrase ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν εἷς θεός can be taken to mean that Jesus Christ is the instrument of creation. It shows that everything comes from God through Jesus Christ. Therefore, Jesus Christ can be seen as the mediator of creation. Likewise, the phrase ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν εἷς κύριος speaks of Jesus Christ as the mediator of salvation, which brought us life from God in Jesus Christ. Therefore, to exist in Christ means to stay alive in Jesus Christ.

Besides the creative and salvific themes, the Jewish monotheistic tradition is also emphasized in this text.²⁷⁴ The formulae ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν εἷς θεός and ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν εἷς κύριος highlight the contrasting features of ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν εἷς θεός and ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν εἷς κύριος of the pagan world (cf. 1 Cor 8:5;

²⁷³ See W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1955), 154-155; M. Hengel, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion* (London: Fortress Press, 1976), 74; A. M. Hunter, *The Gospel according to Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 67-68; Lee, *From Messiah*, 285-286; F. J. Matera, *New Testament Christology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999), 94; C. M. Pate, *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law* (WUNT 2/114; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 278; J. Ziesler, *Pauline Christianity* (OBS; Oxford: Oxford University Press, rev. edn 1990), 34.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Deut 6:4, ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν εἷς θεός, the Lord is our God, the Lord alone, κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίνᶜ See Dunn, *Christology*, 180; Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 28-50; Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 97-99; Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 636-637. See also C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 2nd edn 1971), 193.

Deut 6:4). Therefore, the text embraces monotheism by emphasizing that there is only one God and one Lord. Moreover, the formulae "one God" and "one Lord" are designated as "the Father" and "Jesus Christ"²⁷⁵ The reference to the Lordship of Jesus is explained by Dunn when he states that the unity of creation and salvation is emphasized to prevent divisions in the Corinthian community. Such divisions might be caused by different beliefs in spiritual power and the material world. The unity, which Paul insists on, is that there is only one Lord Jesus Christ and one God the Father of the believers, the creator who is God, and the Lord who is God's instrument through salvation.²⁷⁶ The apostle emphasizes the intimate relationship between the two.²⁷⁷

Is there any connection with the Wisdom tradition in 1 Cor 8:6? Certainly some scholars have noted the thematic parallels between the depiction of Sophia and roles attributed to Jesus in this Pauline text, especially his participation in the act of creation and his implicit pre-existence.²⁷⁸ While it is tempting to make this simple identification, there are grounds for caution. It can be conceded that Jesus here is a pre-existent figure,²⁷⁹ but which pre-existent figure? A. H. I. Lee argues that Jesus here is depicted as the pre-existent Son and not as Wisdom.²⁸⁰ Yet this is debatable once we recognize that Jesus in this text is not called "the Son" just as he is not called "Wisdom" Jesus is

²⁷⁵ Collins, *First Corinthians*, 314-315. However, Dunn argues that the prepositions "from" "through" and "to" in 1 Cor 8:6 were widely used in the ancient world particularly in Stoic thought. However, none of them parallels Paul's formulation. See Dunn, *Christology*, 179.

²⁷⁶ Dunn, *Christology*, 180. Scholars are divided on whether the text is cosmological or soteriological. See the discussion in Fee, *First Corinthians*, 374 particularly n. 23. Also Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, 635. Cf. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "1 Cor VIII, 6- Cosmology or Soteriology?" *RB* 85 (1978), 253-267.

²⁷⁷ Dunn, *Christology*, 212; Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 278.

²⁷⁸ See H. Gese, "Wisdom, Son of Man, and the Origins of Christology: The Consistent Development of Biblical Theology" *HBT* 3 (1981), 23-57; Horsley, *1 Corinthians*, 52-53; Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 278; J. M. Reese, "Christ as Wisdom Incarnate: Wiser than Solomon, Loftier than Lady Wisdom" *BTB* 11 (1981), 45-47; P. Perkins, "Jesus: God's Wisdom" *WW* 7 (1987), 273-280; Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 242, 245-246, 261-262; Schnabel, "Wisdom" 973; Witherington, *Conflict and Community*, 198; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, ch. 7.

²⁷⁹ This, however, is not conceded by Dunn, *Christology*, 165, 182; Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 272-275.

²⁸⁰ Lee, *From Messiah*, 288. See also Fee, *First Corinthians*, 374-375.

designated the Lord both in 1 Cor 8:6 and throughout the letter (1:2-3, 7-10; 5:4-5; 6:11; 8:6; 9:1; 11:23; 12:3; 15:31, 57), and it is as the Lord that Jesus is involved in creation. Had Paul wished to denote this creative work to Jesus as Wisdom, he presumably would have expressed his intentions more clearly. Rather, he speaks of the pre-existent Lord who has a close relationship with God the Father and who assisted God in the creation of the cosmos.

(c) Gal 4:4-5 and Rom 8:3-4

Most scholars who argue for Wisdom Christology in Paul also see as important the brief clauses in Gal 4:4-5 and Rom 8:3-4.²⁸¹ They claim that these texts, which refer to the sending of Jesus, echoes God's action in sending Wisdom to protect and save those who follow her instructions (e.g. Wis 9:10, 17). The text of Gal 4:4 reads: "When the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son (ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ) The purpose of his coming is explained in v. 5. He was sent to redeem those who were faithful to the Law. The sentiments in Gal 4:4 are similar to those in Rom 8:3-4. God's action accomplishes what the Law cannot. He sent his Son in a human form to condemn sin and to fulfil the requirements of the Law. This text goes further by speaking of the importance of living according to the Spirit, which also is sent by God in Gal 4:6.

E. Schweizer sees a strong link between Gal 4:4-5 and the Jewish Wisdom tradition. Schweizer states that pre-existence is part of a traditional Wisdom "sending formula" where God sent Jewish Wisdom and the Holy Spirit from the heavens (cf. Wis

²⁸¹ These scholars include J. A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 478; Johnson, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Paul" 264, 277, 281-282; F. J. Matera, *Galatians* (SP 9; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 150; G. O'Collins, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 127-128. The letters to the Galatians and Romans were written sometime in the 50s. See F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NIGTC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1982), 55; J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1993), 8; R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word Books, 1990), lxxiii; P. W. Meyer, "Romans" in J. L. Mays and J. Blenkinsopp (eds), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 1130.

10:10b). If we look further, we can see why Wisdom is sent. She is to instruct and work with Solomon, teaching him how to serve God and be pleasing to God. Also, Solomon is to be protected and saved by Jewish Wisdom. This occurs after the Holy Spirit has been sent from the heavens. Verse 18 explains that those under Wisdom's instructions will be saved.²⁸² R. N. Longenecker agrees with Schweizer when he concludes that Gal 4:4-5 could implicitly be connected with the Jewish Wisdom tradition for its functional stress. Christ was sent as a redeemer (ἵνα ἡ ἐξαγοράση) of humanity (Gal 4:5), which is parallel to the role of Jewish Wisdom (Wis 10) when she redeems the holy people of Israel from her oppressors (Egypt).²⁸³

However, some scholars disagree that these Pauline texts are related to the Wisdom tradition or even involve the concept of pre-existence. They contend that the brief clause of Rom 8:3 may be simply signifying that Jesus Christ was born of a woman to the world.²⁸⁴ Dunn also states that the sending formula (ἐξαπέστειλεν) does not necessarily mean that Christ is sent from heaven, as the formula is used both in the Jewish and Christian traditions to refer to the sending of human messengers such as the prophets (Judg 6:8; Jer 7:25; Ezek 2:3; Hag 1:12) and even Paul himself (Acts 22:21).²⁸⁵

Dunn argues further that the sending formula (ἐξαπέστειλεν) in Gal 4:4 is used in the more specific context of the Christian tradition. Jesus thought of himself as God's

²⁸² See Longenecker, *Galatians*, 167, 170 and Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 277-278 who cite E. Schweizer's thesis. See also E. Schweizer, 'Paul's Christology and Gnosticism' in M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson (eds), *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C. K. Barrett* (London: SPCK, 1982), 118-119.

²⁸³ Longenecker, *Galatians*, 170. In agreement are Johnson, 'Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Paul' 264, 277; E. Schweizer, 'What Do We Really Mean When We Say "God Sent His Son"?' in J. T. Carroll, C. H. Cosgrove and E. E. Johnson (eds), *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 310.

²⁸⁴ W. Fairweather, *The Background of the Epistles* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1958), 320; Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 117-119. Kim also rejects the parallel to Wis 9 when he states that, 'these parallels are not close enough or substantial enough for us to suppose that Paul was consciously dependent upon Wis 9:10-17'. In agreement is J. M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of huiothesia in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 2/48; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 121-186.

²⁸⁵ Dunn, *Galatians*, 215.

Son and sent by God (Mk 9:37; Mt 15:24; Lk 4:18; 10:16). Dunn claims that Wisdom has never been called God's Son in the Jewish tradition.²⁸⁶ J. M. Scott agrees with Dunn's view and argues further that in Wis 9:10-17 Wisdom is sent as an answer to Solomon's personal prayer for Wisdom to guide him and has nothing to do with the salvation plan for Israel's people. Most importantly, Wisdom is rather to be seen as identified with the sending of the Spirit in Wis 9.²⁸⁷

G. O'Collins also supports Dunn's argument by stating that the texts Gal 4:4 and Rom 8:3 confer on Jesus the title 'Son of God' rather than 'Wisdom of God'. O'Collins states that Paul does not use the title 'Wisdom' for Jesus in either Galatians or Romans. However, he uses the title 'Son of God' in a number of passages (Gal 1:16; 2:20; 4:4, 6; Rom 1:3, 4; 8:3, 29, 32). As well as in the texts Gal 4:4 and Rom 8:3, the title 'Son' also appears in 1 Cor 15:28; 2 Cor 1:19; Gal 2:20; Rom 1:3-4 and 32. In total, Paul speaks of Jesus as Son of God seventeen times. However, the title 'Wisdom' is not used in Galatians and Romans.²⁸⁸ This makes it difficult to claim that the Sonship of Gal 4:4 and Rom 8:3 is associated with Jewish Wisdom.

Furthermore, Dunn claims that in Rom 8:3 the verb used 'sending' (πέμψας) is not enough evidence to claim that it is the sending of a divine being from heaven. The verb 'sending' (πέμψας) could be synonymous with ἐξ αποστείλλειν. This is suggested by the interchangeability of the terms in Mk 9:37 'the one who sent me' (ἀποστείλαντά με); in Lk 4:26 '[Elijah] was sent' (ἐπέμφθη), in Lk 10:16 'the one who sent me' (ἀποστείλαντά με); and in Lk 20:13 'send' (πέμψω). Therefore, the sending formula in

²⁸⁶ Dunn, *Christology*, 38-43; Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 277-278; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 168. See also B. R. Gaventa, 'The Singularity of the Gospel' in J. M. Bassler (ed.), *Pauline Theology: Volume I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 158.

²⁸⁷ Scott, *Adoption*, 169.

²⁸⁸ O'Collins, *Christology*, 116. See also Hengel, *Son of God*, 7-15.

Rom 8:3 could provide a closer connection to the Synoptic tradition than the sending of Wisdom found in the Jewish Wisdom tradition.²⁸⁹

It is uncertain whether or not the formula 'God sending his son' (ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ) implies the pre-existence of Jesus. Dunn argues that Gal 4:4-5 could speak of Christ as a child of Adam and Eve according to the words 'born of a woman' and 'born under law'. Dunn claims that Jesus Christ is a human being in terms of Jesus sharing the human condition: humanity's frailty and bondage to the Law. Dunn concludes that there is no possibility of claiming that Paul implies Christ in Gal 4:4 as either pre-existent Son or Jewish Wisdom.²⁹⁰

However, Lee disagrees with Dunn and states that the texts in Gal 4:4 and Rom 8:3 speak of the Son as pre-existent. Lee explains that these texts echo the content of Ps 2:7, where the Sonship of God appears signifying the pre-existent Son, and Ps 110:1, which speaks of the divine mission where God sends his Son. The sharing of the throne with God can also be seen here as reference to the 'right hand of God' indicating Jesus' divine identity and pre-existence. Furthermore, being sent into the world emphasizes Jesus' divine mission in response to his transcendental origin. This can explain Paul's probable claim that God sent his son in order to fulfil his plan of salvation. However, according to Lee, Paul does not state or indicate that God sent his Wisdom as saviour to fulfil a salvific role.²⁹¹

There is not enough evidence to indicate any connection with Jewish Wisdom in the texts of Gal 4:4 and Rom 8:3. These texts might indicate the pre-existence of Jesus.

²⁸⁹ Dunn, *Christology*, 44-45; Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 277-278. Scholars including J. A. Fitzmyer claim that Gal 4:4 has a close connection to Rom 8:3. See Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 478.

²⁹⁰ Bruce, *Galatians*, 195; Dunn, *Christology*, 40; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 168, 169-170. See also Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 274-275.

²⁹¹ Lee, *From Messiah*, 309-314.

We know from our previous discussion of 1 Cor 8:6 that Paul probably held that view, but it is difficult to see any strong connection between Jesus in these verses and pre-existent Wisdom. The functional parallels between the two are even more faint than in other cases, and Paul uses the title ἄσων rather than Wisdom in both of these verses. It is as the Son of God that Jesus is sent into the world for salvific purposes.

(d) Phil 2:6-11

Although Jesus Christ is in the form of God ($\text{ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἠγῆσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα²⁹² θεῶ}$), he does not regard himself as having equality with God (v. 6). With a sense of humility he surrenders himself as a slave, being born in human form (v. 7). This sense of humility is reflected again in v. 8, where together with his obedience, this leads him to death on the cross. Consequently, he was exulted by God who raised him above all other humans (v. 9). So, likewise, all should show deference to Jesus by bending the knee at the mention of his name (v. 10). Therefore, by proclaiming Jesus as Lord, God the Father is glorified (v. 11).

The first point to make in relation to this text is its obvious Adam Christology. Verses 6a-7c show a double contrast. The first contrast is presented both in the ἄσων form of God (v. 6) and in the ἄσων form of a slave (v. 7). The second contrast is between ἄσων with God (v. 6) and ἄσων in likeness of men (v. 7), which was what Jesus became. This echoes Gen 1-3 when Adam, being made in the image of God, shared his glory.

²⁹² ἴσα should be interpreted within the context of the culture even though the word can be used to describe equality of size, shape, or mass of material objects. Here it is more likely to mean equality of status or importance in a hierarchical order. See F. W. Beare, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1959), 78; C. Osiek, *Philippians: Philemon* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000), 60-61.

However, this was lost as a result of his fall and so he became a slave.²⁹³ Therefore, there is a similarity in the form of God between Adam and Christ, but a dissimilarity in that they have different endings. Adam later in Gen 3:5, 22 had eaten the forbidden fruit, which could mean that he had become like God knowing good and evil. But he ceased to be like God, disobeyed God's command and he ceased to be in the likeness of God. Because of his sin, Adam not only lost his God-likeness but also his immortality. This is in stark contrast to Christ, who is also in the form of God. Christ is the last Adam or the true Adam who chose to do God's will on the cross. Christ restores what Adam had lost as a result of his sin.

Is there also a Wisdom Christology in this text? Some scholars contend that there is on the grounds that Phil 2:6-11 alludes to the pre-existence of Christ, which parallels the pre-existence of Sophia in Prov 3:19-20; 8:30; Wis 7:22 and 9:2-4.²⁹⁴ Other scholars reject this hypothesis, since there is no mention of Wisdom and Jesus is referred to as Lord (cf. 1 Cor 8:6).²⁹⁵ This title is often used by Paul in his letter to the Philippians (1:2, 14; 2:11, 19, 24, 29; 3:1, 8, 20; 4:1, 4, 5, 10, 23). The significance of the Lordship terminology is emphasized in the writings of scholars such as G. D. Fee, G. F. Hawthorne and P. O' Brien. These scholars have similar views regarding the meaning of the Lordship, which is given to Jesus in Phil 2:11. They state that Lord is used interchangeably with God (Yahweh) and Jesus. The Lordship of Jesus is to claim, the

²⁹³ Dunn, *Christology*, 115. See further M. D. Hooker, *From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 97-98. The letter to the Philippians was written sometime in the 50s. See G. D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 34.

²⁹⁴ These scholars include Deutsch, "Wisdom in Matthew" 31-32; Johnson, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Paul" 264, 282; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 260-263, 266, 290, 292, 331. See also Fairweather, *Background*, 317-318.

²⁹⁵ R. P. Martin, *Philippians* (NCBC; London: Oliphants, 1976), 101-102. See also Fee, *Philippians*, 225; G. F. Hawthorne, *Philippians* (WBC 43; Dallas: Word Books, 2004), 94-95.

has the right to reign and has been exalted by God to the Lord of the cosmos Lordship in Phil 2:11 therefore acknowledges Christ as the ruler of the world.²⁹⁶

The significance of the Lordship is explained further by P. O'Brien when he states that the hymn in Phil 2:6-11 might have been written to instruct the Philippians in Christian living by presenting Christ as the ultimate model for the Philippians. Jesus is portrayed as emptying himself, humbling himself by taking a human form, becoming obedient to the point of death on a cross. Therefore, God exalted him bestowing on him the name of highest distinction Lord exalting him above all creatures.²⁹⁷

Dunn and J. Murphy-O'Connor argue that the hymn could be best understood as an expression of Adam Christology, as noted above, rather than of pre-existent Christology. Christ's ministry and sacrifice is described in the language used for Adam. Christ should be understood in a close connection with Adam in this context. If Adam is understood as not a pre-existent being but only a pre-historical being or the first man, so is Christ. If Adam is first, Christ is the last Adam.²⁹⁸

However, M. Zerwick puts forward a differing view even though he too reads the hymn in the context of Adam Christology. He accepts Jesus' pre-existence in Phil 2:2-11 when he gives the definition of the word ὑπάρχων (v. 6). He defines it as being from the beginning and as being from all eternity. He believes the word contains connotations of timelessness and an implication of pre-existence. So, he claims that the hymn could describe Jesus as a pre-existent being, which parallels the Adam stories. By referring to vv. 6-7, it could be seen that the texts refer from pre-existence to existence

²⁹⁶ Fee, *Philippians*, 225; Hawthorne, *Philippians*, 94; P. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 243.

²⁹⁷ O'Brien, *Philippians*, 243.

²⁹⁸ Dunn, *Christology*, 98-128; J. Murphy-O'Connor, 'Christological Anthropology in Phil 2:6-11' *RB* 83 1976, 25-50.

and from existence to death (v. 8). This death refers to the suffering servant in Isa 53 with whom Jesus is also identified. Understanding the Adam narratives as the mythic stage of pre-history can explain the pre-existence of Christ. It was Adam who transforms from pre-humankind to the progenitor of Seth and other children. However, Adam ends with the double conception of death: the first death was seen when he was banished from the tree of life, which means the presence of God (Gen 3:22-24), and the second death when he was subject to physical death (Gen 5:5).²⁹⁹

The discussion of Oø Collins is perhaps the most pertinent and relevant for our purposes. Oø Collins argues that the interpretation of Phil 2:6-11 should be taken in a similar way to other Pauline passages, particularly 1 Cor 8:6.³⁰⁰ Therefore, Phil 2:6-11 probably refers to the pre-existence of Jesus, but this pre-existence cannot be automatically transferred to Jewish Wisdom. Apart from the common theme of pre-existence, there is little else to link together these two figures. Furthermore, the hymn emphasizes Adam Christology and uses the title ÆLordø rather than ÆSophiaø or ÆWisdomø. Wisdom Christology cannot be read out of this text, and it should not be read into it.

(e) Summary

Despite the optimism of some exegetes, there is no clear Wisdom Christology in the Pauline tradition. It is true that Paul viewed Jesus as a pre-existent figure who had a role in creation, but these convictions about Jesus are never expressed in Wisdom terminology or language. Even in 1 Cor 1:24, 30, where Paul refers to Jesus as the Wisdom of God, there is no indication that he is using the expression christologically. His language was probably dictated by the prior problem of wisdom in the Corinthian community. When

²⁹⁹ M. Zerwick, *A Grammatical Analysis of Greek New Testament* (Rome: EPIB, 5th edn 1996), 595.

³⁰⁰ G. Oø Collins, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 126-127.

Paul does mention Jesus as a pre-existent figure, it does not necessarily point to him as Sophia. There were a number of pre-existent beings in contemporary Judaism. Moreover, Paul uses the titles -Lordø and -Sonø (Son of God) when referring to the prior existence of Jesus. The fact that Paul never refers to the person of Jesus as -Wisdomø makes it difficult to assign to the apostle a clear and definitive Wisdom Christology. Even the parallels between Jesus and Wisdom, and some of these are rather faint, are not enough to substantiate such a Christology. The most one can say is that Paul may have considered Jesus to have performed some of the traditional roles of Sophia, but he has yet to make the identification between the two. It is much more important for Paul that Jesus is known as Messiah, Son of God and Lord.

2. The Markan Tradition

Previous discussions have indicated that there are no references to Wisdom Christology in either Pauline or Q tradition. It is also a matter of debate as to whether there is Wisdom Christology in Markø Gospel. There are a number of issues, which need to be discussed such as the meaning of the word σοφία (Mk 6:2), the meaning of the phrase -in the beginningø (Mk 1:1), the symbol of the dove (1:9-11), Jesusø deeds (2:16-20; 2:23-28; 5:43; 6:34-44; 8:1-9) which allegedly are attributed to Wisdom and the Markan -I have comeø sayings (Mk 2:17; 10:45).

Firstly, some scholars believe that the word σοφία which only appears in Mk 6:2 indicates that Mark sees Jesus as Wisdom.³⁰¹ The text reveals that when Jesus was teaching in the synagogue, they said -Where did this man get all this? What is this

³⁰¹ OøCollins, *Christology*, 38-39. Also, scholars who see the Markan Jesus is identified with Jewish Wisdom include H. M. Humphrey, -Jesus as Wisdom in Markø *BTB* 19 (1989), 48-53; M. N. Sabin, -Wisdom in the Gospel of Markø *BibTod* 47 (2009), 11-17.

wisdom that has been given to him? Others disagree with this argument.³⁰² They believe that σοφία in this context means power³⁰³, teaching³⁰⁴ and extraordinary charisma.³⁰⁵ Each of these scholars refers to the teaching of Jesus as being significant in capturing the attention of the congregation and not as divine Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. The power of Jesus' teaching was for many a mystery as he was not trained as a speaker nor came from a home of scholars. None of these factors point towards Jesus as being personified Jewish Wisdom in the Gospel of Mark, rather he was perceived as one full of human wisdom and wise teachings.

Secondly, the opening words in the book of Genesis are repeated in Mk 1:1 –the beginning. Some believe that this beginning is the beginning of Wisdom. Moreover, they argue that the phrase –the beginning reflects Wisdom's role in creation. They refer to Jn 1:1, where the phrase –in the beginning was the Word is found and the Word is identified with Wisdom.³⁰⁶

In response to this argument, it is noted that Mark does not use the exact expression from the Genesis. While Genesis uses the preposition *in* preceding the beginning, Mark does not. Also, we need to look at both Genesis –in the beginning and Mark –the beginning as each carries a different implication. Genesis opens with –In the beginning referring to God's creation and where God's role is dominant. In Mk 1:1, however, the phrase, –the beginning refers to Jesus as being the good news and does not

³⁰² Scholars who do not see the Markan Jesus is identified with Jewish Wisdom include J. R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 12-14; Dunn, *Christology*, 46-48; Edwards, *Jesus the Wisdom of God*, 39-44; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 23-27; D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (SP 2; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2002), 25-27; Johnson, *She Who IS*, 150-169; Perkins, –Jesus: God's Wisdom 274-276; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 335-380.

³⁰³ Harrington, *Mark*, 184.

³⁰⁴ France, *Mark*, 242.

³⁰⁵ Edwards, *Mark*, 170.

³⁰⁶ Sabin, –Wisdom in the Gospel of Mark 15.

necessarily mean that Jesus is God or Wisdom, but rather the Son of God which is the title given to Jesus here. Moreover, in this text, there is no other Christological reference to Jesus. Further discussion on this topic will reappear later in this chapter in the context of the Johannine tradition where the phrase "in the beginning" is also a matter for debate.

Thirdly, there is also an argument that the symbol of the dove as depicted at the baptism of Jesus in the text Mk 1:9-11 represents Wisdom. According to Schroer, divine Wisdom is called "turtledove", one who is "mild, gentle, and fond of society" in the writing of Philo of Alexandria (*Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit* (126-128)). She also argues that the identification of Jesus with Wisdom is confirmed by the actions of Jesus when he is inclusive in his invitation to share a meal. The generosity of Jesus is a reflection of the love, openness and kindness of Wisdom, Schroer claims.³⁰⁷

However, not every one agrees with Schroer's claim. Edwards argues that the "dove" is mentioned in each of the following passages as a symbol, contrary to the argument presented by Schroer. In Hos 7:11 the dove is recorded as being a "silly dove" waiting for capture. Moreover, in Gen 8 we read of the dove flying over the waters in the story of Noah.³⁰⁸ Additionally, Edwards claims that the appearance of the dove at the baptism of Jesus in Mk 1:9-11 was not something metaphorical but rather an appearance likened to a supernatural reality.³⁰⁹ Harrington supports Edwards's writing by stating that the language of the dove in Gen 1:2 and 8 has no influence on the understanding of the words and actions in Mk 1:9-11.³¹⁰ Also, when we look further at the Baptism event,

³⁰⁷ Schroer, *Wisdom*, 113-118, 140-143. Edwards also claims that the dove in Philo represents Wisdom in Edwards, *Mark*, 36. Edwards argues that there is a "dove" in Gen 1:2. The dove is named as the spirit above the waters at the time of creation. I have not found this convincing, as the appearance of a dove is not clearly mentioned but rather "a wind from God"

³⁰⁸ Edwards, *Mark*, 78-79.

³⁰⁹ Edwards, *Mark*, 36-37.

³¹⁰ Harrington, *Mark*, 64-65.

there was a voice from heaven: You are my Son, the Beloved. This voice identifies Jesus as the Son of God. This is a further indication that the Christological title of Wisdom does not apply in this scenario but is rather Christologically presenting Jesus as Son of God.

Therefore, it is difficult to make the conclusion that the dove in the Markan tradition can only be understood as divine Wisdom. Also, the voice from heaven describes Jesus as the faithful servant of the prophecy of Isaiah (Isa 42:1). Furthermore, the Gospel that is most commonly accepted by scholars as having similar elements to Philo is John and not Mark. This issue will be put forward in detail later in this chapter in regards to Wisdom Christology in John's Gospel. Divine Wisdom in Philo is seen as the dove but there is no evidence that Philo had any influence on Mark.

Fourthly, the Markan Jesus's activities reflect Wisdom's deeds in the Jewish tradition. Thus some scholars argue that the deeds of Jesus and Wisdom are identical. This leads them to an understanding that the two figures are also identical. Like Wisdom in Prov 8, Jesus calls the ordinary people to follow his teachings in Mk 2:16-20. Moreover, he provides them with the necessities for life. Both Wisdom in Prov 9 and the Markan Jesus are seen as caregiver and provider in Mk 2:23-28, 5:43, 6:34-44 and 8:1-9. Just as Jesus's blood was poured out for many in Mk 14:24, so too in Sir 1:9 Wisdom is poured out upon all [God's] works. Also, Jesus is seen throughout Mark's Gospel as the one who is above all others, the one who filled his followers with awe at the Transfiguration (Mk 9:5). This echoes Wisdom as $\text{radiant and unfading}$ a reflection of eternal light and an image of God's goodness (Wis 7:25-26).³¹¹ Moreover, through the

³¹¹ Sabin, $\text{Wisdom in the Gospel of Mark}$ 16.

cross (8:37), death and resurrection (16:1, 6-7), some scholars including M. N. Sabin believe that the Markan Jesus presents himself as Wisdom.

However, the claim that the Markan Jesus can be identified with Jewish Wisdom through the deeds they share, is not valid on all occasions. It might be considered as connecting Jewish Wisdom and the Markan Jesus when they are seen calling others for their discipleship. Also, both can be seen as caregiver and provider. However, these deeds are not sufficient proof that Jewish Wisdom and the Markan Jesus are one and the same. Since the Evangelist establishes the term σοφία with no relation to Wisdom Christology at the beginning of his Gospel, it is difficult to anticipate any significant Wisdom elements later in his writing.

To support the above argument, we need to look at the Christological title of Jesus as Son of God and not Wisdom as evident through his salvific action, transfiguration and passion. This could be explained by the prominence of this Christological title, the suffering Son of God, as used throughout Mark's Gospel. The title, Son of God begins in Mk 1:1. In the incident of Baptism, a voice from heaven proclaims, "you are my Son, the Beloved" Also, the unclean spirits acknowledged him as the Son of God in Mk 3:11 and as the Son of the Most High God in 5:7. Mark emphasizes the significance of the title, even though in the story Jesus silences the demons so that they will not reveal his identity to the disciples. At his transfiguration in 9:7, a voice from heaven proclaims, "this is my Son, the Beloved" In 12:1-2, Jesus spoke to the crowd and told them a parable about the only suffering son of a vineyard owner who was rejected and killed by wicked tenants. Jesus was thus giving an indication of what he was to suffer as the Son of God. Furthermore, in Mk 13:32, even though there is an implication of a great intimacy

between the Son and Father there are some things only the Father knows. It is this knowledge that only the Father possesses that becomes central to Jesus' teachings. At his death on the cross, Jesus showed again he is Christologically titled as Son of God when the Roman centurion proclaims, "truly this man was the Son of God" in 15:39.³¹² Thus, the deeds, actions and words of the Markan Jesus show him to be loyal to the Christological title of the Son of God not Wisdom.

Fifthly, some critics claim that the "I have come" sayings as shown in Mark's Gospel indicated the connection between the Markan Jesus and Jewish Wisdom. The sayings imply Jesus as pre-existent³¹³ thus identifying himself as pre-existent Wisdom. The sayings in Mk 2:17 and 10:45 use a definite form, "I have come" followed by the infinitive where Jesus reveals the purpose of his coming. The "I have come" sayings originally come from Mark but are repeated in Matthew (9:13; 20:28; 5:17a, 17b) and in John (12:47). These Matthean texts will be examined later in chapter 3 and the Johannine text will be examined later in this chapter.

In Mk 2:17 the text says "I have come to call not the righteous but sinners" and likewise in Mk 10:45 "For the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many." Both these texts could represent Jesus as having pre-existence and as one who has come into the world from heaven. However, some scholars including Edwards and France prefer to see these texts in the light of the mission of the Isaianic servant rather than in the Jewish Wisdom tradition. They argue that the unique mission of Jesus in these Markan texts was connected to sinners (Isa 53:5, 6, 8, 10-12). Jesus' mission was of service and self-sacrifice for all and his followers were to continue

³¹² Dunn, *Christology*, 46-48; Harrington, *Mark*, 25.

³¹³ Dunn, *Christology*, 89.

this mission. Furthermore, Mark (10:45) does not claim Jesus as Wisdom but rather as the Son of Man.

Moreover, it is hard to claim any Wisdom Christology in the Markan Gospel, beside the significant use of the title "the Son of God" Mark also uses the title "Son of Man"³¹⁴ and not the title "Wisdom" for Jesus. This can be seen in three main passages. Firstly, the Son of Man is referred to in the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus (8:31; 9:31; 10:33-34). Secondly, Jesus refers to himself as the Son of Man, being the one who can forgive sins (2:10). Jesus' own remarks at the Last Supper reveal what was written about him as the Son of Man (14:21) and in (14:41) the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Jesus is the Christological figure in the presentation of the title "Son of Man". Thirdly, Mark 13:26 reaches its pinnacle when the Son of Man is seen coming in the clouds, thus referring back to Dan 7:13.³¹⁵ Through the Markan sayings of "I have come" there is no pre-existence. Therefore, we cannot presuppose any connections of the Markan Jesus as Wisdom in terms of pre-existence.

To summarize, since Mark never refers to the person of Jesus as "Wisdom" it is not possible to allocate a clear and definitive Wisdom Christology in his writing. The parallels between the Markan Jesus and Wisdom are not strong enough to substantiate such a Christology. The writing of Mark's Gospel can only be credited with acknowledging Jesus as performing the core traditional roles of Jewish Wisdom at some level. However, the evangelist has no interest in identifying Jesus as Wisdom. It is more relevant for Mark to christologically title Jesus rather as Son of God and Son of Man.

³¹⁴ The majority of scholars agree that the main Christological titles applied to Jesus in Mark's Gospel are Son of God, Son of Man, Christ and Lord. Samples of scholars in this group include Edwards, *Mark*, 15-16; France, *Mark*, 23-27; Harrington, *Mark*, 25-27.

³¹⁵ Harrington, *Mark*, 26-27.

Furthermore, with no Wisdom Christology interest, Mark does not have strong Wisdom elements in his work, but it may have been developed by one of his work redactors, the writer of Matthew's Gospel. However, before moving towards that study, we need to examine the Q tradition, which is one of Matthew's richest sources for Wisdom Christology.

3. The Q Tradition

We will now focus on the Q tradition which may pre-date the letters of Paul.³¹⁶ While Paul seemingly made no reference to the Jewish figure of Wisdom, Wisdom looms large in the alternative Q tradition. It will be shown that in Q, Sophia begins to play an important role in the Christian tradition about the mission of Jesus. But the question is, what does Q say about Wisdom and what is the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom in this tradition?

In order to understand Wisdom in the Q tradition, it is necessary to discuss a number of key texts in this source. The texts selected for discussion are those that earlier scholarship has identified as the more important witnesses to this theme in Q. These texts are Q 7:18-35 (Lk 7:18-35//Mt 11:2-19); Q 11:49 (Lk 11:49//Mt 23:34); Q 13:34-35 (Lk 13:34-35//Mt 23:37-39); Q 10:21-22 (Lk 10:21-22//Mt 11:25-26) and Q 11:31 (Lk 11:31//Mt 12:42). However, the particular texts of Q 7:18-35 (Lk 7:18-35//Mt 11:2-19) and Q 11:49 (Lk 11:49//Mt 23:34) are of most importance for determining the figure of Wisdom in this source. My analysis of these texts has a bearing on Matthew's view of

³¹⁶ Scholars believe that the Q tradition dates from approximately 50 C.E. I. Havener, *Q: The Sayings of Jesus* (GNS 19; Wilmington: Glazier, 1987), 42-45; J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings of the Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 177-179.

the connection between Jesus and Jewish Wisdom, and this will be fully examined in Chapter 3.

(a) Q 7:18-35 (Lk 7:18-35//Mt 11:2-19)

Although the main reference to Wisdom in Q 7:18-35 (Lk 7:18-35//Mt 11:2-19) is in the last verse Q 7:35 (Lk 7:35//Mt 11:19b), the earlier section is also important. The text falls into three main parts: Q 7:18-23 (Lk 7:18-23//Mt 11:2-6); Q 7:24-30 (Lk 7:24-30//Mt 11:7-11) and Q 7:31-35 (Lk 7:31-35//Mt 11:16-19). Firstly, the text Q 7:18-23 (Lk 7:18-23//Mt 11:2-6) speaks of John's enquiry and Jesus's reply. John's question about whether Jesus is the one who is to come is answered by reference to the mighty works performed by Jesus. These works include healing, raising the dead and preaching the good news to the poor.³¹⁷

Secondly, in Q 7:24-30 (Lk 7:24-30//Mt 11:7-11), Jesus praises John as a prophet and also more than a prophet. He comments on him as a messenger of God to prepare the way for the Messiah, and ranks him as the highest of men. Jesus also proclaims that there is something more important than following John which is entry to the kingdom. Therefore, John is placed in a subordinate position to Jesus.³¹⁸

Thirdly, in Q 7:31-35 (Lk 7:31-35//Mt 11:16-19), Jesus comments on John and himself and gives a verdict on the men of this generation who rejected both of them. He comments that they are like children unwilling to play with others. They reject the ascetic lifestyle of John and criticize him as having a demon. Jesus also comments that they

³¹⁷ Generally, the wording in Luke is almost identical with Matthew. However, Luke is more specific in terms of how John sent two disciples who repeated exactly what he had commanded them to ask Jesus (Lk 7:20). Another difference between the two texts is that Luke inserts an account of how Jesus performed mighty works in the presence of witnesses before Jesus verbally replied to the question (Lk 7:21). These mighty works could be seen as the fulfillment of Isa 35:5-10.

³¹⁸ Generally, Luke and Matthew agree. However, the differences are mostly literary. Luke is more specific in describing the messengers and the king's court when he includes the words 'gorgeously' 'richly appareled' and 'live in luxury'. The theme of the coming messenger echoes Mal 3:1 and Isa 40:3.

criticize him for mixing with tax collectors and sinners, and criticize him for being a libertine (Q 7:31-34). Luke probably omits the passage in Mt 11:12-13 and moves it to Lk 16:16a.³¹⁹ Therefore, the text Q 7:18-35 generally spells out the relationship of John and Jesus to the execution of God's plan of salvation, and recounts the reaction of John's disciples and of Jesus's own generation to Jesus's mission.

Central to the discussion in Q 7:35 (Lk 7:35//Mt 11:19b) is the issue of Wisdom and her relationship with Jesus. Lk 7:35 states, "Wisdom is justified by all her children" (ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς), whereas Mt 11:19b states, "Wisdom is justified by her deeds" (ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς). Between the two texts, there are only two words that are different. Luke uses the word "children" (τέκνα), which suggests that Jesus is one of Wisdom's children. However, Matthew uses the word "deeds" (ἔργα), which seems to identify Jesus with Wisdom herself (cf. Mt 11:2).³²⁰ Also, the word "all" (πάντων) is found only in the Lukan text, presumably added by Luke. As a starting point, it is perhaps more probable that Luke's low Christology, where Jesus is not identified with Wisdom, is more original than Matthew's high Christology where he is. Since the usual pattern is the development from low Christology to a high Christology, Matthew's text seems to be redactional.³²¹ This

³¹⁹ Generally Lk 7:33-35 is close in wording to Mt 11:16-19. However, in Lk 7:33-34, Luke is more descriptive than Matthew is. While Matthew has "neither eating nor drinking" Luke expands the words "to eating no bread and drinking no wine"

³²⁰ Dunn, *Christology*, 197-198; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX* (AB 28; Garden City: Doubleday, 1979), 681; A. D. Jacobson, *The First Gospel: An Introduction to Q* (Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1992), 124 n. 185; R. A. Piper, *Wisdom in the Q-Tradition: The Aphoristic Teaching of Jesus* (SNTSMS 61; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 168; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 35, 55-58; C. M. Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis: An Analysis and Appraisal* (SNTSMS 44; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 148-151.

³²¹ Scholars who claim that Luke preserves the more original form of the saying about Wisdom's children in Lk 7:35 (cf. Mt 11:19b) include F. Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 280-281; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew vol. II VIII-XVIII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991), 264; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 49; Dunn, *Christology*, 197-198; Gench, *Wisdom*, 217; P. J. Hartin,

suspicion can be confirmed by a detailed redactional critical analysis of these variant texts.

Would Luke omit the word *ἔργα* (deeds) and put in the word *τέκνα* (children)? The following argument points to the conclusion that this is not likely. The word *ἔργα* and its cognates occur eight times in Luke. The occurrences in Luke are as follows: *ἔργον* (11:48; 24:19), *ἐργαζόμεαι* (13:14), *ἐργάτης* (twice in 10:2 and also in 10:7; 13:27 and *ἐργασία* (12:58).³²² In four out of eight occurrences, Luke adopts the word *ἔργα* and cognates from Q (Lk 10:2//Mt 9:37-38; Lk 13:27//Mt 7:23 and twice in Lk 10:7//Mt 10:10). This alone shows that Luke has no aversion to it. Luke possibly adopts the word *ἔργα* from Q on two further occasions. In Lk 11:48 and Lk 12:58, the wording and order of each text is close to the texts of Mt 23:31 and Mt 5:25 respectively. *ἔργα* is found in both Lukan texts, but not in the Matthean parallels. Even though it is difficult to claim whether the word *ἔργα* in Luke is original or secondary, in either case it shows that Luke has a preference for the word. Twice more, Luke uses *ἔργα* in unique material (Lk 13:14 and Lk 24:19), which again demonstrates that Luke is happy to use the word as it appears in his sources.

