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man to have been of the earth earthy, while the second man is the Lord from heaven ?

In fine, Science and the Bible are at one, and will be seen to be at one whenever scientific men learn to treat the Bible fairly, and religious men learn to deal fairly with the discoveries of Science. They both proclaim a spiritual Cause of the world, and a spiritual End for it. They both affirm that nature is from Spirit, by Spirit, for Spirit. They both teach that as all things come from God, so also things tend to God and will reach their true goal and perfection as they return to and rest in Him, the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End.

ALMONI PELONI.

THE SOURCES OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

III. THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

THE history of the Book of Wisdom is involved in considerable obscurity, and very little can be laid down with any degree of certainty as to its authorship and date beyond the fact that it comes from the pen of an Alexandrian Jew shortly before the Christian era. Various names have been suggested, including those of Apollos and Philo. But the balance of evidence seems to be decisive in favour of an earlier date than that which either of these two names would give, and the coincidences with the Epistle to the Hebrews (which is also assigned to Apollos) have been decidedly exaggerated. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to quote Dr. Westcott's conclusion in his article on the Book in question in the "Dictionary of the Bible" : "It seems most reasonable . . . to believe that it was

composed at Alexandria some time before the time of Philo (circa 120-80 B.C.). This opinion in the main, though the conjectural date varies from 150-50 B.C., or even beyond these limits, is held by Heydenrich, Gfrörer, Bauermeister, Ewald, Bruch, and Grimm."¹

But, whatever be the date of the composition of the Book, one thing is clear to my mind, that it was well known to St. Paul and his companions. Without claiming for the Epistle of Clement of Rome the authority of St. Paul's fellow-labourer, "whose name is in the book of life" (Phil. iv. 3), it is certain from internal evidence that the Epistle is the work of one who was thoroughly imbued with the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles, and acquainted with his style and writings; and tradition is strong and persistent in connecting the name of the author with St. Paul. The Epistle to the Hebrews also is confessedly *Pauline*, even if we are compelled to reject the view that it actually comes from St. Paul's own hand. Here then we have two books written almost certainly by companions of the Apostle, both of which contain clear and definite references to the Book of Wisdom;² and the purpose of the present paper is to establish the fact (which does not seem to be sufficiently recognized) that there are no less clear and definite references to the same Book in the writings of St. Paul himself, and that it furnished him with some of the most remarkable illustrations and ideas to be found in his Epistles.

Those passages shall first be examined in which the similarity of thought is so strongly marked as to raise a conviction that the one writer was dependent upon the other. A few others shall then be added, to which I could

¹ "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1782.

² The coincidences will be found drawn out in full in Vol. I. of the EXPOSITION (First Series), p. 329 *seq.*, to which it will be sufficient to refer, although I am quite unable to accept the writer's inference that in the one case the coincidences imply identity of authorship.

hardly appeal with the same degree of confidence were it not that a study of the first list had satisfied me that St. Paul was familiarly acquainted with the Book of Wisdom. If that is once accepted as a certain fact, it will be natural to see in the passages collected together in the second list a reflection of the teaching of the earlier Book.

I. (1) Romans ix. 19-21. "Thou wilt say (*ἔρεῖς*) then unto me, Why doth he still find fault? For who withstandeth his will (*τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκε*;)? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus (*τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως*;)? Or hath not the potter (*ὁ κεραμεύς*) a right over the clay, from the same lump (*ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος*) to make one part a vessel (*σκεῦος*) unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"

Some expressions in these verses are supposed to be drawn from Isaiah xxix. 16, xlv. 9; and Jeremiah xviii. 6. (See Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, *in loc.*) But far more striking is the resemblance between St. Paul's words and the following passage from the Book of Wisdom (chap. xv. 7): "The potter (*κεραμεύς*), tempering soft earth, fashioneth every vessel with much labour for our service; yea, of the same clay (*ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ*) he maketh both the vessels (*σκεύη*) that serve for clean uses, and likewise also all such as serve to the contrary: but what is the use of either sort the potter himself is the judge." With verses 19 and 20 of St. Paul we should also compare Wisdom xii. 12: "For who shall say (*ἔρεῖ*), What hast thou done (*τί ἐποίησας*), or who shall withstand thy judgment (*τίς ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κρίματί σου*;)?" Nor should we overlook the fact that the thought of the following verses in the Epistle (verses 22-25) finds a parallel in Wisdom xii. 20.

I would not lay too much stress on this last coincidence; but it appears to me nothing short of a moral certainty

that the illustration of the potter and his work was suggested to St. Paul by the Book of Wisdom, even more than by those of Isaiah and Jeremiah, to which commentators in general refer us.

