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History through Sapiential Lenses

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Wisdom of Solomon 10: A Jewish Hellenistic Reinterpretation of Early Israelite
History through Sapiential Lenses

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The Wisdom of Solomon 10 is a unique passage in OT Wisdom literature since it both presents Lady Wisdom as God's acting agent in early Israelite history and explicitly categorizes key biblical figures as either righteous or unrighteous. Structurally, Wisdom 10 is a pivotal text that binds the two halves of the book together through its vocabulary and themes. Although chap. 10 is such a unique passage that is central to the work, no full-scale study of this chapter has been attempted. Recent scholarship on the Wisdom of Solomon has focused on the identification of genres in the book's subsections and the author's reinterpretation of Scripture.

Through the use of historical and literary criticism, this study especially focuses on the genre and hermeneutical method of Wisdom 10 in comparison to other passages in the book and similar types of literature inside and outside the Bible. Chapter One establishes the purpose and methodology of the study, Chapter Two sets the literary and historical contexts for the Wisdom of Solomon, and Chapters Three to Six analyze the text poetically, form-critically, exegetically, and hermeneutically.

This study concludes that Pseudo-Solomon, the book's author, composed and used Wisdom 10 in order to bind the two halves of the book together. Its genre is that of a *Beispielreihe*, or example list, and its form is an alternation of positive and negative examples that are linked by the repetition of a keyword. The passage also reflects

elements of aretalogy, *synkrisis*, and midrash. Because of the first two of these elements, chap. 10 may be seen as supplementing the encomiastic genre in chaps. 6–9. Furthermore, the aretalogical flavor of the text depicts Lady Wisdom in ways similar to the popular Hellenistic Egyptian goddess Isis in order to show Wisdom's superiority to the pagan deity. Lastly, chap. 10 exhibits six primary hermeneutical principles used by the author throughout the book, albeit with differing degrees of focus.

Since the Wisdom of Solomon is a late composition, this study illuminates one facet of the Jewish Hellenistic reinterpretation of Scripture and will elucidate similar modes of exegesis in the early rabbinical and early Christian eras.

This dissertation by Andrew T. Glicksman fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in biblical studies approved by Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M., S.T.L., S.S.L., Ph.D., as Director, and by Christopher T. Begg, Ph.D., S.T.D., and Francis T. Gignac, S.J., S.T.L., D.Phil., as Readers.

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Christopher T. Begg, Ph.D., S.T.D., Reader

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Francis T. Gignac, S.J., S.T.L., D.Phil., Reader

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SIGLA

AB   Anchor Bible

ABD   *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Ed. David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York:

            Doubleday, 1992.

AnBib   Analecta biblica

ASP   American Studies in Papyrology

ATD   Das Alte Testament Deutsche

BBB   Bonner biblische Beiträge

BEATAJ   Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken

            Judentums

BETL   Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium

Bib   *Biblica*

BZ   *Biblische Zeitschrift*

BZAW   *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

CBET   Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology

CBQ   *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*

CBQMS   CBQ, Monograph Series

CBSC   Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges

CRAIBL   *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*

CRINT   Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum

DBSup   *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*

EHAT   Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament

EPROER   Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain

FBBS	Facet Books, Biblical Series
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBD	*Harper's Bible Dictionary*. Ed. Paul J. Achtemeier. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985.
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJSup	Supplements to *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series
JSPSup	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal for Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*

NAB	*New American Bible*
NIB	*New Interpreter's Bible*
NRSV	*New Revised Standard Version*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Ed. J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RB	*Revue biblique*
RivB	*Rivista biblica*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
VP	*Vivre et penser*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

On the completion of this dissertation and my doctoral degree in biblical studies, there is much for me to reflect upon and many to thank for their constant help and support throughout this journey.

When I proposed to write my doctoral dissertation on the Wisdom of Solomon at the Catholic University of America, I realized that I was following in the footsteps of many great biblical scholars who studied this same book at the very same institution. These figures to whom I am greatly indebted for their previous scholarship include Patrick W. Skehan, Addison G. Wright, and James M. Reese. Most notable of these is Msgr. Skehan, who is memorialized by the scholarship that funded the majority of my graduate education, and who is also my "academic grandfather" (as Fr. Di Lella has oft reminded his students). He wrote his S.T.D. dissertation on the Wisdom of Solomon, and I am honored and humbled to continue in a similar line of work.

A proper graduate education without appropriate funding is impossible. Thus, I would like to begin by thanking the Catholic University of America for making my graduate work in biblical studies possible by means of a Johannes Quasten scholarship and stipend for my first three years of study. Also, I am deeply indebted to the Catholic Biblical Association of America for their generosity in granting me the Patrick W. Skehan–Louis F. Hartman Scholarship and stipend for my last four years of doctoral work.

Next, I would like to extend heartfelt words of gratitude to my dissertation committee. Most especially, I thank my director Fr. Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M., who

is a model of erudition and scholarly precision. His love for OT deuterocanonical and sapiential texts inspired me to pursue similar topics. I will not forget all the wisdom that I have learned from him both inside and outside the classroom. Also, I would like to thank my readers Fr. Christopher T. Begg and Fr. Francis T. Gignac. S.J., for their careful corrections and insightful comments. Fr. Begg offered needed words of encouragement and was always willing to lend books from his personal library. Fr. Gignac was especially instrumental in procuring funding for my entire graduate education, and I would like to thank him for all his assistance on my behalf.

In addition to my committee, I thank the many teachers and professors who instilled in me a love for the study of Sacred Scripture. The number of those who have influenced me as a scholar is too great to list here, but several deserve special mention, namely, Dr. Mark Goodwin, Dr. John Norris, and Dr. Michael Weigl.

Finally, to my entire family, without whose love and support my career in biblical studies would not have been possible. Thank you to my parents, Howard and Bernarda Glicksman who sacrificed much for my upbringing and education and always encouraged me to pursue my true passion. Most of all, words cannot fully express the debt of gratitude I owe my wife, Emily. Not only did she endure seven years of graduate school by my side with unflagging love and support but also assisted in proofreading the initial drafts of this dissertation. Just as Lady Wisdom ". . . is the refulgence of eternal light, the spotless mirror of the power of God, the image of his goodness," Emily reflects wisdom and goodness (and therefore the Divine) to me. It is to her that I dedicate this crowning work of my graduate career.

Chapter One

General Introduction

In general, OT Wisdom literature deals with universal truths and does not mention particular events in Israelite history. As Roland E. Murphy notes, "The most striking characteristic of this literature is the absence of what one normally considers as typically Israelite and Jewish. There is no mention of the promises to the patriarchs, the Exodus and Moses, the covenant and Sinai, . . . and so forth."[1] One notable exception to Murphy's observation is the reinterpretation of key figures and events from the Books of Genesis and Exodus in the Wisdom of Solomon 10–19. The last ten chapters of this Jewish Hellenistic wisdom book are a reviewing of early Israelite history through sapiential lenses. Two of the most notable "lenses" or wisdom themes through which the author reinterprets Genesis and Exodus in chap. 10 are: (1) the personification of wisdom as a female figure, better known as Lady Wisdom; and (2) the doctrine of retribution, namely, that God rewards the righteous and punishes the unrighteous. Pseudo-Solomon employs these wisdom elements in a unique way by presenting Lady Wisdom as God's acting agent in Israel's history and by categorizing key biblical figures as either righteous or unrighteous.

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[1] Roland E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996) 1.

A Brief Overview of Recent Important Studies on the Wisdom of Solomon

As the latest deuterocanonical book, the Wisdom of Solomon has not received as much scholarly attention as the other books of the OT. However, in the last century most parts of the Book of Wisdom have been the object of extensive literary and historical studies. Some of the most notable recent studies that treat chaps. 1–6 include George W. E. Nickelsburg's *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* and Michael Kolarcik's *The Ambiguity of Death in the Book of Wisdom 1-6: A Study of Literary Structure and Interpretation.*[2] Both works consider the issue of immortality as expressed in the initial chapters of the book. Important studies on chaps. 7–9 include the article on chap. 9 by Maurice Gilbert entitled "La structure de la prière de Salomon, Sg 9," and Alexis Leproux's recently published dissertation, *Un discours de Sagesse: Étude exégétique de Sg 7–8.*[3] While the latter is a masterful and careful study of chaps. 7–8, it does not consider in any detail the role that chap. 10 plays as a part of the larger encomium in chaps. 6–10.

Also, there has been growing interest in the latter half of the book with studies on chaps. 10–19. The most notable of these include Maurice Gilbert's *La critique des dieux dans le livre de la Sagesse (Sg 13-15)*; Udo Schwenk-Bressler's *Sapientia Salomonis als ein Beispiel frühjüdischer Textauslegung: Die Auslegung des Buches Genesis, Exodus 1-15 und Teilen der Wüstentradition in Sap 10-19*; Peter Enns's *Exodus Retold: Ancient*

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[2] George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Michael Kolarcik, *The Ambiguity of Death in the Book of Wisdom 1-6: A Study of Literary Structure and Interpretation* (AnBib 127; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991).

[3] Maurice Gilbert, "La structure de la prière de Salomon, Sg 9," *Bib* 51 (1970) 301-31; Alexis Leproux, *Un discours de Sagesse: Étude exégétique de Sg 7–8* (AnBib 167; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2007).

Exegesis of the Departure from Egypt in Wis 10:15-21 and 19:1-9; and Samuel Cheon's

The Exodus Story in the Wisdom of Solomon: A Study in Biblical Interpretation.[4] The

first of these is a study of the digressions in the last part of the book, while the latter three

works focus on the midrashic reinterpretation of pentateuchal texts. Schwenk-Bressler's

monograph considers chaps. 10–19 as a whole and focuses on its allusions to Genesis and

Exodus but does not treat the segment's use of extrabiblical traditions. Enns focuses on

biblical reinterpretation and extrabiblical traditions in the last part of chap. 10 and the

first part of chap. 19. He provides only a brief treatment of biblical and extrabiblical

elements in 10:1-14 and does not conduct an extensive study of chap. 10 as a complete

literary unit. In his study, Cheon treats only Wis 11:1-14; 16:10-29; and 17:1–19:21.

Even though the Exodus story is also found in chap. 10, he does not consider this passage

at all and fails to mention why he excludes it from his study.

In recent scholarship on the Wisdom of Solomon, there has been much debate

about the literary genre of the book as a whole. Such issues have been addressed

extensively in works such as James M. Reese's *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of*

Wisdom and Its Consequences and Paolo Bizzeti's *Il Libro della Sapienza: Struttura e*

genere letterario.[5] In addition, there has been a trend to identify the genre and form of

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[4] Maurice Gilbert, *La critique des dieux dans le livre de la Sagesse (Sg 13-15)* (AnBib 53; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1973); Udo Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis als ein Beispiel frühjüdischer Textauslegung: Die Auslegung des Buches Genesis, Exodus 1-15 und Teilen der Wüstentradition in Sap 10-19* (BEATAJ 32; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993); Peter Enns, *Exodus Retold: Ancient Exegesis of the Departure from Egypt in Wis 10:15-21 and 19:1-9* (HSM 57; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); Samuel Cheon, *The Exodus Story in the Wisdom of Solomon: A Study in Biblical Interpretation* (JSPSup 23; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

[5] James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (AnBib 41; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970); Paolo Bizzeti, *Il Libro della Sapienza: Struttura e genere letterario* (Supplementi RivB 11; Brescia: Paideia, 1984).

specific units within the book. An example of this trend is Armin Schmitt's form-critical analysis of chap. 10, which he categorizes as a *Beispielreihe*, or "example list."[6] Although Schmitt's analysis is helpful, more detailed comparative analysis with biblical and extrabiblical material is needed in order to determine the precise literary genre and form that Pseudo-Solomon employs in chap. 10 and the way he uses the genre and form to reinterpret OT traditions. In addition, the most recent studies and commentaries (e.g., those by C. Larcher, David Winston, Udo Schwenk-Bressler, Peter Enns, Giuseppe Scarpat, José Vílchez Lindez, and Hans Hübner)[7] that consider either all or part of chap. 10 within its larger context of chaps. 10–19 have very little if any in-depth discussion of the chapter's poetic structure, literary genre, and method of scriptural interpretation in comparison to other parts of the Wisdom of Solomon. Hence, a full-scale treatment of these elements in chap. 10 is essential for a better understanding of the chapter's message as a distinct literary unit and its role in the book as a whole.

Reasons for the Present Study

While recent studies have focused on the last section of the book which treats the Exodus and Wilderness Wanderings in particular, there has been to date no

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[6] Armin Schmitt, "Struktur, Herkunft, und Bedeutung der Beispielreihe in Weish 10," *BZ* 21 (1977) 1-22.

[7] The most notable recent commentaries include C. Larcher, *Le livre de la Sagesse ou la Sagesse de Salomon* (3 vols.; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1983-85); David Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon* (AB 43; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979); Giuseppe Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza* (3 vols.; Brescia: Paideia, 1989-96); José Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría* (Nueva Biblia Española; *Sapienciales* 5; Estella [Navarra]: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1990); and Hans Hübner, *Die Weisheit Salomons* (ATD Apokryphen 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

comprehensive study that focuses on the poetry, genre, and hermeneutical method of Wisdom 10 in comparison to other passages in the book and similar types of literature inside and outside the Bible. Why is such an extensive study of the Wisdom of Solomon 10 necessary? First, chap. 10 is a pivotal point in the book. I believe that this chapter was composed and inserted by the author to unify some of the major themes present in the two halves of the book. In other words, it is the keystone chapter that unites the two halves of the book into a cohesive whole. Second, this chapter is one of the few existing sapiential reinterpretations of early Israelite history and therefore is an important example of how earlier Israelite traditions were reinterpreted and reapplied by Hellenistic Jews in the late Second Temple Period. Since the Wisdom of Solomon is a late composition, study of chap. 10 will illuminate one facet of the Jewish Hellenistic reinterpretation of Scripture and will also help elucidate similar modes of exegesis in the early rabbinical and early Christian eras.

The primary purposes of this dissertation are to investigate the literary genre and form of Wisdom 10:1–11:1 as well as the hermeneutical method employed by Pseudo-Solomon in this segment. More specifically, there are three main areas of inquiry that this study will address: (1) What is the literary genre and form of chap. 10; and does this same genre and form have parallels elsewhere in biblical and Greco-Roman literature? (2) How do the genre and form affect Pseudo-Solomon's exegetical method in chap. 10? What are the theological points that he stresses, what interpretive traditions might he be using, and how does the chapter's genre enhance both these traditions and his theological message? (3) How does the interpretive method used in chap. 10 compare to hermeneutics in other

parts of the Wisdom of Solomon, especially those passages that treat some of the same biblical subject matter (namely, chaps. 18–19)?

Methodology

In this study, I shall employ historical and literary criticism. I shall use historical criticism by considering Wisdom 10 within its historical context in the exegetical portion of this study. I shall use literary criticism when investigating the literary and poetic structure of the passage. This literary approach will also include critically establishing the text of the passage, discussing its form and genre, and attempting to determine the various interpretative traditions that the author uses in his exegesis of passages from Genesis and Exodus.

In Chapter Two of this dissertation, I shall discuss the dating, geographical setting, and general historical context of the Wisdom of Solomon. Considering these three factors, I shall then offer a suggestion concerning the author's purpose for composing the book. This chapter will set the socio-historical foundation by which to evaluate the structure, genre, and content of chap. 10 in the rest of the dissertation.

In Chapter Three, I shall begin by addressing textual problems in chap. 10 and offer my own English translation of the passage. I shall then investigate the overall structure of the Wisdom of Solomon and the placement and role of chap. 10 within that structure. Finally, I shall discuss the chapter's poetic structure and features.

In Chapter Four, I shall attempt to determine the genre and form of chap. 10. Scholars have seen chap. 10 as exhibiting features of an aretalogy in honor of Wisdom and also exemplifying another predominantly Hellenistic literary genre known as the

Beispielreihe, or "example list." First, I shall consider the overarching genre of the Wisdom of Solomon and those of its various subsections. Second, I shall compare chap. 10 to other praises of Wisdom and praises of God in the OT. Third, I shall try to determine chap. 10's relationship to the Hellenistic genre of aretalogy, most notably those aretalogies written in honor of the Egyptian goddess Isis. Fourth, I shall compare the passage to other biblical and extrabiblical *Beispielreihen*.

In Chapter Five, I shall present an exegesis of chap. 10, with a focus on the author's interpretation of Scripture in light of his historical situation. In addition to considering the texts from Genesis and Exodus upon which Pseudo-Solomon is commenting, I shall examine various biblical and extrabiblical traditions that may have influenced his interpretation and elaboration of these texts.

In Chapter Six, I shall consider how the author's hermeneutical method in chap. 10 compares to that used in the rest of the book. After a general comparison of chap. 10 with other sections of the Wisdom of Solomon, I shall pursue a close comparison of Wis 10:15–11:1 and 18:3, 5; 19:1-9, both of which treat features of the Red Sea event. From this comparison, I hope to ascertain how the literary genre and form of chap. 10 influence the way Pseudo-Solomon interprets Scripture in the chapter.

Lastly, in Chapter Seven, I shall summarize the findings of my study.

Chapter Two

Literary and Historical Context

Before delving into specific issues concerning the Wisdom of Solomon 10, it is important to set this chapter within its literary and historical context by gaining a general understanding of the book as a whole. Accordingly, in this chapter I shall begin by investigating questions about the book's authorship, original language, and unity of composition. After this, I shall discuss the prevailing scholarly theories about the geographical setting and dating for the work in order to foster an understanding of the book's original historical context. Once these issues have been determined, I shall venture to evaluate the author's intended audience and purpose for composing the work. I do not intend to argue each of these points in depth, but only to give an overview of how key scholars have addressed some of these central issues. I shall briefly evaluate the primary arguments and present my own opinion, which will be essential for analyzing the meaning of the Wisdom of Solomon 10.

Authorship and Composition

The author of the Wisdom of Solomon identifies himself indirectly as King Solomon; however, this self-identification does not occur until chap. 7. It is only at this later point in the composition that the author implies that he is a king (Wis 7:5; see also 8:14-15; 9:7) who valued and prayed for Wisdom over power and wealth (Wis 7:7-12; see 1 Kgs 3:4-15). The implicit identification is made clearer in Wis 9:8 when the author claims that he is the one

who built the Temple (see 1 Kgs 7:13–8:21; 2 Chronicles 3–7). Despite such indications, it

is impossible that the work was composed by Solomon, largely because the Hellenistic

thought and culture that permeate it are grossly anachronistic for Palestine of the early first

millennium B.C. In fact, Solomonic authorship was doubted even in premodern times.[1] Thus,

the Wisdom of Solomon is clearly a pseudepigraphical work, with the author trying to gain

authority for his sapiential composition by attributing it to the traditionally wise King

Solomon.[2] As a result, I shall follow the lead of most scholars and henceforth refer to the

author as Pseudo-Solomon. Although it is impossible to be certain of Pseudo-Solomon's

identity, he was most likely a Hellenized Jew who composed his sapiential work in Greek.[3]

However, there has been much debate concerning the book's original language of

composition. Most scholars consider the question of the book's original language of

composition and unity of authorship in tandem. For this reason, I too will treat these two

topics together.

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[1] For example, in some MS traditions of the Syriac Peshitta the superscription reads: "The book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon, son of David, of which there is uncertainty whether another wise man of the Hebrews wrote it in a prophetic spirit, while (putting it) in the name of Solomon, (and it was received)." For the Syriac text, see J. A. Emerton and D. J. Lane, eds., "Wisdom of Solomon," in *Proverbs–Wisdom of Solomon–Ecclesiastes– Song of Songs* (The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version 2/5; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 1. See also A. T. S. Goodrick, *The Book of Wisdom* (Oxford Church Bible Commentary; New York: Macmillan, 1913) 34. Also, Jerome claims that commentators before his time attributed the book to Philo (*Praef. in Libros Salomonis* 1.937-38), and Augustine attributed it to Ben Sira (see *De Doctr. Christ.* 2.8.13; see also *Retractationes* 2.4.2, where he later abandoned this position). For these premodern positions on authorship, see Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 34, 38-39; J. A. F. Gregg, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (CBSC; Cambridge: University Press, 1909) ix-x, xix-xx; W. O. E. Oesterley, "The Wisdom of Solomon," in *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (London: S. P. C. K., 1958) 196. Most modern scholars admit that the identity of the author cannot be known. See Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xviii-xx; Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 201, 204.

[2] For Solomon's legendary wisdom, see 1 Kgs 3:4-28; 5:9-14; 10:1-10. Much of the Book of Proverbs is also attributed to Solomon, e.g., see the headings in Prov 1:1; 10:1; 25:1. See also Qoh 1:1, 12.

[3] Concerning Pseudo-Solomon's identity as a Jew, Maurice Gilbert ("Sagesse de Salomon," in *DBSup* 11 [Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1991] 92) claims that the Wisdom of Solomon is an "exclusively Jewish" (*exclusivement juif*) composition and exhibits no evidence of thought specific to Christianity. See also Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 46-47; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xxi.

In the eighteenth century, Charles-François Houbigant suggested that the first part

of the Wisdom of Solomon was written in Hebrew by Solomon himself.[4] For the next two

centuries, many scholars argued that the book was originally composed in Hebrew, at least in

part, and some attempted Hebrew reconstructions of this original.[5] Frank Zimmermann even

argued that the book was originally written in Aramaic.[6] Although commentators have

presented various reasons for positing a Semitic original for the book, there are three main

claims that are made by most who espouse this position. First, the Wisdom of Solomon as a

whole exhibits many Hebraisms/Aramaisms. While some would argue that Semitic influence

is strongest in the book's earlier chapters, examples of this phenomenon are present

throughout the work.[7] Second, the characteristic of Hebrew poetry known as *parallelismus*

membrorum is also found throughout the book and especially in the first five chapters. Third,

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[4] Charles-François Houbigant, "Lectori ad libros Sapientiae et Ecclesiastici," in *Biblia hebraica cum notis criticis et versione latina ad notas criticas facta* (4 vols.; Paris: Briasson et Durand, 1753) 3. v-ix. Houbigant attributed the first nine chapters to Solomon and the rest of the book to a Greek author. See Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xxvi; Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 205; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 91; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 12; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 87.

[5] D. S. Margoliouth, "Was the Book of Wisdom Written in Hebrew?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6 (1890) 263-97; Friedrich Focke, *Die Entstehung der Weisheit Salomos: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des jüdischen Hellenismus* (FRLANT 22; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913) 65-74; E. A. Speiser, "The Hebrew Origin of the First Part of the Book of Wisdom," *JQR* 14 (1924) 455-82; C. E. Purinton, "Translation Greek in the Wisdom of Solomon," *JBL* 47 (1928) 276-304. Margoliouth's claim was refuted by J. Freudenthal, "What Is the Original Language of the Wisdom of Solomon?" *JQR* 3 (1891) 722-53. Freudenthal claimed that the prevalent use of *paronomasia* and the fact that the book could not be adequately translated into Hebrew proved that it was originally composed in Greek. See Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 66-67; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xiv. See also summaries of the debate concerning a Hebrew original in Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 91-95; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 62-65.

[6] Frank Zimmermann, "The Book of Wisdom: Its Language and Character," *JQR* 57 (1966) 1-27, 101-35, esp. 12-13, 127.

[7] For a list of Hebraisms in the Wisdom of Solomon, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 15 n. 2.

the book contains passages that are difficult to understand in the Greek and these difficulties can be attributed to mistranslations of the Hebrew original.[8]

These three arguments for a Semitic original are not completely unfounded. It cannot be denied that many elements of Hebraic expression and style, including *parallelismus membrorum*, are scattered throughout the Wisdom of Solomon.[9] It is also true that the book exhibits cases where the Greek is difficult to understand. However, these features do not necessarily indicate that Pseudo-Solomon wrote his work in Hebrew or Aramaic. Many Jewish authors composed works in Greek with vocabulary, syntax, and style of Semitic coloring. Prime examples include the writings of Demetrius, Artapanus, and many NT authors.[10] In a similar way, the thought parallelism extant in many lines of Hebrew poetry also could have been imitated by a Greek-speaking Jewish author. As for the occasional difficulties in the book's Greek due to putative mistranslations, the Hebrew and Aramaic reconstructions that some scholars offer are highly speculative and ultimately unnecessary for a better understanding of the text. Most of these enigmatic Greek expressions can be

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[8] Margoliouth ("Was the Book of Wisdom Written in Hebrew?" 263-97) adduces 12 examples of mistranslated Greek and presents Hebrew reconstructions of these. These examples and reconstructions are refuted by Freudenthal, "What Is the Original Language?" 734-48. Speiser ("Hebrew Origin," 458-60), who argues for a Hebrew original, finds unconvincing most of Margoliouth's Hebrew reconstructions of purported Greek mistranslations. He (ibid., 460-76) presents 11 examples of Greek mistranslation with potential Hebrew retroversions of each. See also the 3 cases of mistranslation cited by Focke, *Entstehung*, 67-72, and the 20 cases adduced by Purinton, "Translation Greek," 281-99.

[9] As I have already mentioned, most scholars acknowledge that chaps. 1–5 exhibit extensive *parallelismus membrorum*. However, this type of thought parallelism is also present throughout the rest of the book. Some examples from each chapter after chap. 5 include Wis 6:1-4, 11-12, 24; 7:5-12; 8:12-13; 9:7-17; 10:10-14; 11:2-4, 21-25; 12:16-18; 13:1, 17c-19; 14:3, 9-10, 12-14, 16-17, 24; 15:3, 9-12, 16-17b; 16:5, 13-14, 28-29; 17:7; 18:10-11, 20; 19:2-3.

[10] See Freudenthal, "What Is the Original Language?" 732. For the extant fragments of Demetrius's work, see J. Hanson, "Demetrius the Chronographer (Third Century B.C.): A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP* 2. 843-54. For the extant fragments of Artapanus's work, see J. J. Collins, "Artapanus (Third to Second Century B.C.): A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP* 2. 889-903. For a list of the various types of Semitisms in the NT, see Max Wilcox, "Semiticisms in the NT," in *ABD* 5. 1081-86.

explained without such imaginative retroversions and simply require a better understanding

of Greek usage in the author's time and place.[11]

Closely connected to the theory that the book was partially composed in Hebrew is

the claim that it has more than one author. This is a natural assumption since a composition

(supposedly) written in two different languages would most likely have had at least two

different authors.[12] Thus, those scholars who support composite authorship for the Wisdom

of Solomon often argue that the first part was originally written in Hebrew, later translated

into Greek, and combined with the second part, which was presumably composed in Greek

by the same individual who translated the first part.[13] Another argument for composite

authorship is the observation that various parts of the book exhibit different vocabulary and

themes that seem to indicate different authorial voices. For example, there is more of an

emphasis in the first part of the book (chaps. 1–10) on Wisdom, a figure that virtually

disappears in the book's latter chapters (chaps. 11–19). Also, the book's initial chapters deal

less with concrete figures and events in Israel's history, while such matters occur often in the

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[11] See Freudenthal's ("What Is the Original Language?" 735-49) objections to each of Margoliouth's 12 retroversions.

[12] In addition to claiming a dual language of composition, Houbigant ("Lectori ad libros Sapientiae et Ecclesiastici," v-ix) also questioned the book's unity of authorship. Other scholars who do likewise include Eugen Gärtner, *Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit* (Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1912) 104-7; Focke, *Entstehung*, 21-86; Speiser, "Hebrew Origin," 480-82. The positions of some of these and other scholars are summarized by Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 95-97; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 12-14.

[13] Houbigant ("Lectori ad libros Sapientiae et Ecclesiastici," v) asserted that chaps. 1–9 were written in Hebrew and that a Greek translator added this first part of the book to his own Greek composition (i.e., chaps. 10–19). Focke (*Entstehung*, 65-66) believed that the first five chapters were originally written in Hebrew, were then translated and attached to a Greek work (chaps. 6–19). Speiser ("Hebrew Origin," 480) divides the book into two different parts: (1) 1:1–6:22; 8:1–9:18; (2) 6:22–8:1; 9:1[*sic*?]–19:22. Purinton ("Translation Greek," 299-300, 304) believes that Wis 1:1–11:1 was written in Hebrew and 11:2–19:22 in Greek.

last part of the book (beginning with chap. 10).[14] However, these differences in various

parts of the book do not necessarily entail that two or more authors were at work. It is equally

possible that the different parts of the book were composed by the same author at different

times in his life and were then spliced together.[15]

In the face of such claims that part or all of the Wisdom of Solomon was composed in

Hebrew by two or more authors, other critics have put forth several arguments to refute both

suppositions. First, the majority of scholars now believe that the entire book was originally

composed in Greek.[16] While this first point alone does not prove unified authorship, it

significantly weakens that theory of composite authorship which heavily depends on a partial

Hebrew original. The main reason for seeing all of the Wisdom of Solomon as an originally

Greek composition is the book's distinctively Greek vocabulary and style. For example,

some of the terminology and concepts employed in the Wisdom of Solomon are specific to

Greek thought and cannot be adequately rendered in Hebrew.[17] Also, throughout the book,

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[14] See also Focke's (*Entstehung*, 21-86) enumeration of the differences between the two parts of the book. For a summary and critique of Focke's position, see Robert H. Pfeiffer, "Wisdom of Solomon," in idem, *History of New Testament Times: With an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949) 325.

[15] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 72; Patrick W. Skehan, "The Text and Structure of the Book of Wisdom," *Traditio* 3 (1945) 5; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 123. The poorer use of Greek vocabulary and style in the second half of the book (11:2–19:22) as compared with the first half (1:1–11:1) has prompted some scholars to suggest that the second half was written in the author's youth, while the first half was written in his old age when he was more experienced in Greek composition. Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (*Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments* [Leipzig: Weidmann, 1795] 145-47) appears to be the first commentator to suggest this theory about the book's composition. See Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 67-68, 73; Purinton, "Translation Greek," 276-77.

[16] See Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 65; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xiv-xvi; Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 209-11; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 25-31; Alexander A. Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom," *CBQ* 28 (1966) 146; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 3, 14-18; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 64, 88.

[17] Freudenthal, "What Is the Original Language?" 728. For instance, the Greek word σωφροσύνη, "moderation," "self-control" (Wis 8:7), has no Hebrew equivalent. The author's knowledge of Platonist and

Pseudo-Solomon uses many Greek literary devices such as *paronomasia*, alliteration,

assonance, *hyperbaton*, and *sorites* which would not be expected if the Wisdom of Solomon

were a translation of a Semitic work.[18] Second, there are other features of vocabulary and

style that point to the book's unity of authorship. Two major examples include James M.

Reese's observation that Pseudo-Solomon uses "flashbacks," which are "the repetition of

significant ideas in similar phrasing," in all parts of the book and Addison G. Wright's theory

that the entire book is organized according to the Golden Mean ratio.[19] Given these features,

many scholars now contend that the Wisdom of Solomon was most likely composed by a

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Stoic thought and terminology also point to a Greek original. Words like ὕλη, "matter" (Wis 11:17; 15:13); στοιχεῖα, "elements" (Wis 7:17; 19:18); πνεῦμα νοερόν, "world-soul" (Wis 7:22), cannot be adequately expressed in Hebrew. Other ideas that are foreign to Hebraic thought include the immortality of the soul (Wis 2:23, perhaps influenced by Platonic and Stoic thought), the preexistence of the soul (Wis 8:19, a Platonic idea), the dualism of body and soul (Wis 9:15, from Plato and the Neo-Pythagoreans). It is extremely unlikely that these Greek terms and ideas would have been inserted by a translator.

[18] Reese (*Hellenistic Influence*, 26-27) notes that the use of *hyperbaton* (a disruption of the expected word order) throughout the Wisdom of Solomon is a strong indication that the book was composed in Greek and is a unified composition. He (ibid., 26) states: "The structure of Hebrew language makes this figure [i.e., *hyperbaton*] almost impossible" (parenthetical note is my own). This rhetorical technique is employed sparingly in the LXX (e.g., 8 times in Isaiah; 3 times in the Psalms) in contrast to its 240 occurrences in the Book of Wisdom. Reese lists six types of *hyperbaton* that occur within the book, two examples of which include the separation of a noun from its article by a genitive pronoun (e.g., Wis 6:4a, τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας) and the same type of separation by another articular phrase (e.g., Wis 9:4a, τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν). While he admits that *hyperbaton* occurs more often in the last nine chapters of the book, he claims that the feature is not absent from the first ten as well. The use of *sorites* (e.g., Wis 6:18-21) is also a strong indication that the book was originally composed in Greek. See Freudenthal, "What Is the Original Language?" 727. See also Zimmermann's ("Book of Wisdom," 128) objection in which he presents Hos 2:21 and Joel 1:4 as examples of *sorites* in the Hebrew Bible. In my opinion, these two examples that Zimmermann puts forth are not the same fully developed syllogism that one finds in Wis 6:18-21. I shall discuss the use of Greek *paronomasia*, alliteration, and assonance within the Wisdom of Solomon in the next chapter of this dissertation. For more on all of these distinctively Greek characteristics of the book, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 14-16; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 64.

[19] Reese (*Hellenistic Influence*, 123-45) provides an extensive list of "flashbacks" and themes, which bind the book together and thereby hint at its compositional unity. Gilbert ("Sagesse," 89-90) and Hübner (*Weisheit*, 24) accept Reese's flashback theory. I shall address Addison G. Wright's ("Numerical Patterns in the Book of Wisdom," *CBQ* 29 [1967] 524-38) theory about the Golden Mean ratio more fully in my discussion of the book's structure in the next chapter.

single author or a school of like-minded individuals.[20]

While I too believe that the book was composed in Greek by one author, it is not impossible that it was written by a school of Jewish Hellenists who jointly composed and edited the work. Yet this cannot be known with certainty, and I think that the supposition of single authorship best accounts for the book's overall style and structure. Thus, I shall assume that one author wrote the book; whether he did so over the course of his lifetime or during a relatively short period of time is both irrelevant for the present investigation and ultimately unknowable. Rather than delving into such elusive specifics about the precise manner and time of composition, it is more important to gain a general sense of the most probable geographical setting and dating of the book that will illuminate the author's world and his purpose for writing the work, topics to which I now turn.

Geographical Setting

It is difficult to determine the geographical setting for the Wisdom of Solomon. Within the book, there is no explicit mention of where it was composed. The majority of scholars believe that the Wisdom of Solomon was written in Alexandria.[21] There are several

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[20] C. L. W. Grimm, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments* 6; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1860) xxii-xxxvii; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 74; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xxvii; Rudolph Cornely, *Commentarius in librum Sapientiae. Opus postumum* (Cursus Scripturae Sacrae 2/18; Paris: Lethielleux, 1910) 9; Pfeiffer, "Wisdom of Solomon," 325-26; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 161; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 14-18; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 88, 91; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 33. See summaries and evaluations of some of the above positions in Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 205-6, and Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 122-24. See also Paul Beauchamp, "Le salut corporel des justes et la conclusion du livre de la Sagesse," *Bib* 45 (1964) 500 n. 1.

[21] Cornely, *Commentarius*, 5-6; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xvi; Georg Ziener, *Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit* (BBB 11; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1956) 12; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 151; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 3, 25; Armin Schmitt, *Das Buch der Weisheit: Ein Kommentar* (Würzburg: Echter, 1986) 9; Helmut Engel, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar Altes Testament 16;

reasons for positing this Egyptian setting.[22] First, Egypt is an important topic of discussion in the book. The author draws heavily on the ancient Jewish tradition of Israel's liberation from its Egyptian captors, especially in the last half of the book (chaps. 10–19).[23] However, as Hans Hübner notes, the book's focus on this ancient tradition does not necessarily mean that it was actually composed in Egypt since the theme of Israel's liberation from Egypt would have been of relevance to any situation where Jews were oppressed in the Diaspora.[24] Yet he goes on to argue that the author takes such an aggressive stance against the Egyptians and the Egyptian religion in his composition that it is probably caused by some real animosity grounded in the author's lived experience in Egypt.[25] Second, the author shows

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Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998) 32; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 16, 24; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997) 135; Marie-Françoise Baslez, "The Author of Wisdom and the Cultured Environment of Alexandria," in *The Book of Wisdom in Modern Research: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. Angelo Passaro and Giuseppe Bellia; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2005; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005) 34. However, some scholars do not think that the Wisdom of Solomon was composed in Egypt. Such scholars include Zimmermann ("Book of Wisdom," 131-33) and Dieter Georgi (*Weisheit Salomos* [JSHRZ 3/4; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1980] 395-97) who both claim that the book was most likely written in Syria. See Hübner's (*Weisheit*, 19) refutation of Georgi on this point. See also Lester L. Grabbe's (*Wisdom of Solomon* [T & T Clark Study Guide; London/New York: T & T Clark International, 2003] 90-91) claim that although Alexandria is the most likely candidate for the place of composition, this theory is by no means certain.

[22] These reasons are presented by Hübner, *Weisheit*, 16.

[23] Wright, "Wisdom," 556.

[24] Hübner, *Weisheit*, 16. Thus, for example, the theme of liberation from Egypt is used by Deutero-Isaiah during the Babylonian Exile in the sixth century B.C. (see Isa 43:16-17; 51:10). However, Deutero-Isaiah openly identifies Israel's oppressor as Babylon (Isa 43:14) and recalls the Exodus in order to give the exiled Israelites hope by recounting God's past acts of fidelity.

[25] Ibid. Attacks on the Egyptian animal cult are prevalent, especially in the last half of the book (see, e.g., Wis 12:23-27; 13:10; 15:18-19). See Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xvii; Schmitt, *Buch der Weisheit*, 9. Grabbe (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 90) states that the strongest argument for an Egyptian setting is Wis 19:13-17 where Egypt's sin of xenophobia is portrayed as worse than that of Sodom (see Gen 19:1-11). See also Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 25; Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 34. This damning comparison seems to be inspired by firsthand knowledge of Egyptian misdeeds towards their Jewish neighbors.

significant knowledge of Hellenistic philosophical thought.[26] If the setting of the book's

composition is indeed Egypt, then the city of Alexandria, which was the seat of Hellenistic

learning and culture during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, would be the most obvious

candidate for a more specific setting. In addition, Alexandria was the home of many Diaspora

Jews and was the birthplace of the LXX, a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures that

included translations of other works originally written in a Semitic language (e.g., 1

Maccabees; 2 Macc 1:1–2:18; Judith; Tobit; Bar 1:1–3:8; The Wisdom of Ben Sira) and also

Greek compositions (e.g., 2 Macc 2:19–15:36; The Wisdom of Solomon) that had gained

authority among Diaspora Jews.[27] In the end, while Alexandria is not necessarily the assured

geographical setting for the book's composition, in light of the aforementioned reasons it is

the most likely candidate.

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[26] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xvii-xviii. Pseudo-Solomon shows some familiarity with Platonism (e.g., Wis 11:17 = preexisting matter; Wis 8:19 = preexistence of the soul; Wis 9:15 = body-soul dualism; Wis 8:7 = the four cardinal virtues [a partly Stoic conception]) and Stoicism (e.g., Wis 7:24 = Wisdom pervades the universe; Wis 16:16-24; 19:18-21 = rearrangement of the elements in nature [*tonos* theory]). See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 25-34, 300, 330. However, Goodrick (*Book of Wisdom*, 49) questions the depth and breadth of Pseudo-Solomon's philosophical knowledge when he states, "It may safely be said that there is not a line in the book which reveals any further knowledge of Greek philosophy than might be acquired by any frequenter of the schools and market-places of Alexandria." It is true that the Wisdom of Solomon is not a developed philosophical treatise, but this does not necessarily mean that Pseudo-Solomon was not trained in Greek philosophy. It only shows that the book does not clearly indicate the extent of the author's philosophical learning. At the very least, the various allusions to Greek thought throughout the work show that the author was acquainted with it, no matter the level of his knowledge.

[27] For the original language of these deuterocanonical compositions, see Thomas Fischer, "First and Second Maccabees," trans. Frederick Cryer in "Maccabees, Books of," *ABD* 4. 439-50, esp. 440, 442; Carey A. Moore, "Judith, Book of," in *ABD* 3. 1117-25, esp. 1122-23; Alexander A. Di Lella, "Wisdom of Ben Sira," in *ABD* 6. 931-45, esp. 932; Carey A. Moore, "Tobit, Book of," in *ABD* 6. 585-94, esp. 590-91. Most scholars agree that Bar 1:1–3:8 has a Hebrew original, while a Hebrew or Greek original for Bar 3:9–5:9 is still debated. See Doron Mendels, "Baruch," in *ABD* 1. 617-20, esp. 619.

Historical Context and Dating

In modern critical study of the Wisdom of Solomon, there has been a great range for

the dating of the book, from the late third century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D.[28]

However, recent scholarship has narrowed the *terminus a quo* for composition to the late first

century B.C., around the time of the Roman conquest of Egypt under Octavian (later called

Augustus).[29] This more precise range for the book's date of composition is based on specific

vocabulary usage and issues of content that better correspond to the socio-historical situation

in Egypt during the Imperial period.[30] Yet, before I consider the specific data which point to

the book's Roman dating, it will be beneficial to review some of the most significant events

concerning the situation of the Jews in Alexandria during this time of early Roman rule.[31]

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[28] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, x; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 20. Pseudo-Solomon's use of the LXX (esp. the Books of Isaiah and Job) seems to place the earliest possible dating to the late third or early to mid second centuries B.C. On this point, see Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 6-7; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, x-xi; Ziener, *Theologische Begriffssprache*, 12; Wright, "Wisdom," 556; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 21; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 92. Those scholars who date the Wisdom of Solomon to the late third century B.C. include William J. Deane, *The Book of Wisdom* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1881) 32; Cornely, *Commentarius*, 5-7; Louis Mariès, "Rythmes quantitatifs dans le livre de la Sagesse," *CRAIBL* (1935) 105. Grimm (*Buch der Weisheit*, 32-35) proposes a mid second century to mid first century B.C. dating. Schmitt (*Buch der Weisheit*, 8) dates the book to the last decade of the second century B.C. or even to the very beginning of the first century. See also Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xi-xii (120-100 B.C.). Those scholars who date the book to the first half of the first century B.C. include Ziener, *Theologische Begriffssprache*, 13; Wright, "Wisdom," 556; Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology," 146. Paul Heinisch (*Das Buch der Weisheit* [EHAT 24; Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912] xxi) believes that the book was probably written sometime between 88 and 30 B.C. For a summary of dates proposed by other scholars, see Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 141-46. See also the summary in Gilbert, "Sagesse," 91-93.

[29] Gilbert, "Sagesse," 92; Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte, "The hermeneutics of Exodus in the book of Wisdom," in *The Interpretation of Exodus: Studies in Honour of Cornelis Houtman* (ed. Riemer Roukema et al.; CBET 44; Leuven: Peeters, 2006) 97.

[30] However, Gilbert ("Sagesse," 92) notes that a first century B.C. dating remains problematic because little is known about the Greek literature of this time.

[31] The brief historical summary that I present is by no means comprehensive. For further information on the status of the Jews in Egypt during the early Imperial Period, see Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959; reprint Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999) 308-32; Victor Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (3 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957) 1. 48-93; E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian* (SJLA 20; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 220-55; Joseph M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of*

From the late fourth to late first centuries B.C., many Jews made their home in the

Ptolemaic cultural and administrative capital of Alexandria. Over the course of three

centuries, the Ptolemies afforded these diaspora Jews special privileges, including partial

self-governance in religious and cultural matters as a *politeuma* and exemption from certain

forms of taxation.[32] However, with the Roman annexation of Egypt in 30 B.C., the Jews as an

ethnic group lost status and certain rights which they previously enjoyed during the

Ptolemaic period. While Augustus retained the Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria (with some

adjustments later in his reign), he relegated the Jews to the status of λαός in 27 B.C. and

beginning in 24/23 B.C. made them pay the poll tax (*capitatio* or λαογραφία), which had only

been paid by lower-class subjected peoples such as the native Egyptians.[33] This demotion

was most likely due to the more definite distinction that the Romans made between citizens

and noncitizens. Although the Jews of Alexandria as a whole were not full-fledged citizens

of the city in the Ptolemaic era, they had special rights and privileges that they shared with

the Greek inhabitants and in many respects considered themselves to be "Hellenes."

Consequently, when the Jews lost these rights because according to Roman standards they

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Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian (trans. R. Cornman; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995) 161-83.

[32] John J. Collins ("Anti-Semitism in Antiquity? The Case of Alexandria," in *Ancient Judaism in Its Hellenistic Context* [ed. Carol Bakhos; JSJSup 95; Leiden: Brill, 2005] 15) notes that the Jews were not considered full citizens in the Ptolemaic era but did have special privileges. See also P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 1. 38-92, esp. 49. Smallwood (*Jews Under Roman Rule*, 225) defines a *politeuma* as "a recognized, formally constituted corporation of aliens enjoying the right of domicile in a foreign city and forming a separate, semi-autonomous civic body, a city within a city; it had its own constitution and administered its internal affairs as an ethnic unit through officials distinct from and independent of those of the host city." Non-Jewish *politeumata* existed in the Hellenistic world as well (ibid., 226 n. 23).

[33] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 159-60; Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 311-12; Tcherikover and Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum*, 60-64; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 231-32; Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 163; Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 34, see also n. 7.

were not officially citizens of Alexandria, many of them tried to regain these rights by

arguing their case for full citizenship.[34] At the time of the Roman conquest of Alexandria and

thereafter, those Greek Alexandrians who were anti-Jewish emphasized the subjugated status

of the Jews and circulated propaganda in an attempt to distinguish them from the Greek

upper class.[35] Perhaps the most significant distinction between Greco-Roman and Jewish

culture was the strict adherence to monotheism by the Jews. This issue was a source of great

contention and was ultimately used against the Jewish quest for full rights and citizenship,

since reverence for the Greco-Roman gods was an essential civic duty for all upstanding

citizens.[36]

This debate concerning Jewish rights persisted into the reign of Gaius Caligula.

Indeed, the animosity between the nationalistic Greeks and Hellenistic Jews of Alexandria

intensified during this time, culminating in the open, state-sponsored persecution of Jews

near the end of Flaccus's governorship of Egypt in A.D. 38.[37] In an attempt to maintain power

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[34] This is not to say that there were no Jewish citizens of Alexandria during the Roman era. Indeed, on rare occasions, Jews and even native Egyptians would procure citizenship for themselves and for their families. However, as Modrzejewski (*Jews of Egypt*, 163) notes, this situation was quite rare. One notable example of Jewish citizenship in Alexandria is the alabarch Alexander (Philo's brother) and his family.

[35] The growing hatred for the Jews in the early Roman period is illustrated by the libelous stories about their worship of a golden ass's head (Josephus *Ap.* 2.7 §§80-81; 2.9 §§112-14) and their expulsion from Egypt by Pharaoh because of their leprosy (Josephus *Ap.* 2.2 §§15-21). There was also the claim that every year the Jews feasted on the flesh of an immolated Greek captive while swearing an oath of hostility against the Greeks (Josephus *Ap.* 2.8 §§92-96; 2.10 §§121-22). See also Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 16.

[36] This point is illustrated through Apion's accusation: *Si sunt ciues, eosdem deos quos Alexandrini non colunt?*, "[W]hy, then, if they are citizens, do they not worship the same gods as the Alexandrians?" (Josephus *Ap.* 2.6 §65). H. St. J. Thackeray, ed., *Josephus* (9 vols.; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976) 1. 318-19. See also Collins, "Anti-Semitism in Antiquity?" 15.

[37] The details of this persecution under Flaccus are recounted by Philo *In Flaccum*. See also Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 13-17; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 235-42; Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 166-73; Collins, "Anti-Semitism in Antiquity?" 9-10. For the Greek text of *In Flaccum* with an English translation, see F. H. Colson, ed., *Philo* (10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941) 9. 295-403.

in Egypt by currying favor with the new emperor and placating his nationalistic Greek Alexandrian subjects, Flaccus ordered that images of Caligula be erected in the synagogues of Alexandria. The Jews protested this action and Flaccus subsequently declared them to be "foreigners" and "aliens" living in Alexandria, which ultimately meant that they had no legal rights and therefore could be deported. The entire Jewish population, which once dominated two of the city's five districts, was herded into a very small area within the city, forming a ghetto. Their abandoned homes were looted and destroyed while they suffered physical persecution, sometimes resulting in death. In addition, over half the members of the *gerousia* (the administrative body of the Jewish *politeuma*) were arrested and publicly flogged in a manner reserved for native Egyptian criminals. This action further emphasized their low status.

Soon after these events, Flaccus was removed from office and executed for past political alliances and intrigues that conflicted with Caligula's interests. Several years later, the crazed emperor eventually granted an audience to a delegation of Jews from Alexandria that had come to Rome to plead for a restoration of rights.[38] At the audience, he derided the Jewish plight and many of their beliefs, most notably their refusal to recognize him as a god. This preoccupation with his own divinization and disdain for Jewish rejection of it later led Caligula to order a statue of himself erected in the Temple of Jerusalem, but he was assassinated before this atrocity was accomplished.[39] Thus, the strife between Alexandrian

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[38] Philo was a key member of this delegation, and he recounts the group's meeting with Caligula in his *De legatione ad Gaium.* For the Greek text with an English translation, see F. H. Colson, ed., *Philo* (10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962) 10. 2-187. See also Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 172-73; Collins, "Anti-Semitism in Antiquity?" 10.

[39] Josephus *A.J.* 18.8.2-9 §§261-309. See Collins, "Anti-Semitism in Antiquity?" 12.

Greeks and Jews continued into the reign of Claudius, who eventually issued a declaration in A.D. 41 which ultimately restricted Jewish rights in Alexandria and, at least formally, closed the Jewish citizenship debate.[40] With this background information concerning the Jews of Alexandria during the early Roman period, it will now be possible to understand better some of the terminology and historical allusions in the Wisdom of Solomon.

Some scholars have pointed out that there are many words in the Wisdom of Solomon which indicate that the book was composed in the early Roman era. For example, David Winston presents a list of 35 terms in the book that are not extant in Greek literature before the Imperial period, and C. Larcher presents a similar, albeit shorter (24 words), list with some variations.[41] Two notable words that point to the book's composition during the Roman era are σέβασμα, "an object of awe or worship" (Wis 14:20; 15:17), and θρησκεία, "cult" (Wis 14:8; see also the use of the verbal form θρησκεύω, "to worship," in Wis 11:15; 14:18). The word σέβασμα was not used in extant Greek literature before Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who

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[40] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 228; Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 180-83. The emperor described the Jews as living "in a city not their own" and denied them the right to participate in the games of the Greek gymnasium (which appears to have been a prerequisite for Alexandrian citizenship). Claudius's declaration was precipitated by a court case in which the nationalistic Greek Alexandrians, led in part by Isidorus the anti-Jewish gymnasiarch of Alexandria, accused King Agrippa of Judea in particular, and the Jews of the Roman Empire in general, of treason. In this case, the status of the Alexandrian Jews was hotly debated. On one hand, the Jews of Alexandria argued that they were entitled to ancient rights that had been suspended under Roman rule. On the other hand, Isidorus and the pro-Greek Alexandrian delegation claimed that the Jews of Alexandria were a people of lower class and, like the native Egyptians, paid the poll-tax. See "Acta Isidori, " Recension C, col. 2, ll. 18-30 in Herbert A. Musurillo, ed., *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954) 23-26; Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 173-79; Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 34 nn. 9-11.

[41] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 22-23 n. 33; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 149. Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 22-23) claims that the words on his list are not found before the first century A.D. I shall discuss Winston's claim later in this chapter.

was a Greek historian in the early Imperial period.[42] The use of this term in Wis 14:20 may

be an allusion to Octavian upon whom was bestowed the honorary title "Augustus" which is

rendered as Σεβαστός in Greek.[43] Similarly, Reese notes that the noun θρησκεία is employed

by Herodotus (particularly in reference to Egyptian religion, see *Histories* 2.18, 37, 64) but

then does not reappear until the age of Augustus.[44] These two words along with many of the

other terms cited by Winston and Larcher provide significant evidence that the Wisdom of

Solomon was probably not written before Augustus's reign.

In addition to the presence of words that are found either exclusively or primarily

during the Roman era, there are certain concepts in the Wisdom of Solomon that best fit the

context of the Imperial period. For example, many commentators suggest that Wis 6:2 is an

allusion to Roman authority over many peoples and that the term κράτησις, "domination,"

"takeover," in Wis 6:3 most likely refers to the capture of Alexandria by Octavian in 30

B.C.[45] This military action in Egypt by the Roman emperor seemed to contribute to the *pax

Romana*, or the general situation of peace within the Roman Empire. Perhaps it is this very

concept of peace that Pseudo-Solomon mocks in Wis 14:22bc when he states: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν

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[42] Gilbert, *Critique des dieux*, 156, see also n. 166; idem, "Sagesse," 92. The word appears in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Rom. Ant*. 1.30.3. See also Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 279; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 66.

[43] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 279.

[44] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 8; Gilbert, C*ritique des dieux*, 130-31, 156-57, and idem, "Sagesse," 92; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 66.

[45] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 144, 153-55; For similar claims, see Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 1. 16-17; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 22, 152-53; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 92-93; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 66-67. Saul Lieberman (*Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II-IV Centuries C. E.* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1942] 9-10) notes that this word was specifically used to recall the day that Augustus captured Alexandria, and it frequently occurs in Egyptian papyri which use this event as a basis for dating. For example, *Pfay*. 22 is dated based on this event: ἔτους ὀγδόος καὶ τριακοστοῦ τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως θεοῦ υἱοῦ, "Year 38 of the domination by Caesar [i.e., Augustus], son of god." The Greek text is from Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 1. 17.

μεγάλῳ ζῶντες ἀγνοίας πολέμῳ τὰ τοσαῦτα κακὰ εἰρήνην προσαγορεύουσιν, ". . . but even though they live in a great war of ignorance, / they call such evils peace" (*NAB*).[46] In the verses that precede this critique of illusory peace, the author presents his own summary of the origin of idolatry. In Wis 14:16-17, he specifically mentions the worship of a distant king's image. Most modern scholars claim that the situation presented in these verses does not reflect a Ptolemaic context but rather best fits the Roman period where the Emperor was revered and often worshiped by his subjects, whom he ruled from a very great distance.[47] While most scholars now agree on a Roman context, they disagree on whether the above passage refers to worship of Augustus or Caligula. Of course, if one is able to determine which emperor is referred to, then one can further narrow the book's date of composition.

There are many commentators who support an Augustan (30 B.C.–A.D. 14) as opposed to a later Caligulan dating for the Wisdom of Solomon.[48] In an attempt to bolster the former position, some of these scholars argue that the book must have been composed before the time of Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 B.C.–A.D. 40) because the Wisdom of Solomon does not exhibit any discernable Philonic influence, including but not limited to Philo's teaching

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[46] Gilbert, *Critique des dieux*, 164, and idem, "Sagesse," 93; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 160; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 65.

[47] Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 207-8. Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 21-22) prefers the Roman dating over the Ptolemaic dating because the gradual movement towards idolatrous ruler worship better fits the situation in the Augustan period.

[48] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 161; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 18; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 63-69; Gilbert, *Critique des dieux*, 172, and idem, "Sagesse," 93; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 90; Annie Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance dans le Judaïsme: Aux abords de l'ère chrétienne* (Patristica Sorbonensia 6; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1963) 350; Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 49. Reese (*Hellenistic Influence*, 146) seems to place the book's composition "during the period before the accession of Augustus."

concerning the *logos* and his allegorical mode of exegesis.[49] However, others who date the

book to the reign of Augustus, such as Gilbert, believe that this is a weak criterion for dating

the work.[50] A lack of Philonic influence does not necessarily mean that the book was

composed before the life of the great Jewish philosopher and exegete. It is possible, for

example, that Pseudo-Solomon did not agree with Philo's allegorical method. However, it is

very odd that no reference whatsoever either positive or negative would be made by Pseudo-

Solomon to Philo, who belonged to an important Jewish family and most likely had

considerable influence on the Jews of Alexandria both during and after his lifetime. And

conversely, if the Wisdom of Solomon was written before Philo lived, then it is likewise

surprising that Philo never mentions or alludes to this Alexandrian Jewish work. Another

possibility, presented by Goodrick who supports the Caligulan dating, is that Pseudo-

Solomon and Philo were contemporaries.[51] Nonetheless, a lack of direct reference in either

source to the other shows that Philo's works cannot be used to date more precisely the

Wisdom of Solomon.

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[49] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xii, xx; Heinisch, *Buch der Weisheit*, XXIII; Ziener, *Theologische Begriffssprache*, 12; Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 201-3, 207; Wright, "Wisdom," 556; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 25. Some scholars see Wis 18:24, Pseudo-Solomon's allegorical description of the high priest's robes, as similar to the allegorical method of Philo (albeit not as extensive). See Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 22; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 62; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 33-34. Furthermore, Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 59-63) presents both a list of common ideas and terminology shared by Philo and Pseudo-Solomon and a list of their major ideological differences. See also C. Larcher, *Études sur le livre de la Sagesse* (Études Bibliques; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1969) 159-78. Taking into account the similarities, it is difficult to say whether one author influenced the other. Perhaps they used common sources or were merely influenced by common ideas circulating at the time.

[50] Gilbert, "Sagesse," 92.

[51] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 7-8.

Leaving aside this weaker Philonic argument, other reasons for the earlier Augustan dating have recently been summarized in three major points by Marie-Françoise Baslez.[52] First, the situation of the Jews (Wis 19:16) and anti-Egyptian rhetoric (Wis 19:13) as presented in the book could reflect the Roman fiscal reforms in 24/23 B.C. As I have already mentioned, during this time the Jews were required to pay the poll tax, which in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans gave them the same status as the lower-class Egyptians. Second, it appears that the book denounces the practices of the Alexandrian convivial associations whose members included the social elite (Wis 1:16-2:9).[53] These associations were essentially drinking clubs disguised as religious banquets in which participants would socialize and engage in violent and lewd behavior. Baslez summarizes the purpose of these groups as follows: "Under the cover of religious feasts they drank and came to blows because this was also the opportunity for political activity."[54] One such association, named "those waiting for death in common" (συναποθανουμένων) was founded by Antony and Cleopatra soon after the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Baslez believes that the reference to the wicked who make a covenant with death in Wis 1:16 "undoubtedly" alludes to this specific royal convivial association, thereby ensuring a date very close to Augustus's accession of Alexandria.[55] Third, throughout his work, Pseudo-Solomon alludes to the Egyptian animal cult (Wis 12:24; 15:18-19), the heroization of the young dead (Wis 14:15), the increasing importance of images in Egyptian religion (Wis 14:17-20), and the prevalence of mystery

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[52] Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 49.

[53] Ibid., 40-41.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid., 41, esp. n. 54.

cults, especially that of Dionysus (Wis 12:3-7; 14:23). In these respects, Pseudo-Solomon's

portrayal of pagan religious life conforms to the cultic situation in Egypt in the mid to late

first century B.C., especially as described by Diodorus Siculus (ca. 60 B.C.) and Strabo (ca. 20

B.C.).[56] While I believe that Baslez's first and third points are well founded, I think that there

is not sufficient evidence to validate her second point about a specific reference by Pseudo-

Solomon to Antony and Cleopatra's convivial association. While I do not doubt that Pseudo-

Solomon attacks these associations in his work, I think that such a reference to this specific

royal club cannot be proved without more explicit hints in the text. While Baslez's second

argument cannot be used to date the text, the first and third points constitute a legitimate case

for a possible Augustan dating.

Against this Augustan dating are a large group of scholars who believe that the

Wisdom of Solomon was most likely composed during the reign of the Roman emperor

Gaius Caesar (A.D. 37–41), better known as Caligula.[57] There are four key arguments

presented by those who advocate this second dating. First, many commentators argue that the

book reflects a time of severe persecution (see Wis 2:10-20; 3:1; 5:1).[58] Winston claims that

the "apocalyptic" description of the destruction of the wicked in Wis 5:16-23 must refer to a

time when the Jews were persecuted and felt powerless against their oppressors and therefore

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[56] See Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 1.10-98 and Strabo *Geography* 17. For a description of the Egyptian animal cult, see *Library of History* 1.83-85; *Geography* 17.1.38, 40, 44. For the Dionysian mystery cult and its connection to Egyptian forms of worship, see *Library of History* 1.22.7; 1.96.5. These ancient works are cited by Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 33 nn. 4-6, 43 n. 64, 47 n. 97.

[57] Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Judäer von dem Tode Juda Makkabis bis zum Untergange des judäischen Staates* (4th ed.; 3/2; Leipzig: Leiner, 1888) 383 (as cited by Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 144 n. 35); Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 13-17; Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 208-9; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 20-25; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 1. 21-22; Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 127-45; Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 11 n. 11.

[58] Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 208-9; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 11, 13-16.

opts for a dating under Caligula when such persecution did occur.[59] Yet Gilbert points out

that the righteous individuals who are persecuted in chap. 2 are not represented as being

forced to practice idolatry as was the case under Flaccus at the time of Caligula.[60] And even

Goodrick, who like Winston supports the Caligulan dating, notes that the persecution

described in the book's initial chapters is ". . . a persecution not to the death indeed, but

involving grave damage and distress."[61] Thus, the situation described in the Wisdom of

Solomon does not adequately correspond to the full-blown Jewish persecution in the time of

Caligula which included destruction of property, personal injury, and death. Instead, the book

has in view a time when the Jews of Alexandria were enduring a devastating but less severe

form of persecution.

Second, along with severe persecution, many scholars argue that Wis 19:16 refers to

the privileges or rights that were taken away from the Alexandrian Jews by Flaccus during

Caligula's reign.[62] While this proposal cannot be excluded, it is likewise possible to see the

reference as alluding to the loss of status through the imposition of Augustus's poll tax in

24/23 B.C. The traumatic blow to Jewish social standing that resulted from the imposition of

this tax is thus described by Modrzejewski: "The fact remains that, under Augustus, the Jews

were suddenly wrenched from their erstwhile condition as an integral part of the Greek-

speaking minority. They had been 'Hellenes' now they had suddenly become 'Egyptians.'"[63]

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[59] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 23.

[60] Gilbert, "Sagesse," 93.

[61] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 15. Vílchez Lindez (*Sabiduría*, 64-65) makes a similar observation.

[62] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 17.

[63] Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 163.

It is very possible then that it was Augustus's poll tax and not Flaccus's persecution that inspired Pseudo-Solomon to lament the loss of Jewish rights and privileges in Wis 19:16.

Third, there is the claim that the distant ruler mentioned in Wis 14:16-17 better fits the time of Caligula rather than that of Augustus. It is true that Caligula unambiguously sought his own deification, as evidenced by his remarks to the Jewish delegation from Alexandria in A.D. 39/40 and his megalomaniacal command to erect his image in the Temple of Jerusalem.[64] Yet this does not exclude the possibility that the verse refers rather to Augustus. In order to refute a possible Augustan dating, Winston claims that, while alive, Augustus ". . . was never raised officially to the level of a deity, and not even in Egypt was he officially designated *theos*. In spite of his official reserve in this matter, Augustus was undoubtedly for his Egyptian subjects a divine king with the attributes of the Pharaohs of old."[65] In my opinion, the fact that Augustus never declared himself a god during his reign is irrelevant. The most important point—acknowledged by Winston in the above quotation—is that Augustus's Egyptian subjects considered him to be divine and this corresponds with the situation described in Wis 14:16-17 where ruler worship is promoted by the princes (v. 16)

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[64] When the nationalistic Alexandrian Greeks accuse the Jews of not sacrificing to Caligula, the latter respond by claiming to have offered sacrifices on the emperor's behalf, to which Caligula replies: ". . . that is true, you have sacrificed, but to another, even if it was for me; what good is it then? For you have not sacrificed to me." Philo *Legat*. 357 (the English translation is from Colson, *Philo*, 10. 179). Also, some supporters of the Caligulan dating for the book claim that Wis 14:16-20 refers to this emperor's command to erect his statue in the Jerusalem Temple and his effigy in the Alexandrian synagogues. This position is implied in Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 16.

[65] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 22. On the topic of Augustus's unofficial divinity, see Lily Ross Taylor, *Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Philological Monographs 1; Middletown, CT: American Philological Association, 1931) 240, 244; H. Idris Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies; Liverpool: University Press, 1954) 56-58.

and the people (v. 17), not by the ruler himself. Thus, it is still quite plausible that the

situation in the Wisdom of Solomon refers to the time of Augustus.

Finally, David Winston lists 35 terms from the Wisdom of Solomon which he claims

are not found in secular Greek literature before the first century A.D. and uses to support a

possible Caligulan dating for the book.[66] The problem with coming to such a precise dating

based on Winston's list of terms is that it is ultimately an argument from silence, which he

himself admits.[67] Perhaps other earlier writings that use these words have been lost forever or

may be discovered sometime in the future. In addition, it is extremely difficult to use

vocabulary to date a text precisely because most vocabulary does not allow for precise dates

but only for a general range. Taking all the rare words in the Wisdom of Solomon together

may suggest a general time of composition, but such vocabulary alone cannot indicate a

precise date. Even though Winston opts for a dating during the time of Caligula, he

circumspectly admits that his opinion is by no means conclusive when he states that the

book, "very likely (though by no means decisively) . . . was written in the first half of the

first century CE."[68] This parenthetical qualification shows Winston's realization that he has

not made a conclusive case for the book's composition during Caligula's reign.

Given the aforementioned linguistic and historical evidence, the Wisdom of Solomon

may be dated to the early Imperial period. The cumulative evidence from the book's

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[66] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 22-23; for the list of 35 words, see n. 33. For other use of vocabulary to support a Caligulan dating, see Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 1. 16-21. He claims that the terms κράτησις, "domination" (Wis 6:3), and especially διάγνωσις, "power of discernment" (Wis 3:18, which Scarpat [ibid., 17] maintains is the Greek translation of the term *cognitio* in Latin jurisprudence), indicate that the most likely dating for the book is during Caligula's reign. For a critique of Scarpat, see Hübner, *Weisheit*, 16-17; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 67-68.

[67] See Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 89-90. See also Winston's admission in *Wisdom of Solomon*, 23.

