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SOME ASPECTS OF THE CONCEPT OF ḤOKMAH
IN THE
RABBINIC DOCTRINE OF CREATION

by

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of the requirements for the
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DIGEST OF THESIS

One of the basic questions which arises in any survey of Rabbinic theology is that of God's relationship to the world. Our concern, here, lies in the question of Rabbinic cosmogony, and, specifically, in the place occupied by wisdom in that cosmogony.

To begin with, we surveyed the Biblical material relevant to this problem. We commented on such passages as Genesis 1:1-3; Psalm 104:2; Proverbs 3:19f; 8:22-31; 9:1-4; and Job 28. Other selections from Biblical and comparative literature were noted and discussed, in our attempt to ascertain the notions of Creation and hypostases of Wisdom during the Biblical period.

In the second chapter, we surveyed Greek cosmogony and hypostases of Wisdom. Here we attempted both to lay the foundation for at least one of the possible sources for Rabbinic notions on this subject, as well as to point out certain obvious parallels in Greek and Rabbinic thinking.

This task was carried further in the third chapter, which sought to establish the relation between Palestinian-Rabbinic Judaism and its Hellenistic milieu. Here we examined the intellectual climate of Alexandria, considering such topics as the parallels between Alexandrian and Rabbinic interpretation of text. In a second section, we surveyed the Apocryphal

and Pseudepigraphal material related to our problem. Finally, we considered the question of Philonic parallels to Rabbinic cosmogony. Here we dwelt upon such topics as the Light Stream.

In the fourth chapter, we reviewed this question as found in Christian and Gnostic literature. We were particularly concerned with the Prologue to the Gospel of John and the mystic liturgy found in the Apostolic Constitutiones.

In our final chapter we examined the Rabbinic material itself. After a few introductory considerations, we discussed the sources, grouping them under the following headings: The Esoteric Nature of Creation; The Rabbinic Attitude towards Mediations and Plurality; Theurgic Notions of Creation; Pre-existent Materials; The Creation of Light and the Rabbinic Doctrine of Emanation; The "Word" of God; The Cosmic Plan; and The Hypostatization of Wisdom.

Our conclusions indicate that the Rabbinic material must be viewed in the context of its contemporary milieu. The place of Wisdom in Rabbinic cosmogony appears to be inseparable from, though not necessarily dependent on, Greek, Christian, and Gnostic thought.

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INTRODUCTION

There are few questions as intriguing as those dealing with the creation of the universe. Cosmogony and cosmology were the major concern of the ancient pre-Socratic philosophers. Even those later philosophers who posited an eternal universe, such as Aristotle, had to apply their fullest talents and abilities to refute the cosmogonic arguments of their opponents.

If early science and philosophy were fascinated by this question, how much the more so was theology! A religion which centers about a Creator, must be concerned with creation. If the deity is omnipotent, then the world and its existence depend upon him. Of course, some argued that the world was co-extensive with God, in which case, in the Mediterranean world at least, this usually led to a deification of the world itself, and the question of the relation of the world to the deity, or deities, remained unanswered.

Judaism and Christianity, in their <u>normative positions</u>, have never seriously suggested that the universe was eternal or uncreated. Both have been concerned with the Creation of the universe and how it was accomplished. Furthermore, there was a <u>rapprochement</u> in their respective cosmogonies. Starting with the first verse of Genesis as the common "given," the <u>Jerusalem Targum</u> stated בכרם אמרן בקדמין ; the Midrash (<u>Genesis Rabbah</u> 1.1 and elsewhere) stated that the world was created "with Reshith," and by referring to

Proverbs 8:22, declares that "Reshith" is to be equated with the Torah; and the Fourth Gospel states, "In the beginning was the Word." Clearly, the Wisdom of God, the pre-existent Torah, and the pre-existent Christ bear some similarity. All three were employed by the differing systems of cosmogony as God's instrument of creation. Indeed, a fundamental distinction between Judaism, on the one hand, and Christianity and Christian Gnosticism, on the other, lies in the question of creation. For Rabbinic-normative Judaism, God's tool was the Sophia-Hokmah-Torah. For Christianity and Christian Gnosticism, it was Sophia-Logos - Christ.

It is our contention that there are great similarities between the two positions, and that the real difference lies in the Jewish semi-hypostatization of Wisdom-Torah into an implement used by God, as opposed to the Christian and Gnostic complete hypostatization of Logos-Christ as a part of the Godhead. In any event, as we shall attempt to demonstrate, the entire rabbinic-normative position on the significance of Hokmah in creation is comprehensible only if seen against the backdrop of the Hellenistic and Christian world.

Our procedure, then, shall be to examine the role of wisdom in cosmogony at the various strata of what we shall consider to be the background to the rabbinic material. First, we will consider the Creation and hypostases of wisdom on the Biblical level, for, whether by exegesis or eisegesis,

this was the starting point of the rabbis. Then, we will turn to a consideration of the question of cosmogony in Greek philosophy. A chapter on Alexandria will follow, wherein we will touch upon the impact of the Alexandrian Jewish community on that of Palestine. We will also survey the issues of creation and hypostatization as evidenced in the Apocrypha-Pseudepigrapha and Philo. The final chapter of background material will deal with New Testament and Gnostic sources.

Our major interest will lie, of course, in the examination of the rabbinic texts discussing the issues of creation and the hypostatization of wisdom. These texts will also be viewed in terms of their similarity and/or relationship with the background material. Since our major concern shall be in the rabbinic-normative material itself, there will be many peripheral and ancillary questions which we will touch on without a really thorough investigation. Hence, we shall not attempt to stratify the Biblical, Apocryphal, and New Testament material. We will not deal with the involved issues of the authenticity of Patristic and Gnostic documents. In like manner, in treating the Philonic material, the question of direct influence of the rabbis on Philo or Philo on the rabbis will not concern us. What we will do is to point out certain parallels and similarities. Except for reference to the problem, any attempted resolution of the causal question is beyond the scope of this work. We shall attempt to

indicate similarities without entering into considerations of dependency. The same, of course, will apply to any of the background material. With these goals and limitations clearly in mind, let us turn to a consideration of the first of our background sources, the Bible.

CHAPTER I

THE BIBLICAL CONCEPTION OF CREATION AND EARLY HYPOSTASES OF WISDOM

"The Lord by wisdom founded the earth; by understanding He established the heavens." Proverbs 3:19

The point of departure for all rabbinic discussion of our problem is the Bible. It may be, as we shall see, that the specific notions of the rabbis derive from external stimuli, but, inevitably, they turned to the Bible, if not to find the source, then, at least, to find the justification of this or that particular concept. Whether the process be that of exegesis or eisegesis, the Bible was central. It is from this point of departure that we shall examine Biblical references dealing with Creation and/or with hypostases of wisdom. We do not propose to delve deeply into the problem on the Biblical level, but rather to suggest the bases for the subsequent treatment of the material by the rabbis.

Judaism, even during the Biblical period, did not develop its notions sui generis. It is impossible to divorce its ideational content from that of its contemporaries. Thus, the systems developed elsewhere in the Biblical world will have an impact on the emergent Biblical thought. Thus, it is significant that "In Egypt we find that Hu (hw 'Word') and Sia (Sj3 'understanding') were regarded as assistants

to Re-Atum in the work of creation. Later they attained so high a degree of independence that they could be associated with any God."[1] The same case obtained with other abstractions. Other similarities will appear between the Biblical "Wisdom," the Mesopotamian Ishtar and the Egyptian-Hellenistic Isis. These Mesopotamian similarities were particularly reflected in the various Gnostic concepts of Sophia (see below)[2]. In like manner, an investigation into the pre-Biblical and Biblical Near East will yield parallels to rabbinic expressions. The name for God "He who spoke and it came into being," is found in Sumero-Babylonian cosmogonic accounts.[3] However, in all this material, we must bear in mind that similarity does not imply dependence.

Of course, we cannot neglect the Greek influence upon Biblical material. It may not be as extensive as Neumark suggests, i.e., to make "P" virtually dependent on Plato, but he does offer some interesting possibilities for the post Ezraic period.[4] He discerns two types of influence at this period.

> It is positive inasmuch as some writers of this period try to blend Platonic and biblical elements into one harmonious mold. But it is also negative, inasmuch as they had to fight certain Greek, and among them also some specific Platonic, elements which were favored and embodied into Jewish life and letters by the so-called Hellenists.[5]

Among other positive influences, he includes

> ...the preponderance of the cosmological aspect into the God-conception of the Jeremian school which in principle had conquered the field, as also, and especially, the theory of ideas which, in the doctrine of man's creation in the image of God and of the erection of the Tabernacle after an ideal heavenly pattern, had been embodied in the new Book of the Covenant and thus enjoying a certain measure of authoritative recognition, prepared the soil for the metaphysical influence of Plato, quite perceptible in the biblical writings of this period. [6]

We would do well to bear in mind the danger of treating what may well be merely superficial similarities as causal relationships.

At this point we shall turn to a brief survey of the Biblical passages relevant to our problem. Our further consideration of the question of cross-cultural influences will be clearer if treated in this context.

Our major concern, of course, will lie in the treatment of the first chapter of Genesis, particularly the first five verses. As we shall see, the very first word בְּרֵאשִׁית is the point of departure for a significant portion of the rabbinic solution to the question of how the world was created. The third verse is similarly important in Philonic as well as rabbinic exegesis and the question of the light-stream. The material in the second chapter, highly anthropomorphic in nature, seems to play little part in the formation of the rabbinic conception of creation.

The next passage which we shall consider is Jeremiah 10:12, עֹשֵׂה אֶרֶץ בְּכֹחוֹ מֵכִין תֵּבֵל בְּחָכְמָתוֹ

[illegible] Here, the term [illegible] first comes into play. Thus, at this level, we may have the origins of the equation of [illegible] with [illegible] which becomes normative in the rabbinic period, and in some of the Targumim as well. However, it is much more probable that the actual origin of this concept derives from Proverbs 8:22 ff. (see below). Neumark suggests one interpretation of the possible significance of this passage in its own period. He sees it as reflecting the theory of ideas. Some individuals in this period might be willing to base this upon angels. "The opponents of angels, however, had to employ the art of interpretation, and the soil for a convenient interpretation was well prepared: The attribute of Wisdom was pressed to the fore by Jeremiah in his monotheistic theory of creation."[7] This was, he maintains, similar to the Platonic cosmological Sophia. This, in turn, led to the acceptance of the Platonic Ideas as an undivided totality. The ideas were, for Plato, the means of creation.

> The undivided attribute of Wisdom is the organ of creation in the conception of those adherents of the monotheistic theory of creation among the Jews who were influenced by Plato, but insisted on the rejection of angels. This theorem was to them all the more acceptable, as the exemplum presens of that Wisdom, the Torah, was on their hands: Wisdom was soon identified with Torah. The Torah, accordingly to this interpretation, is not only the causa finalis, but also the causa movens, the cause of creation.[8]

Neumark applies this same analysis to the conception of Torah

as an emanation of Wisdom, which he finds in Proverbs, Isaiah, and Deuteronomy. In Plato, he asserts, these ideas were linked to theocratic ideas. He sees a parallel in Job as a glorification on the monotheistic conception of Creation, and Proverbs 9 which is, for him,theocratic in nature.[9] His equation of Wisdom with Torah, and his assertion that the latter is both the final and efficient cause of creation, may well be descriptive of the rabbinic period. One may question, however, the accuracy of placing such a system in the Ezraic and early post-Ezraic period. There may have been contact with Greek thought including that of Plato, but was it that extensive that early?

The Psalms constitute our next source of passages. There are several passages which attribute Creation to God, and glorify Him and His moral excellence because of His creative act.[10] Psalms 24:2, which informs us that water constituted the undergirding of the world, is reminiscent of certain Greek systems of cosmogony.[11] Creation by the "word" of God[12] and by fiat are significant themes developed in Psalms.[13] Similarly, Creation is described as taking place by the "understanding" of God.[14] That the Creation fulfilled a pre-ordained plan is suggested by 148:6. Here, a boundary is set beyond which the waters may not move. One final passage in the Psalter is of great significance. In 104:2, the emanation of light is described: עטה אור

בראשית ברא אלהים את ה'
כי טוב ה' The significance of this passage in explaining Genesis 1:3 did not escape the rabbis. It served, as we shall see, as a basis for an emanation theory of Creation, highly similar to the Alexandrian Light-Stream notion.

The book of Proverbs highlights the significance of חכמה in Creation. This relationship is clearly stated in 3:19f: ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה; בדעתו תהומות נבקעו וישחקים יארפו טל Now, we may raise the point that the "Wisdom" here described may well be poetic personification rather than a hypostatization. In any event, Wisdom's significance is great by the time we reach this book. In the passage in Chapter 8:22-31, Wisdom gains a still greater significance.

> Moreover, these passages in the book of Proverbs seem clearly to be in line with the later explicit identification (as in Sirach) of Hokmah with Torah. And the fact that in Proverbs viii.30 Wisdom is called 'umman "artisan" not only does not invalidate but actually confirms the interpretation of Wisdom as poetic personification.[15]

In a subsequent passage, however, the notion of Creation is a physical one, and God's wisdom is merely another attribute, like His omnipotence.[16]

Our final passages are to be found in the book of Job. In chapter 28, especially verses 12-27, we find that

Wisdom, in the ultimate sense, is the possession of God alone. Its value is unmeasurable. Even here, however, as in similar passages in the Wisdom of Solomon and Enoch, we are hard pressed to discover whether Wisdom is used in a personal or impersonal sense.[17] In Job 38, especially verses 4-41, we find further emphasis placed on the notion that Wisdom and creativity belong to God alone. Here, the distinctions between man and God are drawn even sharper.

We might view the Biblical material with Marcus, who observed

> ...The Israelite intellectuals were consistently devoted to the task of showing the people that Torah was not only the sum of human wisdom but was also the revelation of divine wisdom. Because, therefore, Hohmah was not only a divine quality but also the ideal of a human quality, which was to be realized in practical form, it never became sufficiently detached from either God or the Torah to become a concrete hypostasis and the occasion of a polytheistic development.[18]

He further suggests that the argument from analogy of other Near Eastern religions is fruitless, since a true analogy does not exist.

> If a particular deity is a very powerful and complex personality, like Yahweh, it is extremely unlikely that his qualities and attributes will ever acquire enough personality of their own to be considered independent deities.[19]

On the other hand, we cannot deprecate the level which Wisdom had reached by the end of the Biblical period. Marcus may be correct in asserting that it is not a full entity

alongside of God, but it does seem to be more than one of His attributes. I feel more inclined towards the position of Bentwich in this matter:

> The Wisdom books of the Old Testament, outlining the primitive reflection of the Hebrews on the Nature of the divine, pictured Wisdom as a link between God and man. Wisdom in her perfection is alone with God, and exists with Him before the creation. She is the divine purpose, the divine scheme of human life, and man's goal is to seek the apprehension of the divine ideal.[20]

Chapter I

Footnotes

1. Marcus, Ralph. "On Biblical Hypostases of Wisdom." Hebrew Union College Annual, vol. XXIII, part I Cincinnati, 1950-1951, p. 159.

2. Ibid. p. 162f.

3. Marmorstein, A. The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: Part I The Names and Attributes of God. Oxford University Press, London, 1927, p. 89. Verified in discussion with Dr. W. Hallo.

4. Neumark, David. The Philosophy of the Bible. Ark Publishing Company, Cincinnati, 1918. Part IV.

5. Ibid. p. 226f.

6. Ibid. p. 228f.

7. Ibid. p. 237f.

8. Ibid. p. 238.

9. Ibid. pp. 238f.

10. E.g. 8:4; 19:2; 89:3, 12ff; 96:5; 102:26; 104:3,5; 136:6-9.

11. Cf. Thales and the Milesians in chapter II below cf. also Psalms 33:7.

12. 33:6,9.

13. 148:5.

14. 136:5.

15. Marcus, op. cit. p. 166. He emends ΠΝΙΣ to ΠΝΙΣ. Note the similarity to Genesis Rabbah I.1.

16. Proverbs 30:3f.

17. Marcus, op. cit. p. 161.

18. Marcus, op. cit. pp. 169f.

19. Ibid. p. 170.

20. Bentwich, Norman. Hellenism. Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia. 1919. p. 152.

CHAPTER II

GREEK COSMOGONY AND HYPOSTASES OF WISDOM

"If the world be indeed fair and the artificer good, it is manifest that he must have looked to that which is eternal ..." Plato

While it may well be true that the real interchange between Greek and Jewish cultures did not take place until well into the Hellenistic period, we shall begin our survey with the pre-Socratics. Our reason for doing this is quite simple -- many "new" doctrines are the restatement of old ideals. Thus, Murray observes, that the hypostases of Wisdom -- Sophia, in the Hellenistic age, is merely a reinterpretation of the Kore or "Earth Maiden/Mother" concept of earlier times. He notes, interestingly enough, a parallel in the use of the Hebrew חכמה, which is a feminine noun.[1] Let us turn then to a brief survey of the Greek material relevant to our topic.

The first name we come upon is that of Pherecydes (sixth century) of Syros. He related the myth wherein Zas bestows a robe upon Chthonie, upon which the earth and ocean are depicted.[2] Thus, creation takes place by an unfolding process. We shall have occasion to reconsider this theme in rabbinic literature.

The first major school of Greek thought which we shall consider are the Milesians. Thales (c. 624-546) held that the earth floats on water.[3] Furthermore, water is the

material cause of all things. All things are full of gods. This may be proven by the reactions of magnetic substances. This last point does not necessarily make Thales a religionist.[4] As Zeller notes, "We have no grounds for assuming that he distinguished expressly between matter and the creative force as deity or mind or world-soul."[5]

For Anaximander (c. 610-545), the basic substance was the "Boundless" to which all would return. "... The boundless was conceived by him as something spacially unbounded (infinitum) and at the same time of indefinite quality (indefinitum)."[6] It is eternal and indestructible. Its motion is eternal, and this brings about the origin of the world. There is, however, no alteration in the first element. The opposites in the substratum, which is boundless, are separated out. The primary substance cannot be one of the four elements since these exist in pairs of opposites while it is infinite. The hot (dry) and the cold (wet) become the sun and earth, respectively. Life itself begins in the sea. There is a periodic alternation of creation and destruction in the universe. There is, therefore, a succession of worlds, without beginning or end. Similarly, there may be the simultaneous existence of innumerable world systems in infinite space.

The final Milesian, whom we shall consider is Anaximanes (flourished 585-524). For him, air is the prime matter. Like Anaximander, the prime substance here, too, is

boundless and in perpetual motion. Through its eternal motion, air undergoes two changes. The first is rarefaction, which leads to loosening, warming, and ultimately fire. The second is condensation which leads to contraction and cooling. This latter leads in turn to the formation of wind, clouds, water, earth and stones.

The next school which we shall consider are the Pythagoreans. Pythagoras (flourished 532-496) develops his cosmology via "Boundless breath." His position is similar, in substance, to that of Anaximanes.[7] Generally speaking, it is the theory of transmigration which distinguishes Pythagorean philosophy. The fundamental doctrine is that the nature of things is number. "Thus the anthropological dualism of body and soul was extended to the cosmic dualism of matter and form, or, as they expressed it, of the unlimited and the limit."[8] The limit probably was fire, while the boundless was darkness. There was a plurality of worlds, wherein the heavenly bodies were conceived of as "Wheels of air." Thus, Pythagoras approaches Aniximander.[9] Smith cites the following passage from the Physics of Aristotle which describes the cosmogony of Pythagoras:

> And the Pythagoreans say that there is a void, and that it enters into the heaven itself from the infinite air, as though it (the heaven) were breathing; and this void defines the nature of things, inasmuch as it is a certain separation and definition of things that lie together; and this is true first in the case of numbers, for the void defines the nature of these.[10]

The later Pythagoreans carried this system still further. "This construction of the world out of numbers was a real process in time which the Pythagoreans described in detail."[11] The numbers are the formal and material cause of things. Thus, odd and even become the equivalents of limit and unlimited, which was, of course, one of the original principles underlying Pythagorean cosmology. Xenophilus described the process as follows: first there was the "monad," then the "Dyad," then the number, then points, then lines, surfaces, and finally solids. The earth and the universe are spheres. Archytas (first half of the fourth century) built upon this and declared that the substance of all things is the concrete unity of form and matter.[12] The nature of reality lies in matter. "The moving primary force makes the matter of elements into bodies."[13]

The third school in our consideration is that of the Eleatics. Here we shall find a greater diversity of position than in the former two schools. The first of the Eleatics whom we shall consider is Xenophanes (c. 570-475). Xenophanes was essentially a pantheist, who taught that the unity of everything was the "all-One" or God. He was organically and immanently related to this world. Xenophanes took clear exception to the anthropomorphic representation of God by the poets.[14] The earth was the first substance in his system. He taught "For all things come from the earth, and all things

end by becoming earth. For we are all sprung from earth and water." (fragments 8 and 9)[15] It is not clear whether or not he held the world to be infinite. His conception of God, however, is quite clear.

> One god, the greatest among the gods and men,
> neither in form like unto mortal nor in thought....
> He sees all over, thinks all over, and hears
> all over. But without toil he swayeth all
> things by the thought of his mind. And he
> abideth even in the self-same place, moving
> not at all, nor doth it befit him to go about
> now hither now thither.[16]

Strictly speaking, Heraclitus (c. 544-484) may not be an Eleatic, yet his position is most clearly set forth against the background of the Eleatics. Indeed he stands in opposition to some of the Eleatics, especially Parmenides. "Like Xenophanes, Heraclitus started from the observation of nature; he comprehended this as a uniform whole; as such it has neither come into being nor does it pass away."[17] The essence of the world was to be found in the spiritual principle of the Logos, as it was in the deity for Xenophanes. The Logos, to which we shall have cause to return, was bound up with the material substrate, fire. Thus, Heraclitus takes a position closer to the Ionians than to the Eleatics. Also, unlike the Eleatics, he posited continuous change. "In the same river we step and do not step; we are and we are not." (fragment 81)[18] The primary substance, fire, becomes water, then earth, then water once more, and then fire. All things are subject to change. The appearance of sameness

is an illusion caused by the equilibrium of the vectors operative. An analogy may be drawn to the metabolic process in the human body -- there is no complete anabolism. There is a tension factor operative. Neither pole can be reached for this would imply the destruction of the other.[19]

God, for Heraclitus, is "...immanent spirit which creates nature, history, religion, law, and morality out of himself."[20] Thus, he develops a pantheism involving unity, eternal change, and the inviolability of the laws of the world order. A most significant and controversial point in Heraclitus is his Logos concept. Burnet takes one extreme position. "In any case the Johannine doctrine of the Logos has nothing to do with Heraclitus or with anything at all in Greek philosophy, but comes from the Hebrew Wisdom literature.[21] On the other hand, it is asserted by Drummond,[22] that in Heraclitus the Logos is eternal and is not simply a term for discourse.

> And if we have not evidence which justifies us in ascribing conscious intelligence to the Logos of Heraclitus, nevertheless we can hardly avoid the conclusion that he must have used language which was susceptible of different interpretation, and was capable at least of suggesting the doctrine of a later time.[23]

Similarly, Mills asserts, "It, the Logos, was a reasonable force which inheres in the substance-matter of the world. There is nothing material without it."[24] It has, however, no pre-existence.

The strongest opposition to Heraclitus came from

Parmenides (c. 540-470). He asserted, "Being cannot have a beginning or cease to be; for it cannot be created from Not-Being or reduced to Not-Being; it was never and never will be, but is now continuous and undivided."[25] Only the senses, which are in error, tell of change. Reason does not do so. With Parmenides, we may consider Melissus of Samos (flourished c. 440), one of the Younger Eleatics. His line of argument follows that of Parmenides, regarding the eternity of the universe, "...but in divergence from him drew the inadmissable conclusion that it must also be spacially without beginning or end, that is to say infinite."[26]

It was inevitable that an attempt would be made to reconcile the positions of Heraclitus and Parmenides. This was first undertaken by Empedocles (c. 495-435). He explained creation and destruction as being, in reality, the separating and mixing of eternal, immutable substances.

> In the formation of the present world Love, which was at first in the centre separated from Hate by the substances, set up a vortex into which the substances were gradually drawn; from this mixture air or ether was first to be separated by the rotary motion and formed the vault of heaven; after this fire, which took up its position immediately beneath air; from the earth, water was pressed out by the rotation and from the water, air again (that is the lower atmospheric air) was evaporated.[27]

Like Empedocles, Anaxagoras (500-428) denied actual coming into being or ceasing of existence. He stated "... All coming into being consists only in a combination, and all ceasing to be in the separation of already existing

substances, and each change of quality rests on a change of material composition."[28] He gives no explanation, however, for this motion. His most significant idea is a conception of mind as distinct from matter. The distinction lies in the simplicity of mind vis-a-vis the composite nature of matter. Matter itself is composed of a divisible nature of uncreated particles. His cosmogony proceeds as follows: in the original state there were mixed particles; the mind then created a vortex; and, ultimately, this led to a separation of these particles.

There is but a single statement of Leucippus (fifth century) which concerns us. He observed, "Nothing occurs at random, but everything for a reason and by necessity."[29] This notion will be considered subsequently in our discussion of certain aspects of the rabbinic concept of creation.

The last of the pre-Socratics, whom we shall consider is Democritus (c. 460-370).

> Democritus, like Parmenides, was convinced of the impossibility of an absolute creation or destruction, but he did not wish to deny the manifold of being, the motion, the coming into being and ceasing to be of composite things; and since all this, as Parmenides had shown, was unthinkable without not-being, he declared that not being is as good as being.[30]

In our treatment of Plato (427-347), we shall first consider some general factors and then turn to a more detailed look at the cosmogony of the Timaeus. Prior to the creation of the world, the material was in a state of irregular motion.

Through some process of natural necessity, the infinitesimal particles came together according to like kinds, and in separate regions formed the four elements, i.e., water, earth, air, and fire. Thus, we can see a marked similarity to the position of Democritus and the atomists.--the difference being that for the atomists the tiny particles constituted real being, while for Plato they assumed the status of co-causes in creation. The ideas are the real world. Similarly, the two differ regarding the significance of natural law. For Democritus this is the only moving force, while for Plato, it is merely an instrument of the divine mind.

Plato knows of no creation ex-nihilo. Indeed such an idea seems foreign to all of Greek thought. Creation, for Plato, appears to be the reduction of the primal chaos into an ordered cosmos. All this is accomplished through the self-moving soul, the Demiurge.

> All reason and knowledge in the universe and in the particular have their origin in him.... Thus the whole universe is a great living creature comprising mortal and immortal beings, a visible God, a copy of the God comprehended by thought, big, beautiful, magnificent and perfect of its kind.[31]

In the Timaeus, Plato develops the notion that God is all good. Since He desires to extend His goodness to others, He creates the world. In so doing, He first created a perfect pattern, which was itself living and divine. From this pattern he created the material world.

> If the world be indeed fair and the artificer good, it is manifest that he must have looked to

> that which is eternal.... Everyone will see that he must have looked to the eternal; for the world is the fairest of creations and he is the best of causes. And having been created in this way, the world has been framed in the likeness of that which is apprehended by reason and mind and is unchangeable, and must therefore of necessity, if this is admitted, be a copy of something.[32]

The material world is made of fire, air, water, and earth in four equal parts. Its shape is that of a sphere. Its proportion, four, and its shape, spherical, constitute a perfect number and a perfect shape. Thus, we can see the extent of the Pythagorean influence on Plato.[33] The joining of the four elements is accomplished by the laws of harmony, another Pythagorean concept. As we have noted above, the created world is itself divine.[34] Like Heraclitus, Plato held that all the elements are in flux, only space remains constant.[35] Man is a microcosm and is partly divine and partly material.[36]

For Aristotle (384-322), cosmogony would be superfluous, since he was among the first to formulate the theory of the eternality of the world. An eternal universe would have, by definition, neither beginning nor end. How he arrives at the eternality of the universe may be of some interest for us in that he does so by first refuting Plato's cosmogony.

> The eternity of the universe follows as a natural consequence of the eternity of form and matter and from the fact that motion is without beginning and end. The assumption, indeed, that the world is originated but will last forever overlooks the fact that coming into being and passing away virtually condition each other. Only that can be

everlasting which excludes both the one and the other.[37]

The next school which we shall consider is that of Zeno and the Stoics. There is reason to believe that Zeno (c. 334-261) himself was of Semitic or half-Semitic origin.[38] God formed the world by converting part of the fiery vapor of which he consists into air and water. He remained within these substances as the immanent, formative force. He caused one-third of the water to rain down as earth, while the second third became air, and the remaining third was unchanged. The air created from the water became fire after rarefaction. This was the elementary fire. The process of creation, then, was the formation of the body of the world as distinguished from God, Who is its soul. Since this creation took place in time, ultimately it will be consumed again into fire and the cycle repeated once more. Thus, there is an endless succession of creation and destruction of worlds.[39] Since the same process always operates in the identical fashion, each of the infinite number of worlds is identical. Indeed, each of these worlds is populated by the same people, who share the same history down to the last detail.[40] Knox, thus makes the following astute observation regarding Stoic cosmogony; "In theory it was monotheistic; in practice it might or might not be. If God is immanent in all things, you can worship anything, on the ground that you are worshipping not it, but God present in it."[41]

The dualism of spirit and matter is a fundamental concept of the Neo-Pythagoreans. This being the case, God as spirit, or pneuma, has no direct contact with matter. Consequently, they developed a concept of the Demiurge similar to that found in the Timaeus. The ideas became archetypes, somehow related to Pythagorean Numbers and similar to the Aristolelean Forms.