(2) Ephesians vi. 13-17: "Take up the whole armour of God (*ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*), that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand, therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness (*ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης*), and having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace; withal taking up the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the evil one. And take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Much of this magnificent passage is due to a reminiscence of words and phrases from various chapters of the prophet Isaiah (see Isaiah xi. 4, 5; xl. 3, 9; xlix. 2; li. 16; lii. 7; lix. 17). But at a still earlier date these very passages suggested a similar elaboration of the figure in the Book of Wisdom; and there can be little doubt that a recollection of this, blended with the passages of Isaiah, served to colour the Apostle's thought and mould his phraseology. Wisdom v. 17-20: "He shall take to him his jealousy for complete armour (*λήψεται πανοπλίαν*), and make the creature his weapon for the revenge of his enemies. He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate (*ἐνδύσεται θώρακα δικαιοσύνην*),¹ and true judgment instead of an helmet. He shall take holiness for an invincible shield. His severe wrath shall he sharpen for a sword, and the world shall fight with him against the unwise."

Is it not highly probable that this description was in St. Paul's mind when he wrote the passage quoted above,

¹ The reader will not fail to note that this is closer to the Apostle's *ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης* than is the primary passage in Isaiah lix. 17, *ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα*.

and that at any rate it was the source of the opening words, "Take up the whole armour of God,"¹ an expression to which no parallel is forthcoming in any of the passages from the prophet Isaiah?

(3) The first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans supplies us with some very remarkable coincidences with the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the Book of Wisdom.

Romans i. 18-23: "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold down the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God manifested it unto them. For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity; that they may be without excuse: because that, knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, neither gave thanks; but became vain (*ἐματαιώθησαν*) in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."

Wisdom xiii. 1-10. "Surely vain (*μάταιοι*) are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and could not out of the good things that are seen know Him that is: neither by considering the works did they acknowledge the Workmaster. . . . By the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the Maker of them is seen. But yet for this they are the less to be blamed, for they peradventure err, seeking God and desirous to find Him. For being conversant in His works they search Him diligently and believe their sight, because the things are

¹ The word *πανοπλία* is used nowhere by St. Paul except in this passage. It is also a rare one in the LXX.

beautiful that are seen. Howbeit neither are they to be pardoned. For if they were able to know so much, that they could aim at the world, how did they not sooner find out the Lord thereof? But miserable are they, and in dead things is their hope, who called them gods which are the works of men's hands, gold and silver, to shew art in, and resemblances of beasts, or a stone, good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand." It will be noticed that although the verbal coincidences are very slight, yet the *ideas* of the two passages are precisely similar. (a) The natural theology is the same in both. (b) The *inexcusable* character of the error of the Gentiles is dwelt upon by each writer. (c) The references to idolatry are also common to both. And the conclusion that St. Paul's thoughts are here influenced by a recollection of the Book of Wisdom is confirmed, when we discover that (d) the fearful catalogue of the sins of heathenism given as a consequence of idolatry in Romans i. 24-32 bears a strong resemblance to that which appears in the same connection in Wisdom xiv. 21-27. The passages are too long for quotation here. I can only ask my readers to compare them together for themselves, and I am convinced that they will be surprised by the likeness between the two.

(4) In Romans iii. 25 we find a most unusual expression, to which the Authorized Version failed to do justice, but which is rendered in the Revised Version "*the passing over of sins done aforetime.*" The word is *πάρεσις*, which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, and the teaching of the whole passage appears to be this:—"There needed a signal manifestation of the righteousness of God, on account of the long *prætermission* or passing over of sins, in his infinite forbearance, with no adequate expression of his wrath against them, during all those long years which preceded the coming of Christ; which manifestation of God's righteousness found place when He set forth

no other and no less than his own Son to be the propitiatory sacrifice for sin.”¹ This doctrine of the *πάρεσις*, the “passing over” of sins before the incarnation, is a remarkable one. Something like it is found in two other passages of the New Testament, to be considered shortly. But, for the present, we must notice that it appears (and, so far as I know, for the first time) in the Book of Wisdom (chap. xi. 23): “Thou hast mercy upon all” (*ἐλεεῖς δὲ πάντας*. Comp. Romans xi. 32, *ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλέησῃ*), “for Thou canst do all things, and winkest at (*παρορᾷς*) the sins of men, that they should amend.” Comp. xii. 20, where we should probably read, “Thou didst punish the enemies of thy children with such deliberation and indulgence,² giving them time and place whereby they might be delivered from their malice.”