[68] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 23.

vocabulary shows that it was probably not written before the Augustan age. While the

arguments adduced by those who believe that the book was most likely composed during

Caligula's reign are possible, they remain inconclusive. Therefore, I see no reason to limit

the book's composition to such a precise dating without additional evidence. In the end, I

believe that the book was most likely composed sometime during or between the reigns of

Augustus and Caligula (probably before the letter issued by Claudius in A.D. 41).[69] However,

even this range of dating cannot be known with certainty.

Intended Audience and Purpose of Composition

The issues of intended audience and purpose go hand in hand because only when the

intended audience is determined can the author's purpose be adequately understood. As with

most other issues in the Wisdom of Solomon, scholars differ on the specifics of whom the

author was addressing and why he wrote the book. These two issues must be determined by a

careful consideration of the book's content.

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[69] Engel (*Buch der Weisheit*, 34) makes a similar claim. The book was probably not written much further into the Christian era because there are possible allusions to the Wisdom of Solomon in the NT and other early Christian texts. Cf. Wright, "Wisdom," 556; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 17-18. See also C. Romaniuk, "Le livre de la Sagesse dans le Nouveau Testament," *NTS* 14 (1967) 498-514. Although most scholars look to the date of the NT's composition as a *terminus ad quem* for dating the Wisdom of Solomon, there are some scholars who affirm that there is no clear allusion to the Wisdom of Solomon in the NT. See Larcher, *Études*, 29. Despite the ambiguity of a definite allusion, it is most probable that at least some of the NT authors were influenced by the Wisdom of Solomon. Examples of NT passages that some scholars see as related to parts of the Wisdom of Solomon include John 1:3 (Wis 9:1); Rom 1:18-32 (Wis 13:1-10); Eph 6:11-17 (Wis 5:17-20); Heb 1:3 (Wis 7:26); Jas 4:14 (Wis 2:4); 1 Pet 1:6-7 (Wis 3:5-6). For an evaluation of these potential correspondences, see Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 8-10, 398-403. Larcher (*Études*, 11-30, esp. 14-20) sees possible connections between the Wisdom of Solomon and some passages in the Pauline corpus, but there is no explicit quotation of the book in Christian literature until the second century A.D. See Gilbert, "Sagesse," 92. For connections between the Wisdom of Solomon and the Fourth Gospel, see Douglas K. Clark, "Signs in Wisdom and John," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 201-9. For Larcher's comments on John and Wisdom, see *Études*, 21-26.

Scholars have proposed three main categories for the addressees of the Wisdom of Solomon: pagans, apostate Jews, and faithful Jews. It is also possible that the book was directed towards one or more of these groups.

Some commentators believe that Pseudo-Solomon's work is addressed to the pagan population and specifically to those Greeks and Romans who were in positions of authority in Alexandria (and perhaps in the Roman Empire as a whole).[70] The first major argument for this hypothesis is that the book is addressed to οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν, "those who judge the earth" (1:1); βασιλεῖς, "kings" (6:1a); δικασταὶ περάτων γῆς, "judges of the ends of the earth" (6:1b); and τύραννοι, "rulers," "princes" (6:9, 21a). Even though the book is literally addressed to pagan rulers who have authority over other peoples, it is very unlikely that this group was Pseudo-Solomon's intended audience. Rather, this device is merely a literary fiction, much like the book's pseudepigraphical authorship. In this case, the greatness of the Jewish people is given expression in the Wisdom of Solomon, which has Israel's wisest king speak as if he is giving advice to the supposedly less wise and inexperienced pagan kings of the world.

The second reason given for a pagan audience is that Pseudo-Solomon directly attacks pagan customs, specifically, the practices of nature worship and idolatry in chaps. 13–

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[70] For those who see the work addressed to pagans, at least in part, see Heinisch, *Buch der Weisheit*, xxv; Ziener, *Theologische Begriffsprache*, 161; Pfeiffer, "Wisdom of Solomon," 325; Jaubert, *La notion d'alliance*, 371-72; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 114; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 72-73. For a critique of this position, see Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 18-21; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xxvi; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 147. Patrick W. Skehan ("Borrowings from the Psalms in the Book of Wisdom," *CBQ* 10 [1948] 385-86) discusses the literary device of addressing kings in the Prophets, Wisdom Literature, and the Psalms. While he does not entirely rule out royalty as a potential audience, he concludes that Pseudo-Solomon "was addressing first of all his everyday associates among his own people."

15. Yet the highly polemical and simplistic arguments put forth by Pseudo-Solomon make it unlikely that he was seriously attempting to warn the pagan population and invite them to embrace the Jewish faith.[71] As Reese astutely notes: "The Sage [i.e., Pseudo-Solomon] presupposes deep faith and good will in his readers. He presents opposing views in a form that is too simplicistic for his opponents to accept, and he develops his own thesis in a complicated way that makes the give and take of active polemics an impossibility."[72] Proposing a more plausible understanding of the book's condemnation of pagan practices, Reese correctly likens Pseudo-Solomon's critique of these practices to the oracles against the nations in the OT prophetic books which were probably not meant to be heard by the pagan nations themselves.[73]

The third feature which potentially suggests a pagan audience for the book is its polemical language against the native Egyptians. Whereas the Jews had been accused of xenophobia and animal worship (see n. 35 above), Pseudo-Solomon shows that it was not the Jews but the native Egyptians who were xenophobic (Wis 19:13-14) and worshiped animals (Wis 11:15-20; 12:23-27; 15:18-19).[74] Baslez believes that one objective of these anti-Egyptian statements is to differentiate the Jews from the native Egyptians and to justify the

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[71] I believe that, in the first place, it is unlikely that a pagan audience would have been inclined to read such a vitriolic attack on their beliefs and, in the second place, to be convinced by it.

[72] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 147. However, Reese (ibid., 151) does not rule out the book's appeal for pagans who were "Jewish proselytes."

[73] Ibid., 148-49.

[74] Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 35. There were ancient accounts that accused Jews of xenophobia (Josephus *Ap*. 2.8 §§92-96; 2.10 §§121-22; Tacitus *Histories* 5.5) and animal worship (Josephus *Ap*. 2.7 §§80-81; 2.9 §§112-14).

Jews' social standing among the Greeks for those who held authority in Alexandria.[75] Thus, in part, the book was addressed to pagans who could change the Jews' situation by reinstating their rights.

Although this is an interesting proposal, I believe that it does not adequately reflect the overall sense and message of the book. At no point in his work does Pseudo-Solomon attempt to curry favor with the Alexandrian Greeks. In fact, he has no qualms about openly and vigorously criticizing the Greeks alongside the native Egyptians, as evidenced in his critique of all pagan practices in chaps. 13–15. Pseudo-Solomon likewise critiques both groups again in his retelling of the Exodus in chaps. 11–12 and chaps. 14–19. I do not deny that some of the animosity leveled against the ancient Egyptians in his retelling may be fueled by his hatred for the contemporary native Egyptians, but these ancient Egyptians represent much more. In the author's retelling of the Exodus story, the ancient Egyptians who oppressed his people long ago represent all people who oppose Judaism and especially its belief in the one true and almighty God, who is faithful to his people and will bring condemnation on those who oppress them, including both the Alexandrian Greeks and native Egyptians of the author's time. Ultimately, Pseudo-Solomon combines the two groups together and shows both native Egyptians and Alexandrian Greeks to be just as evil as the ancient Egyptians who persecuted his ancestors.[76] Finally, the fact that this polemic against

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[75] Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 36.

[76] For example, see Wis 19:16, which is the famous passage about Jewish rights. This verse reads: "Yet these, after welcoming them with festivities, / oppressed with awful toils / those who now shared with them the same rights" (*NAB*). Literally, this line refers to the ancient Egyptians who praised Joseph and welcomed Jacob's family to Egypt in time of famine but later enslaved them (see Genesis 40–50; Exodus 1). However, in Pseudo-Solomon's time, this verse cannot possibly refer to the native Egyptians but only to the nationalistic

both the native Egyptians and Greek Alexandrians is couched in biblical allusions seems to

indicate that the intended audience was not the pagans but rather Alexandrian Jews who

needed encouragement in the face of persecution by pagans. Following this same line of

thinking, perhaps the strongest argument against the idea that the book was addressed to a

pagan audience is that the book has many biblical allusions that would have been

incomprehensible to a pagan population not intimately familiar with the content of the

LXX.[77] In many cases Pseudo-Solomon refers to biblical figures and events without

mentioning specific names of people or places.[78] Thus, it seems more likely that his work

was addressed primarily to Jews, who would have been familiar with these unnamed figures

and events.

If the book is intended primarily for Jewish readership, then is it directed towards

apostate Jews, faithful Jews, or both? There are numerous scholars who recall that many

Jews experienced a crisis of faith during the Hellenistic period, especially at times when

belief in the ancient Jewish traditions impeded upward social mobility. As a result, many

Jews abandoned their faith for political and social gain. The most notable examples of such

apostasy include Dositheus, in the last half of the third century B.C., and Tiberius Julius

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Alexandrian Greeks, with whom the Jews once shared rights under the Ptolemies, but many of whom came to support the abrogation of these rights in the case of the Jews.

[77] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xxii; Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 212; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 149. Even though Vílchez Lindez (*Sabiduría*, 73) claims that the educated pagan population of Alexandria was open to other cultures and ideas and would have read the Wisdom of Solomon, I find this claim of general openness to all cultures to be dubious, especially when the foundational ideas of a foreign culture (e.g., Jewish dedication to monotheism) conflicted with basic principles of the pagans' own religious outlook. Even if some sympathetic Alexandrian pagans were open to Jewish thought, it is unlikely that they would have understood the book's many veiled biblical allusions.

[78] See esp. the list of figures and events in chap. 10 and the recounting of the plagues and wilderness wanderings in chaps. 11−12, 16−19. The exceptions to this rule are the direct references to the Pentapolis in Wis 10:6 and to the Red Sea in Wis 10:18 and 19:7.

Alexander, Philo's own nephew, in the mid first century A.D.[79] The most odious of these

faithless individuals not only rejected their faith but also instigated the persecution of their

own people. In fact, it appears that Pseudo-Solomon rails against this type of traitorous

behavior by "counterfeit" Jews in chaps. 1–5, where those who persecute the "righteous one"

state: "Let us beset the righteous one, because he . . . reproaches us for transgressions of the

law / and charges us with violations of our training" (Wis 2:12, *NAB*).[80] These words placed

in the mouths of those persecuting the Jews can only be spoken by other Jews who are not

practicing the law correctly and seek revenge on those who point out their shortcomings.

Rather than a warning to apostate Jews or an invitation for them to reembrace their ancestral

traditions, these initial chapters of the book in particular seem to be words of encouragement

for the faithful Jewish community in the face of persecution.[81] I do not deny that Pseudo-

Solomon severely criticizes apostate Jews in chaps. 1–5, as he does the pagans in chaps. 13–

15; however, whether he intended or expected either group to read his work is another

question entirely. It seems most likely that the author's target audience for the book was

probably not pagans who worshiped other gods or Jews who had already abandoned the faith

but those members of the Jewish community who might be tempted to leave it.

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[79] For comments on the apostasy of Dositheus, see Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 37. For more information about Tiberius Julius Alexander, see Josephus *B.J.* 2.18.7-8 §§493-98. 7; *A.J.* 20.5.2 §100; Tacitus *Histories* 2.74, 79. See also Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 14-15; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xxiii. For ancient sources that recount the apostasy of many Jews at this time, see Philo *Mos*. 1.31; *Conf*. 2-3. See also 3 Macc 2:31, which is set during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator (third century B.C.), but may recount events in Egypt of the early Roman period. See Tcherikover and Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum*, 1. 64, 68.

[80] See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 14, 24. Baslez ("Author of Wisdom," 36-37) perceives one aim of the book to be an attack on "counterfeit" Jews who had abandoned the ancient faith of their ancestors and had become completely assimilated into Hellenistic society. See Wis 2:12; 3:13; 4:3-6.

[81] Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 212-14. Vílchez Lindez (*Sabiduría*, 64) also sees derision by apostate Jews here. He does not see this as a full-blown persecution but rather as a typical confrontation between faithful and apostate Jews.

Reese offers an even more specific proposal. He believes that the book has an

academic setting and that it was most likely used as a lecture for "a group of hellenistic

Jewish students."[82] He claims that only this group would have both been familiar with Jewish

tradition and had enough training in Greek philosophy and rhetoric to understand the work

adequately. In other words, the book aimed to prepare them for life in a Hellenistic and pagan

society by allowing them to accept the good aspects of Hellenistic culture, while at the same

time giving them the means by which to adhere to, and potentially defend, their own ancient

traditions. Reese's theory is quite plausible; however, I believe that the book's target

audience is not limited to young Hellenistic Jews but includes all educated Alexandrian Jews

who were still part of the fold. The Wisdom of Solomon was addressed primarily to faithful

Jews and especially to those who had a sufficient grasp of Hellenistic thought and who may

have been tempted to leave their faith in order to avoid persecution and/or to climb the social

ladder. With this target audience in mind, it is possible to summarize the author's main

purpose for writing the book.

Pseudo-Solomon's primary aim in writing the Wisdom of Solomon was "to give

warning and encouragement to faithful Jews."[83] He warns against the evil aspects of

Hellenistic thought and culture which are epitomized in the sins of nature worship and

idolatry (chaps. 13–15), along with the dangers of participation in mystery cults and

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[82] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 146, 151-52. Hübner (*Weisheit*, 25) claims that Pseudo-Solomon was addressing Diaspora Jews of Alexandria and to posit a more specific group is mere speculation. He responds to Reese's hypothesis in n. 46 on the same page.

[83] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xxi. Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 63) also sees the work as a word of encouragement to faithful Jews in light of their present state of suffering.

convivial associations linked to pagan cultic activity and general debauchery.[84] A strict

belief in monotheism would exclude Jews from participation in such associations and cults

and would even lead to various forms of persecution because honoring the entire pagan

pantheon was seen as a fundamental social duty in Greco-Roman society. Pseudo-Solomon

recalls the pagan practices of the ancient Egyptians at the time of the Exodus in order to

encourage his fellow Jews to adhere to their ancient faith in the face of persecution. Just as

the ancient Israelites were vindicated because they remained faithful to Yhwh when

persecuted by the pagan Egyptians of Moses' day, so too would God vindicate the faithful

Alexandrian Jews who were oppressed by the pagan Greeks, native Egyptians, and Jewish

apostates in Pseudo-Solomon's time.[85]

While Pseudo-Solomon attacks evil Greek customs, he also uses Hellenistic language

and concepts in his work to show his coreligionists that the ancient Jewish traditions were not

outdated and not entirely irreconcilable with Greek thought.[86] Unlike Ben Sira, who warned

against the incompatibility of following the δύο τρίβους, "two ways" (Sir 2:12) of both

Judaism and Hellenism, Pseudo-Solomon attempts to find a more mediating and

"progressive" solution.[87] He believes that it is possible to accept the good aspects of

Hellenistic philosophy without totally abandoning or jeopardizing one's Jewish faith and

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[84] For Pseudo-Solomon's attack on idolatry, see Oesterley, "Wisdom of Solomon," 213-14. For Pseudo-Solomon's warning about mystery cults, see Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 148; Baslez, "Author of Wisdom," 37-41. Baslez (ibid., 42-48) claims that the book attacks the Dionysian mystery cults in particular (Wis 12:5). For more on the threat and condemnation of the mystery cults, see Philo *Spec*. 1.319-20.

[85] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xxiv.

[86] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 147.

[87] Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology," 147.

identity. Because he regards the fundamental traditions of Jewish faith as firmly grounded in truth and thereby superior to Greek thought, he is not afraid to explain Jewish tradition in terms of Greek categories. By so doing, Pseudo-Solomon gives his fellow faithful Jews ammunition to fight any personal doubts about their faith that may arise because of the lure of a seemingly superior Hellenistic thought and culture. By confronting Hellenistic thought and borrowing from it at times to bolster Jewish traditions, he shows that the ancient faith of their ancestors is not antiquated nor is it out of touch with the contemporary Hellenistic theories about reality. Even though he often adopts Greek terminology and ideas to expound the truths of his faith, Pseudo-Solomon never wavers in his absolute conviction that the traditions of Judaism are far superior to anything that the Greeks have to offer. Thus, in his apologetical work addressed to his fellow faithful Jews, Pseudo-Solomon issues both warnings and encouragement to them to stay the course in times of persecution and doubt.

Conclusion

After considering various scholarly positions on key issues concerning the Wisdom of Solomon, I have concluded that the book was most likely composed in Greek by an unknown Alexandrian Jew. Pseudo-Solomon's work may be dated to any time in the early Roman era, namely, from 30 B.C. to A.D. 41, but this dating is ultimately uncertain. Finally, the author probably composed his work in order to both warn and encourage his fellow Jews who may have been tempted to leave the faith in order to pursue a fully Hellenistic lifestyle for gain of social status and/or avoidance of persecution. With this goal in mind, he warns them about pagan practices and the wicked behavior of apostate Jews who had abandoned their faith. If the faithful Jews of his community are not careful and do not seek the true wisdom that

Judaism offers, they will destroy their own lives as the faithless Jews had already done. As a corollary to such warnings, Pseudo-Solomon also encourages his fellow Jews to remain faithful in spite of persecution because God is a faithful Judge and Vindicator as evidenced by his past mighty deeds. Now that I have set this literary and historical foundation for my study, I shall investigate the text and structure of chap. 10 along with its placement in the Wisdom of Solomon as a whole.

Chapter Three

Structural and Poetical Analysis

As I have shown in the previous chapter, the Wisdom of Solomon was composed in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew sometime between the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. Although non-Jews may have encountered this apologetical work, the author's target audience was his fellow hellenized Jews, some of whom were in danger of embracing Greek thought and culture wholeheartedly to the exclusion of their ancient ancestral traditions. Now that I have established this basic background information about the Wisdom of Solomon, I shall investigate the structural and poetical elements of the Wisdom of Solomon in general and those of Wis 10:1–11:1 in particular. It is fitting that I consider the structure and poetry of this passage since these two elements are inextricably linked. It is likewise necessary to determine a passage's literary context and internal structure before one can determine its form, genre, and meaning.

I shall begin with the text-critical issues by presenting the Greek text of Wis 10:1–11:1 accompanied by text-critical notes and my own English translation of the pericope. Then I shall summarize scholarly views on the book's structure, explaining the limits of the composition in Wis 10:1–11:1 and determining the placement and role of this passage within that overall structure. I shall then proceed to discuss whether the Wisdom of Solomon as a whole should be considered as poetry or prose and shall make the same determination for Wis 10:1–11:1 in particular. After I determine the passage's poetry and prose affiliations, I shall present my own understanding of the passage's internal structure. Finally, I shall

investigate in detail the many poetic and rhythmic prose elements that Wis 10:1–11:1 exhibits.

Discussion of Textual Witnesses

Since the Wisdom of Solomon was originally written in Greek, some of the most useful textual witnesses are Greek MSS of the LXX.[1] At present, the most valuable Greek witnesses to the original text include three uncial MSS: Codex Sinaiticus (= S) which most scholars date to the fourth century A.D.;[2] Codex Vaticanus (= B) also from the fourth century A.D.; and Codex Alexandrinus (= A) dating from the mid fifth century A.D. Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus (= C) and Codex Venetus (= V) are two other Greek uncial MSS that are important for textual criticism of the Wisdom of Solomon. However, they are secondary vis-à-vis the three primary codices listed above.[3] C is a palimpsest dating to the fifth century A.D. V can be dated to the eighth century A.D. and bears many similarities to the recension of the LXX originally found in the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla (third century A.D.).[4] Although

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[1] In the present study, the Greek text is from the critical edition of Joseph Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis* (Septuaginta 12/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).

[2] Scholars have identified at least two later correctors of Sinaiticus's original text. The Wisdom of Solomon, as presented by S, seems to have been edited only by the second corrector, who was influenced by the Origenic recension of the LXX. See Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 51-52, 63. In this study, I indicate readings from the original hand of S as S* and those of the second corrector as S^c.

[3] Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 61-62. David Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon* [AB 43; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979] 65) claims that C is secondary "mostly because it contains large gaps, and V because it has many variants due to scribal errors."

[4] Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 51, 55-56, 62. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 65.

many miniscule MSS of the Wisdom of Solomon are extant, their late dating makes them less

helpful for textual reconstruction.[5]

Aside from Greek texts, there are also ancient versions of the Wisdom of Solomon in

other languages. The most important of these versions is the Old Latin because it reflects an

ancient translation of the book made in northern Africa as early as the second century A.D.[6]

This means that it bears witness to a version of the Wisdom of Solomon that is two to three

centuries older than the earliest of extant Greek MSS. The Vulgate (= Vg) is a good

representative of this Old Latin translation because when Jerome translated the OT into

Latin, he reproduced the Old Latin version of the Wisdom of Solomon untouched.[7] Thus, for

the most part, the Old Latin and Vg versions of the book comprise a single Latin witness (=

La). However, most of the La witnesses range in date from the 8th to the 10th centuries.

According to Ernst Würthwein, many of these MSS have been retouched with an eye to the

early Greek recensions (e.g., Origenic and Lucianic) and, as a result, I have consulted them

with caution.[8]

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[5] Ziegler (*Sapientia*, 8-10) lists forty-five different Greek miniscule MSS, ranging in date from the 9th to the 16th centuries A.D.

[6] Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 62; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 65.

[7] For the text of the Vg, I consulted Robertus Weber, ed., *Biblia Sacra*: *Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983). For information on Jerome's use of the Old Latin, see ibid., xx (Preface in English); William J. Deane, *The Book of Wisdom* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881) 41; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 65.

[8] Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995) 92.

In addition to Latin, some of the other more notable translations of the Wisdom of Solomon include Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian.[9] All of these ancient translations are of minor value for analyzing the text, though some that are dated earlier have more value than others that are later translations. Arguably, the most valuable of these renderings is the Syriac version known as the Peshitta (= Syr). The original translation of the OT text into Syriac is difficult to date; the oldest complete OT MS is from the 6th or 7th century A.D. (i.e., Codex Ambrosianus).[10] Syr is considered a minor witness for the Wisdom of Solomon because its translation is often very loose, tending to summarize and add clarifying comments. Yet, Syr is valuable when it agrees with a variant in one or more of the Greek uncials or when paired with readings in La which are at odds with the uncials.

Greek Text of Wisdom 10:1–11:1

<div align="center">I</div>

10:1a Αὕτη πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα κόσμου

   1b   μόνον κτισθέντα διεφύλαξεν

   1c   καὶ ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ παραπτώματος ἰδίου,

   2a   ἔδωκέν τε αὐτῷ ἰσχὺν κρατῆσαι ἁπάντων.[11]

   3a   ἀποστὰς δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἄδικος ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ

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[9] Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 25-35.

[10] Würthwein, *Text of the Old Testament*, 85-88. For the text of Syr, I used J. A. Emerton and D. J. Lane, "Wisdom of Solomon," 15-17.

[11] ἁπάντων: This reading is from B. S* has πάντων, "of all (things)," as does A C 248-*l*. This alternative reading does not significantly alter the meaning of the text. S^c reads ἀπὸ πάντων, "from all (things)," which may be due to dittography.

3b   ἀδελφοκτόνοις συναπώλετο θυμοῖς.

4a   δι’ ὃν[12] κατακλυζομένην γῆν πάλιν ἔσωσεν σοφία

4b   δι’ εὐτελοῦς ξύλου τὸν δίκαιον κυβερνήσασα.

5a   αὕτη καὶ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πονηρίας ἐθνῶν συγχυθέντων

5b   ἔγνω[13] τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἐτήρησεν αὐτὸν ἄμεμπτον θεῷ

5c   καὶ ἐπὶ τέκνου σπλάγχνοις ἰσχυρὸν ἐφύλαξεν.

II

6a   αὕτη δίκαιον ἐξαπολλυμένων ἀσεβῶν ἐρρύσατο

6b   φυγόντα καταβάσιον πῦρ Πενταπόλεως,

7a   ἧς ἔτι μαρτύριον τῆς πονηρίας

7b   καπνιζομένη καθέστηκεν χέρσος,

7c   καὶ ἀτελέσιν ὥραις καρποφοροῦντα φυτά,

7d   ἀπιστούσης[14] ψυχῆς μνημεῖον ἑστηκυῖα στήλη ἁλός.

8a   σοφίαν γὰρ παροδεύσαντες

8b   οὐ μόνον ἐβλάβησαν τοῦ μὴ γνῶναι τὰ καλά,[15]

8c   ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἀπέλιπον τῷ βίῳ μνημόσυνον,

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[12] δι’ ὅν: This reading is in B A Sᶜ La. The reading from S* C *l*-336 534′ 706 is διό, "wherefore," "on account of which." The entire phrase is omitted by Syr.

[13] ἔγνω: B has εὗρεν, "she found."

[14] ἀπιστούσης: *l* La Syh Syr add καί, "and," at the beginning of this colon.

[15] Verse 8ab is presented as a single colon in S A. B has two cola in this instance.

8d   ἵνα ἐν οἷς ἐσφάλησαν μηδὲ λαθεῖν δυνηθῶσιν.

9a   σοφία δὲ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας[16] αὐτὴν ἐκ πόνων ἐρρύσατο.

III

10a   αὕτη φυγάδα ὀργῆς ἀδελφοῦ δίκαιον

10b   ὡδήγησεν ἐν τρίβοις εὐθείαις·

10c   ἔδειξεν[17] αὐτῷ βασιλείαν θεοῦ

10d   καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γνῶσιν ἁγίων·

10e   εὐπόρησεν αὐτὸν ἐν μόχθοις

10f   καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν τοὺς πόνους[18] αὐτοῦ·

11a   ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ κατισχυόντων αὐτὸν παρέστη

11b   καὶ ἐπλούτισεν αὐτόν·

12a   διεφύλαξεν[19] αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν

12b   καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνεδρευόντων ἠσφαλίσατο·

12c   καὶ ἀγῶνα ἰσχυρὸν ἐβράβευσεν αὐτῷ,

12d   ἵνα γνῷ ὅτι παντὸς δυνατωτέρα ἐστὶν εὐσέβεια.[20]

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[16] θεραπεύοντας: This reading of a present participle is found in S A C. B S^c 728 read θεραπεύσαντας, "those who served," which is an aorist participle.

[17] ἔδειξεν: 336 La Syr add καί, "and," at the beginning of this colon.

[18] πόνους: This reading occurs in B C. The reading κόπους, "toils," appears in S A *O*-V 637-*l*-336 *a*-534′ *e* 543 547 766. The overall meaning of the two readings is the same.

[19] διεφύλαξεν: S V *L* 443 547 613 Syr add καί, "and," at the beginning of this colon.

[20] εὐσέβεια: La has *sapientia*, "wisdom."

IV

13a   αὕτη πραθέντα δίκαιον οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπεν,

13b   ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἁμαρτίας ἐρρύσατο αὐτόν·

14a   συγκατέβη αὐτῷ εἰς λάκκον

14b   καὶ ἐν δεσμοῖς οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν,

14c   ἕως ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ σκῆπτρα βασιλείας

14d   καὶ ἐξουσίαν τυραννούντων αὐτοῦ·[21]

14e   ψευδεῖς τε ἔδειξεν τοὺς μωμησαμένους αὐτὸν

14f   καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δόξαν αἰώνιον.

V

15a   Αὕτη λαὸν ὅσιον[22] καὶ σπέρμα ἄμεμπτον

15b   ἐρρύσατο ἐξ ἔθνους θλιβόντων·[23]

16a   εἰσῆλθεν εἰς ψυχὴν θεράποντος κυρίου

16b   καὶ ἀντέστη βασιλεῦσιν[24] φοβεροῖς ἐν τέρασιν καὶ σημείοις.

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[21] αὐτοῦ: This reading of the genitive is found in B-S* A 248 46 534. All other MSS (including S^c V C) read the accusative αὐτόν, "him."

[22] ὅσιον: La has *iustum*, "just," "righteous."

[23] Verse 15ab is presented as a single colon in B S. A divides the verse into two cola. See Skehan, "Text and Structure," 3.

[24] ἀντέστη βασιλεῦσιν: S* reads ἀνέστη βασιλεύς, "the king raised up." However, at the end of v. 19 where S* repeats v. 16, one finds the phrase ἀντέστη βασιλεῦσιν as it occurs here in most MSS.

17a   ἀπέδωκεν[25] ὁσίοις[26] μισθὸν κόπων αὐτῶν,

17b   ὡδήγησεν[27] αὐτοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ θαυμαστῇ

17c   καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς σκέπην ἡμέρας

17d   καὶ εἰς φλόγα ἄστρων τὴν νύκτα.

18a   διεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς θάλασσαν ἐρυθρὰν

18b   καὶ διήγαγεν αὐτοὺς δι' ὕδατος πολλοῦ·

19a   τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν κατέκλυσεν[28]

19b   καὶ ἐκ βάθους ἀβύσσου[29] ἀνέβρασεν[30] αὐτούς.[31]

20a   διὰ τοῦτο δίκαιοι ἐσκύλευσαν ἀσεβεῖς

20b   καὶ ὕμνησαν, κύριε, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιόν σου

20c   τήν τε ὑπέρμαχόν σου χεῖρα ᾔνεσαν ὁμοθυμαδόν·

21a   ὅτι ἡ σοφία ἤνοιξεν στόμα κωφῶν

21b   καὶ γλώσσας νηπίων ἔθηκεν τρανάς.

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[25] ἀπέδωκεν: *O*-V *a* 755 La Syr add καί, "and," at the beginning of this colon.

[26] ὁσίοις: La has *iustis*, "to just ones."

[27] ὡδήγησεν: 547 La Syr add καί, "and," at the beginning of this colon.

[28] κατέκλυσεν: S* has κατέπαυσεν, "she put an end to (their enemies)." La has *demersit in mare*, "she sank (their enemies) in the sea." Syr reflects this addition at the end of the colon with its reading, "in water."

[29] βάθους ἀβύσσου: S* reads θάμβους, "astonishment," "fear."

[30] ἀνέβρασεν: S* 46 have ἄβρασε(ν), which is a word not attested anywhere else. If it is not merely a scribal error, then it is most likely related to βράσσω, "to shake violently," "throw up (of the sea)," and therefore it carries the same general sense as ἀνέβρασεν. C has διεβίβασεν, "she carried across," "she transported." In a similar vein, La reads *eduxit*, "she led/guided." These last two readings seem to imply that the Israelites (rather than their enemies) are the object of this verb.

[31] At the end of v. 19, S* repeats v. 16.

11:1a Εὐόδωσεν τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐν χειρὶ προφήτου ἁγίου.[32]

English Translation of Wisdom 10:1–11:1

<div align="center">I</div>

10:1a She protected the first-formed father of the world,

1b   who was created alone,

1c And delivered him from his own transgression,

2a   and gave him strength to take hold of everything.

3a But when the unrighteous one abandoned her in his wrath,

3b   he perished by fratricidal rage.

4a When on whose account the earth was flooded, yet again Wisdom saved,

4b   guiding the righteous one by means of frail wood.

5a It was she who, when the nations unified in wickedness were confused,

5b   knew the righteous one and kept him blameless before God

5c   and kept him strong despite affection for his child.

<div align="center">II</div>

6a She, when the ungodly were perishing, rescued the righteous one

6b   who fled the fire that descended on Pentapolis.

7a Which is still a testimony to wickedness,

7b   having become a smoking wasteland,

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[32] For this colon, A reads Εὐόδωσεν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν χειρὶ προφητῶν ἁγιῶν, "She prospered its (i.e., Israel's) works by the hand of holy prophets."

7c   Where plants bear fruit that does not ripen,

7d   and a pillar of salt stands as a monument to an unbelieving soul.

8a   For when they passed Wisdom by,

8b   not only were they harmed by not knowing the good

8c   But also left behind a memorial of folly for humankind

8d   so that they might not be able to escape notice from those things by which

          they erred.

9a   But Wisdom rescued from suffering those who served her.

III

10a She led the righteous one, a fugitive from his brother's wrath,

10b   on straight paths.

10c She showed him the kingdom of God

10d   and gave him knowledge of holy things.

10e She made him prosper in his labors

10f   and made his toils fruitful.

11a When individuals prevailed against him in greed, she stood by

11b   and made him wealthy.

12a She protected him from enemies

12b   and from those who lie in wait she kept him safe.

12c And she decided the mighty contest in his favor

12d   so that he might know that godliness is more powerful than all else.

IV

13a She did not abandon the righteous one when he was sold,

13b   but rescued him from sin.

14a She descended with him into a pit,

14b   and did not abandon him in chains,

14c Until she brought him the scepter of the kingdom

14d   and authority over his oppressors.

14e And thus proved false those who found fault with him

14f   and gave him eternal glory.

V

15a She delivered a holy people and blameless offspring,

15b   from a nation of oppressors.

16a She entered the soul of the Lord's servant,

16b   and withstood terrifying kings with wonders and signs.

17a She rendered to holy ones the wage for their labors,

17b   she led them on a wonderful way,

17c And she was a shelter for them during the day,

17d   and a starry flame during the night.

18a She transported them across the Red Sea,

18b   and led them through much water.

19a But their enemies she drowned,

19b   and from the depth of the abyss she cast them up.

20a   Therefore, the righteous plundered the ungodly,

20b   and they sang, O Lord, your holy name,

20c   and your defending hand they praised together.

21a   For Wisdom opened the mouth of the mute,

21b   and she made the tongues of infants speak clearly.

11:1a   She prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet.

Theories concerning the Structure of the Wisdom of Solomon

An overview of the structure of the Wisdom of Solomon as a whole is vital for understanding the placement and role of chap. 10 within the work. However, scholars differ on how the book should be divided and where chap. 10 falls within the work's overall structure. Thus, before I present the predominant theories of modern biblical scholars concerning the book's structure, I shall posit two important criteria that one must use in order to determine the structure of an ancient work. I shall then consider these two criteria both when I assess the various approaches to determining the book's structure and when I analyze the internal structure of Wis 10:1–11:1.

The overall structure of an ancient literary work should be determined by two main criteria. First, it has long been recognized that sections of ancient literary works are often arranged according to theme.[33] Normally, an author endows each section with a predominant thought or theme and introduces a new section with a shift in thought or theme. However, it

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[33] See Kolarcik, *Ambiguity*, 2-7.

is occasionally difficult to determine a work's original structure based on this criterion alone. The difficulty often arises when an author transitions effortlessly between themes. When a modern literary critic cannot adequately determine a section's structure based on theme alone, he or she can employ a second criterion to help determine the ancient author's intended structure. This second factor is the identification of literary devices which serve to order an ancient work.[34] The most notable literary devices employed for structural purposes are inclusion, parallelism, and concentric arrangements (i.e., chiastic structure). In these three literary devices, a catchword, phrase, or motif is repeated in a significant way that serves to structure a section. For example, inclusion is the repetition of a catchword, phrase, or motif at the beginning and end of a section that, in turn, serves to delimit that particular section from other parts of the work. These two criteria of themes and literary devices must be considered equally in order to gain a proper understanding of how an ancient author intended to structure his or her work.[35] Despite the greater precision that results from dividing a work into sections based on themes and literary devices, ambiguities can still arise in determining a work's structure.[36] However, far fewer ambiguities and subjective divisions result when both

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[34] Ibid., 7-28. See also Addison G. Wright, "The Structure of Wisdom 11-19," *CBQ* 27 (1965) 28.

[35] When one favors literary devices to the exclusion of considering the overall theme and message of a passage, then the way that one divides a work can sometimes appear arbitrary. One must try to balance both literary devices and overall themes in a passage or work in order to try to minimize subjective structures. See Kolarcik, *Ambiguity*, 1-28, esp. 28.

[36] There are times when no clear literary devices exist to help delimit a section. For example, see Addison G. Wright's ("The Structure of the Book of Wisdom," *Bib* 48 [1967] 171) claim that there is "no over-all inclusion" to delimit the section in Wis 3:1–4:20. Also, note that James M. Reese ("Plan and Structure in the Book of Wisdom," *CBQ* 27 [1965] 394) posits a very weak thematic inclusion for the section, which he defines as Wis 3:1–5:1. As exemplified by the disagreement between Wright and Reese on the limits of this passage, scholars may have different criteria for identifying literary devices, such as an inclusion. I believe that the strongest example of an inclusion is when the repeated word(s), phrase, or theme is both relatively rare in the section (and perhaps for the entire work) and occurs within one or two cola from the beginning and the end of a

themes and literary devices are considered together.[37]

      In studies on the Wisdom of Solomon in the last century, scholars have attempted to determine the book's structure by using one or both of the aforementioned criteria. Michael Kolarcik has shown that from the time of Bonaventure in the 13th century A.D. until the mid 20th century there was a strong tendency among biblical commentators to organize the book according to theme alone.[38] However, organizing the book in this way poses a major problem for scholars since, at times, Pseudo-Solomon transitions smoothly from one theme to another, thus leading to different proposals for the book's structure. In order to arrive at a more certain and objective division, scholars began to consider other structural indicators such as stichometric divisions, literary devices, and numerical patterns.[39] In two independent articles

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section. In all other cases, the inclusion should be considered weak or perhaps not an inclusion at all but rather a catchword, phrase, or unifying theme. Furthermore, the overall theme of a section must be considered in determining a strong inclusion. An example of a strong inclusion in the Wisdom of Solomon is the use of δικαιοσύνην/δικαιοσύνη, "justice," in Wis 1:1, 15, which delimits the book's prologue (i.e., 1:1-15) and also the use of τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος, "of that one's lot," in Wis 1:16 and 2:24, which marks off the speech of the wicked in Wis 1:16–2:24 (see Reese, "Plan and Structure," 394; Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 170). See also Lester L. Grabbe's (*Wisdom of Solomon* [T & T Clark Study Guides; London/New York: T & T Clark International, 2003] 21) caveat on the use of subjective criteria for determining a text's structure.

[37] As Wright ("Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 168) astutely notes, "Needless to say every detail of the plan cannot be viewed with the same degree of confidence, but wherever the plan is based on a convergence of indices and these coincide with breaks in the thought, the confidence approaches a certitude."

[38] Kolarcik (*Ambiguity*, 3-7) presents a good summary of how key scholars divided the Wisdom of Solomon based on thematic analysis. Examples listed by Kolarcik include C. L. W. Grimm, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments 6; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1860); W. Weber, "Die Composition der Weisheit Salomos," *ZWT* 47 (1904) 145-69; Eugen Gärtner, *Komposition und Wortwahl des Buches der Weisheit* (Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1912); Paul Heinisch, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (EHAT 24; Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912).

[39] Skehan ("Text and Structure," 2) believed that the Wisdom of Solomon could be divided into two major sections based on an equal number of stichs in each half of the book (e.g., Part I = chaps. 1–9 has 500 stichs + 10:1–11:1 has 60 stichs; Part II = 11:2–19:22 has 561 stichs). The division of the book according to literary devices began with the foundational works of Reese ("Plan and Structure," 391-99) and Wright ("Structure of Wisdom 11-19," 28-34; idem, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 165-84) which were inspired by the work of Beauchamp, "Salut corporel des justes," 491-526. Further important studies by Maurice Gilbert ("Structure de la prière," 301-31); F. Perrenchio ("Struttura e analisi letteraria di Sapienza 1,1-15," *Sales* 37

published in 1965, Addison G. Wright and James M. Reese considered both the theme and

the literary devices of inclusion, parallelism, and concentric arrangements in order to

determine the structure of different parts of the Wisdom of Solomon.[40] These articles proved

to be foundational for all future study of the book's structure. Two years later, Wright sought

additional "objective indices" in order to determine the structure of the Wisdom of Solomon

as a whole.[41] He presented a structural analysis of the entire work that identified concentric

structures in chaps. 1–6 (further refining Reese's 1965 study), chaps. 7–8, and chaps. 13–15; a

parallel structure in chap. 9; and linear structures based on repetition in chap. 10 and most of

chaps. 11–19.[42] These important studies by Wright and Reese greatly influenced the way that

scholars understood and analyzed the structure of the Wisdom of Solomon.[43]

For the most part, both before and after the structural studies of Wright and Reese in

the mid 1960s, scholars divided the Wisdom of Solomon into either two or three major

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[1975] 289-325, and "Struttura e analisi letteraria di Sapienza 1,16–2,24 e 5,1-23," *Sales* 43 [1981] 3-43); and Kolarcik (*Ambiguity*) followed. After his 1967 article, which presents an extensive structure for the book based on theme and literary devices, Wright ("Numerical Patterns," 524-38) showed that in addition to structuring the book by theme and literary devices, the author further organized its verses according to the Golden Mean ratio. For a critique of Wright's numerical analysis, see Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 86; Gilbert, "Sagesse de Salomon," 89.

[40] Wright, "Structure of Wisdom 11-19," 28-34; Reese, "Plan and Structure," 391-99. The three main purposes of Wright's study were: (1) to argue for the passage's beginning at 11:2 rather than at 11:1; (2) to present 11:5 as the theme of this last part of the book; and (3) to show that these final nine chapters of the book are presented in five (rather than seven) antithetical diptychs (see also his summary in Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 166). Reese's study focuses on the repetition of terms in chaps. 1–6, which divides the major sections on the basis of inclusion and concentric arrangement. He also presents the structure of chaps. 11–19 (minus the digressions in 11:15–15:19) in terms of seven comparisons between the Israelites and the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus.

[41] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 165. See also Wright, "Structure of Wisdom 11-19," 28.

[42] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 165-84, esp. 167.

[43] See also Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 19.

sections. Where exactly these divisions fall has been a source of contention. Before 1965, most scholars divided the Wisdom of Solomon into either two (chaps. 1–9 and 10–19) or three (chaps. 1–5; 6–9; and 10–19) parts.[44] Although the majority of scholars continued to espouse either a bipartite or tripartite structure for the book after 1965, the delimitation of each division had changed because of Reese's and Wright's influence.

For stichometric and thematic reasons, Wright divides the book into two major parts: Part I is comprised of 1:1–11:1 and Part II extends from 11:2–19:22. His stichometric reason for the book's division is based on Patrick W. Skehan's 1945 study that determined that the book was divided into two equal halves, 560 stichs in 1:1–11:1 and 561 stichs in 11:2–19:22.[45] In a later study, Wright distances himself from Skehan's stichometric analysis and depends more on his own theory that the poetical verses in various sections of the Wisdom of Solomon are arranged according to the Golden Mean ratio, a proposal the validity of which I

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[44] Scholars who held the two-part division enumerated above include Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 111, 162, and J. A. F. Gregg, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (CBSC; Cambridge: University Press, 1909) xlix-lii (although these two scholars further divided chaps. 1–9 into two subsections: chaps. 1–5 and 6–9). See also W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (London: S. P. C. K., 1918) 54 n. 1. The tripartite division was espoused by Grimm, *Buch der Weisheit*, 4 n. 2 (as noted by Kolarcik, *Ambiguity*, 4 n. 8); Heinisch, *Buch der Weisheit*, 1, 110, 191; Robert T. Siebeneck, "Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," *CBQ* 22 (1960) 176. Other tripartite divisions are presented by C. G. Bretschneider, *De Libri Sapientiae parte priore cap. I-XI duobus libellis diversis conflata* (Wittenberg: Tzschiedrich, 1804) (1:1–6:8; 6:9–10:21; 12:1–19:22 [with chap. 11 as an editorial insertion]) as cited by Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 25; Gärtner, *Komposition*, 2, 21, 53, 83 (1:1–5:24; 6:1–11:1; 11:2–19:22 [with the treatment of idolatry in 13:1–15:19]); Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 83-84 (chaps. 1–6; 7–9; 10–19). From these alternative tripartite divisions, one perceives that there is ambiguity concerning where Part II begins and ends. This middle section begins somewhere in chaps. 5–7 and ends somewhere in chaps. 9–11.

[45] Skehan, "Text and Structure," 2. While Skehan's stichometric enumeration is interesting, I find his calculation to be arbitrary. He admits that the number of stichs varies in the three major uncial Greek MSS (e.g., A = 1092, B = 1108, S = 1121). If the number of stichs varies in the oldest extant MSS, then how can one know with such precision the number of stichs in the original composition? Note, too, the many emendations that Skehan ("Text and Structure," 2-4) proposes for his calculation to work. In the end, Skehan's suggestion is possible, but cannot be used to determine the book's structure with any degree of certainty. For a further critique of Skehan's position, see Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 23.

shall address later in this chapter.[46] Wright's thematic reason for dividing the book into these

two halves is the emphasis on the figure of Wisdom in 1:1–11:1, a focus that is virtually

nonexistent in 11:2–19:22 (except for a brief allusion to Wisdom in Wis 14:2, 5). In my

investigation, I follow Wright's bipartite structure for the book. Below, I present a general

outline of this two-part structure with more elaboration in the sections that are relevant for

the present discussion.

      I. Two Fundamental OT Sapiential Themes Revisited (1:1–11:1)

            A. The Reward of the Righteous and Punishment of the Wicked (1:1–6:21)

            B. The Praise of Wisdom (6:22–11:1)

                  1. Introduction (6:22-25)

                  2. The Origin and Nature of Wisdom (7:1–8:21)

                  3. Pseudo-Solomon's Prayer for Wisdom (9:1-18)

                  4. Wisdom's Salvific Acts in Early Israelite History (10:1–11:1)

      II. A Sapiential Reinterpretation of the Exodus Event (11:2–19:22)

            Digressions: A. God's Mercy (11:17–12:22)

                    B. Folly of Nature Worship and Idolatry (13:1–15:17)

Part I addresses two key themes found in OT Wisdom literature, namely (1) the

ultimate fate of the righteous and the wicked; and (2) the figure of personified (or "Lady")

Wisdom. This first half of the book can be further divided into two major subsections based

on these two themes. The first subsection (I,A) focuses on the eternal reward of immortality

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[46] Wright, "Numerical Patterns," 524-38. See esp. p. 536 n. 31 where Wright seems to move away from Skehan's stichometric theory in favor of a bipartite division based on poetic verse count (251 in 1:1–11:1 and 251 in 11:2–19:22).

due the just and eternal disgrace and punishment due the wicked. For this reason, many

scholars have entitled this subsection, "the book of eschatology."[47] Reese's initial work and

Wright's further refinement of it reveal that Wis 1:1–6:21 is an intricate composition with its

own concentric arrangement of sections marked off by inclusions and by theme.[48] While this

first subsection occasionally mentions σοφία, "wisdom," it does so with less frequency than

the second subsection in I,B (seven times in I,A [e.g., 1:4, 6; 3:11; 6:9, 12, 20, 21] compared

to over twenty times in I,B).[49] In this second subsection, the author pseudonymously presents

himself as wise King Solomon who reveals the origins and nature of divine Wisdom (chaps.

7–8), prays to receive her (chap. 9), and recounts her intervention at specific times in Israelite

history (10:1–11:1). To my knowledge, no strong inclusion exists to delimit Wis 6:22–11:1.

However, perhaps the occurrence of σοφία, which is the main theme of the section, in Wis

6:22 (and again in v. 23) and Wis 10:21 serves to bind this subsection together (even though

I,B ends at Wis 11:1, a point which I shall discuss later at length).[50]

In the last forty years, most scholars have taken Wright's two subsections in Part I as

two major sections, thereby arriving at a tripartite structure for the book.[51] However, there is

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[47] See Bretschneider, *De Libri Sapientiae* (as noted by Joseph Reider, *The Book of Wisdom* [Jewish Apocryphal Literature; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957] 2); Reese, "Plan and Structure," 394.

[48] Reese, "Plan and Structure," 394-95. See also Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 170-73.

[49] Ibid., 169.

[50] However, the word σοφία is used too frequently to be considered as a stong inclusion. Note its use in 6:20-21, perhaps serving as a *mot crochet* between Parts I and II.

[51] The majority of post-1960 scholars divide the book into three parts. These include Schmitt, "Struktur," 2 (1:1–6:21; 6:22–10:21; 11:1–19:22), also Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 10-12, and Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 13; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 120-23 (1:1–5:23; 6:1–11:1; 11:2–19:22); Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 5-7; and Hübner, *Weisheit*, 23 (1:1–6:21; 6:22–11:1; 11:2–19:22); Maurice Gilbert, "The Literary Structure of the Book of Wisdom: A Study of Various Views," in *The Book of Wisdom in Modern Research:*

disagreement among scholars about the limits of these two sections. Like Wright, most scholars believe that the first section ends at Wis 6:21.[52] However, others propose an ending at 5:23 (e.g., Larcher) or even at 6:25 (e.g., Bizzeti and Gilbert).[53] Also, scholars differ on the ending of the second section; most of them suggest either 9:18, 10:21, or 11:1.[54] The debate about the end of this section is essentially a debate about the limits and placement of the list of Lady Wisdom's saving acts in chap. 10, which I shall address shortly in more detail.

The list of Wisdom's salvific acts within early Israelite history (i.e., I,B,4 in the outline that I provide) naturally introduces the topic of Part II, which is an extended sapiential reinterpretation of the Exodus event. This second half of the book presents seven comparisons between the righteous Israelites and their unrighteous Egyptian oppressors.[55] At

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Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology (ed. Angelo Passaro and Giuseppe Bellia; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2005; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005) 19-31 (1:1–6:25; 7:1–9:18; 10:1–19:22). Unlike these authors, Scarpat (*Libro della Sapienza*, 1. 13) divides the book into two parts (1:1–6:23; 7:1–19:22), a division which does not appear to take either Wright's or Reese's work into account. Reese ("Plan and Structure," 392-93) presents a four-part division with overlapping sections (1:1–6:11 + 16:17-21; 6:12-16 + 6:22–10:21; 11:16–15:19; 11:1-15 + 16:1–19:22).

[52] Reese, "Plan and Structure," 392; Schmitt, "Struktur," 2; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 10; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 5-6; Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 13.

[53] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 120. Maurice Gilbert has revised his position, moving the ending from 6:21 ("Wisdom of Solomon and Scripture," in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* [ed. Magne Sæbø; 1/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000] 608) to 6:25 ("Literary Structure," 24) following Bizzeti (*Libro della Sapienza*, 65).

[54] Proponents of an ending at Wis 9:18 include Gilbert, "Literary Structure," 26-30; Edwin C. Webster, "Structural Unity in The Book of Wisdom," *East Asia Journal of Theology* 4.1 (1986) 99. Those who end the section with Wis 10:21 include Reese, "Plan and Structure," 392; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 11; Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 13. Scholars who think that the section ends at Wis 11:1 include Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 120; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 6; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 145.

[55] Focke, *Entstehung*, 13; Pfeiffer, "Wisdom of Solomon," 333; Siebeneck, "Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," 181; Reese, "Plan and Structure," 398-99. Wright ("Structure of Wisdom 11-19," 31-32; idem, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 177) does not perceive seven comparisons, but rather five antithetical diptychs (11:6-14; 11:15–16; 16:15-29; 17:1–18:4; 18:5-19 + 19:1-5). The first four of these contain the word ἀντί, "instead," which serves as a "hinge" for the given diptych.

two points, however, the comparisons are interrupted by digressions on the mercy of God

(11:17–12:22) and the folly of nature worship and idolatry (13:1–15:17).[56]

Limits of the Composition in Wisdom 10

The divisional difficulties that scholars encounter in the book as a whole recur when

one attempts to determine the exact limits of the composition in chap. 10. The three main

scholarly delimitations of the section are: (1) 9:18–10:21; (2) 10:1-21; and (3) 10:1–11:1.[57]

Thus, one must establish whether the account of Wisdom's salvific deeds begins at 9:18 or

10:1 and whether it ends at 10:21 or 11:1. I shall address the primary arguments for each

position below.

Armin Schmitt believes that 9:18 should be read as the opening verse of the poem in

chap. 10. He supports his claim with four main arguments.[58] First, he notes that the words τίς

γὰρ ἄνθρωπος γνώσεται βουλὴν θεοῦ, "For what human being knows God's counsel . . . ," in

9:13 and βουλὴν δέ σου τίς ἔγνω, "But who knew your counsel . . . ," in 9:17 form an

inclusion, which sets 9:13-17 apart from 9:18. Second, he points out that 9:18 uses aorist

passive forms (i.e., διωρθώθησαν, "were made straight," ἐδιδάχθησαν, "were taught," and

ἐσώθησαν, "were saved") which conform more with the mostly aorist verbs of 10:1-21 than

with the few aorist forms in 9:1-17. Third, while scholars such as Wright read οὕτως, "in this

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[56] Wright, "Structure of Wisdom 11-19," 31.

[57] For the division 9:18–10:21, see Schmitt, "Struktur," 1-8. For 10:1-21, see Reese, "Plan and Structure," 392. For 10:1–11:1, see Wright, "Structure of Wisdom 11-19," 29, and "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175. Another, less common division is Wis 10:1–11:4; see Heinisch, *Buch der Weisheit*, 212; Schmitt, *Buch der Weisheit*, 15.

[58] Schmitt, "Struktur," 2-4.

way," in 9:18 with what precedes, Schmitt notes that this approach is not certain since οὕτως can also refer to what follows.[59] Fourth, he notes close linguistic and thematic connections between 9:18 and other parts of 10:1-21. For example, he perceives a link between 9:18a (διωρθώθησαν αἱ τρίβοι, "the paths were made straight") and 10:10b (ὡδήγησεν ἐν τρίβοις εὐθείαις, "she led [him] on straight paths"), 10:17b (ὡδήγησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ, "she led them on a way"), and 10:18 (διεβίβασεν . . . καὶ διήγαγεν, "she transported . . . and led"). He also sees a connection between 9:18b (ἐδιδάχθησαν, "they were taught") and 10:10d (καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γνῶσιν, "and she gave him knowledge") and v. 12d (ἵνα γνῷ, "so that he might know"). Finally, Schmitt identifies a link between 9:18c (καὶ τῇ σοφίᾳ ἐσώθησαν, "and they were saved by wisdom") and the entire theme of "saving" in the poem (see ἔσωσεν, "she saved," in 10:4a and other synonyms used in 10:1bc, 5bc, 6a, 9, 12ab, 13b, 15b).

Schmitt's arguments merit serious consideration. First, I agree that there is a linguistic link between vv. 13 and 17, which most likely serves as an inclusion for this small section within Pseudo-Solomon's prayer for Wisdom in chap. 9. However, the inclusion does not exclude 9:18 from the section, most especially because each colon in 9:18 begins with a conjunctive καί, "and." This threefold use of the conjunction shows that 9:18 is dependent upon 9:17 and should be taken with what precedes rather than with what follows. Second, although Schmitt's analysis of the verbal distribution in chaps. 9 and 10 is interesting, it cannot be used to determine the placement of 9:18. After all, four aorist forms appear in 9:16c-17. One cannot then conclude that the aorist passive forms in 9:18 fit better with the aorist forms in chap. 10 rather than with those at the end of chap. 9. Third, Schmitt is correct

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[59] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175-76 n. 3.

to point out that οὕτως can apply not only to what precedes but also to what follows. However, the word usually points backward, as is the case in Wis 5:13.[60] Most importantly, the fact that οὕτως is preceded by a conjunctive καί indicates that it is best read with the preceding material.[61] Fourth, the linguistic and thematic connections that Schmitt presents are not very strong. The τρίβοι, "paths," mentioned in 9:18a are used metaphorically, most likely referring to moral behavior. The "paths" in 10:10b and "way" in 10:17b, by contrast, are more literal since Jacob is fleeing from Esau and the Israelites are escaping from Egypt. In fact, the strongest connection in this regard is not with 9:18, but rather within chap. 10 itself when the verb ὡδήγησεν, "she led," is used in 10:10b and 17b. Here the similar context involving flight from enemies only reinforces the strong connection. Schmitt's proposed link between the themes of "being taught" in 9:18b and "gaining knowledge" in 10:10, 12 is also weak because the theme only applies to one figure (namely, Jacob) in all of chap. 10. If a strong emphasis on acquiring knowledge through Wisdom were intended, then one would expect this theme to run throughout the chapter rather than occurring in only one context. Of the three cola in Wis 9:18, v. 18c by far exhibits the strongest connection with the themes in chap. 10. The salvation of God's people through Wisdom is undoubtedly the major theme in Wis 10:1–11:1 and in the rest of the book (chaps. 11–19). I agree that Wis 9:18c transitions from the prayer in chap. 9 to the segment that lists Wisdom's saving actions in history in chap. 10. This final colon of chap. 9 can even be seen as an introductory "heading" or "title"

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[60] Gilbert, "Literary Structure," 27.

[61] Ibid.

for the following piece; however, I do not think that it is part of the poem proper.[62] Rather, the poem begins with the first use of αὕτη in Wis 10:1; this indirect reference to personified Wisdom is repeated five other times throughout the chapter (vv. 5, 6, 10, 13, 15) and serves to bind the composition together. Even though in the present text the direct reference to σοφία in 9:18c serves as the antecedent to αὕτη, the antecedent in 9:18c is not necessary for identifying the subject of the pericope since Wisdom is explicitly mentioned in three other places (10:4, 8-9, 21) in the composition. In the end, I believe that Wis 10:1 is the opening verse for the passage under investigation and that Wis 9:18 announces the following topic of Wisdom's saving actions in history, thereby serving as a heading for Wis 10:1–11:1.

As I have already mentioned, not only is there debate concerning the passage's beginning, but there are also various proposals concerning its ending. The most prominent discussion is whether the section ends at Wis 10:21 or 11:1.[63] Following the division offered by Joseph Ziegler, many scholars believe that personified Wisdom is not the subject of the verb εὐοδόω, "to prosper," in Wis 11:1 and that the verse begins a new section.[64] Rather than

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[62] On Wis 9:18c as a heading or title for chap. 10, see Gilbert, "Literary Structure," 28. Similarly, Wright ("Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 174) claims that "[9:]18 announces the subject of the next section."

[63] A few scholars have argued that the section ends at 11:4. The most notable of these are Heinisch, *Buch der Weisheit*, 212 and Schmitt, *Buch der Weisheit*, 15. I think that this proposal is unlikely for two reasons. First, the subject changes from Lady Wisdom in 11:1 to the Israelites in 11:2. Second, the topic of water from the rock in 11:4 should be taken with what follows in 11:5-14 since there seems to be an inclusion formed by the only two uses of the verb διψάω, "to thirst," in the book (cf. Wis 11:4, 14; see also the occurrence of the nominal form δίψος, "thirst," in 11:8 which further binds the section together). On this last point, see Reese, "Plan and Structure," 398.

[64] Those commentators who opt for the transitive reading include Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 238; Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 176; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 309; and Hübner, *Weisheit*, 145. Scholars who read 11:1 intransitively include Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 129; Reese, "Plan and Structure," 392; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 226; and Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 27-30.

reading the verb transitively ("She [Wisdom] prospered their works by the hand of a holy

prophet"), they render it intransitively and translate the verse: "Their works prospered by the

hand of a holy prophet." Reese presents several arguments in support of this position.[65] First,

he claims that one would expect the author to use either the anaphoric αὕτη or a direct

reference to Wisdom at the climax of the poem in chap. 10. Since, however, 10:21 provides a

direct reference to ἡ σοφία and 11:1 does not unambiguously mention Wisdom, the poem

most likely ends at 10:21. Second, he notes that the verb εὐοδόω is not only used absolutely

in the passive but also in the active (as evidenced by εὐοδώσεις, "you will prosper/succeed,"

in 2 Chr 18:14, which is a future active indicative). Third, Reese mentions that the verbs

εὐόδωσεν in 11:1 and διώδευσαν in 11:2a are linked by a phonetical similarity and implies

that 11:1-2 should be read as a bicolon.[66]

Wright, who reads the verb transitively and believes that the section ends at 11:1,

responds that Reese's proposal "is possible but unlikely" and critiques his arguments.[67] First,

the "holy prophet" in 11:1 is none other than Moses. Wright notes that the portrayal of Moses

in this verse conforms more to what precedes in chap. 10 than to what follows in chaps. 11–

19. In the last half of the book, God is often described as acting directly and Moses is rarely

mentioned (e.g., Wis 11:4). However, like Wis 11:1, Wis 10:16 describes Wisdom acting

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[65] Reese, "Plan and Structure," 392.

[66] Ibid., 392-93 n. 7.

[67] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 176.

through Moses.[68] I would also add that there may be a thematic inclusion through the figure

of Moses in 10:16 and 11:1 which delimits a subsection of Wis 10:1–11:1 in 10:15–11:1.[69]

Wright responds to Reese's third point by suggesting that the link between εὐόδωσεν and

διώδευσαν is a *mot crochet* between sections and not necessarily the sign of a bicolon. I agree

with Wright's observations. In addition, I think that the theme of prosperity evoked by the

verb εὐόδωσεν in 11:1 best fits the context of Wisdom's actions which bring prosperity to

Jacob in Wis 10:10 and to the Israelites in 10:17. Thus, even though the verb εὐοδόω can be

read either intransitively or transitively, I follow the transitive rendering and believe that the

verse summarizes the section about Lady Wisdom at the end of chap. 10. Just as God saves

Israel through Wisdom, Wisdom saves Israel through Moses the holy prophet.

Placement and Role of Wis 10:1–11:1 within the Larger Structure

Many scholars describe Wis 10:1–11:1 as a "transitional" section in the Wisdom of

Solomon.[70] Reese claims that chap. 10 is "[a] vivid ode to divine Wisdom, explaining her

saving work in history, [which] forms an epilogue to this [i.e., second] part of the book."[71]

He follows this statement by suggesting that there is a strong possibility that chap. 10 was

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[68] Ibid.

[69] See Hübner, *Weisheit*, 145.

[70] Skehan, "Text and Structure," 2; Wright, "Structure of Wisdom 11-19," 29; idem, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 165, 175; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 607; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 21.

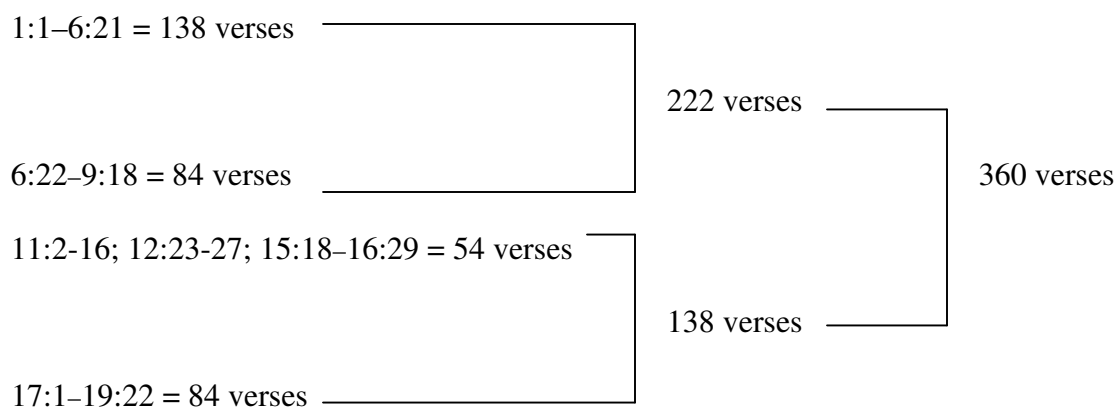[71] Reese, "Plan and Structure," 392.

"an independent composition."[72] Other scholars agree with this assertion and go even further

by contending that chap. 10 was added to connect the two halves of the book in 1:1–9:18 and

11:2–19:22.[73] This hypothesis is very plausible and is supported by the following three

reasons. First, Wright has shown that the arrangement of the book into numerical patterns

seems to indicate that chap. 10 was composed separately and later added to bind the two

major halves of the book together. Second, Gilbert has noted that chap. 10 shares important

themes with chap. 19 and thereby serves as the opening element of a framing device in the

last part of the book. Third, aside from the connections with chap. 19, chap. 10 has many

other connective words, phrases, and themes in common with both halves of the book. It may

be beneficial to look at each of these three points in more detail.

Wright's proposal that the Wisdom of Solomon is arranged according to the Golden

Mean ratio may provide proof that the author composed and inserted chap. 10 into his work

in order to bind the two major halves of the book together. Through his calculation of poetic

verses (arranged as monostichs, distichs, and tristichs, also called monocola, bicola, and

tricola) in various sections of the book, Wright determined that Pseudo-Solomon structured

most major sections of his work based on the mathematical sequence 1, 4, 5, 9, 14, 23, 37, 60

times 6 (yielding 6, 24, 30, 54, 84, 138, 222, 360). Each number in this sequence is the sum

of the two preceding numbers, and the Golden Mean ratio can be calculated by the following

equation: $m/M = M/(m+M) = .618$, where m is the smaller number and M is the larger

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[72] Ibid. See also Engel (*Buch der Weisheit*, 18) who notes that chap. 10 constitutes a unity of form and content within itself ("Es bildet formal und inhaltlich in sich eine Einheit.").

[73] Skehan, "Text and Structure," 2; Wright, "Structure of Wisdom 11-19," 29; idem, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 165.

number.[74] Based on this equation, Wright's remarkable verse counts for the book are as follows:

1:1–6:21 = 138 verses

6:22–9:18 = 84 verses

222 verses

11:2-16; 12:23-27; 15:18–16:29 = 54 verses

138 verses

360 verses

17:1–19:22 = 84 verses

The transitional section in Wis 10:1–11:1 and the two digressions (i.e., 11:17–12:22 and 13:1–15:17) in the last half of the book are not included in this count. Wright believes that the author added these sections after the two main halves had been composed and that Wis 10:1–11:1 was incorporated in order to bind the two halves of the book together. Despite the minor objections that a few scholars have presented in order to refute Wright's theory, I find that none have entirely undermined his overarching structure and verse counts in Wis 1:1–9:18 and 11:2–19:22.[75]

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[74] If one enters the numbers into this equation it will not always yield .618, but as the sequence progresses, the relationship between consecutive numbers gradually approaches .618. Note for example, 222/360 = .617.