> Pythagoras is said to have revealed such doctrine to his band and to have veiled it in his theory of numbers, Plato to have borrowed it from him. The later neo-Pythagoreans, particularly Numenius, referred to the revelation still further back to Moses. This is due to Philo's influence.[42]

Numenius (second half of the second century) was a Neo-Pythagorean and a Platonist. His work is, therefore, syncretistic, and also shows a considerable dependence upon Philo and Christian Gnostics. His most characteristic doctrine is that of the three gods. The first is the supreme and supersensible deity. The second is the Demiurge who gave form to material things. The third is the created universe itself.

> Beginning with the distinction of God and matter, the unit and the indeterminate dyad, he widened the gap between the two to such an extent that he regarded any direct influence of God on matter as impossible and was consequently led (like the Gnostic Valentine) to insert the world-creator or Demiurgos as a second God. The world itself he called the third God.[43]

Plotinus (204-269),like Plato, begins his system with the Idea of God. The concepts of emergence from and return to God lie between these two notions. God, Who is perfect,

is self-sufficient. The basic problem, then is how and why did creation take place?

> The emmanation of the world from the Godhead is an Overflowing in which the Godhead is as unchanged as light when it throws its gleam into the depths of the darkness. But as its gleam becomes less and less strong with the increase of distance from its source, so the creations of the Godhead are only a reflection of its glory, which reflection becomes less and less bright and finally ends in darkness.[44]

Zeller holds that this is, then, a dynamic pantheism rather than a true doctrine of emanations, in that the primary being remains discreet from and external to the derivative.[45] The process of emanation (using this term for lack of a better one, as per Zeller) occurs in three phases. The first phase is that of "spirit" or "thought" (nous). From this, "soul" emerges. "As the light gradually fades away into darkness, the streaming out of the divine essence degenerates finally in matter."[46]

Sallustius is the last of the Greek thinkers whom we shall consider. For Sallustius, the world is eternal, and yet it is made by the gods. He resolves this seeming paradox in a most unique manner. It is neither made by craft nor begotten of God. The world

> ... is a result of quality of God just as light is the result of a quality of the sun. The sun causes light but the light is there <u>is</u> soon as sun is there. The world is simply the other side, as it were, of the goodness of God, and has existed as long as that goodness existed.[47]

Sallustius was the friend and tutor of the emperor Julian.

He was closely connected with Julian's attempt to restore paganism. Hence, his position reflects a well thought-out confrontation of Jewish, Christian and Gnostic teachings.

Chapter II

Footnotes

1. Murray, G. Five Stages of Greek Religion, third edition. Doubleday Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., Ind. Garden City, New York, 1955. cf. p. 132.

2. Zeller, Eduard. Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy thirteenth edition revised by Dr. Wilhelm Nestle. Translated by L. R. Palmer. Meridian Books. New York, 1955, cf. p. 34f.

3. There are a large number of Rabbinic parallels to this notion of Thales, in addition to the Biblical one in Psalms 24:2 (see above). Thus we find that the world rests on water (Midrash Tehillim to Psalm 104, 221b Buber edition). The world itself was originally water (Pesikta Rabbati 99b-100a, Friedmann edition). The heavens were formed through the solidification of water (Gen. R. 4.2). In another Midrash, these waters were compressed in the sea (Nu. R. 28.27). The heavens may consist merely of water: This is derived from a play on the word שחקים, reading instead שח קים, i.e., "Water is there" (B. Hagigah 12a). Originally the entire world was water - e.g., בתחלה (Psalm 147:17) (Job 37:6) (Psalm 136:6) (Psalm 104:6) (Amos 4:13) (Psalm 148:8) (Deut. 33:23) (J. Hagigah ch. 2. Halacha 6b Zhitomir ed; 77a Krotoshin ed.; cf. also Tanhuma to Exodus 129b Warsaw 1875 ed). The world was created from the water or ice found under the Throne of Glory: (Job 37:6) (Pirke d. Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3; J. Hagigah ch. 2 Halacha 1, 77a Zhitomir ed.; Gen. R. 1:6). In a slightly different variation of this Midrash (Ex. R. 13.1) Abba Joseph

the builder tells Abnimos of Gadara that creation took place from the sand under the Throne of Glory. Abnimos was a friend of R. Meir. He probably was the cynic philosopher Oenomaus of Gadara (cf. Soncino edition p. 150). There are other passages which take exception with the preceding. Indeed, these appear to be polemics against the encroachment of foreign ideas into Jewish thought. Thus, we find the following passage in J. Megilah 77c(Krotoshin ed.):

Similarly, we find this notion rejected in B. Hagigah 14b.

(Psalm 101:7)

(contra Sholem, G. Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism Schocken Books. New York. 1954. pp 52,361).

4. Burnet, John. Early Greek Philosophy, fourth edition. Meridian Books, New York, 1957. cf. pp. 42-50.

5. Zeller, op. cit. p. 43.

6. Ibid. p. 44.

7. Burnet, op. cit. cf. p. 108ff.

8. Zeller, op. cit. p. 51.

9. Burnet, op. cit. cf. p. 109f.

10. Smith, T. V. Philosophers Speak for Themselves: From Thales to Plato. Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1956, p. 50f.

11. Burnet, op. cit., p. 287.

12. Zeller, op. cit., cf. pp. 88-92.

13. Ibid. p. 91.

14. Ibid. pp. 57-60.

15. Smith, op. cit. p. 14.

16. Burnet, op. cit. pp. 119f.

17. Zeller, op. cit. p. 61.

18. Smith, op. cit. p. 12. This is an even clearer statement of his position than the more celebrated fragments (41 and 42) about stepping into the same river twice.

19. Rabbinic literature affords us many parallels to Heraclitus, particularly to his notion that fire is the primary substance, and that it first becomes water. Thus, in Genesis R. 4.2, we find that fire dried up the water on the face of the firmament. Heaven is made from fire and water. This is derived from a play on the word שמים i.e., "heaven," reading אש מים, i.e., "fire - water" (B. Hagigah 12a; Gen. R. 4.7). God created the world by using a ball of fire and one of ice (Gen. R.10.3). We are also told that there was a celestial fire from which lightening emanates (Lev. R. 31.8).

20. Zeller, op. cit. p. 64.

21. Burnet, op. cit. p. 133, note 1.

22. Drummond, James. Philo Judaeus; or the Jewish Alexandrian in its Development and Completion, Volume I, Williams and Norgate, London, 1888. cf. pp. 27-47.

23. Ibid. p. 39.

24. Mills, L. H. Zarathustra, Philo, the Achaemenids and Israel F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1905-1906. p. 97.

25. Zeller, op. cit. p. 65.

26. Ibid. p. 69.

27. Ibid. p. 73.

28. Ibid. p. 77.

29. Aphorism attributed to Leucippus, cited in Smith, op. cit. p. 37.

30. Zeller, op. cit. p. 82.

31. Ibid. pp. 165-167.

32. Plato, Timaeus paragraph 29, in Jowett The Dialogues of Plato, third edition. Random House, New York, 1937, p. 13.

33. Ibid. cf. paragraphs 31-33.

34. Ibid. cf. paragraph 34.

35. Ibid. cf. paragraphs 49-51.

36. There are several statements made by the Rabbis to the effect that man represents a microcosm. (cf. Gen.R. 8.11, Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan. A Version, Schechter ed. ch. 31 p. 46 a) A representative passage reads as follows:

(Aboth d' Rabbi Nathan A Version, Schechter ed. ch. 31 p. 46a; cf. also Ecc. R. I. iv. 4). Elsewhere (e.g., Gen. R. 12.8; Lev. R. 9.9) we are told that the reason for creating man with an equal number of celestial and terrestial elements in him was to keep peace in the world by maintaining the balance between these two elements. This would appear to resemble the Pythagorean-Platonic law of harmony. This proposition is even more explicitly stated. We are told that everything was created with its opposites, i.e., all things were created in antithetical pairs.

(Ecc. 7:14)

(B. Hagigah 15 a) Elisha b. Abuyah (Aher) was a known heretic. In his orthodox days, R. Meir had been his pupil and R. Akiba his colleague. As we shall have ample occasion to see (cf. chapter 4 below), his heresy brought him into contact with Gnosticism and, probably, Platonic thought. Such thought should not have been foreign to R. Meir either.

37. Zeller, op. cit. pp. 198f.

38. Windelband, W. History of Ancient Philosophy translated by H. E. Cushman. Dover Edition; 1956, p. 30.

39. There are several passages in which the Rabbis assert that there were multiple worlds. In many of the passages, it appears that these worlds are co-existent. The numbers vary: 3,100,000 (P'tiras Moshe Jellinek ed. p. 121) 196,000 (Seder Rabbi D' Bereshith Wertheim ed 7);

18,000 (Seder Rabba d' Bereshith 5, 20; b. Avodah Zarah 3b); 310 (b. Sanh. 100a bottom; Targum Jonathan to Ex. 28:30); 12 (Seder Rabba d'Bereshith 6; 10 (Midrash Mishle Buber ed. 30a-30b). Most of the sources suggest that there were only 7, and base this on the names for heaven and earth employed by the Bible (b. Hagigah 12b; Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan A Version Ch. 37. p. 55a; B. Version ch. 43 p. 60a; Gen. R. 19.7; Ex. R. 15:26; Lev. R. 29:11 Deut. R. 2.32; Cant. R. V.i.1, VI.iv.2; Esther R. 1. 12; Tanhuma to Exodus, Warsaw 1875 ed. 135 a and b; Pesikta d'Rav Kahana, Buber ed. 1b, 154b-155a. Pesikta Rabbati Friedmann ed. 98a; Midrash Tehillim Buber ed. ch. 92, p. 201b; Pirke d' Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3; Seder Rabba d' Bereshith 18). A few of the passages suggest that there were worlds previous to this one. One example will serve to describe these passages:

ד' יצ"ו ואולם נמלפ"ק יצ"ו אומרו עדם הראשון
אתה הוא שבראת עולמות אומ"ל עולם אחר עולם
ובסוף אתה חוזר ומחריבם אומ"ל עולם הזה ועולם
הבא כיצד עשה תחלתה לאדם ולבסוף לדורות
ואמה בסוף שנים ולבסוף אלפים ולבסוף נאמרו
כמה לשנים ולבסוף ארבעים ולבסוף שבעים
ולבסוף מאה ולבסוף מאתים ולבסוף
עולם התחלת עולם שלישי ולבסוף
ואולם הראשון הוא הראשון

(Ex. R. 30.3 cf. also Gen. R. 3.7, 9.2; Midrash Tehillim ch. 32 p. 123a) Now it is also possible that the reason that these worlds were destroyed was because they did not conform to the eternal idea of the world (see below, chapter V). "This conception of primeval worlds also occurs in the 'orthodox Gnosticism' of such Fathers of the Church as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, albeit with a difference, inasmuch as for them these worlds were not simply corrupt but necessary stages in the great cosmic process" (Scholem op. cit. p. 355.)

40. Zeller, op. cit. cf. pp. 238.

41. Knox, W. L. "Pharisaism and Hellenism" in Judaism and Christianity Volume II. Sheldon Press, London, 1937, p.66.

42. Windelband, op. cit., p. 345.

43. Zeller, op. cit. p. 310.

44. Windelband, op. cit. p. 370.

45. Zeller, op. cit. cf. 316.

46. Windelband, op. cit. p. 372.

47. Murray, op. cit. p. 179. cf. Gen. R. 3.4

CHAPTER III

HELLAS AND JERUSALEM: THE MEETING OF TWO TRADITIONS

A. THE JEWS OF ALEXANDRIA

The city of Alexandria, one of the few truly cosmopolitan centers of the ancient world, was the locus of the fullest impact of Hellenism on Judaism. Of course, Greek thought enjoyed a wide area of influence prior to Alexander and the growth of the city which bore his name. Yet, his career and the emergence of this city marked the full flowering of Hellenistic culture and its impinging upon the Semitic world.

> The centre of this movement was Alexandria, where in liveliest intercourse of the people of the Orient and Occident the amalgamation of religions was completed on the grandest scale. Here at the beginning of our era, two tendencies in mystic religious Platonism became prominent. One of these accorded more with the Greek, the other with the Oriental life. They were the so-called neo-Pythagoreanism and the Judaic-Alexandrian philosophy. Both seem to have gone back to the attempt to develop into a scientific theory, with the help of Platonism, the views which had been fundamental in the Pythagorean mysteries.[1]

The Greeks were quick to take notice of the Jews, the nation of philosophers, dwelling in their midst. Greek authors reported that the Jews meditated daily on theological questions. They spent their evenings in the study of astronomy and in prayer.[2] This notion developed by Theophratus and others derived from their equation of the Jerusalem priesthood with the astrologically-oriented priesthood of Egypt and Babylonia. Astrology and astronomy were

basic disciplines for Plato, Aristotle, and, the latter's pupil, Theophratus.

In like manner, Clearchus reports of a meeting between Aristotle and a "wise Jew" who was conversant in matters pertaining to the freeing of the soul from the body. This Jew furthermore, demonstrated his abilities to effect such a separation.[3]

There are extant Egypto-Greek writings which praise the Jews' devotion to their faith, and the purity of that faith. Heketaios is representative of such authors. He, apparently, received his information from the Kohen Gadol of his day. Heketaios' account of the Jews is the best one extant in Greco-Roman literature.[4]

This generally favorable attitude toward the Jews is the product of the time when the two cultures had relatively little political contact. However, when the Jews spread out and established Diaspora communities, when they became engaged in proselytization, and when the Hasmonean dynasty arose, these attitudes of respect and friendship changed to suspicion and animosity. The Greeks viewed the expansion of the Hasmoneans as a further encroachment of the barbarians. It is at this point that we find the manifestations of adverse attitudes towards Jewish "particularness" in diet, etc. and their social and religious "exclusiveness." Furthermore, the success with which the proselytizing

activities of the Jews met, especially in Rome and Alexandria, led to further anti-Semitic feelings. One might well ask why the attitudes towards the Jews did not reflect the well established patterns of Greco-Roman tolerance? The answer is quite simple. Inasmuch as the Jews would not acknowledge the primacy of Greek culture, they were considered as barbarians and, indeed, as less-than-humans by virtue of their deviation from and opposition to Greek cultic life.[5]

We shall turn, at this point, to our major concern in this section, the products of the encounter between Judaism and Hellenistic thought. Moore observes several literary and other ideational similarities which he considers to be products of Greek influence in Palestine. Thus, he notes the common occurence of the Narcissus legend in the Jerusalem (Nedarim 36d) and Babylonian (Nedarim 9b and Nazir 4b) Talmudim.[6] He cites the esoteric works of the Essenes as reflections of the secret documents of the Pythagoreans. There seems to be a similarity between late Biblical passages (Isa. 38:10; Job 38:17; Psalms 9:14; 107:18; Isa. 5:14; Hab. 2:5; Proverbs 27:20; 30:15f) dealing with Sheol as the common abode of the dead and the Hades of Homer (Odyssey xl) and Virgil (Aeneid vi)[8]. On the other hand, he declares,

> Whether Greek ideals of the immortality of the soul and retribution after death-popular or philosophical - were widely entertained, or not, in a centre of Hellenic culture like Alexandria in the first century before the Christian era, it is certain that the development of conceptions of the hereafter in authentic

Judaism went on its own way unaffected by the alien influence.[9]

Baer notes still other similarities. He draws attention to the similarities in format between the Eighteen Benedictions, a product of the Tannaim, and the Hiketides of Aeschylus. This does not, he maintains necessarily imply a direct Greek influence, but rather that the Jews were not unique in developing this sort of liturgy.[10] He deals at great length with the similarities between Pythagorean and Christian asceticism and the asceticism found among such Tannaim as Phinehas b. Jair and in the program stated by Simon the Righteous in Aboth.[11]

He asserts that there is a basic similarity between the institutions of the Sanhedrin and the Platonic and Pythagorean Academies. The latter were also political institutions, e.g., the Pythagorean Academy in Southern Italy. One of the explicit goals of the Platonic academy was the training of the "philosopher-king."[12] The academy of Plato and the Sanhedrin sought in like measure to effect the realization of the ideal state. "They came to build their political state on earth, according to the pattern which was found in heaven."[13] Similarly, he considers, the Mishnaic statement (Sanhedrin 4:5) that all men were created in the image of God and yet each appeared different, as reflecting the Platonic "idea." "This statement flows from the basis of their doctrine that the terrestial man was fashioned

according to the pattern of the celestial man, who was created in the likeness and the image (of God)."[14]

Lieberman deals at great length with the cultic and ritual similarities in Jewish and Greek worship. Animals barred from heathen sacrifices on the basis of their leges sacrae, were similarly disqualified from Jewish sacrifice by the rabbis, on the basis of Mal. 1:8 (cf. Bab. Sukkah 51a). Of course, there were additional rabbinic prescriptions.[15] In like manner, the Temple of Herod, while built along Biblical lines, had adornments not mentioned in Scripture. From this, Lieberman concludes "There was a general pattern in the ancient world of temples and sacrifices with which the Jews shared."[16]

Certain cultic personalities were apparently shared with the Greeks. Lieberman contends that "The Rabbis not only identified Eve with Isis, but apparently also compared the Biblical Eve to the Greek one."[17] Both Lieberman[18] and Baer see a Greek origin to the gilding of the bull of Bikkurim. Baer maintains that this follows the pattern of Demeter worship.[19]

The whole sacrificial pattern becomes meaningful in light of Greek practice and influence. In this light, the rabbinic passages regarding אין מביאין become clear. Similarly, the question of blemishes in sacrifices is elucidated.

> What is improper for the table of an idol can certainly not be brought on the Jewish altar.

> We can therefore expect striking similarities between the Jewish and non-Jewish rules regarding defects and blemishes.[20]

Similarities are also to be observed between the regulations on entering the Temple, and Pythagorean cultic practice.[21] Parallels may be found in other areas of behavior in the Sanctuary, its structure, and function to general practice in the Greek world.[22] The examples which we have considered"... are sufficient to demonstrate the common patterns of worship which prevailed in the Mediterranean world during the first century B.C.E. and C.E."[23] Lieberman also notes Greek parallels in the natural science[24] and medical knowledge[25] of the rabbis.

A major area for our consideration in tracing Hellenistic inroads into Jewish culture is that of rabbinic methods of interpretation of Scripture. Despite certain fundamental similarities, to which we shall subsequently turn, we must bear in mind that

> The early Jewish interpreters of Scripture did not have to embark for Alexandria in order to learn their rudimentary method of linguistic research. To make them travel to Egypt for this purpose would mean to do a cruel injustice to the intelligence and acumen of the Palestinian sage. Although they were not philogists in the modern sense of the word they nevertheless often adopted sound philological methods.[26]

Daube, however, asserts that the Greek influence was somewhat greater.[27] Nonetheless, he maintains, the rabbis did not slavishly adopt foreign methods. The Hellenistic methods were adopted in the first pre-Christian

century, which marked the beginning of the "classical" period of Tannaitic creativity. Furthermore, what material, the rabbis did borrow, they thoroughly Hebraized.[28] Shemaiah and Ablation, Hillel's teachers are represented in the literature as being proselytes. If they were not natives, then, at least, they studied in Alexandria. "So there is a prima facie case for a direct connection between Hillel's seven norms of interpretation and Alexandria, a centre of Hellenistic scholarship."[29]

Hillel attempted to overcome the antithesis between tradition and rationality as bases for law. This was a common problem with which Cicero, a contemporary of Hillel, also worked. Furthermore, Hillel asserted that lacunae in Scriptural law might be filled through the utilization of certain forms of reasoning. This was, in fact, sound rhetorical method and resembles the "ratiocinations" of Cicero. Hillel's position, that the products of these interpretations have the same status as the original law, is also paralleled in the statements of the rhetorician.

There was the distinction, similarly, among the Greeks between an "oral law" or nomoi agraphoi (ius non scriptum or per manus traditium) and a "written law" or nomoi eggraphoi (ius Scriptum). However, we must bear in mind that the nomoi agraphoi of the stoics, often referred to what we would call "law of nature." Daube does not take notice of this.

> ...There is an ideal which at first sight looks the exclusive property of the Rabbis, for whom the Bible had been composed under divine inspiration: the lawgiver foresaw the interpretation of his statutes, deliberately confined himself to a minimum, relying on the rest being inferable by a proper exegesis.[30]

This, too, is found among the Greek orators. The ancient legislators among the Greeks and Romans had enjoyed a semi-divine status. Cicero, too, maintained that only the basic details had been laid down by the lawgiver. The details were to be derived by inference. In regulating related cases, the lawgiver, Hillel maintained, picked the most common cases and relates the other possibilities by analogy. This notion is also found in Cicero.

> Hillel's jurisprudence, then, i.e., his theory of the relation between statute law, tradition and interpretation, was entirely in line with the prevalent Hellenistic ideas on the matter. The same is true of the details of execution, of the methods he purposed to give practical effect to his theory. The famous seven norms of hermeneutics he proclaimed, the seven norms in accordance with which Scripture was to be interpreted, hitherto looked upon as the most typical product of Rabbinism, all of them betray the influence of the rhetorical teaching of his age.[31]

In like manner, there are similarities to be found in terminology. This nomenclature was, however, thoroughly Hebraized. Thus, there was no literal, <u>in toto</u>, adoption of the Hellenistic rhetorical terminology. That the utilization of these modes of exegesis was widespread is attested to by their employment in the New Testament as well as the Old Testament. There are certain differences between the

utilization of these modes in the two works. The Old Testament tends to popular usage, while the New Testament usage was more technical. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Both works employ the a fortiori syllogism, the qal vehomer. In Genesis 44:8, Joseph's brothers use this to prove that they have not stolen gold and silver from Joseph. In Matthew 12:10ff, Jesus infers that if a sheep which fell into a pit can be saved on the sabbath, how much the more can a man's life be saved!

> It is the naturalness of the rhetorical categories and methods in the former sense, their soundness as doctrine and in practice, which accounts for their adoption, in one form or another, in so many parts of the Hellenistic world. Recently it has been shewn (sic) that Philo was acquainted with them, and the conclusion has been drawn that he was influenced by Palestinian Rabbinism. But it is far more likely that he came across them in the course of his general studies at Alexandria. We have before us a science, the beginnings of which may be traced back to Plato, Aristotle and their contemporaries. It recurs in Cicero, Hillel and Philo - with enormous differences in detail, yet au fond the same. Cicero did not sit at the feet of Hillel, nor Hillel at the feet of Cicero; and there was no need for Philo to go to Palestinian sources for this kind of teaching. As we saw, there are indeed signs that Hillel's ideas were partly imported from Egypt. The true explanation lies in the common Hellenistic background. Philosophical instruction was very similar in outline whether given at Rome, Jerusalem or Alexandria.[32]

The influence of Hellenistic philosophy was not confined to Hillel's time. It was also to be found both before and after him. One hundred and fifty years after Hillel, the systems of Akiba and Ishmael were conceivable only against the context of contemporary rhetoric. This influence was not confined merely to the domain of Scriptural

interpretation. The distinctions between rational and non-rational law, i.e., מלכות and חוקים probably preceded Plato. The process by which this influence was transmitted probably involved a cross-fertilization. One should bear in mind that there is an area of difference as vast as that of the similarities pointed out in the preceding discussion.[33]

There are, furthermore, certain clearly distinguishable Greek influence on the Aggada. It is in the area of stylistic consideration that this influence is clearly visible. Certain forms predominate such as the diatribe and the dialogue. Fictional dialogues are found between Biblical personages, sages, and God. Others include dialogues based on a free dramatization of Biblical narratives, and those involving personifications, e.g., the Torah. The diatribe may employ the introduction of objections by some opponent. The formula אלא מי שנאמר כתיב was frequently employed, particularly for statements emanating from Gnostic sources. That is to say, in these passages the rabbis were quoting the real statements of their opponents. The same background is found for such introductory formulae as כל המוסיף גורע, כל מי שיש לו יוסיפו לו, and מי שיש לו יוסיפו לו.[34]

There is an interesting Greek parallel to be found in a recurrent figure found in the Aggada. There is a marked similarity between the accounts of the location of the תורה and heathen divination. "The Jews adopted the same course

(as the heathens), substituting the school or synagogue for the heathen temple. This was not considered forbidden divination but a ὀθμετον (בת קול) from Heaven, a kind of prophecy."[35] A similar situation was found in early Christianity, cf. Matthew 19:21. But, as compared to the Greek oracles, the בת קול was clear and unambiguous, needing no interpretation.[36]

> These comparisons between Hellenistic and Palestinian Haggadah testify not only to an early contact between these two branches of the same tree, but ... to the parallel growth of literal and figurative exegesis in both countries. This may be looked upon either as a cause, or as a result of the ruling forces in the realm of religious thought.[37]

Lieberman raises serious questions and objections to the alleged ban, imposed by the Rabbis, against Greek wisdom.[38] The law, which is referred to in the various sources, only prohibits the teaching of Greek thought to children. It appears that the motivation for the ban lay in the fear of assisting informers against Judaism. Now such a fear could only center about children who were as yet untrained and untested. Certainly, it could not apply to mature adults who might seek instruction in Greek thought.[39]

> Although we do not know exactly what the Rabbis designated by the term חכמת יונית, Greek Wisdom, it is obvious that in our case it comprised information which would help the individual in his association with the educated Hellenistic circles of Palestine. The Rabbis had therefore a Jewish channel through which Hellenistic culture could be conveyed to them if they wanted to avail themselves of it.[40]

B. THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

"He created me from the beginning, before the world; the memorial of me shall never cease." Ecclesiasticus 24:9

One of the basic collections of the literary remains of the Alexandrian-Hellenistic period in Jewish thought is the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. While it may well be, as Pfeiffer maintains,[41] that part of these works are Palestinian in origin, the basic Hellenistic influence cannot be denied. Particularly in regard to such works as Ecclesiasticus and The Wisdom of Soloman, it has been observed that

> They found in the Greek schools spiritual doctrines about the divine Reason and the divine Wisdom which governed and ordered all things, and detected in them a close relation with the Bible of the Wisdom and Word of God. Desiring to display Judaism as a philosophical faith, they were naturally led to associate the Hellenistic attributes of Sophia and Logos with the images of Hokmah and the Dabar.[42]

At this point, then, we shall turn to a brief survey of the concepts of creation and the hypostatization of wisdom in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. We shall follow Charles' editions and divisions of these works.[43]

i II Maccabees

In II Maccabees we find the account of the martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons. The mother exhorts her youngest son "... lift thine eyes to heaven and earth and look on all that is therein, and know that God did not make them out of the things that existed." (v. 28). Thus, we have the doctrine of creation ex nihilo expounded for us.

ii Ecclesiasticus

The most important single book in the collections is Ecclesiasticus or BenSira.[44] The first verses of Ben Sira (1:1-10) deal with the origin of wisdom. "All wisdom cometh from the Lord and is with Him for ever." (1:1) The parallel here to Job 12:13, Prov. 8:22f and, as we shall note, Wisdom of Solomon 7:26 and John 1:1f, is quite striking. Another verse draws our attention once more to Proverbs 8 "Before then all was Wisdom created, and prudent insight from everlasting." (v. 4). Wisdom emanated from God (1:9)

Another passage, 4:11-19, describes the reward of those who seek Wisdom. Here, too, Wisdom exists in some special relationship to the deity. "They that serve her serve the Holy One and God loveth them that love her." (v. 14) Regarding this passage, Marcus observes that "The author of Sirach is merely saying that Wisdom is the channel through which God and man come into relation as master and servant."[45] Nonetheless, Marcus notwithstanding, we seem to have a rather full hypostatization here.

Two subsequent passages deal with the blessedness of him who seeks Wisdom (14:20-27) and how Wisdom is to be attained (15:1-10). In the former, Wisdom is highly personified. In the latter, Wisdom is rather significantly linked, if not identified, with the Law, "For he that feareth the Lord doeth this, and he that taketh hold of the Law findeth her." (15:1)

> The most important point about Ben-Sira's teaching regarding the Law is that he identifies it with Wisdom; but the way in which this identification is taken for granted shows that Ben-Sira is not expressing a new truth, but one which in his time had already become generally accepted;...[46]

The rest of this passage continues the personification of Wisdom.

Two successive passages, 16:24-30 and 17:1-4,deal with the creation of the world and man. Throughout, there is the notion of a cosmic plan used by God. "When God created His works from the beginning, after making them He assigned them their portions." (16:26) Regarding the creation of man, he states, "He clothed them with strength like unto Himself, and made them according to His own image." (17:3) The Syriac version of this verse reads "By His wisdom He clothed them with strength and covered them with fear." The exact status of Wisdom in this reading is not clear. Is it merely an attribute or is it a full assistant or tool employed by God?

The twenty-fourth chapter is an elaborate praise of Wisdom. The entire passage bears a strong and marked similarity to Proverbs 8:22ff. Wisdom emanates directly from God. "I came forth from the mouth of the Most High and as a mist I covered the earth. In the high places did I fix my abode and my throne was in the pillar of cloud." (v. 3f) There is a clear parallel here to Genesis 1:2, and Wisdom seem to be identified with the Spirit of God.

> Here we have, therefore, the germ of the later teaching; but a great advance was made as early as the last quarter of the second century B.C., for in the Book of Wisdom, the identification of Wisdom with the Holy Spirit is implicitly taught;... [47]

Wisdom is pre-existent and is found with God "He created me from the beginning, before the world; the memorial of me shall never cease." (v9) There is a close parallel here to John 17:5. Finally, this chapter contains the identification of Wisdom with the Torah. "All these things are the book,of the covenant of God Most High, the Law which Moses commanded as an heritage for the assemblies of Jacob." (v23)

The next passages which we will consider are to be found in chapter 33. Here, the author discusses God's differentiating in nature. "By God's great wisdom they were distinguished, and He differentiated seasons and feasts." (v. 8) The context, however, makes it difficult to determine whether this is a hypostatization or merely an adjective describing God. A subsequent verse suggests the latter possibility. "In His great wisdom God distinguished them, and differentiated their ways." (v. 11)

In 39:12-35, there is an elaborate hymn in praise of creation. Here, again, there is reference to a plan in creation. Creation is achieved by the word of God. "The works of God are all good and supply every need in its season. None may say: This is worse than that; for everything availeth in its season. By His word, He ordereth the luminaries in the heavenly height, and by the utterance of His mouth

in His treasury." (v16f) The similarity of verse 17 to Psalm 33:7 is self-evident.