(5) Acts xvii. gives a report of St. Paul’s speech at Athens. It is contained in a very few verses (22–31). But within the compass of those ten verses we find no less than three thoughts which we have already seen in the passages that have been quoted from the Book of Wisdom. (a) The nations made “that they should seek God (*ζητεῖν τὸν Θεὸν*), if haply they might feel after Him and find Him” (*εὔροισιν*). Cf. Wisdom xiii. 6. “They peradventure err, seeking God, and desirous to find Him (*Θεὸν ζητοῦντες καὶ θέλοντες εὔρεῖν*). (b) “We ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto *gold* or *silver* or *stone*, graven by *art* and device of men.” Cf. Wisdom xiii. 10: “Miserable are they and in dead things is their hope, who called them gods, which are the work of men’s hands, *gold* and *silver*, to shew *art* in, and resemblances of beasts, or a *stone*, good for nothing, the work of an ancient hand.” (c) “The times of this ignorance God overlooked

¹ Trench’s “Synonyms of the New Testament,” p. 14.

² καὶ διέσωσεν. So **N**. See Deane’s “Commentary on the Book of Wisdom,” p. 178.

(ὑπερίδων), but now commandeth men that they should all everywhere repent" (μετανοεῖν). Here then appears for the second time the doctrine of the *πάρεσις*, and therefore compare Wisdom xi. 23: "Thou . . . winkest at (*παρόρησ*) the sins of men, that they should amend" (*εἰς μετάνοιαν*).

(6) The third passage in the New Testament where this idea is found is Acts xiv. 16, St. Paul's speech at Lystra, where we read that God "in the generations gone by suffered all the nations to walk in their own way." And here it is closely connected with the thought that God "left not Himself without witness," nature and natural forces being appealed to, just as in the Book of Wisdom (xiii. 5 *seq.*), as bearing their testimony to God. We seem therefore to be justified in adding this passage to our list of those which shew traces of a knowledge of the earlier work on the part of the Apostle. And these similarities between St. Paul's speeches in the Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Wisdom have a special importance of their own, because they may serve to supply us with an indirect evidence of the genuineness of those speeches. There seems to be convincing proof from the Epistles of St. Paul's familiarity with the Book in question; and when we find that his recorded speeches evince an acquaintance with the same writing we cannot help being struck with the coincidence. It is too slight, and we may add too natural, to be due to the art of a forger compiling fictitious speeches in the name of the Apostle. And as the Book of Wisdom is one to which there are scarcely any allusions in the New Testament beyond those in the Pauline Epistles, the fact just noticed may fairly claim to rank as an "undesigned coincidence" of no small value.

No less than six passages have now been examined, in which thoughts and illustrations found in the Book of Wisdom reappear in St. Paul's writings and speeches.

These thoughts and illustrations are not common ones. In some cases it is true their ultimate source is seen to be the prophetic books of the Old Testament. But then they have been enlarged and elaborated by the Alexandrian Jew, writing with them before him. And the fact that ideas and expressions which he has been the first to introduce are also found in those passages of St. Paul's writings which have been quoted goes far to demonstrate that (whether consciously or unconsciously) the Apostle's thoughts were to a considerable extent influenced by a reminiscence of his work. The parallelisms are too clear and too numerous to be entirely due to chance. It is, to say the least, unlikely that two writers, working independently of each other, would have elaborated the figure of the potter in so similar a manner; and the unlikelihood is largely increased when we find that precisely the same kind of elaboration has taken place with a second figure, viz. that of the armour of God. These two instances, when fairly considered, seem sufficient to convince us that St. Paul had studied the Book of Wisdom; and if so, we are surely justified in tracing the influence of the same work in the other passages that have been examined, in which also the resemblances are close and the thoughts identical.

II. Nor is the list of parallelisms fully completed yet. In a few minor instances there is a close verbal similarity between St. Paul's writings and the Book of Wisdom. These passages are so short that, if they stood alone, they would perhaps be insufficient to prove acquaintance with the earlier writer on the part of the later. But, as has been already remarked, if such acquaintance is admitted, it is only natural to suppose that these minor coincidences imply dependence, and are more or less unconscious reminiscences of passages in the earlier work.

(1) Romans v. 12. "Through one man sin *entered into*

the world (εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν), and death (ὁ θάνατος) through sin."

The form of expression here used recalls nothing in the Book of Genesis, but is almost identical with that found in Wisdom ii. 24, "through envy of the devil came death into the world" (θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον). And this may therefore be set down as its source.

(2) Again, the words of 1 Corinthians vi. 2, "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" (οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσι;) contain a thought which is also found in Wisdom iii. 8, where it is said of the righteous that "in the time of their visitation" they "shall judge the nations (κρινούσιν ἔθνη) and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever."

(Here however it must be admitted that it is equally probable that Daniel vii. 22 is the origin of both passages alike.)