Ἐν σοφίᾳ δικαιώσεται ἡ σοφία ὑπὸ τῶν τέκνων (Q 7:35) in J. S. Kloppenborg (ed.), *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical, and Social Studies on the Saying Gospel Q* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995), 154-155; Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 120 n. 174; C. S. Keener, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 343; I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 304; U. Luz, *Matthew 8-20: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 149; J. M. Robinson, *Jesus as Sophos and Sophia: Wisdom Tradition and the Gospels* in R. L. Wilken (ed.), *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 10; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 39; Tuckett, *Revival*, 157.

³²² P. S. Clapp, B. Friberg and T. Friberg, *Analytical Concordance of the Greek New Testament: Lexical Focus* (BGNTL 1; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991), 896-901. Each cognate has a slightly different meaning and word form. See B. Friberg, T. Friberg and N. F. Miller *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament vol.1 Lexical Focus* (BGNTL; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000), 171, 192. See also R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn 1994), 213.

On the other hand, it is likely that Matthew redacts the word $\text{-children}\emptyset$ (τέκνα) from Q and changes it to $\text{-deeds}\emptyset$ (ἔργα) in Mt 11:19b and also Mt 11:2 for his own purpose.³²³ In Matthew the word $\text{-deeds}\emptyset$ (ἔργα) and its cognates occur at least 16 times; ἔργον (5:16; 11:2, 19; 23:3, 5; 26:10), ἐργαζόμαι (7:23; 21:28; 25:16; 26:10) and ἐργάτης (9:37, 38; 10:10; 20:1, 2, 8). The occurrences of these terms in 5:16; 7:23; 20:1, 2, 8; 21:28; 23:3; 25:16 appear in unique material, while Matthew follows Q on three occasions (Mt 9:37//Lk 8:2; Mt 9:38//Lk 8:3; Mt 10:10//Lk 6:3). He also adopts them from Mark (Mt 26:10//Mk 14:6; Mt 26:10//Mk 14:1). All of this reveals that Matthew has a preference for ἔργον and its cognates.

On the basis of this, one can suspect Matthean redaction in Mt 11:2, -deeds of the Messiah ($\text{τά ἔργα τοῦ χριστοῦ}$). The title $\text{-Messiah}\emptyset$ is used by Matthew eleven times in Mt 1:1, 16, 17, 18; 2:4; 11:2; 16:20; 23:10; 26:68; 27:17 and 22.³²⁴ Matthew likes both the word ἔργα and the title $\text{-Messiah}\emptyset$ (χριστός) and he includes both in Mt 11:2.³²⁵ That Matthew's text in 11:2 is redactional is confirmed by other evidence. The unique material in Lk 24:19b reads as follows: $\text{-Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word}\emptyset$ (Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ ὃς ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ προφήτης δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ

³²³ Also, both Matthew and Luke use the word $\text{-children}\emptyset$ (τέκνον, παιδίον) a number of times in a number of passages throughout their Gospels. This indicates their preference for this word. Therefore, if the word $\text{-deeds}\emptyset$ (ἔργα) is original, there is no reason for Luke to change it as he likes it. Similarly, if the word $\text{-children}\emptyset$ (τέκνον, παιδίον) is original, there is no reason for Matthew to change it as he also likes it. However, Matthew changes the word $\text{-children}\emptyset$ (τέκνον) to the word $\text{-deeds}\emptyset$ (ἔργα) so he can further develop his own theological agenda.

³²⁴ The text 16:21 has no word $\text{-Messiah}\emptyset$ (Χριστός) but implicitly contains the meaning of $\text{-Messiah}\emptyset$ through Jesus's action. See Gench, *Wisdom*, 247-249.

³²⁵ Scholars who claim Mt 11:2 is redactional include Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 240; Gench, *Wisdom*, 247-249; D. Senior, *Matthew* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 124-125; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 56-58. See also Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 50-51; T. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1949), 66 where Mt 11:4 also indicates that the deeds of Wisdom in Mt 11:19b is redactional of Q. Matthew redacts the text $\text{-Go and tell John what you hear and see}\emptyset$ (πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννη ἃ ἀκούετε καὶ βλέπετε) (Mt 11:4) instead of $\text{-what you have seen and heard}\emptyset$ (Πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννη ἃ εἶδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε) (Lk 7:22). Matthew changes the $\text{-hear}\emptyset$ (εἶδετε) and $\text{-see}\emptyset$ (ἠκούσατε) from the aorist to the present tense in order to emphasize the deeds and the work of Jesus in his time.

λόγω). Here Luke uses the word *deeds* (ἔργα) to identify Jesus as a prophet who performs miracles.³²⁶ Since Luke can use the word *deeds* to refer to the miracles of Jesus, it can be assumed that he would not have omitted the similar notion in Mt 11:2 (healing, raising the dead and preaching the good news to the poor).³²⁷ Thus, there is no need for Luke to omit τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ if it had originally appeared in Q 7:18.

And if it is likely that Matthew inserts *the deeds of Christ* in Mt 11:2, then it is probably the case that he included ἔργα in 11:19 as well. Matthew changes the wording in both texts so that he can make a distinctive Christological point. For Matthew, Wisdom's deeds in Mt 11:19b are the Messiah's deeds in Mt 11:2, so he has edited these texts to reflect this conviction. The *deeds of the Messiah or Christ* in Mt 11:2 are identified as healing, raising the dead and preaching the good news to the poor (v. 5). Therefore, Matthew has redacted the text 11:19b in order to identify Jesus with Wisdom. The identification can also be seen through the Messiah's deeds, which are Jesus's deeds and Wisdom's deeds.³²⁸

However, Lukan redaction can be found in Lk 7:35. Luke adds the word *all* (πάντων) in 7:35 to echo *all the people* (πᾶς ὁ λαός) in v. 29. The material in Lk 7:29 is also found in Mt 21:32, and so probably reflects a Q tradition. But πάντων can

³²⁶ Jesus as a *prophet* (cf. Lk 7:16, 39; 9:8, 19) can be likened to Moses in Acts 7:22. See also C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke* (NTC; London: SCM Press, 1990), 908; E. La Verdere, *Luke* (NTM 5; Wilmington: Glazier, 1980), 285-286; Marshall, *Luke*, 895. Fitzmyer also refers to Jesus as a miracle worker (Lk 4:34; Acts 2:22; 3:6; 4:10; 10:38 cf. Acts 6:14; 26:9) regarding his identification here as *a prophet mighty in deed and word* in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke X-XXIV* (AB 28A; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 1546.

³²⁷ J. B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 846.

³²⁸ Havener, *Q*, 68, 78-80. See also Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 235; J. P. Meier, *Matthew* (NTM 3; Wilmington: Glazier, 1980), 124; C. M. Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996), 214. The title *Lord* (κύριος) is used occasionally in Q (Q 6:46; 7:6). However, Q identifies Jesus with Wisdom's children but not with the deeds of Wisdom and also not with the Messiah. In Q 7:18-35, Q does not refer to Jesus as *Messiah* or *Christ* (Χριστός), but *Lord* (κύριος) in Q 7:19. However, Matthew calls Jesus the Messiah (Χριστός) (Mt 11:2). Therefore, Wisdom's deeds (Mt 11:19b) can be referred to as the Messiah's deeds in Mt 11:2. See Piper, *Wisdom*, 168. See also Dunn, *Christology*, 197; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 37, 56-57; Tuckett, *Revival*, 150.

be found only in Lk 7:29 and is probably redactional. If that is the case, then the presence of the word in Lk 7:35 is also editorial.³²⁹ The text Lk 7:29-30 differentiates between two groups of people: ðall the people and the tax collectorsø who accept God and the Pharisees and lawyers who reject God. The difference continues in Lk 7:33-35. The children in the market place in Lk 7:32 and those who criticize John the Baptist and Jesus the Son of Man (7:33-34) reject God. However, all the children of Wisdom in Lk 7:35 accept God.³³⁰ The tax collectors and the prostitutes are those who accept baptism from John the Baptist, but the Pharisees and the lawyers do not. Therefore, the purpose of Lukeø insertion of the word πάντων is to reject that Jesus and John alone fall into the category of Wisdomø children.³³¹

Thus, redaction criticism confirms that Lk 7:35 is more original than Matthewø parallel text in 11:19. Luke takes τέκνα from Q but adds πάντων himself. The Matthean redactional word ἔργα can be referred to τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ in Mt 11:2, which is also redacted by Matthew himself. Therefore, Q 7:35 can be reconstructed as, ðWisdom is justified by her childrenø (ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς). For Q, Wisdom is justified by her children, who are John and Jesus.

This Q text recalls the idea that Sophia in the Jewish tradition has followers or representatives. For example, Wis 7:27 speaks of Wisdom appearing alone and distinct,

³²⁹ U. Luz, *Matthew 21-28: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 2005), 145 n. 3. See also the discussion in much detail in Tuckett, *Revival*, 148-149. Tuckett also explains why it is difficult to claim that Lukeø version depends on Matthew.

³³⁰ Dunn, *Christology*, 197-198; Piper, *Wisdom*, 168. See also Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 51; Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 681; Gench, *Wisdom*, 261-262; Tuckett, *Revival*, 150-151. The Son of Man in Q 7:33-34 is a matter of debate. However, it can not be interpreted as an apocalyptic figure as in apocalyptic texts. The ðSon of manø is a future figure who is not the one who ðhas comeø This is because the Son of man has the mundane activities of eating and drinking which are improbable if he is to identify with an apocalyptic figure. The text simply indicates Jesusø superiority over John. See Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 123.

³³¹ Dunn, *Christology*, 197-198. See also Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 681; Gench, *Wisdom*, 155; Piper, *Wisdom*, 168-169; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 39-44; Tuckett, *Revival*, 148-149.

renewing all things and bringing her followers into contact with God and the prophets.³³² She communicates with humanity in every generation, and this notion is picked up and developed by this later Christian tradition. Wisdom now interacts with the human world, and John and Jesus have become her prophets or her representatives.

As Wisdom's children, Jesus and John the Baptist share the prophetic role as well as the prophetic fate by experiencing opposition and rejection by the "children of this generation" (7:31-32; cf. Q 11:47-48). The opposition which Jesus and John experience is the conflict with what "this generation" regard as their contradictory lifestyle. John fasts, so he is rejected and they conclude that he has a demon (Q 7:33). Similarly, Jesus is rejected as he eats and drinks, so it is concluded that he is a glutton and a drunk (Q 7:34).³³³ Not only are Jesus and John identified as Wisdom's children in terms of the prophetic fate they experience, but also as Wisdom's way which they follow. Jesus and John follow Wisdom's ways of preaching and instructing in the expectation of being accepted (Q 7:22-23). Therefore, they are seen as envoys or representatives of Wisdom.³³⁴

The text in Q 7:23 also reflects Wisdom in Prov 8:32. In this verse Jesus, one of Wisdom's children, motivates "this generation" to follow his preaching and instruction with the laudatory exclamation, "blessed are those who take no offense at me." This echoes Prov 8:32, "And now, my children, listen to me: happy are those who keep my ways." Wisdom's children are those who listen to her and follow her ways. By the laudatory exclamation, Wisdom also blesses those who keep her ways. The text has a

³³² Robinson, "Jesus as Sophos" 6-7.

³³³ Hartin, "Yet Wisdom" 154, 163 n. 15. See also B. L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 144-145. Mack thoroughly explains the connection of the fathers who killed all the prophets and "this generation."

³³⁴ Havener, *Q*, 79-80.

connection with the following text in Prov 8:33-34. While v. 32a (‘my children, listen to me’) parallels v. 33 (‘Hear instruction and be wise and do not neglect it’), v. 32b (‘happy are those who keep my ways’) parallels v. 34 (‘happy is the one who listens to me’).³³⁵

Wisdom encourages her children and motivates them to follow her ways.

Furthermore, Q 7:35 also reflects the imagery of Sophia as a mother. In Sir 4:11 and 15:2 Sophia is a mother and her followers are described as her ‘children’ Sir 4:11 states, ‘Wisdom teaches her children and gives help to those who seek her’ Here Wisdom is a mother who is deeply concerned about her children’s welfare; her children are ‘those who seek her’³³⁶ In Sir 15:2 Wisdom ‘will come to meet him like a mother’ The word ‘him’ in v. 2 refers to the righteous: those who fear the Lord and hold to the Law (v. 1). The righteous are also following Wisdom’s way. As a mother, Wisdom will come to the righteous.³³⁷ Therefore, Wisdom plays a mothering role to her children who are her followers.

The meaning of this Q tradition is clear. John the Baptist and Jesus are Wisdom’s children.³³⁸ They seek her wisdom, are her followers, act on her behalf, and she protects them as a mother does her child. But John and Jesus face opposition and rejection, as do all the prophets who serve Wisdom, and even Sophia herself. Even though John and Jesus are both mentioned as Sophia’s children, the superiority of Jesus is made very clear.³³⁹

³³⁵ The repetition of ‘Listen to me’ can also be found in Prov 5:7; 7:24. See Evans, *Saint Luke*, 358-359.

³³⁶ Tuckett, *Q*, 219. The word ‘children’ in Sir 4:11 echoes ‘a son’ in Sir 4:10. Some scholars prefer the word ‘sons’ for ‘children’ See Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 170-171. V. 11 resembles Prov 4:8, ‘cherish her (Wisdom), and she will lift you high’ See also Evans, *Saint Luke*, 358-359.

³³⁷ Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 264-265; A. A. Di Lella, ‘The Meaning of Wisdom in Ben Sira’ in L. G. Perdue, R. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of J. G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 145. For the mother imagery (15:2a), cf. Isa 49:15 and 66:13. See also J. G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 27.

³³⁸ Piper, *Wisdom*, 168-169. Cf. Suggs, *Wisdom*, 39-44.

³³⁹ Robinson, ‘Jesus as Sophos’ 5. See also Hartin, ‘Yet Wisdom’ 163 n. 14; Piper, *Wisdom*, 169.

The importance of this Q material cannot be overestimated. We find for the first time in the Christian tradition the mention of divine or transcendent Sophia, and the relationship she enjoys with Jesus of Nazareth.

(b) Q 11:49 (Lk 11:49//Mt 23:34a)

These two Gospel texts are quite similar in wording, but a significant difference between them is the actual speaker. Lk 11:49 portrays Jesus quoting the words of Wisdom, Ἐγὼ ἀποστέλω εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους, καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν, Ἄποστελῶ εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώξουσιν). By contrast, Mt 23:34a has no reference to Wisdom but has Jesus himself speak the words that Luke attributes to Wisdom, Ἔγωγε ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς προφήτας καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ γραμματεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ σταυρώσετε). Generally, Lk 11:49 is accepted as original while Mt 23:34a is deemed to be redactional.³⁴⁰ The Christological alteration Matthew has made to the text is consistent with his redaction in 11:19 where he identifies Jesus with Wisdom. Luke again follows Q by distinguishing between Jesus and Wisdom (cf. Lk 7:35).

³⁴⁰ Scholars who claim that Luke preserves the more original form of the saying about Wisdom's oracle in Lk 11:49 (cf. Mt 23:34-35) include D. C. Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 152-153; R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2nd ed 1968), 114; Davies and Allison, *Matthew III*, 312, 317; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 69; Dunn, *Christology*, 201; Evans, *Saint Luke*, 508-509; D. E. Garland, *The Intention of Matthew 23* (NovTSup 52; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 172; P. J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings, Jesus* (JSNTSS 47; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 117; Hartin, Ἔγωγε ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς προφήτας καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ γραμματεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ σταυρώσετε); Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 179; Keener, *Matthew*, 555; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 150; Marshall, *Luke*, 502; J. L. Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34* (WBC 35b; Dallas: Word Books, 1993), 667; J. L. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids; Eerdmans, 2005), 944; Robinson, Ἔγωγε ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς προφήτας καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ γραμματεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ σταυρώσετε); Suggs, *Wisdom*, 13-14, 58-61; Tuckett, *Q*, 167; Tuckett, *Revival*, 158-161; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 358.

Identifying the identity of the original speaker in Q clarifies other differences between the Gospel texts. The future tense in Lk 11:49, Ἐγὼ ἀποστελεῶ, is what we would expect of a saying of Sophia spoken in the past.³⁴¹ Speaking from a trans-historical perspective, she intends to send the prophets, which probably refers to the traditional prophets of old as well as those up to and including John the Baptist and Jesus.³⁴² The present tense in Matthew is necessitated by his change of speaker. Now that Jesus is the sender, he uses the present tense when addressing his audience. As we shall see in the next Chapter, in Matthew it is Jesus as Wisdom who sends emissaries.³⁴³ The original Q tradition probably only referred to prophets as those sent by Sophia. Matthew has probably added ἄφρονες καὶ γραμματεῖς and Luke has added ἀποστόλους.³⁴⁴ It is accepted that Luke adds the word ἀποστόλων which is a patently Christian term.³⁴⁵ However, the words ἄφρονες καὶ γραμματεῖς are believed to be influenced by the Christian Jewish tradition and are added by Matthew.³⁴⁶

Hence, Q 11:49 can probably be reconstructed as, Ἐποὶν ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν ἀποστελεῶ εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν

³⁴¹ Dunn, *Christology*, 201; Piper, *Wisdom*, 169; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 14. See also Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 69.

³⁴² Bultmann, *History*, 114; Garland, *Matthew 23*, 173; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 15-16. Cf. Prov 1:20-33 where Wisdom is pre-existent.

³⁴³ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 69; Garland, *Matthew 23*, 174; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 19.

³⁴⁴ Marshall, *Luke*, 504; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 22-24. See also Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 70; Gundry, *Matthew*, 469; Nolland, *Matthew*, 944-945.

³⁴⁵ The word ἀποστόλος appears only once in Matthew (10:2) Ἐὰν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιθῆται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ. For Luke's redactional addition of the word ἀποστόλος see 6:13; 17:5; 22:14 and 24:10. Mark has the word ἀποστόλος in 3:14 and 6:30. See also Gench, *Wisdom*, 86; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 150, 152; Manson, *Sayings*, 102-103; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 667-668.

³⁴⁶ See Davies and Allison, *Matthew III*, 315; Garland, *Matthew 23*, 174-175; Marshall, *Luke*, 504. For Christians, the term γραμματεῖς can be seen in Mt 13:52. Luke and Matthew may add their own words to fit with their own idea of the situation of their own church at that time. See also Gench, *Wisdom*, 85-88.

ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώξουσιν). In this tradition Q continues to identify Jesus as Wisdom's representative and not as Wisdom incarnate. He quotes the words of Sophia, which are no longer extant in any known source, and so reinforces his relationship with Sophia as attested in Q 7:35. He is the envoy or prophet of Wisdom and she provides him with instruction and insight.

This Q tradition has affinities with the prophetic role of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. In Prov 1:20-33 she sends out the prophets while warning them that they will be rejected, persecuted and executed. She also warns that "this generation" or those who reject her messengers will receive judgement. In Wis 7:27 Sophia appears as one dwelling with the prophets. She renews all things and those who make use of Wisdom obtain God's friendship. She is also the one who makes friends and prophets in every generation. The text in Q 11:49 does not identify Jesus with Wisdom but rather illustrates that there is a connection between Wisdom in what Jesus preaches and what Wisdom previously said and did. As Jesus also speaks of judgments, his accusations against "this generation" have been predicted by Wisdom. Thus, Jesus again is portrayed as an agent of Wisdom and is not identical with her.³⁴⁷

Q 11:49 may also reflect the salvific role of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. Wisdom's proclamation in this verse refers to Wisdom's proclamation in Wis 10:1-4 where she operated as Sophia throughout Israel's history. This is also reflected in Wis 7:27 where she is operative in the world at every age.³⁴⁸ In both passages, Wisdom participates in the history of salvation. She communicates with humanity, making them

³⁴⁷ Havener, *Q*, 81-82. Cf. too Bultmann, *History*, 210-211; J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (SAC; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 111-112; Marshall, *Luke*, 503; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 668; Robinson, "Jesus as Sophos" 13; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 21.

³⁴⁸ Hartin, "Yet Wisdom" 156-157.

God's friends as well as her messengers. These themes are reflected in Q 11:49 where she sends prophets to act as her envoys. These envoys meet with complete rejection, opposition, persecution and even death, continuing into this generation (Jesus' time). This action highlights her role of coming among humanity to offer salvation.³⁴⁹

The prophetic role and the death of Jesus, who is identified as Sophia's envoy in Q 11:49, can be explained further in the context of the deuteronomistic understanding of Israel's history. The motif of the murder of Sophia's envoys derives from this tradition, which emphasizes repentance, calling Israel to return to Yahweh. The history of Israel can be shown as that of constant disobedience in Q 6:23c; 11:47-51; 13:34-35 and 14:16-24. In these texts, prophets were sent to call Israel to repentance but Israel rejected and killed these prophets. In Q, the impenitence of Israel can be perceived by the death of the prophets, particularly in Q 11:47-51, opposition to the prophets in Q 6:23c and 14:16-24; (cf. 7:31-35; 9:58; 10:2-16) and other accusations in Q 3:7-9; 6:39-46; 7:24-27, 31-35, 11:24-26, 39-52 and 12:54-56. Other examples which shame Israel and highlight her impenitence are found in Q 7:9; 10:13-15; 11:31-32 and 11:19, while 'this generation' emphasizes Israel as impenitent. However, there is a renewed call for repentance in Q 3:7-9, 16-17; 6:20-49; 10:2-12; 7:31-35; 11:29-32 and 11:39-52. Through repentance, Yahweh will restore Israel, gathering again the scattered remnants.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Hartin, 'Yet Wisdom' 156-158. See also Dunn, *Christology*, 201-202.

³⁵⁰ See Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 73-74 where the catastrophes of 722 and 587 B.C.E are interpreted as punishment by Yahweh for Israel's impenitence, while Israel's sentence of condemnation continues. See Jub 1:7-26; cf. Q 11:47-51; 13:34-35. In Q miracles are also explained in the context of repentance. See Q 10:13; 11:14-20; 10:5-12 and cf. Q 11:20 with 10:19.

(c) Q 13:34-35 (Lk 13:34-35//Mt 23:37-39)

In this case there is very close verbal agreement between the two Gospel versions, but they appear in different Gospel contexts.³⁵¹ It is widely accepted that the Matthean text preserves the original Q context and sequence.³⁵² Firstly, the use of the catchwords prophets, (προφήτας), sending (ἀποστέλλω) and killing (ἀποκτείνω) are used in both texts, the oracle (Mt 23:34-36) and the lament (Mt 23:37-39). This suggests that these passages are sequential. Moreover, the themes of maternity, of rejection and the accusation of murder (vv. 31, 34, 35, 37) are expressed in both texts. The consequence of this is that in the context of Q, the material continues to be a quote from Sophia, but in Matthew the speaker is Jesus.³⁵³ In preserving the Q sequence, Matthew makes Jesus the speaker of this material as well.

³⁵¹ Other differences between the two texts are minor as follows: The word ἄρημος (v. 38) can not be found in Lk 13:35. Matthew uses the plural ἑρ βροδοῦ (τὰ νοσσία αὐτῆς) while Luke uses the singular form of ἑρ own brood (τῆν ἑαυτῆς νοσσιάν) instead. Matthew prefers ἐπισυναγαγεῖν to Luke's ἐπισυνάξει. In v. 39 Matthew uses γὰρ but Luke uses δε. Also, Matthew adds ἄρ now (ἀπὸ ἄρτι) and omits ἄρ it will come when (ἤξει ὄτε). These differences indicate that Luke's wording preserves more of the original Q tradition and does not affect the similarities the two texts share. See the details of the differences in Gundry, *Matthew*, 472-473; D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 14-28* (WBC 33B; Dallas: Word Books, 1995), 679-680; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 158. However, Hagner and Luz are among those scholars who believe that the Lukan text preserves more of the original Q text. Also Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 739.

³⁵² Scholars who claim the location of Matthew's lament best preserves the original Q while the location of Luke's lament is redactional include Bultmann, *History*, 114-115; H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of Luke* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 63-65, 132-135; Davies and Allison, *Matthew III*, 312; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 74; Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 1034; Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings*, 127; J. M. Robinson, ἄBasic Shifts in German Theology *Int* 16 (1962), 84; J. M. Robinson, ἄLogoi Sophon: On the Gattung of Q in J. M. Robinson and H. Koester (eds), *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 104; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 64-66; Tuckett, *Q*, 173. Scholars who argue against the originality of Matthew's setting include Garland, *Matthew 23*, 189-197; Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 209-213; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 158; Manson, *Sayings*, 102.

³⁵³ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 74; Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings*, 126-127; Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 209; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 158; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 64.

Many scholars believe that Luke has changed the sequence of the lament text.³⁵⁴ Luke's lament is found not after the oracle but immediately following the pericope concerning Jesus' response to the information that Herod is seeking Jesus to kill him (13:31-33). Jesus' response ends with the exclamation, "it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem" Luke wants to bring together two texts about Jerusalem, 13:22-30 followed by 13:31-33. These two texts are then followed by the lament in 13:34-35. Moreover, as explained earlier, Luke has no interest in identifying Jesus with Wisdom. Luke has the speaker of the oracle text as Jesus quoting Wisdom's words.³⁵⁵

Q 13:34-35 continues to present Jesus as Wisdom's envoy as in Q 11:49-51. Wisdom is the sender of prophets and "those sent" just as she was in Q 11:49-51.³⁵⁶ In the lament, Wisdom calls her followers to repent and acknowledge the murder of her envoys. The text shows the deuteronomistic conception of history according to which God or Wisdom continually sends prophets to Israel (or Jerusalem) in order to call her to repentance. Therefore, Q 13:34-35 connects Jesus to the prophetic role of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. This is reflected in Prov 8 when she publicly calls all to follow her way. Jesus is presented as Sophia's envoy who is sent to call all to repentance. Nevertheless, he will have the common prophetic fate, which is to be persecuted and finally killed.

Q 13:34-35 has the metaphor of a hen gathering her brood under her wings. The passage refers to many places in the Old Testament, including 2 Esdr 1:30 where the

³⁵⁴ Scholars who believe the Lukan text preserves the more original Q text in terms of wording include Bultmann, *History*, 114-115; Dunn, *Christology*, 202-204; Gench, *Wisdom*, 79, 86; Havener, *Q*, 81-83; Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 209; Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 227-228; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 739; Piper, *Wisdom*, 164; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 24-29, 38-48, 66-67; Tuckett, *Q*, 173, Tuckett, *Revival*, 163-164. However, Luz disputes the claim that Luke preserves more of the original Q. See Luz's dispute in Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 158-159.

³⁵⁵ Davies and Allison, *Matthew III*, 312. See also Bultmann, *History*, 114-115; Piper, *Wisdom*, 169, 264 n. 72; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 64-65.

³⁵⁶ Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 212; Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 320; Tuckett, *Q*, 220-221.

wings could be wings of the *Seraphim*. Wings are typically seen as a place of protection or shelter, *Shekinah*. Wisdom is linked to *Shekinah* in Prov 8 and Sir 24. The metaphor of protection can be reflected in the words coming from Wisdom's mouth. By her instructions, those who follow her can be protected.³⁵⁷ The protective mother hen in Q 13:34-35 can also be found in the texts: Deut 32:11; Ruth 2:12; Ps 17:8; 36:7; 57:1; 61:4; 63:7; 91:4 and Isa 31:5. However, these texts refer directly to God, presenting him as a protective God; thus the metaphor can be applied to Wisdom as a speaker of the text who partakes of God's protective role.³⁵⁸ But this imagery also recalls the idea, that was mentioned above, of Sophia as a mother who cares for her children.

After being rejected, Wisdom leaves "the house" which could be interpreted as "the temple" or "God's people" (cf. Jer 22:1-8; En 89:50-51, 56, 66, 72).³⁵⁹ This also echoes Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. In Wis 6:16 Wisdom searches out those who follow her way, while in 1 En 42 she cannot find a place to dwell on earth. In Sir 24 she seeks a resting place, eventually finding a dwelling in the temple in Jerusalem. Similarly, in Jerusalem, Wisdom is rejected in Q 13:35a "See your house is left to you" Finally, Wisdom foretells that she will remain hidden until the coming of "the one who comes in the name of the Lord" (v. 35b).³⁶⁰ This future figure has been identified with various

³⁵⁷ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 66-67. Cf. Piper, *Wisdom*, 164. Piper emphasizes that the metaphor calls for a divine being particularly a maternal divine being in 4 Ezra 1:30 and 2 Bar 41:3-4. Piper also links the metaphor to Wisdom in Sir 1:15, "She made as a nest among men an eternal foundation and to the *Shekinah*"

³⁵⁸ Dunn, *Christology*, 203. Wisdom is also linked to *Shekinah* in Jn 1 according to Dunn. See also Gench, *Wisdom*, 115; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 742. However, Jacobson disputes that the metaphor of a hen gathering her brood under her wings in Q 13:34-35 belongs to a divine being. He claims that it is impossible to conclude that Q 13:35a refers to the *Shekinah* because there is no proof that the *Shekinah* tradition existed before the destruction of Jerusalem. Also God cannot be the speaker in Q 13:34 because the divine passive is used in Q 13:35a. Therefore, Q 13:34-35 can be described as an oracle of Wisdom. See Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 212. Cf. Isa 49:14-21; 51:17-20; 54 where the sending of prophets to Jerusalem can also be found.

³⁵⁹ Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 1035; Gench, *Wisdom*, 125.

³⁶⁰ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 67. Cf. Bultmann, *History*, 115; Piper, *Wisdom*, 164-165.

figures, including the Son of Man,³⁶¹ the Messiah³⁶² or Jesus as the coming judge.³⁶³

However, the text is ambiguous and does not provide enough information to explain who is to come in v. 35b. If the text does apply to Jesus, it would reinforce the clear distinction between Jesus and Wisdom elsewhere in Q.

In this passage, Q continues to present Jesus as Wisdom's envoy and prophet. Jerusalem or "this generation" have rejected and murdered the prophets sent by Wisdom. As a result, Jerusalem is forsaken by Wisdom until it acknowledges "he who comes in the name of the Lord." The metaphor of the caring mother hen reflects the protective nature of Wisdom in Prov 8 and Sir 24. The concept of rejection found in Q also could reflect the rejection of Wisdom in 1 En 42 and Bar 1:4.

(d) Q 10:21-22 (Lk 10:21-22//Mt 11:25-27)

The texts Lk 10:21-22 and Mt 11:25-27 are almost identical in wording and order. The Lukan text reads as follows: "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes; yea, Father, for such was thy gracious will. All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows who the Son is except the Father, or who the Father is except

³⁶¹ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 75; Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 228. The idea of the Son of Man which can be found in a number of passages is significant in Q. See Tuckett, *Revival*, 163; Tuckett, *Q*, 253-282. H. E. Tödt, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition* (London: SCM Press, 1965), 114-125. Tuckett cites Tödt in his discussion about the significance of the title "Son of Man" in Q which they believe is the clearest Christological title in Q. However, Havener explains that there are two kinds of the Son of Man: one speaks of present, earthly activities of the son of man (Q 6:22-23; 7:31-35; 9:57-62; 11:16, 29-30; 12:10) and another one speaks of the future, apocalyptic actions of the son of man (Q 12:8-9, 39-40, 17:23-24, 26-30). See Havener, *Q*, 72-73.

³⁶² Bultmann, *History*, 115; Green, *Luke*, 538; Hagner, *Matthew 14-28*, 681; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 739; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 70. Some scholars including Marshall have interpreted "he who comes in the name of the Lord" as Messiah or the Son of Man. See Marshall, *Luke*, 573-577; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 742-743. Other scholars including Hultgren believe that Q 13:35b refers to Ps 118:26. See F. D. Bruner, *Matthew: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 461; Gench, *Wisdom*, 123-124; Green, *Luke*, 538; Hagner, *Matthew 14-28*, 681; A. J. Hultgren, *The Rise of Normative Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 33-34; Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 370.

³⁶³ Bruner, *Matthew*, 463; Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 1035; Gench, *Wisdom*, 94; Havener, *Q*, 82.

the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him³⁶⁴ Even though there is no specific mention of Wisdom in Q 10:21-22, the text can be connected to her tradition. However, the text only presents Jesus as the envoy of Wisdom taking on some of her roles. The Q tradition elsewhere makes a clear distinction between Jesus and Wisdom, so it can be assumed here as well. The text also emphasizes the intimate relationship between Jesus and the Father. In v. 21 the Father is praised for both revelation and concealment. The Father is a revealer who has hidden these things (ταῦτα) from the wise and the intelligent but has revealed them to infants. However, the Father does not say much about himself.³⁶⁵

In v. 22 all things (πάντα) have been transmitted to the Son by the Father, so that the Son alone is privy to the Father and is able to reveal (ἀπεκάλυψας) him to others. The address of God as Father reflects the intimate relationship between the Father and the Son. Here Jesus plays the role of the Son of God who appears to show an exclusive relationship with the Father. Also, he shows that he is the sole mediator of knowledge of God to humanity. The relationship can be claimed as an intimate relationship in terms of Jesus' consciousness of God as Father. Therefore, in v. 22, Jesus' characteristics are as revealer, knower, mediator and God's Son.³⁶⁶ The characteristics of Jesus in v. 22 reflect

³⁶⁴ There are a few differences between the two texts. The verb 'you have hidden' appears in Luke as ἀπέκρυψας but in Matthew as ἔκρυψας. Luke uses 'that hour' (αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ) while Matthew uses 'that time' (ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ). Both are likely to be redactional. Only Luke adds 'rejoice in the Holy Spirit' (ἠγαλλιάσατο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι) but this cannot be found in Matthew. In v. 22 the Lukan text is different from the Matthean text. Matthew uses a compound form of the verb 'knows' (ἐπιγινώσκει) as 'knows the Father'. However, Luke has 'knows' (γινώσκει) who the Father is. In this case the Matthean form is considered to be closer to the Q source. Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 571-573.

³⁶⁵ Evans, *Saint Luke*, 460-461 includes a debate about whether v. 21 is a matter of truths revealed rather than of divine power exercised. Cf. 1 Cor 1:18-31; 2:6-13; 3:18-20. See also J. S. Kloppenborg, 'Wisdom Christology in Q' *LTP* 34 (1978), 135-139 for further discussion.

³⁶⁶ It is debatable whether 'the handing over of all things to Jesus' should be interpreted as concerned with the transmission of knowledge or the transmission of full authority to Jesus, for which appeal is made to Dan 7:14 and 2:37-8. See Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 573.

to some extent the characteristics of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition who is also a revealer, knower and mediator of God, but not as God's Son. Wisdom is entrusted with the secrets of God and reveals them to humanity. The intimate relationship of Wisdom with God can be found in the texts Job 28:1-7; Sir 1:6, 8; 4:8; Bar 3:15-32 and Wis 7-9.³⁶⁷

The relationship between the Father and the Son is similar to the function given to Wisdom as the revealer and redeemer. The fact that only the Father knows the Son is also reflected in the Wisdom tradition where only God knows Wisdom in Job 28:1-7; Sir 1:6, 8; Bar 3:15-32, and only Wisdom knows God in Prov 8:12; Wis 7:25-30; 8:3-4; 9:4, 9, 11 and Wisdom is the one who reveals God to others in Wis 7:27; 9:17 and Sir 4:18. The Son of God is a person who has knowledge of God and the Son of God is the one known by God. Also, the Son of God is the one who assists others to know God. Through this intimate relationship between the Father and the Son, the Son becomes the sole mediator of the revelation of God. However, the content of this revelation finds an echo in Wisdom. In Sir 4:18 Wisdom says 'I will reveal to them my secrets' The word 'them' can refer to the word 'children' in Sir 4:1. Hence, Wisdom reveals to her children her secrets. This relationship is highlighted in both cases. Jesus and Wisdom become mediators of salvation.³⁶⁸ This is a parallel in function, but not of identity.³⁶⁹

Therefore, the text Q 10:22 (cf. Mt 11:25-26) can be linked to Wisdom in the Jewish tradition regarding characteristics that she and Jesus share in common. However,

³⁶⁷ Marshall, *Luke*, 437. Piper, *Wisdom*, 170-171. Piper cites Jacobson on the view of Jesus as Wisdom in this text. See also Gench, *Wisdom*, 11.

³⁶⁸ Robinson, 'Jesus as Sophia' 9-10. See also Dunn, *Christology*, 198; Kloppenborg, 'Wisdom Christology in Q' 144; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 573-574; Tuckett, *Q*, 278.

³⁶⁹ Robinson believes that Jesus in Q 10:21-22 is Wisdom incarnate since he shares Wisdom's roles. See Robinson, 'Jesus as Sophia' 8-10.

the title of $\text{̄} \text{Son}$ is designated to Jesus in this particular context. So as $\text{God} \text{̄} \text{Son}$, it is difficult to connect Jesus with Wisdom. Wisdom has never been called $\text{God} \text{̄} \text{Son}$, though she is known as the child or daughter of God in Prov 8. But it is unlikely that the Q tradition makes any connection explicit.³⁷⁰ It needs to be said as well that Q does not have a strong $\text{̄} \text{Son of God} \text{̄} \text{Christology}$, despite the presence of $\text{̄} \text{the Son}$ in Q 10:21-22.³⁷¹ The Son of God can also include those who listen to Jesus and become prophets like him (Q 6:35). The Son of God elsewhere in Q is used to give authority to Jesus' teaching (Q 5:12) and those who see and hear what Jesus does and says can share in Jesus' Sonship (Q 10:23b-24).³⁷²

Q 10:21-22 continues the Wisdom tradition in Q. Wisdom is not mentioned, and the emphasis is placed on Jesus' special relationship with the Father. But that relationship is depicted in terms of the Wisdom tradition in that Jesus and Sophia share similar functions. They are not identified,³⁷³ which is consistent with the other Q traditions that draw a sharp demarcation between these two figures. In this text Jesus is still an envoy of Sophia. But this passage might indicate that even in Q there were some tentative developments towards an identification of the two.

(e) Q 11:31-32 (Lk 11:31-32//Mt 12:41-42)

³⁷⁰ Havener, *Q*, 80-81. Havener cites Kloppenborg regarding the designation of $\text{̄} \text{Son}$

³⁷¹ Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 93; Piper, *Wisdom*, 170; J. M. Robinson, $\text{̄} \text{The Sayings Gospel Q}$ in V. Segbroek (ed.), *The Four Gospels 1992 vol. 1* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 384. Generally, these scholars claim that Q has little interest in giving Christological titles to Jesus.

³⁷² Havener, *Q*, 68-71. Havener sees and describes Jesus as the prophetic Son of God in the Q texts: Q 3:21-22 (cf. Mt 3:13, 16-17); Q 4:1-13 (cf. Mt 4:1-11) and Q 6:12a-49 (cf. Mt 5:1-7:27).

³⁷³ Dunn, *Christology*, 199; Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings*, 130-131; A. E. Harvey, *Jesus and the Constraints of History* (London: Duckworth, 1982), 165; Piper, *Wisdom*, 172; Robinson, $\text{̄} \text{Jesus as Sophia}$ 10. See also Kloppenborg, $\text{̄} \text{Wisdom Christology in Q}$ 147. Dunn explains the use of $\text{̄} \text{Son}$ in Q 10:22 as the $\text{̄} \text{eschatological immediacy}$ of his knowledge of $\text{God} \text{̄} \text{will}$ Harvey states further that as Jesus is the Son of God, this implies that he is $\text{God} \text{̄} \text{representative}$. Moreover, Piper states that as Jesus is described as $\text{God} \text{̄} \text{Son}$, this shows that the text Q 10:22 does not connect Jesus with Wisdom.