Still another passage deals with creation by the word of God. "...By the word of God His works were formed, and what was wrought by His good pleasure according to His decree" (42:15). The remainder of the chapter is a paean on Creation. Chapter 43 continues this theme and deals with the manifestations of God in nature. The opening verse may refer to the concept of the emanation of light. "The beauty of the heavenly height is the pure firmament, and the firm heaven poureth out light." (43:1) It does not, as the following verses do, refer to the sun.[48] Subsequent verses (5 and 10) describe the functioning of the word of God in ordering creation. The remainder of the chapter suggests a cosmic plan in that all created things serve a particular function in a specified manner.

In the final chapter, in a poem describing how Ben Sira acquired Wisdom (51:13-30), we again find it personified. One verse may serve to exemplify this material. "She blossomed like a ripening grape, my heart rejoiced in her, my foot trod in her footstep, from my youth I learned Wisdom." (v.15) Of course, this may be merely an allegorization.

iii The Wisdom of Solomon[49]

Next to Ecclesiasticus, the Wisdom of Solomon is the most significant work, for our consideration, in this

collection. Indeed, there is a rather clear relationship between Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom of Solomon, as we noted above.

Wisdom is highly personified in the sixth chapter (12-25). Wisdom desires to be found. "Wisdom is radiant and fadeth not away; and easily is she beheld of them that love her, and found of them that seek her. She forestalleth them that desire to know her, making herself first known." (v.12) The description of wisdom in verse 12 appears to be dependent on Proverbs 8. In fact, 12b reads as a variant of Proverbs 8:17.

This theme is continued in chapter 7 and the first verse of chapter 8. Solomon receives wisdom as the answer to his prayer (1-7). There follows a tribute to the value of wisdom (8-14). Solomon's knowledge itself derives from this gift of wisdom (15-22a). The remainder of the chapter deals with the attributes, source and activity of wisdom.

> For there is in her a spirit quick of understanding, holy, alone in kind, manifold, Subtil (sic!) freely moving, clear in utterance, unpolluted, distinct, that cannot be formed, loving what is good, keen, unhindered, Beneficient, loving toward man, steadfast, sure, free from care, all-powerful, all-surveying, and penetrating through all spirits that are quick of understanding, Pure, subtil (sic!)." (v22f)

There are twenty-one qualities attributed to Wisdom here. This number may represent the multiple of two sacred numbers, seven and three.[50] Wisdom penetrates and pervades all (v.24). It is an effluence from the glory of

God (v. 25) and from the everlasting light, "... an image of His goodness" (v. 26). This emanation of wisdom parallels Ecclesiasticus 1:9. "And she, thought but one, hath power to do all things; and remaining in herself, reneweth all things" (v. 27). It has been suggested[51] that this latter notion, along with the qualities described in v. 22f; may stem from a Stoic influence. The notion of a primeval fire, or Logos, which remains essentially the same, despite its manifestations in nature, is one common to Heraclitus and to the Stoics.

The personification of wisdom continues in chapter 8. Solomon desired wisdom "as a bride." He wanted its help in public and private matters. Wisdom is the gift of God. Similarly, in chapter 9, Solomon prays for wisdom. Wisdom is with God. "O God of the fathers, and Lord who keepest thy mercy, who madest all things by thy word; and by thy wisdom formedst man,..." (vlf) "We may, perhaps, see here the truth of the statement that the writer of Wisdom was a forerunner of Philo. Word and Wisdom are here synonymous. Our author chose Wisdom, Philo chose the Word as the intermediary between God and the world."[52] Wisdom dwells by God's throne (v. 4). Another verse may allude to an influence from Plato. "Thou gavest command to build a sanctuary in thy holy mountain, and an altar in the city of thy habitation, a copy of the holy tabernacle which thou preparedst aforehand from the

beginning." (v. 8) However, the idea of a "copy" is also found among other Semitic peoples.[53] Wisdom was God's tool in the creation of the world. "And with thee is wisdom, which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou wast making the world, and which understandeth what is pleasing in thine eyes, and what is right according to thy commandments"(v. 9).

Chapter 10 and the first verse of Chapter 11 describe how Wisdom has operated in history for the benefit of Israel. There is one final verse in Chapter 11 which is of interest to us, "For thine all-powerful hand, that created the world out of formless matter, - lacked not means to send upon them a multitude of bears, or fierce lions." (v. 17) Here, we have the concept of eternal matter. This is a most significant passage and is open to at least two interpretations. First, that God created the formless matter prior to His ordering of the universe. Second, that the formless matter was eternal. This latter position, it is argued, was actually maintained by Philo and the Alexandrian community with him.[54] This position, if actually held by Philo and the Alexandrians, is certainly not in keeping with either Biblical or normative-Rabbinic Judaism, and will, indeed, be frequently attacked by the latter.

Thus, we seem to have found, Pfeiffer to the contrary,[55] a rather complete hypostasis of wisdom. It is preexistent; it dwells with God; and it was His implement in

creation. We shall have cause to return to these notions again and again in our subsequent discussions.

iv The Book of Baruch or I Baruch

The entire section from 3:9-4:4, is devoted to the praise of Wisdom. Pfeiffer makes a strong case for its Palestinian origin in the period of 150-100 B.C.E. He asserts, "The teaching of the poem on wisdom is strictly Palestinian, like Sirach's in contrast with the Hellenistic atmosphere of Wisdom of Solomon: an Alexandrian Jew would have mentioned the Greeks rather than the Edomites and their neighbors as the searchers for wisdom" (3:22f).[56] Others maintain similar positions.[57]

There is the quest for the source of Wisdom. "Learn where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding; that thou mayest know also where is length of days, and life, where is the light of the eyes and peace. Who hath found out her place? and who hath come into her treasures?" (3:14f) There is a clear parallel here to Proverbs 3:16; 8:14; and Job 28. Wisdom is sought out by many peoples (3:20-23). Wisdom lies far from man (3:29f - a passage with striking similarity to Deut. 30:12f.). "There is none that proveth her way, nor any that comprehendeth her path." (3:31) As in Job 28:12-24, only God can find wisdom (3:32). God is the Creator, Who sent forth light (v. 33) and apportioned the watches of the stars (v. 34). "This is our God, and there

shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge." (3:35f) In what may be a Christian gloss,[58] this Wisdom is bestowed upon Jacob, the servant of God (3:37). The next verse (4:1a or 3:38 in the Greek) may similarly be a Christian gloss. "Afterward did she appear upon earth and was conversant with men." The subsequent passage clearly identifies Wisdom with the Torah. "This is the book of the commandments of God, and the law endureth forever." (4:1b) The next two verses echo Proverbs 3:16-18 and 4:13. The reference to the shining brightness of wisdom (v. 3b) may be understood in the context of Isa. 60:3. The final verse is a panegyric on the lot of Israel, who knows what is pleasing to God.

v The Prayer of Manasses

Here we have, in the introduction to the prayer, a description of God as Creator. That Creation took place by fiat is one theme of this passage. The other significant theme is that of the power of the name of God. "Thou who hast made heaven and earth, with all the array thereof: Who hast bound the sea by the word of thy command; Who hast shut up the deep and sealed it with thy terrible and glorious name." (vv 2-4) This sealing of the deep is found again in rabbinic material dealing with the "foundation stone." The "setting of limits" echoes Job 38:8, 10f, and Psalm 104:9. The power of the name of God, besides being found in connection

with the "foundation stone," is found in Ecclesiasticus 47:18 and Baruch 3:5.

vi The Book of Jubilees[59]

The account of the creation given here does not vary too greatly from that in Genesis 1. There is a more elaborate angelology here, however. Unlike the more common Midrashim, the angels were created, according to this account, on the first day.

vii The Book of Enoch (Ethiopic Enoch)[60]

A large part of the books contain a sort of cosmic geography, "Enoch's" account of his tour of the universe. (ch. 18).

Wisdom is highly personified in a subsequent passage.

> Wisdom found no place where she might dwell; then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens. Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men, and found no dwelling-place; wisdom returned to her place, and took her seat among the angels. (42:1f)

We have seen this theme before, and frequently, in Proverbs, Job, Sirach and Baruch, i.e., the praise and heavenly origin of Wisdom.

This theme is picked up once more in chapter 48 "And in that place I was the fountain of righteousness which was inexhaustible: and around it were many fountains of wisdom; and all the thirsty drank of them and were filled with wisdom and their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect." (48:1) This chapter weaves the theme of exalted wisdom with

that of the pre-existent "Son of Man." Of course, a good deal of this may well be a later Christian interpolation. The evidence for this seems particularly valid if we consider the New Testament parallels.[61] These same motifs are carried into chapter 49. "And with him dwells the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit which gives insight, and the spirit of understanding and of might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep at night." (49:3) With this relating of the divine Wisdom to the "Son of Man," we may be on our way to the complete identification of the two made in the prologue to John!

This praise of wisdom and its personification is taken up in one final passage "And the righteous shall arise from their sleep, and wisdom shall arise and be given unto them." (91:10)

viii The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: The Testament of Levi[62]

The reading in one of the manuscripts for 2:8 indicates, perhaps, some relation to the "Light Stream." "And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a boundless light also therein." A second manuscript has a similar reading. That this light emanates from some other source is borne out by the following verse in two of the manuscripts. "And I said to the angel, Why is this so? and the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable."

In the third chapter, there is a description of a series of heavens. As we have had cause to note (see chapter II note 39 above), this idea is found frequently with varying degrees of significance in Rabbinic literature.

ix The Sibylline Books[63]

The passage in Book III lines 8-28 deals with the creation and the praise of God, the Creator. "Who by his word created all, both heaven and sea and tireless sun and moon at full and twinkling stars, mighty mother ocean, springs and rivers, fire immortal, days and nights." (lines 20-23)

x II Enoch or the Secrets of Enoch (Slavonic Enoch)[64]

An Egyptian influence may appear in the account of creation in chapter 25. It is, basically, the egg theory of the universe.[65] The notion of creation by emanation is also present here. "And he came undone, and a great light came out. And I was in the midst of the great light, and as there is born light from light, there came forth a great age, and showed all creation which I thought to create." (25:3) The significance of the light in creation is elaborated in the subsequent chapters (ch. 26-27). Limits were set to the sea, as in Psalm 104:9 and Proverbs 8:29 (ch. 28). The "B" version of chapter 29 describes the creation of the sun out of the primordial light of the first day. Chapter 30 continues the creation account. The objects created correspond, generally, to the account and sequence given in Genesis 1:1-2:3. Wisdom is a personified entity used

by God in creation "On the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man...." (30:8) In what may be the result of a Pythagorean influence, the number seven plays a significant part in the description of the creation of man. Similarly, too, the number four is used frequently. (30:8-15)

Chapter 47 presents a rapid review of the creation with a tribute to God the Creator (especially verses four and five). Finally, 49:1 again relates the theme that God is the Creator of all.

xi II Baruch or Syriac Baruch[66]

God created the world by fiat. "When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, Thou didst devise and speak with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before Thee." (19:17) The Law and Wisdom are, apparently identified. "For Thou knowest that my soul hath always walked in Thy law, and from my earliest days I departed not from Thy wisdom." (38:4) This identification is made once more,

> Also as for the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom.... For over this above all shall those who come then lament, that they rejected My law, and stopped their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding. (51:3f)

xii III Baruch or Greek Baruch[67]

The chief significance of this work, in terms of our interest, lies in its enumeration and description of five heavens. This motif, which we noted in previous material,

achieves some significance in Rabbinic literature.

xiii IV Ezra or II Esdras[68]

There is a review of the Creation of the world, following the contents and sequence of Genesis 1:1-2:3 (6:38-59). "Again I said: O Lord, of a truth thou didst speak of the beginning of the creation upon the first day, saying: Let heaven and earth be made! and thy word perfected the work." (6:38) Light was created from a divine source. "Then thou didst command a ray of light to be brought forth out of thy treasuries, that then thy works might become visible." (6:40) There is some similarity here to a passage in rabbinic literature Talmud Babli Hagigah 12a, which we shall consider subsequently.

In a subsequent passage, wisdom and the law are identified. "...Thou disciplinest it through thy law, and reprovest it in thy wisdom." (8:12) The world was created by God, the sole Creator, to conform to His plan. "For there was a time in the eternal ages when I prepared for those who now exist - before they had come into being - a world wherein they might dwell: and then none gainsaid me-for none existed." (9:18)

In concluding our consideration of this material we might bear in mind that,"Although an immense literature has grown up on the subject of these apocrypha, the truth is that no one knows for certain to what extent they reflect views shared by Mishnaic authorities."[69]

C. PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA

"Philo gives us a Greek skeleton, and clothes it with a blend of Greek and Jewish flesh."[70] In our consideration of the cosmogony and cosmology of Philo, we shall first turn to an examination of the background and sources of Philo and then the content of his system. We shall reserve for the end of this discussion our consideration of the influence of Philo upon the Rabbis.

From the point of his Jewish background, it has been alleged that Philo studied Palestinian Midrash. He probably visited Jerusalem more than once. Furthermore, prior to Philo, some Palestinian Tannaim fled to Egypt during the persecution of Hyrcanus.[71] The passage in Talmud Babli Niddah 69b, referring to the twelve questions which the man of Alexandria asked of Rabbi Joshua b. Hananya, may mean that R. Joshua was actually in Alexandria. This problem is discussed by a great many who do not see any necessary dependence here.[72]

It has also been maintained that Philo's Jewish sources were not "Jewish" as we now know it. "In-exact as are the Hermetic and magical parallels to Philo's conceptions, they strongly suggest Philo's Powers, and the whole picture of Deity of which they are a part, were an adoption of conception from the religious world of Graeco-Egypt and Persia."[73] But there is this difficulty-Philo repeatedly expresses a violent rejection of the Mysteries as found in the world of his day. How then could he incorporate these theological conceptions

into his system? Of course, it would be possible if it took place as a gradual process involving much time and many hands. Such appears, indeed, to have been the case. Indeed, it would seem that whenever one controverts some position, he may use the notions of that position in other, undisputed matters. His conception of the Powers was clearly superior to the contemporary magic and Hermetic usage. It was also superior to the polytheistic tendencies of Alexandrian Gnosticism. "Philo's deity is notable because Philo refused to see the Powers as anything but distinct flashes of the single divine nature as apprehended from the human point of view."[74]

Philo was, of course, in the neo-Platonic school. But this did not exhaust the Greek influences upon him. There is a definite Stoic strain to be found in Philo.[75] "The peculiar blending of Platonism and Judaism was also closely related to ...neo-Pythagoreanism, and was completed at the beginning of our era in the so-called Alexandrian religious philosophy. Philo of Alexandria was its leader."[76] Moore has summarized succinctly the variegated influences operative on Philo.

> "The God of the Bible is in its own expressive phrase a 'live God,' a God that does things; Philo's God is pure Being, of which nothing can be predicated but that it <u>is</u>, abstract static Unity, eternally, unchangeably the same; pure immaterial intellect. Between the transcendent deity and the material world of multiplicity and change, of becoming and dissolution, is a gulf that must somehow be spanned. The Neoplatonists in their time endeavored to overcome the dualism of the system by interspersing in descending order Nous, the universal active intelligence; Psyche, the universal soul; and Primordial matter; remaining thus, so far as terms

> went, in the Platonic tradition. Philo's intermediary is the Logos. Stoic influence is manifest in the name and functions of the Logos, as it is in many other features of Philo's system; but in making it a 'secondary deity,' above which is a transcendent God, he has made of it something widely different from the immanent energetic Reason of the universe which is the only God of Stoicism.[77]

Thus, the very terminology which Philo employs betrays external influence. The active manifest deity is Philo's Logos.

> The twofold meaning of the Greek word (reason, utterance) made it natural to appropriate for the Logos what was said of the divine wisdom and of the word of God; and allegorical ingenuity enabled Philo to find the Logos in many other places and associations.[78]

Finally, we ought to note the suggestion that ultimately Philo's system stems from Babylonian and Persian sources. It has been claimed that there are strong Zarathustrian elements in Philo's system.[79]

To comprehend Philo's notion of the Logos, we shall first consider its antecedents among the Stoics and its development in Philo's interpretation of the Timaeus of Plato. The Stoic position, which we considered above, may be summarized as follows: "Inert and motionless matter is formed to the most beautiful world which is possible by the divine reason, or the reasonable God, which is the Logos."[80]

In his interpretation of the Timaeus, Philo, unlike Plato, holds that matter is uncreated. In commenting on Genesis 1:1-3, Philo uses the seven objects mentioned therein as Ideas. Heaven is the idea of five; earth, the idea of earth; darkness, the idea of air; water, the idea of water, i.e., the "incorporeal essence of water"; and the Spirit of God, the idea of spirit,

i.e., the incorporeal essence of Spirit - ideas of mind and soul. The sixth idea is that of light, the idea of sun, etc. Finally, the abyss is the idea of the void. "This is indeed an interpretation of Genesis in terms of the Timaeus - not in terms of the Timaeus as it was written, but rather in terms of the Timaeus as it was understood by Philo."[81] The Timaeus has no concept of "mind" or "soul." It refers to four elements, fire explicitly, and the ideas of celestial bodies. The ideas are definitely eternal for Plato, but they are created for Philo. Philo joined his interpretation of the Timaeus with one of the Bible. According to his view of Scripture, the God of creation and history is clearly distinguished from the absolute first principle. The first principle is beyond personality and change, and, hence, is incapable of relation to the sublunar world. It is the Logos, or mediator between God, the First Principle, and man, which he identifies with the God of the Bible. It is to the Logos, that Philo would turn for those passages which speak of God communicating with men. It is exceedingly difficult to ascertain whether Philo maintained that the Supreme God and the Logos are two distinct entities. The commentators on Philo are divided on this. Indeed, it is difficult to say whether he had any consistent answer to this question at all.[82]

God, for Philo was of as uncertain personality as were the powers.

> This must be the case for so long as the concept of the Logos hovers between that of a personal being distinct from God and that of an impersonal divine force or quality can it provide even an apparent

> solution of the insoluable problem for which it is required to make it comprehensible how God can be present in the world and all its parts with his force and activity, when he is by his very nature completely external to it and would be defiled by any contact with it. [83]

Out of a primordial chaotic mixture of matter, God created the world through the instrumentality of the Logos. Again we have a Platonic as well as a Stoic parallel. Wolfson observes,

> In our analysis of Philo we have found that the relation of God to the Logos is that of Creator to created, that the relation of the Logos to the intelligible world is that of mind and of the thinking of mind to its object of thought, and that the relation of the intelligible world to the ideas is that of the whole to the parts of which it consists. [84]

Thus, we have seen that in Philo there is an absolute transcendence of God, Himself. God has no direct contact with the world.[85] It has been noted that Philo's transcendence is more absolute than that in the systems of other Alexandrians. The contact of God with the world is maintained through the potencies or δυναμεις.

> These (Stoical) potencies were identified on the one with the Platonic Ideas, and, on the other, with the angels of the Jewish religion. Their unity, however, is the Logos, the second God, the content, on the one hand of all original ideas, and on the other of the theological formative forces that reveal God's presence in the world.[86]

Thus, the Logos is, simultaneously, a divine potency and a hypostasized entity. On the other hand, Abelson is reluctant to see the Logos as "the second God." It is a manifestation of God which is not yet God.[87] It is an extension of God. As we have seen, it would be most difficult to give a precise

definition of the Logos in view of its multiple usages. "It is the Mind of God, the Wisdom of God, the Glory of God, the Agent of God in the creation of the world."[88]

Thus, there is in the Philonic system the need for an intermediary or system of intermediation.

> He called these intermediate beings forces and described them on the one hand as qualities of the Deity, as ideas or thoughts of God, as parts of the general force and reason that prevails in the world; on the other hand, as servants, ambassadors and satellites of God, or the executors of his will, souls, angels and demons. He found it impossible to harmonize these two modes of exposition and to give a clear answer to the question of the personality of these forces. All these forces are comprehended in one, the Logos. The Logos is the most universal intermediary between God and the world, the wisdom and reason of God, the idea which comprises all ideas, the power that comprises all powers, the representative and ambassador of God, the instrument of the creation and government of the world, the highest of the angels, the first born son of God, the second God. He is the original pattern of the world and the force which creates everything in it, the soul which is clothed with the body of the world as with a garment.[89] In a word he has all the qualities of the Stoic Logos, insofar as this is thought of as distinguished from God as such and free from the characteristics which were the result of the Stoic materialism.[90]

Philo now takes the intermediary, this Logos, and equates it with Wisdom, in its hypostatized usage. The Logos thus becomes the divine pattern of which this world is a copy. "Thus, the Logos can, at times, be almost an independent personal being, for the divine pattern of the Timaeus is itself living and divine; hence Philo can say that it was to the Logos that God said 'Let us make man in our own image and likeness.'"[91] Philo substitutes the term Logos for the term Nous.

This makes it both natural and easy for Philo to equate Logos with wisdom. Philo had Biblical examples for the equation of wisdom with the creative word of God. God created the world with Wisdom (Jer. 10:12; Prov. 3:19). All of God's works are done in Wisdom (Psalm 104:24). God imparts His wisdom to man (Prov. 2:6). It is personified (Prov. 1:8ff); it is identified with the Torah (Sirach 24:23ff) and with the word of God (Wisdom of Solomon 9:1f); all this by the time of Philo.[92]

> Wisdom, then, is only another word for Logos, and it is used in all the senses of the term Logos. Both these terms mean, in the first place, a property of God, identical with His essence, and, like His essence, eternal. In the second place, they mean a real, incorporeal being, created by God before the creation of the world. Third,...Logos means also a Logos immanent in the world, and so, we may assure, wisdom could also be used by Philo in the sense of one of its constituent ideas, such, for instance as the idea of mind.[93]

The Logos is the pattern or plan used by God. It is the first principal and archetypal idea.[94]

The Logos is viewed as an instrument, i.e., in the Aristotelean terminology, it is the material and formal cause.[95] The Logos is the instrument of creation.[96] It is described much as is Wisdom.[97] But creation is not delegated to the Logos as an independent entity. "It is evident then that despite his statements that God used the Logos as an instrument through which the world was created, the creation of the world, with the exception of the body and the irrational soul of man, was considered by Philo as a direct act of God."[98] Logos is to Philo what form is to Aristotle. God does not "need" help. He uses it to teach men a lesson. This is also used

pedagogically to teach the impropriety of touching that which is "unclean," which, for God, includes any matter. In addition, the Logos is the archetypal idea[99] and the archetype of light.[100]

Related to the preceding is the concept of the Light-Stream.

> In the solution of the problem of how the unrelated God could be the God of the universe Philo vividly foreshadows the thought of Plotinus. The sun was taken as the figure, that orb which burns, to all appearances, eternally, yet without need of fuel from outside itself. Independent of the world, a self-sufficient existence, it sends out its great stream of light and heat which makes life possible upon the earth. This stream may be called a stream of light, or of heat, or of life, or of creation. But the stream itself is greater than any of these single aspects, since it includes them all. The aspects are only convenient abstraction for our immediate purpose, for the stream from the sun is not a pluralistic collection of independent elements, but is itself a unit. It is not the sun, yet it is in a sense the projection of the sun to us, or was so regarded by the ancients, inasmuch as in ancient thought light was a stream of fire from a fiery source.[101]

This formulation of the light stream is opposed by a Persian one, wherein Osiris, the light God and Logos, has a wife, Isis, who bears him Horus, the projection of the divine light into the sublunar world. In this formulation utilizing the female principle, "Horus would seem to be the Divine Stream as clothed in matter, the cosmic Logos."[102]

> The stream from God Philo accepts without question, and gives varying formulations. First is that which centered in the 'Female Principle.' Philo would not have had far to look, if he had himself made the search <u>de novo</u>, for the Jewish counterpart of this conception. It was right at hand in the Jewish Wisdom which had in Greek become Sophia.[103]

The sequence went as follows: first is the arche, the monad; then the Logos of To-On; then the two powers, (1) the creative and (2) the royal; and then the other powers.[104] Thus, God is simultaneously the source of the form and life of the universe, and that form and life Himself. This is, per Goodenough,[105] too dualistic to be grouped with the type of Pantheism which we find in Plotinus. There is a marked similarity here to the Stoics who insisted that the gods of their neighbors were but manifestations of the one, all-pervasive Logos. Goodenough makes the assertion that, the Light Stream notwithstanding, the Logos, is neither an entity nor is it fully hypostatized.[106] "One may read the Logos at any time when Philo is speaking of the Law of Nature: and it must always be borne in mind that the Logos is not the Stoic Logos, a concomitant of the ultimate material substrate. It is rather the Light-Stream coming down into matter."[107]

Philo makes his assumption that matter is essentially evil quite explicit. Hence, he is constantly at pains to show that God did not come into contact with matter. He attempts to reconcile the account of Creation in Genesis 1 with the Platonic notion of Creation, that is to say, with a "formation of the universe," which would not necessitate direct contact between God and matter.[108] Creation for Philo is

> ...the process by which original matter... describable only by its utter lack of form, quality, or order, was given those attributes by their coming into matter from without, from God.... What come into matter from God to make it a cosmos was form or Law

> or Logos because these were but different approaches in Philo's mind to the same concept."[109]

Creation took place from a plan, i.e., it was a copy of the cosmos noetos. Basically, creation is the imposition of law on matter.[110]

"It is obvious that Philo wrote the De Opificio to demonstrate that the cosmogony and philosophy of Moses was that taught by the Platonic and Neo-Pythagorean philosophers."[111] As we have seen, he used the Timaeus to explain the first chapter of Genesis. He concludes with five points:

a) The existence of God, against the atheists.

b) The unity of God, against the polytheists.

c) The non-eternality of the universe.

d) The unity of the cosmos, against the Atomists.

e) The efficacious providence of God, not in the Stoic-deterministic sense, but rather as immanent presence, against the Epicureans.[112]

The final issue which we shall consider is that of the relation of Philo and Philonic exegesis to other Jewish material. What we shall first consider is the relationship of Philonic to Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical material. Then we shall turn to a brief and cursory survey of certain representative positions on the question of the relationship of Philonic to Palestinian-Rabbinic material. In this latter area, we shall content ourselves with summarily describing the various alternatives and their advocates. The matter of

resolution of this question lies beyond the scope and interest of this paper.

II Enoch is a Hellenistic, Alexandrian apocalypse with sources patently different from those of Philo. "Still it is interesting to see that the view of God as Light had become so proverbial in Hellenistic Judaism as to be axiomatic even in an apocalypse."[113]

"With the Wisdom of Solomon we come to still more definite testimony that Philo's Judaism was not of a type peculiar to himself."[114] The immaterial light of Gnostic, Philonic and neo-Platonic thought is found in such passages as 7:10,29. "Such must be the fundamental thought of Sophia: she is the Light-Stream from God's glory. As such, she is the Orphic μονογενες 'unique in kind.'"[115] Wisdom is, for Philo, unchanging. The discussion of the creative agent in 9:1 makes, albeit haltingly, the identification of Logos and/or Sophia with the creative word of God. The utilization of Sophia at this point may constitute the introduction of the Light-Stream into Judaism.[116]

In Aristobulous,[117] ...the famous statement of Proverbs viii, 22, 27, is definitely taken out from its Jewish setting and equated with Sophia as the pagan Light-Stream, the source of all light and the guide of the individual."[118] This gives us at least the terminus ad quem for the introduction of this idea into Judaism, and dates well before the Wisdom of Solomon or Philo. A similar theme is found in Book III

lines 8-28 of the Sibylline Books. However, here the problems of the date of the Sibylline Books and the extent of Christian interpolation enter the question.[119]

There is a sizable group of scholars who suggest that there is a strong and direct influence exerted mutually by Philo and the Rabbis. This position is advocated primarily by Wolfson[120] and Baer.[121] "The similarity between Philo and the Midrash shows, as per usual, the antiquity of doctrines such as these and that their source (come) from one common root."[122]

On the other extreme, there is the position typified by Goodenough[123] and Sandmel[124] which would suggest that similarities between the Rabbis and Philo are largely fortuitous in nature. Sandmel observes that, "One need not infer from a casual similarity in one or more facets of Philonic and rabbinic statements that such similarity amounts to total identity, nor that that dubious identity requires Philo to be dependent on the rabbis."[125] Goodenough's position is similarly unequivocal. Commenting on Philo's system, he observes,

> For all its passionate Jewish loyalty, it was not fundamentally a Judaism with Hellenistic veneer: it was a Hellenism, presented in Jewish symbols and allegories, to be sure, but still a Hellenistic dream of the salvation of the problem of life by ascent higher and even higher in the Streaming Light-Life of God. 126

There is, of course, a middle position, and most authorities seem to favor it. One group seems to feel that there was a definite cross influence but it was not direct. Baeck feels that the Philonic influence was mediated by Origen,

whose school was virtually adjacent to that of the third century Amoraim, including the teacher of R. Hoshaia. In this way, Baeck traces what he considers to be the Philonic influence evidenced in Genesis Rabbah 1.1.[127] Moore develops essentially the same position.[128] Marmorstein is somewhat more extreme than the other two.[129]

Abelson notes many similarities between Philo and the Rabbis and suggests that there is a definite Philonic influence.[130] He feels that the Rabbinic פרקלט reflects the Philonic paraclete.[131] He notes, however, at least two significant disparities between Philonic and Rabbinic material. There is, first of all, in Philo, a lack of clear doctrine regarding God. This would account for a dimunition of Philonic influence on the Rabbis.[132] Secondly,

> The 'Word' at once reminds us of the Targumic Memra, which is perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the Targum literature. And one is led to think in this connection of the Logos of Philo and the 'Word' of St. John's Gospel. But close study very soon dispels the idea that the latter two terms are identical with Memra or Shechinah or Dibbur. Philo's Logos differs in at least three important respects from the Rabbinic conceptions. These are (1) that it is a piece of metaphysics, a philosophical term quite foreign to Rabbinic methods of interpretation. (2) That it is impersonal, whereas the Rabbinic terms stand for a Personal God, a father into whose ears man can pour the tale of his troubles, and receive a comforting reply. (3) The Logos is often the intermediary between man and God, the 'paraclete' of humanity, whereas the Rabbinic repudiated in the strongest language possible, any interviewing personality between man and his Maker.[133]

Mueller asserts that there is no answer possible as to whether or not Philo and the Rabbis exerted any influence on each other, or as to whether or not they used any common

sources.[134] "Philo, however, in his elaboration of the Logos idea, took a somewhat different line from the Palestinian teachers, and consequently his Logos teaching had little influence on subsequent mystical thought in Judaism, though it profoundly affected that of Christianity."[135]

Finally, Lauterbach[136] takes a position more closely approximating that of Sandmel and Goodenough. He asserts that,

> In the case of many of the ideas and principles found both in Philo and in the Talmudic and Midrashic literature it is impossible to assert that there has been borrowing on either side; and it is much more justifiable to assume that such ideas originated independently of each other in Palestine and Alexandria. This may have been the case also with the rules of hermeneutics.[137]

Thus, we have seen in our consideration of the Alexandrian Jewish community, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and Philo that the Jewish world was but a part of the larger, Hellenistic world. There was, to be sure, that which was unique and peculiar to Jewish thought, particularly in Palestine. However, the total development of Judaism within and without Palestine is thus seen to be comprehensible only against the background of the contemporary Hellenistic civilization.