(3) Once more, in 2 Corinthians v. 1-4 we are irresistibly reminded of Wisdom ix. 15. The passages are as follows :

Wisdom. "The corruptible body presseth down (βαρύνει) the soul, and the earthly tabernacle (τὸ γεώδες σκῆνος) weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things."

Corinthians. "For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle (ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκηνούς) be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For verily in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in this tabernacle (ἐν τῷ σκηνῷ) do groan, being burdened (βαρούμενοι); not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life."

In comparing these two passages together, it is most instructive to observe how St. Paul, while adopting some

of his language, advances far beyond the position of the earlier writer in teaching that, in the resurrection, the spirit will not be "naked" but will be "clothed upon," clearly with the "spiritual body" of 1 Corinthians xv.; this doctrine of the resurrection of the body being one of which the Book of Wisdom not only does not contain the slightest trace, but for which (as Canon Westcott says) it "leaves no room by the general tenor of its teaching."¹

Lastly, it deserves to be noticed that a considerable number of words—and some of them *very* unusual ones—are common to the Epistles of St. Paul in the New Testament and the Book of Wisdom in the Septuagint; and, as will be seen from the following references, many of them are peculiar to these two among Biblical writers: *ἀθανασία* (Wisdom iii. 4; iv. 1; viii. 13, 17; xv. 3. 1 Corinthians xv. 53, 54; 1 Timothy vi. 16; nowhere else in New Testament or LXX.) *ἀναξικακία* (Wisdom ii. 19; nowhere else in LXX. Compare 2 Timothy ii. 24, *ἀνεξίκακος*, nowhere else in New Testament). *ἀνυπόκριτος*, "apud profanos non exstat," Grimm (Wisdom v. 19; xviii. 16; nowhere else in the LXX. Romans xii. 9; 2 Corinthians vi. 6; 1 Timothy i. 5; 2 Timothy i. 5). *ἀπλότης καρδίας* (Wisdom i. 1. Ephesians vi. 5; Colossians iii. 22; nowhere else in the New Testament. In the LXX. only in 1 Chronicles xxix. 17). *ἀπότομος* (Wisdom v. 20; vi. 5; xi. 10. Nowhere else in LXX. Cf. *ἀποτομία*, Romans xi. 22, and *ἀποτόμως*, 2 Corinthians xiii. 10; Titus i. 13). *ἀφθαρσία* (Wisdom ii. 23; vi. 19. Romans ii. 7; 1 Corinthians xv. 42 *seq.*; Ephesians vi. 24; 2 Timothy i. 10; Titus ii. 7. Nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *εἰκόν* (in Wisdom vii. 26 the Divine Wisdom is spoken of as the image (*εἰκόν*) of God's goodness; so in 2 Corinthians iii. 18 and Colossians i. 15 St. Paul calls Christ the image (*εἰκόν*) of God). *ἐπιτιμία*, meaning *punishment*,

¹ "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1783.

“Græcis τὸ ἐπιτίμιον,” Grimm (Wisdom iii. 10. 2 Corinthians ii. 6; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *θειότης* (Wisdom xviii. 6. Romans i. 20; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *καταλαλία*, “apud Græcos non habetur,” Grimm (Wisdom i. 11; nowhere else in LXX. 2 Corinthians xii. 20, and cf. *κατάλαλος*, found only in Romans i. 30). *κενοδοξία* (Wisdom xiv. 4. Philippians ii. 3; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *προσαναπληρώω* (Wisdom xix. 4. 2 Corinthians ix. 12; xi. 9; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament). *σέβασμα* (Wisdom xiv. 20; xv. 17. Acts xvii. 23 in a speech of St. Paul’s; 2 Thessalonians ii. 4; nowhere else in New Testament, in LXX. elsewhere only in Bel, verse 27). *φιλάγαθος* (Wisdom vii. 22. Titus i. 8; nowhere else in LXX. or New Testament).

It is believed that a careful study of this list will serve to confirm the conclusion which we have already seen to be highly probable, that the Apostle’s *phraseology* as well as his *thought* was influenced in no small degree by the study of the Book of Wisdom.

One reflection may be made in conclusion. If it is satisfactorily established that St. Paul was thus familiar with this Book, and drew thoughts and illustrations from it, it cannot be an accident *that he nowhere appeals to it directly as an authority*. Had he placed it on a level with the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Covenant, he would surely have thus appealed to it, as he did to them, to prove and establish his teaching. That he never once does this may be taken as an indication of the position which he assigned to it. He admired it and used it; he suffered it to influence his thoughts and his language. But he did not reckon it as one of those “oracles of God” which were committed to the custody of Israel, and regarded by every Jew as the ultimate appeal in matters of controversy.

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