Similar to Q 10:21-22, the wording of Lk 11:31-32 and Mt 12:41-42 is almost identical and is considered to be a Wisdom passage.³⁷⁴ The Lukan text reads as follows: “The queen of the South will arise at the judgment with the men of this generation and condemn them, because she came from the ends of the earth to listen to the wisdom of Solomon, and see, something greater than Solomon is here. The people of Nineveh will rise up at the judgment with this generation and condemn it, because they repented at the proclamation of Jonah, and see, something greater than Jonah is here (vv. 31-32)ø

However, there are a few differences between the two texts. Matthew has the Jonah material before the Solomon material but Luke has the Solomon material first. While Luke uses “themø(αὐτούς), Matthew uses “itø(αὐτήν). Also, the words “with the people ofø(μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν) are found only in Lk 11:31. However, only Matthew has “with this generationø (μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς).³⁷⁵ In this tradition Jesus condemns his generation for their non-acceptance of him. A gentile, “the Queen of the Southø travelled a long way to listen to and accept the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kgs 10:1-10). However, “this generationø (τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης) refuses to accept Jesus who is “greater than Solomonø Jesus in Q 11:31 is portrayed as superior to Solomon who is Wisdomø

³⁷⁴ Scholars who consider this text to be a Wisdom passage include Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 61; Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings*, 131. Scholars who disagree include E. Klostermann and Schweizer and their argument can be found in Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 187 n. 84.

³⁷⁵ Some scholars claim that Matthew preserves Qø location including Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 166. However, scholars who disagree with Matthewø originality include Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 63; Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 133 n. 140, Kloppenborg cites Vögtle who claims that “Matthew probably reversed the order of the double saying so as to bring the Jonah saying into closer relation with the Jonah sayings in 12:39, 40ø See more details in Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings*, 131; Nolland, *Luke 9:21-18:34*, 654. However, Deutsch comments that “it [is] difficult to understand why Luke would disturb the more logical order of Matthew if, indeed, the latter was more originalø See Deutsch in *Lady Wisdom*, 187 n. 89.

representative in the Old Testament. Again Jesus is identified as an envoy of Wisdom rather than as Wisdom herself.³⁷⁶

In the context of Q the sign of Jonah refers to Jesus preaching.³⁷⁷ It is accepted that Matthew edits this so that the sign of Jonah applies to the Son of Man three days and nights in the tomb.³⁷⁸ Moreover, his saying about the conversion of Nineveh at Jonah's preaching (12:40) immediately follows the saying about the sign of Jonah (12:41). Luke, however, has the saying about Nineveh's repentance follow the saying about the wisdom of Solomon (Lk 11:31-32). In Matthew, the saying about the Queen of the South and the wisdom of Solomon appear at the end of the series in the Matthean order. Matthew has changed the order of the sayings about Jonah in order to juxtapose them.³⁷⁹ This part of the Q tradition recalls Wisdom's prophetic role. Jesus is compared to Jonah the prophet which recalls the deuteronomistic interpretation of Israel's history (Q 11:49; 13:34-35).

Taken together these two elements highlight the status of Jesus as Sophia's messenger. In prophetic terms he is superior to Jonah, the great prophet of repentance, and in terms of his knowledge and Wisdom, he is greater than Solomon, the Jewish paradigm of wisdom.³⁸⁰ This point reinforces Jesus' superiority over John the Baptist in Q 7:18-35, and establishes him as the envoy of Wisdom *par excellence*.

(f) Summary

³⁷⁶ Piper, *Wisdom*, 169. See also Hartin, 'Yet Wisdom' 159; Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings*, 131-132; Marshall, *Luke*, 486-487.

³⁷⁷ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 61. See also Bultmann, *History*, 118; Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 937; Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 132-134.

³⁷⁸ Deutsch also claims that Matthew connects Jesus with personified Wisdom by seeing the Son of Man as a wisdom figure. See more details for this claim in Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 62-63.

³⁷⁹ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 61. See also Bultmann, *History*, 112; Manson, *Sayings*, 91; Harrington, *Matthew*, 188-189.

³⁸⁰ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 62; Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings*, 131-132; Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 168; Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*, 133-134.

The Q tradition witnesses a major development in the inclusion of Sophia in the Christian tradition. Whereas the figure of Wisdom seems to play no real role in the Pauline tradition, she emerges as a central character in the Sayings Source. She is the one who sends the prophets, including John the Baptist and Jesus. Sophia adopts a motherly, protective role for her "children" as they, like her in the past, experience rejection and opposition. Q demarcates strongly between the identities of Wisdom and Jesus; Jesus is perhaps her greatest representative since he is greater than John the Baptist, Jonah and even Solomon. In this capacity Jesus also shares a special relationship with God the Father, and in some respects he plays some of the roles traditionally attributed to Wisdom. It is possible that in presenting Jesus in this way the Q tradition was itself moving towards a Wisdom Christology, but this is not certain. As far as we can reconstruct this source, Q betrays strong Wisdom influences but not yet a clear Wisdom Christology. It is only to be expected that once Sophia became associated with the Jesus tradition, further developments would follow. One important development is to be found in the Gospel of John.

4. The Johannine Tradition

The Gospel of John was probably written at the end of the first century or even the beginning of the second century.³⁸¹ There is then a good fifty years or so between the composition of Q and the Pauline corpus and the writing of John's Gospel. A study of John reveals that it demonstrates a much more advanced treatment of the Wisdom tradition than both Paul and Q, but John's very distinctive character makes it difficult to

³⁸¹ See R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII* vol. I (AB 29; Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), LXXII; F. J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (SP 4; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998), 2.

determine whether this Gospel was related in any way to these earlier traditions. While most scholars accept that the author of this Gospel was familiar with at least the Gospel of Mark, there is no evidence that he knew the Q tradition or was heavily influenced by Pauline themes. This makes it difficult to judge whether John's more detailed Wisdom Christology had developed from either of these Christian traditions or had occurred independently of them. In either case the witness of John testifies that by the late first century the Christian speculation concerning the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom had undergone significant and dramatic changes.

The Johannine view regarding the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom appears in the very first part of the Gospel in the Prologue (Jn 1:1-18). This text speaks of the incarnation not of Wisdom but of the Word.³⁸² This anomaly will be discussed later. In the Prologue John introduces the Word's pre-existence (v. 1a) and intimate relationship with God (vv. 1b, 2). While playing a creative role (v. 3), the Word also has a salvific role (v. 4a). The Word is identified with life (vv. 4a-b) and light (vv. 4b, 5, 9). John also emphasizes the presence (v. 10a), the rejection (vv. 10b-11) and the reception (v. 12) of the Word. The highlight of the Prologue is found in vv. 14a-b where the Word becomes incarnate, and for those who follow the Word, glory, grace and truth are given (vv. 14c-d). The appearance of John the Baptist (v. 15) confirms the identity of the Word in various ways.

There is a major scholarly debate concerning the identity of the Word. Does the Prologue claim that Jesus is God himself, or is he depicted as Wisdom incarnate? Three arguments are usually proposed in favour of the first alternative. Firstly, the phrase "in the beginning" in Jn 1:1a echoes the identical phrase in Gen 1:1. In the Genesis creation

³⁸² The word "Word" and the Greek word *ὁ λόγος* will be interchangeably used throughout this chapter.

account, the phrase is immediately followed by God who is the actor in creation, and this suggests that the Word should be seen as God the sole creator. It is awkward to use any other titles, such as, ‘the Christ’, ‘the Son of God’, ‘the Son of Man’ or even ‘Wisdom’ as a replacement for God in these two accounts of creation.³⁸³ Secondly, the phrase ‘the Word was God’ (θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος) in Jn 1:1c is an indication that the Word is God. This is confirmed through the earlier phrase ‘the Word was with God’ in Jn 1:1b. The phrase is understood as ‘with God’, ‘in the presence of God’, ‘in the fellowship of God’ and ‘in union with God’, so the Word cannot be described as a subordinate being or as ‘divine’. The Word is God and has God’s nature.³⁸⁴ Thirdly, another affirmation that the Word can be seen as God is implied by the *inclusio* in Jn 1:1 and Jn 20:28. That the Word is God in Jn 1:1 is affirmed in Jn 20:28 when Thomas proclaims Jesus as ‘My Lord and my God’. After seeing that Jesus is raised from the dead, Thomas comes to realize that Jesus should be addressed as God in his proclamation of faith.³⁸⁵

However, it is by no means certain that the Word in the Prologue can bear the weight of this interpretation. The phrase ‘in the beginning’ as found in the Prologue and in the book of Genesis is not necessarily used in the same way. In Gen 1:1, the phrase is used at the beginning of a sentence in which God is the subject, while in Jn 1:1 the identical phrase is used at the beginning of a sentence in which the Word is the subject.

³⁸³ G. R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (WBC 36; Waco: Words Books, 1987), 10.

³⁸⁴ Beasley-Murray, *John*, 11.

³⁸⁵ P. N. Anderson, ‘On Guessing Points and Naming Stars’ in R. Bauckham and C. Mosser (eds), *The Gospel of John and Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 339; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (London: SPCK, 2nd edn 1978), 156, 572-573; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel and Epistles of John: A Concise Commentary* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1988), 100; Brown, *John I*, 5; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John XIII-XXI* vol. II (AB 29A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), 1046-1047; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 694-695; Carson, *John*, 658-659; D. Lee, *Flesh and Glory: Symbol, Gender and Theology in the Gospel of John* (New York: Crossroad, 2002), 32; A. T. Lincoln, *Truth on Trial: The Lawsuit Motif in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2000), 49; B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John* (NCBC; London: Oliphants, 1977), 615; D. L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, rev edn 1995), 69, 753.

This does not necessarily mean that the Word is God. While the Genesis creation account presents God's creation using God's spoken words, the Prologue shows that God created the world by the Word. However, it is clear that there was only God present in Genesis while God was with the Word as another separate being in the Prologue.³⁸⁶

As the identical phrase "in the beginning" is also found in Prov 8:23 and Sir 24:9; the phrase is also used in the creation account where Wisdom is actively involved with God. Wisdom is created by God showing that she is subordinate to God. The phrase in both Proverbs and Sirach, although identical to Genesis, is used to portray two distinct beings. The same could well apply to this Johannine tradition.

Secondly, in Greek grammar, the word θεός without the article in Jn 1:1 can be translated as either "God" or "divine". To consider Jesus to be only "God" runs the risk of severely misinterpreting the text. The fact that John chose not to include the definite article in the phrase θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος probably indicates his intention to differentiate between the Word and God. Thus, the text is better rendered as the "the Word was divine"³⁸⁷ which refers to a transcendent heavenly being who is distinct from God. This reading is also suggested by the phrase "and the Word was with God" which again serves to distinguish between the two figures. The Word is not God, but he clearly shares an intimate relationship with God.³⁸⁸

Thirdly, if the above arguments are valid, then it becomes difficult to claim that Jesus is God in Jn 20:28 where Thomas confesses that Jesus is "my Lord and my God"

³⁸⁶ E. Haenchen, *John 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of John Chapters 1-6* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 109. See also R. G. Gruenler, *The Trinity in the Gospel of John: A Thematic Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), 10-11.

³⁸⁷ Brown, *John I*, 24; C. S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary vol. I* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), 374; Moloney, *John*, 42.

³⁸⁸ P. M. Phillips, *The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel: A Sequential Reading* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2006), 152-155; Moloney, *John*, 41.

An alternative interpretation is needed. The word ἄθεός was commonly used in Hellenistic culture as a title applied to specific groups of people such as ἄβασίλεως ἄἡρώεσσιν³⁸⁹ ἄκαίσαροι and ἄἄλλοι σπουδαῖοι in the sense of respect.³⁹⁰ The Gospel of John was written at a time when the Roman emperors were called ἄὐτοκράτωρ and our θεός even though many of them did not claim a divine status.³⁹¹ The title therefore was used as one of profound respect rather than as a statement of divinity.³⁹² It is probable that the similar confession of Thomas conveyed the same meaning.

The Word in the Johannine Prologue is not God, but is a distinct and independent being who has a very close relationship with God. He was with God at the very beginning. The Word bears so many striking similarities to Sophia in the Jewish tradition that many scholars have drawn the conclusion that, even though John never mentions Wisdom by name (σοφία), he might indirectly be portraying Wisdom in the form of the Word.³⁹³ There are some links between the Wisdom of God and the Word of God in the

³⁸⁹ Dunn, *Christology*, 16-17.

³⁹⁰ K. Grayston, *The Gospel of John* (EC; London: Epworth Press, 1990), 170.

³⁹¹ C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (London: SPCK, rev. edn 1987), 19-20; Grayston, *John*, 170; C. S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary vol. II* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003), 1211-1212; A. T. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to St. John* (BNTC; London: Continuum, 2005), 503; Moloney, *John*, 539.

³⁹² Dunn, *Christology*, 17.

³⁹³ Scholars who see the Word in Jn 1:1-18 as Wisdom incarnate include S. C. Barton, ἄGospel Wisdom in S. C. Barton (ed.), *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?: Wisdom in the Bible the Church and the Contemporary World* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), 104-108; R. Bultmann, ἄThe History of Religions Background of the Prologue to the Gospel of John in J. Ashton (ed.), *The Interpretation of John* (IRT 9; London: SPCK, 1986), 27-45; Bultmann, *John*, 22; J. H. Charlesworth, ἄLady Wisdom and Johannine Christology in J. H. Charlesworth and M. A. Daise (eds), *Light in a Spotless Mirror: Reflections on Wisdom Traditions in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Trinity Press International, 2003), 113-127; D. Clark, ἄSigns in Wisdom and John *CBQ* 45 (1983), 201-209; C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 274-277; Dunn, *Christology*, 239-245; C. A. Evans, *Word and Glory: On the Exegetical and Theological Background of John's Prologue* (JSNTSup 89; Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 77-94; E. Schüssler-Fiorenza, *Jesus, Miriam's Child, Sophia's Prophet: Critical Issues in Feminist Christology* (London: SCM Press, 1995), 152-154; Gruenler, *Trinity*, 11; Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 200-215; Haenchen, *John I*, 125-130; Johnson, ἄJesus, the Wisdom of God 284-294; Keener, *John I*, 352-354; Lee, *Flesh and Glory*, 32; Lincoln, *John*, 93-97; Moloney, *John*, 42; Phillips, *Prologue*, 152-155; S. H. Ringe, *Wisdom's Friends: Community and Christology in the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999), 46-63; J. M. Scott, *Sophia and the Johannine*

Jewish Wisdom literature. Like Sophia, the Word can be presented in personal terms in the Wisdom texts; “your powerful word leaped from heaven, from the royal throne, into the midst of the land that was doomed” (Wis 18:15). In Sir 24:3 we find a close connection between the Word and Wisdom. Here Sophia states that she “came forth from the mouth of the Most High” The two figures are further associated in the acts of creation in Wis 9:1-2, “O God of my ancestors and Lord of mercy, who have made all things by your Word, and by your Wisdom have formed humankind” A further link between them is that Wisdom was identified with the Torah (Bar 4:1), and the Law was considered to be the Word of God.³⁹⁴

Given the close connection between the Wisdom of God and the Word of God, a later interpreter might indeed identify the two. It seems that John did just this, portraying Jesus as Wisdom but preferring to use the title *ὁ λόγος*. The Wisdom motifs are clearly apparent in the Prologue but they recur in later sections of the Gospel as well. In the following discussion the themes in the Prologue will first be examined, and then those in the other parts of the Gospel.

One major area of correspondence is that of pre-existence. There are a number of indications of the Word’s pre-existence throughout the Prologue. The phrase “in the beginning” in Jn 1:1 specifies that the Word was existent at the beginning of time, and

Jesus (JSNTSup 71; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 83-173; M. E. Willett, *Wisdom Christology in the Fourth Gospel* (San Francisco: Mellen University Press, 1992), 35-43; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 249-294; B. Witherington, *John’s Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1995), 52-59. Also, scholars who do not see the Word in John, particularly Jn 1:1-18, as Wisdom incarnate include Beasley-Murray, *John*, 8-17; Brown, *John I*, cxxii-cxxviii; Carson, *John*, 115-116; M. Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 27; T. H. Tobin, “The Prologue of John and Hellenistic Jewish Speculation” *CBQ* 52 (1990), 252-269. However, Lindars and Scott are among the scholars who see Wisdom and the Word become one with God. See Lindars, *John*, 82-100; Scott, *Sophia*, 83-173.

³⁹⁴ Evans, *Word and Glory*, 197.

this echoes the creation of Wisdom in Sir 24:9: “Before the ages, in the beginning, he created [Wisdom], and for all the ages [Wisdom] shall not cease to be” and Prov 8:23: “Ages ago [Wisdom] was set up, the first, before the beginning of the earth.” John introduces the Gospel with the phrase “in the beginning” and thus echoes the first words in the book of Genesis.³⁹⁵ The Word’s role in creation in Jn 1:3 (see further below) confirms his pre-existence. Furthermore, the change of the tense from the aorist tense “came” in Jn 1:3a, 3b to the perfect tense “has come” in Jn 1:3c shows a pre-historic happening where the consequences are still meaningful now. This too indicates the pre-existence of the Word.³⁹⁶

A second correspondence is that both the Johannine Jesus and Wisdom have an intimate relationship with God. Verse 1b, “The Word was with God” shows the relationship between the λόγος and God. The literal translation from the Greek is “the Word was towards God” as the preposition πρὸς literally means towards. This preposition has the sense of attracting towards. The Word was thus turned towards God. Even though there is oneness in the intimacy of the Word and God, they each remain distinct and unique.³⁹⁷ Their close relationship is evidenced further in the statement that the Word was divine or transcendent. This too parallels the Jewish Wisdom tradition where Sophia is a heavenly being distinct from God (Prov 8:22-31; Sir 1:18; 24:3-9; Job 28:20-27), but who is very close to God (Wis 7:25-26; Prov 3:19). Only as an intimate associate of God can she fulfil her roles as mediator and provider of salvation (Prov 8:22-31; Wis 7:29; 10:1-21; Sir 1:4; 24:3-9).

³⁹⁵ Keener, *John I*, 365.

³⁹⁶ Lindars, *John*, 84. Scott argues that the theme of pre-existence is also found outside the Prologue including 1:30; 8:58; 17:5. See Scott, *Sophia*, 131-134.

³⁹⁷ Moloney, *John*, 35. See too Morris, *John*, 70; Haenchen, *John I*, 112.

The intimacy, already shown in Jn 1:1-2, continues to be portrayed in Jn 1:3a. The creative aspect of the Word finds a parallel with the sentiments in Prov 3:19; “the Lord by Wisdom founded the earth”; Prov 8:30a, “then I was beside him, like a master worker”; Wis 7:22, “for Wisdom, the fashioner of all things”; and Prov 8:22, “The Lord created me at the beginning of his work”. The connection between Wisdom and God in the Prologue is shown clearly in Wis 9:1-2, “O God of my ancestors and Lord of mercy, who have made all things by your word, and by your Wisdom have formed humankind to have dominion over the creatures you have made”. This shows that Wisdom and ὁ λόγος are the Creator’s agents of creation. This description of ὁ λόγος recalls all that has been previously depicted of Sophia in the Wisdom tradition.³⁹⁸

The language expressing intimacy between the Father and the Son is also echoed in Prov 8:30b-31, as Wisdom appears as a darling child of God who always enjoys being with him.³⁹⁹ In Jn 1:14 Jesus is portrayed as the Father’s Son who is full of grace. This is similar to Wisdom’s branches which are not only full of glory, but also full of grace (Sir 24:16). The close relationship between Father and Son is also found in Jn 1:18a, “no one has ever seen God”; but God is revealed by the Son (Jn 1:18b).⁴⁰⁰ Therefore, the intimacy that exists between God the Father and the Son is established and is extended to all believers. The association between “seeing” and “making known” as found in the Prologue is also expressed in the Wisdom tradition. In Job 28:27 Wisdom was seen and

³⁹⁸ Scott, *Sophia*, 98. See also Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 36.

³⁹⁹ Schüssler-Fiorenza, *Jesus, Miriam’s child*, 153.

⁴⁰⁰ Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 41.

declared by God at creation.⁴⁰¹ Also, Wisdom has seen God in Prov 8:30 and Wis 9:9 (cf. Sir 1:1; 24:4).⁴⁰²

Thirdly, by playing an integral role in the process of creation, the Johannine Word reflects Wisdom's creative role. Jn 1:3 claims that all things were made through the Word, and that nothing was made without his input. In other words, all of creation exists because of God's Word.⁴⁰³ This does not deny that God is ultimately responsible for creation. Creation came from God through the Word.⁴⁰⁴ The creative role of the Word in the Prologue relates to the creative role of Wisdom in Prov 8:27, "when he established the heavens, I was there." The heavens are seen as the first created thing in creation. So, both the Word and Wisdom were present before creation.⁴⁰⁵ Just as creation was accomplished by an utterance of God, "As God said" in (Gen 1:3), so the Word emanates from God in the act of creation. This reflects Prov 8:22, "The Lord created me at the beginning of his work." Moreover, the creative role of the Word echoes Wisdom who is portrayed as God's assistant in creation in Sir 24:9. Wisdom's pre-existent creative role also appears when "Wisdom was created before all other things (Sir 1:4) and [she] was present when you made the world" (Wis 9:9). The Word and Wisdom therefore perform the same role in creation.⁴⁰⁶

The creative role of the Word is developed through the phrase "in him was life" (Jn 1:4a). This picks up the theme in Gen 2:7, "then the Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a

⁴⁰¹ Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 42.

⁴⁰² Scott, *Sophia*, 96-97. D. L. Morris explains the close connection between $\acute{\omicron}$ $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ and God, as God is Father. See further Morris, *John*, 67-68.

⁴⁰³ Brown, *John I*, 26.

⁴⁰⁴ Morris, *John*, 71-72.

⁴⁰⁵ Scott, *Sophia*, 98.

⁴⁰⁶ Scott, *Sophia*, 95.

living beingø The text of Jn 1:4a thus moves from the creation of the world to the creation of life, and human life in particular. This life refers to eternal life, which can only come from God through the Word. The source of all life is the Father but the Father, granted the Son to have life in himselfø in Jn 5:26.⁴⁰⁷ This recalls the capacity of Wisdom to provide life in Prov 8:35 (cf. Wis 8:13), whoever finds me finds life, because whoever loves [Wisdom] loves life (Sir 4:12). The ability to provide and sustain life is therefore characteristic of both the Word in the Johannine Prologue and Sophia in the Wisdom tradition.⁴⁰⁸

A fourth parallel concerns the idea of salvation. Not only does Jn 1:4a contain the theme of the creative work of the Word, but it also shows his salvific role. Just as the Word brought forth all things, so he brought forth life to the believers. It is his first gift. This is not merely existence but involves the further notion of salvation (i.e. eternal life). The theme of life associated with Wisdom in Proverbs needs to be re-emphasized. After claiming her pre-existence in Prov 8:22-31, she explains that whoever finds me finds life and obtains favor from the Lordø in v. 35. In the Wisdom of Solomon, immortality is also seen as the gift of Wisdom in Wis 6:18-19 and 8:13. Creation and redemption become one in the activity of the Word and Wisdom, giving Wisdom a place both in creation and salvation.⁴⁰⁹

A fifth correspondence is that the Word and Wisdom are revealers of light. In the Johannine Prologue we read; And the life was the light of all peopleø (v. 4b), the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not overcome itø (v. 5) and and the true

⁴⁰⁷ Morris, *John*, 73-74. Scott states further that the intimacy shared between ó λόγος and God is also expressed through the theme of their mutual love. See Scott, *Sophia*, 140-145.

⁴⁰⁸ Scott, *Sophia*, 99; Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 36. The connection of the theme of life and Torah can be found in Morris, *John*, 74, particularly n. 33. Barrett, *John*, 157.

⁴⁰⁹ Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 37.

light, which enlightens everyone, was coming into the world (v. 9)ø In Jn 1:4b-5 and 9, ó λόγος is depicted as a provider of light for all people. The life bestowed by the Word became the light of humanity, and cannot be overcome by darkness (Jn 1:4b-5). God being revealed through the Word as light is similar to images found in the Wisdom literature (cf. Wis 6:12; 7:26; Sir 24:32; Bar 3:14; Prov 4:18). Just as in the Prologue, darkness cannot overcome the light (Jn 1:5), so evil cannot prevail against Wisdom (Wis 7:29-30; Prov 4:19).⁴¹⁰ Similarly, light is acknowledged as the first of Godø creation in Genesis, while Wisdom is recognized as the first creation in Prov 8:22.⁴¹¹ In this way the Word in the Johannine Prologue is connected to Wisdom in the Jewish tradition through the shared theme of light.

The sixth connection concerns the themes of presence, rejection and reception. In Jn 1:10-13 the presence, the rejection and the reception of ó λόγος are introduced. The text of Jn 1:10a speaks of Jesus being in the world. Yet, despite his presence in the world he created, the world knew him notø (v. 10b; cf. v. 11). Those who accepted the Word were able to become the children of God (vv. 12-13). This again links the Word to Wisdom. Both are pre-existent and came to the world (Sir 24:4, 8; Wis 9:10).⁴¹² The rejection of Wisdom is a common theme and finds clear expression in Prov 1:20-33; 1 En 42 and Bar 3:9-4:4.⁴¹³ In a similar way to the Word in John 1:1-18, those who accepted Wisdom developed a special relationship with God (Wis 7:14, 27; Sir 4:14), becoming Godø children (Prov 2:1; 3:1, 11; 4:1, 20; 5:1, 7, 20; 6:1, 3, 20; 7:1, 24; Sir 2:1; 3:1, 17;

⁴¹⁰ Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 37-38.

⁴¹¹ Scott, *Sophia*, 99.

⁴¹² Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 38-39.

⁴¹³ Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 39.

4:1; 6:32, 10:28).⁴¹⁴ Furthermore, Wisdom appears in a mothering form in Wis 7:12 and Sir 15:2 and appears with her sons in Sir 4:11 (cf. Lk 7:35).⁴¹⁵

Seventhly, there is a common theme of incarnation, although this is not applied in the same way. Jn 1:14 reads: "And the Word became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of a Father's only Son, full of grace and truth."⁴¹⁶ The incarnation of the Word thus applies to a specific historical individual, namely Jesus of Nazareth.⁴¹⁷ The Jewish Wisdom tradition has nothing similar to this, but it does refer to Wisdom dwelling among the wise of Israel in Sir 24:8. It also makes an identification between Sophia and the Torah in Sir 24 and Bar 3-4. While the concept here is not strictly speaking incarnation, there is a general parallel in so far as Wisdom is not confined to the heavenly realm but can be manifested in the human realm. The incarnational doctrine in John, however, marks a substantial development from this. It is one thing to see Sophia "incarnated" in the Torah, but quite another to see this figure incarnate in human flesh.⁴¹⁸

An eighth relationship is found in the connected themes of glory, grace and truth. The Prologue specifies that the Word incarnate was full of grace and truth, and his glory was visible (v. 14). The reference to glory finds parallels in the Wisdom tradition. Solomon is given glory by Wisdom (Wis 8:10), and it is her glory that guides him and all of those who follow her way (Wis 9:11).⁴¹⁹ Solomon also acclaims her as an emanation of God's glory in Wis 7:25. The glory of Wisdom, who comes into the world, is similar

⁴¹⁴ Scott, *Sophia*, 103-104.

⁴¹⁵ Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 39-40.

⁴¹⁶ Scholars including Scott and Willet claim that v. 14 shows a connection between Wisdom and Torah in Scott, *Sophia*, 105-106 and Willet, *Wisdom Christology*, 40. However, I find their claim is unconvincing as v. 14 does not refer to the Torah. My argument in terms of the Law will be found later in this chapter.

⁴¹⁷ Scott, *Sophia*, 106. See also Moloney, *John*, 39.

⁴¹⁸ Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 42.

⁴¹⁹ Willett, *Wisdom Christology*, 41.

to the glory of ὁ λόγος who becomes flesh and dwells among humans.⁴²⁰ The intimate connection between Sophia and truth is well illustrated in Prov 8:6-7, -Hear, for I will speak noble things, and from my lips will come what is right; for my mouth will utter truth ἡ ἀλήθεια.⁴²¹ In the Johannine Prologue, the Word who is full of grace bestows grace upon his followers (v. 16). Wisdom is characterized by grace (Sir 24:16) and Wisdom too treats her children well with acts of grace and benevolence (Wis 1:6).

This list of eight distinct parallels between the Word in the Johannine Prologue and Wisdom in the Jewish literature constitutes impressive evidence that in this short text the author of John was moved to depict Jesus the incarnate Word with the traditional figure of Sophia. But it is important to note that John does not take up all the claims about Wisdom that these texts offer. Perhaps the most striking omission in this regard is in relation to the Torah. It will be recalled from our earlier analysis that Wisdom was identified with the Mosaic Law, but the Gospel Prologue knows nothing of a connection between the Word and the Torah. In fact John denies any such relationship by writing in v. 17 that the Law was given by Moses, while grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. This text establishes a contrast between the Law that Moses (not Wisdom) gave, and the clearly superior gifts of grace and truth given by Jesus the Word incarnate. The low opinion of the Law in this verse is confirmed and emphasized in later sections of the Gospel.

In Jn 5:2-9 Jesus heals a cripple. A few verses later the narrator explains to the readers that the Jews persecuted Jesus because he healed on the Sabbath (v. 17) and thereby broke the Sabbath commandment (v. 18). The same narrator denies in 7:19 that

⁴²⁰ Scott, *Sophia*, 107.

⁴²¹ Scott, *Sophia*, 109-110.

Moses gave the command to circumcise, and attributes this practice to the tradition of the (Pharisaic) Fathers. The Johannine Jesus refers a number of times to "your law" when referring to the Torah (8:17; 10:34). This serves to dissociate him and his followers from observance of the Law. In its place Jesus gives his disciples a new commandment to love one another as he has loved them (13:34-35; 15:12) and to love Jesus (14:15, 21).⁴²² It is obvious even from these texts that the Johannine community stood in a Christian tradition that no longer saw any necessity for the Torah in the light of the incarnation of the Word. In the light of this, John could not adopt the perspective in Sirach and Baruch that Wisdom and the Law are one and the same thing. Because of his fundamental opposition to the Torah, John actually draws a contrast between it and the revelation of the Word. It will be argued in the following Chapter that Matthew had an entirely different Christian point of view.

Before leaving the Johannine Prologue, there is one further issue to be considered. This is the role of John the Baptist in this material. There are two references to the Baptist in the Prologue and each of them disturbs the flow of the reflection on the Word's incarnation. In the first (vv. 6-8) he is described as a man of God who came to bear witness to the light (Word). The second interruption occurs in v. 15, which attests that John bore witness to Jesus by saying that he who comes after him ranks before him and was before him. These verses serve to identify the Baptist as a messenger of God who validated the nature and mission of Jesus (cf. 1:19-23, 29-35; 3:25-30; 5:32-33).⁴²³ He acknowledges that Jesus outranks him (cf. 1:30), which provides an interesting parallel to the tradition in Q 7:18-35 that John is inferior to Jesus the Son of Man. Of course in Q

⁴²² Ringe, *Wisdom's Friends*, 56.

⁴²³ Smith, *John*, 54-55.

Jesus and John are both envoys of Sophia, while in John's Gospel the Baptist is the precursor of Jesus the Word. The fact that John the Baptist proclaims Jesus as the one who was before him demonstrates that the Baptist was aware of Jesus's transcendent and pre-existent nature.⁴²⁴

Having concluded our discussion of the Johannine Prologue and its inclusion of Wisdom elements and themes, we may now move to the rest of the Gospel. Does John provide further parallels between Jesus the Word incarnate and the figure of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition? In answering this question, it is instructive to focus on the so-called "I am" sayings in this Gospel (Jn 6:35, 48, 51; 8:12; 10:7; 11:25; 14:6; 15:1). Jesus uses this distinctive formula, in association with a series of metaphors, to make definitive statements about his identity and mission. The chosen metaphors resonate strongly with the Wisdom tradition, especially in the books of Proverbs and Sirach.

In Jn 6:35 and 6:48 Jesus proclaims "I am the bread of life." This claim appears a little differently in 6:51 where it says he is "the living bread which came down from heaven." The next sentence clarifies the symbolism. The bread is the body of Jesus and those who eat it will have eternal life. Bread is also associated with Wisdom, "Come, eat of my bread" (Wis 9:5) and "She [Wisdom] will feed him with the bread of understanding" (Sir 15:3). An even more interesting parallel is found in Sir 24:21, "those who eat me [Wisdom] will hunger for more," though the motif of bread is missing.⁴²⁵

The Johannine Jesus also pronounces, "I am the light of the world" (Jn 8:12; cf 1:4-8). It is possible that this idea corresponds with the sentiment in Prov 8:22. In this text Wisdom relates that God created her at the beginning of his work. Since the first act

⁴²⁴ Lincoln, *John*, 107.

⁴²⁵ Scott, *Sophia*, 116-119; Evans, *Word and Glory*, 141.

of creation in Genesis was the creation of light (Gen 1:3), Sophia can indeed be described in those terms. However, Wis 7:29 comments that Wisdom is superior to the light.

The close proximity of the next two I am sayings means they can be taken together. In 10:7 Jesus states, $\text{I am the gate for the sheep}$ and in 10:11 $\text{I am the Good Shepherd}$. These texts present two ways in which salvation is possible. Firstly, just as the sheep coming through the gate will be saved, so too those who come through Jesus will be saved. Secondly, as a good shepherd cares for his sheep, to the extent of being willing to give his life to save his sheep, Jesus as the Good Shepherd lays down his life for his sheep (10:15-18). This salvific role is reflected in Prov 8:34-35. Those who watch daily at the gates will find life. Likewise, in Wis 10, Wisdom is the one who protects, guides, delivers and rescues. Wisdom is the gate to salvation for those who take refuge under her protection.⁴²⁶

In Jn 11:25 Jesus claims $\text{I am the resurrection and the life}$ which portrays Jesus as the giver of life, especially eternal life (cf. 1:4). This is also reflected in Wisdom, who brings life in Prov 3:16; 8:35 and 9:11. Wisdom also speaks of the gift of eternal life in Wis 8:13. In Jn 14:6 Jesus states $\text{I am the way, the truth and the life}$. He is also the way to the Father, which becomes the way of salvation. Similarly, Wisdom is the way leading to salvation. She is a life-giver and true Wisdom as opposed to the false woman of Prov 8 and the wicked of Prov 4:19. Wisdom's followers are encouraged to walk in her way.⁴²⁷

Furthermore, in Jn 15:1, Jesus says, $\text{I am the true vine and my father is the vine grower}$. The relationship between the vine and the branches in the following verse

⁴²⁶ Scott, *Sophia*, 119-123. Also the parallels of the Good Shepherd are further shown where Wisdom is the source of knowledge (Prov 8:12; 9:6; Sir 1:19) and life (Prov 3:16, 18; 8:35; Sir 4:12). See Charlesworth, *Lady Wisdom* 106.

⁴²⁷ Scott, *Sophia*, 123-128.

highlights the theme of life. Life flows from the true vine to the disciples. This echoes Sir 24:17-19 where Wisdom is portrayed as the vine. Here, nourishment and abundance of life are received through the fruit of her branches. She invites all to come and partake of all she has to offer.⁴²⁸

The above discussion demonstrates clearly that the Gospel of John depicts Jesus of Nazareth in terms of the traditional figure Sophia.⁴²⁹ The incarnated Jesus and Wisdom share a similar nature and perform the same sorts of roles. Yet John does not refer to Jesus as "Wisdom"; he prefers the term "Word" which has some connections with Sophia in the Jewish literature. This prompts a question. Why does this evangelist refer to Jesus as the Word and not as Sophia? Some scholars claim that the answer is to be found in John's Hellenistic Jewish context. He has been influenced by other contemporary Jewish traditions about Wisdom, and scholars normally turn to the writings of Philo to demonstrate this.⁴³⁰

There are a number of passages in the Philonic corpus where the Word of God seems to be identified with Wisdom. These texts are, Leg.All. 1:65, "this issues forth out of Eden, the Wisdom of God (τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας) and this is the Reason or the Word

⁴²⁸ Scott, *Sophia*, 129-131.

⁴²⁹ Not all scholars agree. For a dissenting view, see Tobin, "Prologue" 254-265. T. H. Tobin argues that the functional roles of each figure are presented differently, in which case it is difficult to make an exact identification. For Tobin the roles and attributes of the Word go beyond what is said of Sophia in the Jewish Wisdom literature.

⁴³⁰ These scholars include Dodd, *Interpretation*, 276-285; Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 214; E. Harris, *Prologue and Gospel: The Theology of the Fourth Evangelist* (JSNTSup 107; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 196-201; W. L. Knox, "The Divine Hero" *Christology in the New Testament* *HTR* 41 (1948), 228-249; E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2nd edn 1908), Ch. V. Scholars who disagree with the idea that Philo has influenced John's writing include J. H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John vol. I* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), cxl-cxli; Also, C. K. Barrett believes that the Prologue writer composes the whole Prologue by himself in Barrett, *John*, 126; Bultmann sees that the Prologue is taken from the Gnostic Redeemer in R. Bultmann, *Interpreting Faith for the Modern Era (Making of Modern Theology)* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 18-35. It is noted that there are some scholars who see the Word in Philo as God including Dunn, *Christology*, 228; Lee, *From Messiah*, 69-75.

of God (ὁ θεοῦ λόγος); Fug. 97, "the Divine Word is the fountain of Wisdom (λόγον θεῖον ὅς σοφίας ἐστὶ πηγῆ) and Som 2:242, "the Divine Word descends from the fountain of Wisdom like a river to lave and water the heaven-sent celestial shoots and plants of virtue-loving souls"

The Word in Philo and in John's Prologue is portrayed as a pre-existent being. In the Gospel the Word exists "in the beginning" (Jn 1:1a), and Philo uses the same language in relation to this figure (Conf.Ling. 28:146). The notion of intimate relationship is similar too when John refers to the Word "and the Word was with God" (1:1b), while Philo speaks of God and Logos as having "no intervening distance" (Fug. 19:101). Both John and Philo are definite when referring to the Word as divine or heavenly. The evangelist states "the Word was divine" (Jn 1:1), and Philo refers to the divine Word (Som.1:62). It was noted above that John distinguishes between the Word and God and the same can be said of Philo.⁴³¹

Both Philo and the Johannine writer refer to the Word as the mediator of creation. The creative role of the Word in the Gospel is expressed in Jn 1:3, "all things came into being through him, and without him no one thing came into being" In Op.Mund 5:20 (cf. Cher. 35:127; Fug. 18:95) Philo comments that "the instrument of creation is the Word of God through whom it was framed" (Op.Mund. 5.20) and that the "author of creation is the divine Word" In John's Prologue, "the World came into existence through him" (Jn 1:10) while Philo notes "the Word of God already making the world" (Op.Mund. 6.24).⁴³²

The parallels extend to the themes of light and life, as well as darkness. While John writes, "the life was the light of humanity" in Jn 1:4, Philo states that, "the light is a

⁴³¹ Evans, *Word and Glory*, 101-103.