Chapter III

Footnotes

1. Windelband, W. History of Ancient Philosophy, trans. by H.E. Cushman. Dover Edition, 1956. p. 342f. He equates the impact of the Orphic-Pythagorean mysteries and Judaism with the Essenes in Palestine and Philo in Alexandria. cf. Bentwich, N. Hellenism Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1919. p. 28. and Knox, W. L. "Pharisaism and Hellenism" in Judaism and Christianity, vol. II, London, Sheldon Press, 1937. p. 63. Knox stresses the Stoic influence in Alexandria and underlines the significance of the Timaeus of Plato.

2. Lewy, J. "תקופת הגירות הפנ' באור והפרוס היוונית והרומית" in ספר יובל לו' Hebrew University. Jerusalem, 1949, p. 3.

3. Ibid. p. 4.

4. Ibid. p. 5.

5. Ibid. pp. 5-9. cf. also Radin, M. The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans, Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1915.

6. Moore, G.F. Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim Vol. II Harvard University Press. Cambridge 1954 cf. p. 264f.

7. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 195.

8. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 289f.

9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 295.

10. Baer, Y. F. ישראל בעמים Mosad Bialik, Jerusalem, 1955 p. 32f.

11. Ibid. cf. pp. 40f, 45, 47.

12. Ibid. p. 64f.

13. Ibid. p. 66.

14. Ibid. p. 66.

15. Lieberman, S. Hellenism in Jewish Palestine. Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, 1950. cf. p. 129.

16. Ibid. p. 130.

17. Ibid. p. 136.

18. Ibid. p. 146.

19. Baer, op. cit. pp. 73ff.

20. Lieberman, op. cit., p. 155.

21. Ibid. cf. p. 166.

22. Ibid. p. 179.

23. Ibid. p. 163.

24. Ibid. p. 183.

25. Ibid. p. 190.

26. Ibid. p. 53. Lieberman presents a fuller case for his position than we can deal with here.

27. Daube, D. "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation" in Hebrew Union College Annual vol. XXII pp. 239-264. Cincinnati, 1949.

28. Ibid. p. 240.

29. Ibid. p. 241.

30. Ibid. p. 248.

31. Ibid. p. 251. The subsequent pages document this claim.

32. Ibid. p. 257.

33. Ibid. cf. pp. 261-264. A general statement about Daube's position seems justified here. Daube is far more convincing than are his arguments. One must approach his conclusions with at least a critical skepticism. There are no clear cut answers on this question of Hellenistic influence on the Rabbis, particularly where hermeneutics are concerned. We must confess, however, that Daube's position sounds attractive, tentatively at least.

34. Marmorstein, A. The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: The Names and Attributes of God. Oxford University Press. London. 1927. cf. pp. 49-68.

35. Lieberman, op. cit. p. 197.

36. Ibid. cf. pp. 197ff. However, one should also bear in mind such passages as B. Baba Metzia 59b ן'ח'ל'ן ן'ל'ב ב'א ן'ל'ב ס'ל'פ א'פ'פ cf. also Guttmann, A., "The Significance of Miracles for Rabbinic Judaism" in Hebrew Union College Annual vol. XX. pp. 363-406. Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1947.

37. Marmorstein, A. Studies in Jewish Theology. Oxford University Press. London. 1950 p. 153. cf. also Joel, Blicke in die Religions-geschichte zu Anfang des zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts Part I.

38. Lieberman, op. cit., p. 100.

39. Ibid. cf. pp. 101f; 104f.

40. Ibid. p. 105. Lieberman makes the interesting observation that Homer is the only Greek author mentioned by name.

41. Pfeiffer, R. History of the New Testament Times with an Introduction with an Introduction to the Apocrypha. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1949. pp. 60ff.

42. Bentwich, N. op. cit. p. 154.

43. Charles, R.H., editor. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament vols. I-II Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1913.

44. Pfeiffer. op. cit., p. 352. It is cited in the Talmud by the title The Book of Ben-Sira or The Instruction of Ben-Sira.

45. Marcus, R. "On Biblical Hypostases of Wisdom." in Hebrew Union College Annual Vol. XXIII Part I, Cincinnati, 1950-1951 p. 167.

46. Charles, op. cit., Vol. I p. 369.

47. Ibid. p. 397.

48. Ibid. cf. note on verse 1, p. 473.

49. Ibid. p. 527. "The theology of the Book of Wisdom is Alexandrian, a combination of Jewish religion with Greek philosophy."

50. Ibid. cf. p. 547.

51. Ibid. p. 547.

52. Ibid. p. 549.

53. Ibid. p. 549f.

54. Ibid. p. 553.

55. Pfeiffer, op. cit. p. 350f.

56. Ibid. p. 419f.

57. Charles, op. cit. p. 571f.

58. Ibid. p. 591.

59. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 3. It has been suggested that this book has a Pharisaic author and stems from the period 135-105 B.C.E. But not more alienated educated as Jubilees!

60. Ibid. p. 163. This work is generally regarded as a composite. It was written in the period between 200 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. It is a syncretistic work and it is impossible to find any single theme in it.

61. Ibid. p. 217.

62. Ibid. 290. This work is held to be a unity with later Jewish and Christian additions. It is alleged that the author was a Pharisee.

63. Ibid. p. 370. It is suggested that this material stems from the period about 160 B.C.E. It is a work whose intention is to propagandize on the behalf of Judaism. "His method was not pure invention: he took ancient oracles and pieced them together, adding passages of his own which breathed strong monotheism and the glorification of the Jewish people." There are a large number of latter glosses, both Jewish and Christian, to this work.

64. Ibid. p. 426. This work was originally written in Greek. Its author was probably an Alexandrian Jew, and his Egyptian environment is seen in some of the creation accounts contained in this work.

65. Ibid. p. 445.

66. Ibid. p. 470. This work is alleged to have originally been written in Hebrew. It is a composite dating from the period 50-90 C.E.

67. Ibid. p. 529. This work has a basically Jewish framework with Christian interpolations and redaction. "...If there is not sufficient evidence to show that the author was a Gnostic, it is clear that his Judaism was tempered by a Hellenistic-Oriental syncretism."

68. Pfeiffer, op. cit., p. 85. "This apocalyptic work of the latter part of the first century of our era is one of the most notable and brilliant of the lot." There seems to be a consensus that the original work was written in Hebrew. cf. Charles, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 547.

69. Scholem, G. Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism. Third revised edition. Schocken Books. New York. 1954, p. 43.

70. Abelson, J. The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature MacMillan and Co., Limited. London 1912 p. 61.

71. Ibid. p. 63. But, see the discussion above regarding Greek parallels to Rabbinic exegesis and the position developed by Daube which would not make it necessary for Philo to study Rabbinic exegesis as such.

72. Ibid. p. 75. "The assumption on the part of all these authors seems to be that the resemblances between Philonic and Rabbinic ideas do not necessarily imply borrowing on either note. The same ideas may have been in the vogue in Palestine and Alexandria concurrently."

73. Goodenough, E.R. By Light, Light. Yale University Press. New Haven. 1935. p. 44.

74. Ibid. p. 45.

75. Zeller, E. Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy 13th Edition revised by Dr. Wilhelm Nestle. Trans. by L.R. Palmer. Meridian Books. New York. 1955. p. 281. "In defining the nature of these beings besides the belief in angels and demons and Plato's statements on the world soul and the ideas, it was above all the Stoic doctrine of the effluences of God that permeate the world that served him as a model."

76. Windelband, op. cit. p. 346.

77. Moore, op. cit. Vol. I p. 416.

78. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 416f.

79. Mills, L.H. Zarathustra, Philo, the Achaemenids and Israel F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig. 1905-1906. p. 208.

80. Ibid. p. 210.

81. Wolfson, H. A. Philo Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1947. Vol. I, p. 307.

82. Mansel, H.L., The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries ed. by J.B. Lightfoot. John Murray, London, 1875 p. 16f. One need not, however, agree with the value judgments Mansel employs, e.g.,"perverted interpretation." The idea of absolute existence is, similarly, of great concern for the Gnostics.

83. Zeller op. cit. p. 281f.

84. Wolfson, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 240.

85. Windelband, op. cit., p. 347.

86. Ibid. p. 348.

87. Abelson, op. cit. p. 56.

88. Ibid. p. 66.

89. Cf. Genesis Rabbah 3.4 on the creation of light.

90. Zeller, op. cit., p. 281. cf. Wolfson, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 234. Wolfson gives the sources for the descriptions of the Logos which he and Zeller use in common. Leg. All III, 175; Migr. I, 6; Heres 42,206; Agr. 12,51; Conf. 11, 41; 14,62; 28,146; Leg. All II, 21,86; Qu.in Gen. II, 62; Leg. All. III, 73, 207; Somn. I,39, 239-240; 41,238-239.

91. Knox, op. cit., p. 68f.

92. Wolfson, op. cit., p. 254f.

93. Ibid. p. 258. cf. also Drummond, J. PhiloJudaeus; or The Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy in its Development and Completion, Williams and Norgate, London 1888 Vol. II, p. 202, for sources in Philo which make the identification of Wisdom and Logos - Leg. All. I.19 Somn.II 37 Post. Cain 10, 36,37, 41, 45.

94. Wolfson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 237f Citing Somn. II 6,45 Qu. in Gen. I,4.

95. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 261. Also cf. Drummond op. cit., vol. II p. 198, citing Cherub. 35.

96. Wolfson, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 261f citing Leg. All III, 31, 96. Migr. 1,6. Sacr. 3,8. Spec. I 16,81. Immut. 12-57.

97. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 262f citing Fug. 20, 109. Deter. 16,54 (where it is called "mother" rather than instrument). Ebr. 8,31. Similarly, Plato calls matter "mother and nurse"

in the Timaeus. (cf. also Aristotle Physics I 9,192a,14). Philo Ebr. 14,61. Qu. in Gen. IV, 160. In this context, compare the use of the word ____ as "nurse" in Gen. R. 1.1 Wolfson also cites Prov. 8:22f and the Septuagint rendering of ____ as "one working as a joiner." Compare also Wisdom of Solomon 7:22 (21).

98. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 270.

99. Drummond, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 164, citing Mutat. Nom. 23.

100. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 165, citing Somn.i.13 and Mund. Op. 8.

101. Goodenough, op. cit., p. 11.

102. Ibid. p. 14.

103. Ibid. p. 22.

104. Ibid. p. 27 citing Quaestiones et Solution es in Exodum ii, 68.

105. Ibid. p. 37.

106. Ibid. p. 148. "...We begin to see clearly at last that the divine radiation of Light is to be called Sophia or Law interchangeably, as it had been spirit above (Quaest. Gen. iii, 9) Philo can call this radiation by one or by a combination of the terms as the exigencies of a given allegory may demand. I cannot see room in the picture for Sophia as a distinct principle in contrast to the Powers. Philo is too specific in denying the powers any independent existence to have kept Sophia as such. To follow his thought we must begin with, and never lose sight of, the Radiating Deity, and recognize that various terms are only means of describing the nature of that radiation."

107. Ibid. p. 58.

108. Abelson, op. cit., p. 30.

109. Goodenough, op. cit., p. 49.

110. Ibid. p. 49 cf. De Opificio 3 and 16.

111. Ibid. p. 121.

112. Ibid. cf. pp. 170-172.

113. Ibid. p. 267.

114. Ibid. p. 268.

115. Ibid. p. 272.

116. Ibid. p. 273.

117. According to Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius, his book was written between 181-145 B.C.E. cf. Pfeiffer, op. cit., p. 214.

118. Goodenough, op. cit., p. 278.

119. Ibid. p. 297.

120. Wolfson, op. cit.

121. Baer, op. cit.

122. Ibid. p. 89.

123. Goodenough, op. cit.

124. Sandmel, S. Philo's Place in Judaism. Hebrew Union College Press. Cincinnati. 1956.

125. Ibid. p. 19.

126. Goodenough, op. cit., p. 263f.

127. Baeck, L. "Zwei Beispiele Midraschischer Predigt" in Aus Drei Jahrtausenden Schocken Verlag. 1938. pp. 157-175.

128. Moore, op. cit.

129. Marmorstein Studies in Jewish Theology, op. cit. p. 150. "The connecting link between the Rabbis and earlier Hellenistic allegorists, Philo included, is at present, impossible to discover. The communal and literary intercourse between the Greek diaspora and the Palestinian community is too little known to afford material for a working hypothesis. The hypothesis, however, that Philo and his sources may have used more of the earlier Palestinian wisdom and scholarship than they are credited with, is seen to have more basis when the Greek writings are examined and searched in the light of the Palestinian Midrash."

130. Abelson, op. cit., cf. p. 68f.

131. Ibid. p. 71.

132. Ibid. p. 74.

133. Ibid. p. 146.

134. Mueller, E. A History of Jewish Mysticism East and West Library, Oxford, 1946, p. 32.

135. Ibid. p. 33.

136. Lauterbach, J. "Philo Judaeus - His Relation to the Halakah" in The Jewish Encyclopedia. Funk and Wagnalls Co. New York. 1905. Vol. X, pp. 15-18.

137. Ibid. p. 18.

CHAPTER IV

BEYOND THE CONFINES OF JUDAISM

A. THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE EARLY CHURCH

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made." John 1:1-3

There are many points of contact between the New Testament and Rabbinic literature. Before turning to our major concern in this section, New Testament and early Christian parallels to the Creation accounts and the hypostatiza- of wisdom, we shall consider, briefly, but a few of these points of contact.

Baer adduces many parallels between the asceticism and primitive communion of the early church and a vast number a rabbinic passage.[1]

Marmorstein makes the identification of the מינים, who are frequently referred to in Rabbinic literature, with the early Jewish Christians.[2] Marmorstein derives evidence for his position by citing polemical passages from the Clementine Homilies and the Didascalia, and, similarly, from rabbinic passages which he holds to be refutations to the charges contained in the former.[3] The individuals described in the Homilies xl.16 and in James 2:10, i.e., "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all," correspond to the descriptions of the מינים which are given by R. Simon b.

Lakish and Simon Hasidah.[4]

At this point, we shall turn to a consideration of the New Testament sources themselves, withholding our consideration of John 1. till the end.

The primeval nature of the Law and its immutability is the theme of Matthew 5:17ff.

> Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.[5] Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments and shall teach men so,[6] he shall be called the least in the kingdom: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

The same notion is expressed in a parallel verse in Luke 16:17, "and it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail."

Another significant idea for our consideration is that the Christ is the means of creation and, indeed, all existence. This doctrine is advanced by I Corinthians 8:5f. "For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." This passage would appear to be related to material in the Fourth Gospel, which we shall consider subsequently.

The spiritual nature of Christ and his pre-existence

is described in I Corinthians 15:45f "And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthly; the second man is the Lord from heaven."[7]

II Corinthians 4:3 may provide us with a development of the Light Stream concept of Alexandria. "But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost: In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." This would suggest that the gospel itself is the Light. This Light becomes embodied in Jesus in a subsequent verse. "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." (v.6)

Two verses in the first chapter of Ephesians, 4 and 10, continue the theme of the pre-existent Christ (v.4), through whom the world exists (v.10). The second passage is particularly significant, "That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth; even in him."

Still another passage, Colossians 1:15ff, describes

Christ as being pre-existent and the means by which creation took place.

> Who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature: For by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: All things were created by him, and for him: And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.

In a subsequent passage in Colossians 3:11, Christ is described as being all pervasive, "...but Christ is all and in all."

Perhaps Christ is identified with the Light Stream itself in a passage in Hebrews. "Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, ..." (1:3) Here he appears to be the Light Stream embodied - or, perhaps, the Demiurgos. A subsequent passage, Hebrews 11:3, returns to the theme of the efficacy of God's word in creation. "Through faith we understand that worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." It would seem, furthermore, that what we have in the last part of the verse is a denial of eternal matter. As the rabbis held the pre-existent Torah to be immutable, Paul describes Christ in the same manner. "Jesus Christ the same yesterday and today, and for ever." (Hebrews 13:8)

One final passage describes the efficacy of God's word in the creation of the world. "For this they are willingly

ignorant of, that by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water" (II Peter 3:5). It is interesting that once again we encounter the notion that creation took place out of water. This notion, developed by Thales, was, as we have seen, also found among the rabbis.

At this point, we shall consider the most significant New Testament passage in our concern, the first chapter of John. The text itself is too familiar to require our citing it here. We shall make certain observations about its context and intent and then attempt to trace its sources in order to demonstrate its relationship to normative Jewish thought. The gist of the passage is as follows: "Spirit" existed with God prior to creation. This "Spirit" functioned as an agent of mediation in creation. In the Fourth Gospel, it became identified with the Logos.[8] It has been suggested, furthermore, that John 1:3 and 1:14 are, in reality, polemics against the Gnostic Cerenthus and the earlier Nicolations. These heretics had taught that Jesus was a human being upon whom the Christ had descended after his baptism and from whom the Christ departed at the crucifixion. Jesus, they held, was resurrected but not the Christ, which is a spiritual being. This chapter also attacks the Gnostic doctrine that the God of creation and redemption are not the same Being.[9]

Many authorities concur that the author of John had

a Jewish background and orientation.[10] It can be demonstrated, as we shall see subsequently, that the Logos of John ultimately derives from Proverbs 8.

> If this be so, we do not need to imitate modern exegetes who speak of the influence of the teaching of Heraclitus upon the Ephesian philosophers or upon the early Ephesian Church. It is doubtful whether there is any need to introduce Heraclitus at all.[11]

Harris holds that by identifying the Logos of John as the Wisdom/Sophia of Proverbs, "We have crossed from Proverbs to John; the bridge upon which we crossed is the ninth chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon; so the praises of Sophia become praises of the Logos."[12] Thus, Christ is identified first with the Wisdom and then with the Word of God. The Logos is originally a Wisdom doctrine; and when Wisdom is identified with the Word, so is Christ. "Thus behind the Only-Begotten Son of God to which John introduces us we see the Unique Daughter of God which is His Wisdom, and we ought to understand the Only-Begotten Logos - Son as an evolution from the Only-Begotten Sophia-Daughter."[13] This is similar to the theology implicit in Hebrews 1:2f.

The equation of Logos with Sophia is established by many sources. These include Cyprian's Testimonia and the writings of Gregory of Nyssa.

> It is becoming increasingly clear that the eighth chapter of Proverbs and those associated chapters of the Apocryphal Wisdom-books, are fundamental for primitive Christology, as it was presented in the proof texts against Judaism. The Book of Testimonies, then, shows clearly that Christ is the Word

> of God reposes on an earlier doctrine that Christ is the Wisdom of God. [14]

We find similar evidence in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho,[15] in the writings of Theophilus of Antioch,[16] Irenaeus,[17] Tertullian,[18] Origen,[19] and Eusebius' Prophetic Eclogues and Evangelical Demonstration.[20]

The Odes of Solomon 31 is particularly significant in this context. "Thus we have actually found a Sophia-Christ-Ode in the early Christian Church, quite unconnected with the Sophia that we discovered in the Testimony Book. Note in passing that she describes herself as a preacher of Divine Grace."[21]

Similarly, we find certain passages in Apocryphal material which seem to have a direct bearing on the first chapter of the Fourth Gospel. These include Wisdom of Solomon 7:29f (cf. John 1:4-5) and Sirach 24:7f (cf. John 1:11). John 1:16 speaks of the Pleroma or "fulness" of God, which is derived from a Gnostic notion. Proverbs 3:16 connects the Law and Truth with Sophia. Wisdom of Solomon 3:4 provides the bridge between Proverbs and John. "The suggestion to replace Law by Grace, so natural to the primitive Christian, had already been made in part by the Wisdom of Solomon."[22] Sirach 2:16 and 32:14f identifies the Pleroma as the Law which pleases God.

In Colossians 1:19, it is "the Son" who pleases God. Finally, as we shall see, the Rabbis equated the Torah

with Wisdom. In yet another source, we find this equation of Christ with the Wisdom of God - in the Created Things and Banquet of the Ten Virgins of Methodius.[23]

From all these parallels, Harris offers the following reconstruction and restoration of the prototype for the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel:

Proverbs 8:22ff:	The Beginning was Wisdom Wisdom was with God.
Wisdom of Solomon 9:1f and 9:	Wisdom was the assessor of God All things were made by her; Apart from her nothing that was come to be.
Wisdom of Solomon 7:26:	With her was Light and the Light was the Life of me That light shone in the darkness
Wisdom of Solomon 7:29f:	And the Darkness did not over master it. For no evil overmasters Wisdom.
	Wisdom was in the World, In the world which she had made;
Proverbs 1:28:	The World did not recognize (sic) her.
Sirach 24:7f:	She came to the Jews, and the Jews did not receive her.

Enoch 42:1ff and	Those that did receive her be-
Wisdom of Solomon 7:27:	came friends of God and Prophets.
Sirach 24:8ff and	She tabernacled with us and we
Wisdom of Solomon 7:25:	saw her splendour, the splendour
	of the Father's Only child,
Wisdom of Solomon 3:9:	Full of Grace and Truth.
Odes of Solomon 33:	(She declared the Grace of
	God among us.)
Sirach 32:15:	From her pleroma we have re-
	ceived Grace instead of Law.
	For Law came by Moses,
Wisdom of Solomon 3:9:	Grace and Mercy came by Sophia
Wisdom of Solomon 7:26:	She is the Image of the In-
	visible God.
Wisdom of Solomon 6:22 and	She is the only child of God,
Sirach:	in the bosom of the Father,
	and has the primacy.[24]

On the other hand, it has been suggested that rather than stemming from apocryphal material, the Logos of John 1 derives from the Rabbinic Memra and/or Shechinah.[25] Thus, we can see that while the author of Prologue to the Fourth Gospel might not have been a Jew, he may well have been familiar with Jewish apocalyptic and Palestinian Rabbinic teachings of the First Century C.E.[26]

In concluding our consideration of the Fourth Gospel and New Testament sources, we should note briefly two

passages related to John 1. The first of these describes Jesus as being pre-existent, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad. Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am." (John 8:56ff) Our final passage likewise deals with this theme "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." (John 17:15)

It might well prove instructive for us to trace the development of the Logos a little further in Church history. Among anti-Gnostic Christian apologists, the Logos becomes the hypostatization of the energizing Reason. It is both God in His immanent aspect, and the creative Reason. "... He is the principle of the world and of revelation at the same time."[27]

The Logos always was with God as the Divine reason and the potentiality of the world. In the process of creation, the Logos emanated from God and became an independent hypostasis. In effect, the Logos is the immanent aspect of God, as such, is not distinct from Him in essence. The Logos is simultaneously the Creature of God par excellence, and the Creator and/or Prototype of the world.[28]

The emergence of the notion of the Trinity wherein the Logos is an entity stems from Tertullian. He rejected the Gnostic dualism of a Creator God and a Redeemer God in

favor of another Gnostic concept, that of the Demiurge.[29] By the time of Origen, the Logos is, as viewed from one perspective, God Himself. Viewed from another, the Logos is the totality and the creator of the many. Indeed, it may be viewed as the first state in the transition from the one to the many.[30] For Origen, creativity is the essential element of God's being. Since God is Himself immutable, this creativity must be mediated.

> The Logos is expressly conceived by Origen as a person, as an hypostisized being. He is indeed not, ὁ θεὸς, but still θεὸς, a δεύτερος θεός; and the Holy Spirit stands related to him as he is related to the Father. The Λόγος is related to the world as the ἰδέα ἰδεῶν the archetype according to which the divine will creates all things.[31]

In the writing of Paul of Samosata, the Logos becomes depersonalized. God is an individual personality. The Logos (Son) or Sophia (Spirit) can be distinguished, however these are attributes of God. The Logos emanated from God prior to time and, hence, while he can be called "Son," he remains an impersonal power. Paul was thus led to an adoptionist position and was deposed as Metropolitan of Antioch in 268. He opposed both Greek science and the Roman church

> The cosmology of the fathers may be thus stated: God, who has carried in himself the world - idea from eternity, has through the Logos, which embraces all ideas, in free self-determination created in six days out of nothing this world, which has had a beginning and will have an end; it was created after the pattern of an upperworld, which was brought forth by him, and has its culmination in man in order to prove his kindness and to permit creatures to participate in his bliss.[33]

Origen's heresies, i.e., pessimism and the contention that the contention that matter is evil, were set aside. Nonetheless, the literal meaning of Genesis 1:1-3 left the church with a sizable residue of neo-Platonic and Origenistic doctrine.

B. THE GNOSTIC HERESIES

Generally speaking, in the mythological embodiment of Gnosticism, the heathen demons and the God of the Old Testament, the latter taking the form of the Platonic Demiurge, were viewed as the powers of this world who were to be overcome. They were seen in opposition to the true God of Salvation who had vanquished them with the revelation of Jesus. This was especially the case in the system of Marcion, with which we shall deal subsequently.[34]

> "In this world then, as already in the spirit world, the battle of the perfect and imperfect, of light and darkness, waged until the ΛΟΓΟΣ, the ΝΟΥΣ, Christ, the most perfect of the aeons, came down to the world of the flesh to release the spirit shut up in matter. This is the fundamental idea of Gnosticism, and its different mythological shadings are of no philosophical importance.[35]

With this in mind, let us consider some selected aspects of certain of the Gnostic positions.

The first system which we shall consider is that of Simon Magus and Menander. The former held that creation took place via emanations from the primordial fire, which is a symbol for a spiritual force.[36] Menander held, as had

Simon Magus, that the world had been made by angels who were the offspring of Ennoia or "conception." Simon Magus had given this title to Helena, his consort. Both maintained that they had been sent by the invisible supreme power to deliver mankind from bondage, through the agency of the magic doctrine which they taught.[37]

At least one division of the Ophite sects appear to have made the identification of the serpent of Genesis 3 with the Word or Divine Son. Like Philo's Logos, he served the function of being the intermediary between the supreme, transcendent deity and matter.[38]

Cerinthus is the next Gnostic whose cosmogony we shall consider.

> In common with the majority of the Gnostics he borrowed from the school of Philo the theory which made the Creator of the world a distinct being from the Supreme God, and in common also with the majority of the Gnostics he engrafted a pseudo-Christianity upon this pseudo-Judaism by interposing a series of intermediate powers between the Supreme God and Creator, so as to make the latter distinct from the former and to leave room for the work of the Christ as mediating between the two.[39]

Tatian carried this distinction between the Creator and the Supreme God still further into a fully developed dualism. Indeed, he maintained that Genesis 1:3, "Let there be light," constituted a prayer from the Creator to the Supreme God. This position is reminiscent of that of Saturninus, who held that the human body was created by the

angels, while the light bearing, spark of life was given from above the angels.[40]

The position of Bardesanes as a Gnostic is unclear. His cosmogony seems to be fairly orthodox.

> God the father in conjunction with the Divine Word, or according to another representation of his view, the Divine Word in conjunction with Wisdom or the Holy Spirit, is the maker of the world and of man.[41]

We find a full hypostatization of wisdom in the works of Valentinus. Valentinus holds that the creation of the world was attributable to the Wisdom of God. This view may stem from an influence from Alexandrian Judaism. This Wisdom is represented as a separate personality - depicted in a manner similar to its description in Job 28 and Proverbs 8, and, particularly, in such Apocryphal works as Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon.[42] He held, as had Philo, that the ideal world was created first. And, in obvious similarity to both Genesis and the Timaeus, he maintained that "God rejoices over creation."[43]

Hippolytus was an anti-Gnostic, yet his cosmogony is best seen as a reaction to the teachings of the Gnostic heretics.