[75] The primary critics of Wright's theory are Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 86) and Gilbert ("Sagesse," 89). Their main objection is that Wright ultimately determines the verse arrangement and occasionally uses his subjective verse divisions to his advantage by manipulating them to fit the Golden Mean ratio. In some ways this objection is true. When a verse division is ambiguous, Wright decides how the verse should be divided, and the division that he selects inevitably conforms to the Golden Mean ratio (e.g., see Wright, "Numerical Patterns," 222, where the number of verses in 7:13-22a [he counts 10, but it is usually counted as 9] is dependent on the number of verses in 7:1-6 [he counts 5 and says that a count of 6 would be

In addition to the evidence provided by Wright's Golden Mean hypothesis, the connections that Gilbert notes between chaps. 10 and 19 are a further indication that 10:1–11:1 is transitional in nature. Gilbert asserts that Wis 10:1-21 and 19:10-22 form an inclusion for the second half of the book and presents four main points to support his position. First, he notes that the invocation of the Lord in Wis 10:20 and 19:9 alludes to the hymn in Exodus 15 and that the verb αἰνέω, "to praise," appears only in these two verses in the Wisdom of Solomon.[76] Second, he points out that the θάλασσαν ἐρυθράν / ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, "Red Sea," is only mentioned twice in the entire book—in 10:18 and 19:7. According to Gilbert, aside from the reference to the Pentapolis in Wis 10:6, these two explicit references to the Red Sea are the only times that a proper name is used in the Wisdom of Solomon.[77] Third, he astutely notes that Wis 10:6-8 and 19:14(-15?), 17 are the only times that the book alludes to the

forced] because he needs a total of 23 verses for the ratio to work). However, in Wright's defense, there are very few cases where he differs from Henry Barclay Swete's (*The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint* [3 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1887-94] 2. 604-43) verse division. One must remember that Wright is still limited by the text, insofar as he considers both thematic and literary devices when determining verse divisions. The way in which he divides the verses must preserve the thought sense of each verse in order to be valid, and I think that in most cases Wright adequately accomplishes this task. In the end, I believe that the probability of the verse calculations in the overarching sections being equivalent to the Golden Mean ratio is too great to be due to mere chance. Thus, Wright shows that Pseudo-Solomon intended to imbue his work with mathematical and formal beauty. However, Wright's division of the book according to this ratio raises some interesting questions about the book's composition. Did Pseudo-Solomon compose the various parts separately (since they are all internally arranged according the Golden Mean ratio) and then combine them later through Wis 10:1–11:1 and the digressions? If this be the case, then why would the author/redactor have marred the formal beauty of the last half of the book by adding the digressions?

[76] Gilbert, "Literary Structure," 28.

[77] Ibid.

sinful Sodomites.[78] Fourth, Gilbert also claims that both 10:1-21 and 19:10-22 form a "series or list," and when taken together, summarize the events in chaps. 11–19.[79]

While Gilbert's findings are accurate and convincing in general, I have three major problems with the specifics of his argument. First, his first two points do not support an inclusion in 19:10-22 because they occur before this passage, namely, in Wis 19:7-9. Thus, in order for this inclusion to work, Gilbert must expand his closing section to include the latter verses. Second, although the thematic and verbal connections between chaps. 10 and 19 are undeniable, I believe that Gilbert has presented an example of a "weak" or "loose" type of literary inclusion because the elements cited by him are scattered throughout the chapters and do not fall at the very beginning of chap. 10 or at the very end of chap. 19. Third, his fourth point is slightly misleading since the two sections differ in their genre and form. If one can indeed call 19:10-22 a "series or list," then it is a very different type of series than 10:1-21. The former summarizes and lists the events in chaps. 11–19, while the latter summarizes and lists events in early Israelite history. Also, there is a difference of subject (i.e., Lady Wisdom in 10:1–11:1 versus the righteous Israelites, the wicked Egyptians, and God in 19:10-22) and thematic content in these two passages, which shows that they are ultimately independent of each other. While I agree with Gilbert that there is a literary connection between chaps. 10 and 19, I believe that my objections show that this constitutes a weaker type of literary inclusion. Furthermore, I do not think that these literary connections between chaps. 10 and 19 precludes chap. 10 from belonging primarily to the first half of the book. Wis 10:1–11:1 is

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[78] Ibid., 30.

[79] Ibid.

closely related to the prayer in chap. 9 because personified Wisdom (σοφία in 9:18) is the

antecedent of the demonstrative pronoun αὕτη, "that one (f.)," which runs throughout chap.

10.[80] Also, the theme of Wisdom which dominates 1:1–11:1 is missing from 11:2–19:22.

After 10:1–11:1, Wisdom is no longer the main focus or the explicit agent of God's faithful

actions toward his chosen people. In the end, I agree with Wright who believes that,

formally, Wis 10:1–11:1 belongs to the first part of the book. I think that the passage is

transitional because it not only serves as a conclusion to Part I, but at the same time functions

as an introduction to Part II.[81]

In composing 10:1–11:1 as a transitional passage, the author incorporates elements

that link the pericope to both halves of the book.[82] The most notable link with Part I is the

theme of personified Wisdom (especially in Wis 6:22–11:1),[83] while the major connection

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[80] Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 18.

[81] Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 21.

[82] In this section, I shall briefly mention some of the most notable connections between Wis 10:1–11:1 and Parts I and II. I shall investigate some of these connections in more detail in addition to other verbal links between Wis 10:1–11:1 and the rest of the book in the exegesis portion (Chapter Five) of this dissertation.

[83] The term σοφία, "Wisdom," is used 28 times in Part I (7 times in 1:1–6:21 and 21 times in 6:22–11:1) and only twice in Part II (14:2, 5). Many of the same concepts associated with personified Wisdom in 10:1–11:1 are also mentioned elsewhere in Part I. For example, in 10:10, 17 Wisdom leads/guides (ὡδήγησεν) righteous figures to safety and in 9:11 Solomon believes that she will guide (ὁδηγήσει) him in his affairs (the verb φυλάσσω, "to guard," is also used here in Wis 9:11, as it is in Wis 10:5 and later in Wis 19:6). Another connection is through the verb ἀσφαλίζω, "to make safe," "secure," which is only used twice in the book, in Wis 10:12 where Lady Wisdom protects Jacob and in Wis 4:17 where God grants the righteous individual security. There is also the notion of Wisdom "entering" only those souls worthy of her—in Wis 10:16 she enters (εἰσῆλθεν) into Moses' soul; in Wis 1:4 she does not enter (οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται) into a soul that plots evil, while in Wis 7:27 she passes/moves (μεταβαίνουσα) into holy souls and thereby produces friends of God and prophets. Wisdom also works wonders and signs (τέρασι καὶ σημείοις) in Wis 10:16 and has future knowledge of them in Wis 8:8 (see also Wis 19:8). In addition, Wisdom is associated with δόξα, "glory," which she receives from God (Wis 7:25) and bestows upon the righteous (e.g., Solomon in Wis 8:10 and Joseph in Wis 10:14). Yet another characteristic of Wisdom is her clarity of speech (τρανός) which is listed among her qualities in Wis 7:22 and made manifest in Wis 10:21 where she miraculously makes infants speak clearly.

with Part II is God's salvation in Israelite history, especially in terms of the Exodus event

(see Wis 10:15–19:22). The theme of the righteous versus the unrighteous is a theme found

throughout the book.[84] However, it is in chap. 10 where for the first time the righteous are

identified with the Israelites and the unrighteous with their Egyptian oppressors (a theme

which continues until the end of the work). Also, the presentation of seven nameless

exemplary figures in 10:1–11:1 is similar to the lists of seven in the rest of the book

(especially the seven comparisons in Part II).[85] Along with these broad thematic connections,

there are other, less obvious verbal and thematic connections between chap. 10 and the rest

of the book. Some of the most striking connections between 10:1–11:1 and the rest of Part I

include: the use of Enoch as an example in 4:10-14b which prepares for the unnamed

historical figures in chap. 10;[86] the reference to the first man as πρωτόπλαστος, "first-

formed," a term which occurs in the LXX only in Wis 7:1 and 10:1; and the use of the verb

ἐνεδρεύω, "to lie in wait for," "to set an ambush," to express the plotting action of the wicked

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[84] The word δίκαιος, "righteous," "just," appears in Part I in Wis 2:10, 12, 16, 18; 3:1; 4:7, 16; 5:1, 15; 10:4, 5, 6, 10, 13, 20. It is interesting to note that chap. 10 is the only place in Wis 6:22–11:1 where this word is used. The same word occurs in Part II in Wis 11:14; 12:9, 19; 16:17, 23; 18:7, 20; 19:17, where it refers to the Israelites (as it does in Wis 10:20). Another word used to refer to righteous individuals is ὅσιος/ὅσιοι, "holy/holy ones," which occurs in Part I in 4:15; 6:10; 7:27; 10:15, 17. In Part II, the word occurs in Wis 18:1, 5, 9. In chap. 10 and Part II, the word refers specifically to the Israelites, the holy people of God. The word ἄδικος, "unrighteous," "unjust," is found in Part I in Wis 3:19; 4:16; 10:3. In Part II it occurs in 12:12; 14:31; 16:19, 24. Another word used in reference to the wicked or unrighteous is ἀσεβής, "ungodly," which occurs in Part I in Wis 1:9, 16; 3:10; 4:3, 16; 5:14; 10:6, 20 and in Part II in Wis 11:9; 12:9; 19:1. In Wis 10:20; 11:9; and 19:1, the term refers specifically to the Egyptians who oppressed the Israelites.

[85] These lists of seven are noted by Pfeiffer, "Wisdom of Solomon," 333; Siebeneck, "Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," 181; Schmitt, *Buch der Weisheit*, 15. Other lists of seven include: the twenty-one (7 x 3) attributes of Wisdom (7:22-23); the seven sounds that frightened the Egyptians (17:18-19); and the seven comparisons between God's holy people and the Egyptians (chaps. 11; 16–19). The list of seven righteous figures in chap. 10 is enumerated by Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 211.

[86] Reese, "Plan and Structure," 395.

against the righteous individual in Wis 2:12 and to describe the evil enemies of Israel's righteous patriarch Jacob in Wis 10:12.

Chapter 10 also shares many themes with Part II. One example is the connection between Wis 10:4 and 14:4-7 since both passages use the words σῴζω, "to save," κυβερνάω, "to steer," and ξύλον, "wood," which allude to the theme of Noah's salvation from the Flood. Other examples include (1) the two uses of the word ὁμόνοια, "unity, concord," which contrast the unity of mind and intention of the wicked nations in Wis 10:5 with that of the Israelites in faithfully practicing God's commands during the first Passover in Wis 18:9; (2) the three uses of the word ἄμεμπτος, "blameless," in reference to Abraham (10:5), Israel (10:15), and Aaron (18:21); (3) the use of ἀνθίστημι, "to withstand," to describe Wisdom's power over dreaded foreign kings (10:16) and Israel's victory over its enemies (11:3); (4) the two participial forms of the verb τυραννέω, "to tyrannize," "to govern" used to describe Joseph's (10:14) and Israel's (16:4) oppressors, who are Egyptians in both contexts; and (5) the two uses of the adjective θαυμαστός, "wonderful, marvelous," when referring to the Exodus event in Wis 10:17 and 19:8 (a connection not mentioned by Gilbert).

There are also several themes that occur throughout Parts I and II that are found in Wis 10:1–11:1. For example, the close proximity of the word πονηρία, "wickedness," and a word containing the Greek root μαρτυρ-, "witness," occurs three times in the book (Wis 4:6; 10:7; 17:10). In each of these instances sinful behavior leaves behind a "testimony" to wickedness. Given this evidence of sinfulness, the wicked are unable to escape their deserved punishment of eternal condemnation and infamy. Another example is the themes of guarding (expressed by φυλάσσω) and delivering (expressed by ῥύομαι) associated with God and with

his agent Lady Wisdom. In Wis 9:11, Solomon has assurance that Wisdom will guard

(φυλάξει) him by her glory. In the same way, she guards (ἐφύλαξεν) Abraham in 10:5 as well

as Adam in 10:1 and Jacob in 10:12.[87] Also in 19:6, the Israelites are guarded (φυλαχθῶσιν)

by creation being made anew by God. As for examples on the theme of delivering, God is

expected to deliver (ῥύσεται) the righteous individual who is derided by the wicked in Wis

2:18; Lady Wisdom delivers (ἐρρύσατο) Lot in 10:6, Jacob in 10:9, and Israel in Wis 10:15;

and God is seen as the one who delivers (ὁ ῥυόμενος) his people from evil in Wis 16:8 and as

their deliverer (τὸν ῥυσάμενον) in Wis 19:9.

I believe that the examples which I have listed above illustrate that 10:1–11:1 is

indeed a transitional section within the Wisdom of Solomon. Furthermore, the themes in

chaps. 10 and 19 put forth by Gilbert and the Golden Mean theory espoused by Wright

provide additional evidence for this transitional role and may further indicate that Pseudo-

Solomon wrote and inserted Wis 10:1–11:1 into the text to bind together Parts I and II of the

book.

The Wisdom of Solomon: Poetry or Prose?

Along with the difficulty of determining the book's exact structure, there is the

problem of determining whether the Wisdom of Solomon is a poetic or prose composition.[88]

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[87] Note that the verb διαφυλάσσω is used in these last two cases. This verb appears only one other time in the Wisdom of Solomon (i.e., 17:4, διεφύλαττεν), where the author uses it to describe how the "inner chambers" of the Egyptians fail to bring them security and peace of mind during the plague of darkness. This false security can be contrasted with the protection that only Wisdom can give, as presented in 10:1, 12.

[88] The majority of scholars treat the Wisdom of Solomon as poetry, but there are a few who present parts of the text as prose in their translations (e.g., Wis 8:19-21; 10:8-10b; 12:19–19:22 in Karl Siegfried, "Die Weisheit Salomos," in *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* [ed. E. Kautzsch; 2 vols.;

Although Pseudo-Solomon's original manuscript of the book has been lost, and one cannot know with absolute certainty how he originally presented the text of his work, the earliest extant complete Greek MSS of the Wisdom of Solomon from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. divide the entire work into "cola" or "stichs."[89] This stichometric division of the work indicates that the book was regarded as poetry, at least by early copyists. The majority of modern scholars have noted that many of the cola display *parallelismus membrorum*, and some cola can be grouped together into sets of two (i.e., bicola) or three (i.e., tricola) based on this feature.[90] This specific type of parallelism and grouping of cola in the book, especially in the first six chapters, are key characteristics of biblical Hebrew poetry.[91]

Yet as I have discussed in the previous chapter, the book's original language of composition is Greek, not Hebrew. Thus, if the work is indeed poetical in nature, one would

Freiburg/Leipzig: Mohr, 1900] 1. 492-93, 497-507, and Wis 10:1–19:22 in *Die Bibel: Einheitsübersetzung* [Freiburg: Herder, 1980] 746-55) with little or no explanation. See comments by Schmitt, *Buch der Weisheit*, 13-14.

[89] See the photographic reproductions of these MSS: Helen Lake and Kirsopp Lake, eds., *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus et Frederico-Augustanus lipsiensis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922); *Bibliorum SS. Graecorum Codex Vaticanus. 1209 Cod. B. denuo phototypice expressus iussu et cura praesidum Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Milan: Ulricum Hoepli, 1904-7); Edward M. Thompson, *Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus* (London: British Museum, 1879-83). There is not always agreement about the length and number of cola (as I show in the text-critical section of 10:1–11:1 above). S has 1100 cola; B has 1121; and A has 1092; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 84. Also, one of the earliest extant Greek fragments of the Wisdom of Solomon from the third century A.D. (*Pap*. 928) presents Wis 11:19b-22 and 12:8c-11 stichometrically; see Colin H. Roberts, ed., *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, vol. 1 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1950) 12-13. See also Ziegler, *Sapientia*, 10; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 55, 83.

[90] Some scholars who perceive that much of the Wisdom of Solomon displays Hebraic *parallelismus membrorum* include Louis Mariès, "Remarques sur la forme poétique du livre de la Sagesse (1^1-9^{17})," *RB* 5 (1908) 251; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 25-26; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 14-15; Eric D. Reymond, "The Poetry of the Wisdom of Solomon Reconsidered," *VT* 52 (2002) 385-99. Although the earliest complete Greek MSS present the text stichometrically (i.e., divided into cola), the cola are not arranged into poetical verses (i.e., bicola and tricola).

[91] Parallelism is most evident in the book's first six chapters. Perhaps this is why some scholars in the late 18th and early 19th centuries believed that these initial chapters were originally written in Hebrew. There are fewer cases of parallelism in the rest of the book (chaps. 7–19); however, parallelism is still present.

expect it to exhibit traditional patterns of Greek meter that were employed by poets during the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods.[92] However, this is not the case. Although there have been attempts by scholars to detect sustained metrical patterns within Pseudo-Solomon's work, none of these attempts has achieved its aim.[93] From these failed efforts to ascertain extensive Greek meter in the work, one can only conclude that the work is not a poetical Greek composition in the strictest sense. However, even though the Wisdom of Solomon does not exhibit a sustained Greek metrical pattern throughout, it does evidence many Greek poetic and rhetorical elements. Some of the most notable examples of these elements include: *accumulatio*, alliteration, assonance, *anaphora*, antithesis, *chiasmus* (also *inclusio*), *homoioteleuton*, *hyperbaton*, *litotes*, *paronomasia*, and *sorites*.[94]

Given the Greek poetic and rhetorical features presented above as well as the book's parallelism between cola, scholars tend to agree that the work is essentially a poetic composition written in Greek rhythmic prose. For example, Gilbert categorizes the Wisdom

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[92] The most common types of Greek metrical patterns employed by poets between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. were dactylic hexameter, elegiac couplet, and iambic trimeter. See M. L. West, *Introduction to Greek Metre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) 68. For examples of the poetry from this period, see Neil Hopkinson, *Greek Poetry of the Imperial Period: An Anthology* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994) esp. 22-26.

[93] This attempt was made by scholars especially during the first quarter of the 20th century. See Maries, "Remarques," 251-57; Henri Bois, *Essai sur les origines de la philosophie judéo-alexandrine* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1890) 212; H. St J. Thackeray, "Rhythm in the Book of Wisdom," *JTS* 6 (1905) 232-37. See also comments by Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, xv; Kolarcik, *Ambiguity*, 7; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 15.

[94] For these features with extensive examples, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 15-16. Galen O. Rowe ("Style," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.-A.D. 400* [ed. Stanley E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 1997] 124-50) presents an extensive list of "tropes" and "affective figures" of Greek rhetoric in use during the Hellenistic era. Although many of the features listed are characteristic of Greek rhetoric, some are found in Hebrew poetry as well (e.g., *anaphora*, *chiasmus*, *inclusio*). Alliteration, assonance, and *paronomasia* also appear in Hebrew poetry, but do not apply in this case because these features are dependent on the sounds of words in the language of composition (or in some cases in the language of translation) which is Greek for the Wisdom of Solomon.

of Solomon as ". . . a poetical work, or in a certain sense a rhythmic prose composition."[95]

Yet ambiguity persists in Gilbert's definition. Is the book poetry or prose? It is precisely the

combination of Hebrew poetic and Greek rhythmic prose elements that makes the

compositional nature of the Wisdom of Solomon very difficult to define. As Larcher astutely

notes, "This combination of influences has given rise to a work which remains difficult to

define. Undeniably, the author wanted to compose a poetic work by imitating biblical poetry

and by hellenizing it."[96] Like Larcher, I believe that Pseudo-Solomon intended to imitate the

style of Hebrew poetry found in the Hebrew Scriptures. More specifically, he was imitating

the style of poetry found in the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures known as the

Septuagint (= LXX). When the LXX was produced between the third and first centuries B.C.,

it retained some of the key elements of Hebrew poetry such as parallelism. However, it

would have been extremely difficult for the translators of the LXX to transpose the Hebrew

poetry, which operates with different constraints than Hellenistic poetry, into patterns of

classical Greek meter. Although there may be times when the LXX presents poetical

passages as rhythmic prose, its text predominantly exhibits a freer type of rhythm. Thus, not

only did the anonymous author of the Book of Wisdom write under the fiction of wise King

Solomon in order to lend authority to his composition, but he also tried to elicit respect for

his work by presenting it as closely as possible to the LXX, by employing rhythmical prose

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[95] Gilbert, "Wisdom of Solomon," 606. Similarly, Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 90-91.

[96] "Cet ensemble d'influences a donné lieu à une oeuvre qui reste difficile à définir. Incontestablement, l'auteur a voulu composer une oeuvre poétique, en imitant la poésie biblique et en hellénisant celle-ci." Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 90.

and a freer type of verse throughout.[97] In the end, I believe that the Wisdom of Solomon is primarily a poetic work, influenced by biblical Hebrew poetry, and composed with elements of Greek rhythmic prose.

Wisdom 10:1–11:1 as Greek Rhythmic Prose with Hebrew Poetic Structure

Like most of the Wisdom of Solomon, Wis 10:1–11:1 is modeled on Hebrew poetry and written in Greek rhythmic prose. The chapter displays both Hebrew and Greek poetic and rhetorical elements. The primary Hebrew influence is perceived through the use of parallelism in some, but not all, of the cola. Based on the parallelism in some cola and the syntactical dependence between others, the cola of Wis 10:1–11:1 can be divided into bicola, tricola, and the occasional monocolon. These sets of cola or "verses" are then arranged into strophes and stanzas. The arrangement of cola in chap. 10 based on parallelism and syntactic dependence shows that Pseudo-Solomon most likely employed a Hebrew poetic structure. I shall discuss the details of chap. 10's poetic structure later in this chapter.

Along with Hebrew poetic elements, Wis 10:1–11:1 also exhibits many elements associated with Greek poetry and rhetoric. However, like the book as a whole, the most notable element of Greek poetry is missing from chap. 10, namely, a sustained metrical pattern. For this reason, the chapter cannot be understood as Greek poetry in the strictest sense, but is best understood as Greek rhythmic prose with a Hebrew poetic structure.

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[97] This may be a further indication that the intended audience is a hellenized Jewish community, which would have considered the LXX authoritative. If the work were intended for proselytizing pagans, I think that Pseudo-Solomon would have tried to impress them by composing in one or more of the sustained Greek metrical patterns current at the time (e.g., dactylic hexameter, elegiac couplet, iambic trimeter).

Internal Structure of Wisdom 10:1–11:1

There are several literary devices involving repeated words and phrases that scholars generally perceive as organizational indices in Wis 10:1–11:1. First, there is the six-fold anaphoric use of the emphatic demonstrative pronoun αὕτη, "that one (f.)," in Wis 10:1a, 5a, 6a, 10a, 13a, 15a.[98] Second, there is a *Re-Nominalisierung* ("renominalization" or reintroduction of the subject) through the recurrence of σοφία, "Wisdom," four times in Wis 10:4a, 8a, 9a, 21a, which clarifies the antecedent of the demonstrative pronoun.[99] Third, the word δίκαιος, "righteous," "just," appears six times in connection with key biblical figures such as Noah in 10:4b, Abraham in 10:5b, Lot in 10:6a, Jacob in 10:10a, Joseph 10:13a, and the people of Israel in 10:20a (Adam does not explicitly receive this positive epithet) in addition to the negative epithet ἄδικος, "unrighteous," "unjust," ascribed to Cain in 10:3a.[100] Fourth, there are repetitions of catchwords and phrases which, at times, also function as inclusions. Examples include διεφύλαξεν/ἐφύλαξεν, "she protected/she guarded" (vv. 1b, 5c; also in v. 12a); ἐρρύσατο, "deliver," "rescue" (vv. 6a, 9a; also in vv. 13a, 15b); σοφία + ἐσώθησαν/ἔσωσεν, "Wisdom" + "they were saved/she saved" (9:18c and 10:4a, if one takes 9:18 as part of this passage); πονηρίας, "wickedness" (vv. 5a, 7a); γνῶσιν/γνῷ, "knowledge/he might know" (vv. 10d, 12d) and ἔδειξεν + ἔδωκεν, "she showed" + "she gave"

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[98] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175; Schmitt, "Struktur," 6; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 212; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 72; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 164; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 276.

[99] Schmitt, "Struktur," 6-7; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 164. Wright ("Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175-76) also sees this repetition of σοφία as a structuring device.

[100] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175; Schmitt, "Struktur," 7; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 211.

(vv. 10cd, 14ef).[101] However, there is no consensus on how exactly these indices structure the passage.

In addition to the above literary devices involving word and phrase repetition, scholars note that Wis 10:1–11:1 is structured thematically by seven to nine sets of comparisons involving nameless biblical individuals and groups who are identified only by their moral standing as either righteous or wicked (*antonomasia*).[102] However, in virtue of the wider biblical context, one is able to identify the biblical figures about whom Pseudo-Solomon is writing. Although scholars differ on how to pair these comparisons, I believe that the best combination is represented by the following seven sets,[103] which I subsequently order into five poetic strophes (I–V) and three stanzas (A–C):[104]

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[101] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175-76. Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 212) mentions the first two examples, which he categorizes as inclusions.

[102] On the namelessness of the biblical figures, see Gilbert, "Sagesse," 72; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 164; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 277.

[103] These seven comparisons are enumerated by Winston, *Wisdom*, 211. The same seven are listed by Pfeiffer ("Wisdom of Solomon," 316) and Focke (*Entstehung*, 19-20), but they both add two more for a total of nine comparisons (i.e., Moses contrasted with Pharaoh in 10:16 and Israel crossing the Red Sea vs. the Egyptians drowning in 10:17–11:1). Gilbert ("Sagesse," 72) and Engel (*Buch der Weisheit*, 165) list eight comparisons with a different enumeration for the first two (e.g., Adam vs. his sin in 10:1-2 and Abel vs. Cain in 10:3). Also, their enumeration focuses on more than individuals and includes internal struggles (e.g., Adam vs. his sin and Abraham vs. the love for his son, Isaac). Schmitt ("Struktur," 8) only lists five comparisons, surprisingly not including Noah and Jacob.

[104] In Hebrew poetry, strophes are large poetic units comprised of monocola, bicola, and tricola which are often bound by a common topic and/or literary inclusion. Occasionally, strophes are linked together by a common theme or inclusion that generate even larger units known as stanzas. A stanza may be composed of one or more strophes. See Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984) 160-61.

A	I	1) Adam (10:1-2)—Cain (10:3)
		2) Noah—generation of the Flood (10:4)
		3) Abraham—wicked nations at Babel (10:5)
	II	4) Lot—inhabitants of the Pentapolis, his wife (10:6-9)
B	III	5) Jacob—Esau, Laban, his enemies (10:10-12)
	IV	6) Joseph—his brothers, Potiphar's wife, his oppressors (10:13-14)
C	V	7) Israel under Moses—their Egyptian oppressors (10:15–11:1)

Strophe I extends from v. 1a to v. 5c. Although it may seem that v. 5 should stand on its own, or belong with Strophe II, there are two main factors which hint that the verse belongs to Strophe I of this poem. First, there is the loose verbal inclusion between vv. 1-2 and v. 5 which is formed by the words αὕτη, (δι)εφύλαξεν, and ἰσχύν/ἰσχυρόν in close proximity.[105] Second, in v. 1 and v. 5, there is a thematic inclusion which concerns familial relations. Like Adam the "first-formed father," Abraham is also described as a father, as implied by the reference to his compassion for his τέκνον, "child." Thus, two important father-figures frame Strophe I; Adam is the father of the human race, and Abraham is the father of Isaac and the first patriarch of the nation of Israel.

Strophe II comprises the section from v. 6a to v. 9a. The section is framed by the word ἐρρύσατο, "(she) saved," which occurs as the last word of v. 6a and v. 9a and forms a

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[105] Wright ("Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175) only notes the "possible" inclusion in vv. 1 and 5 via the words διεφύλαξεν and ἐφύλαξεν. He totally disregards this inclusion in his article "Numerical Patterns," 535, perhaps because it does not fit his structure for the passage which is itself dependent on the Golden Mean theory. See also Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 212; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 164. If taken on their own, the words ἰσχύν/ἰσχυρόν would form a weak inclusion, but when considered with the other words cited above, they help to delimit the strophe.

verbal inclusion.[106] This strophe is also bound by the theme of Lot and the evil inhabitants of the Pentapolis, which is its main focus. However, the strophe seems to be more about the wicked (vv. 6a-9b) and the consequences of abandoning Wisdom than about the righteous man Lot (v. 6a-b). Some scholars see vv. 8-9 as a transitional section in the poem which is marked off by two occurrences of σοφία (vv. 8a, 9a) and summarizes the fate of the unrighteous and righteous up to this point.[107] While the monocolon in v. 9a can be understood as a summarizing point, which looks both to what precedes and follows, I believe that v. 8 is a continuation of the thought in v. 7, namely, that the inhabitants of the Pentapolis and Lot's wife left behind evidence of their unrighteousness.

As far as I can determine, there is no strong overall inclusion linking Strophes I and II. Yet there is a threefold occurrence of σοφία (vv. 4a, 8a, 9a) which most likely serves as a significant *mot crochet* for the two strophes since this same word does not occur again until near the end of the poem (see 10:21a). Also, there is a possibility that the double σοφία in vv. 8-9 refers back to the poem's heading/title in 9:18, thereby delimiting Strophes I and II. However, I see the term more as a linking word than as an inclusion. Nonetheless, through the linking word σοφία, Strophes I and II constitute the first stanza (A) of the poem in 10:1–11:1.

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[106] Wright ("Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175) also mentions this inclusion. See also Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 212; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 164.

[107] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175. Engel (*Buch der Weisheit*, 165) categorizes vv. 8-9 as a *Zwischenbilanz* (a transitional or "balancing" passage between sections).

Strophes III and IV are distinguishable primarily by their thematic content.[108] Strophe III concerns the Israelite patriarch Jacob; Strophe IV treats his son Joseph. In addition, like the previous two strophes, both begin with the anaphoric αὕτη. Although they can be taken separately, Strophes III and IV are further linked together by a verbal inclusion in v. 10cd and v. 14ef. Verse 10c and v. 14e present the same aorist verb form ἔδειξεν, "she showed," and v. 10d and v. 14f both begin with the phrase καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, "and she gave to him."[109] Thus, this inclusion links Strophes III and IV together to form the poem's second stanza (B).

Strophe V is the final strophe and climax of the poem. This single strophe is also the poem's final stanza (C). Its theme is the contrast between the righteous Israelites and their wicked Egyptian oppressors, which is a topic that occurs throughout the book's final nine chapters. Wright claims that there is no inclusion that delimits Wis 10:15–11:1.[110] Yet I believe there is a possible thematic inclusion through the figure of Moses to whom the author only alludes twice in the poem (i.e., θεράποντος κυρίου, "the Lord's servant," in 10:16 and προφήτου ἁγίου, "a holy prophet," in 11:1).[111]

If one counts the number of poetic verses (either monocola, bicola, or tricola) in each of the strophes and stanzas as I have enumerated them, then the following calculations result:

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[108] Wright ("Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175) notes that vv. 10-12 are bound by the inclusion γνῶσιν/γνῷ, "knowledge/he might know," which is a weaker type of inclusion since the first word occurs in the strophe's fourth colon. He also notes that there is no inclusion for vv. 13-14.

[109] Wright ("Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175-76) also mentions the possibility of vv. 10-14 as a unit linked by the ἔδειξεν and ἔδωκεν inclusions. See also Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 164.

[110] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175.

[111] See Hübner, *Weisheit*, 145.

I) 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 = 4 bi + 1 tri = 5 verses

A   = 11 verses

II) 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 = 5 bi + 1 mono= 6 verses

III) 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 6 bi = 6 verses

B   = 10 verses

IV) 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 = 4 bi = 4 verses

C   V) 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 1 = 7 bi + 1 tri + 1 mono   = 9 verses

A striking numerical pattern in the arrangement of cola for each strophe is apparent if one takes Strophes I and II together (Stanza A), yielding 11 poetic verses, and III and IV together (Stanza B), yielding 10 poetic verses. The final strophe (Stanza C) has 9 poetic verses.[112] Thus, the number of poetic verses features a consecutive numbering in decreasing order (i.e., 11, 10, and 9) with 30 poetic verses in total. In addition, the number of times αὕτη is used in each stanza also decreases consecutively (A = 3 times in vv. 1a, 5a, 6a; B = 2 times in vv. 10a and 13a; C = 1 time in v. 15).

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[112] It is difficult to know how to divide some of the poetical verses in this final strophe. For example, I divide vv. 16-17 as three bicola (v. 16ab, v. 17ab, and v. 17cd), while Wright ("Numerical Patterns," 535 n. 29) opts for two tricola (vv. 16a-17a and v. 17b-d). In my opinion, v. 17a seems detached from what precedes. In the Greek witnesses, it lacks a conjunction (although the La and Syr attest to one) and the subject matter is not directly related to the preceding two cola. However, it would be odd to understand v. 17a as a monocolon. Thus, I have paired it with v. 17b, which does not break the chronological flow of events (the Israelites plundered the Egyptians before they embarked on their journey "on a wonderful way"). However, v. 17b could possibly be taken with v. 17cd (cf. Wright); the parallelism between the cola of v. 17cd seems to indicate that these two stand alone as a bicolon (despite the conjunctive καί, which does not necessarily mean that v.17c must be part of the same verse as the preceding colon, see e.g., 10:1c, 7c, 12c).

In my research, I have discovered only one alternative detailed structure for 10:1–11:1 that takes into account thematic, literary, and numerical devices, namely, the structure proposed by Wright. Although Wright's internal structure for the poem is only slightly different from my own, I think it is worth reproducing and evaluating. Wright divides the poem into seven sections (10:1-4; v. 5; vv. 6-7; vv. 8-9; vv. 10-12; vv. 13-14, 10:15–11:1) and groups them according to the occurrences of the words αὕτη and σοφία. For example, 10:1-4 opens with αὕτη in v. 1a and closes with σοφία in v. 4a. Also, Wis 10:5-9 opens with two occurrences of αὕτη in vv. 5a and 6a and closes with two appearances of σοφία in vv. 8a and 9a. Finally, Wis 10:10–11:1 has three occurrences of αὕτη in 10:10, 13, 15 which are concluded by one σοφία in 10:21. Furthermore, Wright has determined that according to his arrangement and poetical verse enumeration, the poem follows the Golden Mean sequence 1, 3, 4, 7, 11, 18, 29.[113]

10:1-4	αὕτη - σοφία	4 verses		
10:5	αὕτη	1 verse		= 11 verses
10:6-7	αὕτη	3 verses	= 7 verses	
10:8-9	σοφία - σοφία	3 verses		
				= 29 verses
10:10-12	αὕτη	6 verses		
10:13-14	αὕτη	4 verses	= 18 verses	
10:15–11:1	αὕτη - σοφία	8 verses		

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[113] Wright, "Numerical Patterns," 535.

Wright's proposal is quite impressive. However, his arrangement has several tenuous

aspects. First, Wright does not take into account the strong inclusion between v. 1 and v. 5

that I have mentioned above and, instead, unites v. 5 with vv. 6-9 through the word πονηρίας

which occurs in vv. 5a, 7a.[114] Second, the verse enumeration according to a Golden Mean

sequence is interesting, but the number of verses in 10:10-12 (six) and 10:15–11:1 (eight)

does not match the sequence that he proposes. Third, Wright does not explain how one

occurrence of σοφία can sufficiently close three occurrences of αὕτη in 10:10–11:1 when the

pattern in the previous sections seems to be one closing σοφία for each opening αὕτη. Fourth,

his verse count is dependent on his reading of vv. 16-17a and v. 17b-d as two tricola.[115] This

is a possible reading, but not the only one since they can also be read as three bicola (v. 16, v.

17ab, and v. 17cd).

In the end, it is difficult to identify with certainty the exact internal structure that

Pseudo-Solomon intended for 10:1–11:1.[116] This difficulty is due, in part, to the various

repetitions in the chapter, which may serve as inclusions or simply as catchwords/phrases

between subsections. In light of these organizational ambiguities, Wright frankly admits, "It

is, of course, a matter of interpretation as to what one singles out as the basic element of

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[114] I think that πονηρίας is a possible linking word between v. 5 and v. 7, but in my opinion it does not override the strong inclusion between v. 1 and v. 5.

[115] See Wright, "Numerical Patterns," 535 n. 29.

[116] Wright ("Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175) makes the same observation.

structure."[117] Thus, as is the case with chap. 10, when theme and literary devices cannot provide definitive structural indicators, subjectivity plays a role in determining a given section's structure. Scholars may never determine the precise structure of 10:1–11:1. Yet it is important to acknowledge the ambiguity of this passage's structure and the shortcomings of each proposed structure so that scholars can continue striving to identify the author's intended organization for the piece. While the way that one understands the structure of a passage influences the interpretation of that passage, the differences in this case are slight and will not significantly change one's interpretation of the author's overall message.

Investigation of Specific Poetic and Rhythmic Prose Elements in Wisdom 10

Poems are linked by elements among, between, and within strophes. The unifying element within each strophe can be further narrowed down into one of three categories: (1) unifying elements within a colon; (2) unifying elements between cola of the same verse; and (3) unifying elements between cola of different verses.

Unifying Elements among/between Strophes

The most common unifying element between strophes is a *mot crochet* or catchword. Many of the themes and words in Strophes I–IV reappear in Strophe V. Most of the significant catchwords serve to link the first four strophes in 10:1-14 with the final strophe in 10:15–11:1. This build up to Strophe V emphasizes the importance of this final strophe as the climax of the poem. The examples of Wisdom's salvific actions through righteous

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[117] Ibid.

individuals from Adam to Joseph presented in 10:1-14 reinforce Wisdom's ultimate saving action through the righteous people of Israel in 10:15–11:1. Although most *mots crochets* link Strophes I–IV and V, there are also connections among Strophes I–IV that do not appear in the final strophe.

As I have already mentioned, the most apparent catchword in chap. 10 is the six-fold repetition of the demonstrative pronoun αὕτη, "that one (f.)/she is the one" (see vv. 1a, 5a, 6a, 10a, 13a, 15a). In most cases, this word marks the beginning of a new strophe (except for v. 5a, in my opinion). This use of anaphora is characteristic of Greek and Hebrew poetry and, in this case, provides the backbone for the rest of the poem.[118]

In addition to the obvious use of anaphora, there are several major themes which run throughout Wis 10:1–11:1 and serve to unify the passage. The major theme of the poem is Wisdom's saving action through the events of early Israelite history. Words of saving/protection occur throughout the chapter. These words include διεφύλαξεν/ἐφύλαξεν ("she protected/preserved," 10:1b, 5c, 12a—linking Strophes I and III); ἐρρύσατο ("she rescued," 10:6a, 9a, 13b, 15b—linking Strophes II, IV, and V). Other "saving" words that occur only once but are in keeping with the theme of salvation and therefore contribute to unifying the passage include: ἐξείλατο ("she delivered," 10:1b); ἔσωσεν ("she saved," 10:4a; see also 9:18c); ἐτήρησεν ("she kept/preserved," 10:5b); and ἠσφαλίσατο ("she secured/kept safe," 10:12b).

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[118] A few examples of anaphora in Hebrew poetry include: הָבוּ לַיהוָה, "Give to Yahweh," in Ps 29:1-2 (3 times) and קוֹל יְהוָה, "The voice of Yahweh," in Ps 29:3-5, 7-9 (7 times); הַלְלוּהוּ, "Praise him," in Ps 148:2-4 (5 times) and also in Ps 150:1c-5b (9 times). An example of this literary device in Greek poetry is found in the threefold repetition of the name Νιρεύς in Homer *Iliad* 2.671-73. See also the use of anaphora in Hebrews 11, presumably a Greek prose composition (repetition of πίστει, "by faith," 18 times).

Closely associated with the theme of salvation is the concept of Wisdom "leading" and "being present with" the righteous. These concepts are found in words and phrases such as κυβερνήσασα ("guiding/piloting," 10:4b); ὡδήγησεν ("she led," 10:10b, 17b—linking Strophes III and V); διεβίβασεν ("she transported," 10:18a); διήγαγεν ("she led," 10:18b); παρέστη ("she stood by," 10:11a); οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπεν ("she did not abandon," 10:13a); συγκατέβη αὐτῷ ("she descended with him," 10:14a); οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ("she did not abandon," 10:14b); and εἰσῆλθεν ("she entered," 10:16a).

Other themes associated with Wisdom, which are present throughout chap. 10, are her revelation of knowledge and truth (usually by "showing" and "giving" verbs) and also the "giving" of rewards for righteousness. These ideas are present in the phrases ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν θεοῦ ("she showed him the kingdom of God," 10:10c); ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γνῶσιν ("she gave him knowledge," 10:10d); ψευδεῖς τε ἔδειξεν ("and she showed/proved false," 10:14e); εὐπόρησεν αὐτόν ("she made him prosper," 10:10e); ἐπλήθυνεν τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ ("she made his toils fruitful," 10:10f); ἀπέδωκεν . . . μισθόν ("she rendered a wage," 10:17a); and εὐόδωσεν τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ("she prospered their works," 11:1a).

The theme of the righteous and unrighteous also runs throughout the chapter. The word δίκαιος, "righteous one," is a particularly important *mot crochet* since it appears at least once in all five strophes (10:4b, 5b, 6a, 10a, 13a, 20a). The climax of this theme, however, is in Strophe V where the Israelites are collectively called δίκαιοι, "righteous ones," in v. 20. The theme is then carried into the final section of the book (chaps. 11–19) where the righteous Israelites and unrighteous Egyptians are contrasted in seven comparisons.

The theme of destruction by deluge expressed through the verb κατακλύζω ("to flood," in 10:4a, 19a) links Strophes I and V. In 10:4a, when the earth was flooded (κατακλυζομένην) at the time of Noah, Wisdom saved him from this destruction. In v. 19a, Pseudo-Solomon uses the same word (κατέκλυσεν) to describe the way that Wisdom destroys Pharaoh's chariots and charioteers in the midst of the Red Sea in order to save God's people. The main difference here is that in v. 4a Wisdom saves Noah from the Flood, while in v. 19a she saves the Israelites by a flood. Despite this slight distinction, the connection between these two verses in different strophes cannot be denied, especially since these are the only two occurrences of κατακλύζω in the entire book.

Although forms of the word ἔθνη, "nation," occur nine times in the whole book, the word only appears twice in chap. 10. Strophe I has ἐθνῶν (gen. pl.) in v. 5a while Strophe V reads ἔθνους (gen. sg.) in v. 15b. In both cases, the word is used in connection with an example of unrighteousness. In v. 5a, the Babel generation is considered wicked, and in v. 15b Egypt is the oppressive nation from which Wisdom saves God's people. Another catchword found in these two verses is ἄμεμπτον, "blameless." In v. 15a, Israel is called σπέρμα ἄμεμπτον, "a blameless seed/offspring"—a direct allusion to the fact that they are descendants of the "blameless" patriarch Abraham in v. 5a. The connection through this word is significant because it appears only one other time in the entire book (see 18:21). Through the *mots crochets* ἔθνη and ἄμεμπτος, the author further links Strophe I with the poem's climax in Strophe V.

Similar to the use of ἔθνη, forms of the word ἀσεβής, "ungodly," appear only twice in chap. 10 even though the term is found many times throughout the Wisdom of Solomon (14

times). Pseudo-Solomon uses the word in v. 6a to refer to the ungodly people of the

Pentapolis who were destroyed during the time of Lot. He then employs the same term in v.

20a to refer to the Egyptians as they are plundered by the Israelites. Thus, through the word

ἀσεβής, which continues the contrast between righteous and unrighteous individuals, the

author links Strophes II and V.

Another word used to designate the unrighteous in chap. 10 and throughout the book

is ἐχθροί, "enemies." This word occurs twice in the poem in vv. 12a and 19a, thereby

providing a link between Strophes III and V. Wisdom delivers both Jacob and the people of

Israel from their enemies.

Although there are many catchwords that link Strophes I–IV with the poem's final

strophe, there are connecting words among the poem's first four strophes as well. For

example, an important theme that links Strophes I and III together is that of brotherly anger.

In 10:3ab, Cain is overcome by ἀδελφοκτόνοις . . . θυμοῖς ("fratricidal rage" in v. 3b; see also

ὀργή, "wrath," in v. 3a) and kills his brother Abel. The theme of brotherly anger resurfaces in

10:10a, where the word ὀργή reappears (as in v. 3a). In this case, the anger is that of Esau

towards his brother Jacob, who must flee for his life.

Another link between Strophes I and III is the word ἰσχυρόν, "mighty/strong," in

10:5c and 10:12c. Although used as an adjective in both cases, the specific sense of the word

differs in these two instances. In v. 5a the term emphasizes Abraham's resolve in obeying

God's command to sacrifice his only son Isaac. In the slightly different usage of the term in

v. 12c, ἰσχυρόν modifies the word ἀγῶνα, "contest," which not only stresses the importance

of the event but also the difficulty of the struggle from which Jacob eventually emerges

victorious. Despite this slight difference in usage, the recurrence of the term is significant since it appears only one other time outside of chap. 10, in Wis 6:8.

The word πονηρίας, "of wickedness," appears in v. 5a and v. 7a. As I have noted previously, Wright thinks that these two cola belong to the same strophe.[119] However, I believe that this catchword links Strophes I and II together. The first occurrence refers to the shared wickedness of the people gathered at Babel, whom the author regards as contemporary with Abraham. The second reference is to Sodom's perpetual witness to wickedness.

Pseudo-Solomon connects Strophes II and III together through the use of the word πόνος, "suffering," "toil," in v. 9a and v. 10f. Despite the occurrence of the same word in relative proximity, the word's meaning differs in these two instances. In v. 9a, πόνων (gen. pl.) refers to the sufferings from which Wisdom saves those who serve her. However, in v. 10f Wisdom increases Jacob's πόνους (acc. pl.), which must have a different meaning based on the context. Since the author presents Jacob as an example of righteousness (v. 10a), one must assume that in keeping with v. 9a Wisdom delivers him from sufferings and that πόνους in v. 10f refers to the fruits of his labors rather than to physical affliction. Thus, the author cleverly links these two strophes by using a term that bears different meanings in each case.

Finally, there are two main catchword links between Strophes III and IV. First, as I mentioned above, there is the inclusion through the verb ἔδειξεν, "she showed," in v. 10c and v. 14e and the phrase καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, "and she gave to him," in v. 10d and v. 14f. Second, the author employs βασιλεία(ν), "kingdom," as a connecting word between the two strophes.

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[119] Wright, "Structure of the Book of Wisdom," 175.

In 10:10c, the term refers to the kingdom of God, which Wisdom reveals to Jacob. In 10:14c, it refers to the kingdom of Egypt over which Joseph receives authority from Wisdom. The primary difference here is that while in v. 10c βασιλεία(ν) refers to a heavenly kingdom, in v. 14c it refers to an earthly kingdom.

Unifying Elements within a Colon

In addition to unifying elements among and between strophes, there are also elements that unify a strophe from within. The connections within a colon constitute the most basic level of internal strophic unity. The most prevalent unifying theme within a colon is the use of rhythmical connections through alliteration and assonance. Below, I present ten cases in which Pseudo-Solomon unifies various cola of chap. 10 through the rhythm derived from phonetic combinations.

1) The alliteration and alternation of τ- and π- sounds in the opening words of the poem unifies 10:1a (αὕτη πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα . . .).

2) In 10:4a, the repetition of harsh velar sounds at the beginning of the colon (e.g., . . . κατακλυζομένην γῆν . . .) reflects destruction. This effect is to be contrasted with the use of soft sibilant sounds which reflect a concept of salvation at the end of the same colon (e.g., . . . ἔσωσεν σοφία). This example shows how the author used the sounds in order to set the tone for the events featured in his composition. At the beginning of the very next colon (v. 4b), the long vowel/diphthong sounds in close succession in the words εὐτελοῦς ξύλου reflect the fragility of Noah's ark in the face of the mighty, destructive Flood.

3) The threefold alliterative π in the phrase π͟ῦρ Π͟εντα͟πόλεως at the end of v. 6b presents a staccato rhythm emphasizing the swift destruction of the Five Cities by conflagration.

4) The similar sounds produced by the words καρποφορο͟ῦντα͟ φ͟υτά provide an alliterative link within this phrase at the end of v. 7c.

5) Verse 14e is linked through the repetition of the similar sounds -δεις/δειξ- in the words ψευ͟δεῖς τε ἔ͟δειξεν.

6) The repetition of the similar sounds -δωκ/δοξ- in v. 14f through the words ἔ͟δωκεν αὐτῷ δ͟όξαν binds this colon together. Furthermore, the sound δοξ- is related to the sounds -δεις/δειξ- in the previous colon (v. 14e), thereby creating a link between cola as well.

7) Verse 16b is bound by the alternation of the final elements -σιν and -οις (e.g., . . . βασιλεῦ͟σιν φοβε͟ροῖς ἐν τέρα͟σιν καὶ σημεί͟οις).

8) There is a rhythmic presentation due to sounds in v. 19a (e.g., . . . βάθους ἀβύσσου ἀνέβρασεν αὐτούς). In this instance, there are three words in succession that contain the letter β and four that have the sibilant σ/ς. In addition to these consonantal repetitions, there are also repetitions of the vowel sounds α (4 times) and υ/ου (4 times).

9) Verse 20b is unified by assonance in the choppy sounds of τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιόν, a fivefold repetition of the short vowel o.

10) There may be a possible link between the compound words ὑπέρμαχόν and ὁμοθυμαδόν in v. 20c (initial rough breathing + μα + final stress on -ον).

These ten examples of phonetical patterns within cola illustrate how such patterns serve to bind each colon internally and add to the poetical and rhythmic nature of Wis 10:1–11:1.

Unifying Elements between Cola of the Same Verse

In addition to unifying features within specific cola of Wis 10:1–11:1, the passage also displays many examples of connections between cola of the same poetic verse. The primary unifying elements between cola of the same verse include parallelism, syntactical dependence (including verbal gapping) and rhythmical sounds (such as alliteration, assonance, and *paronomasia*).

The main unifying element that occurs between cola of the same verse is parallelism. This phenomenon is found in both Hebrew poetry and Greek rhythmic prose, although it is much more prevalent in the former. Examples of parallelism abound in Wis 10:1–11:1. Parallelism between cola in Hebrew poetry has been categorized as semantic, grammatical, and phonetic.[120] Traditionally, semantic parallelism has been further subdivided into three types: synonymous, antithetical, or synthetic.[121] I shall focus on those cola in chap. 10 that exhibit synonymous parallelism—cola that express similar meanings either in their entirety, in their verbs, or in certain phrases. I shall also touch upon examples of grammatical (also called "syntactical") parallelism between successive cola, which are cola that have similar

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[120] Reymond, "Poetry," 388; Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985) 3. See also Berlin's in-depth discussion of grammatical parallelism (pp. 31-63), semantic parallelism (pp. 64-102), and phonologic parallelism (pp. 103-26).

[121] Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (trans. G. Gregory; New York: Garland, 1971).

syntactical structures, and phonetic parallelism in successive cola, which is parallelism of sound between cola.

The very first bicolon of the poem exhibits synonymous parallelism through the phrases πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα κόσμου, "first-formed father of the world," in v. 1a and μόνον κτισθέντα, "who was created alone," in v. 1b. Both phrases are different ways of expressing Adam's unique identity as the first human being.

Parallelism also occurs in the verse concerning Cain. The phrases ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ, "in his anger/wrath," in v. 3a and ἀδελφοκτόνοις . . . θυμοῖς, "by fratricidal rage," in v. 3b are synonymous prepositional phrases. The verbs that they follow present a situation of cause and effect that further binds the two cola together. Cain "abandons" (ἀποστάς, v. 3a) Wisdom through his extreme anger and, consequently, "perishes" (συναπώλετο, v. 3b) due to his behavior.

Other examples of synonymous parallelism in chap. 10 include (1) ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν θεοῦ, "she showed him the kingdom of God," in v. 10c and καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γνῶσιν ἁγίων, "and gave him knowledge of holy things," in v. 10d; (2) εὐπόρησεν αὐτὸν ἐν μόχθοις, "she made him prosper in his labors," in v. 10e and καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ, "and increased the fruit of his toils," in v. 10f; (3) διεφύλαξεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν, "she protected him from enemies," in v. 12a and καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνεδρευόντων ἠσφαλίσατο, "and from those who lie in wait she kept him safe," in v. 12b; (4) συγκατέβη αὐτῷ εἰς λάκκον, "she descended with him into a pit," in v. 14a and καὶ ἐν δεσμοῖς οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν, "and did not abandon him in chains," v. 14b; (5) σκῆπτρα βασιλείας, "scepter of the kingdom," in v. 14c and ἐξουσίαν τυραννούντων αὐτοῦ, "authority over his oppressors," in v. 14d; (6) διεβίβασεν

αὐτοὺς θάλασσαν ἐρυθράν, "she transported them across the Red Sea," in v. 18a and καὶ διήγαγεν αὐτοὺς δι᾽ ὕδατος πολλοῦ, "and led them through much water," in v. 18b; (7) ὕμνησαν, "they sang," in v. 20b and ἤνεσαν, "they praised," in v. 20c; and (8) ἡ σοφία ἤνοιξεν στόμα, "Wisdom opened the mouth," in v. 21a and καὶ . . . ἔθηκεν τρανάς, "and . . . she made speak clearly," in v. 21b.

In addition to synonymous parallelism, chap. 10 exhibits examples of grammatical parallelism. Although this phenomenon often occurs in synonymously parallel cola, it can also appear in cola that do not have the same meaning. Verse 17cd is an example of two cola that do not have the same meaning but are parallel because of their similar syntactic structures. Specifically, they both share the same verb and indirect object ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς, "she was/became for them," in v. 17a (an example of verbal gapping which I shall address below), both feature a construction in which εἰς takes the place of the predicate nominative (i.e., εἰς σκέπην, "[as/for] a shelter," in v. 17a and εἰς φλόγα ἄστρων, "[as/for] a starry flame," in v. 17b),[122] and both use the accusative of time (i.e., ἡμέρας, "during the day," in v. 17a and τὴν νύκτα, "during the night," in v. 17b).[123]

Just as alliteration and assonance link a colon together, these same techniques can connect cola of the same verse through rhythmical sounds, a device known as phonetical parallelism. Below, I present four of the most notable examples of rhythmical sounds that link cola in the same verse.

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[122] See Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek* (trans. Joseph Smith; Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici 114; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1963; 7th reprint 2001) §32. This construction is due to Semitic influence (i.e., the use of לְ in Hebrew).

[123] See Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984) §1582.

1) Wis 10:5ab repeats –o/ων eight times (. . . ὁμ<u>ον</u>οία π<u>ον</u>ηρίας ἐθν<u>ῶν</u> συγχυθέντ<u>ων</u> / ἔγνω τ<u>ὸν</u> δίκαι<u>ον</u> καὶ ἐτήρησεν αὐτ<u>ὸν</u> ἄμεμπτ<u>ον</u> θεῷ).

2) The repetition of consonantal dental + velar sounds links v. 14ef through the words ἔ<u>δειξ</u>εν in v. 14e and ἔ<u>δωκ</u>εν and <u>δόξ</u>αν in v. 14f.

3) In v. 17ab there is a tenfold repetition of the o/ω sound (ἀπέ<u>δωκ</u>εν ὁσί<u>οι</u>ς μισθ<u>ὸν</u> κ<u>όπων</u> αὐτ<u>ῶν</u> / <u>ὡ</u>δήγησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν <u>ὁδῷ</u> . . .). This rapid succession of a similar sound occurs especially at the end of v. 17a (with the threefold -o/ων) and the beginning of v. 17b.

4) There is a possible slight sound connection between the verbs in v. 18ab (διεβίβασεν in v. 18a and διήγαγεν in v. 18b). Both are aorists that have similar structures (δια + reduplication [β and γ] + -εν).

When one considers all of these examples of parallelism in chap. 10, it is interesting to note that the phenomenon occurs in all strophes except Strophe II, which is primarily bound by syntactical dependence.

In addition to parallelism, another unifying element that occurs between cola of the same verse is syntactical dependence. One of the most frequent types of syntactical dependence is verbal gapping, which normally occurs in two ways. Verbal gapping usually involves the separation of the subject and the verb in two different cola. However, it can also be a matter of separating the verb from a syntactically dependent word or phrase (often a direct object). There are many examples of verbal gapping in chap. 10. I shall provide only a few examples here and summarize the rest. An example of verbal gapping which involves the separation of the subject from the verb occurs in 10:1ab. Although the translation is difficult, my English rendering of the verse treats the verb διεφύλαξεν, "she protected," as part of v. 1a.

However, the verb is actually in v. 1b while the subject αὕτη, "that one (f.)/she," is at the beginning of v. 1a. In 10:14cd, there is an example of a direct object separated from its verb. The second half of the direct object, namely, ἐξουσίαν τυραννούντων αὐτοῦ, "authority over his oppressors," in v. 14d depends on the verb ἤνεγκεν, "she established," in v. 14c. Both types of verbal gapping occur in 10:15ab. In this case, the subject αὕτη and the object λαὸν ὅσιον καὶ σπέρμα ἄμεμπτον, "a holy people and blameless offspring," in v. 15a depend on the verb ἐρρύσατο, "she delivered," in v. 15b. Other examples of verbal gapping in chap. 10 include: ἔγνω, "she knew," in v. 5b connecting v. 5ab; ὡδήγησεν, "she led," in v. 10b linking v. 10ab (in my translation, the verb occurs in v. 10a); and ἐγένετο, "she was/became," in v. 17c binding v. 17cd.

Aside from verbal gapping, there are other types of syntactical dependence present in chap. 10. These mostly involve clauses in one colon that are dependent on clauses in another colon. For example, there is syntactical dependence between v. 4a and v. 4b. The participle κυβερνήσασα, "guiding/steering," in v. 4b further clarifies the action expressed in the finite verb ἔσωσεν, "she saved," in v. 4a. Wisdom saves Noah by steering the ark in the midst of the destructive Flood. Other links through syntactical dependence include (1) v. 3b presents a cause and effect link with v. 3a since Cain perishes because he abandons Wisdom; (2) the "fleeing" in v. 6b clarifies that the "righteous one" alluded to in v. 6a is Lot; (3) v. 7b clarifies how the Pentapolis has become a "testimony to wickedness" in v. 7a; (4) both the result clause (indicated by γάρ, "for") and a temporal clause (i.e., "when they passed Wisdom by") in v. 8a depend on the main clause in v. 8b, which continues in v. 8c; (5) the purpose clause (indicated by ἵνα, "so that") in v. 8d is dependent on the main clause which ends in v.

8c; and (6) the purpose clause (indicated by ἵνα, "so that") in v. 12d explains why Wisdom

decided the contest in Jacob's favor (v. 12c).

Another, more basic type of syntactical dependence is the use of a conjunction at the

beginning of a colon which links it to the previous colon. Examples are found in the

following cola of chap. 10: καί, "and," in vv. 5c, 10d, 10f, 11b, 12b, 14b, 14d, 14f, 17d, 18b,

19b, 20b, 21b; τε, "and," in vv. 2a, 20c; and ἀλλά, "but," in v. 13b.

Unifying Elements between Cola of Different Verses

Beyond unity within cola and between cola of the same verse, there is the linking of

cola of different verses within the same strophe. Many of the same unifying techniques

employed at the other levels recur here as well. The most common unifying elements

between cola of different verses in the same strophe are *mots crochets* (especially inclusion),

syntactical dependence, and rhythmical connections through similar sounds (alliteration and

assonance).

There are three examples of *mots crochets* binding cola of different verses in a

strophe. In two of these, the catchwords form an inclusion for each strophe. I have already

indicated these first two instances; the words διεφύλαξεν in v. 10:1b and ἐφύλαξεν in 10:5c

frame Strophe I, while the use of ἐρρύσατο in v. 6a and v. 9a frames Strophe II. In the third

example, the word ὅσιος, "holy," in 10:15a, 17a links two verses in Strophe V by

emphasizing the sanctity of God's people.

In addition to catchwords, Pseudo-Solomon also employs syntactical dependence in

seven cases in order to link cola of different verses. First, there is some dependence of 10:1c-

2a on 10:1b. The former cola clarify exactly how Wisdom "cares for" (v. 1b) the first man, namely, by delivering "him from his own sin" (v. 1c) and by giving "him strength to take hold of everything" (v. 2a). Second, δι' ὅν, "on whose account," links v. 4a to what precedes in v. 3ab. Third, all the verses of Strophe II are linked together by syntactical dependence. Wis 10:7ab modifies "Pentapolis" in v. 6b. Verse 7cd further explains how the Pentapolis is a "wasteland" (v. 7b). The conjunction γάρ, "for," at the beginning of v. 8a provides the reason for the destruction of the Pentapolis, linking this second half of the strophe with what precedes it in vv. 6b-7d. The cola of v. 8b and v. 8c are linked by the phrases οὐ μόνον, "not only," and ἀλλὰ καί, "but also." Verse 9a is loosely linked to v. 8a-d by the conjunctive δέ, "but," and the contrast between those who "passed Wisdom by" (v. 8a) and "those who served her" (v. 9a). Some of these connections make it difficult to break the cola in Strophe II into verses. Wis 10:8 is especially difficult to divide because each of its four cola is strongly dependent on the others (one might even argue for the extremely rare case of a tetracolon). My division of 10:8 into two verses (v. 8ab and v. 8cd) is similar to the division in the *NAB*. Fourth, the use of ἕως, "until," in v. 14c is linked to v. 14b and explains that Wisdom did not abandon Joseph until she had vindicated him. Fifth, various conjunctions link cola of different verses. For example, καί, "and," links v. 12c to 12b and v. 17c to v. 17b (v. 17cd also clarifies the way in which Wisdom led the Israelites "on a wonderful way," v. 17b); τε, "and," binds v. 14e to v. 14d; and δέ, "but," connects v. 19a with v. 18b. Sixth, the use of διὰ τοῦτο, "therefore," "on account of this," links v. 20a to v. 19b. These cola present the tradition that the Israelites plundered the Egyptian charioteers who were tossed up by the sea. Finally, the clause in v. 21a, which begins with the causal particle ὅτι, "for," "because,"

is linked to the singing in v. 20bc: all the Israelites praised God together because, due to Wisdom's wondrous powers, even the infants and the mute were able to join in the singing.

Alliterative and rhythmical elements also bind cola of different verses of a strophe. Below, I present six examples of how Pseudo-Solomon uses these elements to link verses together.

1) There is a linking of v. 2a and v. 3a through the triple repetition of απ- in close proximity (. . . ἁπάντων / ἀποστὰς δὲ ἀπ' . . .).

2) The harsh repetitive velar sounds of κ/χ in v. 7bc (. . . καπνιζομένη καθέστηκε χέρσος / καὶ . . . καρποφοροῦντα . . .) emphasize the destructive punishment of the wicked dwellers of Sodom. These sounds also serve to link the two poetic verses together.

3) There is a major unifying effect among vv. 10b-d based on the dental + velar alliteration in words located near the beginning of each colon. The elements of the effect include the words ὡδήγησεν in v. 10b, ἔδειξεν in v. 10c, and ἔδωκεν in v. 10d. The fact that this unitive feature involves three aorist verbs in vv. 10b-d further intensifies the connection among these cola.

4) There is also the weaker connection between words at the beginning of v. 10f-11b, namely, the repetition of πλ in ἐπλήθυνεν in v. 10f, πλεονεξίᾳ in v. 11a, and ἐπλούτισεν in v. 11b.

5) Verses 11b and 12a might also be linked by the close proximity of the very similar sounding ἐπλούτισεν αὐτόν in v. 11b and διεφύλαξεν αὐτόν in v. 12a (i.e., π/φ + λ + ου/υ + σ/ξεν + αὐτόν).

6) Another example of similar sounding verbs in contiguous cola of different poetic verses occurs with ἤνεσαν of v. 20c and ἤνοιξεν of v. 21a.

Conclusion

In the present chapter, my primary goal has been to identify the structural and poetical elements of Wis 10:1–11:1 while also considering its context in the book as a whole. I set the foundation for this investigation by stressing that a literary work's structure is best determined when one considers the elements of theme and literary device together. Later, I also pointed out that numerical patterns can also assist in determining the author's intended structure for a work. In the use of these criteria, the studies of James M. Reese and especially those of Addison G. Wright in the 1960s paved the way for a more precise critical investigation of the structure of the Wisdom of Solomon and its subsections. One such subsection is Wis 10:1–11:1 which serves as a transitional chapter for the book by binding together its two major halves (i.e., 1:1–9:18 and 11:2–19:22) through its seven references to righteous and unrighteous individuals, its combination of personified Wisdom and Israelite history (most notably, the Exodus event at the Red Sea), and its many other thematic and verbal links. Like the rest of the book, this important transitional passage is influenced both by Hebrew poetic elements and aspects of Greek rhythmic prose. It follows Hebrew poetry in its strophic and verse structure in addition to its display of semantic, grammatical, and phonetic parallelism. The passage is similar to Greek rhythmic prose in its use of sound and wordplay. These structural and poetical elements of Pseudo-Solomon's poetic composition in

Wis 10:1–11:1 provide a solid foundation for determining the passage's form and genre, a topic to which I now turn.

Chapter Four

Genre and Form

In order to understand more fully the Wisdom of Solomon 10, it is important to determine whether the passage possesses a distinct literary genre and what the form of this genre might be. However, before this inquiry can be adequately undertaken, it is necessary to define the overall genre of the book as well as the genre of Wis 6:22–11:1, the literary subunit within which chap. 10 is found. In this way, one will be able to see how chap. 10's genre and form relate to the genres of Wis 6:22–11:1 and the entire work.