⁴³² Evans, *Word and Glory*, 101-103.

source of life in Op.Mund. 8.30. The antithesis between light and darkness is found in Jn 1:5, "and the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not overcome the light" and in Philo's statement in Op.Mund. 9.33, "darkness, the adversary, withdrew". Moreover, both Philo (Poster.C. 48.169) and the Johannine Prologue (Jn 1:18a) declare that no one has seen God, not even the great Moses.⁴³³

There are of course some differences too. John stipulates that the Word met with rejection in the world (Jn 1:9-11), but Philo offers no indication that the Word is rejected.⁴³⁴ Furthermore, there is no real parallel between the Word in both traditions in the context of incarnation. John states unambiguously that "the Word became flesh" (Jn 1:14a). The closest Philo comes to this is his statement in Conf.Ling 28:146 that "God's Word is the human being after his image" (Conf.Ling. 28.146), which makes a rather different point.⁴³⁵ These differences should occasion no surprise. John's views about the Word (or Wisdom) were distinctly coloured by his Christian convictions about the role and fate of Jesus.

Yet the close parallels between the Johannine Prologue and the Philonic texts raise the question of influence. There is no reason to accept that the evangelist had read the extensive works of Philo so a direct influence of one on the other cannot be entertained. A much more likely hypothesis is that both John and Philo had access to similar Hellenistic Jewish sources that emphasized the importance of the Word of God in creation and in other roles.⁴³⁶ John's dependence upon such sources might explain why

⁴³³ Evans, *Word and Glory*, 101-103.

⁴³⁴ Dunn, *Christology*, 242.

⁴³⁵ Dunn, *Christology*, 243.

⁴³⁶ Scholars who see that the Philo writing has an indirect influence on the Johannine Prologue as they share a common source include Brown, *John I*, LVIII; P. Borgen, "The Gospel of John and Philo of Alexandria" in J. H. Charlesworth and M. A. Daise (eds), *Light in a Spotless Mirror: Reflections on Wisdom Traditions in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Trinity Press International, 2003), 45-

he chose to depict Jesus as the Word rather than as Wisdom. Another factor is that even in the Christian tradition the term ὁ λόγος had long been associated with the Christian message about Jesus (cf. 1 Thes 2:13; 1 Cor 1:18; 2 Cor 4:2; Gal 6:6).⁴³⁷

It might also be the case that this evangelist preferred to denote the male Jesus using a masculine term. The term ὁ λόγος is masculine while σοφία is feminine.⁴³⁸ The Christian church had traditionally used masculine terms and titles to articulate the identity and status of Jesus. The “Son of God” which appears in all Christian traditions, is perhaps the best example, and this terminology is found regularly in John’s Gospel (Jn 1:14; 11:41; 12:27-28; 17:1, 5, 11, 25).⁴³⁹ The early Christians also consistently referred to God with masculine imagery. The idea of God as “Father” is again found right throughout their writings. John may have had an aversion to depicting Jesus in a female guise or as a female figure, and so chose a male equivalent that was available from his Jewish sources. This issue had not arisen in the Q tradition where Jesus was viewed as quite distinct from Wisdom, but it emerged once these two figures were identified as one and the same. As we shall see in the next Chapter, Matthew had no such qualms. Unlike John who portrays Jesus as the masculine Word, Matthew is content to identify the historical male Jesus with the feminine figure of Sophia. If John sees a problem in the gender of Wisdom, Matthew does not.

To summarize this section, it is clear that the Gospel of John has a highly developed Wisdom Christology, especially in the Prologue. Jesus is no longer an envoy

71; L. K. K. Dey, *The Intermediary World and Patterns of Perfection in Philo and Hebrews* (SBLDS 25; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 8; Tobin, “Prologue” 252-269; R. Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 105.

⁴³⁷ Lincoln, *John*, 96-97.

⁴³⁸ For E. A. Johnson, ὁ λόγος is “a term of linguistic male gender.” See Johnson, “Jesus, the Wisdom of God” 285.

⁴³⁹ Lee, *Flesh and Glory*, 60-61; B. Lindars, “John” in B. Lindars, R. B. Edwards, and J. M. Court (eds), *The Johannine Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 38-39.

of Wisdom, as in Q, but is in reality this figure who was made incarnate in human flesh. He is not God, but a separate being who is subordinate to God. John testifies to Jesus' pre-existence, his intimate relationship with God, his creative work and his roles in revelation and salvation. But John reinterprets the traditional Jewish notions about Wisdom in conformity to his Christian convictions. Wisdom becomes incarnate in a real historical person, Jesus of Nazareth. But despite depicting Jesus as Sophia, John never uses that name. In his schema Jesus is the Word of God, an expression that has some links with Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. His preference for this alternative title can be explained in a number of ways. Perhaps he was influenced by certain Hellenistic Jewish sources that were also available to Philo, or perhaps he had an aversion to using a feminine title for the male Jesus.

5. Conclusion

This Chapter has attempted to determine how the Jewish tradition about Sophia or Wisdom has influenced the early Christian traditions about Jesus of Nazareth. In the light of Jesus' life, death and resurrection, the Christians made a variety of claims about the identity and roles of Jesus and these were expressed through Christological titles, such as 'Messiah', 'Son of God', 'Son of Man' and 'Lord'. But what of Wisdom? How did the early Christians understand the relationship between Sophia and Jesus?

Our review began with the Pauline epistles, which were written in the 50s of the first century. Despite the claim of some scholars that Paul did have a clear Wisdom Christology, in that he identified Jesus with Wisdom, it was argued that this was probably not the case. Paul certainly sees Jesus as a pre-existent being who had a role in creation,

but he does not make a clear connection with Sophia. He uses other Christological titles, such as "Lord" to denote Jesus in this role. It is true that the apostle uses the term "Wisdom of God" in relation to Jesus in 1 Cor. 1:24, but not as a Christological title. His language was dictated by the problems concerning wisdom and knowledge in the Corinthian church. Therefore, while Paul applies a rich range of Christological titles to Jesus, he never articulates that Jesus is Wisdom.

The independent Q tradition, which perhaps was composed a little earlier than the Pauline epistles (c. 50 C.E.), is much more promising. Here there is a clear and unambiguous reference to the figure of Wisdom (Q 7:35). She appears as a heavenly pre-existent being who relates her message through the prophets. But while Q has a Wisdom tradition, it does not have a Wisdom Christology. Jesus is identified only as a messenger or prophet of Sophia. He might be superior to her other envoys, John the Baptist, Jonah the prophet and even Solomon, but he ultimately serves the purposes of heavenly Wisdom. There is perhaps some evidence in Q 10:21-22 that the Q tradition was moving towards an identification of Jesus with Wisdom, since Jesus is attributed some of her traditional roles, but this is never clearly articulated. The Q tradition therefore testifies to an important development in early Christianity. It provides the first witness for any sort of connection between Jesus and Wisdom. But in this early tradition the Christology is comparatively "low" Jesus is merely the messenger of Sophia, albeit her greatest envoy, but a "child" of Wisdom nonetheless.

A further development of the relationship between Jesus and Wisdom appears in the Gospel of John which was written some fifty years later. John depicts Jesus of Nazareth in overtly Wisdom-like terms, especially in the Prologue but not confined to

that section. Jesus is pre-existent, has a role in creation, is the giver of life and salvation, and so on. But John develops the traditional Jewish view of Wisdom on the basis of his Christian beliefs. Wisdom has become flesh in the person of Jesus. In a further departure from the Jewish tradition, John sees no connection between Jesus as Wisdom and the Mosaic Law. On the contrary he contrasts the two, and depicts Jesus as one who breaks the Law and criticizes it. Despite his clear portrayal of Jesus in Wisdom terms, John does not refer to him as σοφία. John prefers the alternative term ὁ λόγος. As noted above, this can be explained by the theory that John was influenced by certain Hellenistic Jewish sources or by his aversion to identify the male Jesus with a feminine figure.

By the end of the first century, the Christian movement witnessed a number of alternative traditions about the relationship between Jesus and Jewish Wisdom. The Pauline tradition seems to have been unaware of any connection, despite Paul's affirmation of Jesus's role in creation. The Q tradition noted a link between the two, but made no identification of them. In Q, Jesus was a prophetic envoy of Sophia. The later and probably independent Johannine tradition represented a significant development in that Jesus is no longer a messenger of Wisdom, but is identified as pre-existent Sophia herself. Yet John fails to make the identification complete. He refuses to call Jesus -Sophia and refers to him by the alternative title -the Word. John thus provides a Wisdom Christology without a Wisdom title.

The question to pose now is how Matthew fits into this fluid situation. Written perhaps in the 80s or 90s,⁴⁴⁰ Matthew's Gospel comes between the Pauline and Q traditions, and the Johannine tradition. The next Chapter will examine just how Matthew

⁴⁴⁰ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 31-40.

utilized all the sources at his disposal, both Jewish and Christian, when constructing his own response to the question of the relationship between Jesus and Sophia.

CHAPTER 3: WISDOM IN THE MATTHEAN TRADITION

As noted in the closing remarks of the previous Chapter, Matthew composed his Gospel well after Paul and Q and probably just before the writing of John. There is no evidence that Matthew was particularly influenced by the prior Pauline tradition or by the contemporaneous Johannine tradition. But, as accepted in the Introduction, Matthew knew and used the Sayings Source Q. Any investigation of Matthew's Wisdom tradition must therefore begin with the evangelist's treatment of the Q material that refers to Sophia. Matthew's specific redaction of this material was spelt out in our previous discussion of the Q tradition, and need not be repeated here. This Chapter will be more concerned with the meaning of this edited material in the context of the whole Gospel, as well as any other passages or motifs that have a bearing on this aspect of Matthew's Christology.

It will be argued that Matthew radically transforms the existing Q tradition by making the explicit identification of Jesus with Wisdom. He does this clearly in two distinct passages, Mt 11:2-19 and 23:34-39. Having thus established this identification, Matthew understands the other Q traditions about Wisdom to be applicable to Jesus. This applies to 11:25-27, which even in Q may have been moving towards a Wisdom Christology, and the evangelist cements this interpretation by appending the extra

material in vv. 28-30. It is likely that almost all Matthean passages reflect this Christological conviction. The temptation to read Wisdom into most Matthean passages, as does Witherington, will be resisted, but it will be maintained that it does appear in Mt 1:23 as well as in the $\text{\textcircled{I}}$ have come sayings (Mt 5:17; 9:13; 10:34-35; 20:28).

The examination of this material will demonstrate that Matthew understands Jesus to be Wisdom incarnate. He is a pre-existent figure who becomes incarnate in the body of a human. While there is a strong parallel here with the Johannine tradition, it is most likely that these two Wisdom Christologies developed independently of one another. The tradition represented in John elected not to use the title $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ophia in relation to Jesus but used the $\text{\textcircled{W}}$ ord instead. By contrast, the Matthean tradition has no problems equating Jesus with the feminine figure of Wisdom.

Apart from the theme of pre-existence, Matthew adopts other traditional Wisdom motifs and applies them to Jesus \acute{o} a role in creation, hiddenness, rejection, a prophetic and teaching role and, of particular importance, his identification with the Torah. The Gospel of John drives a wedge between Jesus the Word and the Mosaic Law, but Matthew completely differs from this. For him, Jesus is Wisdom and is the Torah. Matthew, however, is similar to John in that he too reinterprets the roles of Wisdom on the basis of his Christian views about Jesus. His figure of Wisdom is a miracle-worker who dies on the cross for the sins of others, and will return to earth as the eschatological judge. Matthew therefore adopts and transforms all the traditions at his disposal, both Jewish and Christian, and constructs his own distinctive Wisdom Christology.

1. Mt 11:2-19

It was argued in Chapter 2 that Matthew has seriously edited the Q material in 11:2-19. The evangelist's redaction forms an *inclusio* between τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ in 11:2 and ἡ σοφία...τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς in 11:19, which serves to identify the works of the Christ with the works of Sophia. In short Matthew informs his readers that Jesus the Christ and Wisdom are one and the same.⁴⁴¹ The works of the Messiah in Mt 11:2 are later defined by Jesus himself in vv. 4-5; the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised and the poor have good news brought to them. These activities have been mentioned in the miracle chapters of 8-9 where the lepers are cleansed (8:1-4), the lame walk (9:1-8), the dead are raised (9:18-19, 23-26), the blind receive their sight (9:27-31), the deaf hear (9:32-34) and the poor have good news brought to them (9:36). The language here echoes Isaiah's visions of God's liberating work and reign. These echoes are found in Isa 26:19 (the dead), 29:18-19 (the deaf, blind and poor), 35:5-6 (the blind, deaf, lame), 42:7 (the blind) and 61:1 (poor, blind).⁴⁴²

⁴⁴¹ Scholars who believe that Matthew identifies Jesus with Wisdom in Mt 11:2-19 include W. Carter, *Matthew and the Margins: A Socio-Political and Religious Reading* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2000), 255; Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 264; Deutsch, "Wisdom in Matthew" 33-36; C. M. Deutsch, "Jesus as Wisdom: A Feminist Reading of Matthew's Wisdom Christology" in A.-J. Levine and M. Blickenstaff (eds), *A Feminist Companion to Matthew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 99; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 49-54; Dunn, *Christology*, 197-198; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 435; R. T. France, *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1989), 302-304; Gundry, *Matthew*, 213; D. J. Harrington, "The Wisdom of Jesus" *BibTod* 42 (2004), 275-279; D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13* (WBC 33A; Dallas: Word Books, 1993), 311; Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 281-282; Keener, *Matthew*, 343; Meier, *Matthew*, 124; D. L. Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 286; D. Patte, *The Gospel according to Matthew: A Structural Commentary on Matthew's Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 162, 202 n. 38; Senior, *Matthew*, 129; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 55-58.

⁴⁴² Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 242; France, *Matthew*, 424; Gundry, *Matthew*, 206; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 69. There is evidence that some Jewish people did expect a Messiah to work miracles (2 Bar 73:1-2). However, in terms of Jewish Messianism in general, there is a more critical belief that a Messiah was supposed to save the people, not necessarily heal them. See Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 132, n. 20. The reference is related to the reported works of Jesus, whom John and the other disciples believed may have been the Messiah, even though these works were not usually expected of the Messiah. See France, *Matthew*, 423 n. 17.

The evangelist thus identifies the works of the Messiah/Wisdom in terms of preaching and the performance of different types of miracles and healings. How do these ideas conform to the Jewish views of Wisdom? It will be recalled from Chapter 1 that Wisdom was considered as a teacher and preacher. She speaks publicly in various places, including the street (Prov 1:20), corners (Prov 1:21), crossroads (Prov 8:2), gates (Prov 8:3) and the highest places (Prov 9:3). In Prov 8:32-36 Wisdom is presented as a teacher exhorting all to listen and follow her ways, to hear her instructions and to become wise. Happiness, life and favours from the Lord will be bestowed on all who do not neglect her instructions.⁴⁴³ Wisdom's teaching role can be found in Sirach where she is portrayed as a strict disciplinarian (Sir 4:17; 6:20; 23-31).

As well as a teacher, Wisdom fulfils the public roles of prophet and/or preacher. In the book of Wisdom she knows the things of old and has knowledge of the things to come (Wis 8:8). She is clearly depicted as prophetic figure in Prov 1:20-33 and 8:1-36. In these texts she stands in public places calling for those who hear her to repent and follow her teachings.⁴⁴⁴ In Prov 1:22-25 the preaching of Wisdom is rejected, and this may parallel the rejection of Jesus in Mt 11:16.⁴⁴⁵

There is, however, no clear witness in the Wisdom literature that Sophia was considered to be a miracle worker. Despite the view of Deutsch to the contrary,⁴⁴⁶ the closest it comes to this view is in Wis 8:8, "She [Wisdom] has foreknowledge of signs

⁴⁴³ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 11.

⁴⁴⁴ France, *Matthew*, 434-435; Gench, *Wisdom*, 310; McCreesh, "Proverbs", 456-457; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 43-44; Witherington, *Christology of Jesus*, 51-52.

⁴⁴⁵ Deutsch, "Wisdom in Matthew", 35-36. Cf. Mt 11:20-24.

⁴⁴⁶ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 12. However, I am not convinced about Deutsch's references to Wisdom in the role of wonder worker in Qumran, 1 En 54:4-6 and 2 Baruch. Deutsch's claim does not give sufficient details in terms of where in Qumran and 2 Baruch she finds Wisdom and Wisdom's relation to the role of wonder worker. Also, in her claim she emphasizes the role of some sages including Solomon, and their relation to the role of wonder worker more than Wisdom and her role of wonder worker. See Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 84.

and wondersø But there is no hint in this text that these miracles would be performed by Wisdom herself. Matthewø emphasis on this theme is clearly influenced by the Christian tradition he inherited that Jesus was a miracle-worker, and this view has been incorporated into his own conviction that Jesus was Wisdom incarnate. In doing this Matthew has introduced a new element into the ever-changing perceptions of Wisdom current in his day. It is quite possible that the evangelist looked upon Wis 8:8, and interpreted this as a prophecy by Wisdom concerning her own miracles in her incarnation as Jesus, but this cannot be demonstrated. What can be said is that in 11:2-19 the evangelist emphasizes the roles of Wisdom as both teacher and miracle-worker, which recalls the teaching of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount in chs. 5-7 and his many mighty works in chs. 8-9.

However, there are two main arguments raised by scholars to oppose the claim that Matthew identifies Jesus in 11:2-19 with Wisdom.⁴⁴⁷ Firstly, some scholars, including M. D. Johnson, argue that Mt 11:2-19 only highlights Jesusø ministry and not Jesusø identification with Wisdom. He explains that in Mt 11:5, Matthew might mean

⁴⁴⁷ Other minor arguments include a tendency to support Wisdomø association with God. This text should be seen as merely an analogy not an identification of the presence of the Wisdom of God in Christø deeds as ÆWisdomø here does not refer to the mythical figure of Wisdom but to the manifestation of the Wisdom of God in Christø deeds. See Gench, *Wisdom*, 310; D. R. A. Hare, *Matthew* (IBCTP; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 124-125; Johnson, ÆReflections on Wisdomø 57-58. See also J. C. Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest: The Rest Motif in the New Testament with Special Reference to Mt 11 and Heb 3-4* (WUNT 98; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 168-169 where Laansma does not see Jesus as Wisdom in Mt 11:19 by stating that ÆThe only real evidence that the referent of this noun σοφία in v. 19b was understood to be the mythological figureí aside from the question begging assumption that Matthew and his readers would have had her in mindí is the reconstructed myth of Wisdomø envoysø Also, Gathercole suggests that the conventional interpretation of Mt 11:19b can be challenged with the following argument; Æwisdom has been absolved of her actionsø He qualifies this statement by arguing that this is Æa complaint by Jesus that this generation has zealously put Wisdom in the clear by denying that she has any connection with the ministries of John and Jesusø However, accepting this interpretation requires a difficult mental adjustment by the audience to realize that Jesus is not expressing his own view, but rather the view of one of his critics. S. J. Gathercole, ÆThe Justification of Wisdom (Mt 11:19b/Lk 7:35)ø *NTS* 49 (2003), 480. I have found that Laansmaø and Gathercoleø argument is not convincing. The conventional interpretation is accepted by the majority of scholars.

by the deeds of the Christ, the healing, teaching and preaching activities of Jesus in chs. 8-9. Furthermore, the verbs διδάσκων, κηρύσσων and θεραπεύων are used to highlight Jesus' ministry in Mt 4:23; 9:25.⁴⁴⁸

For M. D. Johnson, Wisdom Christology is not a major interest of Matthew's Gospel. He claims that if it is, then the focus should be placed on Mt 13:54 rather than 11:2-19. In Mt 13:54 Jesus is seen as the man who acquires wisdom and mighty works (τούτω ἡ σοφία αὕτη καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις). However, Matthew takes this text from Mark (6:1-6a). Therefore, if the text of Mt 13:54 is an important central text of Matthew's Wisdom Christology, then Matthew has simply inherited this Christology from Mark.⁴⁴⁹ Thus, M. D. Johnson argues that it would be improbable to support the claim that Matthew redacts 11:2-19 because of his own interest in Wisdom Christology.

In response to this argument against Matthew's identification of Jesus in 11:2-19 as Wisdom, it was shown earlier that Matthew links Jesus' deeds to Wisdom's deeds in the Jewish tradition. Suggs claims that Matthew views the deeds of the Christ, the deeds of Wisdom and mighty works as being those of Jesus in Galilee.⁴⁵⁰ E. A. Johnson supports Suggs' claims by stating that the deeds of Christ and the deeds of Wisdom both proclaim liberating deeds, indicating that the deeds are fundamentally likened. E. A. Johnson further argues that the deeds of Jesus described in chs. 8-9 and

⁴⁴⁸ Johnson, 'Reflections on Wisdom' 57. Scholars who do not believe that Matthew identifies Jesus with Wisdom in Mt 11:2-19 include Gathercole, 'Justification of Wisdom' 476-488; Gench, *Wisdom*, 301-305; Hare, *Matthew*, 124-125; Harrington, *Matthew*, 158; Johnson, 'Reflections on Wisdom' 44-64; Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 167-170; Nolland, *Matthew*, 464; D. Orton, *The Understanding Scribe: Matthew and the Apocalyptic Ideal* (JSNTSup 25; Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 154; R. Pregeant, 'Wisdom Passages in Matthew' in D. R. Bauer and M. A. Powell (eds), *Treasures New and Old: Contributions to Matthean Studies* (SBLSS 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 197-232.

⁴⁴⁹ Johnson, 'Reflections on Wisdom' 57. Other scholars including Hare and Keener believe that Mt 13:54 is a Wisdom passage. See Hare, *Matthew*, 125; Keener, *Matthew*, 343; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 61-62, 78; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 190-192.

⁴⁵⁰ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 56-57. See also Carter, *Matthew*, 255; Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 264-265; E. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Matthew* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975), 264-265.

11:20, which precede and follow the text of 11:2-19, substantiates the claim that Jesus' deeds and Wisdom's deeds are equated.⁴⁵¹

Even though the role of wonder worker cannot really be shared between Jesus and Wisdom, Jesus takes up Wisdom's roles as preacher and teacher. E. A. Johnson clarifies the connection between Jesus' deeds and Wisdom's deeds further by arguing that the deeds of Jesus such as healing, preaching and teaching are re-establishing the right order of creation; Wisdom is justified by her deeds (Mt 11:19b). It is the "deeds of Wisdom shown by actions, such as healing, resurrection, preaching the good news of God to the poor and table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners, that vindicate Wisdom and concurrently identify Jesus with her."⁴⁵²

Wainwright also supports E. A. Johnson when she states that the creative works of Wisdom continue in Jesus. A new creation is established in the works of righteousness, the reordering of resources and relationships.⁴⁵³ Wainwright clarifies the deeds of Wisdom further. They are seen as salvific, liberating and creative deeds (Wis 10-19). Wisdom speaks of being present in creation (Prov 8:22-31; Sir 24:1-22; Wis 9:9).⁴⁵⁴ Thus, according to Wainwright, the text of Mt 11:2-19 highlights Wisdom Christology and not simply Wisdom influence.⁴⁵⁵ In other words, Matthew identifies Jesus with Wisdom.

⁴⁵¹ Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 282. See also France, *Matthew*, 420 n. 13.

⁴⁵² W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew* (AB 26; Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), 139-140; Johnson, *She Who Is*, 156-157. See also Johnson, "Jesus, the Wisdom of God" 281-282. Scholars who see that Wisdom's deeds in Mt 11:2 refer to Christ's deeds in Mt 11:19 include Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 276; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 28-29; Gundry, *Matthew*, 213; Harrington, *Matthew*, 167; Keener, *Matthew*, 343; Patte, *Matthew*, 157, 202; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 88-89.

⁴⁵³ Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 76-79; Deutsch, "Jesus as Wisdom" 99, 112; Harrington, "Wisdom of Jesus" 279.

⁴⁵⁴ Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 77-78. See also France, *Matthew*, 434-435; Senior, *Matthew*, 129.

⁴⁵⁵ See the details of scholars' claims that Jesus in Mt 11:19b is identified with personified Wisdom in n. 1.

The second argument opposing the claim that Matthew identifies Jesus in Mt 11:2-19 with Wisdom is that the deeds of the disciples should be identified with Jesus as well. M. D. Johnson contends that in Mt 10:1, 7-8 the disciples are to preach and heal. Thus, their deeds seem to be included in the "deeds of the Christ" or "the deeds of Wisdom"⁴⁵⁶ Gench supports M. D. Johnson's claim and suggests that Wisdom in the text Mt 11:19b cannot be identified simply by Jesus's deeds. If these deeds only referred to the deeds of Jesus alone and excluded John's ministry, then a clear connection between Jesus and Wisdom is established. However, Gench argues that there is insufficient evidence to reach this conclusion. The deeds in Mt 11:2 not only deal with Jesus's deeds, but also the deeds performed by John and Jesus's disciples. Also, Mt 11:16-19, in conjunction with the whole of Matthew's Gospel, presents both Jesus's and John's ministries in such a strikingly similar fashion, that they must be included in Wisdom's works. The combination of all these things prevents a simple connection between Jesus and Wisdom. Thus, it would be difficult to argue that Jesus is Wisdom because his own ministry is not so different from the ministries of John and the disciples.⁴⁵⁷

In response to the argument about Wisdom incarnate in John's deeds and the disciples's deeds, John's subordination to Jesus, which is highlighted in Mt 11:9-14, needs to be emphasized. Significantly, in v. 9c John is identified as "more than a prophet". There are four points relating to John's identity. Firstly, in v. 10, John is the figure foretold in Mal 3:1. Then, in v. 11 he is the greatest of those who were born among women. In vv. 12-13 he is the turning point in salvation history. This is substantiated from the fact that from the days of John the Baptist until now, violence always existed in

⁴⁵⁶ Johnson, "Reflections on Wisdom" 57.

⁴⁵⁷ Gench, *Wisdom*, 309-310. Also, Nolland agrees with Gench on this issue in Nolland, *Matthew*, 464.

the Kingdom. Also, the prophets and the Law prophesied until the time of John. Thus, a description of what precedes and follows John is described, pointing to John's place in God's plan of salvation. Lastly, in v. 14 Jesus describes John as Elijah, the one who is to come, thus highlighting John as the forerunner of Jesus.⁴⁵⁸

Consequently, it is unlikely that Matthew sought to equate John and Jesus in terms of their deeds or status. John's subordination to Jesus is clear in Mt 11:9-14, and also in the earlier baptism narrative (Mt 3:13-17). In this narrative, Matthew rewrites the simple Markan account so that the Baptist refuses to baptize Jesus on account of Jesus's superiority, and only does so when Jesus convinces him to do so. Matthew also makes clear throughout his text that Jesus and the disciples are in no sense equated. Even if it is true that the disciples perform similar actions to Jesus, the reference to the works of Sophia in 11:19 do not refer to them. It is Jesus as Sophia who is justified by his (or her) works, and this remains unchanged whether others preach and perform miracles.⁴⁵⁹

Therefore, by forming the *inclusio* of Mt 11:2 and 19b, Matthew identifies Jesus with Wisdom. The deeds of the Messiah are the deeds of Jesus and the deeds of Jesus are the deeds of Wisdom. By being equated with Wisdom, Jesus is no longer Wisdom's representative as he was in Q, and this marks a major development in this trajectory of the Jesus tradition. If Matthew predates John, then we find for the first time in the Christian tradition a clear and completely unambiguous identification of these two

⁴⁵⁸ Gench, *Wisdom*, 230-231. While vv. 2-6 present Jesus's identity, vv. 7-15 introduce John's authoritative nature including John's prophetic role as Elijah as well as his subordination to Jesus (cf. Jn 1:6-8). This section contains the material taken from two different parts of Q (cf. Lk 7:24-28; 16:16) and includes Matthew's redaction (vv. 14-15). It is introduced by Jesus's three questions. The first question is found in v. 7c, and is answered by another question in v. 7d. However, the second and third questions in vv. 8a, 9a are first answered by a question in vv. 8b, 9b and then by a statement in vv. 8c, 9c. See also Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 246 where it shows that in 11:20-24, immediately following the saying about Wisdom's deeds, Jesus speaks prophetically to the Galilean cities which reject him. See also France, *Matthew*, 421; Gundry, *Matthew*, 208-209.

⁴⁵⁹ Dunn, *Christology*, 197-198; Gundry, *Matthew*, 213; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 56-58.

figures. Matthew portrays Jesus in the traditional Wisdom roles as teacher and prophet, but he introduces the new element that Jesus as Wisdom is a performer of miracles.

2. Mt 11:25-30

Having made the identification between Jesus and Wisdom clear in 11:19, Matthew continues this theme in the unit of material in 11:25-30.⁴⁶⁰ The earlier examination of the original Q text (Q 10:21-22) showed that in the context of that source Jesus was depicted as the envoy of Sophia, though now being attributed some of her distinctive roles. It was suggested that Q may have been moving towards a Wisdom Christology, but Matthew accelerates this movement. Jesus is equated with Wisdom in Mt 11:19, and now he defines his nature and roles as Wisdom in this passage. The important themes here are pre-existence, reciprocal knowledge, revelation of these things, rejection and discipleship.⁴⁶¹

Matthew appends to the Q material a further tradition in vv. 28-30, which serves to elaborate further his Wisdom convictions about Jesus. In this material the evangelist identifies Jesus with the Torah and so brings to the Christian tradition one of the fundamental notions about Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. By doing this, the Matthean trajectory differs considerably from its Johannine counterpart where any such equation was discounted. However, the identification of Jesus as Wisdom in Mt 11:25-30 is

⁴⁶⁰ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 54; Gench, *Wisdom*, 153; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 77.

⁴⁶¹ Scholars who claim that Jesus in Mt 11:25-27 is identified with Wisdom include Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 272; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 103-107; Deutsch, "Jesus as Wisdom", 99-100; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 54-57; France, *Matthew*, 441; Harrington, *Matthew*, 169-170; Johnson, "Reflections on Wisdom", 59-60; Keener, *Matthew*, 347; Johnson, *She Who Is*, 96; Robinson, "Jesus as Sophia", 9-10; Schroer, *Wisdom Has Built*, 143-144; Senior, *Matthew*, 134; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 95-97; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 79-83; Witherington, *Christology of Jesus*, 227; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 205.

disputed by some scholars,⁴⁶² and the following discussion will examine their arguments. We will begin with the Q tradition in vv. 25-27 and then turn to the added material in vv. 28-30.

(a) vv. 25-27

The text of 11:25-27 reads: Ἀτ that time Jesus said, ὦ I thank you, Father (πάτερ), Lord of heaven and earth (κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς), because you have hidden (ἐκρυψας) these things (ταῦτα) from the wise and the intelligent and have revealed (ἀπεκάλυψας) them to infants (v. 25); yes Father (πάτερ), for such was your gracious will (v. 26). All things have been handed over to me by my Father (τοῦ πατρός μου); and no one knows the Son (τὸν υἱὸν) except the Father (ὁ πατήρ); and no one knows the Father (ὁ πατήρ) except the Son (ὁ υἱός)⁴⁶³ and anyone to whom the Son (ὁ υἱός) chooses to reveal him (v. 27)ᾠ⁴⁶⁴ This tradition falls into two main parts. Firstly, Matthew highlights Jesus' thankfulness for the way his teaching is not for the learned and intelligent, but for little children. Secondly, Jesus reflects on the relationship between the Father and the Son.⁴⁶⁵

A number of scholars deny any connection between Jesus and Wisdom in this passage on the grounds that it does not present the pre-existence of Jesus, which they

⁴⁶² Scholars who dispute the claim that Jesus in Mt 11:25-27 is identified with Wisdom include Dunn, *Christology*, 198-200; D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NCBC; London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1972), 208; Gundry, *Matthew*, 217-218; Kloppenborg, ἈWisdom Christology in Q 144-147; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 161-170; Pregeant, ἈWisdom Passages in Matthew 227.

⁴⁶³ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 76. There are scholarly debates over which clause comes first in the original order. Also, it is debatable whether the clause ἄno one knows the Son except the Father existed in the original text. However, it does not matter which one comes first as long as the saying presents the same meaning. See details of debates in Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 34-35; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 71-77.

⁴⁶⁴ Vv. 25-27 are best understood as a unit. The verb ἄreveal (ἀποκαλύπτω) in v. 25 and v. 27 forms an *inclusio* linking vv. 25-27 together. Moreover, by using the word ἈFather (πάτερ) five times throughout the text, a unity of the texts is confirmed. See Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 39; Gench, *Wisdom*, 153-154. However, Mt 11:25-27 can also be treated as separate sayings by some scholars who put an emphasis on the difference of the address. While God in vv. 25-26 is being addressed in the second person, God in v. 27 is being addressed in the third person. See France, *Matthew*, 440-441.

⁴⁶⁵ Morris, *Matthew*, 291. See also Harrington, *Matthew*, 168-169.

believe is an essential element in any Wisdom Christology.⁴⁶⁶ They do not accept that the verb ἵνα παραδοθή (παρεδόθη) indicates Jesus' pre-existence, but rather that it points to ἵνα an historical act in time.⁴⁶⁷ But this is not certain in the context of Matthew. A number of scholars emphasize that παρεδόθη is in the third person aorist passive indicative singular, which implies the pre-existence of the Son as it is directed back to a time in eternity.⁴⁶⁸ The implication of the pre-existence theme is clarified further in the whole phrase ἵνα πάντα ἔχωσιν μοι παραδοθέντα πατρί μου ἅμα μετὰ τὴν φράσην ἵνα πάντα ἔχωσιν μοι παρεδόθη should be best understood as all the authority given by the Father to the Son at the beginning of creation, from pre-existing time to historical time. Likewise, all of God's revelation, which is presented by Jesus in words and actions over his entire life, can also be found in 7:29; 9:6, 8; 10:1; 21:23-27 and 28:18. In these passages, Jesus has acted with the authority given by God.⁴⁶⁹

Secondly, the term ἵνα γνωσθῆ in Mt 11:25-27 is a matter of debate. Some scholars claim that the reciprocal knowledge between God and Jesus reflects the relationships between Yahweh, Israel and other figures in Judaism who are not Wisdom. To ἵνα γνωσθῆ (ἐπιγινώσκει) conventionally is to refer to a sense of relationship rather than any intellectual attainment. ἵνα ἑνὸς θεοῦ is found in other passages throughout the Bible,

⁴⁶⁶ Gench, *Wisdom*, 199; Kloppenborg, ἵνα-Wisdom Christology in Q 147; Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 175; Piper, *Wisdom*, 172.

⁴⁶⁷ Gench, *Wisdom*, 215; Kloppenborg, ἵνα-Wisdom Christology in Q 147. Also, Deutsch argues that παρεδόθη should be emphasized as an indication of God's revelation rather than pre-existence or a pre-temporal act. See Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 33. France also supports Deutsch's argument by stating that, the authority which is possessed by Jesus should be emphasized regarding his death and resurrection rather than his eternal status. See also France, *Matthew*, 445.

⁴⁶⁸ This claim is widely accepted among older exegetes including W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907), 122-123; A. Plummer, *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew* (London: Elliott Stock, 1909), 168. See further details of the arguments over this claim in Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 280 n. 205; Gench, *Wisdom*, 215 n. 80; Kloppenborg, ἵνα-Wisdom Christology in Q 147; Witherington, *Christology of Jesus*, 227.

⁴⁶⁹ Gench, *Wisdom*, 185.

including Jer 9:24; 31:34; Hos 6:6; Jn 14:7 and 17:3.⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, those who do not accept Wisdom Christology as presented in Mt 11:25-27 claim that the intimate relationship between the Father and the Son could be connected to the concept of \neg knowing \emptyset . The notion of being elected by God is shown in the context of being \neg known \emptyset in particular passages. In Gen 18:19 and Num 16:5 (LXX), Yahweh is known by Abraham, and in Jer 1:5 Yahweh is known by Jeremiah. Also, \neg the Father-Son imagery \emptyset is characteristically portrayed in terms of Israel \emptyset s relationship of being elect with Yahweh in Ex 4:22; Jer 31:9; Hos 11:1; 13:5 and Amos 3:2.⁴⁷¹ In addition, the reciprocal knowledge of the Father and the Son should be understood as a reflection of the relationship between God and Moses in Ex 33:11-23; Num 12:1-8 and Deut 34:9-12.⁴⁷² Thus, for some scholars, the reciprocal knowledge between God and God \emptyset s Son does not indicate the relationship between God and Wisdom.

However, it can be argued that by saying \neg no one knows the Son except the Father \emptyset Jesus indicates his relationship with God as God \emptyset s unique Son. The Sonship is confirmed in Jesus addressing God as Father together with using \neg the Son \emptyset as a title for Jesus.⁴⁷³ As God \emptyset s Son, Jesus also presents himself as Wisdom.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, Matthew uses the word ἐπιγινώσκει while Luke uses γινώσκει for the parallel account in Lk 10:22. Both words mean \neg know \emptyset and can be used interchangeably. Matthew \emptyset s word is

⁴⁷⁰ France, *Matthew*, 446. I am unconvinced in interpreting the saying \neg the Son knows the Father \emptyset as a relationship between sons and fathers. A son is more likely to be closer to his wife or friend rather than his father. See discussion in France, *Matthew*, 446; Keener, *Matthew*, 347; Schweizer, *Matthew*, 271.

⁴⁷¹ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 54-60; Dunn, *Christology*, 198-200; France, *Matthew*, 441-442; Gench, *Wisdom*, 197-198.

⁴⁷² D. C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 218-233; Nolland, *Matthew*, 472-473. See the details of Moses \emptyset typology in Mt 11:27 in Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 283-287. Dunn also does not see Jesus in Mt 11:25-27 as Wisdom. See his arguments in Dunn, *Christology*, 198-199.

⁴⁷³ Gundry, *Matthew*, 217.

⁴⁷⁴ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 296; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 143; Keener, *Matthew*, 347-348; Nolland, *Matthew*, 472; Witherington, *Christology of Jesus*, 227.

probably redactional. He uses ἐπιγινώσκει in 7:16 (cf. Lk 6:44), 20 and in 17:12. It is noted that every time he uses ἐπιγινώσκει, he apparently puts an emphasis on a term of recognition in that particular context. The recognition of the good and bad tree in 7:16, 20 and of Elijah in the person of John the Baptist in 17:12 is emphasized by Matthew.⁴⁷⁵

Only the Father knows the Son and only the Son reveals the Father to the ones chosen by the Son. This reciprocal knowledge can also be explained in terms of the intimate relationship between God and Wisdom. Wisdom reveals herself in creation as God's firstborn and only associate in creation in Prov 8, in mediating God's truth and instruction for living in Prov 8:22-31, 32-36, in the Law of the Most High in Bar 3:9-4:4; Sir 24:23, everywhere in the cosmos in Wis 7:24-26, and in heaven in 1 En 42:1-3. Wisdom is the breath of God's power, his emanation, reflection and image in Wis 7:25-26. Just as Wisdom in the Jewish tradition is the sole mediator of divine revelation in Wis 6:12-9:18, the Son is the sole mediator of divine revelation in Mt 11:25-27.⁴⁷⁶

Therefore, just as only Wisdom knows God, so only Jesus knows the Father (v. 27). Jesus' knowledge of God comes from God's revelation to him. This revelation can refer to Ex 33:12-14 where God 'knows' Moses by name and Moses questioned God that he may know God.⁴⁷⁷ However, the reciprocal knowledge in Mt 11:25-27 is the intimate relationship between the Son and the Father. It is the intimate relationship between God and Jesus, which requires a divine or transcendental status. This status

⁴⁷⁵ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 36-37.

⁴⁷⁶ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 56-60; Harrington, *Matthew*, 169-170; Schorer, *Wisdom*, 143-144; Witherington, *Christology of Jesus*, 227.

⁴⁷⁷ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 283-287; Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 187.

cannot be established in Moses's life. Moses never called God Father. Moreover, the discussion of 11:28-30 will show Jesus's superiority over Moses.