> His theological controversy with the heretics is limited to an exposition, by way of contrast, of the true doctrine concerning God the Creator of all things; concerning the Logos by whom the world was made, and who became man; concerning the free will and future destiny of men.[44]

The Logos doctrine played a significant role in the

Arian heresy. According to Arius (post 320), within God dwelt Wisdom and Logos, which were inseparable powers. Besides these two, there were numerous created powers. Prior to the creation of the world, God created, from his own free will, an instrument. This instrument is referred to alternately as "Wisdom," "Son," "Likeness," or "Word," in Scripture. The "Son" stood as distinct from God. There was, however, a unique relationship between the two, that of grace. The "Son," in time, became incarnate, and, through the "Son," the "Holy Spirit" was created. This position was derived in part from Paul of Samasøta (see above). Athanasius, on the other hand, held that the Logos-Son was a part of the uncreated Divine Being. For there to be the "Father," there must be the "Son." This could not be the earth which was created but rather it must be something coexistent with the "Father."[45]

Goodenough[46] has presented a collection of mystic liturgical fragments, from the Apostolic Constitutions, which should be considered in the present context. "The Jewish origin of these Fragments was made certain by Bousset's analysis, as well as their strong Hellenization."[47] They appear to be the product of a mystic, non-normative group of Hellenistic Jews.[48] The Logos passages and the concept of monogenes are used here in an Orphic sense as they appear to be in Wisdom of Solomon.[49] While the Logos here is possibly Christian in sense, its Christian references are oblique, and it stands

much closer to mystic Hellenistic Judaism.

The first Fragment[50] is built upon Psalm 104:6 and contains the heart of the K'dusha formula, hence demonstrating its similarity to normative Jewish liturgy. Two verses seem to be particularly germane to our discussion, "...All which creatures, being made by Thy Logos show forth the greatness of Thy power." (v.5) "For Thou art the Father of Sophia, the Creator, as the cause, of the Creation, by a Mediator; ...." (v. 10). Goodenough considers this to be a Jewish prayer, with some Christian interpolations, at least as old as the Second Century.[51]

The second Fragment[52] also contains passages of interest to us, "O Lord Almighty, Thou has created the world by Christ, and has appointed the Sabbath in memory thereof... that we might come into remembrance of that Sophia which was created by Thee." (v. 1) The subsequent verse then describes the incarnation of the Christ and identifies him with Sophia. This avoids the problem of his being created. The sixth verse is a Christian insert which identifies Christ as the mediator in Creation. Goodenough asserts that in verse one, as a result of the subsequent identification of Christ and Sophia, "Christ" was substituted for the original reading of "Sophia." Both he and Bousset claim Jewish authorship for this fragment.[53]

The next Fragment which we shall consider is the

sixth one.[54] "Thou art blessed, O Lord, the King of ages (cf. I Tim. 1:17),[55] which by Christ hast made the whole world, and by Him in the beginning didst reduce into order the disordered parts; who dividest the waters from the waters by a firmament and didst put into them a spirit of life; who didst fix the earth, and stretch out the heaven and didst accurately dispose the order of ever creature. For by Thy taking thought, O Lord, the world is beautified...." (v lf.) Again, Goodenough suggests that "Christ" is a later interpolation or substitution for an earlier form, perhaps "Sophia." This fragment is likewise considered to be of Jewish origin.[56] There is an interesting point apparently unnoticed by Goodenough. In the form which both this and the fifteenth fragment tale we find an interesting parallel to the Rabbinic liturgical אשר ברדבו מערבים ערבים בחכמה פותח שערים בחכמה ומחליף את העתים "Who by His word brings on the evening, with Wisdom opens the gates (of heaven), and with understanding causes the seasons to change."[57]

Fragment Seven[58] is a most significant one for our consideration. Three successive verses contain highly relevant material.

> For Thou art Gnosis, which hath no beginning, everlasting sight, unbegotten hearing, untaught Sophia, the first by nature, alone in being, and beyond all number; who didst bring all things out of not-being, and into being by Thy only Son, but didst beget Him before all ages by Thy will, Thy power, and Thy goodness, without any agency, the only Son, God the Logos, the living Sophia, the first

> born of every creature (Col. 1:16), the angel of Thy great counsel (LXX Isa. 9:6), and Thy High-Priest; but the King and Lord of every intellectual and sensible nature, which was before all things, by whom were all things (cf. Col. 1:17). For Thou, O eternal God, didst make all things by Him, and through Him it is that Thou vouchsafest Thy suitable providence over the whole; world; for by the very same that Thou bestowedst being didst Thou also bestow well being: the God and Father of Thy only Son, who by Him didst make before all things the cherubim and seraphim, the aeons and hosts, the powers and authorities (cf. Col. 1:16), the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels; and after all these, didst by Him make this visible world, and all things that are therein. For Thou art He who didst frame the heaven as an arch (cf. Isa. 40:22) and stretch it out like the covering of a tent (cf. Gen. 1, Psalm 104:2), and didst form the earth upon nothing (cf. Job 26:7) by Thy will....(verses 7-9)

It is possible that "Thy only Son" or Monogenes in verse seven stems from John 1:14, 18. The expression, "Lord of every intellectual and sensible nature," which is found in verse seven and frequently throughout the Fragments, is used by Philo in discussing Phesis.[59] Verse fourteen is similarly of interest for us. "...Who didst encompass the world which was made by Thee through Christ...." Of course, Goodenough holds that "Christ" is a later interpolation for an earlier form, perhaps, "Sophia." Verses nine to fifteen, especially in their reference to heavenly bodies, bear a marked resemblance to the Timaeus.[60] An interesting and significant interpretation of Genesis 1:26 is found in verse 16. "... For Thou didst say to Thy Sophia: 'Let us make man according to our image ....'" (v. 16) Again, Goodenough argues for a Jewish authorship.[61]

The first two verses of Fragment XI[62], is the next passage which we shall consider.

> O Thou the great Being, O Master, Lord, God, and Almighty, who alone are unbegotten, and ruled over by none (cf. I Tim. 1:17; Matt. 19:17); who always art, and art above all cause and beginning; who only art true; who only art wise; who only art the most high; who art by nature invisible; whose gnosis is without beginning; who only art good, and beyond compare; who knowest all things before they are; who art acquainted with the most secret things; who are inaccessible, and without a superior. The God and Father of Thy only Son. Our God and Saviour; the Creator of the whole world by Him; whose providence provides for and takes the case of all; the Father of mercies, and God of all consolation (cf. II Cor. 1:3); who hath His seat on high and yet lookest to the things below:"

The final Fragment which we shall consider is the fifteenth.[63]

> O Lord Almighty, our God, who hast created all things by Christ, and dost appropriately take care of the whole world by Him; for He who had power to make different creatures (Wisdom 6:8) has also power to take care of them according to their different natures; ....

Goodenough suggests that if "Logos" be substituted for "Christ," or, by changing gender, "Sophia" be substituted for "Christ," we have what would clearly be a Jewish Prayer.[64]

> "It was Gnosticism, one of the last great manifestations of mythology in religious thought, and definitely conceived in the struggle against Judaism as the conquerer of mythology, which lent figures to the Jewish mystic."[65]

And we certainly must concur with Scholem, that Jewish cosmogony is certainly clearer when seen against the background

of Gnostic thought. Mueller maintains that such Gnostic groups as the Ophites, Nachashites, Ebionites, and Melchizedekites were Jewish in composition. It is to the last two groups that Paul refers in Hebrews 6 and 7.[66]

Marmorstein lists a series of passages in Rabbinic literature which reflect a response to Gnostic assertions of dualism. For example, in b. Hag. 15a, Elisha b. Abuya (Aher) sees Metratron sitting beside God, thus he sees "two powers." All the charges made against God by Marcion, as reproduced in the Clementine Homilies ii 48f, are addressed by the Rabbis and refuted by them.[67] Similarly, certain names of God employed by the Rabbis may reflect a Gnostic influence. Thus, the name _____ רבון כל העולמים _____, "Lord of the world," may derive from the Gnostic sources.

> It is quite impossible to assume that the Gnostic doctrine of the Jewish God as the Lord of this world, the Satan, the Demiurgos, the source of Evil, should not have influenced the theological speculations and the apologetical tendencies of the Rabbis.[68]

The utilization or, indeed, the refusal to utilize allegorical interpretation by many of the Rabbis may similarly betray a Gnostic influence.[69] Thus, once again, we see that Jewish thought of the period under consideration is incomprehensible without an understanding of the non-Jewish background against which it was written.

Chapter IV

Footnotes

1. Baer, Y.F. פ' נ"ר סבת' Mosad Bialik, Jerusalem. cf. pp. 41-44 and 123f. Of course, the classic work for all such studies is Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch.

2. Marmorstein, A. Studies in Jewish Theology. Oxford University Press. London, 1950 p. 179ff. In Hagigah 27a, they are exempted from Hell, and the description seems to imply that they were circumcized, but assimilated Jews. "To sum up, we see that there were friendly and unfriendly views taken of these transgressors; they displayed certain virtues, and yet had shown peculiarities which alienated the Rabbis from them; they surely did not give up their intimacy with the synagogue, yet they loosened the tie of unity which held Jews together all over the world and through the ages. In other words, we find here in the third century a peculiar sort of Jews which retain some laudable characteristics of Jewish religion and life, and yet with one foot stand outside the camp." (p. 185)

3. Ibid. cf. pp. 185-206. The nature of the material is too technical to be repeated here, and lies beyond the scope of the present paper.

4. Ibid. p. 208.

5. There is some question as to the meaning of the word "fulfilled" in this context. Various suggestions have been made regarding its possible meaning. These include: "to reveal the full depth of meaning"; "to transcend"; "to complete"; "make the imperfect perfect," etc. cf. Montefiore, C. 6. The Synoptic Gospels, Vol. II. MacMillan and Co., London. 1927, pp. 47-50.

6. Cf. the ___ ס"ג נ"ן ___ in Mishnah Sanhedrin 11.2.

7. It might be of interest to compare with this passage Rabbinic material dealing with Adam Kadmon, and passages such as Gen. R. 8:11, which describe the terrestial and celestial nature of Adam.

8. Harnack, A. Outlines of the History of Dogma. Trans. by E. K. Mitchell, Beacon Press. Boston, 1957. p. 25ff.

9. Mansel, H. L. The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries. ed. by J. B. Lightfoot. John Murry. London, 1875, p. 74ff.

10. Box, G. H. "The Jewish Environment of Early Christianity" in The Expositor Vol. 12, eighth series. London 1916, cf. pp. 16-25. And, Abelson, J. The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature. Macmillan and Co. Limited. London, 1912. And Harris, R. "The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel" in The Expositor Volume 12, eighth series. London, 1916.

11. Harris, op. cit. p. 163. cf. Heraclitus in Chapter II above for contrary positions.

12. Ibid. p. 160.

13. Ibid. p. 163.

14. Ibid. p. 164.

15. Ibid. p. 315.

16. Ibid. p. 316ff.

17. Ibid. p. 319ff.

18. Ibid. p. 388f.

19. Ibid. p. 389f.

20. Ibid. p. 390f.

21. Ibid. p. 396.

22. Ibid. p. 418.

23. Ibid. p. 423ff.

24. Ibid. p. 425f. I have corrected errors in Harris' citations.

25. Abelson, op. cit. p. 161f. "The remark in l.1, 'the Word was with God, and the Word was God,' so far from lending itself to the Christological interpretation of the identity between God and Jesus, seems to aim at conveying an idea just the reverse. It has been shown from our study of both Shechinah and Memra, that although the Rabbins personified these terms, speaking with the greatest freedom of them as the visible manifestations of Deity in the objective world, they yet left no stone unturned to prevent any

belief in anything but the unique and incomparable unity of God. The Gospel seems to bring out just this insistence on the Divine unity, "The Word was with God, and the Word was God. The word was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made." It is an exact reproduction of the Rabbinic emphasis upon everything having been made by the "Ma'amar," based on the Psalmist's declaration, "For he spake, and it was" (Psalm xxxiii. 9), with the proviso that this "Ma'amar" must not detract one iota from the absolute Unity of Deity. The Gospel's allusions to the metaphor of light in the next few verses seem to be a further harping on the same Midrashic string. The manifold figurative portrayal of the Shechinah as Light has already been mentioned. The idea of "The word made flesh" (1.14) and "the only begotten of the Father" (ibid.) seem also to be an echo of mystical statements found in Rabbinic thought. In T. B. Pesahim 54a we get an enumeration of seven persons or things which were created before the world came into existence. These are (1) the Torah, which is called "the firstling of His way" (Prov. viii.22); (2) the throne of glory which is "established of old" (Psalm xciii.2); (3) the sanctuary: "From the beginning is the place of our sanctuary" (Jer. xvii.12). (4) the garden of Eden (Rabbinical interpretation of פרדס in Gen. ii.8); (5) Gehenna; "Tophet is ordained of old" (Isaiah xxx.33). (6) Repentance: "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world" ... Thou saidst, "Return, ye children of men (Psalm xc. 2-3); (7) the name of the Messiah: "Before the sun His name sprouts as Yinnon, the Awakener" (Psalm lxxii.17 Rabbinical interpretation). This pre-existence "of the name of the Messiah" has a strong bearing on the Gospel ideal under consideration. In John viii.58 Jesus says "Before Abraham was, I am." One can clearly see then, that the "Word" which was "in the beginning", and afterwards "was made flesh" and became the Christ, is an echo of the Rabbinic teaching about the pre-existence of Messiah. The idea of sonship in relation to God, is developed in Rabbinical literature on the basis of many statements in the Old Testament, and is quite free from any theological or dogmatic significance. It is a Hebrew idiom, which conveys nothing more than the truth of the spirituality of man. Every Israelite, every member of the human race, enjoys God's fatherhood; it is "spirit" and not physical descent which puts man in the filial relation to his Father in heaven. But there is this exception, viz. that in certain passages in Rabbinic literature, the Messiah is singled out for special sonship. Thus, T.B. Sukkah 52a makes God address Messiah, son of David, in

the words of Psalm 11.7,8, "Thou are my Son, ask of me, etc." (cp. also Genesis Rabba xliv 8). Similarly, the "Son" of Psalm lxxx.17 is rendered by the Targum as 'king Messiah.'"

26. Ibid. cf. p. 165.

27. Harnack, op. cit. p. 126.

28. Ibid. pp. 126-128. "The history of the Logos is as follows: God was never ἄλογος; he ever had the Logos within himself as his reason and as the potentiality (idea, energy) of the world (notwithstanding all negative assertions, God and the world were somehow bound together). For the sake of the creation, God put the Logos forth from himself (sent him forth, permitted him to go forth), i.e., through a free simple act of his will generated him out of his own Being. He is now an independent hypostasis whose real essence is identical with that of God; he is not separated from God but only severed, and is also not a mere mode or attribute of God; but is the independent result of the self-unfolding of God, and, although being the compendium of the Divine Reason, he did not rob the Father of his reason; he is God and Lord, possesses the essence of the Divine Nature, although he is a second being by the side of God but his personality had a beginning ("fuit tempus, cum patri filius non fuit," Tertull.). Since then he had a beginning, and the Father did not, he is, as compared with the Father, a Creature, the begotten, created, manifested God. The subordination lies, not in his essence (for monotheism would then have been destroyed), but in the manner of his origin. This made it possible for him to go forth into the finite as reason, revelation, and activity, while the Father remains in the obscurity of his unchangeableness. With the going forth of the Logos begins the realization of the world-idea. He is the Creator and to a degree the Prototype of the world (the one and spiritual Being among the many sentiment (sic!) creatures), which had its origin from nothing."

29. Ibid., p. 130ff.

30. Ibid., p. 158f.

31. Windelband, W. History of Ancient Philosophy, trans. by H. E. Cushman, Dover Edition, 1956, p. 363.

32. Harnack, op. cit., p. 173.

33. Ibid., p. 227.

34. Windelband, op. cit., p. 357.

35. Ibid., p. 358.

36. Mansel, op. cit., pp. 86ff.

37. Ibid., p. 94.

38. Ibid., p. 99.

39. Ibid., p. 114.

40. Ibid., p. 137.

41. Ibid., p. 140.

42. Ibid., p. 168.

43. Ibid. p. 175.

44. Ibid., p. 275.

45. Harnack, op. cit., pp. 246ff.

46. Goodenough, E. R., By Light, Light, Yale University Press. New Haven, 1935.

47. Ibid., p. 336.

48. Ibid., p. 336.

49. Ibid., p. 342.

50. Ibid., p. 307ff. Constitutiones VII, xxxv, 1-10.

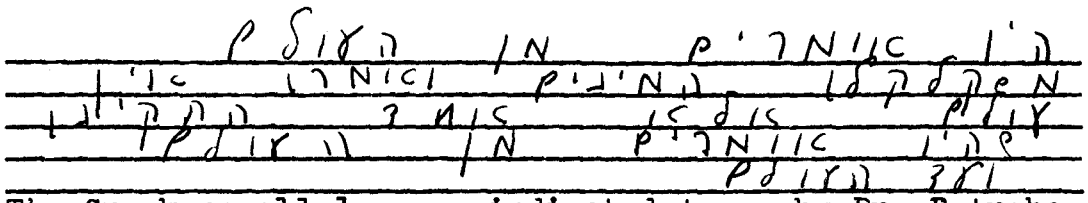
51. Ibid., p. 309.

52. Ibid., p. 310ff - Constitutiones VII, xxxvi, 1-6.

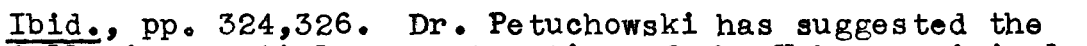
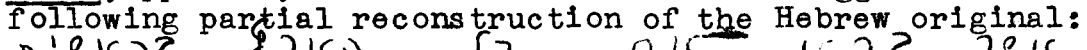
53. Ibid., p. 311f.

54. Ibid., p. 318f. Constitutiones VII, xxxiv, 1-8.

55. The Greek phrase in I Timothy 1:17 for "King of Ages" is highly similar to the Septuagint rendition of Psalm 145:14, מלכותך מלכות כל עולמים. Thus "the King of Ages" appears to be an exact parallel to מלך העולם or מלך עולמים. The following passage from M. Berachot 9:5 may be instructive in this context: כל המאמ' שרבו בה ימים



The Greek parallels were indicated to me by Dr. Petuchowski in the course of his reading this manuscript.

56. Ibid., pp. 324,326. Dr. Petuchowski has suggested the following partial reconstruction of the Hebrew original: a hypothesis

It is quite conceivable that the original "with

" became "with Sophia" which, ultimately, became "by Christ."

57. Idelsohn, A.Z. Jewish Liturgy and its Development. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1932, p. 120. The name of the prayer and its opening and closing phrases are mentioned in B. Berakhot 11b and 12a. It appears in its present form by the time of Siddur Amram.

58. Goodenough, op. cit., pp. 320-322. Constitutiones VIII, xii, 6-27.

59. Ibid., p. 320.

60. Ibid., p. 345.

61. Ibid., cf. pp. 324-326.

62. Ibid., p. 330. Constitutiones VIII, v, 1-4.

63. Ibid., p. 335. Constitutiones VIII, xvi, 3.

64. Ibid., cf. p. 335.

65. Scholem, G. Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism Third revised edition, Schocken Books, New York, 1954, p. 35. Cf. also Mueller, E.A History of Jewish Mysticism. East and West Library, Oxford, 1946, p. 64f. "It is probable, however, that there were relations between Jewish mysticism and the contemporary gnosis in Egypt, Syria, etc., especially in view of the fact that the period when the pure gnosis (Basilides, Valentine) was flourishing - the second century of the Christian era - practically coincides with the date of the scanty records of the Talmudic secret teaching."

66. Mueller, E., op. cit., p. 69.

67. Cf. Marmorstien, A., op. cit.

68. Marmorstein, A. The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: Part I The Names and Attributes of God. Oxford University Press, London, 1927, p. 64.

69. Marmorstein, A. The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: Part II Essays in Anthropomorphism, Oxford University Press, London, 1937., p. 155. "It can be observed that scribes like R. Joshua b. Hananyah, R. Akiba, R. Meir, R. Abbahu, and others, whose acquaintances with Greek philosophy, Greek literature, secular law, and general life is more or less well documented are opposed, if not hostile, to allegorical interpretations, and consequently, do not mind anthrompomorphic conceptions about God. Yet others whose whole life and upbringing betray no sign of philosophic knowledge or external influences favour allegoristic exposition of the Sacred Writings on which their religion and theology are founded. The solution of this puzzling contrast may be seen in the very fact that the wider experience and knowledge acquired by the former served as a warning against the dangers and pitfalls of allegorizing the Bible. Living in an age when, among other enemies, Gnostics menaced the very existence of Judaism by undermining the stronghold of Judaism, the Bible-and Marcion was not the first and not the last of the long line of enemies of the Bible - they thought it appropriate to defend the Bible with the same weapons with which Gnostics tried to destroy it, namely, by insisting on a literal exegesis." Cf. also, Baeck, L. "Der alte Widerspruch gegen die Haggada" in Aus Drei Jahr-tausenden. Schocken Verlag, 1938, pp. 176-185.

CHAPTER V

WISDOM IN RABBINIC COSMOGONY

חכמה בקוסמוגוניה רבנית

A. INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter, which represents the culmination of our quest, we shall attempt to draw together the strands of the Greek, Christian, and Gnostic parallels to Rabbinic thought and to see what material, if any, appears to be indigenous to the intellectual climate of Palestine. Our goal, in part, is to present aspects of the Rabbinic cosmogony. Furthermore, we shall attempt to test the validity of the proposition that "The impulse for cosmological speculation by the Palestinian rabbis of the first three centuries C.E. came chiefly from two sources: Plato's Timaeus mediated by Philo of Alexandria, and Gnostic writings of various kinds."[1]

We must bear in mind certain factors operative in Rabbinic thought which complicate the problem of arriving at a systematic exposition of this question, or for that manner of any philosophical or theological question. There appears to have been little distinction between philosophy and history in Pharisaic thinking.[2] The motivation for a systematized theology was not particularly great, as Schechter significantly observes:

> With God as a reality, Revelation as a fact, the Torah as a rule of life, and the hope of Redemption as a most vivid expectation, they felt no need for formulating their dogmas into a creed, which, as was once remarked by a great theologian, is repeated not because we believe but that we may believe.[3]

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the material we shall subsequently discuss, we should consider, briefly, certain background factors. The fourth through sixth centuries of the Christian Era constitute the classical period of Jewish mysticism. We know that Raba and others studied the esoteric doctrines. However, we cannot ascertain whether or not they actually wrote mystic and/or Gnostic texts. The origin of the movement was in Palestine in the first century and probably stems from the circle of scholars gathered about Johanan b. Zakkai. There may be some measure of validity to the traditions which ascribe some of this mystic material to Johanan b. Zakkai, Akiba, et. al. The earliest theme discussed in Jewish mystic writing is that of throne-mysticism.[4]

It is self-evident that Midrash must be approached from its historic context and seen as reflecting some particular Sitz im leben.[5]

> Here we should like to lay down an important principle in the investigation of the Aggadah. The utterances of the Rabbis are not as a rule pointless. Their homilies and parallels in which they utilized the current events of their time always contains something which must have appealed to the mind or heart of their contemporaries.[6]

This material further indicates that the Jews of Palestine were very much a part of the Hellenistic-Mediterranean world. In all areas of life and thought the Jews shared certain universal ideas, behavior patterns, and beliefs.[7]

We might note, in passing, but a few examples of cross cultural influences operative in Rabbinic thought. Thus, we find such names for God as ר' שמעון בר, ר' יהודה and ר' שמעון בן' or בן' are paralleled in such diverse literary sources as Philo, Pythagoras, and Stoic literature.[8] Much of the Midrashic material may be best understood as polemics and apologetics addressed to the issues of their milieu. If there is one generalization that can be made about Rabbinic literature and thought, it is that it was vibrantly attuned to the world of its day. Clearly those passages addressed to the Minim, "Philosophers," and Goyim reflect this tendency. Many theories have been advanced as to the identity of these groups, especially the Minim. The most attractive seems to be that most of these passages refer to Gnostics.[9] Similarly, there is another observable parallel to Hellenistic thought, particularly in the area of Rabbinic immanence. Thus, we may note the similarity between the Rabbinic Shechinah and the all pervasive Divine Pneuma of the Stoics. Parallels to the Stoic idea may be found in Sirach 24; Wisdom of Solomon 7:24-26; Luke 2:9 Ephesians 1:6; and 2 Corinthians 4:6. All of these passages bear a marked resemblance

to b. Haggigah 12a, where the all pervasive light probably refers to the omnipresent Shechinah, which is thus seen to be the equivalent of the Stoic Pneuma.[10]

As we have seen, Christian thought, at least as early as John, equated Christ with the Logos. Under these conditions, it is easy to see how a mystery-doctrine such as the עשה מעשה בראשית could arise as a polemic addressed to this identification.[11] These mystical doctrines, however, provided no theological panacea. They threatened the unity and incorporeality of God.

> Bereshith led up to the doctrine of eternal primary matter alongside of God, thus to a duality of principles, and, within the spiritual principle, to plurality, the ideas having been considered eternal heavenly beings independent of God in their existence, even though dependent on Him as to their activation.[12]

The Tannaim attempted to resolve this difficulty by subsuming all the ideas and principles under God, and asserting that they were neither independent of God nor coexistent with Him. To a large extent, it will be with questions and issues such as those discussed above that we shall be concerned in the balance of this paper. Before we begin our survey of the issues involved in Rabbinic cosmogony, we would do well to call to mind Schechter's warning. "Whatever the faults of the Rabbis were, consistency was not one of them. Neither speculation nor folklore was ever allowed to be converted into rigid dogma."[13]

B. THE ESOTERIC NATURE OF CREATION

> Jewish mysticism ... is a secret doctrine in a double sense, a characteristic which cannot be said to apply to all forms of mysticism. It is a secret doctrine because it treats of the most deeply hidden and fundamental matters of human life; but it is secret also because it is confined to a small elite of the chosen who impart the knowledge to their disciples.... There is a certain analogy between this development and that of the mystery religions of the Hellenic period of antiquity, when secret doctrines of an essentially mystical nature were diffused among an ever growing number of people.[14]

Our principal Rabbinic texts for this concept are found in b. Hagigah 11b-14b. The basic statement is found in the first Mishnah of chapter 2. אין דורשין בעריות בשלשה ולא בראשי פרקים בפני יחיד אלא אם כן היה חכם ומבין מדעתו. כל המסתכל בארבעה דברים ראוי לו כילו לא בא לעולם מה למעלה ומה למטה מה לפנים ומה לאחור ובל אלא מה שקדמו רצונו[15]

Clearly the esoteric information referred to in this passage is intended only for the ears of the initiate. It certainly indicates that there was a group engaged in such speculation during Tannaitic times.[16] The subsequent Gemara clearly indicates that natural science is not proscribed in any sense. It is only inquiry into creation or pre-creation that is carefully restricted.[17]

In a subsequent passage, b. Hag. 13a, there is an exhortation to refrain from inquiry into that which is beyond human ken. This passage reproduces Sirach 3:21f.[18] The

most celebrated text germane to our topic, b. Hag. 14b, describes the four sages who engaged in studying this esoteric material, Akiba, ben Azzai, ben Zoma, and Elisha ben Abuya.[19] Now, clearly, there is more left unsaid than said in this account. This passage may refer to pre-existent material. However, much more than this is meant here.[20] The doctrines involved may well be Gnostic.[21] This seems even more probable, when we consider the nature of Elisha b. Abuya's apostasy, the animosity which the Rabbis express towards him, and the reticence with which they discuss the entire matter. At best the passage raises as many questions as it answers.

Other Rabbis refused entirely to engage in such speculation.[22] Some seemed to suggest a withdrawal of the permission granted in the Mishna Hagigah to individual scholars. The use of the letter ז, which is closed on three sides, is taken to indicate the prohibition of studying anything which came "above, below and before" creation.[23] The restriction goes even further. There are ideas based upon explicit Scriptural references which are nonetheless taught esoterically. These are frequently introduced by such expressions as [illegible][24]

Thus, the Rabbis were careful to keep their cosmogonic speculation esoteric. The areas that were permitted for speculation and those entitled to engage in such speculation are rather clearly spelled out. These stringent regulations

are not surprising when we recall that there was great danger in such speculation. The possibility of it leading to heresy is apparent if one recalls the account of Elisha b. Abuya. Furthermore, by virtue of the very influences which the Rabbis sought to combat, e.g., Gnosticism, speculation on such subjects would, by its very nature, be esoteric and restricted to the initiated.

C. THE RABBINIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS MEDIATION, THE DEMIURGE AND PLURALITY

Generally speaking, the Rabbinic rejection of the Demiurge and/or an intermediary is implied by their vigorous rejection of duality implied in אין שני 25. This does not mean that the Rabbis escaped all influence of such thought.[26] That the Biblical passages relating to Creation were susceptible of pluralistic interpretation is revealed to us by a non-Rabbinical source. Irenaeus described certain Gnostics as believing that Genesis 1:1 refers to four deities - God, "beginning," "heaven," and "earth." This is especially significant in that מקום was used in Rabbinic literature as a name for God.[27] We shall consider this problem in further detail under the headings of "The Word of God" and "The Place of Wisdom" (see below).

At this point, we shall turn to a consideration of some Rabbinic texts bearing on this matter. Several passages repudiate the notion that the angels aided God in the creation

of the world. The Midrashim relate that the angels were created either on the second or the fifth day. Most of the passages turn on the exegesis of Isaiah 44:24 - instead of מאתי, אתי מי, i.e., "Who was with Me" is read, i.e., God alone created the world.[28]

Similarly, we are told that man was not the partner of God. Adam was created last, lest the Minim claim he was God's partner in creation.[29] Somewhat related to this is the statement that only one man was created, lest the Minim claim that there were many "authorities" in heaven, i.e., since man was created in the image of God, more than one "image" would indicate more than one God.[30] The problems derived from Genesis 1:26f were numerous. Primarily, they centered about the question to whom did God speak.