Definition and Discussion of "Genre" and "Form"

Before I attempt to determine the larger genre of the book as a whole and the smaller genres of the book's subsections and their relationship to the genre and form of chap. 10, it is imperative to have a clearer understanding of the terms "genre" and "form." I believe that the application of these two terms has caused no little confusion in the literary study of the Bible since they are sometimes used interchangeably and at other times are distinct from each other, albeit closely related.[1] In this dissertation, I shall use

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[1] An example of this equivocation can be seen in Reese (*Hellenistic Influence*, 90) who states, "This chapter will attempt to show that the 'larger' literary genre of Wis is the *logos protrepticos* or protreptic, a literary form common in hellenistic times." However, later when alluding to a statement made by L. Alonso Schökel, Reese (ibid.) states, "In fact, when he [Alonso Schökel] comes to the point of proposing a definition [of genre], he is content simply to list the relationships and elements involved in a work, namely, the special topic, the particular structure or internal *form*, and the individual stylistic devices that recur regularly" (italics mine). It seems that Reese sees a difference between "literary form" (as genre) and "internal form" (as structure), but his use of the term "form" in two different ways on the same page may lead to confusion. Aside from the possible confusion that results from the use of genre and form as synonymous terms, there is the further confusing association of genre criticism with the analysis of larger literary units within the Bible and form criticism with the analysis of smaller biblical literary units. See Margaret Davies, "Genre," in *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (ed. R. J. Coggins & J. L. Houlden;

the term "genre" to refer to a category or specific type of literature and the word "form"

to indicate the structure or internal order associated with or characteristic of a particular

genre.[2] In other words, I regard form as a component of genre which is equivalent to its

distinctive style and structure. In addition to form, a genre generally possesses a

particular content usually defined by characteristic themes and motifs.[3] It is by means of

this form and content that the author expresses his or her desired meaning or message of

the work.[4]

Yet a biblical work's literary genre and its intended meaning are not always

readily apparent, and the determination of both genre and meaning requires careful

consideration. First, with regard to genres, it is important to note that they are not always

strictly defined literary categories, and there is much room for development and

difference within each genre.[5] While differences are manifested in variations of form and

content, there is enough similarity in style, structure, and subject matter among certain

works to classify those works as belonging to a certain genre. At times, works have

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London/Philadelphia: SCM Press & Trinity Press, 1990) 258. I find this particular distinction quite arbitrary and generally unhelpful since smaller units also are said to have a "genre" and larger units a "form." For a better explanation of "form criticism" and its focus on the form and formation of smaller literary units with emphasis on *Sitz im Leben* and preliterary oral development (particularly in NT studies), see L. Alonso Schökel, "Form Criticism, Biblical," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967) 5. 1017-23.

[2] Most scholars define genre simply as a "kind of literature." Davies, "Genre," 256. Davies (ibid.) further states that genre ". . . brings with it expectations about content, style and structure, in the service of a coherent meaning." Similarly, Reese (*Hellenistic Influence*, 103) notes, "All factors dealing with both content and presentation must be considered in determining the literary genre of a piece."

[3] L. Alonso Schökel, "Literary Genres, Biblical," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967) 8. 804.

[4] Davies, "Genre," 256.

[5] David A. Jolliffe, "Genre," in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition: Communication from*

characteristics of more than one genre, and it is difficult to determine the genre of the

work. Second, some larger genres can contain a variety of smaller subgenres, which, in

turn, may be found in other types of larger genres.[6] For example, the Greek genre of

synkrisis ("comparison") can be found in the larger genre of protreptic ("exhortation")

but may also occur in an encomium ("praise").[7] This variety of possible smaller genres

can occasionally make identification of specific larger genres more difficult.[8] Thus, it is

vital to identify carefully a work's genre (and subgenres, if applicable) because the wrong

genre determination can lead to significant misinterpretation of the author's intended

meaning and purpose in composing a passage.

Genre of the Wisdom of Solomon and Its Subsections

Since in Chapter Two of this dissertation I have shown that the Wisdom of

Solomon as a whole is most likely a unified composition, it is possible to consider

whether it bears an overall genre.[9] While scholars have long debated the genres of certain

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Ancient Times to the Information Age (ed. Theresa Enos; New York/London: Garland, 1996) 281.

[6] One must be careful not to classify a part of the form of a genre as a genre itself. Alonso Schökel ("Literary Genre," 803) presents a helpful way of avoiding this error when he states, "It is not proper, however, to call something a literary genre that never has had an independent existence of its own, e.g., the exordium of a speech." Thus, in order to be classified as a genre or subgenre the literary piece under consideration must be able to stand independently of another genre.

[7] Theodore C. Burgess (*Epideictic Literature* [Ancient Greek Literature; New York/London: Garland, 1987] 125-26) notes that *synkrisis* is one of the elements of an encomium. David E. Aune ("Romans as Logos Protreptikos," in *Paulus und das antike Judentum* [ed. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel; WUNT 58; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1991] 101) notes, "In view of the basic epideictic character of the λόγος προτρεπτικός it is natural that the rhetorical strategy of σύγκρισις is frequently employed."

[8] Alonso Schökel ("Literary Genres, Biblical," 803) notes, ". . . a gradated arrangement can be drawn up of principal genres, secondary genres, subgenres, etc."

[9] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 117.

parts of the book, it is only in the last century that a debate has arisen concerning the

genre of the book as a whole. Within the last half century, two main positions concerning

the book's overall genre have become predominant.[10] The first position is that the

Wisdom of Solomon belongs to the Greek genre of *logos protreptikos* or exhortative

discourse. While scholars such as Friedrich Focke and A. Dupont-Sommer first

designated parts of the book as belonging to this genre,[11] it was James Reese who

claimed in 1970 that the entire book fell into this category of protreptic or "didactic

exhortation," which is an attempt to encourage others to adopt a particular viewpoint or

course of action.[12] In his analysis of the book's genre, Reese further attempted to show

that the smaller genres of the book's subsections also fit the larger literary genre of

protreptic, which has been associated with epideictic literature at times.[13] He suggested

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[10] Aside from the two main positions that the genre of Wisdom of Solomon is either (1) a *logos protreptikos* or (2) an encomium, there was an earlier view that the book could be characterized as midrash. Reider (*Book of Wisdom*, 40) calls the Wisdom of Solomon ". . . a commentary, a sort of Midrash, on the wisdom books of the Bible" (note the qualification in the words "sort of"). Also, Siebeneck ("Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," 178) sees chaps. 1–9 "as a midrash on previous wisdom literature," and chaps. 10–19 as a midrash on various events in Israelite history found in the Books of Genesis and Exodus. Yet it is debatable whether "midrash" is really a literary genre and, if so, what constitutes this genre. I shall address the topic of midrash when I discuss the literary genre of chaps. 11–19.

[11] Focke (*Entstehung*, 85-86) claims that chaps. 1–5 are a *logos protreptikos* or exhortation. See Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 117; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 18. A. Dupont-Sommer ("De l'immortalité astrale dans la 'Sagesse de Salomon' (III 7)," *Revue des Études Grecques* 62 [1949] 80) believes that chaps. 1–9 can be classified as an example of this exhortative Greek literary genre. See Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 117.

[12] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 90, 117. For Reese's classification of the book's genre as a whole, see ibid., 117-21. For more on *protreptikos*, see David John Furley, "*protrepticus*," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth; 3rd ed.; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 1265; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 26; Mark Jordan, "Ancient Philosophic Protreptic and the Problem of Persuasive Genre," *Rhetorica* 4.4 (1986) 309-33; Aune, "Romans," 91-121, esp. 91-106.

[13] In his *Rhetoric* 1.3.3, Aristotle enumerates three major types of oratory: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic. See Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric* (ed. John Henry Freese; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959) 32-33. Epideictic literature is primarily demonstrative, that is, it seeks to prove a point by "showing" or illustration. As Burgess (*Epideictic Literature*, 93) notes, the purpose of this

that the first part of the Wisdom of Solomon (i.e., 1:1–6:11 and 6:17-20) belongs to the

Greek category known as the diatribe; the second part (i.e., 6:12-16 and 6:21–10:21)

constitutes an *aporia*, also known as "problem" literature; the third part (i.e., 11:15–

15:19) is another diatribe; and the fourth part (i.e., 11:1-14 and 16:1–19:22) is best

understood as a *synkrisis* or "comparison."[14] All of these smaller genres that contribute to

the book's larger protreptic genre show that Pseudo-Solomon was strongly influenced by

Hellenistic modes of expression. Other scholars, such as David Winston and G. W. E.

Nickelsburg, have adopted Reese's proposal.[15]

In opposition to Reese's protreptic designation for the Wisdom of Solomon, other

scholars have presented an alternative classification for the book's genre. The most

notable such proposal is that of Paul Beauchamp who claims that the entire book is best

understood as an encomium, which is a subcategory of epideictic.[16] Simply stated, an

encomium is a composition that praises the qualities and/or deeds of a person, thing, or

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type of literature "was display, thus agreeing with the derivation of the word 'epideictic.' The hearer is to gain pleasure, at least, if not information." He (ibid.) also notes that in the first century A.D., "The element of persuasion or advice, which Quintilian so clearly recognizes (III. 4. 14), was common in epideictic compositions." Thus, we see protreptic, which seeks to persuade and exhort individuals to a particular course of action, as associated with epideictic. See Jordan, "Ancient Philosophic Protreptic," 312. However, protreptic is not limited to epideictic. As Helen Rhee (*Early Christian Literature: Christ and Culture in the Second and Third Centuries* [London: Routledge, 2005] 24) notes, protreptic ". . . makes use of all three forms of speech: deliberative, epideictic, and forensic. . . ."

[14] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 91-116.

[15] For other scholars who follow Reese or hold similar opinions, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 18; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 175; J. S. Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia in the Book of Wisdom," *HTR* 75 (1982) 63. Siebeneck ("Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," 176) calls the book ". . . a rhetorical exhortation, . . . " in a passing comment for which he does not provide much evidence. Neither does he explicitly employ the term "protreptic."

[16] Paul Beauchamp, *De Libro Sapientiae Salomonis* (Cours Dactylographie; Rome: Archives de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1963-64) 1-40 (as cited by Leproux, *Discours de Sagesse*, 74 n. 6). For encomium as a subcategory of epideictic, see Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, 105, 113-66.

abstract concept.[17] With reference to the various parts of this Greek literary genre,

Beauchamp perceives chaps. 1–5 to be an exordium; chaps. 6–9 are the "praise of

Wisdom proper"; chap. 10 is a *praxeis* section; and chaps. 11–19 are a *synkrisis*.[18] For the

most part, Beauchamp's proposal for the book's genre has been accepted by such

scholars as Maurice Gilbert, Paolo Bizzeti, and José Vílchez Lindez.[19]

More recently, some scholars have been hesitant to side firmly with either of these

two major views. For example, David Winston, who previously identified the book as a

logos protreptikos, has subsequently modified his unqualified support of Reese's

theory.[20] Another example of this tendency is Michael Kolarcik, who affirms that "[t]he

book of Wisdom in its entirety does not fit into any particular genre. The work is the

result of a creative and imaginative writer who has produced a rather unique piece of

literature."[21] In a similar manner, C. Larcher does not propose a definite overarching

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[17] Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, 113.

[18] Both Beauchamp's and Gilbert's divisions are summarized by Bizzeti, *Libro della Sapienza*, 163. Gilbert ("Sagesse," 84-85) presents a slightly different division for the book as compared with that of Beauchamp: Wis 1:1–6:21 is an exordium; Wis 6:22–9:18 is the praise of Wisdom proper; Wis 10:1–19:9 is a *synkrisis* (comparison); and Wis 19:10-22 is the epilogue and conclusion.

[19] Gilbert, "Sagesse," 77-87; Bizzeti, *Libro della Sapienza*, 113-80; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 38-39. For a summary of Bizzeti's position, see David Winston, "A Century of Research on the Book of Wisdom," in *The Book of Wisdom in Modern Research: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. Angelo Passaro and Giuseppe Bellia; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2005; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005) 4.

[20] For Winston's initial support of Focke's and Reese's claim, see *Wisdom of Solomon*, 18. For his modified position, see idem, "Century of Research," 4-5, where Winston states that, for now, a precise identification of the genre of the book must "remain unsettled."

[21] Michael Kolarcik, "The Book of Wisdom," in *NIB* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997) 5. 443.

genre for the work as a whole.[22]

Although it is difficult to determine the genre of the Wisdom of Solomon with precision, I believe that Reese's identification of the book as a *logos protreptikos* is the best proposal presently available. Admittedly, there is confusion about the book's overarching genre, a state of affairs which I believe is due to the various subgenres of the book and uncertainty concerning the relationship among the various types of ancient oratory. As Winston notes, "It is thus extremely difficult to determine whether Wisdom is an epideictic composition with an admixture of protreptic, or essentially a protreptic with a considerable element of epideictic."[23] Winston's hesitation to determine an overarching genre for the book is understandable since sharp distinctions between genres were not always made in antiquity. In fact, it is known that protreptic was a relatively loose genre that often included elements of epideictic. Mark Jordan alludes to the fluidity of protreptic when he claims, "Protreptics are just those works that aim to bring about the firm choice of a lived way to wisdom—however different the form of those works and their notions of wisdom might be."[24]

In order to define the genre better, David Aune identifies three general parts of a protreptic: (1) a section that criticizes those who present alternative understandings of knowledge and wisdom; (2) a section that praises and defends the quest for knowledge

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[22] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 113. Larcher's noncommittal approach to a specific genre for the book as a whole is mentioned by Aune, "Romans," 104-5, esp. n. 40, and Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 40.

[23] Winston, "Century of Research," 5. See also Kolarcik, "Wisdom," 443; Leproux, *Discours de Sagesse*, 75-76.

[24] Jordan, "Ancient Philosophic Protreptic," 330. See also Rhee, *Early Christian Literature*, 25.

and wisdom as presented by the author; and (3) an optional section that encourages the hearer or reader to pursue immediately the path of knowledge and wisdom that the author has just presented.[25] All three of these elements are found within the Wisdom of Solomon.[26] In addition, while the book has strong epideictic elements (particularly the encomium in chaps. 6–9), to categorize the entire book as an encomium on Wisdom, as Beauchamp does, is a gross exaggeration. Chapters 1–5 would be an extremely long *exordium* to introduce chaps. 6–9, and the *synkrisis* in chaps. 11–19 only mentions Wisdom twice, in passing (e.g., Wis 14:2, 5). Therefore, rather than taking the entire book as an encomium or some completely unknown and unique literary genre, I agree with Reese's general identification of the Wisdom of Solomon as belonging to the protreptic genre.[27] However, I disagree with some of his subgenre designations, an issue which I shall address presently.

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[25] Aune, "Romans," 101. Aune (ibid., 104) avers that Reese convincingly argues that the Wisdom of Solomon is a *logos protreptikos*.

[26] For example, most of Wisdom 1–2 conforms to the first section above in that it critiques those who have a different sense of wisdom and justice/righteousness. The author even presents the words of his wicked imaginary adversaries in Wis 2:1-20. Much of Wisdom 3–10 conforms to the second section which upholds the pursuit of Wisdom (Wis 6:22–9:18) and explains the situation of the righteous people who pursue her (chaps. 4–5; 10). The last "optional" section is found in various parts of the Wisdom of Solomon, but most notably in Wis 6:1-21, where Pseudo-Solomon encourages his audience to pursue Wisdom.

[27] For objections to Reese's categorization, see Gilbert, "Sagesse," 80. His primary argument against Reese is that while the Wisdom of Solomon bears some similarities to ancient examples of protreptic (e.g., Aristotle's fragmentary *Protrepticus* and Clement of Alexandria's *Protreptic*), it has other features such as the historically developed *synkrisis* in chaps. 11–19 which is absent from extant ancient protreptics. See also Maurice Gilbert, "Wisdom Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2/2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 307. While this particular type of *synkrisis* may not be present in known examples of ancient protreptics, the *synkrisis* was a regular feature of protreptic. See Aune, "Romans," 101. It may be that Pseudo-Solomon has introduced an innovative element into the protreptic here with his use of a different type of *synkrisis* in chaps. 11–19.

The two major sections of the book and their subsections have been recognized as displaying various genres. An in-depth investigation of the genre of each section would be beyond the scope of this present investigation; however, I believe that a brief overview is both necessary and beneficial in order to place chap. 10 within its larger literary context. Scholars have offered different suggestions for the genre of Wis 1:1–6:21 (Part I, A), ranging from an apocalyptic work to a Cynic-Stoic diatribe.[28] It is difficult to determine the precise genre for this opening section of the book. Wisdom 1:1–6:21 has an eschatological flavor that reflects apocalyptic elements (e.g., immortality for the righteous in chap. 2 and judgment for the unrighteous in chap. 5), but it also exhibits elements of the diatribe, which is often associated with protreptic discourse.[29] Reese enumerates five major features of the diatribe that are found within the opening section of the book.[30] However, Reese's designation of Wis 1:1–6:11 and 6:17-21 as a diatribe has

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[28] Johannes Fichtner ("Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte ihrer Zeit," *ZNW* 36 [1937] 124, 131) claims that the entire book is apocalyptic wisdom, with eschatological elements present especially in chaps. 1–5. Fichtner's position is also mentioned by Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 109; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 34. As I have already mentioned, Reese (*Hellenistic Influence*, 110-13; 115-16) claims that Wis 1:1–6:11 and 6:17-21 can be categorized as a diatribe.

[29] Much like protreptic, diatribe is concerned with moral exhortation. See John L. Moles, "Diatribe," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth; 3rd ed.; Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 463. For the use of diatribe within protreptics, see Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, 234-40; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 20; Aune, "Romans," 101.

[30] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 110-13. The five characteristics of diatribe found in Wis 1:1–6:21 are: (1) the direct address of the audience as "rulers"; (2) the "sustained logical appeal for moral uprightness"; (3) the address of "an imaginary opponent" in chap. 2; (4) the theme that the one who seeks wisdom is a moral witness and example to the rest of humankind; and (5) the theme of the wise man who is treated unjustly. For other elements of the diatribe in the first part of the book, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 20. Other scholars who agree that the first part of the book exhibits features of a diatribe include Kolarcik, "Wisdom," 443, and Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 27. However, many of these scholars would hesitate to categorize Wis 1:1–6:21 as a diatribe in the strictest sense. In connection with Reese's claim, Gilbert ("Sagesse," 79) states that diatribe is not a clearly defined literary genre. See also Bizzeti, *Libro della Sapienza*, 35, 45; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 41 n. 44.

been criticized by Stanley Stowers, who acknowledges that Wis 1:1–6:21 may exhibit elements of diatribe but is not a diatribe in the strictest sense.[31] Perhaps it is safer to say that this opening section of the book is similar to diatribe but is not a diatribe in itself. Although no clear genre for Part I, A ultimately emerges, the diatribe-like elements are undeniable.

A genre is more clearly recognizable for the middle section of the book (Part I, B), which I delineate as Wis 6:22–11:1. Most scholars perceive this section to be an encomium or praise of personified Wisdom.[32] As I have already mentioned, Reese goes further by asserting that the middle section of the book (i.e., 6:12-16 and 6:21–10:21) belongs to the Greek genre of *aporia* or "problem" literature. According to him, this genre was prevalent in the first century B.C., and its aim was to answer difficult questions.[33] Reese claims that the purpose of this section is to answer the problem of Wisdom's identity and origin (e.g., "What Wisdom is and how it came about" in 6:22). I believe that Reese exaggerates when he presents these questions as reflecting a "problem" to be solved or explained. Rather, the focus is on praising Wisdom for her origins, qualities, and mighty deeds, not on solving a problem or mystery. In addition,

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[31] Stanley Kent Stowers (*The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* [SBLDS 57; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981] 40) claims that Reese's use of the term "diatribe" is "imprecise" and that "[t]his imprecision is expressed in the generalness and vagueness of his description of the genre as 'an informal, flexible ethical exposition in lively and colorful language to defend a position and win others to it.'"

[32] Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 182; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 21-23. As I have discussed in the previous chapter of this dissertation, various scholars differ concerning the delimitation of the section in question. Generally, the middle section of the book (roughly chaps. 6–9 or 6–10) is understood to be a praise of Wisdom.

[33] Reese, *Hellenistic Literature*, 107-8. While Gilbert ("Sagesse," 79) concedes that the second section is didactic in nature, he doubts that it should be classified as *aporia*. Reese does not provide an extensive or direct comparison of Wis 6:22–11:1 with other ancient examples of *aporia*. See also Bizzeti, *Libro della Sapienza*, 35; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 41.

classifying this middle section simply as an encomium does not militate against taking

the general genre of the book as a protreptic. The *logos protreptikos* was known to have

epideictic elements and one part of exhorting others to pursue knowledge and wisdom

was to praise the truth of that knowledge.[34] In a subsequent section, I shall show precisely

how Wis 6:22–11:1 exhibits the elements of an encomium.

There has been considerable debate concerning the final major section of the book

in Wisdom 11:2–19:22 (Part II). Scholars such as Siebeneck have categorized this section

as Jewish haggadic "midrash," while others such as Focke have proposed that this final

part of the book is best understood as belonging to the Hellenistic genre of *synkrisis* or

"comparison."[35] The section clearly features an extended seven-part comparison of

events befalling the righteous Israelites and the unrighteous Egyptians.[36] The crux of the

debate concerns the classification of chaps. 11–19 as "midrash," an issue which hinges on

one's definition of the term. Some scholars define midrash in a very broad sense, that it is

an "interpretation of a text" or interpretation of a biblical text in particular. However, this

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[34] The close relationship between encomium and protreptic can be seen in Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1.9.36 where he says: ". . . if you desire to praise, look what you would suggest; if you desire to suggest, look what you would praise." Paul Beauchamp ("Épouser la Sagesse – ou n'épouser qu'elle? Une énigme du livre de la Sagesse," in *La Sagesse de l'Ancien Testament* [ed. Maurice Gilbert; BETL 51; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979] 359 n. 26) also admits the close relationship and compatibility between encomium and protreptic. See also Aune's ("Romans," 100) discussion of Lucian's *Nigrinus*, which is a protreptic from the second century A.D. that exhibits elements of praise (in addition to *exemplum* and *synkrisis*).

[35] Siebeneck, "Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," 177. Midrash is called "haggadic" when its subject matter concerns biblical narratives and its purpose is to admonish or edify its audience. Another scholar who considers chaps. 11–19 as midrash is Edmund Stein, "Ein jüdisch-hellenistischer Midrasch über den Auszug aus Ägypten." *MGWJ* 78 (1934) 558-75 (as cited by Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 112, and Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 41). A few scholars who view chaps. 11–19 primarily as *synkrisis* include Focke, *Entstehung*, 15, and Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 91-102.

[36] According to Gilbert ("Sagesse," 80) *synkrisis* can also be seen in chaps. 3–4 where the fate of

would seem to equate "midrash" with "exegesis" in general. This first understanding of midrash is "so general as to add up to nothing."[37]

There are other scholars who offer a very narrow definition, that midrash is biblical commentary or interpretation beginning only in the rabbinical period.[38] Chapters 11–19 might be categorized as midrash under the broad definition but not under the second, narrower understanding of the term. However, some scholars who opt for the narrower definition would acknowledge that the Wisdom of Solomon is "midrashic" or "proto-midrashic," meaning that it has elements of midrash but dates before the time of midrash proper.[39] There is even further debate whether midrash can be classified as a "genre" or whether it is merely a "process" or "method."[40]

As a middle way between these two extremes, Gary Porton provides a definition of midrash that is accepted by other scholars as well. According to Porton, midrash is best defined as "a type of literature, oral or written, which stands in direct relationship to

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the righteous and unrighteous are compared. I also think that chap. 10 presents an element of *synkrisis* with its seven righteous and unrighteous characters.

[37] Jacob Neusner, *What is Midrash? and A Midrash Reader* (2nd pr.; South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 106; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994) 8.

[38] Renée Bloch, "Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature rabbinique," *RSR* 43 (1955) 212; Solomon Zeitlin, "Midrash: A Historical Study," *JQR* 44 (1953-54) 20-36. See Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 95 n. 33.

[39] Bloch, "Note méthodologique," 204; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 95.

[40] Patrick W. Skehan (Preface to *The Literary Genre Midrash*, by Addison G. Wright [New York: Alba House, 1967] 9) states, "There is no agreement whether midrash, in the Bible, is a literary genre of its own, or merely an incidental technique of composition." See Bizzeti, *Libro della Sapienza*, 43; Thomas R. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50* (SBLDS 75; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986) 52 (also n. 177); Geza Vermes, "Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 1. 199; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 95.

a fixed, canonical text, considered to be the authoritative and revealed word of God by the midrashist and his audience, and in which this canonical text is explicitly cited or clearly alluded to."[41] Thus, the category midrash applies to texts that (1) are written by a Jew for members of the Jewish community and (2) unambiguously refer to texts that both author and audience would have considered normative for belief. In addition to this definition, many scholars agree that the purpose of midrash is to apply the biblical text to the time and circumstances of the midrashic author.[42] Given Porton's definition and the further proposed purpose of midrash, chaps. 11–19 and indeed most of the Wisdom of Solomon can be categorized as midrash or, at the very least, "midrashic." The designation "midrash" or "midrashic" also applies to chap. 10, which is a review of biblical figures and events that serves to introduce additional biblical reinterpretation in chaps. 11–19. In the end, I believe that it is possible to see chaps. 11–19 as a fusion of both Jewish and Hellenistic literary elements. The segment is a midrashic *synkrisis* since it reinterprets and compares figures and events from the Books of Exodus and Numbers.[43] However, I believe that this final section of the book belongs to the genre *synkrisis*, while its

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[41] Gary Porton, "Defining Midrash," in *The Study of Ancient Judaism: Mishnah, Midrash, Siddur* (ed. Jacob Neusner; 2 vols.; New York: Ktav, 1981) 1. 62; Neusner, *What is Midrash?*, 9; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 39.

[42] Renée Bloch, "Midrash," in *DBSup* (ed. Henri Cazelles; Paris: Librarie Letouzey et Ané, 1957) 5. 1265-66; Addison G. Wright, *The Literary Genre Midrash* (New York: Alba House, 1967) 59; Brevard S. Childs, "Midrash and the Old Testament," in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings* (ed. John Reumann; Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1972) 52. Porton ("Defining Midrash," 59-61) cites this position and quotes these scholars but does not think that their proposals for the purpose of midrash apply in all cases. Rather, he sees the purpose of midrash as a secondary issue in defining the phenomenon.

[43] Other scholars have admitted a mixture of *synkrisis* and midrash in chaps. 11–19. These include Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 1. 113; Gilbert, "Wisdom Literature," 308; and Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 38.

designation as midrash (at least as Porton has defined the term) is not a genre, strictly speaking, but rather is a method of interpretation that is exhibited in many genres.

Genre of Wis 10:1–11:1 and Its Surrounding Context

In Chapter Three, I suggested that Wis 10:1–11:1 was a passage that was used by Pseudo-Solomon to combine the two halves of the book. While arguing that Wis 10:1–11:1 was composed and inserted as a linking passage, I placed this pericope at the end of Part I, B, which I entitled "The Praise of Wisdom," because I believe that it fits better with what precedes than with what follows.[44] Thus, since I regard Wis 10:1–11:1 as a discrete pericope, which also plays an important role in a larger subsection of the Wisdom of Solomon, I shall attempt to determine the passage's form and genre in conjunction with the genre of the subsection of which it is a part. In order to do this, it will be imperative to compare both chaps. 6–10 as a whole and chap. 10 in particular to both biblical and extrabiblical passages that seem to have a form and content similar to these sections of the Wisdom of Solomon. After comparing (1) chaps. 6–10 to various OT depictions of Lady Wisdom and (2) chap. 10 to OT hymns that praise God's deeds in Israelite history, I shall proceed to analyze whether chaps. 6–9 and chap. 10 conform to the genres/categories of (3) encomium, (4) aretalogy, and (5) *exempla* or *Beispielreihe*.

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[44] The praise of personified Wisdom in Wis 6:22–9:18 continues in Wis 10:1–11:1, where Pseudo-Solomon recounts Wisdom's actions in early Israelite history. Although events from early Israelite history appear in both Wis 10:1–11:1 and Wis 11:2–19:22 (providing a transition between the two major parts of the book), the events in the former section are recounted chronologically, while the events in the latter section are not presented as in the biblical narrative but rather in an order which suits the purposes of Pseudo-Solomon's argument.

Wisdom 6–10 and Other Depictions of Lady Wisdom in the OT

The personification of Wisdom is not unique to the Wisdom of Solomon but occurs throughout biblical Wisdom literature. Outside the Wisdom of Solomon, some of the most notable OT passages in which Wisdom is personified include Prov 1:20-33; 8:1-36; 9:1-6; Job 28:12-28; Sir 24:1-34; Bar 3:9–4:4. There are four main themes concerning Lady Wisdom that emerge when these passages are considered together. The first theme is the portrayal of Lady Wisdom publicly calling out to humankind to seek her righteous ways and to avoid folly (Prov 1:20-33; 8:1-21, 32-36). In this theme, Wisdom is portrayed as the source of all earthly authority, wealth, and honor (Prov 8:15-21; Bar 3:15-19). The most noteworthy manifestation of Wisdom's call is her general invitation to a sumptuous banquet (Prov 9:1-6; see also Sir 24:19-22). The second theme is Wisdom's placement and role in creation. Wisdom existed/was created before all other created things (Prov 8:22-26; Job 28:27; Sir 24:3, 9). Along with this notion comes Wisdom's association with immortality in later literature (". . . and for all the ages I shall not cease to be," Sir 24:9b). In addition to Wisdom's portrayal as the premiere element of creation, she also plays an important part in assisting God in the rest of his creative work (Prov 8:27-31; Sir 24:4-7). The third theme is Wisdom's location. Ultimately, only God knows Wisdom's whereabouts because he "found" her and she resides with him (Job 28:12-28; Bar 3:32-37; Sir 24:2-4). God is the one who bestows Wisdom on human beings (Bar 3:36-37). In Sir 24:8-17, there is also an explicit reference to Wisdom's dwelling in Israel, especially on Mount Zion (cf. vv. 10-11). The fourth theme is the equating of Wisdom with God's law (Sir 24:23; Bar 4:1). This final theme appears

explicitly only in later biblical Wisdom literature. These four major themes cover the key concepts concerning personified Wisdom in biblical sapiential texts.

All four themes involving personified Wisdom also appear in the Wisdom of Solomon, namely, in chaps. 6–10. First, in Wis 6:1–9:18, Pseudo-Solomon delivers a long discourse on Lady Wisdom. In imagery reminiscent of Proverbs 1 and 8, he describes Wisdom "sitting beside the gates" (6:14) of the one who seeks her and "seeking those who are worthy of her" (6:16). He also devotes an entire section to the benefits of attaining Wisdom in Wis 8:9-18. Along with the common benefits of authority, wealth, and honor, Pseudo-Solomon posits that immortality comes from seeking Wisdom (8:13; see also 6:18b-19), a claim that is a late development in biblical literature. Second, the theme of Wisdom's role in creation is present in the first part of the book. In 7:22, Pseudo-Solomon describes Wisdom as ἡ . . . πάντων τεχνῖτις, "the fashioner of all things" (see also 8:6). God created and sustains the universe through Wisdom; she "penetrates all things" (7:24b) and "orders all things well" (8:1b). Third, Wis 8:3 makes clear that Lady Wisdom's location is primarily with God, who is "the guide of Wisdom" (7:15) and grants her to humans (8:21). Thus, in some sense, Wisdom also dwells on earth (8:1) and specifically among God's people (7:27b; 8:9). The idea that Wisdom is present among God's people becomes clearer in chap. 10. It is here that Pseudo-Solomon moves into an innovative description of Lady Wisdom by giving her a key role in Israel's salvation history. And fourth, although personified Wisdom is not explicitly identified with Torah in the Wisdom of Solomon, there is an undeniable connection between the

two in Wis 6:18.[45] In this verse, Pseudo-Solomon states that the love of Wisdom is the

"keeping of her laws." In this way, all four themes concerning Lady Wisdom are present

in chaps. 6–10.

In many ways, the depiction of personified Wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon

conforms to the general OT understanding of this figure. Much of the imagery and

language of Proverbs 8 and Sirach 24 recur in Wisdom 6–10. However, Pseudo-Solomon

also goes beyond the general understanding of Lady Wisdom found elsewhere in the

OT.[46] Reese notes several major differences between the personification of Wisdom in

the Wisdom of Solomon compared to similar depictions in the rest of the OT.[47] First,

while many OT accounts portray Wisdom as an instructor (e.g., Prov 1:23-25, 30; 8:4-

16), who is occasionally directly identified with the Torah (e.g., Sir 24:22; Bar 4:1), the

Wisdom of Solomon tends to go beyond this teacher/student relationship by presenting a

more intimate and personal relationship between Wisdom and the one who avidly pursues

her. At times, this close relationship is described in terms of sexual imagery, which Reese

avers is virtually lacking in most other OT depictions.[48] Second, the Wisdom of Solomon

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[45] Randall D. Chesnutt, "Covenant and Cosmos in Wisdom of Solomon 10-19," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. S. E. Porter and J. C. R. de Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 229.

[46] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 66.

[47] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 39-42. By listing these differences, Reese attempts to show that Pseudo-Solomon's portrayal of personified Wisdom is not primarily rooted in previous OT depictions of Lady Wisdom but rather in the vocabulary and imagery of the Hellenistic Isis cult. I shall investigate the relationship between Wisdom 6–10, and specifically chap. 10, and the Hellenistic Isis aretalogies further below.

[48] Ibid., 39-40. Reese notes that Sir 15:1-8 and 51:13-21 display some sexual imagery in reference to Wisdom; however, he claims that the sexual overtones in these two passages are underdeveloped and less extensive than those in the Wisdom of Solomon.

presents eternal life and union with God (Wis 6:19; 8:13-18) as the rewards for faithfully

pursuing personified Wisdom, while the other OT portrayals emphasize success and

security in this life alone.[49] Third, Pseudo-Solomon's portrayal of Wisdom is more

abstract and represents "a more universalizing and mystical approach" (e.g., Wis 7:25-26)

when compared to the concrete descriptions of Wisdom in other OT sapiential passages,

which tend to use similes rather than identifying Wisdom more "intimately with the

nature and activity of God in the world."[50] For example, Reese notes that Sir 24:3 calls

Wisdom a "mist covering the earth" and Sir 24:17 equates her with a "blossoming tree,"

while Wis 7:25-26 refers to her more abstractly as "vapor of the power of God and an

unadulterated emanation of the Almighty's glory . . . radiance of everlasting Light and

spotless mirror of the activity of God and image of his goodness."[51] To bolster his claim

about Wisdom's abstract divine-like attributes and involvement in God's activity in the

book, he notes that only in Wis 8:4 is Wisdom clearly presented as God's agent in

creating the world.[52]

I believe that Reese's treatment of the various OT texts in comparison to Wisdom

6–10 is quite accurate. However, I would also add two more differences between them.

First, it is only in chap. 10 that Lady Wisdom is explicitly involved in Israelite history.

Although in Sir 24:8-12 there is mention of Wisdom making her dwelling within Israel

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[49] Ibid., 39.

[50] Ibid., 40-41.

[51] Ibid., 41.

[52] Ibid., esp. n. 46.

and, specifically, on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, one witnesses a more intimate and specific interaction between personified Wisdom and certain figures in early Israelite history in Wisdom 10. Second, in terms of form and content, there is a slight difference in that chap. 10 presents a praise of Wisdom in the third person, while in passages such as Prov 8:4-31 and Sir 24:1-21, Wisdom speaks in the first person. In fact, Sir 24:1 states, "Wisdom sings her own praises." This is different from the way that Wisdom is presented in chap. 10. Thus, while Pseudo-Solomon uses Lady Wisdom imagery and language from other OT passages, he also introduces elements that are different from previous OT depictions of this sapiential figure.

Wisdom 10 and OT Hymns Praising God's Deeds in Israelite History

In addition to the OT passages that speak about Lady Wisdom, the genre, form, and imagery of other OT texts may have influenced Pseudo-Solomon in his writing of chaps. 6–10 and chap. 10 in particular. Since Wisdom 10 treats Lady Wisdom's mighty deeds within Israelite history, it is important to compare the form and content of this text to OT accounts where God is praised for various events in the history of Israel. Many such texts occur within the hymns of praise in the OT Psalter. The two major elements of the hymn of praise are (1) the call to praise and (2) the reason for praise.[53] Occasionally, the hymn will conclude with a recapitulation of the call to praise or bless God (e.g., Ps 135:19-21). In the call to praise, the speaker summons others (e.g., Ps 135:1-3) or himself

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[53] Hermann Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction* (trans. Thomas M. Horner; FBBS 19; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967) 10-13. See also Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 24.

to praise God (e.g., Ps 104:1). The reason for praise is often introduced by a כִּי clause in

Hebrew and is followed by an account of either (1) God's mighty acts in creation (e.g.,

Psalm 104); (2) his deeds within Israelite history (e.g., Psalm 105); or (3) both (e.g.,

Psalms 135 and 136). Since Wisdom 10 recounts Lady Wisdom's mighty deeds within

Israelite history, I shall concentrate on the second and third of these categories. Examples

of hymns of praise which exhibit God's mighty acts in history include Psalms 105, 135,

and 136.[54]

Psalm 105 is a "history psalm presented in hymnic style."[55] The psalm begins

with a call to praise in vv. 1-6 and proceeds to recount God's mighty deeds in early

Israelite history which prove that he is faithful to the everlasting covenant with the

patriarchs (vv. 7-11, 42). God protects the patriarchs while they are foreigners in the

Promised Land (vv. 12-15), sends Joseph down to Egypt (vv. 16-22), multiplies the

Israelites in Egypt (v. 24), turns the Egyptians against his people and sends Moses and

Aaron to save them (vv. 25-27), brings the plagues over Egypt (vv. 28-38), leads Israel

out of Egypt and provides for them in the wilderness (vv. 39-43), and grants the Promised

Land to his people (vv. 44-45).

God is the subject of most of the actions in Psalm 105, and he is referred to in the

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[54] Psalms 78 and 106 also mention God's acts in history. However, these psalms contrast the rebelliousness of the Israelites with the saving deeds of Yhwh, a contrast that does not occur in Wisdom 10. These psalms have been categorized as "historical retrospects" with a deuteronomistic flavor (Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 26-29, 31). For this reason, I shall only consider those psalms that are closer in form and content to Wisdom 10.

[55] Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60–150: A Commentary* (trans. Hilton C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989) 308.

third person throughout. Thus, the main focus of the psalm is God's mighty deeds on behalf of Israel. However, in some cases, action is also taken by human subjects. For example, the Egyptians imprison Joseph (v. 18), Pharaoh releases him and grants him authority (vv. 20-22), Jacob/Israel comes down to Egypt (v. 23), Moses and Aaron work wonders in Egypt (v. 27), and the Israelites ask God for food in the wilderness (v. 40). Yet all of these human actions are overshadowed by divine action. For example, even though Moses and Aaron work signs and wonders in Egypt, it is ultimately God who brings about the plagues (vv. 28-38) and provides for the people in the wilderness (vv. 39-41).

Psalm 135 follows the general pattern of the hymn of praise. It begins with a call to praise in vv. 1-4, the reason for praise in vv. 5-14, and a recapitulation in vv. 19-21. The reason for praise is introduced by כִּי clauses, beginning already in vv. 3-5. Verse 5 formally begins the section that tells why one is to praise God. The reasons, in this case, are both his action within creation (vv. 5-7) and his mighty deeds within history (vv. 8-14). The deeds for which God is praised include his defense of the Israelites in Egypt through the plagues, with special mention of the last plague in particular (vv. 8-9), and against the many kings in Transjordan and the Promised Land (vv. 10-12). While vv. 8-12 speak of God and his specific works in the third person, vv. 13-14 are a summary statement which praises God in general in a direct second-person address. This section is followed by vv. 15-18 which condemn idols, those who make them, and those who worship them. The elements exhibited in vv. 15-18 are not a regular feature of a hymn of praise but stand in stark contrast to the true God and his worshipers. Finally, the psalm

ends with a call to bless God in vv. 19-21.

Psalm 136 is another example of a hymn of praise which features historical examples of God's mighty deeds in history. The psalm is unified throughout by the refrain כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ, "for his mercy endures forever," which is repeated after each colon. The psalm begins with a call to praise in vv. 1-3, where the theme is specifically rendering thanks to God. Dominated by the use of participial phrases at the beginning of each colon, vv. 4-9 and v. 25 present God's creative activity and dealings within the world in general, while vv. 10-24 focus on his specific deeds in Israel's history. All of these events are recounted in the third person. In vv. 10-24, God saves the Israelites by afflicting the Egyptians with the last plague and by leading his people through the Red Sea (vv. 10-15), by leading them in the wilderness (v. 16), and by smiting the kings of Transjordan to protect his people and give them their land (vv. 17-22). Verses 23-24 are a summary of God's saving actions on behalf of his people, and v. 26 is a recapitulation of the opening call to praise God.

Upon reviewing these three hymns from the OT Psalter, one sees that Wisdom 10 evidences both similarities and differences with Psalms 105, 135, and 136. Two notable similarities are that (1) the focus in Wisdom 10 is on the recounting of Wisdom's deeds in history, just as the above psalms retell God's mighty acts; and (2) these deeds are generally presented in the third person. Aside from these similarities, there are also some major differences. First, Wisdom is the subject of the deeds in chap. 10, as opposed to God who is the one praised for acting in the psalms. Second, chap. 10 itself does not follow the hymnic form because there is no call to praise God or Lady Wisdom at the

beginning or end. Third, the major theme of Wisdom's saving work in chap. 10 is

constantly emphasized through the use of linking words (e.g., repetition of verbs such as

ἐρρύσατο and the anaphoristic αὕτη). This connection of theme and linking words is not

as apparent in the psalms.[56] Fourth, Wisdom 10 presents a list of specific figures who are

categorized as either righteous or wicked and through whom and on behalf of whom

Lady Wisdom acts in Israelite history.[57] While human figures are mentioned in these

psalms (especially Psalm 105), there is an overwhelming focus on the narration of events

rather than on the characteristics and qualities of the figures named. It seems that the

primary function of these figures is to provide details within the narrative of God's

actions rather than to provide a judgment about the figures themselves. This differs

markedly from the list of figures in Wisdom 10 which do present the mighty acts of

Wisdom but also emphasize the moral character of the figures themselves.

 I believe that historical hymns of praise such as Psalms 105, 135, and 136 may

have influenced Pseudo-Solomon's composition of Wisdom 10. He may not be imitating

these psalms directly, but they are most likely part of his religious subconscious. Even if

they did influence his composition of chap. 10, the aforementioned differences reveal that

chap. 10 is not the same exact genre as the hymns of praise that one finds in the OT

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 [56] Schmitt, "Struktur," 12. A notable exception in this regard is the repeated refrain כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ, "for his mercy endures forever," in Psalm 136, which occurs in the second colon of each bicolon in the psalm. Although God's חֶסֶד, "mercy," "loving kindness," exemplified by concrete actions within Israelite history, can be seen as the theme of the psalm, the method employed in Psalm 136 is slightly different from the theme of salvation which is emphasized by the repetition of individual verbs and the recurrence of αὕτη at the beginning of various lines throughout Wisdom 10.

 [57] Schmitt ("Struktur," 12) notes, "Weish 9, 18 – 10, 21 bietet eine fortlaufende Reihe bestimmter Personen, die man bei den genannten Psalmen vergeblich sucht."

Psalter. For this reason, one must look to other genres and forms that existed in the Hellenistic period and may have influenced Pseudo-Solomon in his composition of chaps. 6–10.

Encomium as a Literary Genre

As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, many scholars identify chaps. 6–10 as an encomium or "praise" of Wisdom. While hymns were compositions praising a deity, encomia were compositions honoring a person, thing, or abstract concept. The basic elements of this genre are mentioned as early as the fourth century B.C. by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*.[58] However, there is a problem in comparing chaps. 6–10 to encomia in Pseudo-Solomon's day. While there is no doubt that encomia were being written in Pseudo-Solomon's time, there is no direct evidence of encomiastic literature between the third and first centuries B.C.[59] Yet Cicero provides some clues that the form and content of encomia in the first century B.C. were very similar to those in the fourth century B.C.[60] By using the traditional encomiastic elements known at the time of Aristotle, supplemented by elements known shortly after the time of Pseudo-Solomon, it will be possible to determine which parts of chaps. 6–10 reflect these elements and what role chap. 10 plays within this encomiastic genre.

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[58] Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1.9.1-41

[59] Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, 106; Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 164.

[60] Ibid., 164-67. See Cicero *De Inventione* 1.34-36; 2.177-78. For the Latin text with English translation, see Marcus Tullius Cicero, "De Inventione," in *Cicero: De Inventione, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, Topica* (ed. H. M. Hubbell; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) 2-345.

In ancient times, while there was no consensus regarding the exact features of an encomium, writers who broach the topic do present some of the major encomiastic elements. After assessing the various ancient treatises and rhetorical manuals that treat the topic of encomium, Theodore Burgess enumerates eight basic features of the genre.[61] The first element is *prooimion* (προοίμιον), which is an introductory section. The flow of this section is often characterized by great compositional freedom on the part of the encomium writer. Often in this section, the author asserts his inability to adequately praise such a monumentous topic or figure. The second section is that of *genos* (γένος), which describes the ancestry or origin of the person or thing praised. The third section is genesis (γένεσις), which recounts important events surrounding the birth or origin of the figure. This section may include such elements as omens or dreams that accompany the birth. The fourth element is *anatrophē* (ἀνατροφή), which involves the situation of the figure's youth and can be further subdivided into *physis* (φύσις) and *paideia* (παιδεία). *Physis*, or "nature," relates early characteristics of the subject's youth that point to the figure's greatness in adulthood. *Paideia*, or "education," presents the figure's natural abilities and training in youth which lead to a profession in adulthood. The fifth element of encomium is *epitēdeumata* (ἐπιτηδεύματα) which presents "deeds implying choice"; in most cases, this section is subsumed in the next (and sixth) element of *praxeis* (πράξεις). Together, *epitēdeumata* and *praxeis* consitutue a major section within most encomia. In the *praxeis* section the figure's deeds are recounted to support the claims about his

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[61] These elements of an encomium are enumerated and discussed by Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, 120-27.

outstanding character. For human subjects, these actions are often divided into deeds

performed during times of war and deeds performed during peacetime. The important

aspect of this section is that the subject's actions are not always presented in

chronological order but rather are mentioned when it is necessary to show how the figure

manifests the cardinal virtues of ἀνδρεία, "courage" or "fortitude"; δικαιοσύνη, "justice";

σωφροσύνη, "moderation" or "self-control"; and φρόνησις, "prudence." The seventh

element is *synkrisis* (σύγκρισις), or "comparison," in which the author compares the

praised figure to other notable figures. According to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1.9.38-39),

synkrisis is "a notable reliance in all epideictic literature." The eighth, and final, element

of encomium is the *epilogos* (ἐπίλογος). The length and specific contents of this section

vary in each encomium. However, it often involves a brief summary of the figure's most

noteworthy characteristics and also an appeal to the audience to imitate the virtues of the

figure that is praised. In many cases, this section will end with a prayer in which the

author asks a god or goddess to preserve the memory of the figure and to help others to

imitate the best qualities of the one praised.

It is important to realize that even though these eight elements are generally found

within encomia, it was not necessary for a writer to use all of these elements or to present

them in this exact order. The writer of the encomium is allowed much freedom and

license in composing his work of praise.[62] Also, the subject matter of encomia is not

limited to human figures, but could include other topics such as animate beings,

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[62] Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, 121.

inanimate objects, and abstract concepts.[63] If the subject of the encomium is an

individual, then it is often a king or ruler who is praised.[64] It is possible to see many of

these encomiastic elements in Wisdom 6–10.

Wisdom 6–10 as an Encomium

I believe that in the Wisdom of Solomon 6–10, Pseudo-Solomon presents a

"double encomium" in which he praises Solomon and the figure of personified Wisdom

simultaneously. Thus, one must distinguish between Pseudo-Solomon the author and the

character of King Solomon, who is presented as the speaking subject. Even though it

appears that the character of King Solomon presents an autobiographical account of his

pursuit of Lady Wisdom and in the process offers a praise of himself, it would be

inaccurate to categorize this segment as belonging to the genre of "self-praise."[65] The

objective of Solomon is not to praise himself but rather to convince others (i.e., the

"kings" and "princes" of 6:1, 9) to pursue Wisdom.[66] Also, when we consider that King

Solomon himself did not write this account but rather Pseudo-Solomon, we see that the

author pays homage to Solomon through an account of the king's life that is placed in his

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[63] Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1.9.2. "But since it happens that men, seriously or not, often praise not only a man or a god but even inanimate things or any ordinary animal. . . ."

[64] Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, 127.

[65] The main objective of the genre of self-praise is usually apologetic, that is, the speaker often issues a defense of himself in the face of criticism or slander. However, *apologia* does not correspond to the character of Solomon's "self-praise" in Wisdom 6–10. Solomon is not offering a defense of his actions and qualities but rather recounts them in order to praise Wisdom all the more.

[66] The speaking subject Solomon does not try to show himself to be better than others but mentions that he is much like other men (Wis 7:1-6), which, ironically, is a further indication of his humility, an exemplary virtue.

own mouth. Also, one sees that the praise of Wisdom cannot be separated from the references to Solomon's life, for the concrete events in Solomon's life illustrate how wonderful Wisdom truly is. And conversely, the events of Solomon's life in his pursuit of Wisdom illustrate that he is a wise figure. Thus, the praise of the two figures of Solomon and Lady Wisdom in chaps. 6–10 are inextricably linked.[67] The result is a masterfully crafted double encomium on the part of Pseudo-Solomon.

Almost all of the elements of encomium as presented in Burgess's above summary are found in Pseudo-Solomon's praise of King Solomon. Since this is a double or joint praise of Solomon and Wisdom, with special emphasis on Wisdom, and since Solomon is presented as the one speaking, the *prooimium* in this case is focused more on Wisdom and not on the praise of Solomon. I shall take a closer look at this opening section in Wis 6:22-25 when I discuss how its various encomiastic elements function within the praise of Wisdom. In terms of *genos*, Solomon describes his coming into the world as the same as all other human beings (7:1-6). It appears that Solomon does not present a *genesis*—or any special occurrence concerning his birth. In fact, the exact opposite is the case; he claims that he is not special in any way since all people come into the world in a similar fashion.[68] This statement is meant to downplay Solomon's special

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[67] This point is also expressed by Leproux, *Discours de Sagesse*, 76. "L'auteur se contente-t-il de faire l'éloge de la Sagesse, ou bien, parlant de lui-même, ne fait-il pas pour ainsi dire son propre éloge avec celui de la Sagesse?" Soon after raising this question, Leproux proceeds to state that Wisdom is praised through Solomon's seeking of her and that Wisdom's personification, nature, and role cannot be separated or abstracted from the life of Solomon. See also Gilbert, "Sagesse," 85; Leproux, *Discours de Sagesse*, 94-106.

[68] However, Wis 8:19-20 seems to negate this initial display of humility on Solomon's part: "Now, I was a well-favored child, / and I came by a noble nature; / or rather, being noble, I attained an unsullied body" (*NAB*).

status as king in order to show that his high standing in society did not give him a special advantage in his quest for Wisdom. Rather, no matter what their social standing, all men are sufficiently equipped to begin searching for Wisdom.

Following the circumstances of his birth, Solomon proceeds to recount the way that he sought Wisdom and was taught by her, which can be seen as the *anatrophē* section. Solomon's true character or nature (*physis*) is manifested through the way that he values Wisdom and seeks her above all other earthly goods (7:7-12). Because he seeks Wisdom first, he gains all the other goods as well and claims that he had not realized that he would gain these additional benefits from Wisdom.[69] Thus, Solomon's quest for Wisdom is purely for Wisdom's sake and is not tainted by ulterior motives of wealth, honor, and power. As a wise individual, Solomon realizes that God is the source of Wisdom, and thus he prays to receive her from him (7:7, 15), which further exemplifies his wise character (8:21).

After this sagacious request, there is an account of Solomon's education which can be seen as the *paideia* section of the encomium. Solomon was not taught by human teachers but rather by God himself through the figure of Wisdom (7:17-22a). Through his observation of the natural world, Solomon gains instruction from Wisdom, who is ἡ . . . πάντων τεχνῖτις, "the artificer of all" (7:22). The high quality of Solomon's education is further strengthened by the list of Wisdom's virtuous attributes (7:22b-24, 29-30), origin in God (7:25-26), and activity in the world (7:27; 8:1). The superb nature

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[69] However, Wis 8:9-16 seems to suggest a different idea. In these verses, Solomon realizes that these other good things come from Wisdom, and this gives him even more incentive to take her as his wife.

of his teacher thus emphasizes the superb nature of his education. She not only instructs him in the natural sciences but also assists him in gaining a greater knowledge and understanding of God (8:4). Moreover, Solomon's tutelage under Wisdom endows him with the cardinal virtues of σωφροσύνην . . . καὶ φρόνησιν . . . δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀνδρείαν, "moderation and prudence, justice and fortitude" (8:7), which are the key virtues featured in the encomiastic genre. Given all these qualities that Wisdom exhibits and presumably will teach, Solomon realizes that if he pursues Wisdom she will make him a great ruler.

Although specific actions are not cited, perhaps this passage can be seen as part of the *praxeis* section of the book's praise of Solomon. He perceives that he will be "keen in judgment" (8:11), he will appear noble in the assembly (8:15c), and he will be courageous in war (8:15d). Some of Solomon's further deeds are expressed later in the prayer in chap. 9, where he recounts his wise request for Wisdom (8:21; 9:4; cf. 1 Kings 3) and says that God has asked him to build the Temple and altar in Jerusalem (9:8), deeds that Solomon eventually does perform (cf. 1 Kings 6–8).

In the praise of Solomon, a real *synkrisis* or "comparison" is lacking, unless one considers his humble statements in 7:1-6 as such. Yet 7:1-6 is a meager *synkrisis* at best, since the comparison in an encomium generally is used to show how the figure is better than his contemporaries rather than on a par with them. Also, in Solomon's case, there is no clear epilogue. Solomon's prayer in chap. 9 is not a conclusion to his own praise but rather a summary concerning Wisdom's greatness. After considering all the encomiastic elements in relation to the praise of Solomon in chaps. 6–9, one notes that the elements are not clearly delineated and are scattered throughout these chapters.

Since the praises of Solomon and Wisdom are so closely bound together, there is some overlap in the various elements of their respective encomia. Now that I have mentioned some of these passages in connection with the praise of Solomon, I shall reconsider their function in the praise of Wisdom. In this intricately crafted composition, some verses can be seen as representing one element in the praise of Solomon while serving as a different element in the praise of Wisdom—thereby filling a dual role. Also, there is an intertwining and scattering of encomiastic elements throughout chaps. 6–10. For example, the *genos* section is not confined to a specific set of verses in only one part of the encomium. Rather, the origin of Wisdom is addressed in various passages throughout chaps. 6–10.

The *prooimium* of the encomium on Wisdom is found in 6:22-25. In this section, through the figure of Solomon, the author presents his subject matter as well as his *modus operandi*. The subject matter is the truth of Wisdom's identity and origin (6:22a), which he will divulge in a forthright manner (6:22bc). He will not hide Wisdom's true identity and origin because he recognizes that to share the truth about Wisdom will bring about a better situation in the world (6:23-24). The more individuals who know about Wisdom, the more secure the world will be. As mentioned earlier in the general discussion of the encomiastic *prooimium*, a common characteristic of this introductory section is that the author voices his inadequacy in speaking about the subject and prays for help in expressing adequate praise. Although this does not occur in 6:22-25, I believe that this element is expressed later in 7:15: "Now God grant I speak suitably, / and value these endowments at their worth . . . ."

A discussion of Wisdom's *genos* is illustrated in 7:7 where Solomon states that he prayed for Wisdom and her πνεῦμα, "spirit," came to him. Here, one sees that Wisdom's origins are in God and she has a somewhat spiritual nature. Thus, the origins of Wisdom are inextricably linked with her *physis.* But I shall leave the issue of Wisdom's nature aside for the moment and shall first address the subject of her origin. The idea that Wisdom comes from God is explicitly expressed in 9:6 ("Wisdom, who comes from you") and implied in 7:15 where Solomon states that God is "the guide of Wisdom and the director of the wise." Wisdom is also described as being present with God in his heavenly throne room and, given the expression πάρεδρον (6:14; 9:4), could even be seen as sharing God's throne.[70] In 9:9 Wisdom is explicitly said to be with God (καὶ μετὰ σοῦ ἡ σοφία, "And with you is Wisdom"), and in the same verse she is described as being present at creation. The most explicit expression concerning Wisdom's origin comes in 7:25-26 where she is described as "an aura of the might of God and a pure effusion of the glory of the Almighty . . . . [S]he is the refulgence of eternal light, the spotless mirror of the power of God, the image of his goodness." From this passage, we see that Wisdom emanates from God as a reflection of his glory and goodness. She is not God but rather comes forth from and reflects his majesty.

In addition to revealing Wisdom's origin, this passage in 7:25-26, and chap. 7 in general, also says something about Wisdom's nature. Because Wisdom is an emanation from God, she is characterized by purity (7:24-25) and described in pneumatological

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[70] The Greek word πάρεδρον is often translated as "throne partner" or "throne companion." See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 202.

terms.[71] In addition to these qualities, there are twenty-one other praiseworthy qualities

that are attributed to Wisdom in 7:22-23. The nature of Wisdom is also expressed in

terms of her great value. Solomon seeks Wisdom before earthly authority (7:8a), various

forms of wealth—both material and spiritual (7:8b, 9, 13-14), health and good looks

(7:10a), and even natural light itself (7:10bc). Solomon explains that natural light is

temporary because it alternates with periods of darkness during the night. However, the

light of Wisdom does not "yield to sleep"; rather, it endures at all times of day. This

comparison of Wisdom to natural light is developed further in 7:29-30. Whereas the light

of the sun and stars are sometimes replaced or overcome by darkness, the light of

knowledge and truth that comes through Wisdom never succumbs to wickedness. Thus,

Wisdom is far superior to natural light. Indeed, for she is the "refulgence of eternal

light"—the supernatural light of God (7:26).

In many encomia, the *physis* section is coupled with a *paideia* section. However,

there is no identifiable *paideia* section in the praise of Wisdom. Wisdom teaches rather

than being taught. She is described as "all-seeing" and "all-knowing" (7:23; 8:8; 9:11).

Also, because Wisdom is from God, we can assume that all that Wisdom teaches has its

origin in God. God teaches Solomon natural knowledge through Wisdom, to the point

that God and Wisdom are identified as performing the same pedagogical action. In 7:17 it

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[71] Wisdom's identity and primary mode of operation is on a spiritual plane. She is described as a spirit (7:7; 9:17), having a spirit (7:22), and pervading all spirits (7:23). The phrase πνεῦμα σοφίας, "spirit of Wisdom," in Wis 7:7 could be a possessive genitive (i.e., the spirit that belongs to Wisdom, that is, of Wisdom) or an epexegetical genitive (i.e., the spirit, which is Wisdom). Also, in 9:17, it seems that τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἀπὸ ὑψίστων, "your holy spirit from on high," stands in synonymous parallelism with σοφίαν in the preceding colon.

is God who teaches Solomon, while in 7:22 the author states that "Wisdom, the artificer of all, taught me." This act of teaching cannot be categorized as Wisdom's *paideia* but rather is one of her many modes of *praxeis*.

Wisdom's nature and value are made manifest through her concrete actions in the world (*praxeis*). Most importantly, these actions are governed by the four cardinal virtues. As 8:7 states: "[T]he fruits of her works are virtues; / For she teaches moderation and prudence, justice and fortitude, / and nothing in life is more useful for men than these." Throughout chaps. 6–9, the author presents general actions that Wisdom performs rather than specific examples of Wisdom working among humankind. For example, Wisdom brings all good things (7:14) and can do all things (7:27). She renews all things without losing anything of her own essence or identity ("herself perduring" in 7:27). She also passes into souls, thereby producing friends of God and prophets (7:27; cf. 7:14; 8:3). She is also said to govern all things well (8:1b). This verse portrays Wisdom as a good ruler or overseer, ordering the world through justice. Thus, it is fitting that Wisdom grants to kings and princes authority and ability to rule (6:20-21; 8:9-11, 14-15; 9:12; 10:14). She guides and protects those who seek her (9:11), saving those who learn her ways (9:18). While chaps. 6–9 present Wisdom's general actions in the world, it is not until chap. 10 that more specific examples of Wisdom's deeds are revealed. In chap. 10, one sees exactly how Wisdom brings all good things (10:10-11, 20; 11:1); how it is that Wisdom makes friends of God and prophets (10:16; 11:1); how she governs all things well and is able to grant authority and governance to others (10:2, 14); and how she guides individuals (10:4, 10, 17-18) and offers them protection, saving them from harm

(10:1, 4, 6, 9, 12, 13, 15).

The last major section of *synkrisis* or comparison is also exhibited in Pseudo-Solomon's praise of Wisdom. Although not an extensive comparative list, 7:8-10 notes that Wisdom is to be valued above and sought before material and political gain. Also, as mentioned above, Wisdom is directly compared to natural light and judged to be far superior (7:29-30). The rhetorical questions in 8:5-6 add to this element of comparison by implying that there is nothing comparable to Wisdom: "[W]hat is more rich than Wisdom, who produces all things? . . . [W]ho in the world is a better craftsman than she?" Finally, more specific comparisons are present in chap. 10 which speaks of those who follow Wisdom as successful and preserved from danger, while those who reject her bring inescapable death and judgment upon themselves (e.g., Cain in 10:3; the inhabitants of the Pentapolis in 10:7-8; the Egyptians in 10:19).

As in many encomia, the praise of Wisdom in chaps. 6–10 ends with an epilogue which usually includes a prayer. In this case, the prayer proper is located in chap. 9, while chap. 10 can be understood as a continuation of the prayer in which Wisdom's specific acts of salvation are recalled.[72] However, the prayer in chap. 9 is different from the prayer at the end of most encomia because of the nature of the subject. Usually, the encomiastic writer implores a deity to perpetuate the memory of the individual who is honored by the encomium. Also, there is generally an exhortation for others to imitate this honored individual. However, since Wisdom is not an individual, but an attribute of God which has already been associated with immortality (8:13, 17), the situation with the prayer in

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[72] The specific acts in chap. 10 are introduced by the last colon of 9:18: ". . . and were saved by Wisdom."

chap. 9 is markedly different. Earlier in the encomium, we see that Solomon hopes to obtain an eternal memory through his acquisition of Wisdom (8:13). As a result, Solomon prays for Wisdom (9:4) so that he may act as a just and worthy ruler (9:12) and know the counsel of God (9:13-17), qualities that will secure him a place in history. Just as there is no request to preserve Wisdom's memory, neither is there an exhortation to imitate Wisdom in chap. 9. However, Solomon's exhortation to "honor Wisdom" in 6:21 and to heed his advice in 6:25 implies that his intense prayer for Wisdom is to be emulated by those who truly seek her. In the end, Pseudo-Solomon concludes his encomium with a prayer, but the nature of this prayer is different from the ones found at the end of most encomia because of the unique nature of its subject.

In conclusion, chaps. 6–10 present a double encomium in which the author praises both King Solomon and Lady Wisdom at the same time. While Pseudo-Solomon uses many of the standard encomiastic elements, he does not do so uniformly and in the customary way. Rather, the various elements are scattered throughout the encomium, and various passages can be seen as having more than one function. In the end, chaps. 6–10 are a unique composition that builds upon the standard encomiastic form.

Role of Wisdom 10 in the Encomium in Wisdom 6–10

For the purposes of this investigation, it is particularly important to determine if and how chap. 10 serves as one or more of the regular encomiastic elements. While most analyses of the encomium of Wisdom are limited to chaps. 6–9 and do not treat chap. 10, I believe that chap. 10 can be seen as an important part of the book's praise of Wisdom.

This chapter not only provides specific examples of Wisdom's saving action (*praxeis*) but also functions as a loose comparison (*synkrisis*). As noted above, I also believe that chap. 10 was probably not part of the original encomium but was added later to supplement and serve as a transition to the next section. First, chap. 10 can be seen as a separate composition from chaps. 6–9, because these earlier chapters mention both Solomon and Wisdom while chap. 10 only treats Wisdom. It is interesting that Solomon is not heard from again in the book after chap. 9. Although it can be assumed that Solomon is recounting Wisdom's saving actions in chap. 10, the first-person autobiographical narrative ends with chap. 9. Second, chap. 10 is not absolutely necessary to provide the *praxeis* and *synkrisis* sections of the encomium, since chaps. 6–9 already feature passages that could fulfill these roles. At the same time, I do think that the addition of chap. 10 enhances the *praxeis* and *synkrisis* aspects of the original encomium in chaps. 6–9. Third, it seems that the encomium ends with the prayer in chap. 9. Yet chap. 10 can still be seen as part of the prayer. It is an extension of the prayer that serves to bolster the *praxeis* and *synkrisis* aspects of the original encomium in chaps. 6–9.

Aretalogy as a Literary Genre

In considering the genre of chaps. 6–10 and chap. 10 in particular, it is important to consider the relationship of these chapters to the literary category of the "aretalogy." An aretalogy is often defined as a composition whose focus is to praise a god or human being through the retelling of their *arētai*. While this Greek term from which the word aretalogy is derived can literally be rendered "virtues," aretalogies often include a

recounting of the powers (*dynameis*), inventions or discoveries (*heurēmata*), and mighty

deeds (*erga*) or miracles of a particular figure. In many respects, when the subject is a

deity, an aretalogy is very closely related to the genre of "hymn." While scholars such as

Reese claim that the terms "hymn" and "aretalogy" are nearly synonymous, others such

as Furley and Bremer understand aretalogy as a later Hellenistic and Roman literary

development that focuses on the *erga* or "deeds" section of a hymn.[73] Although there are

hymns further classified as aretalogies that were composed in honor of various deities,

the most notable aretalogies are those associated with the Egyptian goddess Isis, whose

cult flourished in the Mediterranean world in the Hellenistic and Roman eras.[74] However,

the form of an aretalogy appears to be quite loose, a feature that has prompted some

scholars to deny that aretalogy can be understood as a unique and well-defined literary

genre.[75] Also, many compositions that have been categorized by some scholars as

aretalogies could very easily be identified as hymns.