Thirdly, some scholars argued against a Wisdom Christology in 11:25-27 on the grounds that the text never mentions a role in creation, which is one of the definitive activities of Sophia in the Jewish tradition.⁴⁷⁸ This argument is questionable. There is no reason to expect every Wisdom passage to contain every Wisdom theme. Not every Jewish text alludes to Wisdom's creative work. But having said this, it has been claimed that this text does contain such a reference. By addressing the Father as Lord of heaven and earth, Jesus may well be reminding his audience of his own role in creation. R. T. France relates the tradition to Prov 8:22-31 where Wisdom is God's firstborn and sole associate in creation.⁴⁷⁹ France's claim is based on the phrase "Father, Lord of heaven and earth" which reflects the creation account in Gen 1:1, "In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth." In the context of Matthew's Gospel, where the evangelist has already identified Jesus with Wisdom, France's argument is probably right. If Matthew thinks Jesus is pre-existent Wisdom, then it would be understandable for him to assign Jesus one of Wisdom's definitive tasks.

There are also other Wisdom motifs in the passage. What the Father has hidden is referred to by the following demonstrative pronoun "these things" (ταῦτα). There are various interpretations of the pronoun ταῦτα. The revelation of "these things" in v. 25 is considered by many scholars to recall the deeds of Wisdom in 11:19b and the deeds of

⁴⁷⁸ Kloppenborg's argument can be found in Kloppenborg, "Wisdom Christology in Q" 147 and it is cited by Gench, *Wisdom*, 199.

⁴⁷⁹ France, *Matthew*, 441.

Christ in 11:2.⁴⁸⁰ These thingsø also include the further reference to miracles in vv. 20-24, which are significant in Jesusø ministry.⁴⁸¹ In the Matthean woes against Chorazin and Bethsaida, the cities reject Jesusø mighty works in them (vv. 21, 23). As a result, they fail to repent. Taking 11:12, 19, 20-24 together, Matthew portrays Jesus as thanking the Father for hiding his mighty works from the wise and intelligent.⁴⁸² The theme of hiddenness and rejection is also a Wisdom motif. In 1 En 42 Wisdom is hidden and seeks to reveal herself, but is refused. She is forced to withdraw because of the wickedness of humankind. By returning to heaven, Wisdom is again hidden from the human world.

The wise and intelligent who have these thingsø hidden from them comprise more than just the citizens of Chorazin and Bethsaida. They include the major opponents of Jesus in this Gospel, the scribes and Pharisees, who appear in the immediate context in Mt 12:2, 14, 24 and 38. Deutsch and Gench go further and identify the people of Israel who reject Jesus and his mission. This can refer to the crowds in 13:2 and those in 13:11 who are not given the secrets of the Kingdom of Heaven.⁴⁸³

On the other hand, those who are granted the revelation, the infants, are the disciples and others who respond appropriately to Jesus.⁴⁸⁴ The disciples are those to

⁴⁸⁰ Nolland's interpretation of these thingsø is God's purpose through Jesusø ministry. See Nolland, *Matthew*, 470; For Davies and D. C. Allison, Deutsch, Harrington and Suggs, these thingsø means the deeds of Jesus (11:2, 19) particularly his miracles (11:20-21; cf. 11:5-6). See Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 276; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 28-29; Gundry, *Matthew*, 213; Harrington, *Matthew*, 167; Keener, *Matthew*, 343; Patte, *Matthew*, 157, 202; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 88-95; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 80.

⁴⁸¹ France, *Matthew*, 441; Johnson, "Reflections on Wisdomø" 59; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 95.

⁴⁸² Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 28; Hill, *Matthew*, 205; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 95. I would expand from Deutsch's comment on both texts Lk 10:13-15 and Mt 11:20-24 which similarly contain the theme of rejection of the cities of Chorazin and Bethsaida. However, earlier examinations concluded that in Lk 7:35 (cf. Mt 11:19) Luke identifies Jesus as Wisdom's envoy. Thus, the theme of rejection in Lk 10:13-15 cannot be referred to Wisdom as it can be in Mt 11:20-24. Deutsch also includes Jesusø sonship, his relation to the Father, his messianic identity and his proclamation of the Kingdom for her meaning of these thingsø See Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 30.

⁴⁸³ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 30; Gench, *Wisdom*, 182.

⁴⁸⁴ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 31-32, 108; Gench, *Wisdom*, 183; Nolland, *Matthew*, 470; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 80.

whom are given the secrets of the kingdom of heaven in Mt 13:52. The word παιδίον, also meaning an infant, can also be found in 18:3, 4-6 and 10 where it relates to those who are welcomed to the Kingdom of Heaven, as they are ready to receive the revelation made by the Father. The imagery here of a helpless child resonates with the traditional image of Wisdom as a mother who cares and protects her children (cf. Sir 4:11; Wis 7:12).

Sophia's relationship with her followers is further evidenced in other Wisdom passages, especially in the book of Proverbs. She extends her invitation to those who wish to follow her way in 1:20-21; 8:1-3, 32-36 and 9:1-11. For those who follow her way, they will be rewarded with security (1:33), happiness (3:13), life and happiness (3:18), intellectual prosperity, gifts and promises (8:12-16), all her attributes and virtues (8:14), internal spirituality (8:19), prosperity and richness (8:21), life (8:35), knowledge of God (8:32-36) and security (8:33). In Sirach, Wisdom is God's gift to her followers, and in ch. 4 she will love them and reveal her secrets to them. There are invitations to learn her ways and to gain immeasurable treasures under her instruction (Sir 24: 19, 22-23; 51:26). In the book of Wisdom, care, encouragement, glory, honor, respect, immortality, rest, companionship, joy, delight and wealth will be given to her followers (8:9-18).

(b) vv. 28-30

Matthew's Wisdom Christology continues in the unique material in 11:28-30. The text reads: -Come to me, all (πάντες) you that are weary and are carrying heavy burdens and I will give you rest (v. 28). Take my yoke upon you (ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς), and learn from me (καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ); for I am gentle and humble in heart (τῆ

καρδία), and you will find rest for your souls (v. 29). For my yoke is easy (ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστός) and my burden is light (v. 30)α

This text presents Jesus' invitation to those who are weary and burdened to come to him and they will be given rest. Jesus also invites them to take his yoke and learn from him. The origin of this material is uncertain. While some scholars contend that it comes from a source,⁴⁸⁵ others maintain it is Matthew's own creation.⁴⁸⁶ For the purposes of this study, it does not matter. Whether adopted from a source or created, the presence of this material indicates that the evangelist agreed with its sentiments. The fact that he placed it after 11:25-27 suggests that he viewed it as relevant to the development of his Wisdom Christology. Matthew equates the yoke of Jesus with the yoke of Wisdom, and his invitation is her invitation.⁴⁸⁷ Additionally, as Wisdom, the Matthean Jesus reflects Wisdom in terms of the role of teaching and the motif of discipleship.

Jesus' invitation, "Come to me, learn from me" can be likened to Wisdom's invitation in Prov 8-9. The invitation has a close connection to those invitations in the book of Sirach, both by the sage Sirach (6:18-37) and by Wisdom herself (51:23, 26). Moreover, the conclusion can be drawn that Matthew is projecting Jesus not only as Wisdom but also as a sage. The invitation "learn from me" (v. 29) implies Jesus the speaker is a teacher calling for discipleship. Jesus thus becomes the sage with wisdom "greater than Solomon" in 12:42, and is applauded for his wisdom by those in the

⁴⁸⁵ Scholars who see that the text Mt 11:25-27 came from a source include Albright and Mann, *Matthew*, 146; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 95-96.

⁴⁸⁶ Scholars who see that the text Mt 11:25-27 was Matthew's own creation include Bruner, *Matthew*, 537; Gench, *Wisdom*, 172-173, 202.

⁴⁸⁷ Scholars who claim that Jesus in Mt 11:28-30 is identified with Wisdom include Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 289; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 141-143; Deutsch, "Jesus as Wisdom" 99-100; Dunn, *Christology*, 200-201; France, *Matthew*, 441-442; Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 68; Johnson, *She Who Is*, 95-96; Keener, *Matthew*, 348-349; Meier, *Matthew*, 127; Robinson, "Jesus as Sophos" 10-11; Schroer, *Wisdom Has Built*, 144; Senior, *Matthew*, 131-134; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 334; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 79-83; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 205, 208; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 96-97.

synagogue in 13:54. Matthew here becomes explicit in this portrait of Jesus. Just as Wisdom is a teacher in Proverbs and Sirach, Jesus as teacher is here once again portrayed as Wisdom the prophet and sage.⁴⁸⁸

The Matthean Jesus' invitation needs to be further discussed. The terms *κοπιῶντες καὶ τεφορτισμένοι*, 'those who labour and are heavily burdened' are synonymous. They probably should not be understood as relating to the 'infants' in v. 25, who metaphorically represent the disciples. Rather, they relate to the people of Israel. Matthew presents Jesus extending an invitation to all Israel to come to him,⁴⁸⁹ which parallels the open invitation of Wisdom in the Jewish texts. Here too, Jesus as Wisdom invites all.

In Sir 6:24-37 we find a cluster of themes that are contained in this Matthean text. Ben Sira advises his readers to 'come to her [Wisdom] (v. 26), for she will provide rest (v. 28), and they should take up her yoke (v. 30). The motifs of rest and the yoke are important Wisdom themes. The 'rest' (ἀνάπαυσις) that is promised by Jesus to all who come to him can be contrasted with the toil and burden imposed by the scribes and Pharisees. These groups are criticized by Jesus for their lack of solidarity with their followers who are struggling under the weight of an enormous amount of legal code (23:4). In 12:1-14 the scribes and the Pharisees focus only on the Sabbath regulations and neglect the important concept of mercy. Those who follow the scribes and Pharisees are not liberated; they are burdened by an inaccurate application of the Mosaic Law. This stands in stark contrast to Jesus himself, who offers 'rest'. The concept of rest here probably represents the presence of Jesus with his disciples. For those who come to Jesus,

⁴⁸⁸ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 134; Deutsch, 'Wisdom in Matthew' 37. See M. J. Borg, *Jesus, A New Vision: Spirit, Culture, and the Life of Discipleship* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 97-127.

⁴⁸⁹ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 41.

the rest, which is the peace and contentment and fullness of life, can be reached.⁴⁹⁰ Similarly, for those who come to Wisdom to learn and follow her instructions, they will be presented with plentiful gifts such as happiness (Prov 3:13), life (Prov 3:18), intellectual prosperity (Prov 8:12-16) and particularly rest (Wis 8:16; Sir 6:28).

The metaphor of rest also can be found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. In Jer 6:16 Jeremiah offers rest for the soul to those who walk in the good way, while in Ex 33:14 God offers rest to Moses and his people. Again in Gen 2:2-3 the Sabbath rest was established on the seventh day of creation.⁴⁹¹ Here there is also an important eschatological dimension. The entire messianic age was to become a time of rest, similar to a great Sabbath. According to Jewish eschatology, the end is like the beginning and the first creation is like the last. For as in the first creation, God rests, so in Mt 11:28 (cf. Heb 4:3) we find Jesus the Messiah offering eschatological rest to those who become his followers.⁴⁹²

That this eschatological reality is already present is implied by the fact Wisdom's offer of rest in 11:28-30 is followed by narratives concerning rest and the Sabbath (12:1-8, 9-14). These texts illustrate the paradoxical easy yoke and the light burden, that contribute to a foundation for evaluating changes that need to be made to traditional customs and laws, even the Torah itself. For this Lord of the Sabbath (12:8), Jesus as the Wisdom of God is greater than Moses, David, Solomon or the Temple. Jesus teaches with authority that acts of mercy and neighbourly love should flow from the life given by the

⁴⁹⁰ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 288-289; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 41-42; France, *Matthew*, 448; D. E. Garland, *Reading Matthew: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the First Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 133; Senior, *Matthew*, 133; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 106-107.

⁴⁹¹ Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 82.

⁴⁹² Barton, "Gospel Wisdom" 97. See also Gench, *Wisdom*, 188-195.

Sabbath rest (cf. 12:7, 12).⁴⁹³ The text of 12:1-14 will be further treated later in this chapter.

The yoke (ζυγός) metaphorically means obedience,⁴⁹⁴ and is sometimes used as a metaphor for the Torah (Jer 2:20; 5:5; cf. Acts 15:10) and Wisdom (cf. Sir 6:30; 51:26).⁴⁹⁵ In Sir 6:29-31; 51:26-28, it is claimed that Wisdom is identified with the Torah. Here Sirach equates Wisdom with the Law who is acquired through the hard work of study and total dedication.⁴⁹⁶ Moreover, Wisdom in Sir 24 moved throughout the whole earth seeking a dwelling place among human beings (vv. 6-12) and is ultimately identified with God's Law, the Torah (Sir 24:23).⁴⁹⁷ Wisdom is also identified with the Torah in Bar 3:9, 37-4:1 and 2 Bar 38:4.⁴⁹⁸ Eventually, she dwells among her people in the Torah.

By commanding his followers to take up his yoke, Jesus shows that he is Wisdom and also Torah.⁴⁹⁹ This is because Torah is all that God has made known of his nature, character and purpose and of what he would have man be and do.⁵⁰⁰ Moreover, Torah is God's full revelation and God's will for human beings. Thus, by identifying with the Torah, Jesus is the full revelation of God and the will of God for human beings.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹³ Barton, "Gospel Wisdom" 97-98; Keener, *Matthew*, 348-349. See also Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 202. Witherington strongly confirms that Jesus Wisdom is greater than Solomon. For Witherington, the rest is also mentioned earlier in Mt 8:20. He states, "This very likely authentic saying is not just about rejection or homelessness but also about rest"

⁴⁹⁴ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 289; France, *Matthew*, 449-450; Gundry, *Matthew*, 219; Nolland, *Matthew*, 476. For J. A. Overman, "yoke" means sovereignty. So "taking on of a yoke" means domination. See Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis*, 172-173; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 82.

⁴⁹⁵ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 42; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 106-107.

⁴⁹⁶ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 116. See also Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 197 n. 208.

⁴⁹⁷ Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 70. Also Ceresko, *Old Testament Wisdom*, 127; Schroer, *Wisdom Has Built*, 90-91.

⁴⁹⁸ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 289; Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 70.

⁴⁹⁹ Barton, "Gospel Wisdom" 97; Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 126-128.

⁵⁰⁰ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 289.

⁵⁰¹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 289-290; Garland, *Reading Matthew*, 133; Keener, *Matthew*, 349; Wainwright, *Shall We Look*, 82.

A further aspect of this appears in Jesus' revelation to his disciples in Mt 11:25-27. Jesus reveals the Father and all the secrets of the Kingdom to his disciples. Just as the sage learns the Torah, his disciples learn about the life and the teaching of Jesus. In this way too, Jesus can be identified with the Torah.⁵⁰²

The verb 'learn' (μανθάνω) in Mt 11:29 appears again in the wider context of 11:2-13:58. Of particular importance is 13:52, where Jesus speaks of a 'scribe who has been trained for the Kingdom of Heaven (γραμματεὺς μαθητευθεὶς τῇ Βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν)'. This text immediately follows the parables of the Kingdom of Heaven, which guide those who have not yet received the secrets of the Kingdom (13:11) and will reveal hidden things in 13:35. Therefore, μανθάνω (to learn) should be best understood as not only Jesus giving an invitation to come to take up his yoke, but also to learn the things he reveals, the secrets of the Kingdom and the significance of his words and deeds.⁵⁰³

The words 'meek' or 'gentle' (πραΰς) and 'humble, lowly' (ὑπεικνός) in 11:29 are interchangeably used in denoting Jesus' humility.⁵⁰⁴ Matthew uses the word πραΰς in other passages including 5:5 and 21:5 (cf. Zech 9:9), while he does not use the word ὑπεικνός elsewhere. The word πραΰς can be used to describe one who is in humble circumstances and ὑπεικνός can be used to designate one who is reduced to a lowly position. The word 'meek' connects Jesus to those he admires as examples in Mt 5:5 when he states, 'Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth'. He also uses the

⁵⁰² Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 290-291; France, *Matthew*, 449. The theme of the invitation to embrace the yoke of Jesus according to this understanding of Torah, which could be seen as an encouragement in discipleship can be found in M. Trainor, 'The Begetting Wisdom: The Teacher and the Disciples in Matthew's Community', *Pac 4* (1991), 153; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 82, 205.

⁵⁰³ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 44; Hare, *Matthew*, 129; Morris, *Matthew*, 296; Nolland, *Matthew*, 477.

⁵⁰⁴ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 44; Harrington, *Matthew*, 168. Both words appear together in Zeph 3:12, however, the words are used in a different way in Mt 11:29. See Nolland, *Matthew*, 447 n. 106.

word to describe himself in Mt 21:5; ἴ look, your king is coming to you, meek and mounted on a donkey. The notion of lowliness appears in Mt 12 where Jesus cites the Servant Song of Isa 42:1-4.⁵⁰⁵ The usage of both words is ethical which can be explained by the use of ἴin heart τῆ καρδίᾳ in 11:29 after the actual words πραΰς and ἄπεινός. The phrase τῆ καρδίᾳ presents the meekness and humility in Jesus that are at the centre of his being.⁵⁰⁶ Therefore, disciples learn from Jesus' example as being humble and lowly in heart. For his disciples, Jesus is portrayed as gentle and lowly in relation to his command to take up his yoke and they can learn from him. Jesus' personal character makes his burden lighter than other burdens. The light burden will be emphasized further later in this Chapter.

After Jesus is described as gentle and lowly in 11:29 the promise of rest is again stated. However, the promise of rest in this verse differs from that in v. 28. In v. 28 it is expressed as a first person singular verb ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς. In v. 29 it is a second person plural future verb with an object, εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν. This is probably due to different contexts. In v. 28, ἴrest ἀνάπαυσις is promised by Jesus to those who come to him. This denotes a passive quality. However, in v. 29 there is an active two-fold command, to take up Jesus' yoke and learn from him. The rest thus comes after the acceptance of the yoke and of the invitation to discipleship.⁵⁰⁷

Similar to that of the Torah and of Wisdom in Sir 51:26, ἴyoke (ζυγός) is concerned with learning. Likewise discipleship comes from the same Greek root, ἴlearn μαθηάω. Thus, the invitation to discipleship is a lifelong process of learning God's requirements. This learning brings not the weariness of the scribes and Pharisees (23:4)

⁵⁰⁵ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 45.

⁵⁰⁶ Morris, *Matthew*, 297.

⁵⁰⁷ Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 45.

but rest for your souls. Souls could be interpreted as psyche or life (Mt 2:20; 6:25; 10:39). This life refers to rest at the deepest level. This rest (ἀνάπαυσις) that Jesus offers is a new relationship with God which is different from scribal demands. It becomes a new kind of yoke, which makes the burdens light.⁵⁰⁸

There is a paradox in the association of yoke and rest, which is heightened in v. 30. How then can Jesus' yoke be easy? In v. 29 Matthew associates Jesus' yoke with discipleship and the promise of rest. Therefore, the yoke of Jesus is easy and the burden light simply through fellowship with the gentle and humble one. The promised rest is already present for those who have accepted his discipleship.⁵⁰⁹

An ideal situation would be a well fitting yoke and a light burden. The oppressive burdens imposed by the scribes and Pharisees (23:4) are in sharp contrast to the lightness of Jesus' yoke (v. 30). In 23:4 those teachers do not stand with their people as they lay heavy burdens on them.⁵¹⁰ The lightness of Jesus' yoke is made possible through the personal character of Jesus in v. 29⁵¹¹ and his new interpretation of the Torah. His character, which include meekness and humility in heart, make his demands much easier to bear compared to the demands of the scribes and Pharisees who not only impose burdens, but who also lack, mercy, justice and faithfulness (cf. Mt 23:23).⁵¹² Jesus' new interpretation of the Torah is in sharp contrast with the scribal concern for detailed regulation. It enables the disciples to move beyond what they do and what they do not do and discover the underlying purpose of God (cf. Mt 5:17-48). This different approach is

⁵⁰⁸ France, *Matthew*, 449.

⁵⁰⁹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 292; Deustch, *Hidden Wisdom*, 46; Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 203-205; Nolland, *Matthew*, 478; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 206.

⁵¹⁰ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 288; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 59; France, *Matthew*, 450; Garland, *Reading Matthew*, 133; Gench, *Wisdom*, 189; Gundry, *Matthew*, 219; Hare, *Matthew*, 129; Harrington, *Matthew*, 170; Hendriksen, *Matthew*, 503; Keener, *Matthew*, 348; Senior, *Matthew*, 133.

⁵¹¹ France, *Matthew*, 450; Gundry, *Matthew*, 218-220; Keener, *Matthew*, 348.

⁵¹² Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 245.

found immediately after 11:28-30 in 12:1-14 where two contrasting ways of understanding rest are presented. One is the way of the Pharisees, and the other is the way of Jesus as Wisdom.⁵¹³

Despite the wealth of evidence that Matthew in 11:28-30 reinforces his identification of Jesus with Sophia, not all scholars agree with this interpretation. Three major arguments have been proposed against this reading of the text. The first is put forward by D. E. Garland who does not identify Jesus in Mt 11:25-30 as Wisdom but as Moses who is given a revelation by God in Ex 33:12-13. Moses knows God in Deut 34:10.⁵¹⁴ However, any such identification is not certain. While Matthew's rich Christology does at times present Jesus in terms of Moses, this theme probably does not underpin this passage. Moses is the Law-giver but is never identified with Torah. Moreover, Moses never invites anyone to take up his yoke. The passage is more easily read as a distinct Wisdom passage rather than as an example of the evangelist's Moses typology.

The second argument against the identification of Jesus with Wisdom in the text of 11:28-30 is provided by J. C. Laansma, who argues that this text does not directly relate to Sir 51. He believes that the verbal links are not especially strong. Syntactically, the parallel words to me, souls, yoke, labour and find rest differ. Therefore, Matthew appears to have used these words coincidentally rather than having taken them from Sir 51. For instance, the concept of labour (κοπιᾶω) is used differently in the two accounts. In Matthew, it is the labourers who are offered rest while in Sirach those

⁵¹³ France, *Matthew*, 450; Gench, *Wisdom*, 194; Keener, *Matthew*, 348. Matthew's own interpretation of Torah is also indicated by the clauses 29c and 30a-b which function similarly. See Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 245.

⁵¹⁴ Garland, *Reading Matthew*, 133. See the details of this argument in Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 290-291; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 207.

searching for Wisdom are called to labour in this search in order to find rest (cf. Sir 6:19, 24, 34).⁵¹⁵ Likewise as \neg yoke \emptyset \neg labour \emptyset and \neg rest \emptyset are natural themes, it is likely that Matthew used them for his own theological purpose. This makes the connection between Mt 11:28-30 and Sir 51 vague. Laansma suggests that, although there are similarities between Mt 11:28-30 and Sirach, the differences are much greater. Mt 11:28-30 contains echoes of the language and imagery of Sirach, but because it is completely adapted to Jesus, most of Sirach \emptyset s message has been lost. Thus, the invitation and promise of Jesus competes with rather than being linked to Wisdom. Also, it was Ben Sira the sage, not Wisdom who issues the invitation in Sir 51:23. In Mt 11:28-30 it is Jesus who offers the invitation and promise to his disciples.⁵¹⁶

Laansma \emptyset s argument is not altogether cogent. He requires almost exact parallels between the texts in order to make a connection between them, but this does not allow for a later author developing the earlier tradition in a creative way relevant for his or her readers. It is much more probable that the cluster of motifs in these two texts (yoke, labour and rest) has occurred by design than by coincidence.⁵¹⁷ As W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison state, \neg Mt 11:25-30 and Sir 51 exhibit certain similarities because they both incorporate the Torah and Wisdom motifs \emptyset ⁵¹⁸ Despite the differences between the texts, there is more than enough evidence to acknowledge a link, and conclude from this that the Matthean Jesus is identified with Wisdom.

The last argument against the idea that the Matthean Jesus in 11:28-30 becomes one with Wisdom is presented by Gench who argues that the text might only emphasize

⁵¹⁵ Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 192.

⁵¹⁶ Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 199. See also Gundry, *Matthew*, 220.

⁵¹⁷ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 293; Deutsch, \neg Wisdom in Matthew \emptyset 37; Senior, *Matthew*, 133.

⁵¹⁸ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 293.

another Christology rather than Wisdom motifs.⁵¹⁹ Mt 11:28-30 could present Jesus as the authorized Son of God, not as Wisdom incarnate. Jesus points to his weary heavy-laden disciples, calling them to himself, which might have presented him as the pre-eminent Son of God who has received all things from the Father. By using reflective mythology, Matthew appropriates the language of Wisdom for his own purposes.⁵²⁰ In the preceding verses, Matthew presents the Father alone determining access to revelation. He assigned the Son as his revealer, entrusting the Son with divine authority. Therefore, through his teaching authority, the Son is the Father's representative in the world. He reveals the Father's gracious, saving purposes and the Father's will. Therefore, Mt 11:25-27 emphasizes Jesus's person and authority.⁵²¹ The added material in vv. 28-30 continues the same Christological theme. It is as the Son of God that Jesus issues his invitation to those who are heavy laden.

Gench's argument depends upon her prior argument that a Son Christology dominates Mt 11:25-27. If that is so, then it would be reasonable to read the additional verses along the same Christological lines. But, as argued above, Gench's interpretation of the initial material is questionable. While Jesus is indeed the Son of God, Matthew also makes the further claim that he is Wisdom incarnate, and vv. 28-30 were added by him to confirm and to develop this element of his Christology.⁵²²

To summarize this discussion of Mt 11:25-30, even though Matthew does not use the title "Wisdom" in this passage, he nonetheless clearly identifies Jesus as Wisdom in other ways. In doing so, he makes explicit what was probably implicit in the original Q

⁵¹⁹ Gench, *Wisdom*, 174.

⁵²⁰ Gench, *Wisdom*, 199-204.

⁵²¹ Gench, *Wisdom*, 184-188. See also Gundry, *Matthew*, 217-218.

⁵²² Suggs, *Wisdom*, 96, 100.

material which he includes in vv. 25-27. He links the phrases "these things" to the deeds of Christ and the deeds of Wisdom in 11:2, 19 and "all things" to all the revelation given to Jesus by the Father at creation. In addition, the expression "all things have been handed down to the Son by the Father" implies the pre-existence of Jesus, which is one of the main characteristics of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. Matthew's portrayal of Jesus has many similarities to the traditional representation of Wisdom, including the themes of rejection, hiddenness and revelation. The Father-Son imagery reflects intimacy and knowledge similar to Wisdom's association with God, and by having God's knowledge and revealing it to those he wants, Jesus plays a mediating role just as does Sophia. There is more than a hint in vv. 25-27 that Jesus also plays a role in the creation. Finally, the theme of discipleship reflects the strong sense of Wisdom's relationship with her followers.

The same parallels between the Matthean Jesus and Wisdom occur in the appended material in vv. 28-30. The invitation Jesus issues is the invitation of Wisdom, and the rest that he offers is the rest offered by Wisdom. The easy yoke of Jesus recalls the yoke of Wisdom and the yoke of the Torah, and those who take up this yoke and learn from Jesus become his disciples in the same manner as those who follow the way of Wisdom become her disciples. In adding this unique material to the existing Q tradition (Q 10:21-22), the evangelist presents a highly developed and reflective Wisdom Christology.

3. Mt 23:34-39

Matthew 23:34-39 is another important witness to the evangelist's Wisdom Christology. The previous discussion of this material in the context of Q (see Chapter 2), established two points in relation to Matthew's treatment of this tradition. First, it was argued that in Q the speaker of these verses was Sophia, and that Matthew altered the first sentence and made Jesus the speaker. Thus Jesus as Wisdom utters the words. The direct affect of course is that the claims made by Q in relation to Wisdom are now applied to the Matthean Jesus. Secondly, it was maintained that Matthew follows the Q arrangement of this material in presenting it as a unit, while Luke separates it. This discussion in this section will largely presuppose these conclusions, and focus on the meaning and importance of this text in the context of Matthew's Gospel. For the sake of clarity and convenience, the oracle in vv. 34-36 will be examined first and then followed by the lament in vv. 37-39. While many scholars understand this pericope to be an important statement of the evangelist's Wisdom Christology,⁵²³ there are some objections to this claim.⁵²⁴

(a) vv. 34-36

The text reads: "Therefore I send you prophets, sages and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify, and some you will flog in your synagogues and pursue from town to town (v. 34) so that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the

⁵²³ Scholars who claim that Jesus in Mt 23:34-39 is Wisdom incarnate include Bruner, *Matthew 13-28*, 455; Davies and Allison, *Matthew III*, 313; Deutsch, "Jesus as Wisdom" 100-101; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 69; Dunn, *Christology*, 202-204; Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 31-32; Harrington, *Matthew*, 329-330; Keener, *Matthew*, 555; Robinson, "Jesus as Sophia" 11; Schroer, *Wisdom Has Built*, 117-118; Schweizer, *Matthew*, 447; Senior, *Matthew*, 260-263; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 58-61; Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, 360.

⁵²⁴ Scholars who object to the claim that Jesus is Wisdom incarnate in 23:34-39 include Gench, *Wisdom*, 125-132; M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 83-87; Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 180-185; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 152-153, 158-165; Pregeant, "Wisdom Passages in Matthew" 227.

blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechriah son of Barachiah whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar (v. 35). Truly, I tell you, all this will come upon this generation (v. 36)ø

As noted above, Matthew has changed a Q saying of Wisdom into an ð saying of Jesus. Since the evangelist has elsewhere made clear that Jesus is Wisdom incarnate, his redaction here is perfectly consistent. Speaking in the present tense Jesus states that he sends to the scribes and Pharisees, prophets, wise man and scribes. The reference to prophets cannot apply to the prophets of old, as it did in Q,⁵²⁵ but is a reference to Christian prophets. Likewise the editorial references to wise men and scribes have a Christian application and reflect the importance of these offices in Matthew's community.⁵²⁶ There are various interpretations of the precise function of these wise men and scribes, but they both clearly reflect leadership and teaching roles.⁵²⁷ These prophets, wise men and scribes include the disciples of Jesus ø day as well as their counterparts in the time of Matthew.⁵²⁸ The connection with Wisdom is clear. Just as Wisdom sends the prophets of old, Jesus as Wisdom incarnate sends a whole new group of prophets and other messengers.⁵²⁹

Matthew focuses on the fate of these messengers, and in doing so refers to another prominent Wisdom theme. Jesus as Wisdom predicts that some will be killed and crucified, while others will be scourged in the synagogues and persecuted from town to town. A number of these themes appear in other Gospel missionary texts. The scourging

⁵²⁵ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 69; Garland, *Matthew 23*, 172; Gundry, *Matthew*, 469; Marshall, *Luke*, 504; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 14, 35, 60.

⁵²⁶ The scribes in particular; cf. 13:52. See Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 70.

⁵²⁷ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 125.

⁵²⁸ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 70.

⁵²⁹ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 60.

in the synagogues and the persecution from one town to another receive mention in the mission discourse of ch. 10 (10:17, 23), while Matthew alludes to the killing of Jesus' messengers in 22:6, which may suggest that some missionaries in his own community had suffered this fate. The reference to Jewish crucifixion of Christians is problematic. At that time, the governing Romans authorized the death penalty in its conquered regions, and there is no evidence at all of Christians being crucified by Jews. It is possible that the evangelist linked this reference to 16:24-25 where Jesus specifies that his followers must reckon with the possibility of crucifixion. Be that as it may, Matthew's overall point here is clear. The messengers sent by Jesus will suffer appalling treatment.⁵³⁰

The instigators of this persecution are the hypocritical scribes and Pharisees, who are the recipients of Jesus' stinging rebukes in ch. 23. Even though they claim that they would not have participated in the persecution of the prophets, they are the sons of those who did and so share some of the responsibility in the eyes of Matthew (23:30-32). Matthew even implicates them in all the murders from the time of Abel to the time of Zechariah, the son of Barachiah (23:35). At the end of the oracle, Matthew links together the scribes and Pharisees with "this generation" (Mt 11:16; 12:39, 41; 16:4; 17:17; 24:34), and spells out the judgement they will face for their crimes.

The connections with the Wisdom tradition are clear. Sophia sends the prophets in each generation (Wis 7:27; cf. Wis 11:1) and calls Israel to repentance (Prov 1:23). When they do not repent, she reproves them (Prov 1:28). The evangelist picks up this traditional Wisdom theme and applies it to the time of Jesus and his own time. In her incarnation as Jesus, Wisdom again sends prophets and other messengers who are persecuted. Their

⁵³⁰ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 70-71; Deustch, "Wisdom in Matthew" 43; Dunn, *Christology*, 202.

rejection and suffering is a continuation of the long rejection of Wisdom's messengers.⁵³¹

Jesus rebukes his own generation, including the scribes and Pharisees, as being no better than those who persecuted and murdered the prophets of old, and he prophesies that they will meet with judgment in their lifetime.⁵³²

A further theme in this material is that there is a distinct parallel between the fate of Jesus's messengers and that of Jesus himself. As the Gospel narrative unfolds, Jesus meets with disbelief, rejection, persecution and finally death by crucifixion. This aspect of Jesus's earthly life finds an obvious correspondence with the rejection of Wisdom, particularly in 1 En 42 where Wisdom comes down from the heavens to dwell with humankind. However, she is rejected. On account of her rejection she returns to heaven and makes her home there again. This can be compared with Jesus's incarnation, his rejection during his historical manifestation, and his return to heaven after his resurrection and vindication.

However, as noted above, certain scholars dispute any identification of Jesus with Wisdom in these verses. Three arguments have been put forward for this view.⁵³³ Firstly, Gench argues that Wis 7:27 does not refer to Wisdom sending prophets. She claims that the emphasis is on the status of those who seek Wisdom, including the prophets, and not that Sophia sends them. This casts doubt upon any parallel with the Matthean Jesus who sends prophets and other messengers. Moreover, in Wis 7:14, the underlying concept of friendship with God suggests that even though such a friendship may exist, it is

⁵³¹ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 60; Wisdom in Matthew 43.

⁵³² France, *Matthew*, 881-882; Harrington, *Matthew*, 328; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 155-156.

⁵³³ These scholars include Gench, *Wisdom*, 125-132; Hengel, *Early Christology*, 83-84; Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 152-153.

unrelated to being a spokesman of God or of Wisdom.⁵³⁴ Gench's counterargument can be called into question. The fact that Wisdom "passes into holy souls and makes them friends of God and prophets" suggests that she is responsible for their status. She makes some people friends of God and others prophets. Since Wisdom is responsible for the sending of the prophets, the link with this Matthean text cannot be so easily dismissed.⁵³⁵

Gench presents a second argument. The theme of the "sending of the prophets" and the "killing of the prophets" might reflect the deuteronomistic conception of the history of Israel rather than a notion embedded in Wisdom mythology. In this material Matthew repeats some of the traditional malice against the Jewish people that is also stated in 1 Thes 2:15-16. This includes the killing of the Lord and his prophets, the persecution of Christians, filling up the measure of sins and having God's wrath descend upon them.⁵³⁶ The sending function in Mt 23:34a should be viewed in relation to this material and should be recognized as God's function. There are a number of passages where God is a sender of messengers who are not accepted, including 2 Chr 24:19-22; 2 Kgs 17:13-18; 2 Chr 36:15-17; Ezra 9:11 and Neh 9:26.⁵³⁷ Also, the idea that God sends messengers can be found in 2 Sam 12:1 and Jer 7:25-26; 25.⁵³⁸

This second argument of Gench is similarly specious. The fact that God in some or even many Jewish texts is said to send rejected envoys, including the prophets, in no way affects the point that there was an alternative tradition in which Wisdom performed this function. The parallel Pauline tradition in 1 Thessalonians is not relevant. Even if this

⁵³⁴ Gench, *Wisdom*, 26-28. Cf. Johnson, "Reflections on a Wisdom" 51. See also Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 153 n. 22.

⁵³⁵ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 69; Suggs, *Wisdom*, 59-61. See also Robinson, "Jesus as Sophia" 11.

⁵³⁶ Gench, *Wisdom*, 51-54; Hengel, *Early Christology*, 83-84.

⁵³⁷ Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest*, 181-182. Cf. 1 Kgs 18:4, 13; 19:10, 14; Jer 7:25; 15:15; 17:18; 20:11; 25:4-7; 26:4-6:20; 29:18; 35:15; 44:4. See also Johnson, "Reflections on Wisdom" 55; Gundry, *Matthew*, 469.

⁵³⁸ Morris, *Matthew*, 588.

traces back to Paul and is not an interpolation, it was shown in Chapter 2 that Paul does not have a Wisdom Christology, in which case he would of course adopt the tradition that God sent messengers rather than Wisdom. But Paul's non-Wisdom Christology cannot be appealed to when examining the Christology of Matthew. As demonstrated above, the evangelist makes a clear identification of Jesus with Wisdom.⁵³⁹

The third counterargument, again raised by Gench and others, has two parts. One is that we might suspect that Matthew has attributed the words of Sophia in Q to Jesus because we have access to the Lukan parallel, but Matthew's intended readers would have had no suspicion of his redactional activity. What clue in his text does the evangelist give them that Jesus is speaking as Wisdom? Secondly, the phrase "Behold, I send" in v. 34a also appears in Mt 10:16, and there is no indication in this text that Jesus speaks as Wisdom.⁵⁴⁰ Neither of these arguments is convincing.

The first of them assumes that Matthew's intended readers were not familiar with Q. If they were, then they could easily compare Matthew with Q and make the connection that words of Sophia in Q were now attributed to Jesus in Matthew's Gospel. But on what grounds can we assume that Matthew's community did not have access to Q? Most scholars accept that the evangelist's community was likely to be wealthy and highly educated.⁵⁴¹ There is no reason why, if Matthew had access to Q, then others in his community would not have similar access to this source.⁵⁴² There is also the additional point that Matthew was moved to write his own Gospel because he was dissatisfied in

⁵³⁹ Deutsch, "Wisdom in Matthew" 43.

⁵⁴⁰ Dunn, *Christology*, 202; Gench, *Wisdom*, 54-55; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 152-153. See also Johnson, "Reflections on Wisdom" 55.

⁵⁴¹ Carter, *Matthew*, 25; Keener, *Matthew*, 45; Senior, *Matthew*, 82-83; Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 7; Harrington, *Matthew*, 9.

⁵⁴² France, *Matthew*, 16-18.

some ways with the Christian sources that were circulating in his community, i.e. Mark and Q. His comprehensive redaction of these sources is evidence enough of this. Therefore, Matthew wrote his own narrative and corrected Mark and Q where he saw fit. A further point is that Matthew corrected the inaccuracies in Mark and Q in response to the request of his own Jewish community. It may well have been the case that a Wisdom Christology was already prominent in the evangelist's community, and that Matthew was correcting the Q account on behalf of his readers.

With regard to the significance of Mt 10:16, the argument has no force at all. While it is true that Wisdom is not referred to in this text, Matthew may well have intended it as such. The text states that Jesus sends out the disciples as sheep in the midst of wolves, and he advises them to be as wise as serpents and as innocent as doves. There is of course a direct correspondence with the theme of sending in 23:34-36. That the mission charge in chapter 10 and the sending of Jesus's emissaries in 23:34-36 are connected is clear from the evidence noted above; i.e. the dual references to scourging and persecution. Matthew 10:16 constitutes another parallel in that it too refers to the persecution of Jesus's envoys. Therefore, one can just as easily argue that Mt 10:16 is a Wisdom tradition in the light of Mt 23:34 as contend that Mt 23:34 is not on the basis of 10:16. In itself this third argument has no independent worth.