> First of all, we see that the earliest method of overcoming difficulties of this type was to alter the text of the Bible. Secondly, a reference to the context, especially the use of the context, is often utilized to dismiss the superficial interpretations. Thirdly, the scribes found allusions to the Torah, the Messiah, or the angels in such passages.[31]

There are a host of passages which deal with the problems engendered by the use of the plural אלהים. This problem occurs with Genesis 1:1, 26f, Exodus 20:1; Deut. 4:7; Joshua 22:22; and 24:19. Generally, the problem is resolved by pointing out that a singular verb is used with אלהים in all of these cases. As many of the texts state explicity, they are polemics delivered against some

Gnostic group.[32] Somewhat related to this, are the alleged changes made in the Hebrew text of the Bible prepared for Ptolemy. The first two of these changes, there are 13 in all, are of interest to us. אלמלי לא היה כתוב בתורה שברא הקב"ה את העולם בששת ימים ומה עשה ביום השביעי ישב וכתב תורה לפרעה וקנה לו ספר בדמים

Now, clearly, these "changes" are intended as repudiations of the doctrine of "two authorities." The reference to Ptolemy may suggest that this is an allusion to the Septuagint. In any event, Alexandria was a known center of Gnosticism, and it might be significant indeed, that such a Midrash refers to this location. God, Himself, is uncreated and changeless. He begets no sons. This may be an anti-Christian polemic.[34]

But not all Rabbinic literature is so thorough-going in its insistence upon the absolute solitude of God. There is a large group of passages which describe God as consulting His "Familia," court, or advisors.[35] The implications of the term "Familia" are not as clear-cut as might at first appear. Indeed, the context of Ex. R. 6.1 suggests that the consultation with the "Familia" might refer to consultation with the Torah, itself.

Two final passages which we shall consider, b. Hagigah 15a and b. Sanhedrin 38b, indicate that the Gnostic notion of "two authorities" had made deep inroads into Rabbinic thought and, if unchecked, would constitute a significant threat to monotheism. The first passage deals with Elisha b. Abuya (Aḥer). This Tanna turned heretic (Gnostic?), was

well-versed in the Metatron legends, and saw in him at least a Demiurge. There are some problems involved in the validity of the passage. It might well have been the case, that Aher became a convenient representative for any heretical doctrine. In any event, the Rabbis were aware of the dangers of unrestricted speculation in the Gnostic doctrines.[36] The second passage deals with the exegesis of the cryptical passage in Daniel 7:9. Here, no less an authority than Rabbi Akiba offers an interpretation which might imply "two authorities." It is in this passage that he receives his celebrated rebuke, instructing him to concern himself with legal matters and leave theological problems to those who are more adept at them. The other interpretation offered also seems somewhat less than satisfactory.[37]

We can summarize this section by noting that the Rabbis conscientiously attempted to repudiate all doctrines of "two authorities." They considered such teachings to be the root-source of heresy. Yet, they themselves, whether in the speculation regarding the "Familia" or in the rejected exegesis of Akiba, could not entirely escape its influence.

D. CREATION BY LETTERS, WORDS, NUMBERS, ETC.

No small number of statements reflecting a magical or theurgical notion of creation are to be found in Rabbinic sources. Many of these passages stress the relation between the Creation and the letters of the Torah.[38]

The world was created by use of the letters in ה״ו ב״ש ד״ק ז״ע ט״ס נ״צ[39] Another source tells us that the world was created through the six letters in the word בראשית. This is derived from a forced etymology of the word, which yields the reading ברא ששׁ, i.e., "He created six" ששׁ being a variant for שׁש or ששׂ).[40] Still other sources assert that the world was created with the letter ב[41] We are also informed that the world was created with the letter ה. This is based upon the exegesis of Genesis 2:4.[42] Another group of sources claim that both this world and the world to come were created by the agency of the letters ה and י.[43] Finally, we are told that men may learn this secret knowledge the combination of the letters by which the world was created. Bezalel, the architect of the Tabernacle, possessed this esoteric knowledge.[44]

Another idea, related to that discussed above, is that the world was created with 10 sayings. The basic text for this notion is Aboth 5.1. בעשרה מאמרות נברא העולם[45] The Biblical proof texts given in the sequel are Gen. 1:3,6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 29; 2:10. The forced and contrived nature of this total is indicated by a parallel passage which tries to derive that 10 verses are the minimal amount that may be read from the Torah from the "fact" that the world was created with 10 statements. This enumeration can find only 9 statements and concludes that the word בראשית itself

is to be included in the total.[46] Thus, it would appear that the number 10 had some mystic significance. This significance was great enough to cause the number to be used both in ritual practice and Rabbinic cosmogony. The significance of the number 10 may become more apparent if we note that Manoismus, a Gnostic, also speaks of 10 creations.[47] Thus, once again, in this area of Creation by magic or theurgy, we see that the Rabbis were very much a part of the Roman-Hellenistic world.

E. PRE-EXISTENT MATERIALS[48]

There are many passages in the literature under consideration which assert that there were seven things created prior to the Creation of the universe. The contents of these lists vary. One grouping includes: the Torah, Repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehinnom, the Throne of Glory; the Temple and the name of the Messiah.[49] One text gives an interesting variation on this list by substituting "the heavenly Temple" for "Temple."[50] Other versions include the Patriarchs of the world and Israel.[51] In all of these passages, the relevant Biblical proof texts are cited.

The "Spirit of the Lord" of Genesis 1:2 is identified with "the spirit of the Messiah." Isaiah 11:2 is used as a proof text.[52] As we have seen, other sources list the name of the Messiah as among those things which pre-existed the creation of the world. There is a vast difference between

a pre-existent "name" or "spirit" and a pre-existent Messiah.[53]

As we noted previously (see notes 3 and 19 to Chapter II above), some of the Rabbis held that fire and water from under the Throne of Glory were used to create the world.[54] Other sources assert that water and darkness were the pre-existent materials with which the world was created.[55]

Two final references indicate the esoteric nature of this speculation. The Rabbis appear to have felt that there was more to this notion of pre-existent matter than met the eye. Had Adam not sinned, all men would know the nature of the primordial matter from which the universe had been created.[56] On the other hand, some of the Rabbis were quick to repudiate the notion of any pre-existent matter, when such a notion might impugn the omnipotence of God. Thus R. Gamaliel refutes the "philosopher" who suggests that Tohu, Bohu, "darkness," "water," "Wind," and "The Deep" were building materials used by God.[57] Again, Rabbinic literature, particularly in this area of cosmogony, is comprehensible only when seen against the background of their social-cultural environment. The violent reaction of the Rabbis to some of these Hellenistic notions only serves to attest to their awareness of the kinship between the acceptable and unacceptable ideas. We do not mean to suggest that there is no novelty and genius of the Rabbinic mind is most clearly established when we see how the Rabbis gave Judaism's answers to universal questions. Common concerns do not prove an overwhelming dependence.

F. THE CREATION OF LIGHT: THE RABBINIC DOCTRINE OF EMANATION

The significance of this topic can hardly be overstated. If there is any Philonic and/or Gnostic influence operative in Rabbinic literature, we must certainly find it in their treatment of this subject. As we have stated earlier (see Chapter III Section C, above), our primary concern does not lie in the issue of Philo's influence on the Rabbis and their influence upon him. However, the parallels which we shall present here and subsequently (see Section I below) cause us to favor the notion that the Rabbis were influenced by Philo, directly or indirectly, the manner not being as important as the content of that influence.

A controversy is reported as having taken place between R. Judah and R. Nehemiah as to what was created first. R. Judah asserted it was the Light, which thus enabled God to see where to place the foundations of the world. R. Nehemiah, on the other hand, argued that the world was created first and then the Light which served as an adornment for the world.[58] In a significant variation of the argument of R. Judah, he asserts that God clothed Himself in Light and then created the world.[59] This, of course, serves to relate this Midrash to the group of Midrashim which we shall consider with Genesis Rabbah 3.4 (see below). Still another passage simply asserts the priority of Light in Creation.[60]

This Light of the first day had certain remarkable

powers. With it, Adam could see from one end of the world to the other. Because God foresaw that evil-doers would inhabit the earth, He hid that light away for the righteous in the world to come. In our principal source for this legend, b. Hagigah 12a, the majority of the sages seem to dispute that this Light differed in any way from the light we use today. They assert that the light created on the first day was placed in the firmament on the fourth day, i.e., that it was the light of the sun, moon, and stars.[61] One of the texts which belongs to this family, suggests, on the contrary, that there was no relation at all between the Light of the first day and that of the sun, moon, and stars. Once the primordial Light, which lasted for one week, was hidden, God created the secondary light, which we now have, by striking two flints together. In passing, let us note that there is a Philonic parallel to the material concerning the primordial Light which we found in b. Hagigah 12a.[63]

Our basic text for this section is Genesis Rabbah 3.4

רי שמעון בן יוחי פתח ואמר אור זרוע לצדיק ולישרי לב (Psalm 97:11) אור זה שנתעלם מן הרשעים לעתיד לבוא. אמר לו הקב"ה למשה עלה אצלי ואתן לך שכר על שחצבת את הלוחות. אמר לו מקרבי אלכה (ויכ) (Psalm 104:2) עטה אור כשלמה. וכן הוא אומר לי לחיים אתה נותן, אל כשם שמתן לי לחיים כך אומרים לך לחיים אל תרכי לו

אילפא שאלו רב יצחק לרבי נחמן אפשר
לשואלך מקרא כי אתה הוא אומרין רב זרחיה
בשם רבי יצחק אומר מאחורי הדברים והמקרא
נתכסית והודעתני הוי"ו לומר כדרך אלהי יעקוב בא
מזרח והנה (Ezek 43:2) וכתיב בתרה אלהי ישראל כאן
כסא כבודך מרום מכוזון מקדשנו (Jer. 17:12)

R. Simon b. Jehotzadak asked R. Samuel b. Nahman, 'Since I have heard that you are a master of Aggadah, tell me from whence was the light created?' He said to him, 'I learned that the Holy One, blessed be He, wrapped Himself in it as a garment and the splendor of His majesty illuminated the world from one end to another.' He had answered him in a whisper. He said to him, 'But this is stated explicity in a Biblical verse: (Psalm 104:2) Who coverest Thyself with light as with a garment, yet you answered me in a whisper!' He answered him, 'Just as I heard it in a whisper, so I answered you in a whisper.' R. Berekiah said, 'Had not R. Isaac taught this publicly, we could not have discussed it!' Prior to this, what did they say (about this matter). R. Berekiah said in the name of R. Isaac, 'The Light was created from the place of the Temple, as it is said (Ezekiel 43:2) And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the east. Now His glory refers only to the Temple, as you have stated (Jer. 17:12) Thou throne of glory, on high from the beginning, Thou place of our sanctuary, etc.[64]

R. Simon's question appears to be one of long standing. It suggests that the simple meaning of Genesis 1:3 was no longer considered either self-evident or complete. As a matter of fact, R. Samuel's answer directly repudiates the Biblical statement that the Light was created by fiat. Rather it suggests that the creation of Light took place by an emanation from the Divine Glory - לבוש - or the garment in which God garbed Himself. "We may see in this doctrine of emanation a decisive breaking-away from the

cosmology of the Word as a creative power, preparing the ground for the more elaborate theories of emanation which were to emerge, under neoplatonic influence, at a much later stage of Jewish cosmological speculation."[65]

Altmann points out, quite correctly it would appear, that the Light referred to here is not the light of Genesis 1:3, which was the last thing created on the first day. The light of Genesis 1:3 is that which, according to Altmann, is described by Philo (De Opificio Mundi 26-29). The Light referred to here corresponds to that of De Somniis I, 75.

> From this it is clear that the Light which is the Logos was the first creation, God's First-born as it were, and the ideal world described in De opif. mundi as the work of the first day may be interpreted as the Logos or Light spoken of in De Somniis.[66]

There is a similarity in all this to the cosmogony of Poinmandres and that stated in the Slavonic Enoch 25A, where the creation of Light precedes that of heaven and earth. This precedence of Light is also found in several Rabbinic passages as we noted above. Genesis R.3.4 is predicated on the precedence of Light in Creation. Thus, this would refer to that spiritual, primordial light by which Adam could see from one end of the world to another. Not only is this notion found in Rabbinic literature, but it also occurs in Patristic literature. Basil the Great (Bishop of Caesarea after 370), in the first homily of Hexaëmeron, refers to "a spiritual light" (φως νοητον) which preceded the creation of the world.[67]

Thus, it appears that R. Simon is referring to the primordial light. In addition, there are numerous other passages wherein R. Samuel uses the garment metaphor.[68]

> 'Putting on the garment' must therefore be tantamount to manifesting a hidden aspect of the Divine. We suggest that the 'garment' of God mentioned in our Midrash is identical with God's Wisdom (Hokmah) or Logos and that the 'splendour shining forth' from it is the primordial light.[69]

The "Garment" notion is a common Hellenistic metaphor, and it is predicated of Zarvan-Aion in Manichean and Mandaean cosmogony. The notion of Zarvan-Aion as "light bearer" may similarly, be reflected in Slavonic Enoch 25A in the description of light bursting from the belly of Adoil. The "Great age" referred to there may be Zarvan or Aion. Altmann would relate Zarvan-Aion-Logos, who is clothed in light as a garment and containing all. Creation to Philo's Logos doctrine.[70]

Thus, Altmann suggests that R. Samuel's statement is patterned after Philo. He describes God as clothing Himself in the Logos-Wisdom-Primordial Light. The garment is the Logos itself, whereas in Philo it appears to be the cosmos or the elements. In effect, by saying that God put on His garment, R. Samuel is asserting that He revealed His Logos by the light that radiated from it. This passage

> ... does not suggest an emanation of the Logos-Wisdom from the Divine essence but is content to allude to the emanation of the primordial light from the Divine Logos mythically described as God's garment. As to the precise nature of the primordial light, we may say that it partly coincides with the Logos as the prefiguration of all creation, as a κοσμος νοητος, in the Philonic

sense, and partly represents the physical light as well.[72]

Altmann summarizes his position regarding this passage by stating that it asserts that "Creation is a process of emanation."[73]

There is a group of passages which seem to be related to the preceding. Thus, we are informed that the heavens were created from the Light with which God garbed Himself.[74] God created the Light from His own Light.[75] God will be the source of light in the world to come.[76] The Shechinah of God is all light, and from it was the light of the universe created.[77] There are some statements, derived from Daniel 2:22, that the Light dwells near God.[78] The sun and moon received their light by snatching sparks of the celestial Light.[79] There are four winds in the world, one from each direction. Light emanated from the east wind.[80] A notion which may be related to these is that the "Glory of God" pervades the universe.[81] A final passage suggest that there were certain primary substances created, and these, in turn subsequently generated secondary substances. For the school of Hillel, the fundamental elements were the earth, firmament and seas. These produced vegetation and the Garden of Eden; the luminaries; and fish and fowl, respectively. For the school of Shammai, the fundamental elements were heaven and earth, which produced the luminaries and man, respectively. This passage may reflect a notion of creation by emanation from the primary elements.[82]

The Torah is frequently considered as the source of

light[83] which illumines the world.[84] These passages may serve as a bridge to those others which equate Torah-Reshith-Wisdom. Thus, again, we find evidence that the Rabbis were very much involved in the intellectual currents of their times.

G. THE "WORD" OF GOD

The "Word" of God is, in all probability, closely related to the Shechinah, and, as such, refers to the immanent aspect of God.[85] It is fairly difficult to ascertain to what extent the "Word" of God becomes a true hypostasis. Even if we should consider the "Word" to reach some degree of personification in Rabbinic literature.

> This does not mean that the Word was regarded by the rabbinical teachers who employed it as a person distinct from God, with a separate personal existence. This was no more the case with Word than with Wisdom, which is undoubtedly personified in Proverbs, Ch. 8. In the case of the personified Word, God's creative or directing Word or speech is thought of, 'manifesting itself' as Kohler says, 'in the world of matter or mind.' The reality behind it is God - it is, as it were, God in action; but the divine power or qualities expressed by 'Word or Memra are, as it were, abstracted and personified. This would inevitably be the result if such terms were regularly employed.[86]

Perhaps, the first stage in the process leading to at least a quasi-hypostatization of the "Word" of God, was the development of the notion of Creation by fiat. The doctrine of Creation by fiat was one of prime importance to the Rabbis. Only the wicked would suggest that God engaged in actual labor in creating the world.[87] Speculation on the "Word" of God might be a dangerous thing. It had a dire effect

on Ben Zoma, and ultimately led to his untimely insanity and/or death. Here, the implication is that the question is an imponderable one.[88] Not only was this world created by the "Word" of God, but the world to come will also be created in the same manner.[89] This is a fundamental difference between God and man. When a man fashions something, he must actually work. Not so with God, Who created light with His Word.[90]

The "Word" of God is His creative agency. It has, for Him, the same efficacy that an actual deed has for men. By this stage, we have seen beyond the notion of Creation by Fiat. His "Word" is the equivalent of fait accompli.[91] An angel is created from each word spoken by God.[92] The words spoken by God have material substance to them.[93] The "Word" of God is charged with power. With it, He can destroy His enemies.[94] The "Word" of God is so powerful, that when the Revelation at Sinai takes place, all nature is set astir. When the natural elements hear the "Word" of God, it is as if the entire universe were to be overthrown. God's "Word" is heard in nature as that of the Creator. The God of Revelation and Creation is one. This Midrash may be too early to be a polemic against Gnostic dualism, but it certainly seems to be directed against some sort of dualism.[95]

A basic problem related to the nature of the "Word" of God and its personification, is the issue of the Memra. In the Jerusalem Targum to Genesis 1:27 we find the following reading:

וקרא מימרא דיי ית אדם בדמותיה בדמות
מן קדם יי ברא יתיה זכר ונוקבא
ברא יתהון "And the Memra of God created man in His image, in the image of God created He (he?) him, a male and his mate, created He (he?) him." Similarly, the Jerusalem Targum to Exodus 12:42 suggests that the creative agent was the Memra which "shone forth."[96] Moore regards as erroneous the notion that the Targumic Memra is the equivalent of the Word=Logos of God, as found in Philo. He notes that the Targumim do not use Memra to translate "word." Pitgama or milla are used for such purposes. Indeed, the Memra is not even the equivalent of the Biblical "Word of God."[97]

> In many other contexts memra is introduced as a buffer-word - sometimes in very awkward circumlocutions - where the literal interpretation seemed to bring God into close contact with his creatures. But nowhere in the Targums is memra a 'being' of any kind or in any sense, much less a personal being. The appearance of personality which in some places attaches to the word is due solely to the fact that the memra of the Lord and similar phrases are reverent circumlocutions for 'God,' introduced precisely where in the original God is personally active in the affairs of men; and the personal character of the activity necessarily adheres to the periphrasis. It is to be observed, finally, that Memra is purely a phenomenon of translation, not a figment of speculation; it never gets outside the Targums.[98]

Abelson takes the other extreme. The Memra/"Word" is a world pervading force, for him. It is similar to the Shechinah and/or Holy Spirit. It corresponds to the use of "Wisdom" in Apocryphal literature. He contends, however - and this seems a bit hard to follow - that it is not used

as an intermediary between God and man.[99]

> The Targumic usage of the Memra, although it has resemblances to the Rabbinic connotation of Shechinah, nevertheless constitutes a new departure. It enters into the relations between the human and the Divine, between God, man and the world, to an even greater extent than the Shechina.[100]

Initially, the Memra was merely an extension of the creative word of the Psalmist, as in Psalm 33:6.[101] However, it had become similar in meaning and function to the "Word" in the Prologue to John.[102]

It seems to us, that the truth lies in neither of these rather extreme positions. There is some aspect of mediation in the Memra - even Moore admitted this when, as we saw, he considered it to be a circumlocution for God's immanent actions. However, this is not the same as to say that it is hypostasized to the extent that the "Word" is in the Prologue to John. In the history of ideas, it is not infrequent that one group may borrow the terminology of another without also taking the ideological content of that terminology. This seems to be the case with the "Word" of God. The term was used by the Rabbis without their full awareness of all its implications. In any event, there may well be a marked relationship between God's creative "Word" (whether or not the Memra means this) and His "Wisdom."

H. THE COSMIC PLAN

The distinction between this section and the following one is artificial at best. Of course, strictly speaking,

any categorizing of Midrashic Aggadic material, such as we have undertaken, is artificial. There is no Rabbinic tractate dealing exclusively with the question of cosmogony. We have gleaned these passages from larger bodies of materials dealing with diverse subjects. We have used these categories to facilitate and systematize our consideration of the question under discussion. Thus, the categories are arbitrary and must not be construed as really existing in the literature. In these last two sections, we shall find, even more than in the earlier sections, a great deal of overlapping. The basis of the cosmic plan is Torah. The creative "Wisdom" of God is manifested in the Torah.

Our principal text for this section is the opening Midrash in Genesis Rabba:

(ר' הושעיה רבה פרשה Prov. 8:30) "ואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים יום יום וגו'" אמון מכוסה אמון אומנרא, ואית דאמר אמון דרדיא אמון כדאזיל בי"ק אזיל אמר כדאמר ה' ואשר יסכו ה' אל אל מן אמת (Nu 11:22) אמון מכוסה ה' יוצר ק" מה ראית אומר (Lam 4:5) "האומנים על' תולע וגו'" אמון אומנרא ראית אומר אומנרא (Esth. 2:7) "ויהי אומן את הדסה" אמון דרדיא כמה דתימא (Nahum 3:8) "ותיקי מצרים אמונה ואתרפיהן" ואית דאמרי מאן דכר ומאן נקיבה דתימא זכר ונקבה בראם ויקרא את שמם אדם ביום הבראם וגו' ר' יהודה בשם ר' שמעון אמרתן של עקרי"ם דומה שעשועים אלא כיון שהיו עתידין לילד ולהוליד אמרה אצמי אלין

אמר אומן והיה אומן אלא תורה שנאמר אז הייתי אצלו
כי פרט אותה לפי שבקש"ה ברא עולמו בחכמה ומי שהוא
חכם ברוך הוא שיהא בונה בפשפס. כך היה הקב"ה מסתכל
בתורה וברא את העולם, והתורה אומרת "בראשית ברא אלהים"
ואין ראשית אלא תורה שנאמר (Prov. 8:22) "ה' קנני ראשית דרכו"

Rabbi Hoshaya began his discourse as follows: Then I was by Him as a nursling (i.e., Amon), and I was daily all delight (Prov. 8:30) Amon means tutor. Amon means covered. Amon means hidden. And there are those who say Amon means great. Amon is a tutor in that you read as a nursing father (Omen) carries the sucking child (Nu. 11:22) Amon means covered, in that you read 'They that were clad ("covered" H a'emunim) in scarlet (Lam. 4.5). Amon means hidden in that you read and he brought up (here taken to read "concealed" - Omen) Hadassah (Esth. 2:7). Amon means great in that you read art thou better than No-Amon (Nahum 3:8); which the Targum renders "Art thou better than Alexandria the Great that is situated among the rivers?" Another interpretation Amon is a workman (uman). The Torah says, 'I was the tool of the Holy One, blessed be He.' In general practice, when a human king builds a palace, he does not build it by his own skill, but, rather, by the skill of an architect. Similarly, the architect does not build it by his skill alone, but rather uses plans and diagrams to ascertain how to make the rooms and wicket doors. Similarly, God consulted the Torah and created the world. And the Torah says "In the beginning God created. Now "beginning" can mean only the Torah, in that you read The Lord acquired me as the beginning of His way. (Prov. 8:22).103

Before we discuss this Midrash in detail, let us briefly note three related passages. In the first of these, we are told that when God thought to create the world, but prior to His doing it, He drew a blueprint from which to proceed.[104] In the second, we find that Moses ascends to

heaven where he is shown the heavenly counterparts of the vessels of the Tabernacle. Thus, we have what appears to be a reflection of the Platonic Ideas.[105] Finally, we read that God has an archetype or pattern which He used in the creation of man.[106]

At this point, we shall examine some of the scholarship dealing with Gen. R. 1.1. Baeck asserts that this Midrash is one of the best example of the permeation of Greek thought into Rabbinic literature.[107] He gives a detailed list of midrashic, apocryphal, and Philonic sources which parallel or cast significant light on our text, all of which indicate that the Torah is to be equated with ___.[108] The question of the meaning of Hokhmah, (which is, as we have seen, the speaker in Proverbs 8) is crucial to the entire history of religion.[109] Our Midrash, Baeck feels, represents an approach towards the reconciliation of philosophy with Jewish theology. Its basis lies in the cosmological question. He cites Apocryphal, Pseudepigraphical, Septuagint, Philonic, and New Testament passages, all dealing with the question of the nature of ___. He ends this list by citing Jerome's commentary to Genesis, wherein Jerome equates ___ with the Christ.[110] Thus, he would view this Midrash as a polemic against the Christian identification of ___ with the Christ, i.e., ___ "Reshith can only mean Torah."[111] The whole matter of the "pre-existence" is amply discussed in Apocryphal and Targumic sources as well

as in the New Testament. Indeed, Baeck asserts, the very descriptionswhich the New Testament uses regarding the Pre-existent Christ, could be applied by the author of our Midrash to the Torah.[112]

Moore views our text as bearing a marked Philonic influence. The thought of Philo was brought to the Rabbis of Caesarea by their great Christian contemporary and neighbor, Origen.[113] This contact between Origen and the Rabbis was sufficient to permit the transmission of Philonic notions from the Church Fathers, who preserved them, to the Rabbis, who may or may not have been ignorant of them. This is attested to by those Jewish-Christian controversies of which we have records. "Most of the rabbis of whom such discussions are reported taught or resided in Caesarea in the third century, when Caesarea was an important episcopal see and a noted center of Christian learning in Palestine."[114] Bentwich seems to hold a similar view with Moore and Baeck in this regard.[115]

Others suggest that this Midrash finds it original source in the Timaeus of Plato. Moore,[116] and Baer,[117] note the strong similarity. Knox observes that

> ...Here we have a highly concrete version of the regular cosmogony, in which God appears as the architect of the universe, working from the living and divine original of the Timaeus, which becomes the Logos in Philo. The Wisdom of Proverbs is not a plan but an assistant.[118]

Altmann points out the literary parallelism between

our Midrash and the Timaeus 29a, cf. "The artificer looked for a pattern to that which is eternal," and "God looked to the Torah and created the world."[119]

There are various Midrashim which are more or less closely related to those mentioned above. This latter group suggests, implicitly, that God created the world corresponding to some plan or pattern. Thus, the Midrashim found in Gen. R. 9.5-9, all state that everything God created was טוב מאד "very good" (Gen. 1:31). All created things seem to conform to a Divine Plan or, at least, standard. The rabbis cite a statement of Ben Sira to show that all created things serve a Divine purpose. The Midrash is on Genesis 2:2, רצונם, which is translated here as "their desires."[120] The subsequent Midrash asserts that all created things, even flies, and gnats, etc., which are apparently superfluous, were created for a purpose.[121]

The placing of limits and boundaries on the natural elements also suggests conformity to a plan. Thus, God assigns the waters to their place.[122] The luminaries, heaven, earth, seas, and depths were all set in their limits by God.[123] Finally, in a Midrash which we previously considered (cf. footnote 74), we find that God set limits to the heaven. He is called שדי, "almighty," because He said די, "it is enough," to the heaven.

A theme which we noted previously (cf. chapter II, footnote 36 above) is that man was created as a microcosm.

He has terrestial and celestial elements in his makeup. This was done in order to keep balance and peace in nature. Thus, the creation of man involved his conformity to a plan.[124]

Another group of Midrashim deals with miracles. All the miracles that have come to pass were planned at the time of creation. Thus, they constitute aspects of the Divine plane rather than exceptions to it.[125]

Yet another group informs us that many worlds were created and then destroyed prior to this world.[126] What may be involved here is a notion that these worlds were destroyed because they did not conform to the eternal plan. Of course, it is possible that the Midrashim may reflect a similarity to the system of Heraclitus, especially his notion of the simultaneous creation and destruction of worlds, rather than to a Platonic notion of the eternal ideas.

There is final group of Midrashim from which the existence of a plan may be inferred. These Midrashim describe the perfection of creation. The heaven and earth which God created are identical with those that He originally contemplated.[127] The perfection of the Creation is self-evident. There is not one aspect of the Creation with which anyone could take exception.[128] Thus, we have seen that there was a "plan" operative in the Creation of the World. That "plan" has been identified quite clearly as the Torah. It now remains for us to see how חכמה, the Divine Wisdom, becomes identified with the

Torah, and how it served as God's instrument in the Creation of the world.

I THE PLACE OF WISDOM

In the development of the identification of Torah-Reshith-Hokmah, the first step may have been the notion of the pre-existent Torah. The first phase of this idea, in turn, was probably the assertion of the priority of the Torah in Creation. Thus, the Torah was one of the five acquisitions which God made for Himself, the others being heaven and earth, Abraham and Israel, and the Sanctuary.[129] The Biblical proof text used here is Proverbs 8:22. This will be our key verse in establishing the primacy of the Torah in Creation, its use as God's instrument and its equation with wisdom.[130] The material which we are considering at this point, and throughout this section, is, of course, intimately related to our discussion of Pre-Existent Materials and The Cosmic Plan (see sections E and H above).

From asserting that the Torah was first created, it is a small step, indeed, to suggest that it was with God prior to the Creation, i.e., that it was pre-existent. Thus, we find that the Torah was in heaven, initially, until Moses ascended thereunto and brought it down.[131] Several passages inform us that the Torah resided with God for 974 generations prior to the creation of the world. (Variations suggest that it was 980 generations

and/or 2000 years prior to the Creation).[132]

Related to the notion of the pre-existent Torah, are those Midrashim which describe the Torah as the purpose of Creation. The Torah appears to be the final or teleological cause of the Universe.[133] There is another group of Midrashim, or, more precisely, a sub-category of the preceding group, which asserts that the Creation was a conditional act. The perpetuation of the world was made contingent to Israel's accepting the Torah at Mount Sinai[134] and to their fulfilling it.[135]

It was, apparently, not a large step from asserting that the Torah was the pre-existent teleogical cause of Creation, to depict it as the instrument of Creation. Thus, the Torah is described as that precious implement (hypostasis) with which the world was created.[136] Most of the texts seem to suggest that God consulted with the Torah prior to the creation of the universe,[137] or, at least, of man.[138] The relation of this notion to that of the Cosmic Plan is readily visible (see section H above).