    A. J. Festugière enumerates three main elements that are found in most works

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[73] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 43. William D. Furley and Jan Maarten Bremer, *Greek Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 9-10; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001) 58. According to Eduard Norden (*Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* [Leipzig/Berlin: Teubner, 1913] 143-77), the hymn comprises the following elements: (1) the nature of the god; (2) *dynamis* (power); (3) *erga* (deeds) or *heurēmata* (finds, discoveries); and (4) a final prayer. See also A. J. Festugière, "À Propos des Arétalogies d'Isis," *HTR* 42 (1949) 226; Furley and Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, 50-63.

[74] An example of an aretalogy to a god other than Isis is given in Helmut Engelmann, *The Delian Aretalogy of Sarapis* (EPROER 44; Leiden: Brill, 1975). Some examples of Isis aretalogies are listed below in n. 80.

[75] Roger Beck ("Mystery Religions, Aretalogy, and the Ancient Novel," in *The Novel in the Ancient World* [ed. Gareth L. Schmeling; Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava, Supplementum 159; Leiden/New York: Brill, 1996] 137) states: "To view aretalogy as a literary genre is to look at it through an inappropriate and overly powerful lens." David Lenz Tiede (*The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* [SBLDS 1; Missoula, MT: SBL, 1972] 1) notes: "There appears to be no unified picture of what constituted an aretalogy in the ancient world." See also Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 43.

classified as aretalogy.[76] First, the nature of the deity is noted. This section usually

provides the deity's name and describes the deity's essential characteristics, origin, and

places of cult worship. Second, the virtues and powers (*dynameis*) of the deity are listed.

Third, the mighty deeds or works (*erga*) of the deity are enumerated. This section

features a list of the deity's inventions or discoveries (*heurēmata*) due to which human

existence on earth has been improved. It is important to note that these elements may not

always appear in the above order but can be rearranged according to the preference of a

given author.[77]

Matthew Gordley presents six elements of form and content found in most Isis

aretalogies.[78] These include (1) the repetition of the phrase ἐγώ εἰμι, "I am . . . ,"

throughout the composition; (2) Isis's name presented at the beginning; (3) Isis's domain

or area of sovereignty; (4) her relationships to other deities; (5) discoveries of the

goddess; and (6) her mighty actions on behalf of humankind. Gordley notes that there are

five aretalogies that have been found that follow this general format and that are thought

to derive from an original Memphite aretalogy.[79] Aside from this core group of Isis

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[76] Festugière, "À Propos," 221-22. See also Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 43; Alice M. Sinnott, *The Personification of Wisdom* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2005) 146 n. 21; Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 43.

[77] Festugière, "À Propos," 224-25.

[78] Matthew E. Gordley, *The Colossian Hymn in Context: An Exegesis in Light of Jewish and Greco-Roman Hymnic and Epistolary Conventions* (WUNT 2, Reihe 228; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 148. His list is based on a cursory analysis of the Isis aretalogy reproduced by Diodorus Siculus *History* 1.27.4.

[79] The aretalogies that Gordley (*Colossian Hymn*, 150) lists include (1) an Isis aretalogy preserved by Diodorus Siculus from the first century B.C.; (2) the partially damaged *Andros* aretalogy from the first century B.C.; (3) the *Kyme* aretalogy from the first or second centuries A.D.; (4) fragments of the *Saloniki* aretalogy from the first or second century A.D.; and (5) fragments of the *Ios* aretalogy from the third century

aretalogies, there are other hymns dedicated to Isis which have been called aretalogies. Yet not all of these follow the same general form and content presented in the five core aretalogies.

Based on the elements presented by both Festugière and Gordley, there appear to be three main factors that distinguish a "pure aretalogy" from a standard hymn.[80] These differences are: (1) an aretalogy usually contains a self-praise (ἐγώ εἰμι, "I am . . . .") or some type of anaphoristic element which helps bind the composition together; (2) while the god's nature and relationships can also be addressed, emphasis is placed on the *erga* (deeds) and *heurēmata* (discoveries) of the deity; and (3) there is no prayer at the end of an aretalogy, as there is in a general hymn. While Gordley and others may not necessarily agree with this narrow definition of aretalogy,[81] I believe that such a distinction must be made lest all hymns to Isis be categorized as aretalogies. Thus, there are many hymns to Isis which would not necessarily be classified under the more specific rubric of "aretalogy."[82]

A.D. The original Memphite aretalogy, from which these five aretalogies putatively derived, is strictly hypothetical since this original composition has never been discovered.

[80] The term "pure aretalogy" to refer to the first-person Isis aretalogies is borrowed from Tiede, who designates these compositions as "a pure type of aretalogy" (*Charismatic Figure*, 2). See also Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 43.

[81] Gordley (*Colossian Hymn*, 149-50) notes that aretalogies can be composed in the first, second, or third person; can be written in poetry or prose; and can be written as inscriptions or on papyri (i.e., literary). As a result, he labels all compositions that praise Isis as aretalogies.

[82] Examples of Isis hymns that are technically not aretalogies are three compositions by Isidorus. See Vera F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (ASP 12; Toronto: A. M. Hakkert, 1972). While these compositions treat the nature and works of Isis, they refer to her in the second person and end with a brief prayer to the deity. Even though these hymns to Isis are not aretalogies, their imagery and vocabulary are still useful in understanding how Lady Wisdom is recast in terms of Isis in chap. 10, a topic that I shall address in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

It is beyond the scope of the present study to conduct an in-depth analysis and comparison of each composition that has been labeled as an aretalogy in order to determine what exactly constitutes this genre. Accordingly, in this study, I shall use the general aretalogical components enumerated by Festugière and Gordley to see if these conform to chaps. 6–10 in general and chap. 10 specifically. From this comparison, I shall be able to determine if these chapters can be seen as an aretalogy or perhaps are modeled on this genre. Then, I shall consider if the imagery and vocabulary found in Isis aretalogies and hymns have counterparts in chap. 10.

Wisdom 6–10 as an Aretalogy

Reese takes Festugière's three elements and identifies them in various parts of Wisdom 6–10, which he claims to be aretalogical in form and content. First, he identifies 7:22–8:1 as Pseudo-Solomon's attempt to define Wisdom's nature, that is, "what Wisdom is" (6:21). Second, he sees 8:2-18 as recounting Wisdom's "wondrous deeds in favor of men."[83] Third, he understands chap. 10 as recalling Wisdom's "benefits for just men" from Adam to Moses and the Israelites at the time of the Exodus. He also remarks that Pseudo-Solomon modified the aretalogical form by adding an autobiographical section (7:1-22a) and a prayer for Wisdom (9:1-18). In addition to the various elements of chap. 6–10 conforming to the general form and content of an aretalogy, Reese also lists over fifty verbal and thematic connections between Pseudo-Solomon's portrayal of Lady Wisdom in chaps. 6–10 and similar imagery found in various Isis aretalogies and

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[83] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 43.

hymns.[84] At first, Reese's extensive analysis appears quite impressive and convincing; however, over time, several scholars have critiqued his claims.

John Kloppenborg criticizes Reese's attempt to associate various parts of chaps. 6–10 with elements in the aretalogical form, calling his efforts "forced."[85] He acknowledges the possibility of interpreting 7:22–8:1 as the "nature" section of an aretalogy. However, he rejects Reese's identification of the other two sections. Specifically, Kloppenborg states that 8:2-18 should not be understood as a "powers-virtues" section because it is predominantly autobiographical and the powers it attributes to Wisdom are secondary. Because Wisdom's powers are not the text's main focus but are mentioned as the motivating factor behind Solomon's search for Wisdom, the passage is not really a "powers-virtues" section in the truest sense.[86] Also, the list of Wisdom's actions in chap. 10 can be "read as a unit by itself," which seems to indicate that it was not originally part of chaps. 6–9 and therefore chaps. 6–10 are not to be understood as an aretalogy. Kloppenborg also argues that "[e]ven if Reese's analysis of the structure of chaps. 6–10 is correct, it proves no more than imitation of hymnic style in general, not aretalogical style."[87] Finally, Kloppenborg objects to some of Reese's verbal and thematic connections between Lady Wisdom and Isis because several of these, while

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[84] Ibid., 46-49.

[85] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 60.

[86] See also Sinnott, *Personification*, 147-48.

[87] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 60. See also Sinnott, *Personification*, 147.

drawn from Isis aretalogies or hymns, do not refer to Isis directly.[88] As a result, Kloppenborg calls for a more careful analysis of the verbal and thematic connections between Pseudo-Solomon's Lady Wisdom and the popular image of Isis in his day.

I believe that, of his four main critiques, Kloppenborg presents two strong objections against Reese's claims. First, he correctly points out that Reese's analysis shows only that Pseudo-Solomon was most likely imitating hymnic or encomiastic style and did not necessarily intend chaps. 6–10 to reflect an aretalogy. This point becomes clearer when one compares chaps. 6–10 as a whole to the various aretalogical elements as presented by Festugière and Gordley. First, there is no self-praise of Wisdom in chaps. 6–10. Second, while there is some emphasis on the nature, virtues, and actions of Wisdom in chaps. 6–10, the recounting of these is not any different from what one would normally expect in a regular hymn or encomium. Finally, chaps. 6–10 end in a prayer (i.e., chap. 9), an item that is absent in an aretalogy but characteristic of hymns in general. While Kloppenborg's objection applies to chaps. 6–10 in general, I will still need to consider whether chap. 10 on its own can be understood as an aretalogy. Second, Kloppenborg notes that Reese's listing of verbal and thematic correspondences between personified Wisdom and Isis calls for more circumspection and precision. To conduct such an extensive analysis of chaps. 6–10 is beyond the scope of this study. However, in Chapter Five of this dissertation, I shall undertake a close analysis of the verbal and thematic elements of Wisdom in chap. 10 to see how they relate to similar elements in well-known

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[88] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 60-61. In some cases, the terms and imagery refer to other gods such as Osiris and Horus, not to Isis herself.

Isis aretalogies that were extant in and around Pseudo-Solomon's time and location.

I find Kloppenborg's other two objections to be quite weak. First, it is possible that the second section is a modified "powers-virtues" section that has been cast within an autobiographical account. Thus, the section could still be part of an aretalogy. Yet, based on my previous analysis, I believe that this second section best fits the *physis* (nature) section of an encomium or hymn. Second, as I have shown in my analysis of chaps. 6–10, Wisdom's mighty deeds are mentioned throughout chaps. 6–9, and these chapters can be categorized as a complete encomium or praise of Wisdom without chap. 10. However, one could see chap. 10 as an important supplement to the *erga* or "deeds / works" section of the encomiastic / hymnic form because it is here that Wisdom's mighty works are most clearly and systematically enumerated. Because mention of these works is concentrated so heavily in chap. 10, I believe that it is important to consider whether chap. 10 is an aretalogy on its own or at least has aretalogical flavor.

Wisdom 10 as an Aretalogy

Although various claims have been made about the aretalogical nature of Wisdom 10, very few extensive comparisons between chap. 10 and the form and content of "pure" aretalogies have been conducted to support these claims. Without any substantial analysis, W. L. Knox goes so far as to claim that Wisdom 10 is "practically an aretalogy of Wisdom."[89] It is important to note Knox's qualification of his statement with the adverb "practically." This would seem to suggest that Wisdom 10 bears resemblance or is

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[89] Wilfred L. Knox, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944) 38 n. 1. See also Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 105; Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 42.

similar to an aretalogy but is not actually an aretalogy. But in order to come to this conclusion, one must first compare the form and content of chap. 10 to those of a "pure" aretalogy. From this comparison, both notable differences and similarities will emerge.

There are two main differences when one compares the form and content of chap. 10 with those of a pure aretalogy.[90] First, pure aretalogies are characterized by Isis's self-praise where she speaks in the first person. While this feature can be seen in other OT passages such as Prov 1:20-33; 8:1-36; and Sir 24:1-21, this characteristic is lacking in Wisdom 10 (and from the Wisdom of Solomon in general).[91] Rather, in chap. 10, Wisdom is referred to throughout in the third person (e.g., use of the third feminine singular demonstrative pronoun αὕτη and third-person form of verbs). Second, while an aretalogy includes sections on Isis's nature (*physis*) and powers (*dynameis*), these elements are not found in chap. 10 but rather appear in earlier encomiastic chapters (i.e., chaps. 6–9).

These differences aside, there are two main similarities between chap. 10 and the form and content of pure aretalogies. First, there is some similarity in form since both exhibit an anaphoric element that binds the given composition together. Wisdom 10 repeats the demonstrative pronoun αὕτη six times throughout the passage (10:1a, 5a, 6a, 10a, 13a, 15a). Second, in both there is a significant treatment of the mighty works (*erga*)

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[90] Both differences are noted by Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 43.

[91] See Johannes Marböck's (*Weisheit im Wandel: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* [BZAW 272; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1999] 49-54) comparison of Sirach 24 to the pure aretalogical form and content.

of the praised figure.[92] The main focus of chap. 10 is Lady Wisdom's marvelous works and saving deeds in the lives of key figures in early Israelite history. These mighty deeds correspond to the *erga* and *heurēmata* sections of an aretalogy. Also, this section of an aretalogy may include mighty deeds performed by Isis. Wisdom performs one such deed in 10:21 when she makes even the mute and infants talk during the praise of God at the Red Sea.

From this comparison between aretalogy and chap. 10, one sees that the chapter is "aretalogical" but is not an "aretalogy" in the strictest sense. After his own brief analysis, Thomas Lee comes to the same basic conclusion. He states: "In the strict sense, then, Wisdom 10 is not an aretalogy. This, however, does not prevent using the term in a less formal sense as a way of acknowledging the theme of Wisdom's ἔργα which sets the passage apart from other *exempla*."[93] Thus, formally, Wisdom 10 cannot be understood as an aretalogy. Although, one may conclude that it is very much like an aretalogy since it focuses on the works (*erga*) of an honored figure, which is not a deity but rather an attribute of God.

Exempla or *Beispielreihe* as a Literary Genre

In addition to the aretalogy, there is yet another genre that is important to consider in my investigation of chap. 10. Some scholars have categorized Wisdom 10 as a series of *exempla* or *paradeigmata*, which is a list of examples used to illustrate a point. These

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[92] Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 43.

[93] Ibid.

Beispielreihen, as they are known in German scholarship, or "example lists," could exist
as independent compositions but also commonly occur as a subgenre in various types of
Hellenistic literature.[94] In my investigation, I shall limit my comparison of Wisdom 10
only to those *Beispielreihen* that were in existence by the end of the first century A.D.

In his *Der Stil der Judisch-Hellenistichen Homilie*, Hartwig Thyen presents three
main types of *Beispielreihen*.[95] The first type is "Historische Exempla für die Rettung
Gerechter," which are positive examples that exhibit cases of salvation for the just. The
second type is "Historische Exempla für die Bestrafung von Frevlern," which are
negative examples of the punishment of the wicked. Finally, there is the third type of
Beispielreihe which is a mixture of both positive and negative elements. I believe that
this third type can be further separated into two groups: (1) those mixed *Beispielreihen*
that keep the positive and negative examples separate, and (2) those that combine or
alternate between positive and negative examples. I shall briefly discuss biblical and
extrabiblical examples of each of the above types, determine to which of these three
categories Wisdom 10 belongs, and conduct a closer analysis between chap. 10 and those
Beispielreihen that it most closely resembles. In addition to considering the arrangement
of positive and negative examples in each *Beispielreihe*, I shall address other matters
regarding their content and context. First, I shall consider the purpose of the given list as

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[94] Reese (*Hellenistic Influence*, 105) notes that chap. 10 ". . . [i]n itself could also be compared to a παράδειγμα 'proof from example' found in the eleventh chapter of Heb[rews]. This too is a subordinate genre like *syncrisis*; it was employed in Cynico-Stoic diatribes and other rhetorical and moral compositions of an apologetic and hortatory nature common among hellenistic authors. Such a piece was often composed independently as a scholastic exercise."

[95] Hartwig Thyen, *Der Stil der jüdisch-hellenistischen Homilie* (FRLANT 47; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955) 112-15.

indicated by the immediate literary context and briefly consider the list's historical

context as well, if this is both known and relevant. Second, I shall analyze what

information the author provides for each example that is listed. For instance, I shall

consider whether the list mentions each figure's qualities, actions, and consequences/

results of his or her actions. Finally, I shall consider sundry matters such as the passage's

voice (i.e., first, second, or third person), explicit identification or naming of figures

listed, and chronological sequence.

Examples of Positive *Beispielreihen*

Examples of the first, positive *Beispielreihe* type include 1 Macc 2:50-61; 4 Macc

16:16-23; 18:9-19; Hebrews 11; and *1 Clem*. 17:2–18:17.[96] 1 Maccabees was originally a

Hebrew composition most likely written in Palestine near the end of the second century

or beginning of the first century B.C.[97] This work recounts the struggle of the Jewish

people against the Seleucid kings (esp. Antiochus IV Epiphanes), beginning with the

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[96] Thyen, *Stil*, 112-14. See also Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 37. The English translations of 1 Macc 2:50-61 and 4 Macc 16:15-23; 18:9-19 are from the *NRSV*. Both Thyen (*Stil*, 114 n. 184) and Lee (*Studies in the Form*, 37) present Philo's *Praem*. 13-51 as an example of this first example list type. However, ll. 13-51 only constitute the positive examples which are then followed by the negative examples in ll. 68-78. For this reason, I shall discuss the list in *Praem*. 13-78 in my section on the third, mixed-type. The Greek text and English translation of Philo's *Praem*. 13-23, 24-51 is from Philo, "On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)," in F. H. Colson, ed., *Philo* (vol. 8; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960) 309-423. The Greek text and English translation of *1 Clem*. 17:2–18:17 is from "The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians," in *The Apostolic Fathers* (ed. Kirsopp Lake; LCL; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1945) 1. 3-121. Two other possible positive example lists from *1 Clem*. include 7:6–8:5 and 55:4-6. The former provides two clear examples (i.e., Noah in 7:6 and Jonah in 7:7) while the others are very general (i.e., "ministers of God's grace" in 8:1). The latter only provides two examples (i.e., Judith in 55:4-5 and Esther in 55:6). Since these "lists" are not as extensive, I shall not give them a full treatment in my investigation and analysis.

[97] Thomas Fischer, "First and Second Maccabees," in "Maccabees, Books of," *ABD* 4. 441.

revolt of Mattathias and continuing with the military exploits of his five sons (one of whom was Judas Maccabeus). In 1 Macc 2:49-67, Mattathias delivers a farewell address to his sons before he dies. Verses 52-60 of this speech present a chronological list of key figures in the history of Israel who exhibit some type of virtue (e.g., faithfulness, obedience, zeal) that results in a reward (e.g., authority, inheritance, deliverance). The figures that Mattathias mentions include Abraham (v. 52), Joseph (v. 53), Phinehas (v. 54), Joshua (v. 55), Caleb (v. 56), David (v. 57), Elijah (v. 58), Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (v. 59), and Daniel (v. 60). He concludes the list by observing that "none of those who put their trust in [God] will lack strength" and thereby encourages his sons to imitate these righteous figures of old by placing their trust in God's providence in the face of difficulty.

In line with 1 Maccabees 2, two positive *Beispielreihen* are used for a similar exhortative purpose in 4 Maccabees. This work focuses on the martyrdom of Eleazar and a Jewish mother and her seven sons at the time of the Maccabean revolt. The purpose of these accounts is not to present historical events (as in 1 and 2 Maccabees) but rather to support the thesis that the author posits at the beginning of the work: ". . . that reason is dominant over the emotions" (1:7).[98] The book is a philosophical discourse written in Greek sometime between the first century B.C. and second century A.D., perhaps during a time of persecution against Diaspora Jews.[99] In 4 Macc 16:16-23 and 18:11-19, a Jewish mother evokes the trials of various biblical figures in order to encourage her seven sons

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[98] Hugh Anderson, "Fourth Maccabees," in "Maccabees, Books of," in *ABD* 4. 452.

[99] Ibid., 452-53.

to have faith in God, to endure torture, and to die for his sake. In 4 Macc 16:16-23, she mentions the zealousness of Abraham when he was told to sacrifice his own son Isaac (v. 20a) and the courage of Isaac in nearly being sacrificed by his father (v. 20b). She also recalls that Daniel was cast into the lions' den (v. 21a) and that Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael endured the fiery furnace for God's sake (v. 21b). These figures are evoked in particular because they faithfully withstood trials. In 4 Macc 18:11-19, the mother reminds her sons of the education that they received from their father when he taught them from the Law and the Prophets (v. 10). The two lists in chaps. 16 and 18 are similar in that they both emphasize figures who willingly and gladly endure hardship for God's sake. Yet there are also some differences in the nature of the two lists. Aside from being much longer than the list in chap. 16, the list in 18:11-19 comprises two further categories: (1) those figures who actually endure hardship (vv. 11-13) and (2) those figures who speak about enduring hardship and the ways of God (vv. 14-19). Those who endure hardship include Abel who is murdered by his brother Cain (v. 11), Isaac who was offered as a sacrifice (v. 11), Joseph in prison (v. 11), Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael in the fire (v. 12), and Daniel in the lions' den (v. 13). One exception in the first part of the list is Phinehas, who is not described as specifically enduring hardship but is noted for his zeal (v. 12). In the final six verses of the list, the mother recalls the words concerning the nature of suffering and death spoken by Isaiah (v. 14), David in the Psalter (v. 15), Solomon in a proverb (v. 16), Ezekiel (v. 17), and Moses (vv. 18-19). Also, while the list of figures in 18:11-13 is chronological, this is not the case with those mentioned in vv. 14-19.

In addition to *Beispielreihen* in the OT and extrabiblical intertestamental texts, there is also an example list in the NT. Hebrews 11 presents a list of eleven positive figures from the OT who had faith in God's promises of salvation, most specifically, in his ultimate promise of salvation through Jesus Christ (Heb 11:13, 39).[100] Although these righteous individuals had faith in God and were rewarded, they did not see the ultimate messianic promise fulfilled. Rather, this promise is being fulfilled in the author's own generation. The purpose of the list is to affirm the statement in Heb 10:39: "We are not among those who draw back and perish, but among those who have faith and will possess life" (*NAB*). The list illustrates the point that those who have faith and trust in God's salvation, including those in the past, will have eternal life through Jesus Christ's saving actions. In most cases, the positive qualities or actions of the figures are presented along with the positive result for their faithfulness (e.g., Abel in v. 4; Enoch in v. 5). However, there are times when the figure's reward is not explicitly mentioned (e.g., Joseph in v. 22). All of the figures in Hebrews 11 are named, referred to in the third person, and listed chronologically. The major difference between Hebrews 11 and the other lists that I have reviewed so far is that it is structured around the anaphoristic use of the Greek word πίστει, "by faith," which occurs 18 times throughout the chapter. This detail will be

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[100] The list in Hebrews 11 does not begin with a figure but with God's creation of the world by his word (v. 3). The positive figures who follow this brief account of creation include Abel (v. 4); Enoch (v. 5); Noah (v. 7); Abraham (Sarah, Isaac, and Jacob are also mentioned) (vv. 8-19); Isaac (v. 20); Jacob (v. 21); Joseph (v. 22); Moses' parents (v. 23); Moses (vv. 24-28); the Israelites at the time of the Exodus and the Conquest (vv. 29-30); Rahab (v. 31); and other figures (vv. 32-38). Although there are cases where negative figures are mentioned (e.g., Cain in v. 4; the Egyptians in v. 29; and the disobedient who perish at Jericho in v. 31), these are not explicitly presented as negative examples. Although it is implied that these figures lack faith, their lack of faith is not explicitly mentioned. Rather, the focus is on the faith exhibited by the positive figures in the list. For this reason, I have decided to categorize the *Beispielreihe* in Hebrews 11 as a positive example list rather than one that combines both positive and negative examples.

significant in the assessment of Wisdom 10, which has a similar feature.

The last example of a positive *Beispielreihe* comes from the "First Letter of Clement to the Corinthians" which dates between A.D. 75 and 110.[101] This letter was written from the Christian church at Rome to the church at Corinth in order to address problems of sedition and division within the latter community. Aside from other example lists in the work which reflect a "mixed" type of *Beispielreihe* (e.g., 4:1–5:5; 9:3–12:8), *1 Clem.* 17:2–18:17 presents only positive OT figures, who exhibit the virtue of humility. These figures include Abraham (17:2), Job (17:3-4), Moses (17:5-6), and David (18:1-17).[102] In each case, the figure's qualities of righteousness and humility are exhibited mainly by word (e.g., Moses states: "Who am I that thou sendest me?"). However, no specific result or reward for their humility is mentioned. All the figures are referred to by name and in the third person. In addition, the list appears to be chronological. Although it is difficult to assign a date to the sapiential figure of Job, he was generally believed to have lived at the time of the patriarchs.

Example of a Negative *Beispielreihe*

The second, negative *Beispielreihe* type is exemplified in Sirach 16:6-14.[103] The

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[101] Kirsopp Lake, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers* (2 vols.; LCL; London: William Heinemann, 1912-13) 1. 5.

[102] The evil deeds of Egypt are mentioned in 17:5; however, they are only mentioned in passing and they are not explicitly presented as an example of non-humility. Thus, I categorize this passage primarily as a positive example list.

[103] Thyen, *Stil*, 114; Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 41 n. 130. Thyen (ibid., 114) includes other examples of negative *Beispielreihen* here (e.g., Philo's *Virt.* 198-205; *Praem.* 67 ff.; CD 2.17 ff.). However, these also have positive elements; therefore, I shall treat them as a third category, that is, *Beispielreihen* with a mixture of positive and negative examples. The Hebrew (= Hb) text of Ben Sira is

Wisdom of Ben Sira was most likely written in Palestine around 180 B.C. by Jesus son of

Eleazar son of Sira (Sir 50:27).[104] Ben Sira was a traditionalist Jew who sought to

"bolster the faith and confidence of his fellow Jews" in the face of Hellenistic thought

and thus warned against treading the "double path" of Judaism and Hellenism (Sir

2:12).[105] In chap. 16, Ben Sira affirms that God's punishment of sinners is as real as his

reward of the righteous. He presents four examples from the past in which God punished

the wicked. First, he mentions that God did not forgive ". . . the princes of old / who were

rebellious in their might" (v. 7).[106] This is most likely an allusion to the *Nephilim* in Gen

6:4, whose arrogance, according to some Jewish traditions, was the cause for the

Flood.[107] Second, he refers to "the neighbors of Lot," the wicked populations of Sodom

and Gomorrah (cf. Genesis 19) who were "abominable in their pride" (v. 8).[108] Third, he

presents the example of a "doomed people" that was dispossessed because of their sins

and was shown no pity by God (v. 9). It is thought that this doomed nation is the

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from Rudolf Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, hebräisch und deutsch* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906). The Greek (= Gk) is from Joseph Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta 12/2; 2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980). The English translation is from Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987).

[104] Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 10, 12.

[105] Ibid., 16. See also Alexander A. Di Lella, "Conservative and Progressive Theology," *CBQ* 28 (1966) 140-42.

[106] For the Hb's נְסִיכֵי קֶדֶם, "the princes of old," the Gk reads τῶν ἀρχαίων γιγάντων, "the ancient giants."

[107] For texts that link the arrogance of the giants to the Flood, see Wis 14:6; 3 Macc 2:4. Di Lella (Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 270) admits a reference to Gen 6:4 here but also notes that the Hebrew word *Nephilim* of Genesis does not appear in Sirach but rather נְסִיכֵי קֶדֶם, "princes of old." He concludes that the absence of the word *Nephilim* ". . . is conscious avoidance of the mythological overtones to the Genesis narrative so familiar from the Enoch literature and (later) Jubilees."

[108] The reference to Lot in v. 8 cannot be seen as a sufficient positive counterexample for the

Canaanites, whom the Israelites dispossessed when they conquered the Promised Land.[109]

Finally, Ben Sira mentions "six hundred thousand foot soldiers / who went to their graves

for the arrogance of their hearts" and, like the dispossessed people in the previous verse,

did not receive God's pity (v. 10). Here it appears that Ben Sira is referring to the

generation of Israelites who wandered in the wilderness for forty years.[110] If v. 10 is a

reference to Israel's sinfulness during the wilderness wanderings, then it presents an

interesting case of an entire generation of Israel functioning as a negative example,

something that does not occur very often in example lists. There are individuals and/or

occasionally groups (e.g., Korah and his band) within Israel that are presented as negative

examples, but not an entire generation. Due to the absence of any positive examples, the

list in Sirach 16:6-14 can be seen as belonging to the second, negative *Beispielreihe*

category.

Examples of Mixed *Beispielreihen*

Examples of the third, mixed type of *Beispielreihe* include 3 Macc 2:3-8; 6:2-8;

Sirach 44–50; CD 2.17–3.12; Philo *Praem.* 13-78; *Virt.* 199-227; and *1 Clem.* 4:1–5:5;

9:3–12:8.[111] With this third type of mixed example list, one could make a further

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people of Sodom because no explicit act of righteousness is mentioned in his case.

[109] Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 274.

[110] Ibid. The reference to "six hundred thousand foot soldiers" reflects the number of Israelites that Moses led out of Egypt (cf. Exod 12:37; Num 11:21). Also, Exod 12:51 talks about the Israelites leaving Egypt in military formation—"company by company."

[111] See Sir 46:8; Thyen, *Stil*, 114-15; Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 38-39. Thyen (ibid., 114) categorizes CD 2.17–3.12 as the second, negative type, but Lee (*Studies in the Form*, 45) correctly recategorizes this passage as belonging to the third, mixed type. The English translation of 3 Macc 2:3-8 is

distinction according to whether the positive and negative examples are mentioned separately or are interspersed within an integrated whole. The lists that keep positive and negative examples separate include 3 Macc 2:3-8; 6:2-8; Philo *Praem*. 13-78; while those that integrate the two categories include Sirach 44–50; CD 2.17–3.12; Philo *Virt*. 199-227; *1 Clem*. 4:1–5:5; 9:3–12:8. I shall first treat the former type and then proceed to discuss the latter.

The Book of 3 Maccabees purports to report events that occurred fifty years before the Maccabean period during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopater, who, according to the story, incited a general persecution of Jews in Alexandria. The dating of the book is uncertain and could have been written anywhere between 200 B.C. and A.D. 50.[112] The mixed list that appears in 3 Macc 2:3-8 occurs in the context of a prayer to God. Simon the high priest petitions God in order to avert Ptolemy Philapator's arrogant plan to enter the sanctuary of the Temple in Jerusalem. In his prayer, Simon mentions several past instances in which God punished arrogant and sinful behavior. These examples include the "strength and boldness" of the giants whom God punishes by the Flood (v. 4); the people of Sodom who are destroyed by fire and serve as an example to later generations because of their arrogant and wicked ways (v. 5); and Pharaoh, who arrogantly enslaves and pursues the Israelites and is punished by destruction at the Red Sea (vv. 6-7a).

from the *NRSV*. The Greek text and English translation of Philo *Virt*. 199-227 are from Philo, "On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)," in F. H. Colson, ed., *Philo* (vol. 8; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960) 158-308. The Hebrew text and English translation of CD 2.17–3.12 is from CD-A from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 1. 550-75.

[112] Hugh Anderson, "Fourth Maccabees," 451-52. Some scholars have suggested that the use of the word *laographia* ("poll tax") in 3 Macc 2:28 reflects a dating (at least) in the Roman period during the reign of Augustus. However, Anderson ("Fourth Maccabees," 452) rejects this proposal as uncertain.

Although these three examples are negative, the final example in vv. 7b-8 presents Israel as a positive example. Already in v. 6b, Israel is called a "holy people" and in v. 7b this holiness is exemplified through Israel's trust in God. As a result, God brings the people to safety, which they acknowledge by praising the Almighty (v. 8). Even though this list is both positive and negative, there is much more emphasis on the negative aspect, since only one positive example is given and this occurs at the very end of the list.[113] Thus, there is no interspersing of positive and negative elements here. Neither the giants nor the Sodomites are given a positive counterexample. Only the Israelites are cited as a contrast to Pharaoh's arrogant and wicked behavior.

In 3 Macc 6:2-8 there is yet another list that is presented as part of a prayer to God in time of distress. This time, it is the priestly figure Eleazar who asks God to deliver his people from Gentile persecution. As part of his request, he recalls various figures that God either punished because of arrogance or saved from calamity (in some cases because of their righteousness). The two negative examples given are Pharaoh in v. 4 and Sennacherib in v. 5. Pharaoh is condemned for his "lawless insolence and boastful tongue" and God destroys his "arrogant army" by drowning them in the waters of the sea. Sennacherib is an oppressive Neo-Assyrian ruler who took pride and comfort in his many military forces but was ultimately destroyed by God. These two negative examples are followed by the three positive examples of the "three companions of Babylon" (v. 6),

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[113] At first glance, it seems that 3 Maccabees 2–8 may belong to the second category of *Beispielreihe*; however, the final positive example of the trusting Israelites allows it to be categorized as a mixed form.

Daniel (v. 7), and Jonah (v. 8). The "three companions of Babylon" who would rather

endure death by fire than "serve vain things" are not referred to by name. However, one

can infer that these figures are Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael (i.e., Shadrach, Meshach,

and Abednego; cf. Daniel 3). As we have already seen, the courage and righteousness of

these three figures during time of persecution ensured their regular appearance in positive

example lists (e.g., 1 Macc 2:59; 4 Macc 16:21; 18:12). Of the three positive examples

presented in 3 Maccabees 6, a specific act of righteousness is attributed to these three

alone (i.e., they did not "serve vain things"). However, one familiar with the story of

Daniel would also be aware of this figure's righteousness and faithful service of God (cf.

Daniel 6, esp. v. 16). God's saving of Daniel from the lions' den unharmed is another

common example in positive example lists (e.g., 1 Macc 2:60; 4 Macc 18:13). Finally,

God is said to have preserved and restored Jonah to his family after his "wasting away in

the belly of a huge, sea-born monster" (v. 8). Thus, 3 Macc 6:2-8 is yet another example

of a list which presents both positive and negative examples to show that God punishes

the wicked and preserves the righteous in time of crisis.

In his *De Praemiis et Poenis*, "On Rewards and Punishments," Philo upholds the

basic doctrine of retribution according to which those who are righteous and obedient are

rewarded and those who are wicked and disobedient are punished. In sections 13-78, he

presents several sets of examples to illustrate how this concept of retribution is

manifested. The first examples are a positive set of three: Enosh (14), Enoch (15-21), and

Noah (22-23), followed by another positive set of three introduced in sections 24-27:

Abraham (28-30), Isaac (31-35), and Jacob (36-51).[114] Philo then mentions Moses (52-56) and Jacob's children who became twelve tribes (57-62). These positive examples of obedient individuals are separate from the negative examples of disobedient individuals that follow. These negative examples include Cain (67-73) and the band of Levites led by Korah (74-78). The account of punishment for this latter negative example is missing, since the extant manuscripts have a significant lacuna at this point.[115] When the text resumes, no more specific examples are provided.

In general, the quality and/or action of each individual or group named is what leads to their reward or punishment. For example, Noah's justice is what results in "his "salvation amid general destruction" and "his appointment to take into his charge and protection the specimens of each kind of living creatures" (22-23). However, Philo does not provide a "laundry list" of examples in which qualities, actions, and consequences are presented. Rather, there is occasionally first a discussion of the virtue that is exemplified, followed by a concrete example drawn from the biblical text. After the concrete example of the virtue is given, there is often a discussion of the general application or principles that can be deduced from the example. For instance, Enoch is seen as an example of repentance. In section 15 and at the beginning of section 16, there is a discussion of repentance in general, with its rewards of "a new home and a life of solitude." Philo claims that these rewards are exemplified in Enoch's disappearance from the earth, since

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[114] Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 37 n. 119.

[115] F. H. Colson, *Philo* (10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929-64) 8. 310.

"God transferred him" to a new home and he was "not found," which Philo interprets as "solitude." This concrete example of repentance, in turn, is followed in sections 17-21 by further reflection upon the general application and occurrence of repentance and its rewards among humankind. Also, Philo does not present multiple examples of individuals who exhibit one virtue but different cases where individuals exhibit many different types of virtue which results in different types of reward.

While most of the figures are named in the *Beispielreihe* of *Praem.*, there are a few that are not explicitly named (e.g., Enoch, Abraham). This occasional lack of names most likely has to do with Philo's assertion that the name itself is not important but rather the qualities and actions of these individuals, that is, "the inwardness of their full meaning" (28). Also, the examples given are referred to in the third person and generally appear chronologically when the positive and negative examples are cited separately. In the end, Philo's list in *Praem.* is very different from the other more straightforward lists that we have encountered so far. Through his extended discussion of each virtue and vice with its corresponding reward and punishment, Philo presents a more fully developed type of example list that moves beyond a simple list that recounts pertinent events in the lives of various individuals to illustrate a point.

The first *Beispielreihe* that combines positive and negative examples (mainly because it treats figures chronologically) is Sirach 44–50, often called the "Praise of the Ancestors."[116] In this last part of his book, Ben Sira focuses on those key figures in

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[116] Lee (*Studies in the Form*, 37-38) notes that Sirach 44–50 has both positive and negative elements. However, he does not note that the positive and negative elements are interspersed and integrated throughout the entire example list.

Israelite history whose righteous deeds have resulted in great glory from God and a favorable remembrance in subsequent generations (cf. 44:1-15). From Enoch to Nehemiah, the righteous ancestors of the distant past are honored.[117] In most cases, the positive qualities and/or actions of the figure are cited, followed and/or preceded by the result of (usually God's reward for) their righteousness.[118] For example, Noah's perfection and righteousness lead to the saving of a remnant during the time of the Flood, and God gives him "a lasting sign" as an assurance that never again would everyone on earth be destroyed by means of a cosmic flood (44:17-18). For the most part, in the case of each example the (1) qualities, (2) good actions, and (3) favorable results which occur through God's providence are related in a third-person form. Yet there are some instances in which Ben Sira uses a second-person direct address (e.g., Solomon in 47:14-20; Elijah in 48:5-11). The long encomium on Israel's ancestors reaches its climax in chap. 50, which praises the recently deceased high priest Simon II.[119] Some of the same

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[117] The figures that Ben Sira praises include Enoch (44:16); Noah (44:17-18); Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (44:19-23a); Moses (44:23b–45:5); Aaron (45:6-22); Phinehas (45:23-26); Joshua and Caleb (46:1-10); the Judges, with emphasis on Samuel (46:11-20a); Nathan (47:1); King David (47:2-11); young King Solomon (47:12-18); the prophet Elijah (48:1-11); Elisha (48:12-16); King Hezekiah and his subjects (48:17-22); Isaiah (48:23-25); Josiah (49:1-3); Jeremiah (49:6b-7); Ezekiel (49:8); Job (49:9); the Twelve Prophets (49:10); Zerubbabel and Jeshua son of Jozadak (49:11-12); Nehemiah (49:13). After Nehemiah, Ben Sira presents a short passage in 49:14-16 which brings the Praise of the Ancestors full circle. It is in these verses that he mentions Enoch again (49:14); Joseph (49:15); Shem, Seth, and Enosh (49:16a); and Adam (49:16b).

[118] There are some exceptions to this general pattern. For example, no good qualities or actions of Isaac and Jacob are presented. Their reward is a result of the righteousness of Abraham (44:22). For this reason, I believe that these three figures should be grouped together. In addition, there are some cases where the figure's qualities and deeds are emphasized and the deeds of God are barely mentioned (e.g., Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah), while at other times the figure's qualities and/or actions are referred to only in passing and God's rewards and actions through the figures are the focus (e.g., Moses, Aaron).

[119] On Simon no longer being alive when Ben Sira composed chap. 50, see Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 550.

terminology and imagery that is applied to the ancestors in chaps. 44–49 are reapplied to

Simon to show that he is the crowning result of the faith of the fathers of old.[120] Given

this connection between Simon and various righteous OT figures, one perceives that the

purpose of the list of positive examples is not necessarily to offer encouragement during a

time of crisis (as has been the case with most other series cited above); rather it reviews

key righteous figures in order to prepare for the praise of Simon at the end of the

encomium.

In addition to these honorable and righteous men, there are others that Ben Sira

mentions who are not honorable. These wicked figures include Dathan, Abiram, and the

company of Korah (45:18-19), who are mentioned as part of the larger praise of Aaron in

45:6-22; Solomon in his old age (47:19-22); Rehoboam and Jeroboam (47:23-25); the

people of the Northern Kingdom at the time of Elisha (48:15-16); Sennacherib and the

Assyrians (48:18-21), who are referred to in the praise of Hezekiah and his subjects; and

the kings of Israel and Judah in general (49:4-7, except for David, Hezekiah, and Josiah;

cf. 49:4).[121] Most of these negative examples include the (1) negative qualities and/or (2)

wicked actions of the individual or group, usually followed by (3) negative results (i.e.,

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[120] A few examples of the links between chaps. 44–49 and chap. 50 include the description of Aaron's garments in 45:8-12 and those of Simon in 50:11-12; the mention of the covenant with Phinehas in 45:24 and 50:24; Solomon's building of the Temple in 47:13 and Jeshua's and Jozadak's building of the Temple in 49:12 compared to Simon's repair of the Temple in 50:1; Nehemiah's wall in 49:13 and Simon's double wall in 50:3; and Hezekiah's cisterns in 48:17 and Simon's cistern and reservoir in 50:4.

[121] In 46:7b, there is a reference to Joshua and Caleb's opposing the wicked congregation, which is a reference to Num 14:6-10. However, the focus in v. 7b is on what these two righteous figures do in response to the wicked acts of the congregation (their sinfulness and grumbling), rather than on the actions of the congregation themselves. Nonetheless, perhaps the congregation in 46:7b can also be understood as a negative example. Also, Goliath is mentioned in 47:4—but here again the purpose of his appearance is to further the praise of David.

punishment from God). An example of this pattern is found in the critique of Solomon who married many foreign wives (see 47:19, ". . . you surrendered yourself to women / and gave them dominion over your body") which ultimately resulted in the division of the United Monarchy (see 47:21, "Thus two governments came into being, / when in Ephraim power was usurped").

For the most part, the figures in Sirach 44–50 are listed chronologically so that the positive and negative examples appear alongside each other in an integrated way. The one exception to this chronological order is the recapitulation of the earliest ancestors in Sir 49:14-16 just before the praise of Simon II. These verses briefly mention Enoch again and also present the figures of Shem, Seth, Enosh, and Adam, in a way that can be seen as a type of framing device for the praise of the ancestors proper (44:1–49:16) before the encomium is concluded with the praise of Simon in chap. 50.

Another use of *Beispielreihe* occurs in the "Damascus Document" (= CD) which was first discovered in the genizah of a synagogue in Old Cairo. Since then, several fragmentary copies were discovered in caves near the site of Qumran along the Dead Sea.[122] The document was most likely composed in the first century B.C.[123] It is addressed to "those who know justice, and understand the actions of God" (CD 1.1-2). The overall topic and general principle addressed in the work is the doctrine of retribution, that is, God rewards righteous individuals but punishes those who are wicked. Even though

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[122] Philip R. Davies, "Damascus Rule (CD)," in *ABD* 2. 8.

[123] Géza Vermès, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000) 35; Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 44.

Israel has turned against God in the past, God has had mercy on his people and "saved a remnant" (1.4). He sent them a "Teacher of Righteousness" to guide them along God's path at a time when some members of Jewish society, branded by CD as "the congregation of traitors," failed to keep a strict interpretation and observance of God's covenant (1.11-20). The current generation is encouraged to "enter the covenant" with God (2.2) and observe his commands in order to do what is pleasing to him and to avoid the punishment that befalls the wicked. In order to understand what is pleasing and not pleasing to God, the author presents a chronological list of mostly negative examples from the OT in CD 2.17–3.12; however, there are a few positive examples that are mentioned as well. Above all, the author warns his readers not to be "attracted by the thoughts of a guilty inclination and lascivious eyes" (i.e., to evil inclinations and desires) since many figures of the past have succumbed to these snares of wickedness and were punished as a result (2.16-17). Figures who were guilty of such sins include the "Watchers of the heavens" (2.17-18), who are the "sons of God" in Gen 6:2; the Watchers' sons (2.19), who are the *Nephilim* or "giants" of Gen 6:4, the generation at the time of the Flood (2.20); Noah's sons and their families (3.1); Jacob's sons (3.4-5a), a group which extends to the generation of Israelites that came out of Egypt and wandered in the wilderness (3.5b-9a, 10b-12a); and also appears to include those who lived in the Promised Land under the monarchy (3.9b-10a). For the most part, the figures presented in this example list are named, whether directly or indirectly;[124] they are all referred to in

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[124] An indirect naming or identification in this case is the mention of the "sons" of the Watchers when the author could have explicitly called them *Nephilim* or giants.

the third person, and they succeed one another chronologically. Wicked desires have led each one of these groups away from God and resulted in some type of punishment. For example, because the Watchers were stubborn and did not obey God's precepts, they fell from heaven. Presumably, the evil inclination here was their desire for the "daughters of men" with whom they had intercourse and overstepped their bounds by sinfully merging the divine and human realms. The few positive examples who did not yield to their wicked desires are found grouped together in the midst of the list of negative examples. These good figures include Abraham (3.2), Isaac, and Jacob (3.3). The list in CD 2.17–3.12 also concludes with a general statement that God preserved those who kept his covenant and obeyed his commands, making for them "a safe home in Israel" (3.12b-19). And when in 3.20, the text states, "Those who remained steadfast in it [i.e., keeping the covenant] will acquire eternal life," this may suggest that not only those in the past but also those of the present age who adhere to God's precepts will be granted immortality, which is further referred to as the "glory of Adam."

Another example of a *Beispielreihe*, in which positive and negative elements are integrated, is present at the end of Philo's treatise *De Virtutibus*, "On the Virtues." In this text, Philo discusses what it truly means to be courageous, kind, repentant, and noble. In his treatment of nobility (187-227), he illustrates his points with various examples from the biblical text. Philo uses these examples to show that one is considered noble because of virtuous deeds and not because of "noble" or high-class birth (198). His first point in proving this larger assertion is that even though one may have high status due to birth, this does not mean that one will necessarily act nobly. Philo evokes both positive and

negative figures in this first set of examples. He mentions the first man and woman (i.e., Adam and Eve) who bore the murderer Cain (199-200); the worthy Noah (201) who bore the wicked Ham (202); and Adam (203-5), who sinned despite being molded by God and, in a sense, descended from the Eternal One. The second issue that Philo takes up is that of children who, even though born of virtuous parents, do not practice the virtue exhibited by their parents. He starts with the example of Abraham who bore many sons, of whom only one received the inheritance (i.e., Isaac) but the rest (e.g., Ishmael and the sons of Keturah) were not noble and were disinherited (207). Philo then goes on to speak about how Isaac bore both Jacob, a noble figure, and Esau, an ignoble figure (208-10). Philo's third point is to show cases in which children of wicked parents act nobly in the end (211). Thus, nobility and the practice of virtue does not depend entirely on one's lineage. Both men and women who act nobly, that is, by practicing virtue, are truly to be considered noble even though they may be of lower birth status or born of ignoble parents. Philo's examples in this case include Abraham who resists Terah's astrological, pagan beliefs (212-19); Tamar who rose above the evil ways of her parents and the wickedness of her two husbands (221-22); and Jacob's concubines (i.e., Zilpah and Bilhah) who originally lived in Laban's household, were given as Leah and Rachel's dowry, and whose sons were eventually considered legitimate (223-25).

In the majority of cases in the *Beispielreihe* at the end of Philo's *De Virtutibus*, the qualities and/or actions of each figure are presented, followed by the consequences for their behavior, whether good or bad. For example, Cain is remembered for "treacherously" murdering his younger brother (199) the primary consequence of which

for him was to not suffer an immediate death but rather the pain and grief of death many times throughout the course of his wandering (200). When one considers the issue of naming figures, one sees that aside from explicitly mentioning Tamar by name (221), Philo does not reveal the names of the figures whom he uses as examples to prove his point. Rather, these figures are identified through their circumstances as they are presented in the biblical text. The examples that he provides are not all presented chronologically, but all are referred to in the third person.

There are two examples of mixed *Beispielreihen* in *1 Clement* in which positive and negative figures are integrated. The first occurs in 4:1–5:5 and presents various examples in order to portray the destructive nature of jealousy. Thyen has argued that this passage is bound by the anaphoristic repetition of the words ζῆλος, "jealousy" or "envy," and διὰ ζῆλος, "because of jealousy," at the beginning of most examples.[125] Thus, this passage is similar to Hebrews 11 and Wisdom 10. The figures mentioned in each case of jealousy include Cain and Abel (4:1-7), Jacob and Esau (4:8), Joseph (4:9), Moses and Pharaoh (4:10), Aaron and Miriam (4:11), Dathan and Abiram (4:12), David and Saul (4:13), Peter (5:4), and Paul (5:5). In some cases both the perpetrator and victim of jealousy are mentioned (e.g., Cain and Abel; Jacob and Esau). In other cases, only the perpetrator(s) (e.g., Aaron and Miriam, Dathan and Abiram) or only the victim (e.g., Joseph, Peter, and Paul) is/are explicitly referred to. All figures are mentioned by name, are referred to in the third person, and appear chronologically. In addition, the results of

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[125] Thyen, *Stil*, 115.

jealousy are mentioned in each case; it leads to the persecution and suffering of the righteous, positive figures.

The second mixed example from *1 Clement* is found in 9:3–12:8. In this case, the author primarily presents positive figures who portray "perfect service to [God's] excellent glory" (9:2) but also includes a negative example. The positive figures include Enoch (9:3), Noah (9:4), Abraham (10:1-7), Lot (11:1-2), and Rahab (12:1-8). The negative example is the condemned people of Sodom in addition to Lot's wife, who "make known to all, that those who are double-minded, and have doubts concerning the power of God, incur judgment and become a warning to all generations" (11:2). In each positive case, the righteous qualities (e.g., faithfulness, obedience, hospitality), actions of the figure, and the results of those actions are recounted by the author. The list is presented chronologically with each figure explicitly identified and referred to in the third person.

Wisdom 10 as a *Beispielreihe*

After considering all the different types of *Beispielreihen* and examples of each, I shall now try to determine to which of these categories of *Beispielreihe* Wisdom 10 belongs. Thyen originally identifies Wisdom 10 as part of the second, negative type of *Beispielreihe*.[126] However, shortly thereafter, he modifies his claim by stating that Wisdom 10 is a mixture of the two types.[127] Lee notes this discrepancy and argues that

[126] Ibid., 114.

[127] Ibid., 115.

Wisdom 10 must be assigned to the third category.[128] As I have already mentioned in the previous chapter of this dissertation, Wisdom 10 presents a list of seven righteous (i.e., positive) figures, most of whom have negative counterexamples. Even though one could say that a counterexample is given for each, there are only two negative examples that are given extensive treatment (i.e., Cain in 10:3-4a and the inhabitants of the Pentapolis in 10:7-8); the others are mentioned in passing. Furthermore, the positive and negative examples are integrated in a chronological list and not divided into separate positive and negative groups. Therefore, Wisdom 10 falls within the type of *Beispielreihe* that integrates both positive and negative examples.

Aside from this general categorization, there are other factors to consider as well. These other factors include the immediate literary and putative historical context; the use or nonuse of names; the use of voice; and the descriptions of qualities, activities, and/or consequences for each example listed. I have already discussed the general historical context in Chapter Two of this dissertation and the immediate literary context of chap. 10 in Chapter Three; however, it will be beneficial to briefly review these issues in light of the present discussion.

The historical context is most likely one of moderate persecution of Alexandrian Jews in the early Roman era. Thus, the author's apparent purpose for writing the work is to encourage Alexandrian Jews to hold fast to their ancestral traditions in the face of this persecution and the allure of Greek thought and culture. The immediate literary context of chap. 10 is within Pseudo-Solomon's prayer (chaps. 9–10) for Wisdom at the end of

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[128] Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 42.

his encomium of Wisdom (chaps. 6–10). In addition to furthering the praise of Wisdom

within the prayer, it appears that the examples listed in chap. 10 also function to convince

and encourage the author's audience to follow Wisdom. Pseudo-Solomon presents

Wisdom as saving and working mighty deeds in the past to show his fellow Alexandrian

Jews that she will do similar things in their own time. Although none of the figures in

chap. 10 are explicitly named, one can tell who the figures are based on what is said of

them. For the most part, the third person is used throughout in order to refer to Wisdom,

the righteous ones who are assisted by her, and the wicked who abandon her. The one

exception is the use of the second-person direct address to God in 10:20, which can be

seen as linking the *Beispielreihe* in chap. 10 back to the prayer that was begun in chap. 9.

There is some distinction present in the recounting of the qualities, activities, and

results associated with positive and negative figures in chap. 10. It is evident that the

focus of the passage is on Wisdom and her activity on behalf of righteous figures in early

Israelite history. As a result, when righteous individuals are discussed, the only major

quality or activity mentioned is their righteousness. Righteous individuals are

rarely seen as acting subjects in chap. 10.[129] Rather, it is their underlying righteousness

that gives rise to Wisdom's activity in their lives as a positive consequence of their good

behavior. For example, in the case of Jacob (10:10-12), he is called "righteous" in v. 10a,

and it appears that because of his righteousness Wisdom "led [him] . . . on straight

paths. / She showed him the kingdom of God / and gave him knowledge of holy

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[129] Three notable exceptions are Lot who "fled" (10:6), Jacob who also "fled" (10:10), and the Israelites who "despoiled the wicked" and "sang" God's holy name (10:20). One should note that the last example is a direct result of Wisdom's saving and wondrous activity (10:19, 21).

things. . . . And she decided the mighty contest in his favor, / so that he might know that godliness is more powerful than all else" (vv. 10-12). All of the major active verbs in vv. 10-12 have Wisdom as their subject, and this tends to be the case throughout Wisdom 10:1–11:1. Thus, one sees that the figures listed are not the ones being praised, but rather it is Wisdom who is honored because she performed wondrous deeds on their behalf.

While Wisdom's activity is the primary emphasis in the case of righteous individuals, the situation is different for the wicked. In the negative cases, Wisdom is notably absent and it is the actions of the wicked and their negative consequences for abandoning Wisdom that are stressed. For example, Cain is presented as "unrighteous" (v. 3a) because of his wicked actions. First, he is guilty of withdrawing from Wisdom in his anger. This abandonment of Wisdom leads to his own death because of his fratricidal rage (v. 3b). From this verse, one sees that Wisdom does not act at all in the case of the unrighteous. The best example to illustrate Wisdom's action on behalf of the righteous and absence from the unrighteous is seen in vv. 8-9, where the two concepts are juxtaposed. In v. 8, those who forsake Wisdom are ignorant and leave evidence of their wickedness. However, in v. 9, Wisdom saves from difficulty those who serve her.

Wisdom 10 Compared to Other *Beispielreihen*

It is now possible to compare Wisdom 10 to the biblical and extrabiblical *Beispielreihen* that I have presented above. As I have already mentioned, chap. 10 belongs to the type that integrates both positive and negative examples. However, other elements of chap. 10 need to be compared as well.

There are a few major similarities between chap. 10 and some of the other *Beispielreihen* that I have presented. First, there is a similarity of purpose, whether it is the attempt to prove a point (Philo *De Virtutibus*), to motivate an audience to pursue a certain course of action (e.g., 1 Macc 2:50-61; 4 Macc 16:16-23; 18:9-19) and/or to render praise in general (Sirach 44–50). Wisdom 10 appears to exhibit all of these purposes: it proves Wisdom's power by showing that she has saved figures throughout history (9:18), is part of a general exhortation to pursue Wisdom (6:21, 25), and at the same time, functions as part of a general praise of Wisdom (chaps. 6–10). Second, aside from these more general purposes, there is the reason or purpose that arises from the circumstances in which the list was written. Many example lists seem to result from a crisis situation in which faith is challenged (e.g., 1 Macc 2:50-61; 3 Macc 2:3-8; 6:2-8; 4 Macc 16:16-23; 18:9-19; CD 2.17–3.12). The *Beispielreihen* from Ben Sira and Philo (*De Virtutibus* and *De Praemiis et Poenis*) seem to be exceptions to this general observation. It is well noted that the situation of crisis is not as explicitly part of the immediate literary text in Wisdom 10 as it is in the Books of 1, 3, and 4 Maccabees. Yet when chap. 10 is considered in the context of the whole of the Wisdom of Solomon, we see evidence of crisis due to persecution (namely, in chaps. 1–5). Third, some example lists occur in the context of a prayer (3 Macc 2:3-8; 6:2-8). This has a parallel in Wisdom 10, which continues the prayer that begins in chap. 9. Fourth, Wisdom 10 is an example list that is structured around the repetition of a keyword or phrase, just as Hebrews 11 and *1 Clem*. 4:1–5:5.[130]

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[130] Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 48. See also Kolarcik ("Book of Wisdom," 527) who claims, "The

In addition to the similarities that I have noted, there are also some major differences between Wisdom 10 and the other *Beispielreihen*. First, while the qualities, actions, and consequences of each figure are presented in most examples of *Beispielreihen*, the difference lies in the way that these elements are used by the author and the degree of focus given them. In Wisdom 10, the quality of individual righteousness is overshadowed by its consequences, that is, the saving deeds of Wisdom. Thus, the emphasis is on Wisdom's actions in the lives of those listed.[131] In most other *Beispielreihen*, the qualities and actions of the figures exemplified assume more weight or receive a more extensive treatment. However, there are cases in Sirach 44–50 where God's reward for righteousness or punishment for sin overshadows the qualities and actions of those exemplified (e.g., Isaac and Jacob in 44:22-23; Moses in 45:1-5; and Aaron in 45:6-22). Yet, overall, Ben Sira's purpose is to praise certain past figures, while Pseudo-Solomon's goal is primarily to praise Wisdom. Second, in Wisdom 10, Pseudo-Solomon does not explicitly identify any of the figures by name.[132] This is different from most *Beispielreihen* where all or nearly all of the figures are explicitly identified.[133] Of all the *Beispielreihen* that I have investigated, Philo's *Virt*. 199-227 comes the closest to

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eulogy of the ancestors in Hebrews is the closest parallel to Wisdom." This assertion, no doubt, is partly based on the use of a catchword throughout both passages. In addition, Lee (ibid., 45-48) argues that CD 2.17–3.12 also exhibits a linking word that binds its list together with the repetition of the Hebrew preposition בְּ, "in," "by," through," attached to a pronominal suffix referring back to "thoughts of guilty inclination and eyes of fornication" (CD 2.16).

[131] Lee, *Studies in the Form*, 42.

[132] Ibid., 43.

[133] All are mentioned by name in Sirach 44–50 (except Jeroboam in 47:23—whose name is not worthy to be mentioned due to his sinfulness); 1 Maccabees 2; 3 Maccabees; and 4 Maccabees. Most are mentioned by name in CD and Philo *De Praemiis et Poenis*, but some are not.

Wisdom 10 in this regard. However, in the end, Philo explicitly names Tamar (*Virt*. 221).

Third, the list of examples in Wisdom 10 does not loosely integrate positive and negative

elements but rather alternates between them. As far as I know, this does not occur in any

other extant *Beispielreihe*. It is interesting to note that very few of the differing elements

found in the example list of chap. 10 are completely new (e.g., emphasis on the results /

consequences of qualities and actions; the lack of proper names; the integration of

positive and negative examples). However, Pseudo-Solomon takes all of these elements

to a new level in Wisdom 10, which results in a unique and innovative type of

Beispielreihe.

Wisdom 10:1–11:1 and Its Relationship to the Form and Genre of Wisdom 11–19

Before I draw conclusions concerning the form and genre of Wis 10:1–11:1, I

believe that it is important to see how its genre differs from that of chaps. 11–19. As

mentioned earlier, the bulk of chaps. 11–19 (minus the two digressions in Wis 11:17–

12:22 and 13:1–15:17) is primarily a midrashic *synkrisis*. Many scholars have grouped

chap. 10 with the last part of the book and therefore designate it as a midrashic *synkrisis*

as well.[134] In many respects chap. 10 does exhibit elements of midrash and *synkrisis* since

it offers seven comparisons of righteous and unrighteous biblical figures. In this way,

chap. 10 serves as a fitting introduction to the last half of the book. However, I would

argue that, overall, the form and genre of chap. 10 is very different from that of chaps.

11–19.[135] First, the nature of the *synkrisis* is quite different. Chapter 10 presents its

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[134] Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 37-38.

comparisons in terms of a chronological example list, while many of the comparisons of chaps. 11–19 are not presented chronologically. For example, in Wis 11:6-8, the Nile's bloody water as a plague against the Egyptians is contrasted with the fresh water from the rock given on behalf of the Israelites in the wilderness. These two events do not immediately follow each other. Another difference is that the comparisons in chap. 10 are often not as explicit and direct as those in chaps. 11–19. Some of the unrighteous figures in chap. 10 are mentioned in passing and are not always directly compared with righteous individuals (e.g., the generation of the flood versus Noah in Wis 10:4; the inhabitants of Babel versus Abraham in 10:5). For this reason, one might see chap. 10 as a weaker and less-direct type of *synkrisis*. Second, the acting subject of chap. 10 is Lady Wisdom, while in chaps. 11–19 it is God, and Wisdom is rarely mentioned. This difference in subject is especially clear in the narration of the Red Sea event in Wis 10:18-21 and 19:7-9, where Wisdom acts in the former passage while God is depicted as acting directly in the latter. From this brief comparison of chap. 10 with chaps. 11–19, one sees that the two passages are related but do not represent the same exact form and genre.

Conclusion

In the course of this investigation concerning the form and genre of the Wisdom of Solomon as a whole and chaps. 6–10 and Wis 10:1–11:1 in particular, I have come to the following conclusions. I believe that the best scholarly proposal for the genre of the Wisdom of Solomon as a whole is that the work belongs to the Hellenistic genre of *logos*

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[135] Although he groups chap. 10 with chaps. 11–19, Grabbe (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 40) notes a difference between the form of chap. 10 and the rest of chaps. 11–19.

protreptikos. The elements of diatribe (Part I, A), encomium (Part I, B), and *synkrisis*

(Part II) in the book's subsections conform to this overarching protreptic genre. The

genre of Wisdom 6–10 (Part I, B) is an encomium which serves a double function of

praising both the legendary King Solomon and Lady Wisdom. However, I believe that

the praise of personified Wisdom in this middle section is primary. Wisdom 10:1–11:1 is

a pericope that has been added to supplement the final prayer (chap. 9) and the general

elements of *praxeis* and *synkrisis* of the larger encomium in chaps. 6–9. Chapter 10

primarily belongs to the specific genre of *exempla* or *Beispielreihe*, whose form is an

integration of positive and negative examples structured on the repetition of a keyword.

In this way, chap. 10 is similar to other *Beispielreihen* but is also different in many ways.

Perhaps the most notable difference is that the positive examples and re-viewing of

righteous OT individuals in chap. 10 are not the main focus of the chapter, where the

main emphasis is rather on Wisdom's mighty deeds on behalf of these figures in

contradistinction to those figures who have rejected Wisdom entirely. Thus, Wisdom 10

can best be categorized as a midrashic and aretalogical *Beispielreihe* with some elements

of *synkrisis*. The importance of this genre and the depth of the Jewish and Hellenistic

influence on chap. 10 will emerge further in my verse-by-verse exegesis of Wisdom

10:1–11:1.

Chapter Five

Exegesis

The determination of the genre of chap. 10 as a midrashic and aretalogical *Beispielreihe* that alternates between positive and negative examples and is structured around the repetition of the keyword αὕτη naturally leads to a fuller investigation of the pericope's content. One needs now consider issues such as (1) from where does Pseudo-Solomon derive his positive and negative examples and his depiction of Lady Wisdom? and (2) how does he employ these biblical figures to convey his message? Thus, the primary purpose of this exegetical chapter is to consider how Pseudo-Solomon re-views the biblical stories and figures in order to make them relevant to the Alexandrian Jews of his own day. In the pursuit of this objective, I shall consider a series of questions. Why does Pseudo-Solomon include certain biblical figures? What parts of their stories does he choose, and what might be the reason for his selection? From where does his vocabulary and imagery derive? Are there elements of his retelling not found in the earlier biblical text? If so, are there other extant ancient texts that reflect these extrabiblical traditions? In the course of considering these questions as they apply to the content of Wisdom 10, I shall assume the historical context that I have proposed in Chapter Two, namely, early Imperial Alexandria.

As I have noted previously, in Pseudo-Solomon's Alexandria some Jews were tempted to abandon their faith because of growing hostility toward Judaism and the possibility of higher social standing among the Greek aristocracy. In chap. 10, I believe that the author addresses these challenges posed by Hellenism in two primary ways. First,

Pseudo-Solomon often ventures beyond the traditional OT depiction of Lady Wisdom and re-casts her as a viable Jewish alternative to the Egyptian goddess Isis, whose cult was very popular among the Greeks in the author's day (as briefly mentioned in the treatment of "aretalogy" in the previous chapter). And second, the author selects specific biblical figures from the Books of Genesis and Exodus, supplemented by certain extrabiblical traditions, in order to address the situation of his audience. For instance, he employs examples of righteous Israelites who endured hardships in Egypt (e.g., Joseph and the Israelites under Moses) to encourage his fellow Jews who were enduring similar difficulties at the hands of the Greeks in Alexandria.

Relevant Judeo-Christian Hellenistic Literature

In the present investigation, I shall consider only those ancient works that would have been extant in or around Pseudo-Solomon's day. Works that existed in the first century B.C. or before will be especially significant. I shall also consider those works dating to the late first to early second centuries A.D. since these texts may, in fact, reflect traditions known in the previous century.