(b) vv. 37-39

The oracle in vv. 34-36 is followed immediately by the lament in vv. 23:37-39. This Matthean text reads: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it! How often have I desired to gather your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you were not willing! See, your house is left

to you, desolate. For I tell you, you will not see me again until you say, ðBlessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lordø

Matthew continues to have Jesus as the speaker of the lament but the audience changes from the scribes and Pharisees to the city of Jerusalem. In this material Jesus repeats the theme of the killing of the prophets, and so ties in Jerusalem with the rejection and murder of the prophets (23:29-32) and implicates the city in the spilling of the righteous blood from Abel to Zechariah.⁵⁴³ The reference to stoning specifies the method used in the murder of Zechariah (cf. 2 Ch 24:21).⁵⁴⁴ As in v. 34, it is Jesus as Wisdom who sends the prophets.⁵⁴⁵ This material reinforces the rejection of Wisdomø prophets but it now confines the rejection to Jerusalem.

The next sentence, ðHow often would I have gathered your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you would notø can only be seen as Jesus speaking as Wisdom. The phrase ðhow oftenø does not refer to the earthly Jesus and his activities in Jerusalem; Matthew refers only to a single visit. Rather it refers to Wisdom, who has made repeated calls to Israel to repent.⁵⁴⁶ The imagery here, of a hen protecting her brood under her wings, is a well attested metaphor in Judaism (cf. 2 Esdr 1:30). Furthermore, the wings of God appear in many cultic contexts where wings are used to describe the Seraphim and have a connotation of protection.⁵⁴⁷ In the Syriac Apocalypse of Bar 41:3-4, the unfaithful are spoken of as having been thrust from the yoke of Godø Law, while the faithful find shelter under Godø wings. When speaking of conversion, the

⁵⁴³ Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom*, 74.

⁵⁴⁴ Davies and Allison, *Matthew III*, 321; France, *Matthew*, 883; Harrington, *Matthew*, 330; Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 161; Senior, *Matthew*, 264.

⁵⁴⁵ Dunn, *Christology*, 204.

⁵⁴⁶ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 70-71.

⁵⁴⁷ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 66.

Rabbis were unwilling to use God's name but used the term "bringing him under the wings of the *Shekinah*"⁵⁴⁸

There is also a strong connection between Wisdom and the notion of motherly protection.⁵⁴⁹ Suggs cites the following texts as relevant in this respect; Prov 8 where Wisdom "calls" she "raises her voice" "by the paths" and "at the gates" in Wis 6:16, "she goes about seeking those worthy of her, and she graciously appears to them in their paths" in 1 En 42:2, she "went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men" and Sir 24 tells how Wisdom "sought a resting place"⁵⁵⁰ Another text where Wisdom is very protective is Prov 2:12-22, where she acts as a protector of her audience from those who are evil. These texts show how Wisdom gathers and seeks her children, to dwell with them and protect them. In Mt 23:37 Jesus too claims to act in a protective manner, offering to gather his children under his wings. But this does not apply to the male historical Jesus. Jesus here is speaking as the feminine pre-existent Sophia, who has offered her protection of Jerusalem in the past and has been rejected.⁵⁵¹

There are various interpretations of the next saying, "your house is left to you, desolate" Does the "house" refer to the city of Jerusalem because the lament is addressed to Jerusalem (cf. Isa 64:10), or to the temple (cf. Jer 12:7; 26:6) as the saying is spoken in the temple precincts? Or does it allude to the whole nation of Israel? Each is possible in the context of the Gospel. The evangelist refers metaphorically to the destruction of Jerusalem in 22:7. In the immediate context, when Jesus leaves the temple a few verses

⁵⁴⁸ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 66.

⁵⁴⁹ See Suggs, *Wisdom*, 66 where Suggs cites T. Arvedson who relates that the metaphor of a bird with its brood could be reserved to that of the maternal Sophia. It is only by Matthew identifying Jesus as Wisdom that this lament can be interpreted as he intended it to be.

⁵⁵⁰ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 67-68.

⁵⁵¹ Deutsch, "Wisdom in Matthew" 44.

later, he predicts its destruction (24:1; cf. 24:15).⁵⁵² The punishment or desolation of the people of Israel is expressed in the saying about “this generation” in v. 36. According to Garland, the evangelist may have had all three possibilities in mind, since the city, the temple and the national life of the people were all bound together.⁵⁵³ Whatever Matthew’s precise understanding of this tradition, there is no doubt that the rejection of Jesus as Wisdom incarnate and his messengers will have the most serious consequences, which will affect Jerusalem, its temple and its people. Matthew again emphasizes the deuteronomistic tradition of the rejection and murder of the prophets.⁵⁵⁴

In the final verse, “For I tell you that from this time on you will not see me until you say ‘Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord’” Jesus states that he will leave the temple and Jerusalem, and not return until the arrival of another figure. The Matthean Jesus is probably referring to his Parousia, when he returns as the Son of Man in judgement (cf. 10:23; 13:36-43; 16:27-28; 19:28-30; 24:4-31; 25:31-46).⁵⁵⁵ At that time the Son of Man will dispense wonderful rewards to the righteous,⁵⁵⁶ and terrible punishments to the wicked.⁵⁵⁷ Matthew here contributes a further new element in his Wisdom Christology. The links between the Son of Man and Wisdom in 1 En 42 are now solidified in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. He is Wisdom incarnate and he will return in judgement as the Son of Man. In this way the figure of Wisdom becomes associated with the final judgement, a role she does not clearly possess in the Jewish Wisdom

⁵⁵² Deutsch, “Wisdom in Matthew” 45; Senior, *Matthew*, 264; Suggs *Wisdom*, 68. For discussion of the Old Testament background texts to Mt 13:38, see Nolland, *Matthew*, 651; France, *Matthew*, 884.

⁵⁵³ Garland, *Matthew* 23, 198.

⁵⁵⁴ France, *Matthew*, 824-825; Luz, *Matthew* 21-28, 54.

⁵⁵⁵ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 69-70. For full analysis of the Matthean theme of the Son of Man coming in judgement, see Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 110-128.

⁵⁵⁶ Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 140-145.

⁵⁵⁷ Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 129-140.

literature. Once again the evangelist has developed and expanded the roles of Wisdom in conformity to his Christian convictions about Jesus.

The other important motifs in this verse, the departure from the temple and the subsequent hiddenness of Jesus have close parallels in the Wisdom tradition. The withdrawal of Wisdom as a response to her rejection is most clearly expressed in 1 En 42 (cf. Prov 1:24-28),⁵⁵⁸ and her hiddenness from the human realm is attested in Job 28:12; Sir 15:7; Wis 8:19-21 and again in 1 En 42. In this Matthean passage Jesus acts just as Wisdom acts in the earlier texts. Having met with rejection and disobedience, Jesus withdraws and hides himself until he is revealed again at the time of the Parousia and the judgement.⁵⁵⁹

Needless to say, certain objections have been raised to the above understanding of Mt 23:37-39. Gench maintains that in this material Jesus acts not as Wisdom but as God. In Mt 23:37 Jesus speaks on behalf of God with Israel's long history of apostasy in view.⁵⁶⁰ Further, the protective image of a hen and her brood relates to God in the Old Testament (Deut 32:11; Isa 31:5; Ps 36:7). An example of this is the phrase "under the wings of the *Shekinah*." Here the *Shekinah* is the presence of God referring to the people who have converted to Judaism. They are now under protection from God whose place is taken by Jesus. When Jesus applies this imagery to himself, he does so as God and not as Wisdom.⁵⁶¹

Gench also notes that God is closely connected with the temple. The temple is identified as God's living space in Mt 23:21 and Jesus's departure from the temple heralds

⁵⁵⁸ Deutsch, "Wisdom in Matthew" 45.

⁵⁵⁹ Perkins, "Jesus: God's Wisdom" 276.

⁵⁶⁰ Gench, *Wisdom*, 117-118, 128-129.

⁵⁶¹ Gench, *Wisdom*, 117. Cf. Schweizer, *Matthew*, 444.

the *desolation* and *destruction* in the events to come. Jesus states that God's abandonment is God's punishment of Israel for their sins, which indicates that Jesus and God are one and the same.⁵⁶² This is substantiated by Matthew's description of Jesus as *God with us* (1:23). Further evidence comes from the use of the words *for* and *me* in *Behold, your house is being left to you desolate, for I say to you, from now on you will never see me*.⁵⁶³ The words emphasize Jesus and God, implying that they may be the same person. The departure of the *Shekinah* from the temple is symbolized in the phrase *See, your house is left to you, desolate*, which can also be construed as a divine passive. As well the Rabbinic writings regard the *Shekinah* as the temple, the sanctuary and the congregation where God's presence is apparent.⁵⁶³ The departure of Jesus from the temple, which leaves it desolate, is thus the departure of God from the temple.⁵⁶⁴

This cumulative argument of Gench is not persuasive. While she is correct to point out that many of the themes in this Matthean material can be applied to God, they can also be related to transcendent Wisdom, as the above discussion demonstrated. Sophia too is related to the tradition of prophetic rejection, the *Shekinah*, the temple, and the further themes of withdrawal and hiddenness are characteristic of this figure. The importance of Mt 1:23, which Gench mentions, will be discussed shortly below. Given Matthew's clear identification of Jesus with Wisdom in 11:2-19, the Matthean material in 23:37-39 can and should be read as a further instance of his Wisdom Christology.

To summarize this section, Mt 23:34-39 is another important witness to the evangelist's Wisdom Christology. Because he has previously identified Jesus with Wisdom in 11:2-19, he has no qualms about taking a quote from Wisdom in Q and

⁵⁶² Gench, *Wisdom*, 118; Garland, *Matthew 23*, 203.

⁵⁶³ Gench, *Wisdom*, 118-119.

⁵⁶⁴ Gench, *Wisdom*, 119-120.

placing it directly into the mouth of Jesus. As Wisdom Jesus sends prophets and other envoys who meet with opposition and persecution. This sending by Wisdom in the time of Jesus and the Christian church is a continuation of her sending of the prophets in earlier times, who were also rejected. Their rejection is also the rejection of Wisdom, who in times past had offered motherly protection but had been refused. The refusal of this generation to respond to Wisdom's offer in the guise of Jesus will lead to disaster; Jerusalem, the temple and the people will be visited with judgement. Jesus as Wisdom then leaves the temple and will not return until the day of reckoning.

In portraying Jesus as Sophia in this text, the evangelist makes many connections with the roles of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition, but he also develops these roles in accordance with his Christian beliefs. Matthew accepted the common Christian tradition that Jesus was to return in judgement as the Son of Man, and he incorporates this view into his Wisdom Christology in this text. It is Wisdom as the Son of Man who will oversee the final judgement.

4. Mt 1:23

At this point, we may leave the important Q texts that Matthew has adopted and edited to articulate his Wisdom Christology and turn our attention to another significant passage, Mt 1:23. This verse appears in the unique Matthean infancy narratives, and reads as follows; Ἔσται ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός). This material emphasizes the divine origin, pre-existence and

incarnation of Jesus as Wisdom, even though it does not mention her by name. The important themes here are the virginal conception,⁵⁶⁵ the phrase “God with us” and the salvific role attributed to Jesus (cf. 1:21).

This Matthean text is almost identical with the Greek text of Isa 7:14 in terms of wording. By using the word “virgin” (παρθένης), Matthew indicates that the woman who is a virgin or a young woman of child-bearing age will be pregnant not by normal sexual intercourse but through special divine intervention. The definite article ὁ indicates a particular woman and points to a particular virgin.⁵⁶⁶

The virginal conception has been interpreted in different ways. Some writers view it as God’s incarnation in the person of Jesus, which implies Jesus’ pre-existence.⁵⁶⁷ Their interpretation is based on the belief that Jesus is the Son of God at conception.⁵⁶⁸ Having a human mother, but no biological human father implies that he is generated by God the Father within the eternal life of God.⁵⁶⁹ Also, his presence is understood as a transcendent presence prior to his incarnation as Jesus of Nazareth. His transcendent presence is also clearly indicated in Jesus as “God with us”⁵⁷⁰ Therefore, this group of

⁵⁶⁵ Despite the fact that some scholars use the term “virgin birth” the term “virginal conception” is more appropriate. See R. E. Brown, *The Virginal Conception and Bodily Resurrection of Jesus* (London: Chapman, 1973), 27; J.-N. Aletti, “Romans 8: The Incarnation and Its Redemptive Impact” in S. T. Davis, D. Kendall and G. O’Collins (eds), *Incarnation* (NCT; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 99; Witherington, *Matthew*, 51.

⁵⁶⁶ France, *Matthew*, 55-56; Morris, *Matthew*, 31, n. 53; Nolland, *Matthew*, 101. Matthew follows the Greek translation of Isaiah with the exception of the word “virgin” (παρθένης) which is used for the Hebrew term “the young woman” (Isa 7:14).

⁵⁶⁷ Gundry, *Matthew*, 25.

⁵⁶⁸ Scholars who can see Jesus as God incarnate and a pre-existent being in Mt 1:23 include F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology* (London: Lutterworth, 1969), 306-307; Gundry, *Matthew*, 25; Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 77; D. D. Kupp, *Matthew’s Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God’s People in the First Gospel* (SNTSMS 90; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 220; Witherington, *Matthew*, 51; Aletti, “Romans 8: The Incarnation and Its Redemptive Impact” 99-102.

⁵⁶⁹ Despite having no human father, Jesus is still in the Davidic line because Joseph took the virgin woman, Mary, thus guaranteeing the child a place in his line. Further clarification of the Davidic line can be seen in vv. 24-25.

⁵⁷⁰ Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 77; McCready, *He Came Down from Heaven*, 239; Aletti, “Romans 8: The Incarnation and Its Redemptive Impact” 110; I. H. Marshall, *The Origins of New Testament*

scholars claims that in the story of the virginal conception, it is the Son of God who existed before he became incarnated in the womb of the virgin.

Others argue that incarnation and pre-existence are not necessarily part and parcel of a virginal conception.⁵⁷¹ They claim that Jesus becomes God's Son at other events in the story of his life, such as his baptism or resurrection. They also stress the fundamental difference between "conception Christology" and "pre-existence" Conception Christology means that God through his creative powers "begets" Jesus who in his conception in the womb becomes the Son of God; there is no necessity to postulate pre-existence or incarnation. Furthermore, they claim that there is no evidence elsewhere in Matthew's Gospel to show that Jesus was with God prior to his humanity.⁵⁷²

Even though the text Mt 1:23 read independently need not imply the ideas of pre-existence and incarnation, it does when read in conjunction with other Matthean texts. It is simply not so that no other Matthean passages refer to Jesus' pre-existence. Matthew identifies Jesus with Wisdom in 11:2-19. If he is Sophia, then we would expect the evangelist to accept his pre-existence. The Jewish tradition is replete with references to this aspect of her nature (e.g. Prov 8:22-31; Sir 24:3, 9). That Matthew does so is clear

Christology (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1976), 122-123; Witherington, *Matthew*, 43. France also implies that Mt 1:23 presents Jesus' pre-existence even though it is not as clear as the way John presents it in Jn 1. See also France, *Matthew*, 42.

⁵⁷¹ Scholars who claim that there is no suggestion of incarnation and pre-existence in Mt 1:23 include R. E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, rev edn 1993), 142-143; R. Bultmann, "New Testament and Mythology in H. W. Bartsch (ed.), *Kerygma and Myth by Rudolf Bultmann and Five Critics* (New York: Harper, 1961), 1-44; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew Vol. I I-VII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 214-215; R. H. Fuller, "The Conception/Birth of Jesus as a Christological Moment" *JSNT* 1 (1978), 39; R. H. Fuller and P. Perkins, *Who Is This Christ? Gospel Christology and Contemporary Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 85; Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 284-285; Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 20-21; W. Hendricksen, *Matthew* (NTC; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1974), 137; Keener, *Matthew*, 84-85; B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (London: SCM Press, 1961), 2-3; W. Pannenberg, *Jesus: God and Man* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 2nd edn 1977), 143.

⁵⁷² Brown, *Birth*, 141; McCready, *He Came Down from Heaven*, 239.

from 23:34-39 where Jesus speaks as Wisdom and refers to his (or her) actions in the past well prior to the birth of Jesus. Moreover, 11:25-30 contains more than a hint that Jesus as Wisdom was involved in the creation. The Matthean story of the virginal conception therefore must be interpreted within the context of the evangelist's Wisdom Christology. It details how pre-existent Wisdom became incarnate in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. Wisdom herself descends into the womb of Mary the virgin, and takes the form of a human. The idea here is not so different from the Word's (Wisdom's) incarnation in the Johannine Prologue. John perhaps states it more poetically in Jn 1:14, "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" but Matthew expresses the very same sentiment.

Another significant term in Mt 1:23 is "Emmanuel"⁵⁷³ which appears only in this text. It translates as "God with us"⁵⁷⁴ However, Jesus is never called Emmanuel; this is because it is not a child's name as "Jesus" is⁵⁷⁵ and not a common title either⁵⁷⁶. When Matthew describes Jesus as "Emmanuel" some writers believe he is probably presenting Jesus as God.⁵⁷⁷ For them, the Matthean Jesus is presented as "a more God-like figure" compared to the Lukan and Markan Jesus. The nature of Jesus' presence in 18:20 and 28:20 also seems to reflect a divine status. Moreover, the connection between the clauses

⁵⁷³ Ἐμμανουήλ is transliterated as Emmanuel. Even though the words for the translation, ὁ ἔστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός (which is translated "God with us") do not appear in Isa 7:14, they are found in the LXX of Isaiah 8:8 Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός (cf. v. 10 ὅτι Μεθ' ἡμῶν κύριος ὁ θεός). ὁ ἔστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον ("which is translated") is also found in a number of passages including Mk 5:41; 15:22, 34; Jn 1:41; Acts 4:36). See Nolland, *Matthew*, 101.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. too Mt 17:17 and 26:29.

⁵⁷⁵ Morris, *Matthew*, 31.

⁵⁷⁶ Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 96. See Witherington, *Matthew*, 43. Witherington comments that Ἐμμανουήλ does not refer to a personal name but rather to a throne name for a king. In ancient times, kings were shown to have miraculous births. Thus, for Witherington, Matthew says Jesus will be born by the way of virginal conception, and also bear a divine throne name (cf. Isa 9:6). If Witherington is right, Matthew may see the virginal conception as the miraculous way that God incarnated Jesus. However, Witherington does not give enough evidence to support his claim.

⁵⁷⁷ Scholars who support this claim include Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 75-76; Gundry, *Matthew*, 25; Morris, *Matthew*, 31. Also, Harrington states that "Emmanuel" implies Jesus' identity as "Son of God" without further explanation. See Harrington, *Matthew*, 35-36.

of 1:23 (‘God with us’) and 28:20 (‘I am with you’) may signify Jesus’ divinity in the phrase ‘I am’ in 28:20.⁵⁷⁸ However, there are a number of reasons to dispute the claim that the inclusion of Emmanuel in this text implies that Jesus is God.

In the Old Testament tradition, names given by Yahweh indicate the activities and purposes of God rather than that of the person named. This can be found in the texts Isa 8:3 (cf. 7:3); 8:8, 10. There is, however, a slight exception to this general rule when God names Abraham in Gen 17:5. The naming in this text is used as a revelation of God’s purposes and also presents a truth regarding the identity of Abraham.⁵⁷⁹ Finally, both Jesus and the term ‘Emmanuel’ present a similar purpose that God’s will is to be accomplished through Jesus. Therefore, μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός is best understood as ‘God is or will be with us’. It reveals the precise manner in which God’s presence will be manifested.⁵⁸⁰

Matthew portrays Jesus as ‘God with us’ in a number of ways. Traditionally the temple was the place where God was present, but by the time of the evangelist the temple was destroyed. Matthew refers to the destruction of Jerusalem in 22:7 and to the demise of the temple in 24:1. All of this was a result of the punishment of Israel for their disobedience to God and Wisdom. In the lament in 23:37-39 Jesus as Wisdom withdraws from the temple (13:38). But from Matthew’s point of view, there is no theological problem associated with the presence of God in the absence of the Jewish temple. The evangelist makes clear that in Jesus as Wisdom something greater than the temple is

⁵⁷⁸ Nolland, *Matthew*, 101-102.

⁵⁷⁹ Nolland, *Matthew*, 102 n. 82.

⁵⁸⁰ Nolland, *Matthew*, 102.

present (12:6). It is in Jesus, Wisdom incarnate, that the presence of God is truly manifest.⁵⁸¹

Moreover, the evangelist uses the term worship (προσκυνέω) to portray Jesus as ðGod with us⁵⁸² In Mt 4:9-10 Jesus stresses that worship is reserved for only God. Worship of Jesus, the Son of God and Emmanuel, is a way to the divine agency of the Father's will; worship of Jesus in Matthew is conceptually seen as consistent with worship of God. In the Gospel there are various people who worship Jesus. First, the magi worship Jesus as king of the Jews. By bending their knees and falling on their faces, the magi also reflect prostration as appropriate for the worship of God's presence in Jesus. Similarly, the mother's prostration in 20:20 while she is questioning her son's status in Jesus's kingdom shows the worship of God through Jesus. Moreover, a leper in 8:2, a father of a dying daughter in 9:18 and a Canaanite woman in 15:21-28 all have faith in God's power in Jesus as healer. The disciples in 14:33; 28:9, 17 confess Jesus as the Son of God because of their unique experience of the presence of God. In addition, in the story of the transfiguration on the mountain where Peter, James and John fall to the ground filled with fear show their worship of Jesus as God with us. Therefore, as king, divine healer, Son of God and the Son of the Father, Jesus is the object of προσκυνέω. But Jesus and God are never equated. The worship of Jesus leads to worship of God, as it shows God's dwelling in the world through Jesus.⁵⁸³

Matthew 1:23 and 28:20 form an *inclusio*. In the first text, Matthew refers to Jesus as ðEmmanuel, God with us as a term used for Jesus at the time of conception.⁵⁸⁴ In the

⁵⁸¹ Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 224.

⁵⁸² Nolland, *Matthew*, 101-102 n. 80.

⁵⁸³ Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 227-228. See also Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 248.

⁵⁸⁴ Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 213.

final verses of his Gospel, where the risen Jesus meets the disciples in Galilee, Matthew's *inclusio* is formed in the promise "I am with you always to the close of the age" (28:20). What Jesus was at conception, that is, the presence of God with his people, is now being fulfilled through his resurrection, which is emphasized in his declaration that "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me" (28:18). Just as Jesus was the presence of God during his incarnation as Wisdom, he remains as the presence of God after the resurrection. Rather than identifying Jesus with God, Matthew presents Jesus in the form that God is continually present with his people.⁵⁸⁵ He brings together the concept of Ἐμμανουήλ or "God with us" and Wisdom incarnate in order to establish a bridge between Wisdom in the Jewish tradition and the presence of God among his people.⁵⁸⁶

Some scholars have argued that the concluding verses of the Gospel testify against a Matthean Wisdom Christology. Matthew 28:18-20 seems to imply that all authority was given to Christ only after the resurrection. If that is the case, then it speaks against him as pre-existent Wisdom, for surely as Sophia he would have had authority in his pre-existent state.⁵⁸⁷ This text, however, need not be understood in this way. It could be the case that Jesus as Wisdom always had this authority, and is emphasizing this to the disciples. It will be recalled from the discussion of Mt 11:25-27 that Jesus there probably refers to his role in creation. Or it might be that Wisdom rescinded her power and authority when she became incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth, and these were restored at the resurrection. In any event, the idea of Jesus as Wisdom incarnate is not inconsistent with the Gospel's conclusion.

⁵⁸⁵ Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 96.

⁵⁸⁶ Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel*, 228-229; Witherington, *Matthew*, 48.

⁵⁸⁷ McCready, *He Came Down from Heaven*, 107.

In the context of our analysis of Mt 1:23, it is important to refer to 1:21. This important text reads: “[the virgin] will bear a son, and you are to name him Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins” (τέξεται δε υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν). Matthew 1:21 closely correlates with Mt 1:23 since both texts give Jesus a name. While 1:23 gives Jesus a symbolic name of Emmanuel, identifying Jesus as God with us, 1:21 gives Jesus the actual name of Jesus, identifying him as one who will save his people from their sins. The Greek word Ἰησοῦς is equivalent to the Hebrew word *Yeshua* which means “Yahweh/God is salvation” (Sir 46:1). This theme of saving or salvation is clearly an important one for Matthew. The word “save” (σώζω) appears in a number of passages right throughout the Gospel. (1:21; 8:25; 9:21, 22; 10:22; 14:30; 16:25; 18:11; 19:25; 24:13, 22, 40; 27:42, 49).

In these texts Matthew uses the word “save” (σώζω) and its cognates to represent the full extent of Jesus’ salvific role. Firstly, it can refer to physical deliverance from death in 8:25, to calming the storm in 9:23-27, and to rescuing Peter from sinking into the water in Mt 14:30. The term can also be used to advert to physical deliverance from disease in the healing of the leper (8:1-3), to the curing of the Centurion’s servant (8:5-7) and to the healing of the woman with a hemorrhage (9:21-22). Secondly, in 1:21 it has the distinct sense of saving from sins. Thirdly, salvation is accessible to all who wish to give their lives for the sake of Jesus (19:25). Finally, it is used to contradict his saving of the others as he cannot save himself in 27:40, 42 and 49.

Further, there are other texts where Matthew expresses Jesus' salvific role even though he does not use the word "save" (σώζω).⁵⁸⁸ In Mt 26:26 Matthew shows how Jesus saves people from their sins by giving his life and instituting the Eucharist, and in 9:2-8; 26:28 (cf. 20:28) he saves people by forgiving their sins. The salvation Jesus offers can also be seen through his presence in 18:20; 28:20. Finally, Jesus promises his disciples that their persecution will end with his Parousia in 10:22 and 24:13.⁵⁸⁹ Therefore, Matthew's narrative presents a comprehensive account of Jesus as an agent of salvation. As God with us, Jesus mediates between God and humans in terms of salvific roles.

Jesus' salvific role in Matthew's Gospel reflects Wisdom's action in salvation in the Jewish texts. Wisdom also works within the historical processes to save her chosen people. In Wis 10 Sophia is active in the entire story of Israel's salvation history from the first human being to the Exodus. Wisdom gives strength to Abraham, rescue to Lot and victory to Jacob. She stays in solidarity with Joseph when he went into the dungeon, and later brings him to victory and power. Moreover, she was in action with Moses to free the people from their Egyptian oppressors. Other texts specify that those who listen to her words will be saved (Wis 9:18), or that she can save individuals through the gifts of life and immortality (Wis 8:13).

⁵⁸⁸ However, I do not focus on Jesus' saving role in his healing ministry in Mt 8:1-17. He heals the leper in 8:1-4, cures the Centurion's servant in 8:5-13, and heals many at Peter's house in Mt 8:14-17.

⁵⁸⁹ See also Nolland, *Matthew*, 100. Also, Jesus' salvific role could be seen through Matthew's changing the Hebrew text of Isaiah "she or he will call his name Emmanuel" Matthew has καλέσουσιν "they will call" instead of καλέσει "she or he will call" as in the LXX. The word καλέσουσιν would mean that Matthew presents the impersonal plural as people in general. This can be explained by referring to v. 21, "she will bear a son and you are to name him Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins" Thus, Matthew uses the plural in v. 23 in order to present the naming of Jesus as a result of Jesus' salvific activities for people. The plural may also give Joseph in v. 21 an opportunity to name the child.

It goes without saying of course that Matthew develops this notion of Wisdom's salvation in the light of his Christian convictions. Jesus accomplishes the forgiveness of sins and makes possible the gift of salvation by dying on the cross. This fundamental point is given clear expression in the narrative concerning the institution of the Eucharist. Here Jesus identifies the wine as his blood which is poured out for the forgiveness of sins. This is a major development of the Jewish Wisdom tradition. Not only does Wisdom take human form, which is significant in itself, but in that human body she suffers and dies an ignominious death as an integral part of her salvific role. On the basis of his Christian beliefs, Matthew has therefore developed considerably the Jewish traditions about Sophia and her role in salvation. The Christian Gospel of John also witnesses this major development for the same reasons.

5. The Matthean 'I Have Come' Sayings

A further important group of texts are the Matthean 'I have come' (ἦλθον) sayings. Matthew uses on seven occasions a particular grammatical form, 'I have come' plus the infinitive, with which Jesus indicates the purpose of his coming (5:17a; 5:17b; 9:13; 10:34a; 10:34b; 10:35; 20:28).⁵⁹⁰ This formula is not confined to Matthew; it is also found in Mark 2:17; 10:45 and John 12:47.⁵⁹¹ However, these sayings in Matthew take on new significance on account of the evangelist's identification of Jesus with Wisdom. On two occasions Matthew takes the saying directly from Mark (Mt 9:13//Mk 2:17; Mt 20:28//Mk 10:45), another two of them appear in a unique verse (Mt 5:17a, 17b). The

⁵⁹⁰ Mt 8:29 states 'Have you come?' and it is actually said by a demon. Therefore, it will not be taken as a case here.

⁵⁹¹ Other Johannine passages, including 1:31; 9:39; 10:10 and 15:22, could be seen as Jesus' statements of his coming for a purpose. However, these statements do not follow the pattern of 'I have come' plus an infinitive showing a purpose.

final three instances appear in Q material (Mt 10:34a; 10:34b; 10:35), and are probably redactional.⁵⁹²

The first text Mt 5:17 states: "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the prophets. I have come not to abolish but to fulfil them." This is the first statement of the Matthean Jesus regarding the Torah, and it assumes great importance in this Gospel. We shall return to it later in this Chapter. For our present purposes, it is enough to make the point that Jesus here states that his earthly mission did not involve the abolition of the Torah in any respect. On the contrary, Jesus specifies that he has come to uphold and even fulfil the Law. His fulfilment of the Torah is accomplished by his definitive interpretation of the Mosaic code, as we shall see later. The coming of Jesus to fulfil the Torah should occasion no surprise; it was argued in the discussion of Mt 11:28-30 that Jesus as Wisdom is also identified with the Law. The evangelist thus makes the point in 5:17 that one of Wisdom's definitive roles in her incarnation as Jesus is to confirm the validity of the Torah and to deliver its true interpretation.

The second text Mt 9:13b (//Mk 2:17) reads: "For I have come to call not the righteous but sinners." Jesus makes this statement in response to the criticism of the Pharisees that he eats with tax collectors and sinners (v. 11), and he defends his behaviour by tying it to the concept of mercy (v. 13a), which is one of the fundamental elements of the Torah (cf. 23:23). To "call" is the same verb used when James and John were called to follow Jesus (Mt 4:21), and it appears in the parable of the wedding feast (22:3, 9).⁵⁹³ Jesus' call is an invitation, which parallels the invitation of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition to heed her call. Moreover, the mission of Jesus among sinners coheres

⁵⁹² See Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 107-108.

⁵⁹³ France, *Matthew*, 355.

well with one of the major purposes of Jesus, his role of saving people from their sins (cf. 1:21).

The third text Mt 10:34-35 states: ‘Do not think that I have come to bring peace on the earth; I have not come to bring peace but a sword. For I have come to divide man against father and daughter against mother and daughter-in-law against mother-in-law’ In this tradition, Jesus unexpectedly explains that one of his purposes is to bring divisions and not peace. The word ‘sword’ cannot be literally interpreted. The Matthean Jesus is not a violent revolutionary. He commands his disciples to turn the other cheek (5:39), and says that those who live by the sword will perish by the sword (26:32). It is possible that it means ‘destructive hostility’⁵⁹⁴ but more likely that the word μάχαιρα in this context metaphorically represents the eschatological judgment (cf. Isa 34:5; 66:16; Ezek 21; 1 En 63:11, 91:12; 100:1-2; 2 Bar 70:6).⁵⁹⁵ One of the major purposes of Jesus is to initiate the final judgement, though this will not occur until the Parousia.

The saying in v. 35 does not refer to the judgement but to the period before the end. Here Jesus stipulates that he has come to cause serious divisions within families. It is generally agreed that underlying this logion is Mic 7:6: ‘for the son treats the father with contempt, the daughter rises up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; your enemies are members of your own household’⁵⁹⁶ The Matthean Jesus thus acknowledges that one of his major roles is to cause dissent and division

⁵⁹⁴ Nolland, *Matthew*, 440. The word can metaphorically mean ‘conflict and suffering’ (cf. Lk 2:35). See also France, *Matthew*, 408; Morris, *Matthew*, 265.

⁵⁹⁵ Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 291; Lee, *From Messiah*, 196.

⁵⁹⁶ With some slight differences, the antagonistic words used in vv. 34-35 are taken by Matthew from LXX of Mic 7:6. For Matthew, ‘Man’ (ἄνθρωπον) is substituted for ‘Son’ (υἱός), the two verbs ‘dishonour’ (ἀπμάζω) and ‘rise up’ (ἵστημι) are dropped while the preposition κατά is substituted for ἐπί. Both words κατά and ἐπί mean ‘against’ The Micah text alludes to anxious and unsettled times ‘before the eschatological time of deliverance’ See Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 292.

within families. In the Jewish Wisdom literature, the call of Wisdom also caused conflicts and divisions between those who heed her words and those who reject them.

The fourth text Mt 20:28 (cf. Mk 10:45) reads: "For even the Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many."⁵⁹⁷ The word "ransom" is only found in these two texts, and is clearly informed by the Suffering Servant tradition of Isa 53.⁵⁹⁸ The word "ransom" normally means purchasing the freedom of a slave or captive, but here it has a metaphorical sense as "a setting free from sin and its penalty at the cost of the sacrifice of Jesus."⁵⁹⁹ This correlates with Jesus saving his people from their sins as shown in the earlier discussion of Mt 1:21. Therefore, the text shows that Jesus has come to the world to set his followers free from sin. One of his purposes as Wisdom incarnate was to serve and his greatest service was to give his life. As noted above, this is one of Matthew's major contributions to the development of Wisdom reflection.

Therefore, the Matthean "I have come" sayings consistently follow the same pattern. Each one clearly shows one of Jesus' distinct purposes in coming to the earth as Wisdom in human form. Many scholars have argued that these Matthean texts suggest the pre-existence of Jesus.⁶⁰⁰ They believe that if Jesus says he has come for particular

⁵⁹⁷ See Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 167-168 where he argues that Mark 10:45 gives us a clear indication of the reason for Jesus' life, that is, to be one of service. The saying "I have come" is for the present purpose and the first coming. His second coming is indicated in the words "he will come." Gathercole believes that there is an indication of the purpose of Jesus' life and work. He came voluntarily as the Son of Man with the intention of giving his life for many. Thus, for Gathercole, this points to pre-existence.

⁵⁹⁸ Davies and Allison, *Matthew III*, 95-97; Lee, *From Messiah*, 192. διακονέω means to serve in 53:10 and 53:12. Also λύτρον ἀντι means "for many" in Isa 53:11 and 12.

⁵⁹⁹ Hagner, *Matthew 14-28*, 582.

⁶⁰⁰ Scholars who see the pre-existence of Jesus in the Matthean "I have come" sayings include Allen, *Matthew*, 122; F. W. Beare, *The Gospel according to St Matthew* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 141-142; P. Benoit, "The Divinity of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels" in P. Benoit (ed.) *Jesus and the Gospel* (London: Longman and Todd, 1973), 68; Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 160, 165, 167, 175-176; Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence*, 76-77; Hendriksen, *Matthew*, 290; D. MacLeod, *The Person of Christ* (CCT; Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 45-70; McCready, *He Came Down from Heaven*, 116-118; Morris,

purposes, then it is logical to understand that his origin is from somewhere outside the human sphere⁶⁰¹ and presumably from heaven.⁶⁰² While it is true that these texts by themselves need not imply the pre-existence of Jesus, they certainly do so within the context of the whole Gospel narrative. The evangelist clearly identifies Jesus with Wisdom (cf. 11:2-19) and refers to his (or her) pre-existence (1:23). Given these indications in the Gospel, the Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι sayings must be interpreted within Matthew's broader Wisdom Christology. Jesus as Wisdom has come to earth or become incarnate in a human for a number of specific purposes.

Others interpret Jesus' Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι sayings simply as statements about his human mission which is given by God; they do not in any way support the view of Jesus as a pre-existent being.⁶⁰³ According to W. Carter, the Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι sayings must be interpreted through the lens of Mt 1:21-23. In 5:17 the Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι not to abolish the Law may simply mean that Jesus is the Mosaic Law-giver.⁶⁰⁴ The actions and teachings of Jesus are usually considered with what has been revealed in the Scriptures. Carter finds a strong link with Mt 1:21-23 and through this connection the saying Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι

Matthew, 222, 512; Plummer, *Matthew*, 75 n. 2. However, Gathercole sees Wisdom in the Jewish tradition as an attribute of God not a pre-existent being in Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 209, 210-227. See also S. J. Gathercole, 'On the Alleged Aramaic Idiom behind the Synoptic ὁ ἦλθον-Sayings', *JTS* 55 (2004), 84-91.

⁶⁰¹ MacLeod, *Person of Christ*, 45-70; McCready, *He Came Down From Heaven*, 116-117; Lee, *From Messiah*, 197-201.

⁶⁰² Beare, *Matthew*, 141-142.

⁶⁰³ Scholars who do not see the pre-existence of Jesus in the Matthean Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι sayings include E. Arens, *The ἦλθον-Sayings in the Synoptic Tradition: A Historico-Critical Investigation* (OBO 10; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1976), 114-115; Bultmann, *History*, 138, 155; W. Carter, 'Jesus' Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι Statements in Matthew's Gospel', *CBQ* 60 (1998), 44-62; France, *Matthew*, 184, 355, 408; 763; Fuller, *Foundations*, 127-128; L. Sabourin, *Christology: Basic Texts in Focus* (New York: Alba House, 1984), 59-60; Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 105, 240, 291-292; Hagner, *Matthew 14-28*, 582; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 271; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 33-35, 110-112, 546-547. However, scholars who see the pre-existence of Jesus in the Matthean Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι sayings include Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 483; Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 175-176.

⁶⁰⁴ Carter, 'Jesus' Ἐγὼ ἦν ἔρχομαι Statements', 49-54, See also Gathercole, *Pre-Existent Son*, 92-94.

in 5:17 can be seen as the way that Jesus shows his salvific role⁶⁰⁵ or his authority.⁶⁰⁶ Similarly, in Mt 9:13 'I have come to call sinners' is understood as part of Jesus' salvific ministry. Through the saying and the various forms of forgiveness (8:17; 9:1-8), Jesus allows others to experience the forgiveness and saving action of God. Carter sees the text of 1:21-23 linked to the 'call' of Jesus where Joseph is instructed to 'call' the baby Jesus.⁶⁰⁷

Carter comments further that 10:34-35 implies that Jesus has come on a divine mission bringing eschatological judgement. To reject Jesus' messages through these 'I have come' statements will bring God's wrath. In contrast, to commit to the call and reject sin enables one to become closely linked to the God-given commission as expressed in the saving action of God in Mt 1:21-23.⁶⁰⁸ Carter suggests that the statement in Mt 20:28 can be read as having messianic implications. Here Jesus refers to his death even though he uses the expression 'the Son of Man'. Some of his disciples resist his death; others know that it is part of God's plan as shown in Mt 1:21-23 when Jesus was given the call to save people from their sins. The name given to him, Jesus, means to save from sins and make God known.⁶⁰⁹ Called at conception in 1:21-23 to save people from their sins and to make God known, the whole of Jesus' life was for this purpose. It was made known through his words and actions and culminated in his death and resurrection. Therefore, Carter claims that the 'I have come' sayings are a clear indication as to what God's salvific purpose was in sending Jesus to earth.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁵ Carter, 'Jesus' 'I Have Come' Statements' 49-54.

⁶⁰⁶ Arens, *ἠλθὼν-Sayings*, 114-116; Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 105.