The next step in the development of the notion that the word was created through the "Wisdom" of God, was the identification of the Torah with that Wisdom. Now, as we have seen, the Torah was held to be the pre-existent, teleological cause of the universe. Indeed, it was a full hypostasis used, or, at least, consulted by God in the creation of the universe. As we noted previously (see section H above), as the primordial

Cosmic Plan, the Torah could readily be identified with the רֵאשִׁית of Genesis 1:1. As early as the completion of the Wisdom Books of the Bible, the groundwork had been laid for the hypostatization of Wisdom and for its subsequent, Rabbinic, identification with the Torah. The classic text for this is, of course, Proverbs 8:22.[139] Our discussion of the Cosmic Plan gave ample evidence for asserting that this line of development was just the one taken by the Rabbis. In addition to the passages cited there, there are a host of others which make the equation of Torah=Reshith=Wisdom.[140] Other Biblical texts also employed to make this equation. These include Proverbs 3:19[141]; 8:30[142]; 9:1[143]; and Job 28:20.[144]

The final topic awaiting our consideration, is that of the hypostatization of Wisdom in Judaism. The book of Proverbs, and, to some extent, Ben Sira, are the ultimate sources of this doctrine. Although this notion bears great similarity to Greek thought, Knox asserts that it was, at least at the Biblical period, an idea indigenous to post-Exilic Judaism.[145] Whatever the relationship might have been between Jewish and Greek thought at this period (and I think that Knox is too extreme in this insistence on complete autonomy), there certainly are some important distinctions and differences between Jewish thought, on the one hand, and Greek and/or Christian, on the other, concerning this matter. For Judaism, except perhaps at its fringes, (cf. the "doctrinal errors" of Aher as discussed in section C above),Wisdom

as an hypostasis never seriously challenged monotheism. Torah-Reshith-Wisdom, never attained membership in a divine pantheon.[146]

The Midrashim involved in this topic are of three groups. The first asserts the hypostases of several divine qualities, including "Wisdom," all of which are employed in Creation. The second provides Biblical textual support for the existence of "Wisdom" as an hypostasis. In the third category the existence of "Wisdom" as an hypostasis is asserted, and no proof is given for this assertion.

In the first category, we find statements to the effect that seven qualities were used by God in creating the world.[147] Seven attributes minister before the Throne of Glory.[148] The use of seven, here, may well betray a Gnostic influence. The Hebdomad, or grouping of seven superhuman beings, is significant in some Gnostic systems. It might conceivably go back to an even earlier source, and reflect a notion of planetary influence. The world was created with Wisdom (Hokmah) and Understanding (T'vunah).[149] Another group of passages tells us that the world was created with three attributes, and these are Wisdom (Hokmah), Understanding (T'vunah) and Knowledge (Da'ath). These three are derived from Proverbs 3:19f. All of the passages in this group relate these qualities to those used by Bezalel in constructing the Tabernacle. Hence, those qualities are, under certain conditions, available to men.[150]

Most of the sources in our second group are derived from Proverbs 3:19. Indeed, there appears to be very little "derivation" involved. There is merely the assertion that God created the world with Wisdom.[151] Still another source is derived jointly from Proverbs 9:1f and 3:19.[152] Finally, the text of Proverbs 9:1-4, is interpreted to refer to the entire process of creation.[153]

In the third and final group of Midrashim, we find a most intriguing passage. It tells us that three creations preceded the universe. These were water, Ruah (which is best left untranslated), and fire. From the water, darkness emerged, from the fire, light emanated, and the Ruah yielded Hokmah. All six of these "creations" were then used in the organization of the universe.[154] All that was created in the universe, even that which is apparently evil, was fashioned by Wisdom.[155] The final statement, the one which most clearly and fully depicts Wisdom as an hypostasis used by God in creating the world, is the Targum Jerushalmi to Genesis 1:1. Here we read בחוכמא ברא יי ית שמיא וית ארעא "With Wisdom God created the heaven and the earth." Here we find the point of contact in the Cosmogonies of Alexandria, the Rabbis, and the Fourth Gospel. Here Judaism answered Reshith-Logos-Sophia-Christ with Reshith-Logos-Sophia-Torah. This speculation was carried onto an even greater extent in the Zohar and other Kabbalistic works.[156]

The genius of Judaism met the challenge of Greek, Christian and Gnostic thought by incorporating and assimilating it wherever possible, negating and rejecting it wherever necessary, but never compromising its insistence on Monotheism, and the identity of the Creator and Redeemer-God. The God of Creation, and Revelation, of Prophecy and History, of Prayer and ultimate Redemption, is one. Though comprehensible only when seen against the context of its contemporary milieu, Rabbinic cosmogony and cosmology are not slavishly dependent on it. They are creative and autonomous disciplines which arose in response to the challenge of their times.

Our selection and treatment of Rabbinic Cosmogony bears a two-fold significance. By our tracing its emergence from Biblical times and our examination of the forces which shaped and/or paralleled it, we have produced a case study to support the thesis that Judaism, throughout its history has been a viable faith, vibrantly attuned to the currents of its times. Judaism has always shown a lively concern in the products of man's creative intellect. However, there is an even greater significance to our exploration of this topic. This lies in man's quest for the divine. "The more we know of creation, the closer we get to the Creator."[157]

CHAPTER V

Footnotes

1. Altmann,A. "A Note on the Rabbinic Doctrine of Creation" in The Journal of Jewish Studies Vol. VII nos. 3 and 4. 1956. London, England. p. 195, cf. also the Rabbinic parallel in the celebrated debate between Hillel and Shammai to Philo and the Timaeus cited by Bentwich, N. Hellenism, Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia. 1919. p. 255f. "Beneath the surface of the dispute lay the question whether an ideal creation preceded the physical, which is one of the central doctrines of the philosophy of Philo. This was the point upon which Hillel and Shammai must have been at variance; and while Hillel said earth was created before all (i.e., there was no intermediate step between God's will and the bringing into existence of the world), Shammai maintained that heaven was created first (i.e., an ideal plan preceded). A similar difference of opinion between Hillel and Shammai is expressed in relation to another controversy upon the period of day at which God accomplished the creation. According to Shammai, the plan of creation was made by night and the creation itself took place by day; Hillel, on the other hand, said that both took place together in the day."

2. Knox, W.L. "Pharaisism and Hellenism" in Judaism and Christianity. Vol. II, pp. 61-114, London, Sheldon Press. 1937. p. 61. "But it is almost true to say that for the Judaism of the beginning of our era the distinction between history and philosophy is a distinction of degree, not of kind. All history is a history of God's dealings with man: All true philosophy is an understanding of God in the light of those dealings," Of course, this may not be as serious a difficulty as it at first appears. The collective experience of God via history may be viewed as the "given" in our own problem. Certainly, in areas more susceptible of subjective consideration, e.g., the question of the one and the many in ethics, this limitation of the knowledge of God to collective historical experience is quite a serious impediment to developing a system. However, there are little, if any, subjective factors involved in the development of a system of Rabbinic cosmogony.

3. Schechter, S. Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology. Behrman House, Ind. New York. 1936, p. 12.

4. Scholem, G.G. Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism. Third Revised Edition. Schocken Books New York, 1954. cf. pp. 41-44.

5. Heineman, I Darke Ha 'Aggadah, Hebrew University. Jerusalem, 1950, p. 4.

6. Lieberman, S. Hellenism in Jewish Palestine, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, 1950. p. 4.

7. Ibid. p. 19.

8. Marmorstein, A. The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: I The Names and Attributes of God, Oxford University Press. London, 1927 cf. pp. 80, 84, 86f.

9. Cf. Marmorstein, A. Studies in Jewish Theology, Oxford University Press. London. 1950, p. 47. "Our material leaves no doubt that the great teachers of the second and third centuries faced people who, more or less, were under the spell of the Marcionite way of thinking. These were the Minim, who, either entirely or in part, severed their connections with the Synagogue. Socially or economically, they could not be separated from members of the community or from their own family. Teachers and preachers used to have disputes or discussions with them.... Considering the nature of their questions and their attitudes towards Jews, one cannot, in the Minim of the early times (up to the third century) and especially in places where Christian were not to be found at all, see Christians whether Jewish or Gentile. Jews who were inbued with Gnostic doctrines are known by the name of Minim." Marmorstein may be a bit extreme in this. However, as Dr. Petuchowski pointed out to me, in the Palestinian version of the Tefilo, a distinction is made between ר' יהיו and ר' מינים.

10. Abelson, J. The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature. Macmillan and Co. Limited. London, 1912, cf. p. 58.

11. Neumark, D. The Philosophy of the Bible. Ark Publishing Co. Cincinnati, 1918, p. 295. "In order to combat this new phase of Christology, Rabbi Akiba introduces the mysteries of Bereshith (מעשה בראשית) so as to be able to fight antinomistic Christianity on its own ground. This is again the repetition of a situation which was performed in biblical times: Mercabah and Bereshith go back to the schools of Ezekiel and Jeremiah respectively."

12. Ibid. p. 296.

13. Schechter, op. cit. p. 46.

14. Scholem, op. cit., p. 21. Subsequently, he asserts ".... we are dealing with organized groups which foster and hand down a certain tradition: with a school of mystics who are

not prepared to reveal their secret knowledge, their 'Gnosis,' to the public. Too great was the danger, in this period of ubiquitous Jewish and Christian heresies, that mystical speculation based on private religious experience would come into conflict with that 'rabbinical' Judaism which was rapidly crystallizing during the same epoch," (p. 47).

15. Cf. also Midrash Haggadol to Bereshith 1.10, 16 and j. Hag. ch. 2. Halacha 1 p. 6b (Zhitomir ed.)

16. Cf. Scholem, op. cit., p. 74.

17. ולא במעשה בראשית בשנים; מנא הני מילי דתנו רבנן "כי שאל נא לימים ראשונים" (Deut. 4:32) יחיד שואל ואין שנים שואלין יכול ישאל אדם קודם שנברא העולם ת"ל "למן היום אשר ברא אלהים אדם על הארץ" (ibid) יכול לא ישאל אדם משעת ימי בראשית ת"ל "לימים ראשונים אשר היו לפניך" (ibid) יכול ישאל אדם מה למעלה ומה למטה מה לפנים ומה לאחור ת"ל "ולמקצה השמים עד קצה השמים" (ibid) מלמקצה השמים ועד קצה השמים אתה שואל ואין אתה שואל מה למעלה ומה למטה מה לפנים ומה לאחור.

18. ר"א בשם סירא אמר בגדול ממך אל תדרוש בחזק ממך בל תחקור במפולא ממך בל תדע במכוסה ממך אל תשאל במה שהורשית ההתבונן ואין לך עסק בנסתרות.

Cf. also Gen. R. 8.2. The citing of Ben Sira may present still further evidence that the Rabbis were familiar with Apocryphal material. Of course, as Mishna Eduyoth 5.3 and Yadaim 3.5, suggest a considerable controversy raged as to the canonization of the Hagiographa. Perhaps at this time the canonization of Ben Sira was also contemplated. This would account for its being cited as if it were Scripture.

19. ת"ר ארבעה נכנסו בפרדס ואלו הן בן עזאי ובן זומא אחר ורבי עקיבא אמר להם ר"ע כשאתם מגיעין אצל אבני שיש טהור אל תאומרו מים מים משום שנאמר "דובר שקרים לא יכול לנגד עיני" Psalm101:7 בן עזאי הציץ ומת עליו הכתוב אומר "יקר בעיני ה' המותה לחסידיו" (ibid:16:15) בן זומא הציץ ונפגע ועליו הכתוב אומר "דבש מצאת אכול דייך פן תשבעתו והקאתו" (Prov.25:16) אחר קציץ בנטיעות רבי עקיבא יצא בשלום.

Cf. also Midrash Haggadol to Bereshit 1.16. The Gnostic parallels to this passage are cited and discussed by Altmann in "Gnostic Themes in Rabbinic Cosmology", pp. 19-32 in Essays Presented to J. H. Hertz. Goldston, London, 1942., cf. p. 26.

20. Scholem, op. cit., p. 52.

21. Ibid. p. 361. "'Paradise,' as Joel has pointed out, could well be a Talmudical metaphor for Gnosis, because of the tree of knowledge (Gnosis!) therein.... Origen (Contra Celsum VI, 33) relates that the Gnostical sect of the Ophites, used the same metaphor."

22. Cf. b. Tamid 31b-32a:

עשרה דברים שאל אלכסנדרוס מוקדון את זקני הנגב... אור נברא תחילה או חושך אמרו לו מילתא דא אין לה פתר נימרו ליה חשך נברא תחילה דכתיב "והארץ היתה תוהו ובוהו וחושך" והדר "ויאמר אלהים יהי אור ויהי אור" סברי דילמה אתי לשיולי מה למעלה ומה למטה מה לפנים ומה לאחור....

23. Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann ed.) 108b-109a and Gen. R. 1.10:

רבי יונה בשם ר' לוי בבי"ת נברא העולם מה בי"ת זה סתום מכל צד ופתוח מצד אחד כך אין לך רשות לדרוש מה למעלה מה למטה מה לפנים מה לאחור. בר קפרא שמע לה מן הדא "כי שאל נא לימים הראשונים אשר היו לפניך למן היום אשר ברא אלהים את האדם על הארץ" Deut.4:32 יכול משמי להלן ת"ל "ראשונים" ולאחור שריבה הכתוב (מיעוט) [מיעט] אנו למדין אותה משמי מה השמי מיוחד שהוא משמת ימי בראשית אף לא תהיה מביא לו אלא כיוצא בשמי הוי אין לך לדרוש משמה ולהלן יכול לידע מה למעלה מן השמים ולמטה מן התהום תלמוד לומר ולמקצה השמים ועד קצה השמים אין לך אלא לדרוש אלא לעולם שאתה עומד בן.

24. Cf. Seder Eliyahu R. (Friedmann ed.) ch. 31, p. 160 and Gen. R. 3.4 and the large number of passages similar to it.

25. Cf. Moore, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 364. Moore is rather extreme in this matter, e.g., "That the idea of a divine intermediary, whether derived from Philo or the independent product of a similar Platonizing theory of the nature of Deity, had some currency in Hellenistic Jewish circles may be inferred from the adoption and adaptation of it in certain New Testament writings, and from Gnosticism as well as from Catholic Christianity. But that this philosophy deeply or widely influenced Jewish thought there is no evidence. In the Palestinian schools there is no trace of it." p. 417.

26. Cf. Box, G.H. "Intermediation in Jewish Theology" in Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series Vol. XXIII, (1932-1933) pp. 103-119. p. 105.

27. Marmorstein, A. The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: Part I The Names and Attributes, etc., op. cit., p. 12.

28. E.g.:

אימתי נבראו מלאכים ר' יוחנן אמר בב' נבראו המלאכים. הה"ד "Psalm 104:3 המקרה במים עליותיו וגו'" וכתיב "עושה מלאכיו רוחות" ibid.4 ר' חנינא אמר בה' נבראו מלאכים הדא הוא דכתיב "ועוף יעופף על הארץ וגו'" Gen.1:20 וכתיב (Isa.6:2) "ושנים יעופף": דבי לוליגא בר טבדין אמר בשם רבי יצחק בין על דעתיה דרבי חנינא בין על דעתיה דרבי יוחנן. הכל מודים שלא נברא ביום ראשון כלום שלא יאמרו מיכאל היה מותח בדרומו של רקיע וגבריאל בצפונו והקב"ה ממדד באמצעו אלא "אנכי ה' עושה כל נוטה שמים לבדי וגו' מאתי מי אתי כתיב מי היה שוטף עמי בבריתו של עולם. ibid.44:24

Gen. R. 1.3 cf. also 3.8; Tanhuma to Genesis (Buber ed.) 1a, 5a; and Midr. Tehillim (Buber ed.) ch. 24, p. 102b.

29. E.g. Tos. Sanh. 8.7: Source 2.

אדם נברא באחרונה ולמה נברא באחרונה שלא יהו המינים אומרין שותף היה עמו במעשהו

cf. also b. Sanh. 38a.

30. B. Sanh. 38a. תנו רבנן אדם יחידי נברא ומפני מה שלא יהו המינים אומרים הרבה רשויות בשמים׳

31. Marmorstein, Studies in Jewish Theology, op. cit., p. 99, cf. Gen. R. 8.8 and 9.

32. E.g.: ואין כל ברי"ה יכולה לומר שתי רשויות בראו העולם. "וידברו אלהים" אין כתיב כאן אלא "וידבר אלהים" (Ex. 20:1) "ויאמרו אלהים" אין כתיב כאן אלא "יאמר אלהים" "בראשית ברא אלהים" אין כתיב כאן אלא "בראשית ברא אלהים".

Gen. R. cf. note 3 Soncino edition, p. 4; cf. also Deut. R. 2:13; Tanhuma to Gen. (Buber ed.) 3a; j. Berachot (Zhitomir ed.) ch. 9. 55b-56a; b. Sanh. 38b.

33. Cf. j. Megillah (Zhitomir ed.) 12b; (Krotochin ed.) 71d; b. Meg. 9a; Mechilta (Lauterbach ed.) Pisha 14, lines 64ff.; Tanhuma to Exodus (Buber ed.) 6a.

34. Gen.R. 12.7, תני כל מי שיש לו תולדות פת ובלה ונברא ואינו בורא וכל מי שאין לו תולדות אינו לא מת ולא בלה ובורא ואינו נברא רבי עזריה בשם רבי אמר כלפי מעלה הדבר אמר.

35. E.g. שכל דבר ודבר שיוצא מלפניו טרם הוא נמלך בפמליא של מעלה ומודיע להם הדבר כדי שידעו ויעידו כולו כי דינו דין אמת וגזירותיו אמת וכל דבריו בהשכל

Ex. R. 6.1 cf. also j. Sanh. (Krotoshin ed.) 18a; b. Sanh. 38a; Nu.R. 3.4; and also j. Berachot (Krotoshin ed.) ch. 9, p. 14b; Ex. R. 12.4; Lev. R. 24.2;(Cant. R. 1.9.1; Tanhuma to Genesis (Buber ed.) 53b; Tanh. to Ex. 26a; Tanhuma to Ex. (Warsaw 1875 ed) 78a; Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann ed.) 175b.

36. אחר קציץ בנסיעות עליו אומר "אל תתן את פיך לחטיא את בשרך" Ecc.5:5 מאי היא חזא מיסטרון דאתיהבא ליה רשותא למיתב למיכתב זכוותה דישראל אמר גמירא דלמעלה לא הוי לא ישיבה ולא חרות ולא עורף ולא איפוי שמא חס ושלום שתי רשויות הן אפקוהו למיסטרון ומחיוהו שיתין פולסי דנורה א"ל מ"ט כי חזיתיה לא קמת מקמיה איתיהבה ליה רשותה למימחק זכוותה דאחר יצתא בת קול ואמרה "שובו בנים שובבים" Jer.3:22 חוץ מאחר.

The note to this passage in the Soncino edition (p. 93) casts doubts on the historicity of this passage on the grounds that Metatron sounds more like a Babylonian notion. This seems rather strange inasmuch as the Enoch-Metatron material is found in abundance in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

37. "עד די כרסון רמיו" Dan.7:9 מאי איכא למימר אחד לו ואחד לדוד דתניא אחד לו ואחד לדוד דברי ר"ע א"ל ר' יוסי עקיבא עד מתי אתה עושה שכינה חול אלא אחד לדין ואחד לצדקה קבלה מיניה או קבלה מיניה ת"ש דתניא אחד לדין ואחד לצדקה דברי ר"ע א"ל ר' אלעזר בן עזריה עקיבא מה לך אצל הגדה כלך אצל נגעים ואהלות אלא אחד לכסא ואחד לשרפרף כסא לישב עליו שרפרף להדום רגליו אמר רב נחמן האי מאן דידע לאהדורי למינים כרב אידית ליהדר ואי לא לא ליהדר. אמר ההוא מינא לרב אידית כתיב "ואל משה אמר עלה אל ה' עלה אליי" (Ex.24:1&12) מיבעי ליה א"ל זהו. מסטרון ששמו כשם רבו דכתיב כי שמי בקרבו" (ibid.23:21) אי הכי נפלחו ליה כתיב "אל תמר בו" (ibid) אל תמירני בו אצלם כן "לא ישא לפשעכם" (ibid.) למה לי א"ל הימנותה בידן דאפילו בפרונקא נמי לא הבילניה דכתיב "ויאמר אליו אם אין פניך הולכים וגו'.(Ex.33:15).

Cf. also b. Hag. 14a.

38. Scholem, op. cit., p. 368.

39. Cf. Seder Rabba d'Bereshith 8 and j. Megilah (Krotoshin ed.) 71d.

40. E.g. שקראו שיקה אותיות שקנתן בקראו ימים וארץ Seder Rabba d'Bereshith cf. also b. Sukkah 49a.

41. E.g. ר' יונן קשה כ"ג ראיה נקבה או נעולים J. Hagigah (Krotoshin) 77c; Tanhuma to Exodus, Buber ed. 40a. This assertion is also made in Soferim 9.1 and Seder Eliyahu Rabba (Friedmann ed.) ch. 31. p. 164.

42. E.g:

בהבראם ר' אבהו בשם ר' יוחנן אמר בהבראם בה בראם מה ה' זה כל האותיות תופסין את הלשון וזה אינו תופס את הלשון כך לא בעמל ולא ביגיעה ברא הקב"ה את עולמו אלא "בדבר ה' - וכבר - שמים נעשו"

(Psalm 33:6) Gen. R. 12.10 cf. also Seder Rabba d'Bereshith 2.

43. E.g:

ר' אבהו בשם ר' יוחנן בשתי אותיות נבראו שתי עולמות העולם הזה והעולם הבא אחד בה"א ואחד בי"ד מה טעמה "כי ביה ה'צור עולמים" (Isa.26) ואין אנו יודעין אי זה נברא בה"א ואי זה בי"ד. אלא מן מה דכתיב "אלא תולדות השמים והארץ בהבראם" (Gen.2:4) בה"א נברא הו' העולם הזה נברא בה"א והעולם הבא נברא בי"ד.

j. Hagigah (Krotoshin ed.) 77c cf. also b. Menahoth 29b.; Gen. R. 12.10 Midrash Tehillim (Buber ed.) Psalm 114, p. 236a-236b.

44. B. Berachot 55a, אמר רבי יהודה אמר דב יודע היה בצלאל לצרוף אותיות שנבראו בהן שמים וארץ כתיב הכא "וימלא אותו רוח אלהים בחכמה ובתבונה ובדעת" (Ex.35:31) וכתיב התם "ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה ובדעת" (Prov3:19) וכתיב "בדעתו תהומות נבקעו" (ibid20)

45. Cf. also Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan Schechter ed.) A Version ch. 31 p. 45b; B. Version ch. 31 p. 45b; Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3; Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann ed.) 108a-108b; and, with some variation, Gen. R. 17:1.

46. b. Megilah 21b; רבי יוחנן אמר כנגד עשרה מאמרות שבהן נברא העולם היכיגהו ויאמר דבראשית הכא תשעה הוו בראשית נמי מאמר הוא דכתיב "בדבר ה' שמים נעשו וברוח פיו כל צבאם".

(Psalm 33:6) cf. also b. Rosh Hashanah 32a where the 10 statements are used to derive the practice of reciting 10 Biblical verse for each division of the מוסף service on Rosh Hashona, i.e., מלכיות זכרונות ושופרות

47. Ginzberg, L. The Legends of the Jews. 7 Volume edition. Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1924, 1946, 1954, 1955. Vol. V, p. 63.

48. In this section, we shall deal with pre-existent materials other than the Torah. We shall consider it under sections "H" and "I" below.

49. Cf. b. Pesahim 54a, b. Nedarim 39b; Midrash Mishle (Buber ed.) 30a; Pirke d' Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3; Seder Elizahu Rabbah (Friedmann ed.) ch. 31. p. 160 (This passage lists six pre-existent things, omitting Repentance.)

50. Midrash Tehillim (Buber ed.) ch. 90. p. 196a.

51. Tanhuma to Numbers (Buber ed.) 17b-18a; (Warsaw 1875 ed) 56b.

52. "ורוח אלהים מרחפת" זה רוחו של מלך המשיח היאך את אמר "ונחה עליו רוח ה'"

(here, Theodor reads גם רוח של משיח בראשית) and Lev. R. 14.1.

53. Moore, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 344. "It is the question of what with an ambiguous name is called 'pre-existence,' especially the 'pre-existence of the Messiah,' which has been given an exaggerated importance on account of its supposed relation to Christian beliefs. For Judaism it makes very little matter what the apocalyptic writers imagined about it. On that question it is pertinent to observe that Esdras and Baruch are contemporary with the great generation of Tannaim, the disciples of Johanan ben Zakkai and their successors; that the authors were evidently men of some respectable learning, which meant in

those days a relation to the schools; and there is no sectarian eccentricity to be discovered in them. Under these circumstances there is a certain presumption that they were not consciously at variance with rabbinical teaching on this point. The Tannaim, as we shall see, counted 'the name of the Messiah' amongst things that preceded the world (Psalm 82:17) but not the person of the Messiah.

54. Gen. R. 10.3;

כיצד ברא הקב"ה את עולמו אמר רבי יוחנן נטל הקב"ה שתי פקעיות אחת של אש ואחת של שלג. ופתכן זה בזה ומהן נברא העולם. רבי חנינא אמר ארבע לארבע רוחות השמים רבי חמא בר חנינא אמר שש ארבע לארבע רוחות ואחת מלמעלן ואחת מלמטן. אדריינום שחיק עצמות שאליה לר' יהושע בר חנניא א"ל כיצד ברא הקב"ה את עולמו א"ל כה הוא דאמר רבי חמא בה' חנינא א"ל אפשר כן אתמהא הכניסו לבית קסן א"ל פשוט ידך למזרח ולמערב לצפון ולדרום אמר ליה כך היה מעשה לפני הקב"ה.

55. Tanhuma to Exodus (Warsaw 1875 ed.) 129b:

"ויעש בצלאל את האדון
עצי שטים" זש"ה "פתח דבריך יאיר מבין פתיים" (Psalm 119:30)
כשברא הקב"ה את עולמו היה העולם כולו מים במים
שנאמר "וחושך על פני תהום " רבי יהורה ור' נחמיה
רבי יהורה אומר החושך ברא הקב"ה תחילה ואח"כ ברא
את העולם. ורבי נחמיה אומר העולם ברא הקב"ה תחלה
ואח"כ ברא את החשך.

56. Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan (Schechter ed.) A Version ch. 39, p. 58b:

אין ספק לאדם לירע מהדמות ומעלה. ואלמלא כן היו
מוסרין לו מפתחות וידע במה נברא שמים וארץ.

57. Gen. R. 1.9:

פילוסופי אחר שאל את רבן גמליאל אמר ליה צייר
גדול הוא אלוהיכם אלא שמצא סממנים טובים שסייעו
אותו. תוהו ובוהו וחושך ורוח ומים התהומות. אמר
ליה תיפח רוחיה דה הוא גברא כולהון כתיב בהן בריאה.

The Biblical proof texts then follow. For the Gnostic antecedents of this matter, cf. Altmann, "Gnostic Themes in Rabbinic Cosmology," pp. 19-32 in Essays, etc., op. cit., cf. pp. 20-28.

58. E.g.:

Psalm 119:30 ויאמר אלהים יהי אור רבי יצחק פתח "פתח דברך יאיר מבין וגו'" ר"י ור' נחמיה ר"י אומר האורה נבראת תחלה משל למלך שבקש לבנות פלטין היה אותו מקום אפל מה עשה הדליק נרות ופנסין לידע היאך הוא קובע תימליוסים כך האורה נבראת תחלה. ור' נחמיה אמר העולם נברא תחלה משל למלך שבנה פלטין ועטרה בנרות ופנסין...

Gen. R. 3.1 cf. also Ex. R. 50.1 where the account is placed adjacent to the celebrated Midrash of R. Simon b. Jehotzadok. (cf. under our discussion of Gen.R. 3.4).

59. Tanhuma to Exodus (Buber ed.) 62a-62b the significant difference lies in the words: בשביל הצדיקים שהם עתידים לקבל אותו לעתיד לבוא

60. Ex. R. 34.2: הטוב הזה לכל מצוין בראשית ג' כי טוב ר' יאמר אמרו לי' כי טוב

61. B. Hagigah 12a: א"ר אלעזר אור שברא הקב"ה ביום הראשון אדם צופה בו מסוף העולם ועד סופו כיון שנסתכל הקב"ה בדור המבול ובדור הפלגה וראה מעשיהם מקולקלים עמד וגנזן מהן שנאמר Job 38:15 "וימנע מרשעים אורם" ולמי גנזו לצדיקים לעתיד לבוא שנאמר (Gen. 1:4) "וירא אלהים את האור כי טוב" ואין טוב אלא צדיק שנאמר (Isa. 3:10) "אמרו צדיק כי טוב" כיון שראה אור שגנזו לצדיקים שמח שנאמר Prov. 13:9 "אור צדיקים ישמח" כתנאי אור שברא הקב"ה ביום ראשון אדם צופה ומביט בו מסוף העולם ועד סופו דברי ר' יעקב וחכ"א הן הן מאורות שנבראו ביום ראשון ולא נתלו עד יום רביעי.

The entire statement is found repeated in j. Berachot (Zhitomir ed.) ch. 8 Halacha 6 pp. 53b-54b and Midrash Tehillim (Buber ed.) to Psalm 47 p. 211b. Similar statements regarding the unusual qualities of this Light may be found in the following sources: Gen. R. 3.6; 11.2; 12.6; 42.3; Ex. R. 35.1; Lev. R. 11.7; Nu. R. 13.5; Ruth

R. Pischa 7; Esther R. Pischa 11 Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann ed.) 118a-118b; Pesikta Zutrathi (Buber ed.) on Genesis 1:31. That the Light was hidden away for the righteous may be found in the following sources Gen. R. 3.6; 42.3; Lev. R. 11.7; Tanhuma to Leviticus (Warsaw 1875 ed.) 16b; Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann ed.) 19b-20a. The opposition of the sages to R. Jacob's position may also be found in Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann ed.) 186a. For the Gnostic background to אור (גנוסטי) cf. Altmann "Gnostic Themes in Rabbinic Cosmology," pp. 19-33 in Essays etc., op. cit., cf. pp. 28-32.