With these criteria in mind, I shall consider the following resources and their relationship to Wisdom 10: all relevant texts of the LXX and the Greek NT; fragments by Demetrius the Chronographer (third century B.C.) which deal with the patriarchs; the *Book of Jubilees* (second century B.C.); the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (second century B.C.); *Exagoge* by Ezekiel the Tragedian (second century B.C.); works by Philo (first century B.C. to first century A.D.) such as his *Life of Moses*; works by Josephus (first

century A.D.) such as *Jewish Antiquities*; the *Life of Adam and Eve* in Latin, also known

in Greek as the *Apocalypse of Moses* (first century A.D.); and Pseudo-Philo's *Liber*

antiquitatum biblicarum (first century A.D.).[1]

Before I turn to the correspondences that chap.10 shares with some of these

extrabiblical texts, I mention a caveat regarding literary interdependence. The

identification of similar imagery in Wisdom 10 and extrabiblical Judeo-Christian

Hellenistic sources does not necessarily entail either work's direct dependence on the

other. Such dependence is nearly impossible to prove. Rather, what it shows is that there

were certain common ideas concerning various interpretations of Scripture circulating at

the time.

Relevant Greco-Roman Isis Texts

In addition to various biblical traditions, in his day Pseudo-Solomon most likely

encountered intense devotion to the Egyptian goddess Isis, who was greatly revered by

the Greeks and Romans and whose cult was most popular in the Mediterranean world

between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D. As I mentioned in the previous

chapter, during this time many aretalogies and hymns were composed in Isis's honor

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[1] Volume two of *OTP* presents English translations of Demetrius the Chronographer (pp. 843-54), the *Book of Jubilees* (pp. 35-142), Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* (pp. 803-19), the *Life of Adam and Eve / Apocalypse of Moses* (pp. 249-95), and Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* or *Biblical Antiquities* (pp. 297-377). The English translation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is found in vol. one of this work (pp. 775-828). All Greek texts and English translations of Philo are from F. H. Colson, *Philo* (10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929-64) and Ralph Marcus, *Philo* (2 suppl.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953). All Greek texts and English translations of Josephus are from H. St. J. Thackeray et al., eds., *Josephus* (9 vols.; LCL; London: William Heinemann, 1926-65). For the Greek text of *Exagoge*, see Bruno Snell, ed., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (vol. 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 288-301. For the Greek text of the *Apocalypse of Moses*, see Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek: A Critical Edition* (PVTG 6; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

which listed the many titles of Isis and praised her mighty works. In these hymns, Isis

was often portrayed as the goddess of wisdom, truth, and immortality; the savior in times

of trouble; the guide and protector of sailors and travelers; the healer and wonderworker.

Many of these same Isis themes are attributed to Lady Wisdom in the Wisdom of

Solomon. Pseudo-Solomon wanted to show that it was the figure of Lady Wisdom, and

not Isis, who was the true source of knowledge and protector of the Jews.

Therefore, I shall also consider the influence of Isis literature from the Greco-

Roman period on Wisdom 10. For this purpose, the most important Isis aretalogies and

hymns that I shall consider include the three Isis inscriptions composed by Isidorus

discovered at the Temple of Medinet Madi in the Egyptian Fayum (early first century

B.C.);[2] the Maroneia hymn from Thrace (first century B.C.); the Andros hymn from one of

the Greek Cyclades islands (first century B.C.);[3] and the "faded and partly legible" Isis

inscription reported by Diodorus Siculus from Nyssa in Arabia (first century B.C.).[4] Of

secondary importance will be the Cyme Hymn from Asia Minor (first or second century

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[2] For the dating and provenience of this text, I follow Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, 3. The Greek text and English translations are from ibid., 17-63.

[3] The Greek text is from Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, ed., *Inscriptiones Graecae* (12/5; Berlin: Reimer, 1903) 214-17.

[4] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 43 n. 55. Diodorus Siculus *History* 1.27.4-5. For the dating and location of the text that Siculus reproduces, see Anne Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, Book I: A Commentary* (EPROER 29; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 115. The Greek text and English translation are from C. H. Oldfather, ed., *Diodorus of Sicily* (10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960) 1. 86-89.

A.D.);[5] a tablet from Cyrene (around 100 A.D.);[6] and the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1380

(early second century A.D.).[7] Other texts such as the Ios Hymn, the Chalkis Inscription,

and Kore Kosmou will not be considered because of their late dating in the third century

A.D.[8] I believe that the Isis texts that I have chosen to investigate will shed light on the

depiction of Isis in Pseudo-Solomon's time and her possible relationship with Lady

Wisdom in chap. 10.

Preliminary Remarks concerning Isis and Lady Wisdom in Wisdom 10

As I discussed briefly in Chapter Four above, most of the elements that Pseudo-

Solomon uses for his depiction of Lady Wisdom come from earlier OT Wisdom

Literature. However, chap. 10 presents several themes or depictions that do not fit the

traditional OT understanding of Lady Wisdom. Thus, this passage is the only place in the

OT where Lady Wisdom is involved in specific historical events and the only place

where she is explicitly described as a savior and protector of God's people. One possible

exception to this latter claim is Prov 3:23-24 which refers to the benefits of leading a wise

life, stating: "Then you may securely go your way; your foot will never stumble; When

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[5] For the dating of this text, see Burton, *Diodorus Siculus*, 115. The Greek text is from P. Roussel, "Un nouvel hymne à Isis," *Revue des Études Greques* 42 (1929) 138-39; Yves Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 122-24. For the English translation, see Frederick C. Grant, ed., *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1953) 131-33.

[6] Dating is from Roussel, "nouvel hymne," 149-51. See also Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 42 n. 53. The Greek text is from Roussel, "nouvel hymne," 150.

[7] For the dating, see B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (vol. 11; London: Oxford University Press, 1915) 190. For the Greek text and English translation, see ibid., 196-203.

[8] For the dating of the Chalkis Inscription and Ios Hymn, see Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 42 n. 52, 43 n. 59. For the dating of Kore Kosmou, see A.-J. Festugière, "Style de la Kore Kosmou," *VP* 2 (1942) 15.

you lie down, you need not be afraid, when you rest, your sleep will be sweet."

Although it is possible that Pseudo-Solomon had Prov 3:23-24 in mind when he wrote

chap. 10, the fully developed image of Lady Wisdom as savior and protector does not

derive from OT wisdom literature but rather seems to be based on Isis imagery. Scholars

such as John Kloppenborg and Alice Sinnott agree with this assertion.[9]

Kloppenborg sees an "inescapable" link between the portrayal of Wisdom as

savior in Wis 9:18–10:21 and the depiction of Isis as a savior in Isidorus's hymns from

Medinet Madi (e.g., σώτειρ᾽ ἀθανάτη, "deathless savior," in Hymn I. 26).[10] Isis is also

described as a savior (σωτηρία, σώτειρα) in the Maroneia Hymn 10; *POxy*. 1380. 20, 55,

91-92. Like Isis, throughout chap. 10 Lady Wisdom is described as one who guides

righteous individuals to safety and protects those who are in danger, with the use of such

terms as ἔσωσεν, "she saved"; ἐρρύσατο, "she rescued"; ἐφύλαξεν / διεφύλαξεν, "she

protected"; ὡδήγησεν, "she led"; and ἐξείλατο, "she delivered." The salvific role that

Wisdom shares with Isis and other similar Isiac characteristics will become more

apparent in my verse-by-verse investigation of chap. 10.

Strophe I: Wisdom 10:1-5

1a   She protected the first-formed father of the world,

1b   who was created alone,

1c   And protected him from his own transgression,

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[9] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 66-67, 72; Sinnott, *Personification*, 150, 162, 166.

[10] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 67.

2a   and gave him strength to take hold of everything.

3a But when the unrighteous one abandoned her in his wrath,

3b   he perished by fratricidal rage.

4a When on whose account the earth was flooded, yet again Wisdom saved,

4b   guiding the righteous one by means of frail wood.

5a It was she who, when the nations unified in wickedness were confused,

5b   knew the righteous one and kept him blameless before God

5c   and kept him strong despite affection for his child.

The example list in chap. 10 begins with the first man, namely, Adam. As I have mentioned before, v. 1a is the first of six emphatic uses of the demonstrative pronoun αὕτη in Wisdom 10. Its antecedent is Lady Wisdom, who is referred to directly in Wis 9:18 (i.e., τῇ σοφίᾳ) but also throughout the rest of chap. 10 (e.g., vv. 4a, 8a, 9a, 21a). Even though the verb διεφύλαξεν, "she protected," occurs in the second colon (v. 1b), I have translated it as part of the first colon since it is "gapped" across the first two cola. Thus, this is a case in which it is difficult to maintain the integrity of the colon in the original Greek. The verb supports the theme of salvation that is found throughout chap. 10 and is explicitly repeated in v. 12. In this first line, Adam is called πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα κόσμου, "first-formed father of the world." In the LXX, the word πρωτόπλαστος occurs only in the Wisdom of Solomon. Apart from the current verse, it also appears in Wis 7:1 where Solomon claims that he is like all other human beings since he is γηγενοῦς ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστου, "a descendant of the first-formed, born of the earth." The use of

this term refers to God's creation of the first man from the clay of the ground in Gen

2:7, where the verb ἔπλασεν, "he formed" or "he molded," is used in the LXX.[11] Although

Gregg claims that the term πρωτόπλαστος was coined by Pseudo-Solomon, this assertion

cannot be proved since Philo also uses the term in *Q.E.* 2.46.[12] No uses of the word have

been found before the first century B.C. The phrase πατέρα κόσμου, "father of the world,"

is found only here in the LXX. In the Wisdom of Solomon, the term κόσμος can mean

"world," denoting the earth (e.g., 1:14; 2:24; 6:24; 14:6, 14), for which it is used rather

than the more common word γῆ, or "universe," denoting both heaven and earth (e.g.,

7:17; 9:3, 9; 11:17; 13:2; 16:17). In this case, it refers to the earth since, in Genesis 2,

Adam is the first-formed being on earth, molded even before all the animals. The phrase

"father of the world" lends an even more specific connotation to the term κόσμος, which

most likely means "all human beings."[13] It is on account of Adam that the rest of

humankind (i.e., the rest of the world) came into existence. Furthermore, when one

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[11] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 64; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 64; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 177.

[12] Ibid., 95. For the use of the term in Philo, see Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 608; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 163. The Greek text of this fragment from Philo is located in Ralph Marcus, *Philo. Supplement II. Questions and Answers on Exodus* (LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953) 251. I briefly discussed the uncertainty as to whether Philo and Pseudo-Solomon were contemporaries in Chapter Two of this dissertation. Another use of the word from around the same time is found in *T. Abr.* A 11:9-11 (late first to early second century A.D.). For an English translation and the date of the *Testament of Abraham*, Recension A, see *OTP* 1. 874-75, 882-95. For a list of other texts that have similar phrasing or use the exact same term, see ibid., 888 n. 11 e; Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 144-45; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 163.

[13] Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 609) agrees with this narrower understanding of the term κόσμος. See also Kolarcik, "Wisdom," 523. However, it is also possible to see the term "father" as a general designation for "chief" or "ruler," alluding to Adam's dominion over the world, which is reflected again in 10:2. See Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 168. This interpretation is mentioned but rejected by Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 609.

considers 9:3, 9, one sees that Wisdom was present when the κόσμος was created, and

she governs the κόσμος as well. Thus, she was present when the first father was formed, a

fact that sets the stage for her activity in human history.

It is difficult to grasp the exact sense of the phrase μόνον κτισθέντα in 10:1b.[14] I

have chosen to render the phrase "who was created alone." Since Adam was the first

individual to be created, he was solitary in his early existence on earth.[15] This

interpretation is primarily derived from the second creation account in Gen 2:4b-25 in

which the first man is created, followed by the animals and then by the first woman.[16]

Another way to translate the Greek phrase in English is "who alone was created." This

reading emphasizes that Adam was the only individual who was created while all other

human beings were begotten (a point that might be further emphasized by the use of

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[14] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 95.

[15] Deane (*Book of Wisdom*, 162) sees this as the most likely interpretation. See also Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 300; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 278-79.

[16] The order of creation is different in the first creation account in Gen 1:1-2:4a, where the first male and female human beings are created together at the end of the sixth day (Gen 1:26-27) after all the animals (on the fifth day and beginning of the sixth day– Gen 1:20-25). Thus, the first man can truly be called "alone" only in the second account. Interestingly, *Jub.* 3:3 claims that Adam was "alone" even after the animals were created because he still did not have a suitable partner, a helper. Some scholars have offered the comment on Gen 3:22 in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* as another possible support for this reading. See Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 96; Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 162; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 213. An English translation of the original Aramaic of this targumic passage reads: "And the Lord God said to the angels who minister before him. 'Behold, Adam was alone on the earth as I am alone in the heavens on high.'" See Michael Maher, trans., *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (The Aramaic Bible 1B; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992) 29. This statement may parallel God's solitary divine existence in heaven with the first man's initial solitary existence on earth or it may also refer to the uniqueness of God in heaven and Adam on earth, since the Hebrew word אֶחָד can mean both "alone" and "unique" (ibid., 29 n. 49). Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 213) mentions *b. Sanh.* 4.5 as another passage that supports the "alone" reading in Wis 10:1b.

πατέρα in v. 1a).[17] Gregg claims that this latter interpretation is far-fetched.[18] Yet

Winston notes that there is potential support for this latter reading in Philo's *Opif.* 140,

where the ancient author states: "For our beginning is from men, whereas God *created*

him [i.e., Adam], and the more eminent the maker is, so much the better is the work . . . .

The man first fashioned (*prōtos diaplastheis*) was clearly the bloom of our entire race."[19]

In this quotation, Philo implies that Adam is a higher form of creation than all other

human beings since God (the better maker) created him directly, while the rest of the

human race came from Adam (a lesser maker). However, in the end, I agree with Gregg

that this latter interpretation is off the mark. One reason for rejecting this interpretation is

based on the word πρωτόπλαστον in the previous colon. It seems unlikely that Pseudo-

Solomon would be emphasizing in 10:1b that Adam was the only individual created

when he just called him "first-formed" in 10:1a. The term πρωτόπλαστος implies that

others, namely Adam's descendants, were "formed" or created in addition to Adam

(though not directly from the clay of the ground).[20] Otherwise, one would expect Pseudo-

Solomon to have used a different term altogether (perhaps coining the term μονόπλαστος,

"only formed," instead). Thus, with the phrase μόνον κτισθέντα, there is a reference both

to Adam's primacy and his solitude.

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[17] That the first woman was formed from the rib of the first man (Gen 2:21-23) and not begotten would not necessarily negate this assertion, since Pseudo-Solomon does not mention Eve at all in his account.

[18] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 95-96.

[19] Italics mine. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 213. See also Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 609; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 278. For the Greek text of Philo's *Opif.* 140, see Colson, *Philo* 1. 110.

[20] Engel (*Buch der Weisheit*, 168) shows that based on Wis 15:8, 11, 16 Pseudo-Solomon held that when God created Adam, he created/formed all human beings as well.

In v. 1c, Pseudo-Solomon presents Wisdom saving Adam ἐκ παραπτώματος ἰδίου, "from his own transgression." The term παράπτωμα and its derivatives are used throughout the LXX, most notably in the Prophets (e.g., nine times in Ezekiel), Psalms, and Wisdom literature. It occurs one other time in the Wisdom of Solomon in 3:13 where it refers to "transgressions of the marriage bed." The term cannot be narrowed to sexual sin alone, but rather applies to all types of transgression. Interestingly, this is the same word used by Paul to describe Adam's sin in Romans (cf. 5:15-18).[21] Goodrick notes that this colon is the first attested reference to the idea that "Adam was restored after his Fall."[22] Other texts from around the same period that describe Adam's restoration and even include his repentance are the *Apocalypse of Moses* (Greek) and the *Life of Adam and Eve* (Latin), which are two versions of the same story and can be dated between 100 B.C. and A.D. 200, but most likely to the end of the first century A.D.[23] While it is true that there is no mention of Adam's repentance in Wisdom 10, one may infer that he does repent since Wisdom delivers him from his sin, whereas Wisdom is absent when other figures sin in chap. 10, thus indicating their lack of repentance and continuation in wickedness. However, one must be careful not to make too much of Adam's possible repentance here since it is not explicitly mentioned in the text. It is also possible that

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[21] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 163; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 612.

[22] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 225.

[23] Ibid. For the dating and synoptic English translations of the *Life of Adam and Eve* and the *Apocalypse of Moses*, see M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *OTP* 2. 248-95, esp. 252 for the dating. In addition to the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 213) lists later Jewish texts that present the same scenario. See also Reider (*Book of Wisdom*, 132), who mentions the tradition that Adam avoided the curse and was restored to grace "through repentance and humility."

Wisdom's "rescue" (ἐξείλατο) of Adam has in view the leniency of his punishment as reflected in Gen 3:17-19.[24] The ground is cursed on account of Adam's sin, and Adam will eventually die, but he himself is not cursed and will not die immediately for his transgression.

The term ἰδίου, "own," in v. 1c corresponds with the term μόνον, "alone," in the previous colon. I believe that when taken together, these words emphasize Adam's original solitude and that Adam himself was to blame for his sin.[25] Since he was created alone, he alone is responsible for his transgression from which Wisdom saves him in 10:2. Most notable here is the omission of the first woman and her role in the first sin. In Genesis 3, the woman is the one who leads the first man to sin by giving him to eat of the forbidden fruit. However, in Wisdom 10, Adam's sin is his own (παραπτώματος ἰδίου) and Eve is not mentioned at all. Instead of Eve, we have the figure of Lady Wisdom who not only serves as the female replacement in the story but also acts in a completely different way when compared to Eve. Rather than leading Adam to sin, Lady Wisdom delivers him from his transgression.

Of all the righteous figures mentioned in chap. 10, only Adam is not specifically called δίκαιος, "righteous."[26] The reason for this cannot be known with certainty. However, Kolarcik suggests that "[t]he reason why the author does not describe him as

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[24] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 96; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 169.

[25] A similar idea is present in *Apoc. Mos.* 27:2 where Adam says to the angels driving him from Paradise: ἐάσατέ με μικρὸν ὅπως παρακαλέσω τὸν θεόν, καὶ σπλαγχνισθῇ καὶ ἐλεήσῃ με, ὅτι ἐγὼ μόνος ἥμαρτον, "Let me be a little while so that I may beseech God that he might have compassion and pity me, for I *alone* have sinned" (italics mine).

[26] Kolarcik, "Wisdom," 522.

righteous is likely that it was precisely from his transgression that wisdom had delivered him."[27] However, salvation from transgression is mentioned in connection with Joseph in 10:13, "She did not abandon the righteous one when he was sold, / but rescued him from sin." In the case of Adam, one should note that Wisdom saved him from a transgression already committed, while she preserved Joseph from ever committing the transgression of adultery with Potiphar's wife.

Wisdom's so-called "restoration" of Adam continues in v. 2, when she gives him "strength to take hold of everything." On the surface, this verse seems to refer to Adam's dominion over the earth in Gen 1:26-30 (which is also reflected in Adam's power to name the animals in Gen 2:19).[28] The verb κρατῆσαι, "to take hold," has the connotation of "to rule" or "hold sway," and the word ἁπάντων, "everything" or "all things," is often used to refer to creation as a whole (cf. Sir 24:8). This interpretation is further supported by Wis 9:2-3 which states: "And in your wisdom [you] have established man to rule the creatures produced by you, / to govern the world in holiness and justice, and to render judgment in integrity of heart" (*NAB*). And it is fitting that Wisdom bestows authority on Adam since she διοικεῖ τὰ πάντα χρηστῶς, "governs all things well" (Wis 8:1), and makes kings reign (cf. Wis 6:20-21; Prov 8:15-16). Thus, it is very likely that v. 2 recounts God's bestowal of earthly authority on Adam through the figure of Wisdom.

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 96; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 132; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 614; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 169; Kolarcik, "Wisdom," 523; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 300; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 66; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 135. It is possible that the punishment of the first woman in Gen 3:16 (αὐτός σου κυριεύσει, ". . . he will be your lord") also may be included in Adam's mastery over the world.

However, this situation differs from Genesis 1–2 since in that text Adam was given dominion over the animals before the first sin, and there is no explicit restoration to power after the first sin.[29] There may then be an understanding here that Adam was weakened by his sin and needed strength to govern the world sufficiently with righteousness. The word ἰσχύν, "strength," "might" is used several other times in the Wisdom of Solomon and denotes not just a physical strength but also spiritual/moral vigor closely associated with justice/righteousness. For example, referring to God's might, Wis 12:16 states: "For your might (ἰσχύς) is the source of justice; / your mastery over all things makes you lenient to all." This understanding of God's might is different from the faulty understanding of might as voiced by those who oppress the righteous one in Wis 2:11: "But let our strength (ἰσχύς) be our norm of justice; / for weakness proves itself useless." Thus, the strength given to Adam is most likely the kind that originates in God and allows him to govern the world justly, as the first "father" and ruler of the world.

The first contrasting comparison is introduced by the word δέ, "but," in v. 3a. In this verse, there is a transition from Adam, who is saved and strengthened by Wisdom in vv. 1-2, to the contrasting figure of Cain who abandons her by murdering his own brother, Abel (cf. Genesis 4) and dies as a consequence.[30] It is interesting to note that this is one of the few times in chap. 10 that a figure other than Lady Wisdom is the acting

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[29] A renewal of blessing and recommissioning occurs in Gen 9:1-7; however, the subjects here are Noah and his sons, not Adam himself.

[30] Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 616) further notes that the contrast between Adam and Cain lies in the nature of their sin. Adam's sin is characterized by weakness and surprise (i.e., no premeditation), Cain's by malice and stubbornness.

subject and the activity is contrary to wisdom. This shows that when one acts apart

from Wisdom, one is acting on one's own and must face the negative consequences.[31]

In v. 3a, Cain is specifically called ἄδικος, "unrighteous," which begins the

explicit labeling of figures in chap. 10 as either righteous or unrighteous.[32] Cain's

unrighteousness is characterized by his "wrath" (ὀργή in v. 3a and θυμός in v. 3b).

Although these words are not explicitly found in the LXX of Genesis 4, there are other

traditions that support this understanding of Cain. For example, *Apoc. Mos.* 3:2 calls Cain

ὀργῆς υἱός, "a son of wrath." Cain abandons Wisdom and succumbs to his overwhelming

anger as is emphasized by the use of the plural form θυμοῖς in v. 3b.[33] The total disregard

for Wisdom, which leads to his fratricidal (ἀδελφοκτόνοις) rage, ultimately results in his

death.[34] Pseudo-Solomon sends a clear message that one cannot survive without Wisdom.

However, the biblical text does not speak about Cain's death at all. In fact, Genesis 4:14-

15 recounts God's special preservation of Cain from death/slaughter, an event not

mentioned by Pseudo-Solomon.[35] This omission is most likely due to Pseudo-Solomon's

presentation of sharply contrasting types in chap. 10, that is, the righteous are absolutely

righteous and are rewarded while the wicked are absolutely wicked and are punished.

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[31] Larcher (ibid.) makes a similar claim.

[32] Cain is the only figure in chap. 10 to be explicitly called ἄδικος. Different terms are used for the other unrighteous figures in chap. 10.

[33] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 616. The term is also used in the plural in 2 Macc 4:38; 9:7; 10:35; 14:45; 15:10 and 4 Macc 18:20 where it is employed in a context of intense or burning anger.

[34] Philo applies the term ἀδελφοκτόνος to Cain in *Cher.* 52; *Fug.* 60; and *Praem.* 68, 72, 74. See Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 616; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 213. Josephus uses the nominal form ἀδελφοκτονία, "fratricide," in connection with Cain in *A.J.* 1.2.2 §65.

[35] Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 68.

Therefore, since in the biblical text Cain is a wicked figure who does not repent of his sin, he is not shown as receiving mercy from God. What is most likely meant by Cain's "perishing" in Wis 10:3 is that by murdering Abel physically, Cain has in effect murdered himself spiritually and morally. This idea is expressed in Philo's *Det*. 14.47-48.[36] I cite here the English translation of Philo's text at length:

> So the words that follow 'Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him' (Gen. iv. 8), suggest, so far as superficial appearances goes, that Abel has been done away with, but when examined more carefully, that Cain has been done away with by himself. It must be read in this way, "Cain rose up and slew himself," not someone else. . . . For the soul that has extirpated from itself the principle of the love of virtue and the love of God, has died to the life of virtue.[37]

Thus, Cain's abandonment of Wisdom and act of fratricide is spiritual and moral suicide.

It is interesting to note that Cain, rather than Abel, is the focus in v. 3. Wisdom saves righteous people throughout chap. 10; however, despite his righteousness, she does not save Abel from Cain's wrath as she later saves Jacob from Esau's wrath in 10:10a. This difficulty is not addressed by Pseudo-Solomon, perhaps because it conflicts with the purpose of his example list. In fact, in the example of Cain, the righteousness of Abel is not the focus or even an issue (here Abel truly lives up to his Hebrew name הֶבֶל,

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[36] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 227; Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 164; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 133; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 96-97; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 617; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 213.

[37] Colson, *Philo* 2. 233, 235.

"vapor" or "nothingness"). Surprisingly, the main focus is Cain's unrighteousness which is a result of his straying from Wisdom and murdering his brother when consumed by his uncontrollable anger.

Verse 4 shifts focus from the unrighteous figure of Cain to the righteous figure of Noah. But first, Pseudo-Solomon attributes the flooding of the earth at the time of Noah to Cain's wickedness (δι᾽ ὃν κατακλυζομένην γῆν, "when on whose account the earth was flooded"), a claim not made in Genesis.[38] In Gen 6:1-6, the Flood is a result of increasing human wickedness which reaches a climax after the intercourse of the sons of God and the daughters of mankind, resulting in the *Nephilim* (הַנְּפִלִים, often called "giants" in Greek texts). Although the text in Genesis does not make an explicit link between the rise of the *Nephilim* and the coming of the Flood, tradition has often made a direct connection between the two.[39] Even Pseudo-Solomon alludes to this connection in 14:6: καὶ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἀπολλυμένων ὑπερηφάνων γιγάντων, "And in the beginning, when the arrogant giants were being destroyed . . . ." It is interesting to note that he does not explicitly blame the Flood on the *Nephilim* (though one should not doubt that their arrogance was a reason for punishment) but rather on Cain. It seems that, for Pseudo-Solomon, the cycle of sin that leads to the Flood really begins with the first murderer. Winston notes: "Cain, as the first murderer, serves as a paradigm of human wickedness, so that the cause of the Flood can be ascribed to him."[40]

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[38] Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 69.

[39] The clearest examples of the connection are 3 Macc 2:4; *1 Enoch* 6–10; *Jub.* 7:21-25; *A.J.* 1.3.1-2 §§73-75. The connection is alluded to in Sir 16:7; Bar 3:26. See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 267.

[40] Ibid., 214. See also Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 69.

In v. 4a, the word πάλιν, "again," implies that this is the second time Wisdom
has rescued the human race: first by restoring Adam and, now, by saving Noah.[41] The
word ἔσωσεν, "she saved," continues the theme of deliverance in chap. 10, and the term
echoes the "heading" or "title" of chap. 10 found in Wis 9:18 (i.e., καὶ τῇ σοφίᾳ
ἐσώθησαν, "and they were saved by Wisdom").[42] Also, this is the first time that σοφία,
"Wisdom," is used in chap. 10, thus providing a referent for the pronoun αὕτη within the
composition.

The adjective εὐτελής generally means "worthless" or "cheap" and Pseudo-
Solomon uses the term elsewhere to condemn various idolatrous acts (e.g., Wis 11:15;
13:14; 15:10). However, the phrase εὐτελοῦς ξύλου, "frail wood," in 10:4a is similar to
the phrase ἐλαχίστῳ ξύλῳ, "smallest" or "frailest wood," in 14:5. The ark in 10:4 should
not be understood as "worthless" because as 14:7 states, it is the wood which yields
righteousness: εὐλόγηται γὰρ ξύλον δι᾽ οὗ γίνεται δικαιοσύνη, "For blessed is the wood
through which justice/righteousness comes about." Furthermore, the use of the phrase
"frail wood" in 10:4 evokes the idea that at any moment the ark could have been smashed
and engulfed by the waves of the cosmic flood. This image reinforces the notion that the
ark could not have survived without Wisdom's guidance. The salvation of humanity on a
piece of "frail wood" is nothing less than providential. Goodrick notes that the smallness

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[41] Gregg (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 97) and Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 618) make this point.

[42] The verb σῴζω also appears in Wis 14:4; 16:7; 18:5. A compound form of the word is found in
14:5 and 16:11. See Reese, "Plan and Structure," 392.

of the ark is contrasted to the great deed accomplished by Wisdom.[43] It emphasizes the ubiquitous OT theme that God can bring greatness from weakness.

As I have already mentioned, the "righteous one" in v. 4b is none other than Noah, who is the first man to be called righteous (צַדִּיק) in the OT (Gen 6:9).[44] Perhaps this is another reason why the epithet is granted first to him and withheld from Adam in chap. 10. Pseudo-Solomon alludes to Noah one other time, in Wis 14:6, where he refers to Noah as ἡ ἐλπὶς τοῦ κόσμου, "the hope of the world."

The participle κυβερνήσασα, "guiding" or "she guided," has the connotation of navigating, piloting, or steering a seafaring vessel. It expresses the idea that Noah was not in charge of directing the ark; rather, Wisdom was its captain. The verb κυβερνάω is a term often used by the Stoics in connection with *pronoia* ("foresight," "divine providence") and "the guiding power of *Logos*" (the ordering principle in the universe).[45] Here then, Pseudo-Solomon may have been influenced by Stoic ideas. It is most interesting, however, that the goddess Isis bears the title κυβερνῆτις in *POxy*. 1380.69-70 and is known to have been the patroness of seafarers.[46] Also κυβερνήσασα, the same form

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[43] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 228. Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 214) makes a similar claim.

[44] See Philo *Congr.* 90. Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 97; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 214; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 69. For other ancient texts that explicitly mention Noah's righteousness, see Sir 44:17; *Jub.* 5:19; 10:17; 1QapGen ar 11.14; Philo *Abr.* 27; Heb 11:7.

[45] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 228; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 133; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 214; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 293.

[46] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 214; Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 48-49; Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 69; Sinnott, *Personification*, 166. For texts on Isis's seafaring connections, see the Andros hymn 34-35, 145-48; Isidorus's Hymn I. 31-34; the Cyme hymn 15 (Ἐγὼ θαλάσσια ἔργα εὗρον, "I devised business in the sea"); and lines 49-50 (Ἐγὼ ναυτιλίας εἰμὶ κυρία. / Ἐγὼ τὰ πλωτὰ ἄπλωτα ποι[ῶ, ὅ]ταν ἐμοὶ δόξῃ, "I am the Queen of seamanship. / I make the navigable unnavigable when it pleases me.").

that appears at the end of Wis 10:4b, is used of Isis in *POxy*. 1380.187-88. It is thus very possible that Pseudo-Solomon was drawing a link between Wisdom and Isis, showing that the former was a far superior protectress since she saved the entire human race at sea. The same root (κυβερνηθεῖσα) is used in the context of the Flood in Wis 14:6. However, in this case, God is the acting subject, thus showing the close association between Wisdom and the Almighty One.

The first strophe in chap. 10 ends with a tricolon recounting Wisdom's dealings with Abraham. The use of the genitive absolute with a temporal sense near the beginning of the first colon in v. 5 (ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πονηρίας ἐθνῶν συγχυθέντων, "when the nations unified in wickedness were confused") presents Abraham as the contemporary of those who were confused and scattered at Babel (Gen 11:1-9).[47] It seems that Wisdom keeps Abraham blameless during the Babel incident at which he would appear to be present. While this situation is not reflected in the Genesis text itself, Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* 6–7 relates an interesting tradition that places Abraham in Babel during the construction of the tower.[48] In this account, Abraham is one of twelve men who refuse to participate in the tower's construction and are detained for execution if they fail to repent. While the other men escape, Abraham is cast into a fiery furnace but is unharmed because God saves him.

While it is uncertain whether Pseudo-Solomon was aware of this exact tradition recounted by Pseudo-Philo, the above formulation at least shows that the former

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[47] Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 302.

[48] This tradition is also mentioned by Enns (*Exodus Retold*, 18-19) in connection with Wis 10:5.

supposed that Abraham was linked to the Babel generation and was preserved from

participating in their sinfulness. Even without any direct mention of Abraham at Babel,

the Genesis text itself suggests a contrast between the wicked nations at Babel and

Abraham that may have been perceived by Pseudo-Solomon. While the wicked nations

fear being scattered over the earth and attempt to make a name for themselves (Gen

11:4), God commands Abraham to leave his native place and promises to make

Abraham's name great (Gen 12:1-2). This contrast found in Genesis 11–12 may have

evoked the contrast that Pseudo-Solomon presents in Wisdom 10.

The ὁμονοίᾳ πονηρίας, "unity of wickedness," in v. 5a not only refers to the plan

to build the tower and city (Gen 11:4)[49] but also reflects the unity of language that

enabled the inhabitants of Babel to unite in their plan to build the tower and city. There is

a direct contrast between the terms ὁμονοίᾳ, "unity," "harmony," and συγχυθέντων, "they

were confounded," in this first colon of v. 5.[50] The latter term refers to the confusion of

languages since this is the same verb used in Gen 11:7, 9 (LXX) to express God's

punishment of the wicked nations.[51]

Verse 5b opens with an interesting action on the part of Wisdom. What might it

mean for Wisdom to "know" something or someone? The verb ἔγνω, "she knew,"

denotes a close relationship between Abraham (again, τὸν δίκαιον, cf. Gen 15:6) and

Wisdom here. It is not merely factual knowledge but an intimate, experiential kind of

[49] Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 133.

[50] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 228.

[51] Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 71; Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 18.

knowing that allows Wisdom to keep Abraham blameless.[52] The word ἄμεμπτον,

"blameless," reflects God's command to Abraham in Gen 17:1 (LXX): εὐαρέστει

ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος, "Be pleasing before me and be blameless."[53] Outside

the Wisdom of Solomon, only two other figures in the LXX are described in this way:

Esther (e.g., 8:12 [E:13]) and Job (e.g., 1:1, 8; 2:3). In the Wisdom of Solomon, the term

is also applied to God's holy people in Egypt (10:15a) and to Aaron (18:21). While in

v. 1 Wisdom delivers Adam from sin, here in v. 5 Wisdom keeps Abraham blameless

before God (i.e., keeping him from sin).[54] Thus, Wisdom protects humans from sinning

or being mastered by sin.

The final colon of v. 5 is difficult to translate effectively into idiomatic English

without deviating to some extent from the Greek. The Greek text with my translation is as

follows: καὶ ἐπὶ τέκνου σπλάγχνοις ἰσχυρὸν ἐφύλαξεν, "and kept him strong despite

affection for his child." However, a more literal rendering would be, "and she guarded

[his] compassion strong[ly] against [the] child." The child (τέκνον) here is none other

than Isaac, and the colon recalls the *Aqedah* or Binding (near-sacrifice) of Isaac by

Abraham in Genesis 22 as a test of his faith. Again, as in v. 2a, there is a repetition of the

root ἰσχυ- in the adjective ἰσχυρόν, "strong," "mighty." The verb ἐφύλαξεν, "she

guarded," recalls the similar form found in v. 1b (i.e., διεφύλαξεν). When taken with the

preceding adjective, the verb is intensified. Thus, instead of merely guarding Abraham,

[52] Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 338.

[53] Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 71.

[54] See also Wis 6:9 where Pseudo-Solomon implores his audience to learn wisdom in order to avoid sin.

Wisdom "guards him intently" and "keeps him strong." Interestingly, the idea expressed here is strikingly similar to the actions of Isis in the Cyme hymn 1. 16: Ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησα, "I made the righteous one strong," and 1. 38: Πὰρ' ἐμοὶ τό δίκαιον ἰσχύει, ". . . by me the righteous one prevails." Thus, the strength that Wisdom gives to Abraham (and previously to Adam in v. 2) has parallels in Hellenistic Isis literature. Through his depiction of strength that comes from Wisdom, Pseudo-Solomon may have been subtly implying that there was no need for the Alexandrian Jews to seek power and constancy from Isis when they had the sustaining might of Lady Wisdom in their own tradition.

The word σπλάγχνοις in v. 5c literally means "entrails." For the ancients, the entrails or "innards" were the seat of emotion. The Greek word here may reflect the Hebrew word רַחֲמִים, "mercy," "compassion" (literally, "wombs"), which is often associated with parental tenderness.[55] Abraham was frequently held up in Jewish tradition as a model of parental love since his affection for Isaac was so great (cf. 4 Macc 14:20).[56] Here, however, Wisdom protects Abraham from his paternal love or affection for his son and in so doing presumably strengthens his love for God which enables him to obey the Almighty.

Strophe II: Wisdom 10:6-9

6a   She, when the ungodly were perishing, rescued the righteous one

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[55] See Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 261.

[56] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 214-15. See also *Jub.* 22:25-26 which speaks of Abraham's "compassionate heart" (literally, "his mercy and his heart") toward his grandson, Jacob.

6b   who fled the fire that descended on Pentapolis.

7a   Which is still a testimony to wickedness,

7b   having become a smoking wasteland,

7c   Where plants bear fruit that does not ripen,

7d   and a pillar of salt stands as a monument to an unbelieving soul.

8a   For when they passed Wisdom by,

8b   not only were they harmed by not knowing the good

8c   But also left behind a memorial of folly for humankind

8d   so that they might not be able to escape notice from those things by which

               they erred.

9a   But Wisdom rescued from suffering those who served her.

As at the beginning of v. 5, there is a demonstrative αὕτη and a genitive absolute

temporal construction at the beginning of v. 6 as well. "When the ungodly were

perishing" (ἐξαπολλυμένων ἀσεβῶν), Wisdom saved the righteous man, namely, Lot.[57]

The term ἀσεβεῖς, "ungodly ones" or "wicked ones," is found throughout the LXX and

the Wisdom of Solomon in particular (e.g., Wis 1:16; 3:10; 4:16; 11:9; 12:9; 14:9; 16:16,

18). It is used in Wis 10:6 in reference to the wicked inhabitants of Sodom and

Gomorrah, and again in 10:20 to refer to the despoiled Egyptians. In v. 6b, Lot is

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[57] Gregg (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 98), Deane (*Book of Wisdom*, 165), Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 622), and Scarpat (*Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 302) note that Lot is also called "righteous" in 2 Pet 2:7-8. Although Lot's escape from Sodom and Gomorrah occurs in Genesis 19 and the near-sacrifice of Isaac in Genesis 22, Lot's story follows that of Abraham in Wisdom 10. I believe this happens because the figure of Abraham appears before Lot in the text of Genesis; therefore, Pseudo-Solomon presents Abraham's story first. I do not believe that this order significantly disturbs the chronology of Wisdom 10.

described as one "who fled the fire that descended on Pentapolis," which recalls the

events of Gen 19:15-25. The καταβάσιον πῦρ, "descending fire," reflects the θεῖον καὶ

πῦρ, "sulphur and fire," which God "rained" (ἔβρεξεν) from heaven according to Gen

19:24. Aside from θάλασσα ἐρυθρά, "Red Sea," in Wis 10:18a and 19:7, Πεντάπολις,

"Pentapolis," is the only other proper name used by Pseudo-Solomon in the entire work,

the term also being *hapax* in the LXX.[58] It refers to the five cities of Sodom, Gomorrah,

Admah, Zeboiim, and Lasha (perhaps the same city as Bela or Zoar; cf. Gen 10:19;

14:2).[59] If this final city (i.e., Lasha) is identified with Zoar, then the account presented

by Pseudo-Solomon is technically different from that found in Genesis 19, since Zoar

was not destroyed by fire but was rather the city to which Lot and his daughters fled (Gen

19:22-23).[60] However, Josephus apparently reflects a similar confusion, so perhaps the

cities of Lasha and Zoar are not to be identified with each other.[61] Yet perhaps Pseudo-

Solomon uses the term "Pentapolis" to refer to the entire region without accounting for

the city that was saved because he wants to convey the idea that the entire area was

utterly wicked, just as he often presents his positive examples as completely righteous.

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[58] In the LXX, the term πεντάπολις occurs only in Wis 10:6. However, it is also found in Philo *Abr.* 147, 165, 229. See Peder Borgen, Kåre Fuglseth, and Roald Skarsten, *The Philo Index: A Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000) 277.

[59] Interestingly, Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 215) notes that the names of these same five cities are listed on a tablet from Ebla (third millennium B.C.).

[60] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 229; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 134; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 622; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*. 215; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 74-75. Philo *Abr.* 145 notes that of the five cities, four were destroyed and one was preserved. Presumably, the city that was not destroyed is Zoar.

[61] Josephus also seems to suggest that there were five cities destroyed at the time of Lot in *B.J.* 4.8.4 §484. However, he also mentions in *A.J.* 1.11.4 §204 that Zoar still exists. See Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 229; Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 165; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 134; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 622; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 215.

The inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned one other time in the Wisdom of Solomon near the end of the book. In Wis 19:17, Pseudo-Solomon compares the punishment of the wicked Egyptians to that of the evil Sodomites. In both cases, the wicked were struck with blindness because they were guilty of inhospitality to guests. Perhaps it was this theme of inhospitality to a foreign guest that prompted Pseudo-Solomon to include Lot in his list of biblical heroes. The Jews of Egypt would have been able to identify with this righteous figure who was treated wickedly in a foreign land and was ultimately saved from destruction by Wisdom. The righteousness of Lot is emphasized also in Wis 19:17 where he is called δίκαιος, "righteous," yet again.

Verse 7 continues the description of the ungodly who are punished in the Pentapolis. The use of the genitive case of the feminine relative pronoun, namely, ἧς, "which [is] . . . ," confirms this interpretation since Πενταπόλεως is the genitive of a feminine proper noun. Pseudo-Solomon claims that the remains of the Five Cities are a witness to wickedness even in his own day.[62] There are three features that attest to their wickedness: (1) the area is called "a smoking wasteland"; (2) the plants in the area "bear fruit that does not ripen"; and (3) there is a pillar of salt in the region that "stands as a monument to an unbelieving soul."

Concerning the first feature, which has its basis in Gen 19:29, there are ancient traditions about smoking land in the area around the Dead Sea. For example, one reads in Philo *Abr.* 27.140-41:

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[62] For biblical and extrabiblical traditions about the wickedness and burning barrenness of Sodom, see Deut 29:23; Zeph 2:9; Isa 13:19-20; Jer 49:18; 3 Macc 2:5. See also the comments by Siebeneck, "Midrash of Wisdom 10-19," 180.

And to this day it goes on burning, for the fire of the thunderbolt is never

quenched but either continues its ravages or else smolders. And the clearest proof

is what is still visible, for a monument (μνημεῖον) of the disastrous event remains

in the smoke which rises ceaselessly . . . .[63]

The "smoke that rises ceaselessly" could refer to the emissions from the bituminous soil

or "the dense mist which rises from the basin of the Dead Sea."[64]

The second feature is that the fruit in the region does not ripen.[65] A more literal

translation of the phrase ἀτελέσιν ὥραις καρποφοροῦντα φυτά is "bearing fruit in

incomplete seasons." This difficult expression most likely refers to plants that

consistently yield unripe fruit, which conforms to the description of *Calotropis procera*

(often called the "apple" or "vine" of Sodom) presented by Josephus in *B.J.* 4.8.4 §484-

85: "Still, too, may one see ashes reproduced in the fruits, which from their outward

appearance would be thought edible, but on being plucked with the hand dissolve into

smoke and ashes."[66] This plant grows in the Dead Sea region even today. Its "greenish-

yellow" exterior gives it the appearance of never being ripe, and the interior is virtually

hollow with "dry white fibers resembling those of milkweed" and small black seeds

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[63] Other ancient sources that mention this phenomenon include Philo *Mos.* 2.56: ". . . and to the present day the memorials to the awful disaster are shewn in Syria, ruins and cinders and brimstone and smoke, and the dusky flame still arises as though fire were smouldering within" (See Colson, *Philo* 6. 477); and Josephus *B.J.* 4.8.4 §484: ". . . and in fact vestiges of the divine fire and faint traces of the five cities are still visible" (See Thackeray, *Josephus* 3. 143). See Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 165; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 98; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 623; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 215.

[64] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 98; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 230; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 134. Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 624) suggests that the "smoking" may refer to the volcanic activity of the region.

[65] Some ancient sources claim that no herbage exists in the region. See Philo *Abr.* 140.

[66] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 165; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 229; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 624.

which are poisonous.[67] The biblical text is relatively silent about the fruit of Sodom and Gomorrah, except for Deut 32:32 that briefly speaks of the region's bitter grapes, which may be a reference to this odd fruit.[68]

The final feature is the στήλη ἁλός, "pillar of salt," which is the memorial "of an unbelieving soul" (ἀπιστούσης ψυχῆς). The "unbelieving soul" is a reference to Lot's wife who disobeys the angel's command in Gen 19:17 by looking back toward her old home and becomes a pillar of salt in Gen 19:26. However, the Genesis text only states that Lot's wife looked back and does not mention her lack of faith.[69] This is an interpretation added by Pseudo-Solomon. Perhaps he stresses the unbelief of Lot's wife here in light of the faithlessness of the apostate Jews in Alexandrian society and the possible loss of faith among those whom he is addressing directly. There is a double meaning for the word μνημεῖον, which can mean "memorial," but also "tomb."[70] In effect, the pillar of salt serves as both a reminder of her disbelief and her grave. By this reference, an actual structure was probably meant, not just an abstract remembrance. In fact, among the columns of salt on the shores of the Dead Sea there is one that many call

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[67] See Roger S. Boraas, "Vine of Sodom," in *HBD*, 1193-94.

[68] See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 215.

[69] A similar reason is given in *1 Clem.* 11:2: "For of this a sign was given when his wife went with him, but changed her mind and did not remain in agreement with him, so that she became a pillar of salt unto this day, to make known to all, that those who are double-minded, and have doubts concerning the power of God, incur a judgment and become a warning to all generations" (Lake, *Apostolic Fathers* 1. 27). Josephus (*A.J.* 1.11.4 §203) seems to imply that Lot's wife was punished due to her curiosity and disobedience: "But Lot's wife, who during the flight was continually turning round towards the city, curious to observe its fate, notwithstanding God's prohibition of such action, was changed into a pillar of salt . . . ."

[70] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 99; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 135; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 625. Philo refers generally to evidence left behind from the destruction of the Pentapolis as μνημεῖον (*Abr.* 140-41) or μνημεῖα (*Mos.* 2.56). Pseudo-Solomon uses it here to refer to Lot's wife specifically.

"Lot's Wife."[71] There are also ancient accounts from before the second century A.D., including Josephus *A.J.* 1.11.4 §203 and *1 Clem.*11:2, which claim that such a structure exists.[72]

In v. 8, Pseudo-Solomon reveals the reason for the destruction of the inhabitants of the Pentapolis. Their transgression is similar to that of Cain in that, like Cain who abandons (ἀποστάς) Wisdom, the inhabitants of the Dead Sea Plain σοφίαν . . . παροδεύσαντες, "pass Wisdom by" (v. 8a). The consequence of this is twofold. First, by turning away from Wisdom they harm themselves because they do not know how to behave correctly or what to strive for in life; that is, they lack knowledge of τὰ καλά, "beautiful things" or "the beautiful," "the good," in the moral sense (v. 8b).[73] And second, they leave behind τῆς ἀφροσύνης . . . μνημόσυνον, "a memorial of folly" (which is similar to "a testimony of wickedness" in v. 7a), by which subsequent generations remember their evil behavior. In effect, they are an example of how not to act (cf. 3 Macc 2:5: ". . . you made them an example to those who should come afterward"). The phrase τῷ βίῳ literally means "for life," but should be understood as specifically referring to humankind, as supported by the Latin reading *hominibus*, "to human beings."[74] The same term refers to all living human beings in Wis 14:21 which speaks of the snare that idolatry poses to humankind. The last colon of this verse in v. 8d is related to the concept

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[71] Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 303.

[72] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 165; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 625.

[73] See a possible parallel in the Cyme hymn 32, where Isis determines τὸ καλόν, "the beautiful."

[74] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 99; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 626.

of *lex talionis*, that is, punishment fitting the crime. When this principle is applied, in many cases one is punished by means of the very sins that one commits, which is a major theme in the Wisdom of Solomon, especially in chaps. 11–19 (e.g., Wis 11:16; 12:23, 27). Usually one tries to hide one's sinfulness and shortcomings, and perhaps this was the intention of the Sodomites for they were not "able to escape notice from those things by which they erred."[75] Rather, the people of the Pentapolis must bear the shame of having their sins remembered for all time. This idea of leaving behind evidence of sinfulness that is found in Wis 10:8 is also expressed earlier in Wis 4:6: "For children born of lawless unions give evidence of the wickedness of their parents, when they are examined" (*NAB*). It is interesting to note that Pseudo-Solomon uses the imagery of unripe fruit both in Wis 4:5-6 and here in 10:7-8 to discuss the consequences of sinfulness. The message that one gains from this imagery is the same given in the passage on Cain: abandonment of Wisdom is fruitless, does not sustain and nourish one's life, and ultimately yields death and eternal infamy.[76]

Verse 9 is a monocolon which serves as a concluding contrast to vv. 7-8 (indicated by δέ) rounding off Strophe II.[77] However, it also functions as a midway point in the chapter that recapitulates what has already been said in Stophes I-II and looks forward to what will follow in Strophes III-V. Verse 9 does this by summarizing the theme of Wis 10:1–11:1, namely, that Wisdom saves ἐκ πόνων, "from suffering," those

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[75] See also Wis 1:8; 17:3. Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 627.

[76] For similar ideas, see Prov 1:29-33. Cf. Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 99.

[77] Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 135.

who acknowledge and "serve" (θεραπεύοντας) her.[78] The term πόνος can mean both "suffering," "toil," or "labor." There are two main categories of labor or suffering: there is the type that is fruitful (e.g., Wis 3:15) and the type that is not (e.g., Wis 15:4). I believe that when Wisdom is said to save from suffering in v. 9, Pseudo-Solomon means that she rescues the righteous from fruitless or pointless suffering. As we will see, this negative type of suffering is contrasted in the following verse (v. 10f) with Jacob's "toils" (τοὺς πόνους) by which Wisdom made him prosperous. The way that one is saved from fruitless suffering is by serving Wisdom. It is only when one's aim in life is self-serving that things go awry. The concept of service in connection with Wisdom will resurface in v. 16a where Moses is called θεράποντος κυρίου, "servant of the Lord." Finally, the verb ἐρρύσατο, "she rescued," serves as an *inclusio* for the strophe (see v. 6a), just as it carries the theme of the entire chapter (see vv. 13b, 15b).

Strophe III: Wisdom 10:10-12

10a She led the righteous one, a fugitive from his brother's wrath,

10b   on straight paths.

10c She showed him the kingdom of God

10d   and gave him knowledge of holy things.

10e She made him prosper in his labors

10f   and made his toils fruitful.

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[78] Some scholars suggest that the word θεραπεύοντας may allude to a group known as the Therapeutae and so imply that Pseudo-Solomon may have been influenced by their teachings. See Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 166; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 628.

11a When individuals prevailed against him in greed, she stood by

11b   and made him wealthy.

12a She protected him from enemies

12b   and from those who lie in wait she kept him safe.

12c And she decided the mighty contest in his favor

12d   so that he might know that godliness is more powerful than all else.

The third strophe of the composition is comprised of six bicola dedicated to the

figure of Jacob, a fitting amount for the father of the twelve tribes of Israel. Given that

Israel is Jacob's namesake (cf. Gen 32:29; 35:10), it is no wonder that Pseudo-Solomon

focuses so much attention on him as an ideal figure for his fellow Jews to look up to and

imitate. It is interesting to note that even though Jacob is portrayed as a trickster in the

Book of Genesis (e.g., Gen 25:29-34; 27:1-45; 30:25-43; 31:20-21), none of these shady

dealings are directly attributed to him in Wis 10:10-12.[79] Rather, Jacob, like the other

righteous individuals before him, is presented as wholly righteous, and therefore there is

no doubt that he is to be emulated.

Verse 10 opens with a δίκαιον, "righteous one," this time Jacob, fleeing from

ὀργῆς ἀδελφοῦ, "[his] brother's wrath." This situation reflects the story in Gen 27:41-45,

where Esau vows to kill Jacob for tricking Isaac into granting him the blessing that Isaac

had originally promised Esau. Pseudo-Solomon does not reveal the reason for Esau's

anger, and one could assume that his wrath is the result of abandoning Wisdom as Cain

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[79] Hübner, *Weisheit*, 138.

did (v. 3). The focus is not on what Jacob did but rather on Wisdom's role in saving the

patriarch by leading (ὡδήγησεν) him ἐν τρίβοις εὐθείαις, "on straight paths." This

imagery of walking on straight paths is not explicitly mentioned in the Genesis text (but

see Gen 28:20-21); there is however a direct parallel in Ps 26:11 (LXX): ὁδήγησόν με ἐν

τρίβῳ εὐθείᾳ ἕνεκα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου, "Lead me on a straight path because of my

enemies." Jacob finds himself in the same situation as the psalmist: he is seeking refuge

and a clear path away from his enemy. Interestingly, a similar image already occurred in

9:18 (καὶ οὕτως διωρθώθησαν αἱ τρίβοι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς, "and thus the paths of those upon

the earth were made straight . . . .") and will recur later in Wis 10:17b where Wisdom

"leads" (ὡδήγησεν) the Israelites "on a wonderful way" (ἐν ὁδῷ θαυμαστῇ) to escape the

Egyptians. Perhaps this latter reference draws a direct correlation between Jacob (i.e.,

Israel) and his descendants, the Israelites. The leading on a way (whether straight or

wonderful) is meant literally in Wis 10:10, 17 but is also a metaphor for Wisdom's

constant protection through the course of life and is a sapiential theme in general (cf.

Prov 3:6).[80]

Here in 10:10ab, as in 10:3, Pseudo-Solomon presents yet another example of

brotherly rage. Perhaps the focus on brotherly anger in chap. 10 is inspired by the turmoil

between "brothers" in Pseudo-Solomon's own day. Like Cain and Esau, the apostate

Jews have turned against Wisdom and out of hate and anger persecute their former

brothers in the faith (cf. Wis 2:12-20; 4:17-19). On the other hand, those who have

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[80] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 232; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 136; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 629.

remained faithful to Judaism must trust that Wisdom will lead them on straight paths as she did their progenitor.

Verse 10cd concerns Jacob's dream during his sojourn in Bethel as recounted in Gen 28:10-17.[81] It is in these cola that Wisdom's revelatory and instructional role is highlighted in chap. 10. She shows (ἔδειξεν) Jacob the kingdom of God and gives (ἔδωκεν) him knowledge of holy things (the same two verbs occur in proximity in v. 14ef). The two lines can be read as exhibiting synonymous parallelism, that is, the revelation of God's kingdom is equivalent to the giving of supernatural knowledge. The phrase βασιλείαν θεοῦ, "kingdom of God," is *hapax* in the LXX, and it is difficult to know its exact meaning in this context.[82] It most likely refers to the angels ascending and descending on the ladder reaching to heaven that Jacob sees in his dream (Gen 28:12). From his vision, Jacob gains an understanding of how God's realm functions. The following colon is probably related to this understanding. There are several ways to interpret the term ἁγίων. First, the word could mean "holy ones," referring to the angels that Jacob saw.[83] Second, it might refer to the heavenly sanctuary and thus reflect a

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[81] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 100; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 136; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 629; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 304-5; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 79; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 139. Some scholars have suggested that this bicolon does not refer to the episode at Bethel but rather to Jacob's wrestling with a mysterious figure at Penuel in Gen 32:24-32 or perhaps to his prophetic visions in Genesis 48–49. These other interpretations are briefly mentioned, although not adopted by Eric Burrows, "Wisdom X 10," *Bib* 20 (1939) 405. While these are events that either show further encounters with God or Jacob's supernatural knowledge, not only do these not fit chronologically at this point, but also the former event is addressed later in Wis 10:12cd.

[82] There is an allusion to God's kingship in Wis 3:8, where God is described as ruling over the righteous for all eternity.

[83] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 629; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 304.

tradition found in *T. Levi* 9:3.[84] In this pseudepigraphical text, Jacob has a vision concerning Levi: "When we came to Bethel my father, Jacob, saw a vision concerning me that I should be in the priesthood."[85] According to Eric Burrows, not only might the term ἁγίων in Wis 10:10 refer to the "privileges of Levi" as high priest as cited in *T. Levi* 9:3, but it is also a likely reference to the heavenly sanctuary.[86] The problem with this interpretation is that there are no extant ancient texts (at least before the second century A.D.) that strongly support Burrows's reading. While it is possible, it remains mere conjecture.

Also, I believe that it is not necessary to look to extrabiblical texts for an adequate interpretation of the above phrase. Proverbs 30:3 (LXX) exhibits the exact phrase γνῶσιν ἁγίων found also in Wis 10:10: θεὸς δεδίδαχέν με σοφίαν καὶ γνῶσιν ἁγίων ἔγνωκα, "God has taught me wisdom, / and I have knowledge of holy things [or 'the Holy One']."[87] From this verse in the Book of Proverbs, one sees the close connection between Wisdom and the knowledge of God's ways and of God himself. This leads to a third interpretation, that the word ἁγίων can mean "holy things"[88] or may even refer to God himself as "the Holy One," using a plural of majesty reflected in the Hebrew word

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[84] The phrase τὰ ἅγια (τῶν ἁγίων is the gen. pl.) refers to the earthly sanctuary throughout the OT (e.g., Exod 36:1; Lev 19:8). Burrows ("Wisdom," 406) notes that the term τὰ ἅγια is used in reference to the heavenly sanctuary in Heb 9:12.

[85] For this English translation of the *Testament of Levi*, see H. C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *OTP* 1. 775-828, esp. 788-95.

[86] Burrows, "Wisdom," 406-7. His position is mentioned by Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 217.

[87] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 232; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 630. A similar statement appears in Prov 9:10 (LXX): ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου καὶ βουλὴ ἁγίων σύνεσις, "The beginning of wisdom is fear of the Lord, / and the knowledge ['intention,' 'plan'] of the Holy One is understanding."

[88] Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 313.

קְדֹשִׁים. Both Gregg and Reider see the term as referring to "supernatural mysteries."[89]

This final reading involves a general knowledge of God's mysterious holy ways and his

holy presence.

While it is possible that all three of the aforementioned interpretations of ἁγίων

are present, the translation "holy things" would encompass all three. Furthermore, this

third reading fits the story in Genesis 28 since the "knowledge of holy things" (including

the angels, God's heavenly dwelling, and God himself) is implied in Jacob's recognition

of God's presence with him at Bethel. First, in Gen 28:15, God says to Jacob: "*Know* that

I am with you; I will protect you wherever you go . . . ." Following this assurance from

God, in Gen 28:16 Jacob states: "Truly, the Lord is in this spot, although I did not *know*

it." At first, Jacob was not aware of God's presence at the shrine, but now he is aware of

the sanctity of the place and has knowledge of the Holy One and of holy things in

general.[90] In Wis 10:10, it is fitting that Wisdom is the one who imparts this knowledge

to Jacob because earlier in Wis 8:4 she is described as μύστις . . . τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιστήμης

καὶ αἱρετὶς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, "instructress [or 'mystic'] in the understanding of God, the

selector of his works" (*NAB*).

The final bicolon of v. 10 portrays Wisdom granting Jacob great success in his

endeavors. The two cola exhibit synonymous parallelism, where the verb εὐπόρησεν, "she

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[89] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 100; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 136.

[90] There is also a tradition recounted in *Jub.* 32:16-26 that Jacob received at Bethel seven heavenly tablets that gave him supernatural knowledge. Even though Jacob's vision in *Jubilees* 32 is associated with his visit to Bethel in Genesis 35 and not in Genesis 28, perhaps Pseudo-Solomon also had in mind this additional tradition found in *Jubilees* about Jacob receiving divine knowledge.

made prosper," in v. 11a (cf. *Jub.* 27:16; 31:24) corresponds to ἐπλήθυνεν, "increased" or "made fruitful," in v. 11b, and ἐν μόχθοις, "in labors," to τοὺς πόνους, "toils." These latter two terms are equated with each other in Ezek 23:29 (LXX): καὶ λήμψονται πάντας τοὺς πόνους σου καὶ τοὺς μόχθους σου, ". . . and they will take away all (the fruit of) your toils and labors . . . ." As I have mentioned before, the word πόνος, "suffering" or "toil," occurs earlier in Wis 10:9. Here in v. 10, it would seem odd for the term to bear a negative connotation. Thus, it is unlikely that the meaning is Wisdom "increased the suffering" (ἐπλήθυνεν τοὺς πόνους) of Jacob.[91] Rather, I believe the best way to render this phrase is in a positive sense, that she "made his toils fruitful." This translation is in keeping with the use of the term πόνος in Wis 8:7: οἱ πόνοι ταύτης εἰσὶν ἀρεταί, "[the fruits of] her toils are virtues."[92] The term may also reflect Jacob's statement to his uncle and father-in-law, Laban, in Gen 31:42 (LXX): τὴν ταπείνωσίν μου καὶ τὸν κόπον τῶν χειρῶν μου εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἤλεγξέν σε ἐχθές, ". . . God saw my humiliation and the *fruit of my hands* and yesterday he showed that you are guilty." Thus, v. 10ef is closely related to v. 11 because Jacob's prosperity is due to the wealth that he accrued during his sojourn with Laban.

In v. 11, Jacob is contrasted with ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ κατισχυόντων αὐτόν, "individuals who prevailed against him in greed." If one considers the earlier biblical material alone,

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[91] Perhaps the phrase ἐπλήθυνεν τοὺς πόνους refers to the additional work that Jacob had to do in order to obtain both Leah and Rachel. After he marries Leah, he marries Rachel and has to work another seven years because he was tricked by Laban (Gen 29:21-30). However, it still seems odd that Wisdom would increase Jacob's toil.

[92] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 232; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 100; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 136.

then it is difficult to know why Pseudo-Solomon uses the plural here. For it seems that there was only one individual, Laban, whose greed threatened Jacob's success, since he tried to cheat Jacob out of just wages (Gen 30:35; 31:6-7, 41-42). But, perhaps the plural refers to Laban's sons as well, since they appear to be envious of Jacob's wealth (Gen 31:1).[93] Although the Greek word πλεονεξία means "greed" or "covetousness," the Latin renders the phrase *in fraude*, "by trickery." It is difficult to know whether this reflects an alternative reading in a different Greek MS, or if the Latin translator changed the word to indicate that the incident in v. 11a was associated with Laban, who clearly tricked Jacob by giving him Leah before Rachel (Gen 29:21-27) and by constantly changing the terms of his wages (Gen 31:7).[94] The statement in v. 11 that Wisdom "stood by" (παρέστη in v. 11a) Jacob and "made him wealthy" (ἐπλούτισεν αὐτόν in v. 11b) reflects Jacob's declaration in Gen 31:6-9. In this Genesis passage, Jacob claims that even when Laban sought to change the terms of his wages, God still maintained and increased Jacob's wealth. Jacob amasses his wealth under Laban through his flock-breeding scheme in Gen 30:29-43.

Kloppenborg notes that Wisdom's enriching of Jacob in v. 11 corresponds to instances in the Medinet Madi inscriptions where Isis makes men wealthy (e.g., Hymn I. 1; Hymn II. 5-6, 21; Hymn III. 4, 6, 10).[95] Although Isis is often associated with enrichment and abundance, I would argue that these depictions of granting wealth are

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[93] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 632; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 81-82; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 350.

[94] The latter passage is cited by Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 632.

[95] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 70; Sinnott, *Personification*, 166.

primarily inspired by earlier OT wisdom literature rather than from Isis imagery.

Kloppenborg eventually admits as much when he states: "Again it must not be denied

that earlier sapiential books attribute to Wisdom some of these features (e.g., Prov 8:14-

21)."[96]

Not only does Wisdom enrich Jacob, but she also protects (διεφύλαξεν, cf. v. 1)

him ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν, "from enemies." *Prima facie*, the enemies referred to here would seem

to be Laban and his sons, alluded to in v. 11. However, the following colon in (i.e., v.

12b, which appears to be synonymous with v. 12a) goes on to state that Wisdom kept

Jacob safe ἀπὸ ἐνεδρευόντων, "from those who lie in wait."[97] While it is possible that this

phrase refers to Laban and his sons who try to overtake Jacob when he flees from

Paddam-aram (Gen 31:22-25),[98] I believe that their activity can best be categorized as

"pursuit" rather than "lying in wait." Perhaps then Pseudo-Solomon employed this image

to express the potential threat of the surrounding Canaanites (cf. Gen 34:30).[99] Yet at no

point in the Genesis text are the Canaanites described as waiting to ambush Jacob's

family. However, the above interpretation of the phrase can be supported by two

extrabiblical traditions. First, *Jub.* 34:1-9 relates that seven Amorite kings hid themselves

among the trees near Shechem in order to attack and plunder Jacob and his sons—a clear

image of ambush. Second, *T. Judah* 3–7 presents battles between Jacob's sons and the

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[96] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 78.

[97] See the Cyme hymn 34, where Isis delivers those who plot evil into the hands of those individuals against whom they plotted. Although there is not a direct correlation here, one sees that Isis, like Wisdom, saves individuals from enemies and brings those who do evil to justice.

[98] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 100.

[99] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 166. See also Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 633.

Canaanites when the former return to the land that God had promised Abraham. In addition to the possible identification of Jacob's enemies as Laban and/or the Canaanites, the imagery of "lying in wait" may also recall Esau's plan to kill Jacob for his trickery (Gen 27:41).[100] However, although Jacob fears retaliation (Gen 32:8-22), when he encounters his brother in Gen 33:1-4, Esau forgives Jacob for his trickery and gladly welcomes his brother. Yet *Jubilees* 37–38 and *T. Judah* 9:1-8 present an extrabiblical tradition in which Esau and his sons battle Jacob and his sons after they return to Canaan.[101] It is very possible that all three traditions inspired Pseudo-Solomon's comment in v. 12b; the enemies of Jacob include Laban, Esau, their sons, and all Canaanites who might threaten Jacob's family.[102]

Verse 12c might also be associated with these conflicts between Jacob and his enemies, but I believe that it is best connected with Jacob's struggle with a mysterious figure or "angel" at Peniel/Penuel in Gen 32:23-31.[103] In v. 12c, this struggle is described as ἀγῶνα ἰσχυρόν, "a mighty contest." The adjective modifying this noun (ἰσχυρόν) was employed earlier to describe Wisdom's diligent protection of Abraham in v. 5c. The use of this adjective here in v. 12c seems to reflect the use of δυνατός, "strong," "powerful," in Gen 32:29 (LXX), where Jacob is said to have contended mightily against both God

[100] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 100.