⁶⁰⁷ Carter, 'Jesus' 'I Have Come' Statements' 54-57.

⁶⁰⁸ Carter, 'Jesus' 'I Have Come' Statements' 57-60.

⁶⁰⁹ Carter, 'Jesus' 'I Have Come' Statements' 60-62.

⁶¹⁰ Carter, 'Jesus' 'I Have Come' Statements' 62.

It is true, as stated above, that the Matthean Ἔγωγε sayings give no definitive indication of pre-existence when studied individually. Mark too uses the formula and there is no suggestion in that Gospel that Jesus is pre-existent. Carter's arguments about the Matthean sayings are cogent within the narrow confines of his discussion, but they fail to take into account the broad context of the Gospel and its dominant Wisdom Christology. The evangelist uses this particular formula to stipulate the pre-existence of Jesus as Wisdom and to make some important statements concerning his purposes in coming in human form. Their value for Matthew is evident in that he adopts the formula when it appears in his sources and also sees fit to introduce it.

6. The Matthean Jesus and the Law

In the earlier discussion of Mt 11:28-30, it was argued that the yoke of Jesus correlated with the yoke of the Torah, and that this constituted an important Wisdom motif for the evangelist. As Wisdom Jesus is also the Torah. This aspect of Matthew's Wisdom Christology requires further exploration. The Mosaic Law is a dominant theme in this Gospel, and the evangelist's view on this topic needs to be spelt out carefully. The best place to begin is with the four sayings in Mt 5:17-20. These logia are the first statements Jesus makes about the Torah, and they dictate the interpretation of all later references to the Law.

In v. 17 Jesus states: Ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔβηκα καταλύσαι τὴν νόμον ἢ τὰς προφῆτας; ἔβηκα ἵνα πληρώσω. His fulfilment of the Law proceeds

⁶¹¹ The verb ἠαπολύω (καταλύω) means dismantling or destroying a building or institution (24:2, 26:61; 27:40). See Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 483; P. Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 184. Moreover, the verb ἠεπιπλήρω (πληρώω) occurs ten times in formula quotations in 1:22; 2:15, 17, 23; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:35; 21:4 and 27:9. It means establish, make

when he demonstrates the authentic purpose of the Law to his followers. The meaning of the phrase “the Law and the prophets” can be explained by referring to Mt 11:13, “For all the prophets and the Law prophesied until John came.” The Matthean Jesus reorders the phrase in 5:17. For Matthew, it is impossible to separate the Law from the prophets. The Law is linked with what the prophets said while pointing forward to when their prophecies will be fulfilled.⁶¹² This is clear in 12:7 (cf. 9:13) where the Matthean Jesus interprets the Law according to the text of Hos 6:6; he interprets the Law from the prophetic point of view.⁶¹³ According to D. A. Hagner, Jesus’ fulfilment is “a definitive interpretation of the Law, something now possible because of the presence of the Messiah and his kingdom.”⁶¹⁴ These words of Hagner could be revised in the light of Matthew’s Wisdom Christology. The definitive interpretation of the Law is now possible because of the presence of Wisdom incarnate.

Having said that the Matthean Jesus came to fulfil the Law and not to abolish it, Matthew also indicates that the validity of the Law is for a particular timeframe. In the next verse the Matthean Jesus declares that “until heaven and earth pass away (ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ), not one letter, not one stroke of a letter, will pass from the Law until all is accomplished (ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται). This text is interpreted in various ways. The difficulty in interpreting the text relates to the meaning of and the relationship between the two temporal phrases, “until heaven and earth pass away” and “until all is accomplished.” Some scholars, including J. P. Meier, have taken the phrases

valid and bring into effect. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 485-486; Nolland, *Matthew*, 218 and Witherington, *Matthew*, 126.

⁶¹² France, *Matthew*, 183; U. Luz, *Studies in Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 200. Scholars who see Jesus in Mt 5:17-19 as a prophet include Snodgrass, “Matthew and the Law” 542.

⁶¹³ Luz, *Studies in Matthew*, 200.

⁶¹⁴ Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 106.

as references to the resurrection of Jesus. On this interpretation the Law will endure only until the new age which originates with Jesus' death and resurrection.⁶¹⁵ This view, however, does not cohere with the statement of Jesus in v. 17 that he has not come to abolish the Law. Other scholars have understood these references as poetic expressions meaning 'never', the Law will therefore remain forever.⁶¹⁶ But this view goes to the other extreme. A much more plausible explanation is that these phrases refer to the Parousia and the judgement that follows.⁶¹⁷ As noted earlier, these are dominant themes in Matthew's Gospel. The Law thus remains valid in the current age, but it will come to an end when Jesus returns as the Son of Man in judgement.

In v. 19 Jesus states: 'therefore, whoever breaks one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same, will be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whoever does them and teaches them will be called great in the kingdom of heaven'. This verse provides the practical implication of the preceding material. Since the Torah remains valid until the Parousia, Jesus states that it must be fully obeyed until that time with no exception. Even the least commandments must be observed because every stroke and letter of the Law remains in force (v. 18). It can be assumed from this that Matthew's community was just as concerned with keeping the Mosaic Law faithfully as any other Jewish group.⁶¹⁸

The next verse Mt 5:20 ties in the concept of righteousness with obedience to the Torah. Here Jesus warns his audience that unless their righteousness exceeds that of the

⁶¹⁵ J. P. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel: A Redactional Study of Mt 5:17-48* (AnBib 71; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1976), 30-35, 61-65.

⁶¹⁶ Scholars who support this view include Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 107; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 218 and also others can be found in Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 125 n. 47.

⁶¹⁷ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 125. See also D. C. Sim, 'The Meaning of παλιγγενεσία in Matthew 19:28', *JSNT* 50 (1993), 9-11; Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 93-128.

⁶¹⁸ Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 219; Luz, *Studies in Matthew*, 204; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 126.

scribes and Pharisees, they will not enter the Kingdom of Heaven. The word righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) means right intention, right word and right deed, and is integrally linked to the observance of the Law.⁶¹⁹ δικαιοσύνη is found in a number of passages throughout the Gospel of Matthew, including 3:15; 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33 and 21:32. Matthew admits to the righteousness of the scribes and the Pharisees as they keep the Law to some degree.⁶²⁰ However, their righteousness is different from what Jesus demands (cf. 23:23). Since righteousness is a complete conformity with God's Law,⁶²¹ only the way of Jesus can lead people to the Kingdom.⁶²²

Matthew 5:17-20 spells out that the Law is to be obeyed in full, but other texts including 22:34-40 (cf. Mk 12:28-34); 19:18-19 and 7:12 stipulate the principles by which it is to be interpreted. The text in 22:34-40 is about a Pharisee who asks Jesus a question: "What is the greatest commandment in the Law?" Jesus answers that the whole Law depends on the two greatest commandments: one is to love God completely (cf. Deut 6:5) and the other is to love one's neighbour as oneself (cf. Lev 19:18). Having answered in this way, Jesus is seen by some interpreters as annulling the Torah. They argue that Jesus means that only the two great commandments are the laws which must be obeyed, while the rest of the Mosaic Law is unnecessary. But any such understanding is contradicted by the clear statements in 5:17-20 that all of the Law remains valid in the present age.⁶²³ What this text does is provide the key to the correct interpretation of the Torah. The Law is most effectively interpreted through the lens of the love commandments.

⁶¹⁹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 498-499.

⁶²⁰ France, *Matthew*, 189; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 130-131.

⁶²¹ France, *Matthew*, 189-191; Hendriksen, *Matthew*, 293.

⁶²² Nolland, *Matthew*, 225; Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 161.

⁶²³ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 127.

Matthew stresses the importance of using the principle of love in 19:18-19. When asked which commandments should be obeyed in order to enter into life (Mt 19:16-17), Jesus replies: "You shall not murder; You shall not commit adultery; You shall not steal; You shall not bear false witness; You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (Mt 19:18-19). Then, having listed some of the moral commandments from the Decalogue, Matthew inserts the command to love one's neighbour, one of the greatest commandments in 22:34-40.⁶²⁴ Also, in the Golden Rule of 7:12, the Matthean Jesus emphasizes the meaning and importance of this love of one's neighbour when he states "In everything do to others as you would have them do to you; for this is the Law and the prophets" It is in loving others and treating them as we would like to be treated ourselves, that the Law and the prophets will be fulfilled (cf. 5:17). Treating others in the appropriate manner is another way of showing love of neighbour.⁶²⁵

Examples of Jesus's interpretation of the Law, which is based upon the love commandment and the Golden Rule, can be found in the antitheses (5:21-48) where the following themes are included: murder and anger (5:21-26); adultery (5:27-30); divorce (5:31-32); oaths (5:33-37); retaliation (5:38-42) and love of enemies (5:43-47). These statements are sometimes seen as real antitheses where Jesus contrasts his teachings with those of the Torah.⁶²⁶ However, it is unlikely that Matthew intended this because it would negate the clear message contained in 5:17-19 to uphold every section of the Law. In order not to allow these antitheses in 5:21-48 to be misinterpreted, Matthew deliberately placed them after 5:17-19. Therefore, Matthew's intentions for his community are clear, that they were to rise above the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees. Those who

⁶²⁴ Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 512; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 128.

⁶²⁵ Davies and Allison, *Matthew I*, 686; Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, 366; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 128.

⁶²⁶ Gundry gives further details of the text 5:21-48 in Gundry, *Matthew*, 82-100.

follow Jesus must do more by completely fulfilling the Law according to the interpretation of Jesus. They are required to be as perfect as God in 5:48.⁶²⁷

Moreover, Jesus' interpretation of the Law goes beyond its literal meaning. In exposing the hidden meaning, God's true objectives in bestowing the Torah are revealed. Thus, to prohibit killing, one is to avoid anger, while to prohibit adultery, one is to avoid lustful looks. Instead of giving permission to divorce, the Law prohibits divorce except for the unchaste case and prohibits marrying a divorcee. The Law against swearing of false oaths is fulfilled by refraining on all occasions from the swearing of oaths and always speaking the truth. Again the Law is fulfilled by not retaliating against violence and by not only loving the neighbour but loving one's enemy as well. These cases show that the Law is neither annulled nor rejected. Rather, it is affirmed through the concept of the love command in 22:34-40.⁶²⁸ Therefore, in the antitheses in 5:21-48, Jesus provides a new and definitive interpretation of the Torah on the basis of the commandment of love.

As stated in 5:17-19, every part of the Law needs to be unequivocally observed. This must include the ritual requirements that were so tied in with Jewish identity. Matthew 23:23 is a case in point in that it affirms the validity of the tithing regulations. The text reads: "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you tithe mint, dill, and cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the Law: justice and mercy and faithfulness. It is these you ought to have practised without neglecting the others." Matthew takes this verse from Q (cf. Lk 11:42). There are a few major differences between the two Gospel versions. Matthew uses the terms "the scribes" (γραμματεῖς)

⁶²⁷ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 130. See also Gundry, *Matthew*, 100.

⁶²⁸ Foster, *Community, Law and Mission*, 142; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 130. The term "fulfillment of the Law" also is found in Rom 8:4; 13:8 and Gal 5:14. Moreover, in the last two texts it can be seen in the love command. See Snodgrass, "Matthew and the Law" 547.

and ἡυποκριτής (ὑποκριτής), neither of which is found in Luke. He also refers to ἄδύο (ἡδύοσμον) and ἔμμι (ἄνηθον), while Luke has ἔμμι and ἔμμι every kind of herb (πήγανον καὶ πᾶν λάχανον). Only Matthew has the clause ἔμμι and have forsaken the weightier matters of the Law (καὶ ἀφήκατε τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου), which is probably redactional. Matthew has the terms ἔμμι justice (κρίσις), ἔμμι mercy (ἔλεος) and ἔμμι faithfulness (πίστις) in his account, but Luke uses the terms ἔμμι justice (κρίσις) and the ἔμμι love (ἀγάπη) of God instead. It is uncertain if ἔμμι love of God or ἔμμι mercy and faithfulness in Luke is original or redactional. However, it is more likely that the Matthean terms, ἔμμι justice, mercy and faithfulness are editorial and are based on Mic 6:8.⁶²⁹

Matthew 23:23 highlights the significance of fulfilling the ἔμμι heavy or ἔμμι important commandments, namely justice, mercy and faithfulness.⁶³⁰ The word κρίσις or justice could mean ἔμμι judgment or ἔμμι condemnation or ἔμμι failure to have reckoned with God's judgment. However, here κρίσις denotes a positive sense of justice.⁶³¹ Finally, ἔμμι faithfulness or faith in Matthew could mean faith (πίστις) in God or Jesus. R. H. Gundry and J. L. Nolland argue that πίστις should be translated as ἔμμι faith in this context. ἔμμι Faith in God can be seen as an expression of love. Even though for Matthew love of neighbour is linked to the requirement of the Law, love of God still has priority

⁶²⁹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew III*, 293.

⁶³⁰ Luz, *Matthew 21-28*, 123-125. On the same page, Luz also states that κρίσις is not used as ἔμμι just verdict [which is] the claim that every one has by right. It is noted that the meaning in this particular context can not be found elsewhere in the Gospel of Matthew. The word κρίσις also appears in Mt 5:21, 22; 10:15; 11:22, 24; 12:18, 20, 36, 41, 42 and 23:33. In these texts κρίσις is translated as ἔμμι judgment except in 12:18 and 23:33 where it is translated as ἔμμι justice and ἔμμι being sentenced respectively.

⁶³¹ France, *Matthew*, 873.

(Mt 22:34-40). Gundry and Nolland explain that the word $\text{faith}\emptyset$ is directed toward God.⁶³²

Matthew holds the opinion that the scribes and the Pharisees misinterpreted the Law, putting greater emphasis on tithing, while neglecting the more fundamental commandments of justice, mercy and faithfulness. This conflict is substantiated by uniquely using the term $\text{hypocrites}\emptyset$ which is applied to these opponents throughout the Gospel, especially in ch. 23. The Matthean Jesus \emptyset objection to the Pharisees who are hypocrites in his eyes is highlighted not in the tithing of the herbs and spices. The text specifies that this should have been done. Rather, it focuses on the hypocrisy of doing this while ignoring the weightier matters of the Law, which are defined as justice, mercy and faithfulness.⁶³³ The evangelist spells out in this text that the laws of tithing were to be faithfully observed, and this is consistent with the prior stance of Jesus that all the Torah should be obeyed in 5:17-19.⁶³⁴

In Mt 15:1-20 we find an affirmation of the Jewish dietary and purity laws. This is clear from Matthew \emptyset redaction of Mk 7:1-23.⁶³⁵ By omitting Mk 7:2-4, Matthew, however, avoids an attack on all the Jews.⁶³⁶ For Mark the issue at stake in this pericope is the Jewish purity code and dietary rule in particular (cf. Mk 7:19b), but for Matthew it is the Pharisaic ritual of hand washing. In other words, Mark criticizes the Jewish purity and dietary laws, while Matthew criticizes the oral traditions of the Pharisees.

⁶³² Gundry, *Matthew*, 464; Nolland, *Matthew*, 937. However, France argues that the term $\text{faithfulness}\emptyset$ here fits more appropriately with justice and mercy, representing the lifestyle God \emptyset Law requires. See France, *Matthew*, 873.

⁶³³ Witherington, *Matthew*, 430.

⁶³⁴ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 131-132.

⁶³⁵ See Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 516-517; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 326; Nolland, *Matthew*, 608; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 133-135; Witherington, *Matthew*, 294-295.

⁶³⁶ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 519; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 326; Witherington, *Matthew*, 295.

In Mk 7:10 the text states: *“Moses said”* however this is replaced by *“God said”* in Mt 15:4. The Matthean Jesus confirms that he does not attack the Mosaic Law. For him the Mosaic Law is the word of God.⁶³⁷ Matthew also moves the Isa 29:13 quote in 7-9 to a position after the illustration of how the Pharisees do not follow the Law. In these verses, Jesus again calls them *“hypocrites”* While they talk about obedience, their heart is distant from God’s Law.⁶³⁸ Mt 15:11 (cf. 17), *“it is not what goes into the mouth that defiles a person”* replaces Mk 7:15 which reads: *“there is nothing outside a person which entering is able to defile that person”* This can be explained on the basis of the following verse, where Jesus claims that it is not that which is consumed that defiles, but rather that which passes out. This includes all the evil intentions such as murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witness and slander (15:17-18).⁶³⁹ In the same verses, Matthew shortened the list of the vices in Mk 7:21-22 from thirteen to seven.⁶⁴⁰ By doing this, he adjusted the list to the Decalogue (cf. Ex 13:10-17).⁶⁴¹ Matthew emphasizes sins of the mind and voice which serve as a frame for the catalogue of vices. Moreover, he shortens the catalogue of sins using the second tablet of the Decalogue which he also expands by adding *“false witnesses”* Thus, by editing Mark, Matthew shows that he highlights the Decalogue as being the basic expression of God’s will that needs to be upheld.⁶⁴²

The most important of Matthew’s changes is his omission of Mk 7:19b, *“thus he declared all food clean”* For Mark it was important to present Jesus in this tradition as

⁶³⁷ David and Allison, *Matthew II*, 522-523; France, *Matthew*, 579.

⁶³⁸ Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 331-332.

⁶³⁹ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 133-134.

⁶⁴⁰ There are a number of theories regarding Matthew’s list of vices. Some say that Matthew lessened the list to seven as seven was the number of completeness. Others say he did it for antithetical parallelism purposes. See Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 536.

⁶⁴¹ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 133-134; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 327; Witherington, *Matthew*, 299-300.

⁶⁴² Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 334.

annulling the Jewish dietary laws, but Matthew did not share this perspective. His Jesus teaches that all of the Torah, even the dietary requirements, must be observed completely (cf. Mt 5:17-19). He thus omits the offending Markan verse.⁶⁴³ Matthew restricts the issue in this passage to that of the Pharisaic tradition of handwashing which has nothing to do with the biblical laws concerning clean and unclean foods.

He does this at the beginning by omitting the reference to the general laws of purity (Mk 7:2-4) and at the end by writing "but to eat with unwashed hands does not defile a man," which is not found in Mark's account. In between these verses he adds the information that the Pharisees were offended by his teaching in defilement (15:12),⁶⁴⁴ and the material that the Pharisees are blind guides who should not be followed (15:13-14). These Matthean additions also indicate that the Pharisees and their oral tradition are the centre of attention.⁶⁴⁵ Jesus attacks them for placing their own extra-biblical rules above the commandments of God (vv. 6-13).⁶⁴⁶

The Matthean Jesus also comes into conflict with the Pharisees over the issue of the Sabbath, and again the major concern is not the validity of the Torah but the manner in which it is interpreted and applied. In Mt 12:1-8 Jesus faces criticism from his opponents for allowing the disciples to gather grain on the Sabbath, and this is followed by Jesus's cure of a man with a withered hand (Mt 12:9-14). In each case it is instructive to compare Matthew's text with his Markan source (Mk 2:23-3:6). The first Markan story begins with the Pharisees accusing the disciples of breaking the Sabbath by plucking

⁶⁴³ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 537-538; Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 141; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 134.

⁶⁴⁴ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 537; France, *Matthew*, 579; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 133, 135; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 327.

⁶⁴⁵ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 133; Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 327.

⁶⁴⁶ Davies and Allison, *Matthew II*, 535; Witherington, *Matthew*, 295.

heads of grain. Jesus defends them on the grounds that David and his companions entered the temple and ate the bread of presence (1 Sam 21:1-6). He draws the conclusion that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath (v. 27) and then adds a Christological comment that the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath (v. 28). By arguing in this fashion, the Markan Jesus can be seen as annulling or at least relaxing the law of Sabbath rest.⁶⁴⁷ Jesus as Son of Man has priority over the Sabbath, and his followers are entitled to break it. This Christological point also appears in the next story when Jesus heals a man with a crippled hand.

Mt 12:1-14 differs from Mark's version of events. In 12:1 the Matthean Jesus gives the reason for the disciples plucking the grain when he adds the disciples were hungry. This shows that they were in need. The Matthean Jesus vindicates his disciples before the Pharisees by quoting David's actions in v. 4 and by adding the further example of the priests in the temple in v. 5. Then in the redactional additions in vv. 6-7, Jesus tells his critics that something greater than the temple is here, and he quotes Hos 6:6, which places mercy above sacrifice. At the conclusion of this first story, Matthew follows Mark in having Jesus proclaim that he is Lord of the Sabbath.

Matthew makes the point in this narrative that certain priorities exist when applying the Torah. The Law can be categorized into lesser and weightier components (cf. 5:19), and the weightier matters of the Law include mercy (cf. 23:23). Since the disciples were hungry, the merciful response would be to let them pluck and eat the grain. In the Matthean narrative, there is no criticism of the Sabbath. The evangelist specifies in 24:20 that it is right and proper to observe the Sabbath, but the Sabbath presumably belongs with the lesser laws. This means that when resting on the Sabbath day comes into

⁶⁴⁷ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 136.

conflict with one of the more important laws, then it can be waived. This does not constitute a breach of the Torah because the demands of the Law have still been fulfilled. In the case of 12:1-8 the Law of mercy is fulfilled at the expense of Sabbath rest.⁶⁴⁸ Moreover, in this text the statement that "For the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath" refers to the authority of Jesus in terms of the interpretation of the Torah. As the Lord of the Sabbath, Jesus is able to define how the laws regarding Sabbath observance are to be understood and applied.⁶⁴⁹ He fulfils the Law (cf. 5:17) by providing the true meaning of it and by restoring God's original intention for it.⁶⁵⁰

The same sentiments are contained in Mt 12:9-14 where Jesus explains that it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath (v.12). He exposes the Pharisees' irrational stance regarding healing on this day. They would rescue a sheep from a pit but not assist a person in need. Once more applying the principle of mercy above Sabbath rest, Jesus heals the man with the withered hand.⁶⁵¹ As in the first story, there is no breach of the demands of the Torah. The command to rest on the Sabbath makes way for the more important commandment to show mercy.⁶⁵² This interpretation of the Law by Jesus is at odds with the Pharisaic application of the Law. Matthew uses these texts to demonstrate how these opponents of Jesus fulfil the lesser laws, while neglecting its weightier elements (23:23).⁶⁵³

⁶⁴⁸ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 136-137. Y.-E. Yang provides such a detailed examination of Mt 12:1-14 in Y.-E. Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath in Matthew's Gospel* (JSNTSup 139; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 161-214.

⁶⁴⁹ Suggs, *Wisdom*, 107. God's Lordship of the Sabbath can be found in a number of passages including Ex 16:23, 25; 20:10; 31:15; 35:2; Lev 23:3; Deut 5:14 in Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath*, 193.

⁶⁵⁰ Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath*, 213.

⁶⁵¹ Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 137.

⁶⁵² Suggs, *Wisdom*, 107; Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath*, 206.

⁶⁵³ Luz, *Matthew 8-20*, 183-184; Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, 137-138; Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath*, 206-207.

Matthew's depiction of Jesus and the Torah can and should be aligned with his Wisdom Christology. In the Jewish tradition Wisdom was identified with the Law. As Wisdom incarnate Jesus is the Torah as well. This is why the Matthean Jesus can speak with such authority about the Law, why he is able to fulfil the Torah by providing its true interpretation. Since Wisdom is the friend and sender of the prophets, it is little wonder that Jesus's understanding of the Law is informed by the prophetic voices. Jesus as Wisdom fulfils both the Law and the prophets. The misguided scribes and Pharisees who oppose Jesus have simply misunderstood the meaning and intention of the Torah. They focus on the less important regulations and neglect those that are the most significant – love of God and neighbour, righteousness, justice, mercy and faithfulness. Their opposition to Jesus is nothing less than opposition to Wisdom herself.

It is no coincidence that some of these core elements of Law, as identified by the Matthean Jesus, are all associated with the Jewish Wisdom tradition. A number of passages in the Old Testament (Deut 5:10; 6:5; 7:9; 10:12; Neh 1:5; Is 56:6; Dan 9:41) show that the motive of –love for God is the basis of obedience and integral to keeping the Torah. Likewise, for Ben Sira, those who love God keep God's commandments (Sir 2:15, 16; 7:30). In this way Ben Sira connects Wisdom to the term –love for God when he identifies Wisdom as the Torah.⁶⁵⁴ The concept of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) in relation to Wisdom is found in Prov 8:15 and 8:20. In 8:15 Wisdom speaks of herself as the one who was responsible for the king's reign and the ruler's decree –being just or –righteous while in 8:20 she portrays herself as walking in the way of δικαιοσύνη.

Wisdom is indirectly associated with the term –mercy (ἔλεος) through her various activities. Her many invitations to heed her call and follow her way can be

⁶⁵⁴ Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 56.

defined as acts of mercy. In addition her role in Wis 10, when she oversees and guards the fortunes of Israel's heroes, is a further case of her generosity and mercy. She is likewise connected with faith or faithfulness. In Sir 4:16 those who remain faithful to Wisdom will inherit her. Similarly, in Sir 15:1 the ones faithful to the Law will obtain her. The sense of faithfulness is also associated with Sophia in Prov 3:18 where she is a tree of life to those who lay hold (ἐἶχῶ) of her; those who hold her fast (ἐρείδῶ) are called happy. Even though the writer of Proverbs does not use πίστις in this text, Wisdom is closely linked to the term through the words ἐἶχῶ (hold) and ἐρείδῶ (hold fast).⁶⁵⁵

There is nothing in Matthew's depiction of the Torah that conflicts with the earlier Wisdom tradition. Wisdom and the Law bring the life of the people of Israel to walk in God's ways (Sir 2:15, 16; 51:15; cf. Bar 38:2). A wise man is characterized as the one who keeps the commandments (Sir 15:1-15). Observance of the Law is to heed God's Wisdom (Bar 38:4). Wisdom and the Law allow a man to keep his sinful desires under control and to keep away from sin (Sir 21:11; 24:22; 51:15).⁶⁵⁶ The evangelist would even concur with the sentiments in Sir 1:26, "If you desire Wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord will lavish her upon you."⁶⁵⁷ Observing the Torah according to Jesus' (or Wisdom's) correct interpretation will guarantee the continuing presence of Jesus (cf. 18:20; 28:20).

To summarize, the Torah is of primary importance in Matthew's Gospel, and it occupies a central position in the teaching and activities of the Matthean Jesus. This focus on the Mosaic Law is also not unexpected in the light of Matthew's dominant Wisdom

⁶⁵⁵ Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 223-224.

⁶⁵⁶ Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 82-83, 158-159.

⁶⁵⁷ Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law*, 163.

Christology. In the Jewish tradition, Wisdom is often associated with the Law, and in Sirach and Baruch she is clearly identified with it. Matthew simply adopts this perspective and conforms it to his Christian understanding of the significance of Jesus. Jesus is Wisdom and he must be the Torah as well. It is as Wisdom incarnate that Jesus can speak about the Law with such authority. At the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount he specifies plainly that he has not come to abolish the Torah but to fulfil it, and he stipulates that in the present age all components of it, the least commandments as well as the important ones, are to be faithfully observed until the Parousia. This means that the ritual requirements of the Law are to be obeyed as well as the moral commandments.

As Wisdom Jesus articulates the manner in which the Law is to be understood and applied. It is an understanding informed by the prophetic tradition, and Jesus fulfils the Law by providing its definitive interpretation. The core elements of the Law are love of God and neighbour, the Golden rule, and justice, mercy and faithfulness, some of which recall concepts and roles associated with Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. The evangelist makes clear that these aspects in particular must be given priority when they come into conflict with other laws. Thus the regulation concerning Sabbath rest, which must be observed in normal circumstances, can be waived if doing so fulfils the even greater law of mercy or love of neighbour. As the definitive interpreter of the Torah, Jesus as Wisdom mediates the divine will.

Because Jesus is the ultimate revealer of the Law's intentions and application, he is critical of others who do not follow his teachings. The Pharisees in particular are constantly chastised for their continual misunderstanding of the Law, and the weighting of its constituent parts. They correctly practise tithing but they neglect the important

matters of the Law such as mercy, and they fail to understand that acts of mercy take precedence over the command to rest on the Sabbath. They also place their own tradition, such as ritual handwashing, before the commandments of God. In her incarnate form as Jesus, Wisdom invites the Pharisees to keep the Torah as it was intended to be kept, but they refuse and become her implacable enemies.

Matthew's understanding of Jesus as Wisdom and Torah stands in stark contrast to the Wisdom Christology in the Gospel of John. As noted in the previous Chapter, John presents Jesus as Wisdom who criticizes and rejects the Torah. The Law given by Moses is contrasted with the grace and truth brought by Jesus. This was clearly one aspect of the traditional picture of Wisdom that John could not assimilate to his own Christian tradition. Matthew, however, stands in a different tradition. In his tradition the Law was still considered to be a gracious gift from God and was faithfully observed. The evangelist therefore had no difficulty in correlating the traditional identification of Jesus with the Law and his own conviction that Jesus was Wisdom.

7. Conclusion

This Chapter has attempted to establish a clear Wisdom Christology in the Gospel of Matthew. It began by emphasizing the *inclusio* of Mt 11:2 and 19b, in which Matthew identifies Jesus with Wisdom. When Wisdom is justified by her deeds in Mt 11:19, the deeds to which reference is made are the deeds of Jesus in Mt 11:2. The evangelist's redaction of Q at these points shows a considerable development of the Q tradition. In that tradition Jesus was merely a representative or agent of Sophia, albeit her greatest envoy, but Matthew takes this a significant step further by equating these figures. As

Wisdom in this redacted section of Q, Jesus performs Wisdom's roles of teaching and preaching. But the evangelist also depicts Jesus or Wisdom as a worker of wonders and miracles, a role that is never mentioned in the earlier Jewish texts. Matthew has therefore developed the activities of Wisdom on account of the Christian tradition he inherited.

In Mt 11:25-30 Matthew continues to identify Jesus as Wisdom. The initial three verses stem from Q, and refer to Wisdom motifs such as pre-existence, rejection, hiddenness, revelation, and intimacy with God. The appended verses (vv. 28-30) reinforce and expand the Wisdom themes. Jesus's invitation and his offer of rest have very clear parallels in the Wisdom tradition, as does his reference to the easy yoke. Those who take up this yoke and learn from Jesus become his disciples just as those who follow the way of Wisdom become her disciples. Just as Wisdom was identified with the Torah, so too does Wisdom as Jesus become one with the Torah.

The evangelist develops this notion considerably in the Gospel material dealing with the Torah. He states that Jesus has come to fulfil the Law, which means that he provides it with its definitive and authoritative interpretation. His understanding of the Law is informed by the prophetic tradition, and its core elements are love of God and neighbour, the Golden Rule, and justice, mercy and faithfulness. All of the Torah remains valid, but Jesus distinguishes between its component parts. Jesus speaks with authority about the Torah because he is Wisdom incarnate and is himself the Law. In the Gospel narrative Jesus clashes consistently with the scribes and Pharisees over the true interpretation of the Law. These figures betray a total misunderstanding of the Law's meaning and application; they follow the less important commandments and ignore the more important ones.

The material in Mt 23:34-39 is also significant in Matthew's Wisdom Christology. Because Jesus is Wisdom, he adopts a quote from Wisdom in Q and transfers it to the lips of Jesus. As Wisdom did in the past, Jesus sends prophets and other messengers who all meet with rejection and violence. The ones who reject this message from Wisdom will themselves meet with severe punishment in the form of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. Just as the rejected Wisdom leaves the earth and hides herself in heaven, so too does Jesus depart the temple and will not return until the day of judgement. Since Jesus is the universal judge, Matthew once more develops the Wisdom tradition under the influence of his Christian perspective.

Other Matthean texts highlight the pre-existence and incarnation of Jesus as Wisdom. The tradition of the virginal conception is best understood as the incarnation of Wisdom. As Emmanuel or "God with us" Jesus as Sophia is constantly a presence among his people (cf. 18:20; 28:20). In the context of the Gospel, the Matthean "I have come" sayings also point to the pre-existence of Jesus, and relate some of the purposes for which he came to earth. One of the more significant of these is that he has come to give his life as a ransom for many. The notion here ties in with Mt 1:21, where it is said that Jesus will save his people from their sins. For Matthew one of the primary reasons for Wisdom's incarnation is that she, in the form of Jesus, needs to die on the cross. Only this act of self-sacrifice will pay the ransom and save the people from their sins. Needless to say, while the Jewish Wisdom tradition knows of Sophia as a figure of protection and salvation, it has no concept of the incarnation of Wisdom in human form and certainly no concept of her death. Matthew has redefined the nature and roles of Wisdom in conformity to his Christian beliefs.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This study was concerned with Matthew's Wisdom Christology in its Jewish and early Christian contexts. It set out to determine precisely what Matthew had to say about Jesus as the figure of Wisdom, to identify the traditions, both Jewish and Christian, that influenced his portrayal, and to place his Christology in its relevant contexts. These aims necessitated the analysis of many Jewish and Christian texts.

We began with the concept of Wisdom in the Jewish tradition. The wisdom phenomenon in ancient Israel had its roots in the surrounding cultures of the ancient Near East. Initially focused on wisdom as a human phenomenon, the concept of wisdom developed and eventually became personified in a female form. This development was probably due to the influence of the Egyptian goddess *Maat* and the Hellenistic goddess *Isis*. These goddesses contributed to the shaping of the Jewish Wisdom tradition in many ways, including ethical, cosmological and salvific concepts. The appearance of Wisdom or Sophia posed no threat to Jewish monotheism. She was considered to be either a female personification of God or a distinct entity in her own right who was created by God and subordinate to him. This figure appears prominently in many canonical and non-canonical Jewish texts.

The Jewish figure of Wisdom shares a close relationship with God and a similar relationship with humans. In terms of her relationship with God, she has her origins in God and is the first of God's creation. Wisdom pre-exists the created order and has a role

in the process of creation. She speaks God's words, and her way is God's way. Sophia is a divine or heavenly being and is intimately connected with God. At times it is difficult to differentiate between them. When described as the breath of God and of his power, or as a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty, she appears almost as a personification of God. She reveals the will of God, and can be identified as the Torah.

Her relationship with humans is variable. Sometimes she is unattainable, beyond human reach and found only with God, but at other times she is portrayed as close to human beings when she mediates or reveals God's will. Moreover, Wisdom is seen as pleasant, kind and benevolent to people. She describes herself as exercising prudence; she possesses knowledge, which she imparts to her followers as well. She is the beginning of all virtues, exhorting all to follow her ways, and she portrays the advantages of righteousness. Wisdom is also the tree of life, representing immortality, long life and quality of life for those who follow her way. She invites all humans to be under her instructions and also to take up her yoke. She promises her followers that they will receive happiness, joy and rest.

The roles of Wisdom are many. While having a role in creation, she is the fashioner of all things. She plays a part in salvation as a protector, rescuer and a liberator of her people. As a teacher, a prophet and guide, her ideal is to have all accept her messages and practice life-giving ways. She is romantically presented as a lover, who will guard and protect those who accept her. Sophia is also a counsellor who imparts good advice and sound judgment. She invites all to follow her way, inviting them to her table in the role of hostess and she is depicted as a street preacher who preaches at the

city gates. In accordance with her female nature, Wisdom is a concerned mother instructing and protecting her children.

The discussion then turned to the Wisdom tradition in early Christian sources in order to discover whether the rich Christology that emerged in the light of Jesus' life, death and resurrection was influenced by the concept of Sophia. It was argued that the Pauline tradition had no clear notion of this figure. While Paul uses the term 'the Wisdom of God' in relation to Jesus, it does not possess a Christological sense. The apostle's word choice was dictated by the problem with wisdom and knowledge in the Corinthian church. There is evidence that Paul considered Jesus to be a pre-existent being, but this does not necessarily mean he was identified with Wisdom. Sophia was not the only such entity in Judaism; in some traditions the Messiah and the Son of Man were thought to pre-exist as well.

The emergence of a connection between Jesus and Wisdom can be traced to the Q tradition. In the Sayings Source, Wisdom is clearly mentioned, and Jesus is described as her greatest envoy. Q's depiction of Wisdom recalls many of her roles in the Jewish texts. She is a sender of prophets and a protective mother, but her invitation is rejected. It is arguable that the Q tradition itself was moving towards a Wisdom Christology. In at least one text Jesus seems to play some of the roles previously attributed to Wisdom, but as far as this source can be reconstructed such an identification is not clearly made. The Q tradition is important in that it testifies to the influence of the figure of Wisdom in an early Jesus source, but it falls short of developing a Wisdom Christology.

Further developments can be found in the later Johannine Gospel. In this text Jesus appears as Wisdom who becomes flesh in the form of Jesus of Nazareth. This is made

clear in the Johannine Prologue and elsewhere in the Gospel. Distinctive Wisdom themes include an intimacy between Jesus and God, Jesus' pre-existence and his role in creation, his mediating and revelatory function, and his rejection. But John never refers to Jesus as Wisdom. He prefers to speak of "the Word" a term that has some connections with the prior Wisdom tradition. His choice of term may have been influenced by a certain strand in Hellenistic Judaism or by his conviction that the male Jesus needed a male term of reference. In any event the evidence of this Gospel reveals that at least in this Christian trajectory a fully-fledged Wisdom Christology had developed, but without any direct reference to Sophia herself.

The Gospel of Matthew was then examined. This Gospel chronologically comes between the earlier Pauline and Q traditions, and the later Gospel of John. There is no evidence that Matthew was directly influenced by Paul or that he had any contact with the Johannine tradition, but it is commonly accepted that he knew and used the Sayings Source. Matthew significantly edits the Q material, especially in the key texts 11:2-19 and 23:34-39, and in his addition of 11:28-30, and considerably develops the relationship between Jesus and Sophia in that source. For Matthew Jesus is no longer a messenger of Wisdom; he is Wisdom incarnate. In depicting Jesus in this fashion, many of the traditional roles of Wisdom are attributed to him — a close relationship with God, pre-existence, a creative role, preaching, inviting, mediating between the heavenly and earthly realms, a salvific role, a motherly and protective role, rejected and subsequently hidden, and the identification with the Torah. Other texts confirm and expand some of these motifs. The virginal conception of Jesus is really a story of Wisdom's incarnation, though it must be conceded that it is not as poetic or as powerful as the Johannine

counterpart. The Matthean "I have come sayings" although not necessarily in themselves implying pre-existence, do have this particular meaning in the context of the Gospel.

Matthew is not content simply to see Jesus as Wisdom and attribute her traditional roles to him. He also develops the concept of Sophia on the basis of this identification. The incarnation of Sophia as Jesus reveals that she is a performer of miracles, the definitive interpreter of the Law, and will be the final judge. Her major role in coming to earth was to die an inglorious death to save her people from their sins. All of these elements were originally associated with Jesus, but are now attributed to Wisdom.

We can see from the above summary that Matthew's Wisdom Christology is a distinct amalgamation of Jewish traditions about Wisdom and Christian sources about Jesus. His Christian source Q itself contained a clear reference to Sophia and contained a number of significant Wisdom traditions. It portrayed Jesus, however, as an envoy of Wisdom. But with a few redactional changes Matthew was able to transform Jesus from an agent of Sophia to Sophia herself, and in doing so the Wisdom motifs in Q could be easily applied to Jesus. His pre-existence, his role in creation, his invitations, his hiddenness, his revelations, his protective and nurturing roles, his identification with Law, his sending of the prophets and his rejection were all present to some extent in Q's Wisdom material.

But Matthew was not content simply to transform the Q tradition. As a scribe trained for the Kingdom of Heaven (13:52) and a knowledgeable exegete, Matthew would have been well aware of the Jewish texts that underlay the figure of Wisdom in Q. He therefore includes further material, based upon the existing Wisdom tradition, that reinforced his Wisdom Christology. An excellent example of this is the added material in

11:28-30, which resonates with Wisdom motifs. He also uses some of his source material to emphasize Jesus' pre-existence and his incarnation as Wisdom. In short, it is clear that Matthew was heavily influenced by Wisdom traditions, both in Judaism and in Christianity, and he used these traditions in his presentation of Jesus.