[101] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 233; Burrows, "Wisdom," 406.

[102] For a combination of these groups as the referent for the "enemies" of Jacob, see Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 233; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 136.

[103] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 166; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 233; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 633; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 83; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 217-18.

and man.[104] The verb βραβεύω often has the connotation of "to act as a judge or umpire."[105] Against this background, Wisdom would be depicted here as officiating over the intense wrestling match between Jacob and God's messenger, an image not present in the Genesis text. This scene is different from all the others that we have encountered so far because it appears that Jacob succeeds due to his own strength. It is difficult to know then if Jacob achieves victory on his own merits and that Wisdom is merely there to announce his success or if she actually assists him in his struggle. The above verb does not have the connotation of assistance but more of impartial decision-making. The word does not occur elsewhere in the LXX but is used by Philo (e.g., *Mos*. 1.163) and Josephus (e.g., *A.J.* 14.9.5 §183).[106]

The reason for Wisdom's deciding the contest in Jacob's favor is to teach him a lesson, thus continuing the theme of imparting knowledge begun in v. 10cd. By winning the struggle, Jacob learns ὅτι παντὸς δυνατωτέρα ἐστὶν εὐσέβεια, "that godliness is more powerful than all else."[107] The description of the pursuit of εὐσέβεια, "godliness" or "piety," as an ἄγων ("contest" or "struggle") occurs at various points in Philo's writings (e.g., *Spec*. 2.183; *Mos*. 1.307; *Virt*. 45).[108] However, it is unclear exactly how Jacob learns what he does by wrestling with an angel. Perhaps the allusion to the pursuit of

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[104] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 218.

[105] The Latin differs from the Greek in v. 12c: *et certamen forte dedit illi ut vinceret*, "and she gave him the mighty struggle so that he might be victorious."

[106] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 218.

[107] Interestingly, the Latin reads *sapientia*, "wisdom," for the Greek's εὐσέβεια, "godliness."

[108] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 218.

godliness has in view Jacob's refusal to desist until he has obtained a blessing from his opponent (Gen 32:27), showing his total dependence on God.[109] Pseudo-Solomon may have had an extrabiblical tradition in mind when he composed v. 12d, but unfortunately there is no evidence for such a tradition at present.

Strophe IV: Wisdom 10:13-14

13a She did not abandon the righteous one when he was sold,

13b   but rescued him from sin.

14a She descended with him into a pit,

14b   and did not abandon him in chains,

14c Until she brought him the scepter of the kingdom

14d   and authority over his oppressors.

14e And thus proved false those who found fault with him

14f   and gave him eternal glory.

A strophe concerning the patriarch Joseph follows the section on Jacob. Pseudo-Solomon's reason for devoting an entire passage to Joseph may be twofold. First, the Joseph novella has sapiential elements that probably appealed to Pseudo-Solomon.[110]

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[109] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 634-35.

[110] Joseph is explicitly qualified as a wise figure in Gen 41:39. See also Philo *Jos*. 86, 106.

And second, Joseph encounters both hardship and success while living in Egypt and therefore is a figure with whom the Jews of Alexandria could identify.[111]

Like most other major figures mentioned so far, Joseph is designated as δίκαιος, "righteous," in v. 13a. Wisdom does not abandon (οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπεν) him when he is sold (πραθέντα). This situation most likely refers to the events recounted in Gen 37:27-28 where Joseph's older brothers sell him as a slave to a band of Ishmaelites who take him to Egypt.[112] Joseph endures these hardships under the watchful eye of Lady Wisdom. Although his suffering makes it seem that she is not present, according to v. 13a, Wisdom never leaves his side. This is a valuable lesson for faithful Alexandrian Jews in Pseudo-Solomon's day. Even though they suffer in Egypt, Providence is with them and their salvation will eventually come.

In v. 13b, Wisdom rescues (ἐρρύσατο, see also vv. 6, 9, 15) a righteous individual "from sin" (ἐξ ἁμαρτίας), which recalls the beginning of chap. 10 with its reference to her protection and deliverance of Adam in v. 1c. But as I mentioned before, deliverance from sin in this case is slightly different because Joseph did not in fact commit the sin as Adam did. The sin from which Wisdom rescues Joseph is the temptation to commit adultery with Potiphar's wife in Gen 39:7-12. Joseph explicitly uses the verb ἁμαρτήσομαι, "I will commit sin," in Gen 39:9 (LXX). In Wis 10:13, for the Greek's ἐξ ἁμαρτίας, "from sin," the Latin reads *a peccatoribus*, "from sinners," which may be a reference to Joseph's

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[111] Both Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 637-38) and Hübner (*Weisheit*, 141) allude to this point as well in their discussions of Wis 10:14.

[112] In Gen 37:36, Joseph is sold to Potiphar by Midianites (also implied in Gen 39:1).

wicked brothers who sold him. However, I agree with Gregg and Reider that v. 13b

seems to be less about Joseph's rescue from his brothers and more about his avoidance of

sin by resisting the sexual advances of Potiphar's wife.[113]

Further evidence that Wisdom has not abandoned Joseph is presented in v. 14a

where she goes down (συγκατέβη) with him into the λάκκος, "pit," "dungeon."[114] It is

ambiguous whether λάκκος here refers to the "pit" or "cistern" in which Joseph's brothers

cast him (Gen 37:22-29 [LXX]) or the "dungeon" in Egypt (Gen 40:15 [LXX]). The

same word is used in both instances; although, it is only used once to refer to the

Egyptian prison (the words δεσμωτήριον, "prison," and ὀχύρωμα, "fortress," are used

elsewhere to describe the jail in Genesis 39–41). If one understands v. 13b to refer to

Joseph's resolve to avoid adultery and follows the Genesis story chronologically, then the

term λάκκος most likely refers to the jail in Egypt.[115] Furthermore, the cola seem to be

synonymously parallel and the idea that Joseph was restrained with chains conforms

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[113] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 101; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 137. See also Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 636.

[114] Gregg (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 101), Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 636), and Vílchez Lindez (*Sabiduría*, 305) note the possible parallel with the verb in Dan 3:49 (LXX) where the angel of the Lord "goes down with" (συγκατέβη) the three men thrown into the fiery furnace. Also, there is a possible allusion to "facing death" here since the phrase καταβαίνειν εἰς λάκκον, "to go down into the pit" is a euphemism for descending to Sheol throughout the Psalms (e.g., Pss 27:1; 29:4; 87:5; 142:7, all in the LXX). Thus, Wisdom is with Joseph as he faces death but then saves him from the ordeal.

[115] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 167; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 101; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 137; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 636; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 218; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 305; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 353; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 140. However, if one accepts the Latin reading (*a peccatoribus*), then v. 14a could very well refer to the pit in which Joseph's brothers cast him. See Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 234. Furthermore, if one accepts this alternative reading, it is not impossible that the "chains" of v. 14b allude to Joseph's being sold into slavery. Although Schwenk-Bressler (*Sapientia Salomonis*, 87-88) initially claims that λάκκος could refer to both the cistern and the jail since Wisdom is with Joseph in both instances, he eventually admits that the latter is more probable because of the reference to "chains."

more to the environment of a prison than that of a well. Even though Genesis 39–40

does not explicitly mention Joseph's being chained, the common term for prison

(δεσμωτήριον) there would evoke the idea that Joseph was indeed confined by chains (ἐν

δεσμοῖς).[116] The claim that Wisdom "went down with him" and "did not abandon him"

most likely reflects Gen 39:21: "The Lord remained with Joseph; he showed him

kindness by making the chief jailer well-disposed toward him" (*NAB*).

Wisdom's presence with Joseph in prison represents something new in the OT.

Nowhere else in Scripture is Lady Wisdom depicted as being present with someone

during their imprisonment. It might even be assumed that Wisdom is the one who frees

Joseph from his confinement in shackles. If so, this passage constitutes a parallel with the

Egyptian goddess Isis who was especially known for her association with and salvation

of prisoners.[117] Examples of this connection include the Andros hymn 144-45: δεσμῶν

δ᾽ ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκαν ἀνλύω, "but hearing about the distress of prisoners, I release

(them)"; Isidorus's Hymn I. 29, which speaks about Isis saving ὅσσοι δ᾽ ἐμ μοίραις

θανάτου συνέχονται ἐν εἱρκτῆι, "as many as are bound fast in prison, in the power of

death"; and the Cyme hymn 48: Ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς λύωι, "I set free those in bonds."

Thus, in this verse, Pseudo-Solomon again presents Wisdom as a savior who is very

similar to Isis.

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[116] According to the story as narrated in Genesis 39–40, it seems that Joseph was not confined by chains and actually had "free reign" since he was a manager, so to speak, in the jail (cf. Gen 39:22-23). The imagery of confinement which leads to glory is also found in Sir 6:24-31. In this case, Ben Sira implores his pupils to take on Wisdom's chains so that they will one day gain honor and glory. Pseudo-Solomon may be alluding to something similar, in that Joseph's chains are in some sense his obedience to Wisdom, who never leaves his side.

[117] Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia," 71; Sinnott, *Personification*, 166-67.

The next four cola are very closely related. After Joseph's imprisonment,

Wisdom brings him σκῆπτρα βασιλείας, "scepter(s) of the kingdom."[118] Although the

word σκῆπτρα is in the plural, it is generally thought that this is merely a poetic

expression of majesty and should be translated in the singular.[119] The plural form of the

term occurs in Wis 6:21 and 7:8 but is specifically used in reference to Egyptian rule in

Ezek 30:18 (LXX) (i.e., τὰ σκῆπτρα Αἰγύπτου, "the scepter[s] of Egypt"). Gen 41:41-42

recounts Joseph receiving authority from Pharaoh as expressed in the latter's conferral of

his signet ring, robes of fine linen, and a golden necklace. No "scepter" is mentioned in

Genesis 41, but in Wis 10:14 this object symbolizes kingly authority in general.[120]

One implication of his receiving the "scepter of the kingdom" is that Joseph now

has ἐξουσίαν τυραννούντων αὐτοῦ, "authority over his oppressors." The word

τυραννούντων, "oppressors" (literally, "tyrants"), refers not only to Potiphar's wife but

also to Joseph's own brothers.[121] Because Joseph has authority in Egypt at the time of the

famine, and his brothers come to Egypt looking for provisions, he now has power over

those who once sold him into slavery (see Genesis 42–44). Pseudo-Solomon employs the

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[118] See a possible parallel in Medinet Madi Hymn III. 8-9: "scepter-bearing kings (σκαπτροφόροι βασιλεῖς) and those who are rulers, if they depend on you, rule until old age." Although Isis is seen as granting authority to kings, this is also a common attribute of Wisdom in OT sapiential texts (e.g., Prov 8:15-16).

[119] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 234; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 101; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 137; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 637.

[120] Although Joseph is not explicitly called a king, he is given virtually all kingly authority by Pharaoh, as Philo states in *Jos.* 119: "He [Pharaoh] then made him viceroy of the kingdom, or rather, if the truth be said, king . . . ." See Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 101; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 137.

[121] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 637. With a slight variation, Vílchez Lindez (*Sabiduría*, 306) and Schwenk-Bressler (*Sapientia Salomonis*, 88) claim that the "oppressors" are the Egyptians and Joseph's brothers.

same term in Wis 16:4 to refer to the wicked Egyptians who oppressed the righteous Israelites.

In addition to granting him power and authority, in v. 14 Wisdom ψευδεῖς . . . ἔδειξεν τοὺς μωμησαμένους, "proved false those who found fault," with Joseph. On the surface, this appears to refer to Potiphar's wife who falsely accuses Joseph of trying to seduce her (Gen 39:16-18).[122] While Joseph is released from prison in order to interpret Pharaoh's dream, it is interesting to note that nowhere in Genesis is Joseph vindicated for the false accusation that Potiphar's wife leveled against him. In addition to Potiphar's wife, I believe that those who found fault with Joseph were his brothers.[123] They ask accusatory questions (i.e., "Are you really going to make yourself king over us?" . . . "Or impose your rule on us?") and they hate him because Joseph tells them about his dreams which foretell that they would one day pay him homage (Gen 37:8, 11). Although falsely accused by his brothers, Joseph's dreams come true (see Gen 42:9: "He was reminded of the dreams he had about them . . ."), and he is vindicated in the end because he indeed has power over them.

In conjunction with this power and authority, Wisdom grants Joseph δόξαν αἰώνιον, "eternal glory." Goodrick and Reider claim that this everlasting glory is the

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[122] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 101; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 306; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 88. Enns (*Exodus Retold*, 31-32) claims that the plural μωμησαμένους refers to both Potiphar's wife and the female servants of his household. He cites Philo *Jos.* 51 as support for this claim: "For not content with taking merely the women who were his fellow-servants, so utterly lewd and lascivious has he shown himself, he has attempted to violate me by force, me his mistress." Even though this passage from Philo shows Joseph being accused of sexual impropriety with Potiphar's female servants, it is still only Potiphar's wife who accuses Joseph of such behavior. In my opinion, this tradition does not adequately account for the use of the plural by Pseudo-Solomon.

[123] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 167; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 234-35; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 638.

fame of being a savior to Egypt (Gen 41:53-57; 47:25-26), which is undoubtedly part of what Pseudo-Solomon had in mind.[124] The use of the word δόξα occurs in Gen 45:13 (LXX) when Joseph tells his brothers to return and tell Jacob about his "glory" or "high status" in Egypt.[125] However, in Wis 10:14f the glory that Wisdom gives Joseph is "eternal," in keeping with the theme of immortality that pervades the Wisdom of Solomon (e.g., Wis 1:15; 3:4; 4:1; 8:13, 17).[126] Also, the idea that Wisdom grants power, honor, and glory is a common theme in OT wisdom literature (e.g., Prov 3:16; 4:8-9; 8:18; Sir 4:13; 6:31).

The imagery of confinement that leads to glory in Wis 10:14 is also found in Sir 6:24-31. Here, Ben Sira implores his pupils to take on Wisdom's bonds (τοῖς δεσμοῖς αὐτῆς) so that they may one day gain honor and glory (expressed as στολὴν δόξης, "a robe of glory"). Pseudo-Solomon may be alluding to something similar in v. 14, in that Joseph's chains are in some sense a reflection of his obedience to Wisdom, who never leaves his side and eventually gives him authority, honor, and eternal glory.

Strophe V: Wisdom 10:15–11:1

15a She delivered a holy people and blameless offspring,

15b   from a nation of oppressors.

16a She entered the soul of the Lord's servant,

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[124] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 235; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 137.

[125] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 638; Engel, *Buch der Weisheit*, 175; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 89; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 356; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 140-41.

[126] Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 306.

16b   and withstood terrifying kings with wonders and signs.

17a She rendered to holy ones the wage for their labors,

17b   she led them on a wonderful way,

17c And she was a shelter for them during the day,

17d   and a starry flame during the night.

18a She transported them across the Red Sea,

18b   and led them through much water.

19a But their enemies she drowned,

19b   and from the depth of the abyss she cast them up.

20a Therefore, the righteous plundered the ungodly,

20b   and they sang, O Lord, your holy name,

20c   and your defending hand they praised together.

21a For Wisdom opened the mouth of the mute,

21b   and she made the tongues of infants speak clearly.

11:1a She prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet.

In Strophe V, Pseudo-Solomon presents Wisdom herself leading the Israelites out of Egypt. This is the only place in the OT where Lady Wisdom is linked to the Exodus from Egypt. Immediately following Wis 11:1, the topic shifts to the wilderness wanderings. At that point, the agent of salvation also changes from Wisdom to the Lord (cf. 11:4, where "you" refers to the Lord). The figure of Wisdom does not appear after 11:1, but based on the opening passage in Wisdom 10 it can be assumed that she assists

in the Lord's further acts of liberation, which are recounted in the rest of the book.[127]

The change of subject at the beginning of the reinterpretation of the Exodus events also

shows the close relationship between the Lord and Wisdom. Wisdom is an attribute of

God but remains distinct from him in some sense. Everything that Wisdom does, she does

because the Lord wills it. And conversely, all that the Lord does on earth occurs through

Wisdom.[128] Thus, Wisdom is the way God chooses to manifest himself to humanity.[129]

In Wis 10:15, Pseudo-Solomon begins his reinterpretation of the Exodus event.

From the very beginning, he sets up a dichotomy between the holy people of God (i.e.,

the Israelites) and their evil oppressors (i.e., the Egyptians). In the first colon, the terms

λαὸν ὅσιον, "holy people," and σπέρμα ἄμεμπτον, "blameless offspring," are *hapax*

legomena in the LXX. This unique choice of words shows that Pseudo-Solomon uses

familiar themes but expresses them in a way that is unique to his work. The phrase λαὸν

ὅσιον, "holy people," denotes the special character of Israel:[130] God has chosen them and

set them apart (made them holy) from other nations. As I have already mentioned, the

term ἄμεμπτος, "blameless," occurs two other times in the Wisdom of Solomon: in Wis

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[127] See Wis 9:7-8 where the incident at the Red Sea is retold. In this passage, Wisdom is not mentioned, but rather it is God himself who shelters his people by his hand and brings about their salvation.

[128] This is similar to the idea found elsewhere in the OT that God himself speaks and acts through his angels/messengers (e.g., Gen 18:1-2; 22:10-12).

[129] Chesnutt, "Covenant and Cosmos," 228 n. 24. Winston (*Wisdom*, 226) states, "Wisdom is in reality the Divine Mind, and therefore virtually synonymous with the Deity." He notes that, like Pseudo-Solomon, Philo also virtually identifies Wisdom with God (cf. *Sacr.* 98; *Migr.* 128).

[130] See also Wis 18:1, 9. For a similar expression, see *Jub.* 16:18; 22:12; 33:20. Hübner (*Weisheit*, 142) notes that God's plan to set Israel apart as a holy nation is reflected in Exod 19:6; Lev 19:2; Deut 7:6.

10:5 to refer to Abraham (cf. Gen 17:1)[131] and in Wis 18:21 to refer to Aaron (cf. Num 17:11-15). By employing this term to refer to Israel, Pseudo-Solomon creates a direct link with the ancient patriarch Abraham and also expresses the innocence of the Israelites vis-à-vis their captors. Pseudo-Solomon paints an ideal picture of Israel in order to encourage his fellow Jews to maintain their ancestral traditions. Obviously, there are many places in the Bible, especially in connection with the Exodus story, where Israel fails to follow Yhwh (e.g., Exod 32:1-35; Josh 24:14; Ezek 20:8; 23:3), and by no means is Israel entirely blameless.[132] But Pseudo-Solomon attempts to present Israel as an ideal example because it has been led by Wisdom; therefore, he overlooks its faults, as he does with other figures in chap. 10 (esp. Jacob).

In the first half of 10:16, there is an interesting description of Wisdom entering "the soul of the Lord's servant." Winston believes that this verse is related to Isa 63:11, where Yhwh puts his spirit in the midst of his people in the context of the Exodus from Egypt: אַיֵּה הַשָּׂם בְּקִרְבּוֹ אֶת־רוּחַ קָדְשׁוֹ, "Where is the one who put his holy spirit in their midst?"[133] Although the two passages may be related, the imagery in Wis 10:16 is slightly different from that of Isa 63:11 because in the latter verse the presence of Yhwh's spirit pervades his people as a whole, while in the former there is a more specific description of Wisdom entering the soul of the Lord's servant. Here, the Lord's servant

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[131] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 639; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 142.

[132] Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 137. See also Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 639-40.

[133] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 219. The translation of this verse in the LXX is similar: ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ θεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, "Where is the one who put the holy spirit among them?"

(θεράποντος κυρίου) is Moses, since he is also referred to by this title in Josh 9:2

(LXX).[134] Enns suggests that the reference to Wisdom entering Moses' soul signifies a

unique relationship between Moses and Wisdom because none of the other figures in

chap. 10 are described in this way.[135] In some sense, Moses seems to be possessed by

Wisdom. Enns associates this imagery with the account in Exodus 3–4 where Moses is

commissioned by Yhwh and becomes a changed man. He also considers it an allusion to

Exod 4:16 and 7:1 where Moses is "'elevated' to divine status."[136] Although it is true that

in chap. 10 this language is used only of Moses, similar language is used earlier in Wis

7:27b: καὶ κατὰ γενεὰς εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα / φίλους θεοῦ καὶ προφήτας

κατασκευάζει, "And passing into holy souls for generations / she establishes friends of

God and prophets." From this verse, one sees that Wisdom entered many souls

throughout history, producing God's friends and prophets in different eras. While Moses

may be the first and ideal "prophet" (cf. Wis 11:1; Deut 18:15-18; 34:10), he is certainly

not the first and only friend of God.

    In v. 16b, through her working of τέρασι καὶ σημείοις, "wonders and signs" (cf.

Wis 8:8, where the order is reversed), Wisdom withstands βασιλεῦσιν φοβεροῖς, "dread

kings," a phrase which is a *hapax* in the LXX, but has a counterpart in Wis 8:15 in which

"terrible rulers" (τύραννοι φρικτοί) fear Solomon because of his intimate association

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[134] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 167; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 235; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 102; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 640; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 307; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 94. For other verses in the LXX where Moses is referred to as God's θεράπων, "servant," see Exod 4:10; 14:31; Num 12:7-8; Deut 3:24; Josh 1:2. The same term is used also of Aaron in Wis 18:21.

[135] Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 45.

[136] Ibid.

with Wisdom. Winston understands the use of the plural "kings" here as an "allusive

plural" or "plural of majesty."[137] In this Greek grammatical construction, the plural is

used to refer to one individual, in this case to Pharaoh. Enns, however, is not so ready to

see an allusive plural in this verse. Rather, he notes that the plural "kings" is found

elsewhere in the context of the Exodus tradition, namely, in Ps 104:30 (LXX) and Sir

45:3.[138] These other occurrences may indicate an older interpretive tradition of referring

to Pharaoh in the plural, without connection to Greek grammar. In Ps 104:30, "their

kings" (βασιλέων αὐτῶν, the LXX's translation of מַלְכֵיהֶם in Ps 105:30 [MT]) most

likely refers to both Pharaoh and his court officials. Also, Ben Sira's grandson may have

been drawing on this psalm tradition when he made his Greek translation (βασιλέων, a

plural form) of the original Hebrew of Sir 45:3, which simply has the singular מלך.[139]

Another suggestion regarding the plural in 10:16 is that Pseudo-Solomon is referring to

other kings in addition to Pharaoh, namely, to Sihon and Og (cf. Num 21:21-35; Deut

2:24-3:11).[140] However, reference to these kings at this point would break the

chronological sequence of the passage. The encounter with Sihon and Og occurs when

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[137] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 219. See also Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 307.

[138] Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 48-52.

[139] The Hebrew text is from MS B of Sirach reproduced by Rudolf Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, hebräisch und deutsch* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906) 49.

[140] Goodrick (*Book of Wisdom*, 236) calls this interpretation "inadmissible." However Gregg (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 102) and Reider (*Book of Wisdom*, 138) note that Moses is portrayed as slaying "kings" in Pss 135:9-10; 136:17-18, which clearly refer to Sihon, Og, and others. Yet I would argue that in Wis 10:16 Moses does not "slay kings" as he does in the aforementioned psalms but merely "withstands" them with signs and wonders, something that would not readily apply to Sihon and Og but only to Pharaoh and the Egyptian population. See also Hübner, *Weisheit*, 143.

the Israelites are moving closer to the Promised Land, which is much later in the biblical narrative (cf. Num 21:21-35). Thus, the reference to "kings" most likely means Pharaoh and his court.

In v. 17a, Pseudo-Solomon reiterates the holiness of Israel mentioned in v. 15 by referring to God's people as ὁσίοις, "holy ones." The same term is used to refer to the righteous to whom God grants grace and mercy in Wis 3:9. Also, in this first part of v. 17, Pseudo-Solomon avers that Wisdom paid the Israelites a reward or wage for their labors in Egypt. The theme that the righteous will receive a just reward or wage is found throughout OT wisdom literature (e.g., Prov 11:21 [LXX]; Wis 2:22; Sir 51:30) and is intimately connected to the doctrine of retribution. The situation in v. 17a most likely alludes to Exod 11:2 and 12:35-36 (cf. also Ps 105:37), where the escaping Israelites despoil their Egyptian captors of silver and gold.[141] In 10:17a Pseudo-Solomon indicates that the Israelites deserved the gold and silver of the Egyptians because of the hard work they had done without pay. Winston believes that there was an anti-Jewish polemic in Hellenistic Egypt concerning the plundering of the Egyptians by the Israelites at the time of the Exodus.[142] Like other Jewish works from around this time (e.g., *Jub.* 48:18; Philo *Mos.* 1.141-42; Ezekiel the Tragedian *Exagoge* 162-66), Pseudo-Solomon attempts to

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[141] Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 138; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 641-42; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 220; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 307; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 98-99; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 143. Goodrick (*Book of Wisdom*, 236) believes that the reward is their salvation in general and that "the other interpretation is too worldly." Gregg (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 102-3) sees the "wage for their labors" as referring to both salvation and possessions.

[142] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 219-20. See also Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 53-55.

justify the action of the Israelites.[143] This defense of the Israelites would also make

sense in terms of Pseudo-Solomon's purpose of rescuing that part of Alexandria's Jewish

population that was drifting away from the "unsophisticated" OT traditions and towards

the "more sophisticated" Greek philosophies. A similar plundering event is mentioned

later in v. 20a.

Verse 17b recounts what happens after the Israelites plunder the Egyptians,

namely, that Wisdom leads (ὡδήγησεν, see also Wis 10:10) them ἐν ὁδῷ θαυμαστῇ, "on a

wonderful way." Goodrick and Reider claim that this phrase refers to the miraculous

events of the wilderness wanderings such as the quail and manna from heaven (Exod

16:4-15) and the water from the rock (Exod 17:1-7).[144] However, if chronology is to be

maintained in the passage, then the "wonderful way" must refer to the circuitous route

that the Israelites took to get out of Egypt (Exod 13:17-18)[145] and most likely includes the

Red Sea event since later in Wis 19:7-8, Pseudo-Solomon states: ἐξ ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης

ὁδὸς ἀνεμπόδιστος / καὶ χλοηφόρον πεδίον ἐκ κλύδωνος βιαίου / δι᾽ οὗ πανεθνεὶ

διῆλθον / οἱ τῇ σῇ σκεπαζόμενοι χειρὶ θεωρήσαντες θαυμαστὰ τέρατα, "From the Red

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[143] Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 322. Also, Reider (*Book of Wisdom*, 138), Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 642), and Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 220) mention the tradition of the Egyptian lawsuit against the Jews before Alexander the Great found in *b. Sanh.* 91a. In this tradition, the Egyptians demand back the silver and gold which the Jews had "borrowed" from them. The Jews respond by demanding payment for their slave labor in Egypt. For the text of this tradition, see David Strauss et al., eds., *The Talmud: The Steinsaltz Edition* (21 vols.; New York: Random House, 1999) 20. 96.

[144] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 236; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 138-39.

[145] Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 139; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 642; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 99-100. The path through the Red Sea is called μεγαλουργηθείσης ὁδοῦ, "a marvellously wrought path," by Philo in *Mos.* 2. 253. See Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 103. See also Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* 220-21 which refers to God's salvation of the Israelites at the Red Sea as follows: ἔπειτα θείων ἄρχεται τεραστίων / θαυμάστ᾽ ἰδέσθαι, "And thereupon commenced divine portents / full wondrous to behold!"

Sea an unimpeded road (emerged), / and a leafy plain from the mighty waves, / through

which the whole nation passed, / the ones sheltered by your hand who saw amazing

wonders."[146] Thus, Pseudo-Solomon uses the same adjective θαυμαστός, "wondrous,"

"amazing," in reference to both the Red Sea crossing and the "way" that the Israelites

took out of Egypt, thereby forming an intimate link between the two concepts.

In v. 17cd, Wisdom provides security for God's people by means of σκέπη,

"shelter," during the day and φλόγα ἄστρων, "flame of stars," or, "starry flame," during

the night. Although this concept is present in the Book of Exodus, this specific

terminology employed in the Wisdom of Solomon does not appear in Exodus's

description of the people's flight from Egypt. The phrase φλόγα ἄστρων is a variation on

the traditional fiery pillar (e.g., Exod 13:22) and is a *hapax* in the LXX.[147] James Reese

believes that this phrase alludes to the Hellenistic Isis myth, especially as expressed in

POxy. 1380.158-59: "at the risings of the stars (ἄστρων ἀνατολαῖς) the people of the

country worship thee unceasingly . . . ."[148] Although Isis's devotees worship her in the

evening, there is no direct identification of Isis with the stars in this passage from the

Oxyrhynchus hymn. Other more direct associations of Isis with astral imagery occur in

the aretalogy from Nyssa cited by Diodorus Siculus (*History* 1.27.4) and in the Cyme

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[146] See also Wis 19:5, which refers to the Exodus as παράδοξον ὁδοιπορίαν, "an incredible journey."

[147] A similar expression appears in Wis 17:5. In this instance, the expression is not related to the nocturnal protection of God's people during their escape from Egypt but rather refers to the absence of light during the plague of darkness. Thus, through this expression, a contrast seems to be made between God's protection of the Israelites and his punishment of the Egyptians. Enns (*Exodus Retold*, 65) also notes this contrast. Pseudo-Solomon alludes to the fiery pillar elsewhere in Wis 18:3.

[148] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 48. See also Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 62. For an assessment of the connections between Lady Wisdom and Isis, see Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 203-4.

hymn 9 where Isis is identified with the star Sirius in *Canus Major*.[149] In a similar vein,

Isis is also called φωτὸς καὶ φλεγμάτων κυρία, "Lady of light and flames," in *POxy*.

1380.248-49, thus affirming her power over all light-producing matter, which would

presumably include the stars. If there is indeed a connection in v. 17 between Wisdom

and Isis, the use of this terminology would be an example of Pseudo-Solomon's attempts

to Hellenize OT wisdom themes in order to appeal to his Hellenized Jewish audience.

Unlike the phrase φλόγα ἄστρων, which is unique in the OT, the word σκέπη is

found elsewhere in Ps 104:39 (LXX), where it is linked directly to the concept of the

pillar of cloud: διεπέτασεν νεφέλην εἰς σκέπην αὐτοῖς καὶ πῦρ τοῦ φωτίσαι αὐτοῖς τὴν

νύκτα, "He spread out a cloud as shelter for them and fire to shine on them at night."[150] In

the composition of his rhythmic prose account of the Exodus event, Pseudo-Solomon

most likely favored the poetic terminology of the psalm over the prosaic language in the

Book of Exodus. In Exod 13:21-22, Yhwh leads his people out of Egypt "by a pillar of

cloud" (ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης) during the day and "by a pillar of fire" (ἐν στύλῳ πυρός)

during the night (also cf. Num 10:34; 14:14; Ps 78:14; Neh 9:12, 19; Wis 18:3; 19:7).[151]

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[149] See the Andros hymn 139-40 and Cyme hymn 44, where Isis is associated with the rays of the sun, and the Cyrene hymn 16-17, where she displays her control over the stars by setting their courses long ago.

[150] A similar use of σκέπη appears in Isa 4:6 where Yahweh's protection of Mount Zion is described in terminology reminiscent of the Exodus event. See Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 643. See also Philo *Her.* 203, where the cloud is associated with "shelter and salvation" (σκεπαστήριον καὶ σωτήριον). See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 220-21. Pseudo-Solomon uses a cognate term in reference to the Red Sea crossing in Wis 19:8 (e.g., οἱ . . . σκεπαζόμενοι, "the ones who were protected") and mentions the overshadowing cloud in the previous verse (19:7). The same idea that the pillar of cloud offers protection is alluded to in Wis 18:3 where, though it is not explicitly mentioned, it seems to offer relief from the sun's heat during the emigration from Egypt.

[151] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 167; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 139; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 103; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 220. Exod 14:19 makes a connection between the angel of God and the pillar of cloud; both move to the rear of the people in order to protect them from Pharaoh's men. Because

Interestingly, in Sir 24:4, Wisdom claims that her throne is in a "pillar of cloud."[152]

Even though this passage is not directly related to the Exodus, it shows that an

association between Wisdom and the pillar of cloud (i.e., a manifestation of God's

presence)[153] existed by the second century B.C.

From the means by which Wisdom guides God's people, Pseudo-Solomon

proceeds to describe Wisdom leading the people to salvation through the Red Sea in v. 18

(cf. also Wis 19:7). The verb διαβιβάζω, "to transport," or, "to carry across," which

appears in v. 18a, is always used in the LXX with reference to the crossing of a body of

water (cf. the Jabbok in Gen 32:23 and the Jordan in Num 32:5, 30; Josh 7:7; 2 Sam

19:16, 19, 42).[154] The phrase ὕδωρ πολύ, "much water" (ὕδατος πολλοῦ, in the genitive at

the end of v. 18b), occurs many times in the LXX. However, in Ps 76:20 (LXX), it is

specifically used in connection with the Exodus event: ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἡ ὁδός σου / καὶ

αἱ τρίβοι σου ἐν ὕδασι πολλοῖς . . . , "In the sea was your way, / And your paths in many

waters . . . ." Elsewhere in the LXX, notably in the psalms, "many waters" symbolize a

time of distress and oppression (e.g., 2 Sam 22:17; Pss 17:17; 31:6; 143:7). In these

contexts, a supplicant prays to Yhwh for deliverance from overwhelming evil and

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of this simultaneous action, it is difficult to tell whether the angel and the cloud are distinct from each other. Later, Exod 14:24 explicitly states that Yhwh is in the "pillar of fire and of cloud," but this does not preclude the idea that he is represented by his angel. Even though the angel is never explicitly said to be in the cloud, there is a connection here between the two. The idea of Yhwh leading Israel out of Egypt by means of an angel is not far from the concept that Yhwh leads his people through the agency of Wisdom.

[152] Goodrick (*Book of Wisdom*, 237), Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 221), and Schwenk-Bressler (*Sapientia Salomonis*, 102) mention this passage from the Wisdom of Ben Sira.

[153] God manifests himself in the form of a pillar of cloud also in Exod 19:9; 33:9; Num 12:5; Deut 31:15; Ps 98:7 (LXX). See also the reference to an overshadowing cloud in Wis 19:7.

[154] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 644.

destruction. Thus, Pseudo-Solomon uses polyvalent psalmic terminology to recount

Wisdom both literally leading the people through the many waters of the Red Sea and

symbolically delivering them from the "many waters" of the oppression that they endured

in Egypt.

In 10:19, Pseudo-Solomon poetically describes the drowning of Pharaoh's men as

presented in Exod 14:26-28 (see also Wis 18:5). The word κατέκλυσεν, "she flooded,"

"she drowned," recalls the punishment of the wicked generation at the time of Noah in v.

4a.[155] In addition, some of the imagery of v. 19 is very close to that found in the Song of

Moses (Exod 15:1-18). Most notable is the description of Pharaoh's men in the depth

(βυθός) of the Red Sea in Exod 15:5, which also appears here in v. 19 (ἐκ βάθους, "from

the depth"). The word ἄβυσσος, "abyss," is used in reference to the Red Sea event

elsewhere in Ps 105:9 (LXX); Isa 51:10; 63:12-13.[156] The same word has connotations of

disorder and uncreation since it is used to describe the primordial disorder in Gen 1:2 and

the destructive waters associated with the Flood in Gen 7:11, 8:2. The form ἀνέβρασεν in

v. 19b comes from the verb ἀναβράσσω, which is a rare word in the LXX and difficult to

translate in the present context.[157] The verb is generally taken to mean "to seethe" or "to

boil," which in the present context denotes the incessant churning and bubbling of the

Red Sea's depths. In order to make sense of the verb in the present context, I have

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[155] Hübner, *Weisheit*, 144.

[156] Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 70 n. 72. The expression βάθει ἀβύσσων is found in Sir 24:5 where Wisdom traverses both the vault of heaven and the "deep abyss." This shows her presence in and control over the whole world. See also *Jub.* 48:14 where a similar expression is used in connection with the Red Sea event.

[157] The root occurs two other times in the LXX, in Nah 3:2 and Ezek 21:26 (v. 21 in the MT).

rendered ἀνέβραζεν as "she cast up." Through the use of this rare word, Pseudo-Solomon poetically and uniquely captures the event described in Exod 14:30, when the Israelites see the dead Egyptians strewn upon the shore of the Red Sea.[158]

It is interesting to note that Wisdom herself, not the sea, is the subject of the verb "to cast out," which highlights Lady Wisdom's intimate control over the waters. This same power over bodies of water is also attributed to Isis, who in the Cyme hymn says: Ἐγὼ ποταμῶν καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ θαλάσσης εἰμὶ κυρία, "I am the Lady of rivers, winds, and sea" (line 39), and Ἐγὼ πραΰνω καὶ κυμαίνω θάλασσαν, "I stir up and calm the sea" (line 43). Also, in the Oxyrhynchus hymn, Isis bears the titles πελάγους κυρείαν, "Lady of the seas" (lines 61-62), and θαλασσίων καὶ ποταμίων στομάτων κυρίαν, "Lady of the mouths of seas and rivers" (lines 122-23). Thus, there is yet another connection between Lady Wisdom and Isis here.

The pairing of the terms δίκαιοι, "the righteous," and ἀσεβεῖς, "the ungodly," in Wis 10:20 is characteristic of OT wisdom literature. The contrasting pair occurs over thirty times in the Book of Proverbs alone (23 times in Proverbs 10–13). Pseudo-Solomon uses the word pair two other times in 4:16 and 10:6. Therefore, this typical wisdom contrasting pair appears in chaps. 1–9 and again in chap. 10. Most striking in v. 20 is the claim Pseudo-Solomon makes; he identifies the Israelites with the righteous (cf. also Wis

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[158] Some ancient witnesses (e.g., La) and interpreters (e.g., Martin Luther) have seen v. 19b as referring to Wisdom casting forth the Israelites (rather than the Egyptians) from the abyss since they walked through the sea on dry land. However, I believe this interpretation does not fit the context, especially in light of the previous colon (v. 19a) where the Egyptians are drowned and the next verse (v. 20) wherein the Israelites plunder the dead Egyptians. This alternative reading is mentioned by Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 237; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 103; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 360. Also, a very similar verb (ἀποβράσσω) is used in Philo *Mos.* 2.255 to describe the "flinging" of Egyptian corpses upon the seashore. See Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 103; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 139; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 644; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 221.

11:14; 12:9; 16:17, 23; 18:20) and the Egyptians with the ungodly. For Pseudo-Solomon to make such a polemical claim must have been quite perilous, since he lived among both native and Greek Egyptians. His main reason for making these identifications was most likely to convince his fellow Jews to remain steadfast in the faith of righteousness and not to turn towards the godlessness and idolatry of Egypt enshrined in many Hellenistic philosophies and cults.

As in v. 17a, there is also a reference to the plundering of the Egyptians in v. 20a. In this case, however, it most likely refers to the stripping of goods from the dead Egyptians on the seashore.[159] According to the traditions cited by some ancient Jewish exegetes such as Demetrius the Chronographer (Fragment 5) and Josephus (*J.A.* 2.16.6 §349; 3.1.4 §18), this is how the Israelites obtained their weaponry after escaping from Egypt.[160] The verb σκυλεύω, "to plunder, to despoil," used here is the same word used in Exod 3:22 and 12:36, where the Israelites plunder the Egyptians before leaving Egypt. Therefore, in this verse, a direct connection is made with the Exodus tradition as recounted in the Book of Exodus. In addition, the singing of God's τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον, "holy name," reflects the celebration of the Israelites after crossing the Red Sea as described in Exodus 15.[161] Although these exact words are not found in Exodus, it is

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[159] Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 103; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 645; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 308; Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 70.

[160] Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 167; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 237; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 103; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 221; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 103-4; Hübner, *Weisheit*, 144. Concerning the authorship of Fragment 5, J. Hanson ("Demetrius the Chronographer," in *OTP* 2. 854) notes, "Although this F. [i.e., Fragment 5] is unattributed, it is consistent with what is otherwise known of Demetrius." The text is preserved in Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.29.16. For the Greek text, see Karl Mras, ed., *Eusebius Werke* (8/1; GCS; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954) 537-38.

[161] Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 645; Schwenk-Bressler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 104.

clear that the Song of Moses is sung τῷ κυρίῳ, "to the Lord" (Exod 15:1). The name

Yhwh appears ten times in the MT of the Song of Moses. Also, Skehan notes a

connection between the language in v. 20b and Ps 104:3 (LXX): ἐπαινεῖσθε ἐν τῷ

ὀνόματι τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ, "Glory in his holy name . . . ."[162] The concept of "singing God's

name" is found elsewhere in Isa 12:5; 25:1 and in Sinaiticus of Tob 12:6. A similar

description of the Israelites praising the Lord occurs in Wis 19:9. From Wis 10:20 and

19:9, one sees that there is a fine line between the saving actions of Wisdom and those of

God. As noted earlier, the actions of the Lord and Wisdom are intimately connected

because the Lord acts through Wisdom. Along with singing God's name, in the parallel

colon the Israelites praise his ὑπέρμαχον . . . χεῖρα, "defending hand," another *hapax*

phrase in the LXX.[163] This is undoubtedly Pseudo-Solomon's unique equivalent to

Yhwh's "mighty hand and outstretched arm" so prevalent in the Exodus tradition of

Deuteronomy (e.g., Deut 4:34; 5:15; 6:21; 7:8, 19). The phrase may also allude to the

vivid imagery of the Lord's "right hand" destroying Israel's enemies (i.e., Pharaoh's

men) in Exod 15:6, 12. Also, the image of the Israelites praising God ὁμοθυμαδόν,

"together," emphasizes the unity of the Israelites in their righteousness (cf. also Wis

18:9), which is a contrast to the unity (ὁμόνοια) of the wicked at Babel in Wis 10:5a and

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[162] Patrick W. Skehan, "Borrowings from the Psalms," 390.

[163] The word ὑπέρμαχος recurs in Wis 16:17 where ὁ κόσμος, "the world," is described as the "defender" of God's people. In 2 Macc 8:36; 14:34 the same word is applied to God, who is defender of his people. The phrase ἡ ὑπέρμαχος χείρ appears in Philo *Somn*. 2. 280 in the context of the Exodus from Egypt. See Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 646; Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 361.

also to the unity of Pharaoh's men whom God "destroys all together in violent water"

(ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀπώλεσας ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῷ) in Wis 18:5.[164]

Verse 21 continues the description of the Israelites singing in response to their

salvation at the Red Sea. In the first half of this verse, Wisdom opens the mouths of the

mute, presumably to join in the praise of Yhwh at the Red Sea. Winston suggests that v.

21a alludes to Exod 4:10 where Moses adduces his lack of eloquence.[165] However, in

response to Winston's claim, Enns states, "The entire episode of Moses' speech difficulty

is, in fact, irrelevant to the identity of the 'dumb singers' in 10:21a."[166] I agree with

Enns's objection; the issue of Moses' inability to speak well fits neither the context of the

salvation at the Red Sea nor the wondrous reversal of muteness. Scholars have also

looked to Isa 35:6 in order to shed some light on this passage: "Then will the lame leap

like a stag, / then the tongue of the dumb will sing" (NAB).[167] Although this Isaian

passage is set in a wilderness context and involves the singing of individuals once mute,

there is no direct correlation with the Red Sea event. Nonetheless, Pseudo-Solomon

probably had Isa 35:6 in mind when he composed this colon because there the mute do

not just talk but are explicitly said to sing, as they do in Wis 10:21. Enns offers another

suggestion for understanding the situation in v. 21a. He claims that the opening of the

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[164] Philo *Mos.* 2. 256-57 recounts that Moses divided the people into male and female choirs which were harmoniously unified in their singing to God. Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 104; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 139; Larcher, *Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 646-47.

[165] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 222. See also Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, 168; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 238; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 104; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 139.

[166] Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 83.

[167] Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 238; Gregg, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 104; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 139; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 223.

mouth of the dumb may refer to the reversal of the command made by Moses in Exod

14:14, when he tells the Israelites to "be silent."[168] This is a possible interpretation;

however, I believe that the healing of the mute is best explained as a wondrous event that

parallels the talking of the infants in v. 21b. At this moment, all of Israel, including both

mute adults and babbling infants, are able to praise the Lord for the salvation at the Red

Sea. Nowhere else in the OT are healing and wonderworking associated with personified

Wisdom. These wondrous deeds are another link between Lady Wisdom and Isis, who

was known to possess healing and wonderworking powers.[169]

The tradition of infants singing at the sea in v. 21b is not found in OT accounts of

the Red Sea crossing but is rather an early Jewish tradition reflected in targumic and

rabbinic interpretations of the Exodus event.[170] In *Exod. Rab.* 23.8 there is a tradition that

the infants whom Pharaoh had ordered to be killed sang praises to God at the Red Sea,[171]

while in another tradition found in *Tg. Ps.-J.* Exod 15:2, suckling babies point to and

praise God after the Red Sea event.[172] Although Pseudo-Solomon was not influenced

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[168] Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 84-88.

[169] See Isidorus's Hymn I. 4-5: "Manifold miracles were Your care . . . ."; Hymn II. 7-8, "all who are bound in mortal illnesses in the grip of death, / if they (but) pray to you, quickly attain your (renewal of) Life"; Hymn III. 36, "healer of all ills."

[170] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 222-23; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 308-9; Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 88-89. Deane (*Book of Wisdom*, 168), Larcher (*Livre de la Sagesse*, 2. 647), Schwenk-Bressler (*Sapientia Salomonis*, 106), and Scarpat (*Libro della Sapienza*, 2. 362) note a possible allusion to Ps 8:3: "Out of the mouths of babes and infants you have drawn a defense against your foes . . ." (*NAB*).

[171] S. M. Lehrman, trans., *Midrash Rabbah: Exodus* (London/Bournemouth: Soncino, 1951) 286. See Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 88-89.

[172] Michael Maher, trans., "Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Exodus," in *Targum Neofiti 1: Exodus, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Exodus* (trans. Martin McNamara, Robert Hayward, and Michael Maher; The Aramaic Bible 2; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1987) 203. See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 223; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 308-9; Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 88-89.

directly by these later texts, the possibility exists that during his time a tradition was in circulation that infants were miraculously able to speak at the Red Sea.

As I have mentioned in Chapter Three of this dissertation, there are two ways to understand the verb εὐόδωσεν in Wis 11:1, either transitively (i.e., "She prospered [their works]"; cf., e.g., Gen 24:40; Sir 15:10) or intransitively (i.e., "They [their works] prospered"; cf., e.g., Jer 12:1; 2 Chr 18:14).[173] One's reading of this verb inevitably affects one's judgment about whether or not the verse belongs together with chap. 10. I believe that the verb in Wis 11:1 should be read transitively and therefore that the verse concludes the example list in chap. 10. Thus, I render the verse: "She prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet." The verb εὐοδόω, "to prosper," recalls Wisdom's granting the Israelites a wage for their labors in v. 17a and assisting their ancestor Jacob in a similar way in v. 10ef. Thus, there is a verbal link between Jacob and Israel here. The phrase προφήτου ἁγίου, "of a holy prophet," refers to Moses (cf. Deut 18:15, 18; 34:10; Hos 12:14), and allusions to him both here and in v. 16a may form a weak inclusion in this final strophe of the composition.[174]

Conclusion

In Wisdom 10, Pseudo-Solomon presents a list of positive and negative examples derived from the Books of Genesis and Exodus that are bound together by chronological

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[173] For the examples of both transitive and intransitive uses of εὐοδόω, see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 226. Winston (ibid.) opts for an intransitive reading (following Reese) and states that Wright's objection "does not seem . . . to carry much weight." Gregg (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 104) reads the verb transitively, citing Gen 39:23 (LXX) to support his claim: ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐποίει κύριος εὐώδου ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, ". . . whatever he did, the Lord prospered [him] by his hands."

[174] See Hübner, *Weisheit*, 145.

sequence and the saving actions of Lady Wisdom. The biblical examples are supplemented by extrabiblical traditions, some of which are attested in documents extant in and around Pseudo-Solomon's time but also by other traditions (such as the reason for the Flood given in 10:4) which do not appear elsewhere. In addition to the modification of biblical figures and events recounted in the Pentateuch, the figure of Lady Wisdom is depicted in ways slightly distinctive vis-à-vis OT wisdom literature and which are strikingly reminiscent of Hellenistic portrayals of the Egyptian goddess Isis.

Pseudo-Solomon employs the biblical figures that he has selected and the Isis-like recasting of Lady Wisdom to respond to Hellenistic challenges faced by his fellow Alexandrian Jews. He evokes positive biblical characters to whom his audience could relate: Abraham who remained blameless despite his affection for Isaac; Jacob who represents the wealth and strength of Israel as a nation; and Joseph and the Israelites under Moses who endured hardships in Egypt but were eventually vindicated. The negative examples could also be seen as relevant for his audience's situation: Cain and Esau are remembered for the anger against their brothers; Lot's wife is remembered for her lack of faith; the wicked oppressors of Joseph and the Israelites were Egyptians.

In addition, the depiction of Lady Wisdom as a figure similar to Isis may have been Pseudo-Solomon's way of showing his fellow Jews that there was no need to follow the Hellenistic pagan goddess. In Lady Wisdom, Judaism had its own Isis-like figure who was more powerful but, more importantly, consistent with belief in the one true God. Although many of the attributes given to Wisdom in chap. 10 are found in OT wisdom literature (e.g., granting authority, honor, wealth to the righteous), there are some

characteristics that are new and similar to those of Isis. For example, Pseudo-Solomon portrays Wisdom as a savior who is connected with seafaring, is present with those in bondage, is associated with astral imagery, and works wonders among the righteous.

Finally, in Wisdom 10, Pseudo-Solomon uses a storyline drawn from the Books of Genesis and Exodus while employing vocabulary found throughout the LXX. When he is not using his own innovative terminology to describe these well-known events, Pseudo-Solomon tends to borrow language from the Psalms and OT wisdom literature (esp. Proverbs and Sirach). This borrowing from Psalms and OT wisdom literature makes sense because he is writing a poetic-like version of the Pentateuchal narrative and amplifying the corpus of Jewish wisdom. The sevenfold contrast between the righteous and the wicked and the dominant theme of personified Wisdom in chap. 10 show that Pseudo-Solomon uses language and imagery from OT wisdom literature. However, he is innovative in this regard because he sets Lady Wisdom within Israel's salvation history and equates the "righteous" and "wicked" with specific individuals and groups in early Israelite history. Thus, in Wisdom 10, one perceives how Pseudo-Solomon ingeniously fuses OT Wisdom tradition and the events of Israel's salvation history in order to preserve the faith of his fellow Jews in time of crisis.

Chapter Six

Hermeneutical Method

In the last century, scholars have conducted many important studies that consider *what* Pseudo-Solomon says and to *what* biblical and extrabiblical traditions he refers. However, very little research has been conducted to evaluate precisely *how* the author interprets passages from Scripture and *how* the extrabiblical traditions supplement his interpretation, that is, to identify the hermeneutical method he employs in various parts of the book. It is not surprising to find, then, that no such thorough hermeneutical analysis has been undertaken regarding Wisdom 10 specifically. Having investigated the contents of chap. 10 and considered its socio-historical application in Chapter Five above, I shall now use my findings there to assess Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method in Wisdom 10:1–11:1. In other words, I shall analyze at this point the way in which the author interprets Scripture in chap. 10. I shall begin this interpretive evaluation by establishing guidelines or principles for analysis that not only will assist in clarifying the interpretive method used in chap. 10 but will also provide concrete points for comparison. In order to gain a greater understanding of the hermeneutical method in chap. 10, it will be helpful to compare the mode of interpretation found therein with that of other parts of the book (i.e., Wis 1:1–6:21, 6:22–9:18, and 11:2–19:22). Also, a close comparison of the interpretive techniques in Wis 10:15–11:1 and Wis 18:3, 5; 19:1-9 will be especially enlightening since these passages treat the same subject matter.

Principles for Evaluating Hermeneutical Method

Before I present my basic principles for evaluating Pseudo-Solomon's

hermeneutical method, there are two preliminary matters to consider. First, in order to

determine *how* an author interprets a text, one must begin by identifying *what* text the

author is interpreting and in *what* way the author is referring to it: whether by direct

quotation, implicit citiation, or general allusion.[1] In regard to Wisdom 10, I have already

considered much of this information in Chapter Five above. Second, one should be aware

of an author's use of primary and secondary passages and traditions. A primary passage

is one that shapes the overall argument or content of the piece (i.e., an entire work or a

section of a work), while a secondary passage or tradition is one that is used to embellish

or reinterpret the content of the primary passage. This distinction between primary and

secondary passages and traditions is essential for evaluating interpretation in the Wisdom

of Solomon.

Four major aspects to be considered in evaluating an author's mode of scriptural

interpretation are: (1) vocabulary and imagery, (2) selection of details, (3) arrangement,

and (4) application. Although I realize that this list may not be exhaustive, it is a starting

point in gaining a fuller understanding of Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical techniques. It

is important not to focus only on one or two of these aspects but, to the extent possible, to

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[1] Silvana Manfredi, "The Trial of the Righteous in Wis 5:1-14 (1-7) and in the Prophetic Traditions," in *The Book of Wisdom in Modern Research: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. Angelo Passaro and Giuseppe Bellia; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2005; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005) 162-63. Manfredi (ibid., 162) defines "implicit citation" as "the non-literal presence of one text in another by means of the organized repetition of multiple lexicographic elements that are significant in form and content, even if partial, and such as are represented, reorganized and rethematised in another way." On the same page, she perceives "allusion" as "effected by the sharing of a single hinge-word between the two texts of the sharing of a concept by means of synonyms, paraphrases or other elements of reference to an event described in a preceding text."

consider all four simultaneously in order to attain a more comprehensive picture of the author's interpretive method.

First, one must be attuned to the author's use of vocabulary and imagery. In addition to employing vocabulary and imagery from a primary passage, the author may also use terms and images from secondary passages or traditions. Not only must one consider where the words and images most likely come from but also the impact of these upon the author's interpretation, namely, how does the author's use of vocabulary and imagery give new meaning to the passage that is referred to and what does it imply about his interpretive methodology?

Second, one must consider the significance of the author's selection of material from the passage he is reinterpreting. What parts of the passage or story does the author choose to tell and what message does he extract from them? It is also important to determine if and how the selected elements influence the retelling of the story when other elements/episodes of the same story are left aside. Another aspect of this guiding principle is to consider what extrabiblical elements the author adds to the story and how they affect his interpretation.

Concerning this last point, Enns asserts that ". . . many of Pseudo-Solomon's statements about the Bible are valuable witnesses not so much to how he himself 'handled' Scripture, i.e., to his own exegetical method, but to exegetical traditions that must have been current in his day and which influence his *understanding* of Scripture."[2] To some degree, I agree with Enns's statement. There were many extrabiblical traditions in Pseudo-Solomon's day that would have been familiar both to him and to his audience

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[2] Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 35.

and that he uses to shape his scriptural reinterpretation. However, there is no way of knowing for certain how much Pseudo-Solomon drew from outside sources or traditions and to what extent the insights and embellishments present in his work are his own. Indeed, Pseudo-Solomon probably integrated popular interpretations of Scripture with his own personal perspectives, as any skillful biblical commentator would do. Furthermore, since there are always questions of priority and interdependence to be considered, as well as the possibility of ancient texts that have yet to be discovered, any attempt to distinguish accurately borrowed traditions from those originating from Pseudo-Solomon himself would not only be futile but also unnecessary for the present study. Thus, while the actual extrabiblical traditions may be borrowed, the way in which Pseudo-Solomon employs them reflects an aspect of his creative interpretive technique.

Third, one must consider the way in which the author arranges the biblical material to which he refers and how this arrangement affects his interpretation. This feature of arrangement may be influenced by the genre and form that the author adopts in presenting his reinterpretation, insofar as the constraints posed by that genre may dictate why the author selects certain details and how he arranges the material that he uses.

Fourth, one must consider the application of the biblical text. One of the main goals of biblical interpretation in the past (and which remains today in many cases) was to determine how the sacred text applies to the author's and audience's current situation.[3] Thus, the historical circumstances and the specific audience have an impact on the way

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[3] See James L. Kugel and Rowan A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (LEC 3; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986) 38.

that the author interprets Scripture since the author may tailor his composition in light of cultural influences and the context of those he is addressing.

Evaluation of the Hermeneutical Method in Wisdom 10

In order to evaluate Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method in Wisdom 10, I shall consider his use of vocabulary and imagery in addition to his selection, arrangement, and application of the materials incorporated therein. Although I have already noted much of this data in the previous chapter of this dissertation, a recapitulation of these aspects will help assess Pseudo-Solomon's mode of biblical interpretation according to the guidelines that I have enumerated above. The resulting summary and assessment will also facilitate the comparison of the hermeneutical method used by Pseudo-Solomon in chap. 10 with other sections in the Wisdom of Solomon.

The general story line or primary text presented in Wisdom 10 derives from the narratives concerning key figures in the Books of Genesis and Exodus. In chap. 10, Pseudo-Solomon does not explicitly quote full passages from the biblical text, and only occasionally does he use implicit citation (invoking terminological points of contact) from the Pentateuch (primary passages) and other parts of the OT (secondary passages). Instead, he mostly employs general allusion to refer to the stories in the Books of Genesis and Exodus which he supplements with extrabiblical elements and his own creative phraseology.

Vocabulary and Imagery in Wisdom 10

While much of Pseudo-Solomon's vocabulary and imagery in chap. 10 are non-biblical (as I have already noted in Chapter Five above), some of the references to the biblical stories do exhibit implicit citation of Scripture. I shall summarize here the vocabulary that Pseudo-Solomon derives from the Bible and also other terminology of his day that was linked to the retelling of specific biblical stories. The ideas and terms in Wisdom 10 that derive directly from the texts of Genesis and Exodus (in the LXX) and thereby denote implicit citation of the biblical text include the following ten examples: (1) Noah is called δίκαιος, "righteous," in Wis 10:4 and Gen 6:9; (2) Abraham is called and commanded to be ἄμεμπτος, "blameless," in Wis 10:5 and Gen 17:1; (3) the inhabitants of Sodom are ἀσεβεῖς, "ungodly," in Wis 10:6 and Gen 18:23, 25; (4) Sodom is destroyed by πῦρ, "fire," in Wis 10:6 and Gen 19:24; (5) Lot's wife is transformed into a στήλη ἁλός, "pillar of salt," in Wis 10:7 and Gen 19:26; (6) Joseph is imprisoned in a λάκκος, "pit," in Wis 10:14 and Gen 40:15; (7) Joseph gains δόξα, "glory," in Wis 10:14 and Gen 45:13; (8) God performs σημεῖα, "signs," and τέρατα, "wonders," in Egypt in Wis 10:16 (albeit, listed in reverse order) and Exod 7:3; 11:9, 10; (9) the Israelites cross the θάλασσα ἐρυθρά, "Red Sea," in Wis 10:18 and Exod 15:22; and (10) the Israelites ἐσκύλευσαν, "plundered," the Egyptians in Wis 10:20 and Exod 12:36. Also, there are instances in which the vocabulary is not directly drawn from the biblical text but rather is reminiscent of phraseology found therein. For instance (1) the word πρωτόπλαστον, "first-formed," in Wis 10:1 is related to ἔπλασεν, "he formed," in Gen 2:7, and (2) μόνον κτισθέντα, "created alone," in Wis 10:1 is probably related to Gen 2:18: "It is not good

for the man to be alone (μόνον)." Three terms in Wisdom 10 that are not found in the rest

of the LXX but were current in Pseudo-Solomon's day and were used occasionally by

contemporary authors when referring to the biblical stories of Genesis and Exodus

include (1) πρωτόπλαστος, "first-formed," to refer to Adam in Wis 10:1 and Philo *Q.E.*

2.46; (2) ἀδελφοκτόνος, "fratricidal," to qualify Cain in Wis 10:3 and Philo *Cher.* 52; *Fug.*

60; *Praem.* 69, 72, 74; and (3) Πεντάπολις, "Pentapolis," to designate the cities of the

Plain destroyed at the time of Lot in Wis 10:6 and Philo *Abr.* 147, 165, 229. Pseudo-

Solomon also uses terms from the Bible outside the context of the Genesis and Exodus

stories (what I call "secondary" biblical texts) and includes them as part of his

interpretation. For instance, the expression δίκαιον ὡδήγησεν ἐν τρίβοις εὐθείαις, "she

guided the righteous one on straight paths," in Wis 10:10 is similar to wording in Ps

26:11 (LXX): ὁδήγησόν με ἐν τρίβῳ εὐθείᾳ, "guide me on a straight path"; and the

phrase γνῶσιν ἁγίων, "knowledge of holy things," in Wis 10:10 occurs in Prov 30:3. In

addition, the author employs vocabulary found in biblical texts outside of the Pentateuch

that retell or allude to the stories and figures from Genesis and Exodus. Examples

include: (1) the use of θεράπων κυρίου, "the Lord's servant," to refer to Moses in Wis

10:16 and Josh 9:2; (2) the plural of βασιλεύς, "king," to refer to Pharaoh and his court in

Wis 10:16 and Ps 104:30 (LXX); Sir 45:3; (3) σκέπη, "shelter," to refer to the protective

cloud in Wis 10:17 and Ps 104:39 (LXX); (4) ὕδωρ πολύ, "much water," to refer to the

Red Sea crossing in Wis 10:18 and Ps 76:20 (LXX); and (5) ἄβυσσος, "abyss," to

designate the depth of the Red Sea in Wis 10:19 and Ps 105:9 (LXX); Isa 51:10; 63:12-

13.

In addition to the biblical and biblically related terminology and imagery, one finds imagery that Pseudo-Solomon borrows from the surrounding Hellenistic culture. Most notably, a considerable amount of the imagery about Lady Wisdom in chap. 10 is not found in the OT but is closely related to the depiction of the Egyptian goddess Isis in the Greco-Roman era. Examples of this imagery include Wisdom described as (1) a savior throughout chap. 10, (2) guiding those at sea in Wis 10:4 (where there is an explicit use of the term κυβερνήσασα), (3) having power over bodies of water in Wis 10:19, (4) assisting prisoners in Wis 10:14, (5) being associated with celestial bodies in Wis 10:17, and (6) possessing wonderworking powers in Wis 10:21.

Pseudo-Solomon's use of vocabulary and imagery in chap. 10 reveals three important points about his understanding of Scripture and the way in which he interprets it. First, through the use of implicit citations of Genesis and Exodus texts, Pseudo-Solomon indicates that the wording of the sacred text is important to him. Second, by retelling the stories of Genesis and Exodus using terms from other parts of Scripture (e.g., the Psalms, Prophets [esp. Isaiah], and Wisdom Literature [esp. Proverbs, Sirach]), he demonstrates that these other biblical books are both authoritative and interconnected. In other words, according to Pseudo-Solomon, other parts of the Bible may be used to explain and interpret passages from the Pentateuchal narratives. They help shed new light on the older ancestral stories. Third, by using extrabiblical terms and imagery from Hellenistic culture, Pseudo-Solomon makes clear the importance and validity of integrating appropriate elements of the surrounding culture in order to explain the scriptural text and make it relevant for the Jews of his day.

Selection of Details in Wisdom 10

Many of the selections, omissions, and additions that Pseudo-Solomon makes in chap. 10 are at the service of his present purpose, which is to praise Lady Wisdom. Thus, the way that he interprets the OT in chap. 10 is heavily influenced by the chapter's genre and form—a *Beispielreihe* that illustrates Lady Wisdom's saving role in early Israelite history via alternating positive and negative examples. He chooses elements of the stories that support this overarching purpose that are dictated by the chosen genre and leaves out others that do not. In particular, there are three major issues concerning selections, omissions, and additions in chap. 10 to be noted: (1) the examples from early Israelite history are "absolutized" or "idealized" figures; (2) Lady Wisdom is the savior of righteous individuals and is worthy to be praised; and (3) the examples speak to the situation of the Alexandrian Jews in Pseudo-Solomon's time. This final point is also closely related to the hermeneutical element of "application." Thus, I shall treat the first two points immediately below and leave the last point until I discuss Pseudo-Solomon's application of the biblical text to his own time.

Pseudo-Solomon absolutizes the figures in chap. 10, that is, he presents the positive examples in chap. 10 as wholly righteous and the negative examples as entirely wicked. Anyone who is familiar with the narratives from Genesis and Exodus is aware that the Pentateuch rarely presents Israel's heroes in such black-and-white terms. Even some of its traditional "villains" are occasionally portrayed as behaving meritoriously. Thus, Pseudo-Solomon had to be selective in his retelling in order to make the heroes more righteous and the villains more evil. As a result, the author often omits or adds elements to the stories with the objective of idealizing the figures. Some examples of

omission in chap. 10 include (1) Adam's punishment in Gen 3:17-19 for disobeying God;

(2) Cain's special protection in Gen 4:13-15 after his sin; (3) Lot's refusal to flee to the

hills in Gen 19:18-20; (4) Lot's drunken incest with his daughters in Gen 19:30-38; (5)

Jacob's trickery in Gen 25:29-34; 27:1-45; 30:25-43; 31:20-21; (6) Moses' reluctance to

accept his mission in Exod 3:10-17; and (7) the complaints of the Israelites at the Red Sea

in Exod 14:11-12. Conversely, there are also elements that Pseudo-Solomon uses to

supplement the biblical depiction of his wholly righteous and wicked figures, these

include (1) Cain's anger in Wis 10:3; (2) Cain as a cause for the Flood in v. 4; (3) the

unripe fruit that is a testimony of Sodom's wickedness in v. 7; (4) the "unbelief" of Lot's

wife in v. 7; (5) an explanation of the memorial of Sodom's wickedness in v. 8; and (6)

the Israelites' plundering of the Egyptians as reimbursement for their labors in v. 17.

These omissions and additions contribute to the idealized picture of the righteous and

wicked figures in chap. 10.

Just as Pseudo-Solomon occasionally leaves out scriptural details and adds others

to enhance the desired qualities of his examples, he does the same so as to emphasize the

saving activity of Lady Wisdom and her praiseworthiness. A major omission that draws

attention to Lady Wisdom is the general lack of proper names in chap. 10. The only

names that appear in this chapter are geographical (e.g., the Pentapolis in v. 6 and the Red

Sea in v. 18). Since his focus is on Wisdom and the way she rescued righteous

individuals, the personal names of the figures are not important, and therefore he omits

them. What Pseudo-Solomon considers important is that the biblical heroes were wholly

righteous and Wisdom acted on their behalf. Another omission that subserves this

objective is the absence of Eve in Wis 10:1-2. This absence of the first woman from the

retelling of Genesis 1–3 seems to stress the idea that Lady Wisdom and not Eve is the true "suitable partner" for Adam since Wisdom delivered him from his sin and made him strong, while Eve did the opposite. Some additions that emphasize Lady Wisdom's powers include: (1) her involvement in rescuing all seven righteous biblical figures in chap. 10; (2) the fragility of the ark in v. 4, which she steers through the mighty waters of the Flood; and (3) her wondrous dealings with the mute and infants in v. 21.

Of the omissions and additions that support the author's main objectives in chap. 10, there is one omission that I find quite odd: none of the OT covenants are mentioned in Wisdom 10.[4] The lack of the Sinai covenant in chap. 10 is easily explained since in Wis 11:1 Pseudo-Solomon has not yet reached that point in the story (although it is alluded to later when the "law" is mentioned in Wis 18:4). However, it is surprising that the covenants with Noah (Gen 9:8-17) and Abraham (Gen 17:1-22) do not appear. Surely, these two covenants were signs and promises of God's salvation and protection that could have been portrayed as mediated by Wisdom. Perhaps the lack of mentioning these covenants serves to import a more universalistic flavor, which is a known characteristic of most OT wisdom literature, to Pseudo-Solomon's presentation. The aforementioned lack of personal names further contributes to this universalizing effect. The figures in chap. 10 are presented as types of righteousness that can be emulated by all peoples. Nonetheless, one cannot deny that Pseudo-Solomon draws his examples of righteousness specifically from the Bible rather than from extrabiblical Hellenistic sources. He is still trying to appeal to a Jewish audience and nationalistic tendencies are evident in his work. In his non-mention of the Genesis covenants and biblical names, Pseudo-Solomon may

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[4] See Wis 12:21 and 18:22 for covenantal references in other parts of the Wisdom of Solomon.

be trying to maintain a fine balance between the two extremes of universalism and particularism.

The aforementioned selections, omissions, and additions reveal three main aspects of Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method. First, Pseudo-Solomon believes that idealization or absolutizing of biblical figures is permissible in order to instruct and encourage individuals in the faith. In chap. 10 Pseudo-Solomon does not grapple with difficulties in the biblical text. This does not necessarily mean that Pseudo-Solomon is unaware of the difficulties in the text or that he ignores them in all circumstances, but rather that the occasional questionable behavior of certain biblical heroes does not fit his present objective, which is to encourage the pursuit of righteousness and wisdom via adherence to the Jewish faith in an age of uncertainty and doubt. Because of this didactic and exhortative objective, there must be no doubt about the true character of his positive and negative examples. Second, the sage's quest for wisdom, which ultimately finds expression in OT wisdom literature, is not only compatible with but also intimately connected to events of the past, which are enshrined in the Pentateuchal narratives. Wisdom is not found only in God's creation, as emphasized throughout OT sapiential texts, but is also located in history—and if in history, then in one's present circumstances as well. Third, Pseudo-Solomon freely mingles biblical and extrabiblical material and presumably perceives both as legitimate parts of the story that he relates. It is clear that for Pseudo-Solomon the text of the Pentateuch does not provide all details about significant events in early salvation history. There are, rather, extrabiblical traditions that supplement and enrich the biblical material. He regards these extrabiblical traditions as legitimate and not extraneous to his retelling of the biblical story. This finding suggests

further that for Pseudo-Solomon the biblical text was not necessarily fixed but could be supplemented and embellished in order to yield more meaning from the treasured events of the past.

Arrangement of Material in Wisdom 10

Concerning the arrangement of material in chap. 10, there are two features that stand out: (1) Pseudo-Solomon arranges the figures in chap. 10 chronologically as they appear in the OT, and (2) he alternates between positive and negative examples. Further clarification of the first point is necessary. The events associated with each individual or group is presented chronologically within the life of that figure or group. However, the events themselves do not necessarily appear in a strict chronological order throughout all of chap. 10. For example, the near sacrifice of Isaac which occurs in Genesis 22 is recounted in the section about Abraham. Yet it appears before Lot's flight from the Pentapolis which occurs in Genesis 19 because in the biblical text Lot is mentioned after Abraham (cf. Gen 11:31–12:5), and his story is a subplot in the narrative of the great patriarch. In the case of chap. 10, the arrangement of materials does not reveal much about Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method per se. Perhaps the most that one can deduce from his arrangement of materials is that the author favors an orderly and balanced retelling of the biblical narrative in chap. 10, thus reflecting the order and balance associated with the pursuit of Wisdom in sapiential texts.

Application of the Biblical Text in Wisdom 10

Finally, the way that Pseudo-Solomon applies the biblical text to his own time in chap. 10 is significant for understanding his interpretive method. First, as I have argued in Chapter Five, Pseudo-Solomon selects biblical and extrabiblical materials that address the challenges posed by Hellenistic thought and culture for his fellow Jews. For example, the application of Isis imagery to Lady Wisdom ultimately demonstrates that this OT sapiential figure is greater than the Greco-Roman Egyptian goddess. Also, Pseudo-Solomon selects figures from early Israelite history to whom the Alexandrian Jews could relate in their current situation in Egypt (e.g., Abraham is their blameless forefather; Lot is a persecuted foreigner; Jacob is the source of the name "Israel"; Joseph is abused in Egypt but ultimately gains glory there; and the Israelites are freed from Egyptian oppression). Second, Pseudo-Solomon reveals that both the quest for and abandonment of Wisdom has ramifications in his own day. He subtly expresses these contemporary consequences through his description and explanation of the punishment of the Pentapolis in Wis 10:7-8. In v. 7, Pseudo-Solomon mentions that the area of the Pentapolis is "*still* a testimony to wickedness" because of the physical remains of the punishments inflicted upon its inhabitants (e.g., the smoking wasteland, the unripe fruit, and the pillar of salt). This brief comment brings the distant past directly into the present. The abandonment of Wisdom by the inhabitants of the Pentapolis was so severe that its ramifications continue in Pseudo-Solomon's generation and undoubtedly will persist for generations to come. Pseudo-Solomon must have believed that this concrete evidence would be enough to convince his Jewish contemporaries to hold fast to the wisdom found in their ancestral traditions. Furthermore, the explanation for the punishment in v. 8

explicitly reveals the eternal consequences that the inhabitants of the Pentapolis must bear for their negative behavior. However, this verse also intimates that the positive events of the past are a sign of hope and instruction for those who are currently suffering in Egypt on account of their righteousness. From these applications of the biblical text, one perceives that Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method involves linking the biblical text to the present. For the author, the Bible is not merely an ancient document whose stories are significant only for those of the remote past; rather, the Scriptures present a message that is relevant to the Alexandrian Jews in his own day.

Comparison of the Hermeneutical Method in Wisdom 10 to Other Parts of the Book

The evaluation of Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method in chap. 10 that I have just undertaken leads to the final major inquiry of this dissertation, namely, how does Pseudo-Solomon's mode of biblical interpretation in chap. 10 compare to his hermeneutical method in the rest of the book? Of course, an extensive and close analysis of the book's other sections according to the aforementioned four guidelines is beyond the scope of the present study. Accordingly, in my comparison I shall deal briefly with these four elements as they occur in Wis 1:1–6:21; 6:22–9:18; and 11:2–19:22; but I shall conduct a more extensive comparison of Wis 10:1-11:1 and Wis 18:3, 5; 19:1-9 since they treat the same events. For these other larger sections, I shall rely on information gathered from commentaries and extensive studies that have already been conducted on these sections.

Scriptural Interpretation in Wisdom 1:1–6:21

As in chap. 10, the use of scriptural texts in Wis 1:1–6:21 is primarily by means of general allusion. There is no explicit quotation and very little implicit citation in these initial chapters of the Wisdom of Solomon.[5] However, there is a general consensus among scholars that much of Wis 2:10–5:23 (minus 3:15–4:13), which treats the persecution and vindication of the righteous individual, is based primarily on Deutero-Isaiah's last "Servant Song" (Isa 52:13–53:12) and that this pericope is influenced by language and imagery drawn from Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah in general.[6] In addition to the extensive influence of Deutero-Isaiah on Wisdom 2 and 4–5, Nickelsburg has proposed that these chapters in the first part of the book also model a putative genre that he calls the "wisdom tale"—a type of literature exemplified by the biblical stories of Joseph (Genesis 37–50), Mordecai (The Book of Esther), and Daniel (Daniel 3, 6), and the extrabiblical *Story of Ahikar*.[7] Thus, it would seem that there is an integration of both prophetic and wisdom elements in chaps. 2 and 4–5. Other examples of general allusion and implicit citation from chaps. 1–6 include: (1) the address and exhortation to foreign rulers in Wis 1:1; 6:1-5 can be compared to Ps 2:10-12; (2) the comments on the creation of the world and the origin of death in Wis 1:13-15 and 2:23-24 correspond to Genesis 1–3; (3) the expressions about life and death in Wis 2:1-9 are similar to various passages in

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[5] See Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 84. Gilbert ("Sagesse," 93) and Manfredi ("The Trial of the Righteous," 162) aptly note that on the whole the Wisdom of Solomon exhibits no explicit biblical quotations.

[6] M. J. Suggs, "Wisdom of Solomon 2 10–5: A Homily Based on the Fourth Servant Song," *JBL* 76 (1957) 26-33; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 63; Vílchez Lindez, *Sabiduría*, 85.

[7] Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 48-68.

Job;[8] (4) the plotting of the unrighteous against the righteous in Wis 2:12 reflects Isa 3:10

(LXX); (5) the allusion to the barren woman in Wis 3:13 recalls Isa 54:1; (6) the

reference to the eunuch in Wis 3:14 corresponds to Isa 56:3-5; (7) the implicit reference

to Enoch in Wis 4:7-11 recalls Gen 5:24; (8) and the description of God's armor in Wis

5:18 reflects Isa 59:17.[9] Due in part to these general allusions and implicit citations, much

of the vocabulary and imagery in this first part of the book derives from Deutero-Isaiah,

as well as from the Psalms and OT wisdom literature (namely, Proverbs, Job, and

Sirach).[10] Thus, when Pseudo-Solomon is not using his own creative phraseology in

Wisdom 1–6, he uses terms and images drawn from all other parts of Scripture.

Since Pseudo-Solomon bases chaps. 1–6 on a broad range of scriptural passages,

it is difficult to assess his selection and arrangement of materials in the same way as was

done with chap. 10. Most obvious of all is that in the former segment Pseudo-Solomon

does not attempt to recount events from past Israelite history. Although he briefly alludes

to events and figures in Genesis (e.g., to the creation of the world and the origin of death

in Wis 1:13-15; 2:23-24 and to Enoch in Wis 4:10), there is no systematic retelling of

these accounts. Rather, the author evokes them to supplement his larger exposition on the

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[8] On this point, see Patrick W. Skehan ("The Literary Relationship of the Book of Wisdom to Earlier Wisdom Writings," in Patrick W. Skehan, *Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom* [CBQMS 1; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1971] 191-236) who notes the verbal and thematic similarities between Wis 2:1-9 and Job and dismisses the theory that Pseudo-Solomon was primarily alluding to the thought of Ecclesiastes. See also Larcher, *Études*, 99-101; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 94.

[9] By no means is this an exhaustive list. For implicit citations from the Psalms, see Skehan, "Borrowings from the Psalms," 384-97. For implicit citation from Isaiah, see Suggs, "Wisdom of Solomon 2 10–5," 29. See also the lists in Larcher, *Études*, 85-103; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 94.

[10] For examples, see Skehan, "Borrowings from the Psalms," 384-97; idem, "Isaiah and the Teaching of the Book of Wisdom," in Patrick W. Skehan, *Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom* (CBQMS 1; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1971) 163-71; idem, "The Literary Relationship," 172-236. See also the extensive lists in Larcher, *Études*, 85-103.

persecuted righteous figure who endures a premature death. However, just as in chap. 10, in his selection and arrangement of biblical elements Pseudo-Solomon does omit and add details to the biblical texts that he reinterprets. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this point. If chaps. 2 and 4–5 are indeed modeled on Isa 52:13–53:12, then Pseudo-Solomon omits the atoning and salvific effects that the suffering of the righteous individual has for others (cf. esp. Isa 53:4-12).[11] Also, if these initial chapters of the Wisdom of Solomon are modeled on the "wisdom tale," then (1) the author avoids naming his persecuted righteous hero (and other biblical figures such as Enoch), thereby making the account more general; (2) he presents the details of the account in terms of dialogue rather than narrative; and (3) he adds the surprising elements of a postmortem rescue and exaltation.[12] Also, in the description of God's armor in Wis 5:17-19, the initial element of "justice" (δικαιοσύνην) is equated with the "breastplate" (θώρακα) as in Isa 59:17, yet none of the subsequent elements of the lists in Wisdom and Isaiah correspond to each other. Pseudo-Solomon omits and adds various elements of the armor and changes the divine attributes that they represent. Another example of embellishment in Wisdom 1–6 is the extended commentary on the situation of the barren woman and the sterile eunuch in Wis 3:15–4:13, which bears similarities to Wis 10:7-8. Finally, in Wis 2:24, Pseudo-Solomon adds to the account of the first sin in Genesis 3 by interpreting the entrance of death into the world not primarily in terms of Adam's sinfulness but rather "by the envy of the devil." Thus, he not only identifies the serpent of Genesis 3 with an incarnation of evil but also imputes the existence of death to this diabolical figure.

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[11] See Larcher, *Études*, 92; Gilbert, "Sagesse," 94.

[12] See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 66-67.

Comparison of Scriptural Interpretation in Wisdom 1:1–6:21 and Wisdom 10

All of the hermeneutical aspects of chap. 10 that I have mentioned above are found in Wis 1:1–6:21 as well, albeit in different degrees. In Wis 1:1–6:21, Pseudo-Solomon's occasional use of implicit citation from other parts of the Bible demonstrates that the words of the sacred text are important to him and that he considers the biblical message as an integrated whole. Furthermore, the combination of OT wisdom and pentateuchal elements is present in chaps. 1–6 (e.g., references to Genesis 1–3 and 5:24 are made) though on a much smaller scale than in chap. 10. Rather, in this first section of the book, there is a greater integration of OT wisdom and prophetic elements, especially from the Book of Isaiah. Nonetheless, as in chap. 10, Pseudo-Solomon here too fuses themes from different parts of the Bible, which results in a creative and illuminating interpretation of Scripture. In addition, the author integrates biblical and extrabiblical material in chaps. 1–6 (e.g., Wis 2:23-24, where the devil's envy brings death into the world) and must have considered these embellishments as legitimate readings of the sacred text. However, in chaps. 1–6, there are fewer embellishments to the biblical text as compared with chap. 10. Also it is more difficult to assess the embellishments in chaps. 1–6 because these chapters do not treat biblical narrative as extensively as does chap. 10, and many of the allusions in this first section of the book are brief and scattered references to various biblical passages. Or, to put things differently, because chap. 10 treats a well-defined block of biblical narrative in chronological order, it is easier to analyze the degree of embellishment in the text. Therefore, chap. 10 differs from chaps. 1–6 with respect to form, yet the basic hermeneutical principle of embellishment still holds, though on a smaller scale.

Pseudo-Solomon's interpretation of Scripture in chaps. 1–6 is also similar to chap. 10 because in both sections he incorporates elements from the surrounding culture in order to explain or modify biblical thought. The most obvious example of this fusion in chaps. 1–6 is the author's use of the words ἀθανασία, "immortality" (e.g., Wis 3:4; 4:1; see also ἀθάνατος, "deathless," in 1:15), and ἀφθαρσία, "incorruptibility" (e.g., Wis 2:23; 6:18, 19), to describe the fate of the righteous. Borrowing both terms from Hellenistic philosophy,[13] he uses them to develop biblical thought in two ways. First, while he adheres to the traditional doctrine of retribution found throughout OT wisdom literature, he also modifies it by adding the aspect of retribution in the afterlife which includes immortality for the righteous.[14] And second, in Wis 2:23: "For God formed man to be imperishable (ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ); / the image of his own nature he made him" (*NAB*), he alludes to Genesis 1–2 in order to affirm that God originally intended human beings to be incorruptible and immortal—a notion that was foreign to the Semitic mindset.

Although there is also an idealizing tendency in this opening section of the book, it is at the same time similar to and slightly different from that encountered in chap. 10. It is similar because Wis 4:10 presents the unnamed figure of Enoch as an ideal righteous figure who was taken to God. However, the text of Genesis itself presents Enoch as a wholly positive figure, nothing negative being said about him. For this reason, it is difficult to compare the depiction of Enoch in chap. 4 with the description of biblical heroes in chap. 10. Also, the idealizing tendency in chaps. 1–6 is different because the persecuted righteous individual in these chapters is not based on a specific biblical

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[13] Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 62-69; Larcher, *Études*, 262-84.

[14] For a similar observation, see Gilbert, "Sagesse," 94.

character but is rather an idealized type found already in OT wisdom literature. Finally, in terms of the application of biblical passages, Pseudo-Solomon describes the righteous and unrighteous figures in chaps. 1–6 in such general fashion that they can easily be applied to the present situation of the Alexandrian Jews. In the end, although Pseudo-Solomon's interpretive method in Wis 1:1–6:21 and Wis 10:1–11:1 does not differ in principle, the sections differ in the degree to which they exhibit these hermeneutical elements.

Scriptural Interpretation in Wisdom 6:22–9:18

Since the double encomium in Wis 6:22–11:1 focuses on the figures of King Solomon and Lady Wisdom, it alludes to historical texts such as 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles in addition to sapiential texts, especially the Book of Proverbs.[15] Most scholars assert that the tradition of Solomon's request for and reception of Wisdom in 1 Kgs 3:5-15 and 2 Chr 1:7-12 inspired many of the statements in Wisdom 7–9 but most notably the prayer in chap. 9. In this prayer, Solomon (1) acknowledges his weakness and lack of understanding in administering justice (Wis 9:5; cf. 1 Kgs 3:7b, 9a); (2) perceives that God has chosen him to govern his people (Wis 9:7; cf. 1 Kgs 3:6b, 7a, 8; 2 Chr 1:8b, 9b); and (3) asks God to grant him wisdom so that he might govern with justice (Wis 9:10, 12; cf. 1 Kgs 3:9; 2 Chr 1:10). There are no direct quotations and very few implicit verbal citations that link these passages together. Examples of possible implicit citation include (1) the strong connection in the phrases διακρινῶ τὸν λαόν σου δικαίως, "I will judge your people justly," in Wis 9:12 and διακρίνειν τὸν λαόν σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, "to

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[15] Ibid., 94-95.

judge your people with justice," in 1 Kgs 3:9 (LXX); and (2) the weaker connection

between Wis 9:5 (δοῦλος σὸς . . . ἐν συνέσει κρίσεως) and 1 Kgs 3:9 (τῷ δούλῳ σου . . .

συνίειν . . . κρίνειν), where nominal forms of the words are used in the former and

infinitival forms in the latter text.[16]

Other notable points of contact between chaps. 7–9 and 1 Kings 3 (and also 2

Chronicles 1) include: (1) Solomon's search for Wisdom from his youth (Wis 8:12; 1 Kgs

3:7); (2) his esteem for wisdom above all worldly possessions and honors (Wis 7:8-10;

cf. 1 Kgs 3:9, 11; 2 Chr 1:11); and (3) his reception of wealth, honor, and long life that

come from wisdom (Wis 7:11-12), which (or who), in turn, comes from God (Wis 7:15;

cf. 1 Kgs 3:12-14; 2 Chr 1:12). However, Pseudo-Solomon modifies the biblical accounts

of Solomon's request for wisdom by omitting some elements and adding others. Three

major omissions are: (1) the larger context of Solomon's sacrifice at Gibeon and his

encounter with God in a dream (1 Kgs 3:4-5; 2 Chr 1:3-6); (2) God's direct response to

Solomon's request (1 Kgs 3:10-14; 2 Chr 1:11-12); (3) and explicit mention of God's

favor towards David (1 Kgs 3:6, 14; 2 Chr 1:8a, 9a; see possibly Wis 9:12). Additions to

Solomon's biblical request for wisdom include: (1) the allusion to Genesis 1–2 in Wis

9:1-2; (2) the description of personified Wisdom, which reflects parts of Prov 8:22-31 (cf.

9:9) and Sir 24:1-12 (cf. Wis 9:10, 17); (3) the reference to building the Temple in

Jerusalem in Wis 9:8—a verse that reflects later events in 1 Kings 5 and 7–8. Yet another

notable allusion to 1 Kings in Wisdom 7–9 is Solomon's catalogue of natural knowledge

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[16] The other significant implicit connection between Wisdom 7–9 and 1 Kings 3–5 occurs between Wis 7:7 and 1 Kgs 5:9 where God grants Solomon φρόνησις, "insight," and σοφία, "wisdom."

in Wis 7:17-22, which may have been influenced by 1 Kgs 5:13: "He discussed plants . . . and spoke about beasts, birds, reptiles, and fishes" (*NAB*).[17]

Many of Lady Wisdom's qualities in Wis 6:22–9:18 derive primarily from Proverbs 8, where she is valued more than material goods (Wis 7:8b-9; Prov 8:10-11, 19), possesses counsel, advice, and understanding (Wis 8:4, 9; 9:11, 17; Prov 8:14), allows kings to rule with justice (Wis 8:9-14 ; Prov 8:15-16), grants riches, honor, and glory to those who seek and love her (Wis 7:11-12; Prov 8:18, 21), is present at creation (Wis 9:9ab; Prov 8:22-29), apparently assists God with his handiwork (see Wis 7:21; 8:6, τεχνῖτις, "craftswoman," and Wis 8:4, αἱρετὶς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, "selector of his works"; cf. Prov 8:30a, אָמוֹן, which possibly means "craftsman" or "architect"), and knows what pleases him (Wis 9:9cd, 10c; Prov 8:30b). In addition to its basis in Prov 8:22-30, the imagery of Wisdom's presence before God's throne and coming forth from heaven in Wis 9:4, 9a, 10a, 17 may have been inspired by Sir 24:2-12 in which Wisdom is present in God's heavenly court, traverses the earth, and finally settles among God's people. Also, scholars have suggested that the marital language used of Solomon and Wisdom in Wis 8:2, 9, 16, 18 and the benefits that derive from their union may have been influenced by the description of the ideal wife in Proverbs 31 and the love poetry of the Song of Songs.[18] However, no direct verbal connections are observable. Thus, although not impossible, it is not clear that Pseudo-Solomon gained his inspiration from these other biblical passages.

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[17] Gilbert, "Sagesse," 94.

[18] Ibid.

As he does with King Solomon, the author embellishes his description of Wisdom in chaps. 7–9 with new concepts. I have mentioned some of these new features in Chapter Four and recall them briefly here. First, Lady Wisdom is said to be even more desirable than natural light (Wis 7:10, 29-30) because she is an "aura" and a "refulgence" of God's might and eternal glory (Wis 7:25-26). Second, Pseudo-Solomon directly associates Lady Wisdom with immortality (8:13, 17). Third, she is described in spiritual terms (Wis 7:22-23; 9:17) and associated with holiness and purity (Wis 7:22-24).

In addition to the biblical allusions and newer elements in chaps. 7–9, one finds also an integration of elements from Hellenistic culture. Examples of Greco-Roman influence on Pseudo-Solomon in this part of the book include: (1) the list of the four cardinal Platonic virtues in Wis 8:7; (2) expressions in Wis 8:20 and 9:15 that denote a body/soul duality; (3) the possible reference to the preexistence of the soul in Wis 8:19-20; (4) and the notion of immortality in Wis 8:13, 17, which is also present throughout the book. These Hellenistic features supplement the author's interpretation of Scripture and thereby add new meaning to the biblical figures of King Solomon and Lady Wisdom.

Comparison of Scriptural Interpretation in Wisdom 6:22–9:18 and Wisdom 10

Although the hermeneutical method in Wis 6:22–9:18 is similar to that of chap. 10 overall, there are certain differences in terms of degree, as was the case with chaps. 1–6. For example, chaps. 7–9 do not exhibit as much implicit citation as does chap. 10. The clearest instance of such a citation is the nearly identical phrases in Wis 9:12 and 1 Kgs 3:9 mentioned above. All other verbal connections between Wisdom 7–9 and 1 Kings 3–5 are quite weak. In this section, biblical references are made primarily by means of

general allusion. Neither is there much clear terminological correspondence with other parts of the Bible.[19] However, the evidence of some implicit citation and use of vocabulary and imagery from other parts of the OT indicates the same general hermeneutical understanding found in chap. 10, namely, that the various parts of Scripture are authoritative and interconnected.

The other hermeneutical tendencies found in chap. 10 are also present in chaps. 7–9, again at different levels. First, the author idealizes the figure of King Solomon, who remains unnamed just like all figures in the book. He shows great respect for this wise figure of the past by assuming Solomon's identity in writing his composition and by omitting negative aspects of King Solomon's story (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 3:1-3; 11:1-13). The ideal figure of King Solomon in chaps. 7–9 is to be heeded and emulated. Second, Pseudo-Solomon integrates both biblical and extrabiblical elements in his description of Lady Wisdom. An example of an extrabiblical element is his comparison of Wisdom to light and the affirmation that she reflects God's glory and might. Third, Pseudo-Solomon combines aspects of sapiential and historical biblical literature in his double praise of Lady Wisdom and King Solomon. Finally, although the link between chaps. 7–9 and the author's social-historical situation is not as apparent as in chap. 10, there are hints in the former text that reveal Pseudo-Solomon's effort to make the biblical message relevant to his fellow Alexandrian Jews. First, he freely integrates aspects of contemporary

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[19] Some stronger examples of biblical language used in chaps. 7–9 include: (1) στροφὰς λόγων, "turns of phrases," in Wis 8:8 and Prov 1:3; and (2) the reference to leaders who silence themselves by putting their hand/finger over their mouth in Wis 8:12 and Job 29:9-10. Some weak examples include: (1) the proximity of the phrases ἐν ὁσιότητι, "in holiness," and ἐν εὐθύτητι, "in uprightness," in both Wis 9:3 and 1 Kgs 9:4; and (2) the subjugation of λαούς, "peoples," and ἔθνη, "nations," in Wis 8:14 and Ps 46:4 (LXX).

Hellenistic culture with his scriptural interpretation in chaps. 7–9 by incorporating Greco-Roman thought and employing the encomiastic genre. And second, in his "self-description" of King Solomon in Wis 7:1-6, Pseudo-Solomon subtly links the noble Israelite king with his present audience by showing them that he was not any different from them in terms of origin. If he came into the world under the same circumstances as everyone else and was able to attain wisdom, then there is hope for all people in all times and places who seek wisdom from God. Also, the author's description of Lady Wisdom, especially her association with immortality, reveals that she exists eternally and so is attainable in every age (see Wis 7:27), including Pseudo-Solomon's own time.

Scriptural Interpretation in Wisdom 11:2–19:22

Having observed that Pseudo-Solomon's basic interpretive method in chaps. 1–9 is generally similar to that of chap. 10, I shall now consider his hermeneutical method in chaps. 11–19. In his 1997 work entitled *The Exodus Story in the Wisdom of Solomon*, Samuel Cheon assesses Pseudo-Solomon's "interpretive techniques and theological tendencies" in Wis 11:1-14 and 16:1–19:22.[20] In all, he presents ten hermeneutical techniques that Pseudo-Solomon displays throughout chaps. 11–19.[21] First, Pseudo-Solomon uses the biblical text as his point of departure. This means that the setting and terminology in this last part of the book is primarily based on the OT. Wisdom 11–19 exhibits general allusions and implicit citations of specific passages from Exodus and Numbers in addition to the general use of vocabulary from other biblical books. Second,

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[20] Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 19.

[21] Ibid., 108-16.

Cheon asserts that the author is "not attentive to the biblical text."[22] By this claim, he means that Pseudo-Solomon is not interested in recounting the biblical narrative in its exact sequence and detail. As I have already observed in connection with chaps. 1–10, there is a selection process on the author's part by which he chooses biblical figures and events that pertain to the message he attempts to convey. Even though the Bible is Pseudo-Solomon's starting point for his retelling and reinterpretation of ancient Israelite traditions, by no means does he slavishly follow the biblical stories. The author retains, omits, and adds details as he sees fit. This, in turn, allows for greater interpretive creativity. Third, there is a conspicuous absence of proper names in the Wisdom of Solomon. Cheon asserts: "He [i.e., Pseudo-Solomon] does not employ any personal or geographical names from the Bible. Rather, he carefully substitutes pronouns, generic terms or other allusions for the biblical proper names."[23] While Cheon correctly claims that Pseudo-Solomon avoids the use of personal names from the biblical text, his second assertion concerning "geographical names from the Bible" is inaccurate. As I have previously noted, the author specifically refers to the Red Sea on two separate occasions: one time as θάλασσα ἐρυθρά in Wis 10:18 and another time as ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα in Wis 19:7 (see, e.g., Exod 10:19; 13:18 [LXX]).[24] Fourth, Pseudo-Solomon portrays God's chosen people as an ideal model of righteousness.[25] Although there are times in the

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[22] Ibid., 109.

[23] Ibid., 110. See also Peter Enns, "Wisdom of Solomon and Biblical Interpretation in the Second Temple Period," in *The Way of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Bruce K. Waltke* (ed. Bruce K. Waltke, J. I. Packer, and Sven Soderlund; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000) 217.

[24] Pseudo-Solomon also uses the geographical name Πεντάπολις, "Pentapolis" (literally: "five cities") in Wis 10:6, but this admittedly is not a geographical name found elsewhere in the LXX.

[25] See Enns, "Wisdom of Solomon," 216.

biblical narrative when the Israelites or Moses behave in a less than virtuous manner (see, e.g., Exod 16:1-3; 17:2-3; 32:1-35), Pseudo-Solomon either ignores or casts the negative behavior or circumstances in a positive light. For example, situations of suffering due to Israelite misbehavior are explained as God's testing or disciplining of his people rather than outright condemnation for disobedience or blasphemy (see Wis 11:9-10; 12:17-19; 16:5-6, 10-11). Fifth, the manner in which Pseudo-Solomon combines biblical and extrabiblical materials in chaps. 11–19 often leads to an arrangement that departs from the Bible's chronological order. More specifically, Cheon notes three tendencies in Pseudo-Solomon's arrangement of material: (1) expression of "cause and effect" whereby the wicked suffer through the very sins that they commit; (2) combination of events that take place at different times in the Bible; and (3) combination of "scattered references of something in the Bible to produce a composite picture of it" (see, e.g., the composite description of Egyptian magicians which is inserted into the context of the ninth plague in Wis 17:7).[26] Cheon believes that the author used these three techniques in order to support his arguments and clarify the biblical text. Sixth, Pseudo-Solomon sets various biblical and extrabiblical traditions side by side based on a specific theme in order to compare them with one another. This arrangement is in keeping with the section's genre of *synkrisis*. One of the themes by means of which he compares juxtaposed elements is the notion that the righteous are benefited by the punishment of the wicked. Seventh, Cheon claims that there is a "generalization of individuals" in chaps. 11–19.[27] By this phrase he means that focus shifts from leaders who represent groups to the groups

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[26] Cheon, *Exodus Story*, 112.

[27] Ibid., 113.

themselves. For example, while the Book of Exodus focuses on the struggle between

Moses (and Aaron) and Pharaoh, Wisdom 11–19 depicts the conflict on a broader scale

as taking place between the Israelites and Egyptians. Thus, according to Cheon, "the

centralization of leadership becomes democratized."[28] Eighth, Pseudo-Solomon

occasionally attaches symbolic meanings to specific figures and events in order to teach

general religious principles. Examples of this technique include interpreting Aaron's

priestly garment as a representation of the whole world (Wis 18:24) and affirming that

the events of the Exodus show God's care for his people in all times and places (19:22).

Ninth, there is an element of exaggeration in some passages of chaps. 11–19 for the

purposes of emphasis and dramatic effect (e.g., the Egyptians suffering psychologically

during the plague of darkness in Wis 17:1–18:4 and the comparison of the Egyptians'

wickedness to that of the Sodomites in Wis 19:13-17). Although I find Cheon's use of the

term "exaggeration" slightly pejorative, it is clear that Pseudo-Solomon embellishes the

biblical accounts to stress a particular point of relevance to his audience. I further believe

that both this latter point (# 9) and the previous point (# 8) should be taken together since

they reflect the same general principle that Pseudo-Solomon supplements the biblical text

in order to teach a lesson and/or emphasize his message. Finally, Cheon avers that chaps.

11–19 are similar to the genre of "wisdom tale," though he admits that technically these

chapters should not be classified as such.[29] Not only does Cheon fail to provide sufficient

analysis to support this claim, but this last assertion is primarily a matter of genre rather

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[28] Ibid.

[29] For an explanation of the category "wisdom tale," see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 54-68.

than interpretive technique per se (though one cannot deny the influence of genre on interpretive technique).

Comparison of Scriptural Interpretation in Wisdom 10 and Wisdom 11–19

Not surprisingly, many of the techniques that Cheon enumerates from chaps. 11–19 are also found in chap. 10. However, there are significant differences as well. In terms of the similarities, in both chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 Pseudo-Solomon uses the biblical text as a point of departure. He implicitly cites and generally alludes to primary and secondary texts from all parts of the OT to achieve his objective. However, it is the integration of sapiential and pentateuchal literature in both chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 that constitutes one of the most prominent similarities in terms of interpretive technique.

Although Pseudo-Solomon uses Scripture as his starting point, he is not strictly confined by the details found within the sacred text. In both sections the author omits details and also supplements the biblical narrative with traditions found outside the Bible to support his interpretation. In terms of omissions, for the most part both sections lack proper names, at least for biblical figures if not for occasional geographical locations. Furthermore, both sections portray the biblical heroes as ideal righteous figures who exhibit little to no negative behavior. The slight difference on this point is that in chaps. 11–19 the hardships of the Israelites are portrayed as testings or loving parental discipline from God, from which the people invariably emerge as an even stronger exemplar of righteousness. This feature of trial or parental discipline is never mentioned in chap. 10. As for additions, in both sections there is a juxtaposition of biblical and extrabiblical traditions. Often, these traditions are set side by side for purposes of comparison by

means of which the author attempts to teach a lesson or prove a point. However, as I mentioned in Chapter Four, chap. 10 generally exhibits a less direct method of comparison when compared to the *synkrisis* in chaps. 11–19. This is most likely due to the differences in theme or objective in each section. While in chap. 10 Pseudo-Solomon is primarily focused on the way in which Wisdom saves (cf. Wis 9:18; 10:9), in chaps. 11–19 one of his major objectives is to show explicitly how the righteous are benefited by the punishment of the wicked (cf. Wis 11:15).

As for the generalization of individuals in chaps. 11–19, chap. 10 exhibits this characteristic as well, primarily through the introduction of the Israelites in Wis 10:15–11:1 that leads into the second part of the book. All the figures before Wis 10:15 are righteous individuals who are saved by Wisdom's power. Yet the overarching categorization of these individuals as "righteous" can be seen as a type of generalization. While Pseudo-Solomon places emphasis on the individual figure of Moses in Wis 10:16 and 11:1, it is the Israelites as a whole who are specifically called "righteous" rather than Moses himself, a point that further supports Cheon's claim of generalization.

One similarity between chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 that Cheon does not mention is that on a few occasions Pseudo-Solomon explicitly makes past biblical events relevant to his audience in the present. When he retells the biblical stories in chaps. 10–19, Pseudo-Solomon generally deals with figures from the past and rarely draws an explicit connection between the past and present. In the few instances that he does relate past biblical figures and events to the present, he is very subtle in his approach. I have already illustrated how this feature is exhibited in Wis 10:7-8 with its description of the Pentapolis's eternal testimony to its wickedness and the explanation for its destruction. In

chaps. 11–19, Pseudo-Solomon explicitly links the past to the present in his discussion of

the last plague: the death of the first-born Egyptian males. Throughout chaps. 11–19, the

events involving the Israelites and the Egyptians of old are described as taking place in

the past. However, in Wis 18:8, Pseudo-Solomon explicitly states: "For when you

punished *our* adversaries, / in this you glorified *us* whom you have summoned" (*NAB*). In

this verse, Pseudo-Solomon echoes one of the major themes of the last half of the book,

that is, the righteous benefit by the punishment of the wicked. Yet, most importantly, he

reveals that the Egyptians of old were not just the enemies of his Israelite ancestors.

Rather, they are also the enemies of Pseudo-Solomon and his contemporaries, and by

their punishment the Jews past, present, and future are glorified as a people. This verse

also hints that the Egyptians of old represent the Egyptian and Greek Alexandrians of his

own day.

One should also note that the generalization of figures as "righteous" and

"unrighteous" found throughout the book also contributes to the application of the

biblical text in Pseudo-Solomon's own time since his contemporaries could be

categorized as belonging to either of these two groups. This feature also makes the book

applicable for subsequent generations and helps explain its inclusion in the Greek canon.

However, this link is not as explicit as the more concrete example in Wis 18:8 that I

presented above.

Along with the many general interpretive similarities between chap. 10 and chaps.

11–19, there are major differences as well. First, there is a difference of theme. In chap.

10, the primary theme is that Wisdom saves the righteous (Wis 9:18; 10:9). The main

themes of chaps. 11–19 are threefold: (1) the righteous are benefited by the punishment

of the wicked (see, e.g., Wis 11:5); (2) the wicked are punished through the very sins that they commit (see, e.g., Wis 11:15-16; 12:27); and (3) creation can be "transformed" by God and assists him in rewarding the righteous and punishing the wicked (see, e.g., Wis 16:24; 19:6, 18). These distinctive themes have implications for the way that Pseudo-Solomon interprets Scripture in the two sections. For example, chap. 10 interprets events through the lens of personified Wisdom; therefore, she is the primary actor in this passage (the righteous Israelites are the subjects of finite verbs only in 10:20). In chaps. 11–19, by contrast, Wisdom is mentioned only in chap. 14, and God is the primary actor throughout, while the Israelites and Egyptians take a supporting role. Also, there is more of an explicit emphasis on cause and effect in chaps. 11–19 than in chap. 10. Although this principle is manifested in chap. 10 through the salvation of the righteous by Wisdom and the downfall of the unrighteous who forsake her, it is not as explicitly stated as in chaps. 11–19 (see Wis 10:8 as a possible exception). Second, there is a difference with regard to chronology. Pseudo-Solomon recounts the events of early Israelite history in chronological order in chap. 10, while no chronological order is maintained in the retelling of the plagues in Egypt and wilderness wanderings in chaps. 11–19.[30] Third, in chaps. 11–19 there is more explanation as to why or how certain events occurred. All of these differences will become clearer in a closer investigation of passages from chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 that treat similar content.

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[30] I shall provide examples of the lack of chronological order in chaps. 11–19 when I compare the Exodus event in chaps. 10 and 18–19.

Comparison of the Exodus Story in Wisdom 10 and Wisdom 11–19

In order to compare better the way in which Pseudo-Solomon interprets Scripture in chap. 10 versus chaps. 11–19, I shall investigate his retelling of a similar event in these two sections of the book. Fortunately, Pseudo-Solomon discusses the Exodus story at length in both Wis 10:15–11:1 and Wis 19:1-9. He also briefly mentions aspects of the same Exodus event in Wis 18:3, 5. Below, I present the text of these passages in parallel columns to facilitate comparison, with my own English translation of Wis 10:15–11:1 in the left column and the text of Wis 18:3, 5; 19:1-9 from the *NAB* in the right column. I follow the order of the story line in Exodus 1–15, which is also the same order in Wisdom 10. When an aspect of the story is out of chronological order, specifically in Wis 18:3, 5; 19:1-9, I place the relevant verses in brackets.

Wisdom 10:15–11:1	Wisdom 18:3, 5; 19:1-9
10:15 She delivered a holy people and blameless offspring, from a nation of oppressors. 10:16 She entered the soul of the Lord's servant, and withstood terrifying kings with wonders and signs.	[Details of the "signs and wonders" are given throughout chaps. 11–19. See also 19:10-22.]
	19:1 But the wicked, merciless wrath assailed until the end. For he knew beforehand what they

	were yet to do:
	19:2 That though they themselves had
	agreed to the departure
	and had anxiously sent them on
	their way,
	they would regret it and pursue them.
	19:3 For while they were still engaged in
	funeral rites
	and were mourning at the burials of
	the dead,
	They adopted another senseless plan;
	and those whom they sent away
	with entreaty,
	they pursued as fugitives.
	19:4 For a compulsion suited to this
	ending drew them on,
	and made them forgetful of what had
	befallen them,
	That they might fill out the torments of
	their punishment,
10:17a She rendered to holy ones the wage	
for their labors,	

10:17b . . . she led them on a wonderful way,	19:5a . . . and your people might experience a glorious journey
	19:6 . . . For all creation, in its several kinds, was being made over anew, serving its natural laws, that your children might be preserved unharmed.
10:17cd And she was a shelter for them during the day, and a starry flame during the night.	[18:3 . . . you furnished the flaming pillar which was a guide on the unknown way, and the mild sun for an honorable migration.] 19:7a The cloud overshadowed their camp;
	19:7b-e . . . and out of what had before been water, dry land was seen emerging; out of the Red Sea an unimpeded road, And a grassy plain out of the mighty flood.
10:18 She transported them across the	19:8 Over this crossed the whole nation

Red Sea, and led them through much water.	sheltered by your hand, after they beheld stupendous wonders.
10:19a But their enemies she drowned,	[19:5b . . . while those others met an extraordinary death.] [18:5cd As a reproof you carried off their multitude of sons and made them perish all at once in the mighty water.]
10:19b and from the depth of the abyss she cast them up. 10:20a Therefore, the righteous plundered the ungodly,	
10:20bc . . . and they sang, O Lord, your holy name, and your defending hand they praised together.	19:9 For they ranged about like horses, and bounded about like lambs, praising you, O Lord! their deliverer.
10:21 For Wisdom opened the mouth of the mute, and she made the tongues of infants speak clearly. 11:1 She prospered their works by the hand of a holy prophet.	

From this chart, it is possible to draw several conclusions about Pseudo-Solomon's mode of interpretation in chap. 10 versus chaps. 11–19. However, before I consider the hermeneutical similarities and differences, I shall first compare the content of these passages.

There are five major similarities between the two passages in terms of narrated events. First, there is a reference to the wondrous nature of the journey that the Israelites took out of Egypt. In 10:17b, the road is called a "wonderful way" while in 19:5a it is given the general designation "a glorious journey." Second, there are references to the cloud and pillar of fire that God provided to guide and shelter the Israelites. In 10:17, Pseudo-Solomon describes the cloud as "shelter during the day," and in 18:3 he affirms that the Israelites experienced "the mild sun," an allusion to the same protective effect of the cloud. Furthermore, the Israelites are overshadowed by the cloud in 19:7 and are "sheltered" by God's hand in the following verse. Because of the proximity of these images, the reference to God's protective hand in 19:8 may be yet another allusion to the cloud. The pillar of fire is called a "starry flame" in 10:17 and a "flaming pillar" in 18:3. It is interesting to note that this feature is not explicitly mentioned in chap. 19. The major difference between the imagery used of these features in chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 is that God provides or "furnishes" the cloud and pillar in chaps. 11–19, while in chap. 10 Lady Wisdom is explicitly identified with them (i.e., "she was . . ."). Third, the actual crossing of the Red Sea is recounted in 10:18 and 19:8, with some slight variation in the details, which I shall address in a moment. Fourth, both sections recount the death of the Egyptians at the Red Sea. In 10:19a, they are drowned by Wisdom and in 18:5 God makes them "perish all at once in the mighty water." Wisdom 19:5 recounts their death

generically: " . . . while those others met an extraordinary death." Finally, in Wis 10:20

and 19:9 the Israelites praise God after their deliverance, with some slight variation in

how they do so.

In addition to these five similarities concerning content, there are also seven

major differences, four of which are particular to Wisdom 10 and three to Wis 18:3, 5;

19:1-9. Regarding chap. 10: (1) in 10:17a the Israelites receive goods from the Egyptians

before leaving Egypt; (2) in 10:19 the Egyptians are "cast up" from the sea after they

have been drowned; (3) in 10:20a the Israelites plunder the dead Egyptians; and (4) the

mouths of the mute and infants are opened after the Israelites are saved (10:21),

presumably in order to join in the praise of God. The details particular to Wisdom 18–19

include: (1) the Egyptians explicitly pursue the Israelites in 19:2-4, and Pseudo-Solomon

provides specific reasons for this pursuit; (2) a path appears in the midst of the Red Sea

when the crossing is retold in 19:7; and (3) the Israelites dance during the post-salvation

celebration when ". . . they ranged like horses, / and bounded about like lambs" (19:9).

It is interesting to note that the differences in chaps. 18–19 vis-à-vis chap. 10 can

all be connected with characteristics specific to the OT figure of Lady Wisdom and her

recasting as Isis. Thus, the detail about the Israelites plundering the Egyptians both before

they leave Egypt and after the Red Sea event emphasizes the granting of material wealth,

which is a characteristic of both Wisdom and Isis. Again, the concept that the Egyptians

were cast up from the sea shows the special power and control that Wisdom has over

bodies of water, a common characteristic of Isis. And finally, when Wisdom opens the

mouths of the mute and infants, she is depicted as having wonderworking abilities like

Isis. It is difficult to draw a similar conclusion concerning the differences of content vis-

à-vis chap. 19. For the most part, these appear to be details that Pseudo-Solomon simply

does not choose to recount in chap. 10 but which are not necessarily tied to the three main

themes of chaps. 11–19. Yet the explanation for the pursuit of the Egyptians (see

especially 19:4-5) is relevant for the theme of "the righteous benefiting from the

punishment of the wicked," a point that I shall address in my hermeneutical analysis.

Many of the same similarities in hermeneutical technique that were observed

between chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 in general also apply to Wisdom 10 and Wis 18:3, 5;

19:1-9 in particular. First, both use the Bible as a point of departure since they are

primarily alluding to the Exodus event as found in the Book of Exodus. Although there is

some implicit citation, general allusion is predominant in both passages. Second, there is

deviation from and elaboration of the biblical account in both (e.g., the mute and infants

sing at the Red Sea in 10:21; the Egyptian pursuit of the Israelites is explained in 19:3-4).

Third, neither segment uses proper names for places and figures, aside from the specific

reference to the Red Sea (10:18; 19:7). Fourth, the Israelites are depicted as ideally

righteous and models of virtue, while the Egyptians are presented as altogether

unrighteous and ungodly. This feature, in turn, involves a "generalization of individuals,"

to use Cheon's expression, and reflects some level of comparison (*synkrisis*) in both

accounts. Finally, Pseudo-Solomon incorporates Hellenistic elements into his

reinterpretation of biblical events. This hermeneutical element is evident in 19:6, where

Pseudo-Solomon explains the Red Sea event as an act of recreation in a manner

reminiscent of Hellenistic philosophy.[31] Later in v. 18 he further describes this act of

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[31] Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 324-25.

recreation as a rearrangement of "the elements" (τὰ στοιχεῖα) of the universe and, according to Winston, draws a musical analogy that was familiar to the Stoics by likening this rearrangement to the transposition of a melody into a different key.[32] Thus, in 19:6, 18 Pseudo-Solomon uses aspects of Hellenistic thought and culture to explain biblical events.

In addition to the above hermeneutical similarities, all of the general differences between chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 are also observable when the Exodus story in Wisdom 10 is compared to that in Wis 18:3, 5; 19:1-9. First, there is the difference regarding the acting subject. Lady Wisdom is most often the subject of the active verbs in chap. 10 (except in 10:20). This feature is in keeping with the fact that chap. 10 is a *Beispielreihe* standing at the end of an encomium of Wisdom. It makes sense, then, that Wisdom is the primary active agent. This differs from Wis 18:3, 5; 19:1-9, where God is the primary actor, with the Israelites and Egyptians as secondary active subjects.

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[32] Ibid., 330-31. Wisdom 19:18 states: Δι' ἑαυτῶν γὰρ τὰ στοιχεῖα μεθαρμοζόμενα, / ὥσπερ ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ φθόγγοι τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τὸ ὄνομα διαλλάσσουσιν, / πάντοτε μένοντα ἤχῳ, / ὅπερ ἐστὶν εἰκάσαι ἐκ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων ὄψεως ἀκριβῶς, "For as the notes of a psaltery vary the beat [key] while holding to the melody, so were the elements transposed, as can be accurately inferred from the observation of what happened" (Winston's translation). The Stoics believed that the world was comprised of elements, which are the building blocks of the universe. These elements do not change in themselves, but can be rearranged. The act of creation occurs through the rearrangement of preexisting elements. Thus, the power to create was not to bring something into being from nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*) but rather to arrange preexisting, immutable elements. This Greek concept is not too far from the Semitic idea presented in Gen 1:1-2, where God brings order from disordered matter. Thus, in Wis 19:18, God changes or "transposes" the arrangement of the elements, that is, he recreates in order to save the righteous. Furthermore, God's action is explained in terms of music: the melody corresponds to the immutable elements, while the transposition of the melody corresponds to the act of recreation from the same basic elements. Another way of understanding this verse is found in the *NRSV*: "For the elements changed places with one another, / as on a harp the notes vary the nature of the rhythm, / while each note remains the same. / This may be clearly inferred from the sight of what took place." Here, the notes are constant and the melody changes, that is, the notes always stay the same, but the melody can change based on the order in which the notes are played.

Second, there is the issue of chronology. While chap. 10 treats the events of Exodus 1–15 chronologically, chaps. 18–19 present the events out of order. In retelling the story of the Red Sea event in chap. 19, Pseudo-Solomon mentions various plagues in the context of a summarizing flashback in 19:10-21. In this case, not only do the Israelites praise God for their salvation at the Red Sea, but they also remember the plagues by means of which God convinced Pharaoh to release them. Other events that are out of chronological order include: (1) the flaming pillar and cloud (18:3), which appears in the context of the plague of darkness, and (2) the death of the Egyptians at the Red Sea (18:5), which is retold in the context of Pharaoh's initial command to drown the Hebrew male newborns and the final plague in which the Egyptian first-born males perish.

Finally, more extensive explanations of the Exodus event are provided in Wis 19:1-9. First, in 19:1, Pseudo-Solomon explains that the Egyptians were punished to the bitter end because God knew what they were going to do (i.e., pursue the Israelites even though the Egyptians had originally agreed to let them go). Second, in 19:2-4, the author specifically relates why the Egyptians pursued the Israelites: (1) they regretted freeing them (19:2); (2) they felt a compulsion (19:4); (3) they forgot all the horrible plagues that had befallen them, including the one that had just occurred (19:4); and (4) they needed to fulfill their own punishment (19:4). Third, in 19:6, Pseudo-Solomon explains how and why the wondrous event at the Red Sea occurred; the salvation of the Israelites at the Red Sea was accomplished by creation "being made over anew" and the purpose of this wondrous event was to preserve God's people. Fourth, in 19:10, Pseudo-Solomon provides an explicit reason for the celebration after the people had crossed the Red Sea, namely, the Israelites reflected on all that God had done for them, beginning with the

plagues that he inflicted upon the Egyptians. By means of this reminiscence, Pseudo-Solomon masterfully summarizes the major points of the last section of the book and brings his composition to a conclusion.

Conclusion

In my investigation of Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method in Wisdom 10:1–11:1, I selected four basic aspects of the text on which to focus for analysis: (1) vocabulary and imagery, (2) selection of details, (3) arrangement, and (4) application. By using these principles as guidelines for my study, I was able to identify six major aspects of Pseudo-Solomon's mode of scriptural interpretation in chap. 10. First, through the use of general allusion and implicit citation of primary and secondary biblical texts, the author demonstrates his great respect for biblical narrative and language. Second, for Pseudo-Solomon, the various parts of Scripture are both authoritative and interconnected, as is revealed in the way that he uses vocabulary and imagery of some parts of the Bible to shed new light on other parts. In chap. 10, there is a particular integration of pentateuchal and wisdom elements, but terminology and images are borrowed from the Prophets (notably Isaiah) and the Psalms as well. Third, Pseudo-Solomon recognizes the importance of incorporating elements of the surrounding Hellenistic culture into his interpretation to convey his message better. In chap. 10, this occurs primarily via application of Isis imagery to the traditional OT figure of Lady Wisdom. Fourth, Pseudo-Solomon embellishes the stories derived from biblical texts with extrabiblical traditions and comments. In addition to supplementing the text as he sees fit, he also omits aspects of the biblical stories, which occasionally brings new meaning to the text. Fifth, there is

an idealization of figures and at times a "globalization of individuals" in order to teach a lesson and/or encourage the author's audience. Finally, the author perceived the Bible to be a relevant text for the era in which he lived and therefore applied the past events that it recounts to his own socio-historical situation. Thus, he links the past to the present through his retelling and reinterpretation of various biblical accounts.

Since the Wisdom of Solomon is most likely a unified composition by a single author (or school), it is not surprising that many of the same hermeneutical elements are found in all major sections of the book. However, for the most part, each section differs in the degree to which these hermeneutical techniques are employed and in its focus on various parts of Scripture that it reviews or reinterprets. Concerning this latter point, it is interesting to note that each section of the book focuses on integrating OT wisdom traditions with primary texts drawn from different parts of the Bible. For example, chaps. 1–6 emphasize prophetic literature (esp. Deutero-Isaiah); chaps. 7–9 favor historical literature (1 Kings); and chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 focus on pentateuchal literature (Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers). Not only do chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 treat the same part of the Bible, but they are also generally closer to each other than to chaps. 1–9 in terms of interpretive technique. For instance, chap. 10 and chaps. 11–19 exhibit a similar level of narrative embellishment, idealization of past biblical figures, and explicit application of the past to the present situation. Even though chap. 10 is closer to chaps. 11–19 in terms of hermeneutics and content, this transitional chapter is closer to chaps. 7–9 in terms of its genre, role, and placement in the book's overall structure.

A close comparison between the similar Exodus events in Wis 10:15–11:1 and 18:3, 5; 19:1-9 shows that some of the major differences between these two sections of

the book are based on their differing genres. That chap. 10 is an aretalogical *Beispielreihe*

at the end of an encomium dictates to some degree its subject matter and conciseness.

Since chap. 10 is an example list within a praise of Wisdom, this explains why Pseudo-

Solomon interprets early Israelite history with Lady Wisdom as the primary acting agent

and why he rarely offers a fuller explanation of the events that he recounts (Wis 10:8 is

the one exception). Also, the aretalogical flavor of chap. 10 explains why many of the

additional details or embellishments concerning the Red Sea event are closely associated

with the author's depiction of Lady Wisdom in terms of the goddess Isis. In the end,

Pseudo-Solomon establishes a fine balance between chap. 10 and the other sections of the

book and skillfully integrates this transitional passage into his composition.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

In my dissertation I have undertaken an extensive study of the Wisdom of Solomon 10 within its literary and historical contexts. With respect to this passage I have especially sought to focus on issues that so far have had little to no treatment, such as its (1) poetical arrangement, (2) genre and form, and (3) display of Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method. I believe that a thorough investigation of these elements is important to understand better the author's message in the passage and how it contributes to the overall message of his work. In this final chapter, I shall summarize the findings of my study.

The Wisdom of Solomon is a Greek composition that was most likely written in Alexandria at the beginning of the Roman era by an unknown Hellenistic Jewish author. The author wrote pseudonymously as the legendary King Solomon in order to grant authority to his work so that others might heed his wise words in times of hardship. Because the Alexandrian Jews were enduring mild forms of persecution in his day (e.g., the poll tax, denial of certain assumed rights) and many were tempted to embrace Hellenism fully and abandon the Jewish faith, Pseudo-Solomon most likely composed his work to exhort his fellow Jews to hold firm to their ancestral traditions which reflect true wisdom.

Wisdom 10:1–11:1 is an important part of this work since Pseudo-Solomon most likely composed and inserted it to unite the two major parts of the book. The indications

that chap. 10 is a discrete pericope are twofold. First, it is a self-contained list that praises Lady Wisdom for her saving of various biblical figures. Second, given Wright's calculation of the book's verses according to the Golden Mean ratio,[1] chap. 10 does not fall within this numerical pattern, which seems to indicate that it may have been added later.

This passage binds the work together through the use of its various themes. The two sapiential "lenses" of (1) Lady Wisdom and (2) the doctrine of retribution are both present in chap. 10. In this chapter, Pseudo-Solomon displays his genius for innovation when he integrates personified Wisdom within the context of early Israelite history. While the doctrine of retribution permeates both halves of the book, the theme of Lady Wisdom is predominant in Part I (chaps. 1–9) and the theme of Israel's past is found only in Part II (chaps. 11–19). Furthermore, while the Pentateuchal focus and hermeneutical factors of chap. 10 are similar to those of chaps. 11–19, at the same time chap. 10 is closely tied to chaps. 6–9 since it conforms to the encomiastic genre of this larger section. Thus, in chap. 10 Pseudo-Solomon ingeniously combines these themes to create a transitional section that unifies the book as a whole.

In my introduction in Chapter One, I enumerated three major areas of focus for the present study. First, what are the genre and form of chap. 10? Second, how do the genre and form of chap. 10 affect Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method therein? To answer this last question, one must begin by considering the author's mode of interpretation and theological message in chap. 10. Third, how does Pseudo-Solomon's

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[1] Wright, "Numerical Patterns," 524-38.

hermeneutical method in chap. 10 compare to that of other parts of the book? I then addressed each of these areas of inquiry.

My first major task was to determine the genre and form of the Wisdom of Solomon 10. Like much of the rest of the book, chap. 10 is poetic in nature since it displays elements of Hebrew poetry, such as *parallelismus membrorum*, and aspects of Greek rhythmic prose, such as sound and wordplay. However, it is not Greek poetry in the strictest sense, since it does not reflect any sustained metrical patterns. The author may have presented his Greek composition in parallel cola in order to imitate the parts of the LXX that translate Hebrew poetry into Greek yet do not exhibit sustained metrical patterns. Thus, in an effort to further imitate the poetic style of the LXX, Pseudo-Solomon's poetic work also lacks sustained metrical patterns.

In addition to its classification as a type of poetry, the genre of chap. 10 is that of *exempla* or *Beispielreihe* and its form is an alternation of positive and negative examples that are bound by the repetition of a keyword (i.e., αὕτη). In terms of its larger context, the chapter was added to supplement the prayer (i.e., chap. 9) of the encomium in chaps. 6–9 and likewise contributes to the *praxeis* and *synkrisis* elements of this praise of Wisdom.

Along with the basic genre and form, chap. 10 displays elements of aretalogy, *synkrisis*, and midrash. Although it is not an aretalogy in the strictest sense, the chapter treats the mighty deeds of a goddess-like figure and also exhibits language and imagery found in many Isis aretalogies and hymns. Pseudo-Solomon may have used this Isis imagery to appeal to his hellenized Jewish audience and to show them that their own

religion had a wise feminine figure who was even greater than Isis and, most importantly, was compatible with monotheism. Chapter 10 also reflects elements of *synkrisis*, in that there is a comparative alternation between righteous and unrighteous figures/groups. Although the level of comparison in chap. 10 is not as explicit at times as it is in chaps. 11–19, there is a clear contrast between the righteous individuals who were saved by Wisdom and the unrighteous ones who were not. Lastly, chap. 10 may be considered as midrashic since it was written by a Jewish author for a Jewish audience and reinterprets parts of the sacred text for application in a later generation.

The next area of inquiry was to consider how the genre and form of chap. 10 affect Pseudo-Solomon's interpretive method in that chapter. Before I summarize my findings on this issue, it will be beneficial to review both the author's theological emphases and his general hermeneutical principles reflected in chap. 10. I believe that Pseudo-Solomon stresses two main theological ideas in chap. 10. First, Lady Wisdom is God's active agent in human history. For Pseudo-Solomon, she is not a goddess like Isis and not necessarily a physical or spiritual hypostasis per se but rather a divine attribute that has been literarily personified to reflect better God's activity and concern for his people. Ultimately, she is a manifestation of God's creative and salvific activity in the world. In other words, God acts and chooses to act through Wisdom. While other OT sapiential texts mention Wisdom's role in creation, no other extant text—biblical or extrabiblical—explicitly depicts Lady Wisdom as active in the lives of specific biblical figures. Even Ben Sira's praise of Lady Wisdom in chap. 24 and his "Praise of the Ancestors" in chaps. 44–50 do not explicitly make this connection. However, I have no

doubt that these two passages from the Wisdom of Ben Sira influenced Pseudo-Solomon in the composition of his example list that praises Wisdom's mighty works in early Israelite history. One reason why Pseudo-Solomon may have used this well-known OT sapiential figure in chap. 10 was to combat the popular Hellenistic cult of Isis that may have attracted some of the Alexandrian Jews in his day. The second major theological point in chap. 10 is that those who accept Wisdom are righteous and worthy of her salvation, while those who reject her are unrighteous, destined for self-destruction, and are a perpetual example of how not to behave. This point is vividly illustrated throughout chap. 10 by the positive and negative examples and summarized by the statements in Wis 10:8-9. Pseudo-Solomon's theological message in chap. 10 is clear: hold firm to the ancient wisdom found in Judaism and exemplified by our ancestors.

In terms of Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method in chap. 10, there were six major points that emerged. First, Pseudo-Solomon's use of implicit citation and general allusion to passages in Genesis and Exodus shows his great respect for the wording of the biblical text. Second, he regards all parts of Scripture to be authoritative and interconnected since he uses language and imagery from some parts of the OT to reinterpret other parts. For example, in chap. 10, Pseudo-Solomon uses passages from Proverbs, Isaiah, and the Psalms to explain events in Genesis and Exodus. Third, the author includes appropriate elements from Hellenistic thought and culture to express his message better. The most notable example of this phenomenon in chap. 10 is the recasting of Lady Wisdom in terms of the goddess Isis in order to emphasize Wisdom's superiority to the pagan deity. Fourth, Pseudo-Solomon supplements the biblical stories

with extrabiblical embellishments. Some of these additions may derive from traditions circulating at the time and some may be his own creation. In addition to embellishments, there are also omissions of biblical details that can likewise affect the meaning of a passage. Examples of this include: (1) the omission of Eve's role in the first sin when Adam is mentioned; and (2) the lack of proper names throughout the passage. Fifth, Pseudo-Solomon tends to idealize figures and "globalize" individuals in order to teach a lesson and/or encourage his audience. The questionable behavior of certain positive biblical figures is rarely mentioned (e.g., Lot, Jacob), and groups are generally emphasized over individuals (e.g., the Israelites over Moses). Sixth, Pseudo-Solomon applies past biblical events to the socio-historical situation experienced by the Alexandrian Jews in his day. The biblical text does not recount remote events that have no effect on the present. Rather, the text reflects events and realities that are relevant for present and future generations. For example, in chap. 10, Pseudo-Solomon links the past to the present when he relates that evidence for the destruction of the Pentapolis is visible in his own day. It is through these six basic principles that Pseudo-Solomon interprets passages of Genesis and Exodus in chap. 10.

I then arrived at the question of how the genre and form of chap. 10 affects or influences Pseudo-Solomon's hermeneutical method and ultimately his theological approach. For the most part, the genre and form of chap. 10 do not greatly affect Pseudo-Solomon's basic method of interpretation. The same general hermeneutical principles are found throughout his work and do not change in chap. 10. However, the degree to which his methods are manifested in chap. 10 is influenced in part by the genre and form. For

example, the *Beispielreihe* genre with its comparative elements (i.e., *synkrisis*) influences the idealization of the biblical figures in the chapter. In order to teach a lesson by means of an example list, it is most effective to depict figures as wholly good or wholly bad. Any ambiguity concerning the moral character of the figures runs the risk of muddling the lesson that one desires to teach. For example, what benefit would there be in mentioning Jacob's trickery in a list that extols Wisdom for her saving deeds? Another example of the effect of genre on interpretation in chap. 10 is the impact of the passage's aretalogical nature on Pseudo-Solomon's reinterpretation of biblical figures and events. Because Wisdom's *arētai* or wondrous deeds are the focus of chap. 10, the actions of the biblical figures are rarely mentioned. This is especially true of the righteous figures, who are seen primarily as beneficiaries of Wisdom's saving works, while the unrighteous figures act apart from Wisdom and on their own behalf, which leads to their destruction. Thus, the biblical stories are not simply retold as they appear in Genesis and Exodus, but are reviewed through the "lens" of Lady Wisdom's saving works.

The last area that I considered in my study is how the hermeneutical method in chap. 10 compares to that of other parts of the book. Although there are minor interpretive differences among its component sections that are influenced by genre, form, and content, the same basic hermeneutical principles are used by Pseudo-Solomon throughout his work. I believe that this interpretive similarity in all parts of the book further supports the understanding that the work was either composed by a single author or school of like-minded authors.

It is my hope that the present study on the Wisdom of Solomon 10 has succeeded in shedding light on one facet of biblical interpretation in the late Second Temple Period. Now that I have established the genre, form, and hermeneutical principles exhibited by Pseudo-Solomon in chap. 10 and his work as a whole, these may more fruitfully be compared with other midrashic treatments of Scripture (and especially Genesis and Exodus) in the late Second Temple, rabbinical, and early Christian eras.

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