On the other hand, it was shown that Matthew's understanding of the nature and roles of Sophia was just as influenced by his prior Christian beliefs. Because Jesus is Wisdom, the life and activities of Jesus are those of Wisdom as well. Under the influence of the Jesus tradition he inherited, Matthew emphasizes Wisdom's roles as miracle worker, final judge, interpreter of the Torah and as the one who has to die to save her people from their sins. He therefore conforms Wisdom to the Christian Jesus tradition just as much as he conforms Jesus to the traditional notions about Wisdom. It is a rich Christology that has its roots in all the available Wisdom traditions.

Matthew's Wisdom Christology probably developed independently of John's Wisdom Christology. This shows that after a slow start, Wisdom speculation in early Christianity had intensified towards the end of the first century and was developing through a number of different trajectories. The Matthean and Johannine trajectories stood in agreement on many points; for example, Jesus was pre-existent Sophia who became incarnate in the person of Jesus and each of them focused on Wisdom's role in creation. But there were significant differences too. The Johannine community belonged to a Christian tradition that no longer observed the Torah, so John's figure of Wisdom becomes a critic of the Torah and a Law-breaker. The Matthean community stood in a different Christian tradition, one which still valued and followed the Torah, and one of

the evangelist's major concern is to present Jesus as the Law's authoritative and definitive interpreter.

The Gospel of John, despite presenting Jesus in obvious Wisdom-like terms, never refers to him as Wisdom. The incarnate Jesus is identified with the Word, a concept that has some links with the Wisdom tradition. John may have been influenced by a Hellenistic Jewish source that emphasized the Word of God. A similar tradition may have been used by Philo. It is also possible that this evangelist had qualms about identifying the male Jesus with a feminine pre-existent figure, so he chose a male equivalent. Matthew of course had no such concerns. In his version of Wisdom Christology, he was willing to make the connection openly and directly that Jesus was Sophia. His incarnational Christology had no problem with the concept that the female Sophia took form in the body of a male human. There are implications in this for feminist hermeneutics and theology, but these lie beyond the scope of this study.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aitken, J., 'Proverbs' in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 405-422.
- Albright W. F., and C. S. Mann., *Matthew* (AB 26; Garden City: Doubleday, 1971).
- Aletti, J.-N., 'Romans 8: The Incarnation and Its Redemptive Impact' in S. T. Davis, D. Kendall and G. O'Collins (eds), *Incarnation* (NCT; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 93-115.
- Allen, W. C., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907).
- Allison, D. C., *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000).
- Allison, D. C., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993).
- Anderson, P. N., 'On Guessing Points and Naming Stars: Epistemological Origins of John's Christological Tensions' in R. Bauckham and C. Mosser (eds), *The Gospel of John and Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 311-345.
- Anderson, R. A., *Signs and Wonders: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ITC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984).
- Arens, E., *The ἠλθον -Sayings in the Synoptic Tradition: A Historico-Critical Investigation* (OBO 10; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1976).
- Balentine, S. E., *Job* (SHBC; Macon: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2006).
- Barrett, C. K., *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 2nd edn 1971).
- Barrett, C. K., *The Gospel according to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (London: SPCK, 2nd edn 1978).
- Barrett, C. K., *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (London: SPCK, rev. edn 1987).

- Barton, J., "Historical-Critical Approaches" in J. Barton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (CCR; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 9-20.
- Barton, J., *The Nature of Biblical Criticism* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, rev. edn 2007).
- Barton, S. C., "1 Corinthians" in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 1314-1352.
- Barton, S. C., "Gospel Wisdom" in S. C. Barton (ed.), *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Wisdom in the Bible, the Church and the Contemporary World* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), 93-110.
- Beare, F. W., *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1959).
- Beare, F. W., *The Gospel according to St Matthew* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981).
- Beasley-Murray, G. R., "The Interpretation of Daniel 7" *CBQ* 45 (1983), 44-58.
- Beasley-Murray, G. R., *John* (WBC 36; Waco: Word Books, 1987).
- Beentjes, P. C., *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997).
- Benoit, P., "The Divinity of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels" in P. Benoit (ed.) *Jesus and the Gospel* (London: Longman and Todd, 1973), 47-70.
- Bergant, D., *Job: Ecclesiastes* (OTM 18; Wilmington: Glazier, 1982).
- Bergant, D., *What Are They Saying about Wisdom Literature?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984).
- Bernard, J. H., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John vol. I* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928).
- Black, M., *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985).
- Blomberg, C. L., *The Historical Reliability of the Gospels* (Nottingham: InterVarsity, 2nd edn 2007).
- Boadt, L., *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984).

- Borg, M. J., *Jesus, A New Vision: Spirit, Culture, and the Life of Discipleship* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987).
- Borgen, P., "The Gospel of John and Philo of Alexandria" in J. H. Charlesworth and M. A. Daise (eds), *Light in a Spotless Mirror: Reflections on Wisdom Traditions in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Trinity Press International, 2003), 45-76.
- Bovon, F., *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).
- Brown, R. E., *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, rev edn 1993).
- Brown, R. E., *The Gospel according to John I-XII vol. I* (AB 29; Garden City: Doubleday, 1964).
- Brown, R. E., *The Gospel according to John XIII-XXI vol. II* (AB 29A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1970).
- Brown, R. E., *The Gospel and Epistles of John: A Concise Commentary* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1988).
- Brown, R. E., *An Introduction to New Testament Christology* (New York, Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1994).
- Brown, R. E., *The Virginal Conception and Bodily Resurrection of Jesus* (London: Chapman, 1973).
- Bruce, F. F., *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NIGTC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1982).
- Bruner, F. D., *Matthew: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).
- Bultmann, R., *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971).
- Bultmann, R., "The History of Religions Background of the Prologue to the Gospel of John" in J. Ashton (ed.), *The Interpretation of John* (IRT 9; London: SPCK, 1986), 27-45.
- Bultmann, R., *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2nd edn 1968).
- Bultmann, R., *Interpreting Faith for the Modern Era (Making of Modern Theology)* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988).

- Bultmann, R., "New Testament and Mythology" in H. W. Bartsch (ed.), *Kerygma and Myth by Rudolf Bultmann and Five Critics* (New York: Harper, 1961), 1-44.
- Caragounis, C. C., *The Son of Man: Vision and Interpretation* (WUNT 38; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986).
- Carter, W., "Jesus' 'I Have Come' Statements in Matthew's Gospel" *CBQ* 60 (1998), 44-62.
- Carter, W., *Matthew and the Margins: A Socio-Political and Religious Reading* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2000).
- Carter, W., "Matthew's Gospel: Jewish Christianity, Christian Judaism, or Neither?" in M. Jackson-McCabe (ed.), *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 155-179.
- Casey, M., *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991).
- Cazelles, H., "Ahiqar, *Umman* and *Amun*, and Biblical Wisdom Texts" in Z. Zevit, S. Gitin and M. Sokoloff (eds), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 45-56.
- Ceresko, A. R., *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1992).
- Ceresko, A. R., *Introduction to Old Testament Wisdom: A Spirituality of Liberation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999).
- Charlesworth, J. H., "From Jewish Messianology to Christian Christology, Some Caveats and Perspectives" in J. Neusner, W. S. Green and E. S. Frerichs (eds), *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 225-264.
- Charlesworth, J. H., "Lady Wisdom and Johannine Christology" in J. H. Charlesworth and M. A. Daise (eds), *Light in a Spotless Mirror: Reflections on Wisdom Traditions in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Trinity Press International, 2003), 92-134.
- Clapp, P. S., Friberg, B., and Friberg, T., *Analytical Concordance of the Greek New Testament: Lexical Focus* (BGNTL 1; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991).
- Clark, D., "Signs in Wisdom and John" *CBQ* 45 (1983), 201-209.
- Clements, R. E., "Proverbs" in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 437-466.

- Clifford, R. J., *Proverbs: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999).
- Clines, D. J. A., *Job 21-37* (WBC 18A; Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2006).
- Collins, J. J., *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (BRS; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn 1984).
- Collins, J. J., *Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).
- Collins, J. J., "Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach" in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 667-698.
- Collins, J. J., *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, rev. edn 1997).
- Collins, J. J., "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel" *JBL* 93 (1974), 50-66.
- Collins, R. F., *First Corinthians* (SP 7; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999).
- Conzelmann, H., *The Theology of Luke* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961).
- Crenshaw, J. L., *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981).
- Dahood, M., "Proverbs 8:22-31" *CBQ* 30 (1968), 512-521.
- Davies, W. D., and Allison, D. C., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew Vol. I I-VII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988).
- Davies, W. D., and Allison, D. C., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew Vol. II VIII-XVIII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991).
- Davies, W. D., and Allison, D. C., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew Vol. III XIX-XXVIII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997).
- Davies, W. D., *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1955).
- Dell, K. J., "Job" in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 337-363.

- Derrenbacker, R. A., *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem* (BETL 186; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005).
- Deutsch, C. M., *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah, and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25-30* (JSNTSup 18; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987).
- Deutsch, C. M., "Jesus as Wisdom: A Feminist Reading of Matthew's Wisdom Christology" in A.-J. Levine and M. Blickenstaff (eds), *A Feminist Companion to Matthew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 88-113.
- Deutsch, C. M., *Lady Wisdom, Jesus, and the Sages: Metaphor and Social Context in Matthew's Gospel* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996).
- Deutsch, C. M., "Wisdom in Matthew: Transformation of a Symbol" *NovT* 32 (1990), 13-47.
- Dey, L. K. K., *The Intermediary World and Patterns of Perfection in Philo and Hebrews* (SBLDS 25; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975).
- Di Lella, A. A., "The Meaning of Wisdom in Ben Sira" in L. G. Perdue, R. B. Scott, and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of J.G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 133-148.
- Di Lella, A. A., "Sirach" in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 496-509.
- Di Lella, A. A., *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987).
- Dodd, C. H., *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).
- Doohan, H., *Paul's Vision of the Church* (GNS 32; Wilmington: Glazier, 1989).
- Dunn, J. D. G., *Christology in the Making: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: SCM Press, 2nd edn 1996).
- Dunn, J. D. G., *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1993).
- Dunn, J. D. G., *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).
- Edwards, D., *Jesus the Wisdom of God: An Ecological Theology* (Homebush: St Paul's, 1995).
- Edwards, J. R., *The Gospel according to Mark* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

- Evans, C. A., *Word and Glory: On the Exegetical and Theological Background of John's Prologue* (JSNTSup 89; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993).
- Evans, C. F., *Saint Luke* (NTC; London: SCM Press, 1990).
- Fairweather, W., *The Background of the Pauline Epistles* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1958).
- Farmer, W. R., *The Gospel of Jesus: The Pastoral Relevance of the Synoptic Problem* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, rev. edn 1994).
- Farmer, W. R., *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2nd edn 1976).
- Farrer, A. M., 'On Dispensing with Q α ' in D. E. Nineham (ed.), *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 55-88.
- Farrer, A. M., *St. Matthew and St. Mark* (London: Dacre Press, 1954).
- Farrer, A. M., *A Study in St. Mark* (London: Dacre Press, 1951).
- Fee, G. D., *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn 1987).
- Fee, G. D., *Pauline Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007).
- Fee, G. D., *Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).
- Fitzgerald, A., 'Baruch α ' in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 563-567.
- Fitzmyer, J. A., *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX* (AB 28; Garden City: Doubleday, 1979).
- Fitzmyer, J. A., *The Gospel according to Luke X-XXIV* (AB 28A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1985).
- Fitzmyer, J. A., *Romans* (AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1992).
- Fohrer, G., 'Sophia α ' in J. L. Crenshaw (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (LBS; New York: Ktav Publishing, 1976), 481-494.
- Fontaine, C. R., 'Proverbs α ' in J. L. Mays (ed.), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 495-517.

- Forestell, J. T., 'Proverbs' in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 1968), 495-505.
- Foster, P., *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).
- Fox, M. V., 'Amon Again' *JBL* 115 (1996), 699-702.
- Fox, M. V., 'Ideas of Wisdom in Proverbs' *JBL* 116 (1997), 613-633.
- Fox, M. V., *Proverbs 1-9: A New Translation and Commentary* (AB 18A; New York: Doubleday, 2000).
- Fox, M. V., 'Wisdom in Qoheleth' in L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 115-132.
- France, R. T., *The Gospel of Matthew* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).
- France, R. T., *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).
- France, R. T., *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1989).
- Friberg, B., Friberg, T., and Miller N. F., *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament vol.1 Lexical Focus* (BGNTL; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000).
- Fuller, R. H., 'The Conception/Birth of Jesus as a Christological Moment' *JSNT* 1 (1978), 37-52.
- Fuller, R. H., *The Foundations of New Testament Christology* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1965).
- Fuller, R. H. and Perkins, P., *Who Is This Christ? Gospel Christology and Contemporary Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983).
- Gale, A. M., *Redefining Ancient Borders: The Jewish Scribal Framework of Matthew's Gospel* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2005).
- Garland, D. E., *The Intention of Matthew 23* (NovTSup 52; Leiden: Brill, 1979).
- Garland, D. E., *Reading Matthew: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the First Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1993).
- Gathercole, S. J., 'The Justification of Wisdom (Mt 11:19b/Lk 7:35)' *NTS* 49 (2003), 476-488.

- Gathercole, S. J., 'On the Alleged Aramaic Idiom behind the Synoptic ἤλθον-Sayings', *JTS* 55 (2004), 84-91.
- Gathercole, S. J., *The Pre-Existent Son: Recovering the Christologies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006).
- Gaventa, B. R., 'The Singularity of the Gospel' in J. M. Bassler (ed.), *Pauline Theology: Volume I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 147-159.
- Gench, F. T., *Wisdom in the Christology of Matthew* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997).
- Gese, H., 'Wisdom, Son of Man, and the Origins of Christology: The Consistent Development of Biblical Theology', *HBT* 3 (1981), 23-57.
- Goldingay, J. E., *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas: Word Books, 1989).
- Goldingay, J. E., *Models for Interpretation of Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).
- Goodacre, M., *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2002).
- Goodacre, M., *Goulder and the Gospels: An Examination of a New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 133; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).
- Goodacre, M., *The Synoptic Problem: A Way through the Maze* (BiSe 80; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).
- Gordis, R., *The Book of Job and Man: A Study of Job* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, rev. edn 1965).
- Gorman, M. J., *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).
- Goulder, M. D., 'Is Q a Juggernaut?', *JBL* 115 (1996), 667-681.
- Goulder, M. D., *Luke: A New Paradigm vol. I* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989).
- Goulder, M. D., *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974).
- Grabbe, L. L., *Wisdom of Solomon* (GAP 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).
- Grayston, K., *The Gospel of John* (EC; London: Epworth Press, 1990).

- Green, J. B., *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).
- Greenfield, J. C., 'The Seven Pillars of Wisdom (Prov 9:1) ó a Mistranslation', *JQR* 76 (1985), 13-20.
- Griffiths, J., *The Reclaiming of Wisdom: The Restoration of the Feminine in Christianity* (London: Avon Books, 1994).
- Gruenler, R. G., *The Trinity in the Gospel of John: A Thematic Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986).
- Gundry, R. H., *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn 1994).
- Gundry, R. H., 'Matthew: Jewish-Christian or Christian-Jewish? At an Intersection of Sociology and Theology', in R. H. Gundry (ed.), *The Old is Better: New Testament Essays in Support of Traditional Interpretations* (WUNT 178; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 111-119.
- Habel, N. C., *The Book of Job: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1985).
- Hadley, J. M., 'Wisdom and the goddess', in J. Day (ed.), *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J.A. Emerton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 234-243.
- Haenchen, E., *John 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of John Chapters 1-6* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984).
- Hagner, D. A., 'Matthew: Apostate, Reformer, Revolutionary?', *NTS* 49 (2003), 193-209.
- Hagner, D. A., 'Matthew: Christian Judaism or Jewish Christianity?', in S. McKnight and G. R. Osborne (eds), *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 263-282.
- Hagner, D. A., *Matthew 1-13* (WBC 33A; Dallas: Word Books, 1993).
- Hagner, D. A., *Matthew 14-28* (WBC 33B; Dallas: Word Books, 1995).
- Hahn, F., *The Titles of Jesus in Christology* (London: Lutterworth, 1969).
- Hamerton-Kelly, R. G., *Pre-Existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-Existence in the New Testament* (SNTSMS 21; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).
- Hammer, R., *The Book of Daniel* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

- Hare, D. R. A., "How Jewish is the Gospel of Matthew?" *CBQ* 62 (2000), 264-277.
- Hare, D. R. A., *Matthew* (IBCTP; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993).
- Harrington, D. J., "Baruch" in J. L. Mays (ed.), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 855-860.
- Harrington, D. J., *The Gospel of Matthew* (SP 1; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991).
- Harrington, D. J., *Invitation to the Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999).
- Harrington, D. J., "The Wisdom of Jesus" *BibTod* 42 (2004), 275-279.
- Harris, E., *Prologue and Gospel: The Theology of the Fourth Evangelist* (JSNTSup 107; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).
- Harris, S. L., *Proverbs 1-9: A Study of Inner-Biblical Interpretation* (SBLDS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).
- Harris, S. L., "Wisdom or Creation? A New Interpretation of Job 28:27?" *VT* 33 (1983), 419-427.
- Hartin, P. J., *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup 47; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991).
- Hartin, P. J., "Yet Wisdom is justified by her children (Q 7:35)" in J. S. Kloppenborg (ed.), *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical, and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995), 151-164.
- Hartley, J. E., *The Book of Job* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988).
- Harvey, A. E., *Jesus and the Constraints of History* (London: Duckworth, 1982).
- Harrington, D. J., *The Gospel of Mark* (SP 2; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2002).
- Havener, I., *Q: The Sayings of Jesus* (GNS 19; Wilmington: Glazier, 1987).
- Hawthorne, G. F., *Philippians* (WBC 43; Dallas: Word Books, 2004).
- Hayes J. H., and Holladay, C. R., *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 3rd edn 2007).
- Hayman, A. P., "The Wisdom of Solomon" in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 763-778.

- Hendricksen, W., *Matthew* (NTC; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1974).
- Hengel, M., *Studies in Early Christology* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004).
- Hengel, M., *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion* (London: SCM, 1976).
- Hertig, P., "Geographical Marginality in the Matthean Journey of Jesus" in K. H. Richards (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers, 1999* (SBLSP 36; Atlanta: SBL Press, 1999), 472-489.
- Hill, D., *The Gospel of Matthew* (NCBC; London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1972).
- Hooker, M. D., *From Adam to Christ: Essays on Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Horbury, W. T., *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM Press, 1998).
- Horsley, R. A., *1 Corinthians* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998).
- Hultgren, A. J., *The Rise of Normative Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).
- Hultgren, A. J., "The Scope of Wisdom" *WW* 7 (1987), 239-240.
- Humphrey, H. M., "Jesus as Wisdom in Mark" *BTB* 19 (1989), 48-53.
- Hunter, A., *Wisdom Literature* (London: SCM Press, 2006).
- Hunter, A. M., *The Gospel according to Paul* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966).
- Hurowitz, V. A., "Nursling, Advisor, Architect? *Mwn* and the Role of Wisdom in Proverbs 8, 22-31" *Bib* 80 (1999), 391-400.
- Hurtado, L. W., *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988).
- Hurvitz, A., "Toward a Precise Definition of the Term *amon* in Proverbs 8:30" in S. Japhet (ed.), *The Bible in the Light of Its Interpreters: Sarah Kamin Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), 647-650.
- Irwin, W. A., "Job" in M. Black and H. H. Rowley (eds), *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: Nelson, rev. edn 1962), 391-408.
- Isaac, E., "Enoch" in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 5-90.

- Jackson, G. S., *Have Mercy on Me: The Story of the Canaanite Woman in Matthew 15:21-28* (JSNTSup 228; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).
- Jacob, E., "Wisdom and Religion in Sirach" in J. G. Gammie, W. A. Brueggemann, W. L. Humphreys and J. M. Ward (eds), *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (New York: Scholars Press, 1978), 247-260.
- Jacobson, A. D., *The First Gospel: An Introduction to Q* (Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1992).
- Johnson, E. A., "Jesus, Wisdom and our World" *PP* 13 (1999), 260-265.
- Johnson, E. A., "Jesus, the Wisdom of God: A Biblical Basis for Non-Androcentric Christology" *ETL* 61 (1985), 261-294.
- Johnson, E. A., *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (New York: Crossroad, 1993).
- Johnson, E. A., "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Paul" in L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of J. G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 263-284.
- Johnson, M. D., "Reflections on a Wisdom Approach to Matthew's Christology" *CBQ* 36 (1974), 44-64.
- Jones, E., *Proverbs and Ecclesiastes: Introduction and Commentary* (TBC; London: SCM Press, 1961).
- Keener, C. S., *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999).
- Keener, C. S., *The Gospel of John: A Commentary vol. I* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003).
- Keener, C. S., *The Gospel of John: A Commentary vol. II* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003).
- Keener, C. S., *1-2 Corinthians* (NCBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Kim, S., *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (WUNT 2/4; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981).
- Kloppenborg, J. S., *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000).
- Kloppenborg, J. S., "Isis and Sophia in the Book of Wisdom" *HTR* 75 (1982), 57-84.
- Kloppenborg, J. S., *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (SAC; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

- Kloppenborg, J. S., *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).
- Kloppenborg, J. S., 'Wisdom Christology in Q' *LTP* 34 (1978), 129-147.
- Knox, W. L., 'The "Divine Hero" Christology in the New Testament' *HTR* 41 (1948), 228-249.
- Krentz, E., *The Historical Critical Method* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975).
- Kupp, D. D., *Matthew's Emmanuel: Divine Presence and God's People in the First Gospel* (SNTSMS 90; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Kuschel, K.-J., *Born Before All Time?: The Dispute over Christ's Origin* (London: SCM Press, 1992).
- Laansma, J. C., *I Will Give You Rest: The Rest Motif in the New Testament with Special Reference to Mt 11 and Heb 3-4* (WUNT 98; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).
- Lacocque, A., *The Book of Daniel* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979).
- Lambert, W. G., *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).
- La Verdere, E., *Luke* (NTM 5; Wilmington: Glazier, 1980).
- Lee, A. H. I., *From Messiah to Pre-Existent Son: Jesus' Self-Consciousness and Early Christian Exegesis of Messianic Psalms* (WUNT 2/192; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).
- Lee, D., *Flesh and Glory: Symbol, Gender and Theology in the Gospel of John* (New York: Crossroad, 2002).
- Lenzi, A., 'Proverbs 8:22-31: Three Perspectives on Its Composition' *JBL* 125 (2006), 687-714.
- Lincoln, A. T., *The Gospel according to St. John* (BNTC; London: Continuum, 2005).
- Lincoln, A. T., *Truth on Trial: The Lawsuit Motif in the Fourth Gospel* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2000).
- Lindars, B., *The Gospel of John* (NCBC; London: Oliphants, 1977).
- Lindars, B., 'John' in B. Lindars, R. B. Edwards and J. M. Court (eds), *The Johannine Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 30-109.

- Lindars, B., *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (London: SCM Press, 1961).
- Longenecker, R. N., *Galatians* (WBC 41; Dallas: Word Books, 1990).
- Longman, T., *Proverbs* (BCOTWP; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006).
- Luz, U., *Matthew 1-7: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1989).
- Luz, U., *Matthew 8-20: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 2001).
- Luz, U., *Matthew 21-28: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 2005).
- Luz, U., *Studies in Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).
- Mack, B. L., *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993).
- McKane, W., *Proverbs: A New Approach* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1970).
- MacKenzie, R. A. F., and Murphy, R. E., "Job" in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 466-488.
- MacLeod, D., *The Person of Christ* (CCT; Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1998).
- Manson, T. W., *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1949).
- Manson, T. W., "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels" *BJRL* 32 (1950), 171-193.
- Manson, T. W., "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels" in M. Black (ed.), *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962), 123-145.
- Marshall, I. H., *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978).
- Marshall, I. H., *The Origins of New Testament Christology* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1976).
- Martin, R. P., *Philippians* (NCBC; London: Oliphants, 1976).
- Matera, F. J., *Galatians* (SP 9; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992).

- Matera, F. J., *New Testament Christology* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999).
- McCready, D., *He Came Down from Heaven: The Pre-Existence of Christ and the Christian Faith* (Leicester: Apollos, 2005).
- McCreesh, T. P., "Proverbs" in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 453-461.
- McKenzie, J. L., *Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1965).
- McNicol, A. J., Dungan D. L., and Peabody D. B., *Beyond the Q Impasse: Luke's Use of Matthew: A Demonstration by the Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996).
- Meier, J. P., *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel: A Redactional Study of Mt 5:17-48* (AnBib 71; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1976).
- Meier, J. P., *Matthew* (NTM 3; Wilmington: Glazier, 1980).
- Metzger, B. M., "The Fourth Book of Ezra" in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 517-560.
- Meyer, P. W., "Romans" in J. L. Mays and J. Blenkinsopp (eds), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 1130-1167.
- Miller, J. M., "Reading the Bible Historically: The Historians' Approach" in S. L. McKenzie and S. R. Haynes, (eds), *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, rev. edn 1999), 17-34.
- Moberly, R. W. L., "Solomon and Job: Divine Wisdom in Human Life" in S. C. Barton (ed.), *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Wisdom in the Bible, the Church and the Contemporary World* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), 3-17.
- Moloney, F. J., *The Gospel of John* (SP 4; Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998).
- Morgan, F. D., *Wisdom in the Old Testament Traditions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981).
- Morris, D. L., *The Gospel according to John* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, rev. edn 1995).
- Morris, D. L., *The Gospel according to Matthew* (PNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992).

- Murphy, R. E., 'The Personification of Wisdom' in J. Day, R. P. Gordon and H. G. M. Williamson (eds), *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 222-233.
- Murphy, R. E., *Proverbs* (WBC 22; Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998).
- Murphy, R. E., *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd edn 1996).
- Murphy, R. E., 'Wisdom Literature and Biblical Theology' *BTB* 24 (1994), 4-7.
- Murphy, R. E., *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther* (FOTL 13; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981).
- Murphy, R. E., 'Wisdom: Theses and Hypotheses' in J. G. Gammie, W. A. Brueggemann, W. L. Humphreys and J. M. Ward (eds), *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (New York: Scholars Press, 1978), 35-42.
- Murphy-O'Connor, J., 'Christological Anthropology in Phil 2:6-11' *RB* 83 (1976), 25-50.
- Murphy-O'Connor, J., '1 Cor VIII, 6: Cosmology or Soteriology?' *RB* 85 (1978), 253-267.
- Niccacci, A., 'Wisdom as Woman, Wisdom and Man, Wisdom and God' (Wis 10:1-2), in J. Vermeylen and N. Calduch-Benages (eds), *Treasures of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom* (BETL 143; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999), 369-385.
- Nolland, J. L., *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).
- Nolland, J. L., *Luke 9:21-18:34* (WBC 35b; Dallas: Word Books, 1993).
- O'Boyle, A., *Towards a Contemporary Wisdom Christology: Some Catholic Christologies in German, English and French 1965-1995* (TGST 98; Rome: Gregorian University Press, 2003)
- O'Brien, P., *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991).
- O'Collins, G., *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- O'Collins, G., 'The Incarnation: The Critical Issues' in S. T. Davis, D. Kendall and G.

- O'Collins (eds), *The Incarnation : An Interdisciplinary Symposium on the Incarnation of the Son of God* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1-27.
- O'Collins, G., and Farrugia, E. G., *A Concise Dictionary of Theology* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, rev. edn 2000).
- O'Connor, K. M., *The Wisdom Literature* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1988).
- Olson, D. C., '1 Enoch' in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 904-941.
- Orchard, B., *The Griesbach Solution to the Synoptic Question vol. 1: Matthew, Luke and Mark* (Manchester: Koinonia, 1976).
- Orchard, B., and Longstaff, T. R. W., *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-Critical Studies 1776-1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
- Orton, D., *The Understanding Scribe: Matthew and the Apocalyptic Ideal* (JSNTSup 25; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989).
- Osborne, G. R., *The Hermeneutical Spiral: A Comprehensive Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, rev. edn 2006).
- Osborne, G. R., 'Redaction Criticism' in D. A. Black and D. S. Dockery (eds), *Interpreting the New Testament: Essays on Methods and Issues* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2001), 128-149.
- Osiek, C., *Philippians: Philemon* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000).
- Overman, J. A., *Church and Community in Crisis: The Gospel according to Matthew* (NTC; Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996).
- Overman, J. A., *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).
- Pannenberg, W., *Jesus: God and Man* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 2nd edn 1977).
- Pate, C. M., *The Reverse of the Curse: Paul, Wisdom, and the Law* (WUNT 2/114; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).
- Patte, D., *The Gospel according to Matthew: A Structural Commentary on Matthew's Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).
- Peabody, D. B., 'Augustine and the Augustinian Hypothesis' in W. R. Farmer (ed.), *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 37-66.

- Peabody, D. B., *Mark as Composer* (NGS 1; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1987).
- Peabody, D. B., *One Gospel from Two: Mark's Use of Matthew and Luke* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2002).
- Perdue, L. G., *The Sword and the Stylus: An Introduction to Wisdom in the Age of Empires* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).
- Perdue, L. G., *Wisdom and Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).
- Perdue, L. G., "Wisdom in the book of Job" in L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 73-98.
- Perdue, L. G., *Wisdom Literature: A Theological History* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2007).
- Perkins, P., "Jesus: God's Wisdom" *WW* 7 (1987), 273-280.
- Perrin, N., *What is Redaction Criticism?* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969).
- Phillips, P. M., *The Prologue of the Fourth Gospel: A Sequential Reading* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2006).
- Pinero, A., and Peláez, J., *The Study of the New Testament: A Comprehensive Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 3rd edn 2003).
- Piper, R. A., *Wisdom in the Q-Tradition: The Aphoristic Teachings of Jesus* (SNTSMS 61; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Plummer, A., *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew* (London: Elliott Stock, 1909).
- Pope, M. H., *Job* (AB 15; Garden City: Doubleday, 1973).
- Pregeant, R., *Engaging the New Testament: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).
- Pregeant, R., "Wisdom Passages in Matthew" in D. R. Bauer and M. A. Powell (eds), *Treasures New and Old: Contributions to Matthean Studies* (SBLSS 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 197-232.
- Reese, J. M., "Christ as Wisdom Incarnate: Wiser than Solomon, Loftier than Lady Wisdom" *BTB* 11 (1981), 44-47.

- Reese, J. M., *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (AnBib 41; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1970).
- Reese, J. M., "Wisdom of Solomon" in J. L. Mays and J. Blenkinsopp (eds), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 820-835.
- Repschinski, B., *The Controversy Stories in the Gospel of Matthew: Their Redaction, Form and Relevance for the Relationship between the Matthean Community and Formative Judaism* (FRLANT 189; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).
- Riches, J. K., *Conflicting Mythologies: Identity Formation in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000).
- Ringe, S. H., *Wisdom's Friends: Community and Christology in the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999).
- Ringgren, H., *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostalization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* (Lund: H. Ohlssons, 1947).
- Robinson, J. M., "Basic Shifts in German Theology" *Int* 16 (1962), 76-97.
- Robinson, J. M., "Jesus as Sophos and Sophia: Wisdom Tradition and the Gospels" in R. L. Wilken (ed.), *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 1-16.
- Robinson, J. M., "Logoi Sophon: On the Gattung of Q" in J. M. Robinson and H. Koester (eds), *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 71-113.
- Robinson, J. M., "The Sayings Gospel Q" in F. Van Segbroek, C. M. Tuckett, G. Van Belle and J. Verheyden (eds), *The Four Gospels 1992 vol. 1* (BETL 100; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 361-388.
- Rogers, C. L., "The Meaning and Significance of the Hebrew Word *amon* in Proverbs 8, 30" *ZAW* 109 (1997), 208-221.
- Rowland, C., *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982).
- Rowley, H. H., *The Book of Job* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980).
- Runesson, A., "Rethinking Early Jewish-Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict" *JBL* 127 (2008), 95-132.
- Russell, D. S., *From Early Judaism to Early Church* (London: SCM Press, 1986).

- Russell, D. S., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Patriarchs and Prophets in Early Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1987).
- Sabin, M. N., "Wisdom in the Gospel of Mark" *BibTod* 47 (2009), 11-17.
- Sabourin, L., *Christology: Basic Texts in Focus* (New York: Alba House, 1984).
- Saldarini, A. J., "Baruch: Letter of Jeremiah" in D. L. Peterson and G. M. Tucker (eds), *The New Interpreter's Bible vol. VI* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), 927-982.
- Saldarini, A. J., "The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict in the Galilee" in L. I. Levine (ed.), *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 23-38.
- Saldarini, A. J., *Matthew's Christian Jewish Community* (CSHJ; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
- Salvesen, A., "Baruch" in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 699-703.
- Schaper, J., *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 2/76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).
- Schmitt, J. J., "Baruch" in J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (eds), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 799-802.
- Schnabel, E. J., *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul* (WUNT 2/16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985).
- Schnabel, E. J., "Wisdom" in G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin and D. G. Reid (eds), *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 967-973.
- Schroer, S., *Wisdom Has Built Her House: Studies on the Figure of Sophia in the Bible* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000).
- Schüssler-Fiorenza, E., "1 Corinthians" in J. L. Mays and J. Blekinsopp (eds), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 1168-1189.
- Schüssler-Fiorenza, E., *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 10th edn 2002).
- Schüssler-Fiorenza, E., *Jesus: Miriam's Child, Sophia's Prophet: Critical Issues in Feminist Christology* (London: SCM Press, 1995).

- Schweizer, E., 'Paul's Christology and Gnosticism' in M. D. Hooker and S. G. Wilson (eds), *Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett* (London: SPCK, 1982), 115-123.
- Schweizer, E., *The Good News according to Matthew* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975).
- Schweizer, E., 'What Do We Really Mean When We Say "God Sent His Son.?"' in J. T. Carroll, C. H. Cosgrove and E. E. Johnson (eds), *Faith and History: Essays in Honor of Paul W. Meyer* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 298-312.
- Scott, E. F., *The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2nd edn 1908).
- Scott, J. M., *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of huiiothesia in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 2/48; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992).
- Scott, J. M., *Sophia and the Johannine Jesus* (JSNTSup 71; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).
- Scott, R. B. Y., *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes* (AB 18; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965).
- Scott, R. B. Y., *The Way of Wisdom in the Old Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1971).
- Segal, A. F., *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (SJLA 25; Leiden: Brill, 1997).
- Senior, D., *Matthew* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998).
- Seow, C. L., *Daniel* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2003).
- Shupak, N., *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?: The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature* (OBO 130; Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 1993).
- Skehan, P. W., and Di Lella, A. A., *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987).
- Sim, D. C., *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (SNTSMS 88; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Sim, D. C., *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998).

- Sim, D. C., "Matthew and the Pauline Corpus: A Preliminary Intertextual Study" *JSNT* 31 (2009), 401-422.
- Sim, D. C., "The Meaning of παλιγγενεσία in Matthew 19:28" *JSNT* 50 (1993), 3-12.
- Sim, D. C., "The Social and Religious Milieu of Matthew" in H. van de Sandt and J. K. Zangenberg (eds), *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents in their Jewish and Christian settings* (SBLSS 45; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 13-32.
- Sinnott, A. M., *The Personification of Wisdom* (SOTSM; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
- Sinnott, A. M., "Wisdom as Saviour" *ABR* 52 (2004), 19-31.
- Snaith, J. G., *Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).
- Snaith, N. H., *The Book of Job: Its Origin and Purpose* (SBT 11; London: SCM Press, 1968).
- Stanton, G. N., *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992).
- Stone, M. E., *Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).
- Suggs, M. J., *Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).
- Thiselton, A. C., *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).
- Tobin, T. H., "The Prologue of John and Hellenistic Jewish Speculation" *CBQ* 52 (1990), 252-269.
- Tödt, H. E., *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition* (London: SCM Press, 1965).
- Tolpingrud, A. C., "Light Shines in the Darkness and the Darkness Has Not Overcome Her: Women and Wisdom" *WW* 7 (1987), 292-297.
- Trainor, M., "The Begetting of Wisdom: The Teacher and the Disciples in Matthew's Community" *Pac* 4 (1991), 148-164.
- Tuckett, C. M., *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996).

- Tuckett, C. M., *Reading the New Testament: Methods of Interpretation* (London: SPCK, 1987).
- Tuckett, C. M., *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis: An Analysis and Appraisal* (SNTSMS 44; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Turner, D. L., *Matthew* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008).
- Turner, M., "God as Wisdom," *Com* 42 (2008), 2-12.
- Vanderkam, J. C., "The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity" in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Messiah: Developments in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 169-191.
- van Wolde, E., "Ancient Wisdoms, Present Insights: A Study of Job 28 and Job 38," *SEA* 71 (2006), 55-74.
- Vawter, B., "Prov 8:22: Wisdom and Creation," *JBL* 99 (1980), 205-216.
- von Rad, G., *Old Testament Theology* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 2nd edn 1962).
- von Rad, G., *Wisdom in Israel* (London: SCM Press, 1970).
- Wainwright, E. M., *Shall We Look for Another? A Feminist Rereading of the Matthean Jesus* (New York: Orbis Books, 1998).
- Waltke, B. K., *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).
- Watson, N. M., *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (EC; London: Epworth Press, 1992).
- Webster, J. S., "Sophia: Engendering Wisdom in Proverbs, Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon," *JSOT* 78 (1998), 63-79.
- Weeks, S., *Early Israelite Wisdom* (OTM; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
- Wharton, J. A., *Job* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999).
- Whybray, R. N., *Proverbs* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994).
- Whybray, R. N., "The Sage in the Israelite Royal Court" in J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue (eds), *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 133-140.
- Whybray, R. N., *Wisdom in Proverbs: The Concept of Wisdom in Proverbs 1-9* (SBT 45; London: SCM Press, 1965).

- Whybray, R. N., *Wisdom: The Collected Articles of Norman Whybray* (SOTSM; Burlington: Ashgate, 2005).
- Wildman, W. J., 'Basic Christological Distinctions', *Theological Studies* 64 (2007), 285-304.
- Willett, M. E., *Wisdom Christology in the Fourth Gospel* (San Francisco: Mellen University Press, 1992).
- Williams, D. H., 'Proverbs 8:22-31', *Interpretation* 48 (1994), 275-279.
- Williamson, R., *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Winston, D., *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 43; Garden City: Doubleday, 1979).
- Winston, D., 'Wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon', in L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman (eds), *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 149-164.
- Witherington, B., *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).
- Witherington, B., *Jesus the Sage: The Pilgrimage of Wisdom* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).
- Witherington, B., *John's Wisdom: A Commentary on the Fourth Gospel* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1995).
- Witherington, B., *Matthew* (SHBC; Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 2006).
- Witherington, B., *The Christology of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).
- Wright, G. A., 'Wisdom', in R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer and R. E. Murphy (eds), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Chapman, 2nd edn 1993), 510-522.
- Würthwein, E., 'Egyptian Wisdom and the Old Testament', in J. L. Crenshaw (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (LBS; New York: KTAV Publishing, 1976), 113-133.
- Yang, Y.-E., *Jesus and the Sabbath in Matthew's Gospel* (JSNTSup 139; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).
- Zerwick, M., *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (Rome: EPIB, 5th edn 1996).

Zetterholm, M., *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social-Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Ziesler, J., *Pauline Christianity* (OBS; Oxford: Oxford University Press, rev. edn 1990).