62. J. Berachot (Zhitomir ed.) ch. 8 Halacha 6, pp. 53b-54a - cf. especially!
אמר רבי לוי באותה שעה זימן לו הקב"ה שני רעפים והקישין זה לזה ויצא מהן האור ובירך עליהן ה"ד ולילה אור בעדני Psalm139:11 ובירך. עליה בורא מאורי האש.

63. De Opificio Mundi 30-31 as cited in Baer Yisrael Ba'amim Mosad Bialik, Jerusalem 1955 pp. 86 and 132.

64. Gen. R. 3.4 cf. also Gen. R. 1.6; Ex. R. 50.1; Lev.R. 31.7; Tanhuma (Buber ed.) Genesis 3b; Exodus 62a; (Warsaw 1875 ed.) Exodus 130 a; Pesikta d'Rav Kahana (Buber ed.) 145b; Midrash Tehillim (Buber ed.) Psalm 27, p. 111a. In some of the versions, the reading suggests that this deals with the creation of the world rather than Light. However, it appears that "Light" is the original reading.

65. Altmann, "A Note on the Rabbinic Doctrine of Creation" in The Journal of Jewish Studies Vol. VII, etc., op. cit., p. 197.

66. Ibid., p. 198.

67. Ibid., p. 200.

68. E.g. Deut. R. 2 end; Cant R. 4.10; Pesikta d'Rav Kahana (Buber ed.) 147b-148a.

69. Altmann, "A Note on the Rabbinic Doctrine of Creation," in The Journal of Jewish Studies Vol. VII, etc., op. cit., p. 201.

70. Ibid. p. 201. cf. De Fuga 110 "In a sense Philo's Logos is a de-mythologized Zarvan-Aion" p. 202.

71. Ibid. p. 202.

72. Ibid. p. 202. Altmann points out the similarities between this and Plotinus and the Hermetica (202f).

73. Ibid. p. 206. cf. Abelson op. cit., p. 206, for an opposing opinion. "Primitive both in its nature and in the manner in which the Rabbins expressed it, is the conception of Holy Spirit under the figure of light and fire. The same tendency was noticed in the Shechinah conception. It is a materialist idea, but yet it has its mystical side. Its advance on the O.T. idea consists in its recognition as a separate entity. And not only is it materialized as light and fire. It is also symbolized as wind, creating various startling noises - and this, not only in the atmosphere surrounding certain personages, but inside them, i.e., in several of their limbs and internal organs. The mystical elements in all religions present these phenomena."

74. Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3: שמים מאיזה מקום נבראו מאור לבושו של הקב"ה שהוא לבוש לקח ממנו ופרש כשלמה והיו מותחין והולכין עד שאמר להם די ועל כן נקרא שמו שדי שאמר לשמים די ועמדו ומנין שאמר לבושו נברא שנא' "עולה אור כשלמה נוטה שמים כיריעה" Psalm 104:2

Friedlander, in his edition, observes "The Church Fathers discussed the creation narrative in much the same way as our author: Thus Anthanasius in his exposition of the 103rd (sic!) Psalm (corresponding to the Hebrew 104th (sic!) Psalm) refers to the formation in terms of the Old Testament writers; ...." (p. 15)

75. Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.) to Numbers 62a:

הקב"ה שכלה אורה הוא צריך לאור שלכם. ד"א אל מול פני המנורה ב"ו מדליק נר מנר דלוק שמא יכול להדליק נר מתוך חשך. אבל הקב"ה הדליק אור מתוך חשך שנאמר "וחשך על פני תהום" מה כתיב אחריו "ויאמר אלהים יהי אור" אמר הקב"ה ומתוך החשך הוצאתי אורה ואני צריך לנרות שלכם. ולמה אמרתי לך בשביל להעלותם להעלות נר תמיד

76. Pesikta d'Rav Kahana (Buber ed.) 145a:

א"ר שמואל בר נחמן לפי שבעולם הזה מהלכין לאור החמה ביום ולאור הלבנה בלילה אבל לעתיד לבוא אינון עתידין להלוך לא לאור החמה ביום ולא לאור הלבנה בלילה ומה טעם"לא יהיה לך עוד השמש לאור יומם ולנוגה הירח לא יאיר לך" Isa.60:19 ולאור מי מהלכין לאורו של הקב"ה הה"ד "כי ה' יהיה לך לאור עולם ושלמו ימי אבלך" Isa.60:20

77. Pesikta Zutrathi (Buber ed.) on Gen. 1:3. This passage also contains the interesting notion that the light was created from the water.

"ויאמר אלהים יהי אור וכו'" ואע"פ שקודם זה האור
והיה עמיה שרי וכן אמר דוד"ה' אלהי גדלת מאד
עוטה אור כשלמה נוטה שמים כיריעה"למדך הכתיב
שהשכינה כולה אור ומאור השכינה ברא האור לבאי
עולם ביום ראשון להאיר לעולם שנאמר"ויאמר אלהים
יהי אור"ויש אומרים האור הזה מן המים, שכן כתיב
"מרחפת על פני המים"וכתיב"ויאמר אלהים יהי אור"וכן
מצינו בהרבה מקומות נקראו אור שנ' "ואורו על כנפות
הארץ"ואומר "פיץ ענן אורו"ואומר"על כפים כסה אור"
וכן כל מאורי העינים הם המים שבעינים וכה"א"כל
ברמעות עיני"

78. Nu. R. 15.5. זה שאמר הכתוב Psalm 8:19 "כי אתה תאיר נרי" אמרו ישראל לפני הקב"ה רבש"ע לנו אתה אומר שנאיר לפניך אתה הוא אורו של עולם והאורה צרה אצלך דכתיב Dan. 2:22 "ונהורה עמיה שרא"

cf. also Lev. R. 31.8.

79. Nu.R. 15.9 אמרו ישראל Psalm 43:3 "שלח אורך ואמתך המה ינחוני" גדול אורו של הקב"ה החמה והלבנה מאירים לעולם ומהיכן הן מאירים מזיקוקי אור של מעלן הן חוטפין שנאמר Hab. 3:11 "לאור חציך יתהלכו לנוגה ברק חניתך"גדול האור של באורה של מעלן שלא ניתן ממנו לכל הבריות אלא אחד מסאה שנאמר Dan. 2:27 "ידע מה בחושכא" לפיכך עשיתי חמה ולבנה שיאירו לפניך שנאמר Gen. 1:17 "ויתן אותם אלהים ברקיע השמים להאיר

80. Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3. ארבע רוחות בעולם רוח פנת המזרח רוח פנת המערב רוח פנת הדרום רוח פנת הצפון רוח פנת המזרח משם. האור יוצא לעולם...

81. Midrash Tannaim (Hoffman ed.) p. 210.

ד"א ה' מסיני בא מגיד שכבודו
של הקב"ה מלא עולמו שנאמר "התשלח ברקים וילכו
וישובו ויאמר לך הננו אומרכן אלא (Job 38:35)
התשלח ברקים וילכו ויאמרו לך הננו מגיד הכת, בכל
מקום שהן הולכין כהן נמצאים לפניך ואום עשינן
את שליחותנו כענין שנ' (Jer. 23:2) הלא את השמים
ואת הארץ שנ' מלא.

cf. also Ex. R. 17.1.: אתה מוצא שכל מה שברא הקב"ה
בששת ימי בראשית לא ברא אלא בכבודו ולעשות בהן
רצונו.

82. Gen. R. 12.5 דרש ר' נחמיה איש כפר סימון "כי ששת
ימים עשה ה' את השמים ואת הארץ וגו'" (Ex. 20:11)
ג' דברים הללו הן הן עיקר ברייתו של עולם. ושהו
ג' ימים והוציאו ג' תולדות הארץ בראשון כביתי הלל
ושהתה ג' ימים ראשון ושני ושלישי והוציאה ג'
תולדות אילנות ודשאים וגן עדן ורקיע בשני ושהה
ג' ימים שני ושלישי ורביעי והוציא ג' תולדות
חמה ולבנה ומזלות ומים בשלישי ושהו ג' ימים שלישי
רביעי וחמישי והוציאו ג' תולדות עופות ודגים
ולויתן ר' עזריה לא אמרכן אלא "ביום עשות ה'
אלהים ארץ ושמים" (Gen. 2:4) שני דברים הן הן עיקר
ברייתו של עולם, ושהו שלשה ימים ונגמרה מלאכתן
ברביעי שמים ראשון כבית שמאי ושהו ג' ימים ראשון
ושני ושלישי ונגמרה מלאכתן ברביעי ומהו מלאכתן
מאורות הארץ בג' ותוצא הארץ עיקר ברייתה ושהתה
ג' ימים שלישי ורביעי וחמישי ונגמרה מלאכתה בששי
ומהו גמר מלאכתה אדם שנ' אנכי עשיתי ארץ ואדם
עליה בראתי (Isa. 45:12)

83. B. Megillah 16b: "ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה וששון ויקר" (Esth. 8:16)
אמר רב יהודה אורה זו תורה וכן הוא
אומר "כי נר מצוה ותורה אור" (Prov. 6:23)

84. Seder Elijahu Rabba (Friedmann ed.) ch. 3 p. 16f:

לפי שכל מצוות שעושה אדם בעולם הזה אין בהם כח
להאיר אלא כאור הנר בלבד אבל תורה מאירה מסוף
העולם ועד סופו

85. Cf. Abelson op. cit. p. 147f.

86. Box, op. cit. p. 110, Cf. also Abelson op.cit. p. 282f. "As for the Incarnation, it can be seen from the chapters on the Holy Spirit, how the Rabbins, by their delineation of the Holy Spirit as an ideal which everyone has it in his power to reach, provided he orders his life aright, recognized the divinity of humanity. But they sternly repudiated the converse side of the proposition - the humanity of divinity. One of the chief motives underlying the zealous insistence on the Divine Unity and the pains and penalties attaching to the infringement thereof, is just this safeguarding against the dangers of clothing the Divine in the garb of the human. Side by side with the words "Shechinah" or "Memra", we get "God's Shechinah," "God's Memra." Why is this? Because the Rabbins never desired that the personification of God intended in these terms - and which had as its object to express the immanent workings of the all-directing, omnipresent, and all-pervading Divine Principle - might be woefully misconstrued into a false identity between man and God. After all, it is only the trained philosopher who can understand what is and what is not included in the connotation of the word "person" as applied to the Deity. It is not easy to satisfy the man in the street that God can be a person with all the attributes of personality, and yet be a spirit."

87. Tanhuma (Buber ed.) Genesis 4a,

אמר ריש לקיש כביכול דבר היה מפי הקב"ה "בדבר
ה שמים נעשו" (Psalm 33:6) וכתיב בו "ברא" אלא ליפרע
מן הרשעים שמאבדין את העולם שנברא בעמל ביגיעה
ולית מן שכר טוב לצדיקים שמקיימין את העולם שנברא בדבר
ה הוי (אומר) "בראשית ברא אלהים"

Cf. also Gen. R. 3.2; 12.10; 27.1; Ecc. R. II.21.11.

88. Gen.R. 4.6: (Gen. 1:7) "ויעש אלהים את הרקיע" זה אחד;
מן המקראות שהרעיש בן זומא את העולם "ויעש" אתמהא
והלא במאמר הן הן "בדבר ה שמים נעשו" וברוח פיו
כל צבאם" (Psalm 33:6)

89. Aggadath Bereshith (Buber ed.) Ch. 23 on Isa. 42:25.

זש"ה "לא ייעף ולא ייגע וגו' "אין לפני הקב"ה יגיעה
אלא בדבור ברא הקב"ה את העולם הזה ובדיבור הוא
עתיד לחדש אותו לעוה"ב כתיב "ויאמר אלהים תדשה
הארץ וגו' " מיד ותוצא הארץ אף לעתיד לבוא הקב"ה
אמר דבר ומיד הכל נעשין לכן נאמר "ועצמותכם כדשה
תפרחנה ונודעה יד ה' את עבדיו וזעם את אויביו"

90. הצייר הוא אינו יכול לצייר אלא במעשה והקב"ה באמירה
שנאמר "ויאמר אלהים יהי אור"

Mamuscript of Midrash Tehillim to Psalm 18 as cited by Kasher (Vol. I add. #6).

91. B. Shabbath 119b: אמר רבי אלעזר סניין שהדיבור כמעשה
שנאמר "בדבר ה' שמים נעשו"

92. B. Hagigah 14a: אמר ר' שמואל בר נחמני אמר ר' יונתן כל דיבור
ודיבור שיצא מפי הקב"ה נברא ממנו מלאך אחד שנאמר
"בדבר ה' שמים נבראו וגו' ורוח פיו כל צבאם"

93. B. Shabbat 88b: ד"א נגידים כל דיבור ודיבור שיצא מפי הקב"ה
קושרים לו שני כתרים

94. Deut. R. 5.13: Nu.14:12 ...מהו "אכנו בדבר ואורישנו"
אמר לו הקב"ה מה הן שבורין שאני צריך חרבות
ורמחים להרוג אותן בהן כשם שבראתי עולמי בדבר
שנאמר "בדבר ה' שמים נעשו וברוח פיו כל צבאם"
כך אני עושה להן מוציא אני דבר מפי Psalm33:6
והורגן הוי "אכנו בדבר ואורישנו"

95. Mechilta Bahodesh ch. 5 (Lauterbach ed. lines 40-48)

ד"א "אנכי ה' אלהיך" (Ex.20:2) כשעמד הקב"ה ואמר
אנכי ה' אלהיך היו ההרים סתרשעים והגבעות מתמוטטות
ובא תבור מבית אילים וכרמל מאספמיא שנאמר "ח'
אני נאם המלך ה' צבאות שמו כי כתבור בהרים ובכרמל
בים בא" (Jer.46:18) זה אומר אני נקראתי וזה אומר
אני נקראתי וכיון ששמעו מפיו אשר הוצאתיך מארץ
מצרים עמד כל אחד ואחד במקומו ואמרו לא עסק אלא
עם מי שהוציא ממצרים

96.
ארום ארבע לילון אינון כתיבין בספר דרכני לילא
קדמאה כד את גלי מימרא דה' על עלמא למברא יתיה
הות עלמא תה' ובה וחושכא פריס על אפי תהומא
ומימרא דה' הוה נהיר ומנהר וקרי יתיה לילא קדמיא.

97. Cf. Moore op. cit. Vol. I p. 417f.

98. Ibid. p. 419.

99. Abelson, op. cit., p. 158ff.

100. Ibid. p. 150.

101. Ibid. p. 153.

102. Ibid. pp. 160-164.

103. Cf. also Ex. R. 30.9; Tanhuma (Buber ed.) Genesis 2a. Similar to this are the following passages: Midrash Tehillim (Buber ed.) Psalm 90 p. 196b; Seder Eliahu Rabba (Friedmann ed.) ch. 31, p. 160; and Seder Rabba d'Bereshith 3.

104. Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3. עד שלא נברא העולם היה
הקב"ה ושמו הגדול בלבד ועלה במחשבה לברא את
העולם והיה מחריב את העולם לפניו ולא היה עומד
למשו משל למה הדבר דומה למלך שהוא רוצה לבנות
פלטרים שלו אם אינו מחריב בארץ יסודותיו ומובאיו
ומוצאין אינו מתחיל לבנות כך הקב"ה מחריב לפניו
את העולם

105. Ex. R. 40.2: ...אתה מוצא כשעלה משה למרום הראה
לו הקב"ה כל כלי המשכן ואמר לו כך וכך עשה ועשית
מנורת ועשית שלחן ועשית מזבח כך כל מעשה המשכן...

106. J. Sanhedrin (Zhitomir ed.) ch. 4, Halacha 9 p. 17a.

להגיד גדולתו מלך מלכי המלכים שמחותם אחד טובע
כל חותמות ואין אחד מהן דומה לחבירו שנאמר "תתהפך
כחומר חותם" (Job 38:14)

107. Baeck, L. "Zwei Beispiele Midraschisher Predigt" in Aus Drei Jahrtausenden pp. 157-175 Schoken Verlag. 1938 cf.p.162

108. Ibid. cf. p. 163 - "Die Tora allein is der ראשית der Schöpfung."

109. Ibid. p. 164 "Diese Frage war damals eine entscheidende, on ihr schieden sich Christentum und Judentum."

110. Ibid. p. 165 - citing Jerome "Im Sohne schuf Gott Himmel und Erde."

111. Cf. Ibid. p. 166 "Der Christus oder die Tora, so war es seit der Zeit des Galaterbriefes ein eigentlichtes Problem des Kampfes zwischen Christentum und Judentum."

112. Cf. Galatians 3:24 F., where the Torah is compared to a Pedagogue.

113. Moore, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 165.

114. Ibid. p. 365.

115. Bentwich, N. Hellenism op. cit. p. 311. "To R. Hosaya tradition ascribed the passage at the opening of the Midrash on Genesis, which says that God created the world by the aid of the Torah in the same way as a king employs an architect to draw plans for his palace. The image of the architect and plan corresponds strikingly with a picture which Philo gives of the creation; and as Origen was a faithful follower of Philo's allegorical method, and possessed at Caesarea manuscripts of all his works, it is possible that the Midrash is an indirect adaptation of the Alexandrian allegory, induced by ideas which passed from Origen to R. Hoshaya." The Philonic Sources alluded to include the following: De. Cher. 125;127; Alleg. Interp. III, 96; De. Opif Mundi 4, 16-18; 5,20; 6,23; 4; 19. These sources are cited in Baeck op. cit. p. 163; Moore op. cit., Vol. I, p. 267; Mueller, E. A. History of Jewish Mysticism. East and West Library. Oxford, 1946, p. 34; and Wolfson, H. Philo, Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass. 1947. Vol. I p. 242ff.

116. Moore, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 267.

117. Baer, op. cit. p. 83ff.

118. Knox, op. cit. p. 75.

119. Altmann, op. cit. p. 195.

120. Gen. R. 10.6 cf. Sirach 38:4, 7,8:

בר סירא אמר אלוה ברא סמים מן הארץ
בהם הרופא מרפה את המכה ובהם הרוקח מרקח את
המרקחת

121. Gen. R. 10.7:

רבנן אמרי אפי' דברים שאתה רואה
שהן יתירה בעולם כגון זבובים ופרעושין ויתושין
אף הן בכלל בריתו של עולם הן ובכל הקב"ה עושה
שליחותו אפי' ע"י נחש אפי' ע"י יתוש אפי ע"י
צפרדע...

Examples follow to illustrate this principle. Cf. also Ecc. R. 5.8f. lf.

122. Gen. R. 5.4:

א"ר לוי יש מן הדרשנים שהם דורשים כגון
בן עזאי ובן זומא [נעשה קולו של הקב"ה מטטרון
למשה בשעה שאמר לו "עלי אל הר העברים" (Deut. 32:49)
נעשה קולו של הקב"ה מטטרון [מיטטור- Theodor]
על המים ה"ד "קול ה' על המים" (Psalm 29:3)

Bracketed material absent from Theodor ed.

123. Lev. R. 35.4:

חקים שבהם חקקתי את השמים והארץ
שנאמר ("אם לא בריתי יומם ולילה" (Jer. 33:5)
חקות שמים וארץ לא שמתי" חקים שבהם חקקתי את
השמש ואת הירח שנ' "כה אמר ה' נותן שמש (ibid 31:35)
לאור יומם חקת ירח וכוכבים לאור לילה" חקות שבהם
חקקתי את הים שנא' "בומו לים חקו" (Prov. 8:29)
חוקות שבהם חקקתי את החול שנא' "אשר (Jer. 5:22)
שמתי חול גבול לים" חוקים שבהם חקקתי את התהום
שנא" "בחוקו חוג על פני תהום" (Prov. 8:27) חוק
וחוג לגזירה שוה

"The idea is that the Torah is the embodiment of law and order in the moral universe, even as God based the physical universe upon law and order." Soncino edition note 5, p. 448.

124. In addition to the passages cited in Chapter II footnote 3b, cf. also Tanhuma (Buber ed.) Gen. 6a.

125. Mishna Aboth 5.6: עשרה דברים נבראו בערב שבת בין השמשות
ואלו הן פי הארץ (Nu16:32) ופי הבאר (Nu21:16) ופי האתון (Nu22:28) והקשת (Gen9:13) והמן (Ex16:15) והמטה (Ex9:17) והשמיר והכתב והמכתב והלוחות (Ex32:15f) ויש אומרים אף המזיקין וקבורתו של משה (Deut34:6) ואילו של אברהם אבינו ויש אומרים אף צבת בצבת עשויה

Cf. also Sifre Deut. (Friedmann ed.) par. 355 pp. 147a-147b. (with variations) and Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ch.18. Also similar are Gen. R. 5.5 and Ex. R. 21.6.

126. Ex. R. 30.3.

ד"א ואלה המשפטים א"ר אבהו בכל מקום שכתוב "ואלה" מוסיף על הראשונים ובכל מקום שכתוב "אלה" פוסל את הראשונים כיצד "אלה תולדות השמים והארץ בהבראם" (Gen2:4) ומה פסל שהיה בורא שמים וארץ והיה מסתכל בהם ולא היו ערבים עליו והיה מחזירין לתוהו ובוהו כיון שראה שמים וארץ אלו ערב לפניו אמר אלו תולדות לפיכך "אלה תולדות השמים והארץ" אבל הראשונים לא היו תולדות

Cf. also Gen. R. 3.7; 9.2, Ecc. R. 3.11.1 and Midrash Tehillim (Buber ed.) Psalm 34 p. 123a.

127. Gen. R. 1.13: רבנן אמרין בשר ודם בונה בנין בשעה שהבנין עולה בידו הוא מרחיב ועולה ואם לאן מרחיב מלמטה ומיצר מלמעלה אבל הקב"ה אינו כן אלא את השמים שעלו במחשבה ואת הארץ שעלתה במחשבה רב הונא בשם רבי אליעזר בנו של ר' יוסי הגלילי אמר אפילו אותן שכתיב בה (Isa65:17) "כי הנני בורא שמים חדשים כבר הן ברואין משתי ימי בראשית הרא הוא דכתיב (Isa66:22) "כי כאשר השמים החדשים והארץ החדשה" הארץ חדשה אין כתיב כאן אלא החדשה

128. Sifre Deut. (Friedmann ed.) par. 307. pp. 132b-133a.

"הצור תמים פעלו" (Deut32:4) הצייר שהוא צר העולם
תחילה וצר בו את האדם שנ' "וייצר ה' אלהים את האדם"
(Gen2:7) "תמים פעלו" פעולתו שלימה על כל באי העולם
ואין להרהר אחד מדותיו אפי' של כלום ואין אחד מהם
שיסתכל ויאמר אלו היה לי ג' עינים אלו היה לי ג'
ידים אלו היה לי ג' רגלים אלו הייתי מהלך על ראשי
אלו היו פני הפוכים לאחורי כמה היה נאה ת"ל "כי
כל דרכיו משפט" (Deut16:1) יושב על כל אחד ואחד בדין
ונותן לו מה שראוי לו "אל אמונה" שהאמין בעולם
ובראו "ואין עול" שלא באו בני אדם להיות רשעים
אלא להיות צדקים וכן הוא אומר "אשר עשה האלהים את
האדם ישר והמה בקשו חשבנות רבים" (Ecc7:29) "צדיק
וישר הוא" שהוא מתנהג בישרות עם כל באי עולם

Cf. also Gen. R. 12.1.

129. Mishna Aboth 6.11. חמישה קנינים קנה לו הקב"ה
בעולמו ואלה הם תורה קנין אחד אברהם קנין אחד
ישראל קנין אחד בית המקדש קנין אחד תורה מנין
דכתיב "ה' קנני ראשית דרכו קדם מפעליו מאז"
(Prov8:22)

130. E.g., Sifre Deuteronomy (Friedmann ed.) par. 37, p. 76a.
וכן אתה מוצא בדרכי המקום שכל מי שהוא חביב הוא
קודם את חבירו תורה לפי שהוא חביבה מכל נבראת קדם
לכל שנאמר "ה' קנני ראשית דרכו קדם מפעליו מאז" (Prov8:22)

cf. also Gen. R. 1.4 and 1.8.

131. Yalkut Shimeoni par. 943 citing the Sifre.
בתחילה היתה תורה בשמים שנא' "ואהיה אצלו אמון"
(Prov.8:30) ואחר כך עלה משה והורידה לארץ ונתנה
לבני אדם "משחקת בתבל ארצו" (ibid)

132. Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan, (Schechter ed.) A Version ch. 31, p. 45b.
רבי אליעזר בנו של רבי יוסי הגלילי אומר תשע
מאות ושבעים וארבע צורות קודם שנברא העולם היתה
תורה כתובה ומנוחת בחיקו של הקב"ה ואומרת שירה עם
מלאכי השרת שנא' "ואהיה אצלו אומן ואהיה שעשועים
יום יום [משחקת לפניו] (Prov8:30) ואומר "משחקת
כתבל ארצו [ושעשע" את בני אדם" (ibid30f)

cf. also, Ecc. R. 1.15.2 and 4.3.1; Seder Eliyahu Rabba (Friedmann ed.) ch. 6. p. 33; ch. 13, p. 68; ch. 26, p. 130; Seder Eliyahu Zuta (Friedmann ed.) ch. 10, p. 139. For 980 generations, cf. Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.). Gen. 21a. For 2000 years, cf. Gen. R. 8.2; Lev. R. 19.1; Cant. R. 5.11.1; Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann ed.). 86a; Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.) Deut. 22a.

133. Midrash Aggadah on Gen. 1:1: בזכות התורה ברא הקב"ה את עולמו שנקראת ראשית שנאמר "ה' קנני ראשית דרכו קדם מפעליו מאז" (Prov 8:22)

cf. also Lev. R. 23.3 כל כך העולם כלו לא נברא אלא בשביל התורה

There are other references to this notion which we shall cite when we consider the identification of Torah = רזון'ת = Wisdom.

134. E.g. b. Shabbath 88a, אמר ריש_לקיש מא' דכתיב "ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום הששי" ה"א יתרה למה לי מלמד שהתנה הקב"ה עם מעשי-בראשית ואמר להם אם ישראל מקבלים התורה אתם מתקיימים ואם לאו אני מחזיר אתכם לתוהו ובוהו.

cf. also Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.) Genesis 3b; Ex. R. 47.4; Deut. R. 8.5; Pesikta Rabbati (Friedmann ed.) 99b-100a; Midrash Aggadah to Leviticus 25.1.

135. E.g. b. Nedarim 32a, דאמר ר' אליעזר גדולה תורה שאלמלא תורה לא נתקיימו שמים וארץ שנא' "אם לא בריתי יומם ולילה חוקת שמים וארץ לא שמתי וגו'" (Jer. 33:25)

cf. also b. Pesahim 68b.

136. Mishna Aboth 3.14, חביבין ישראל שניתן להם כלי חמדה חבה יתרה נודעת להם שנתן להם כלי חמדה שבו נברא העולם שנא' "כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם תורתי אל תעזבו" (Prov. 4:2)

137. E.g. Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.) Genesis 3a.

"בראשית ברא אלהים" זה שאמר הכתוב "ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ" (Prov 3:19) וכשברא הקב"ה את עולמו נתיעץ בתורה וברא את העולם שנא' "לי עצה ותושיה אני בינה לי גבורה" (Prov. 8:14)

cf. also Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3.

138. Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ch. 11.

מיד אמר הקב"ה לתורה נעשה אדם בצלמנו וכדמותנו השיבה התורה ואמרה רבון כל העולמים העולם שלך האדם הזה שאתה רוצה לבראתו הוא קצר ימים ושבע רוגז ויבא לידי חטא ואם אין אתה מאריך אפך עמו ראוי לו שלא בא לעולם אמר ליה הקב"ה וכ' על חנם נקראת ארך אפים ורב חסד התחיל לקבל את עפרו של אדם הראשון מארבע כנפות הארץ

Friedlander, in his edition, notes that "The idea was used by the author of the Epistle of Barnabas v. 5, v 1.12, where God is represented as consulting with the Christ. According to other traditions of the Church and Synagogue, God consulted the ministering angels at the creation of man;...." (p. 76).

139. Cf. Chapter I above. Cf. also Abelson op. cit. p. 201. "Wisdom in Proverbs viii reaches to the limits of personification. A quality through which God acts and through which He is known, is objectified. It dwells and finds its special delight among men. This brings us to the very doors of the Immanence doctrine. The Rabbinical doctrine of the "Holy Spirit" is compounded of these teachings, with the admixture of many new elements which these old sages drew either from their own independent exegesis of the Scriptures, or from their own personal observations and experiences of the Spiritual life, or again, as a result of their intermingling with extraneous notions and the consequent additions to, and transformations of, their original views."

140. E.g. Tanhuma (Buber Edition) Genesis 2b. "בראשית ברא אלהים" זש"ה "ואהיה אצלו אמון" (Prov 8:30) מהו אמון אמר ר' יהודה בר אלעאי אומן בתורה היה הקב"ה מביט בתורה וברא את העולם הו' "ואהיה אצלו אמון" מה כתיב "בראשית ברא אלהים" אין ראשית אלא תורה שנא' "ה' קנני ראשית דרכו וגו'" (ibid 8:22) הו' "בראשית ברא אלהים".

Cf. also Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.) Genesis 3a; b. Shabbat, 116a, Sifre (Friedmann ed.) Deut. par. 309, p. 134a and par. 317, p. 135b, and Seder Rabba d'Bereshith 5.

141. E.g. Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.), Deuteronomy 122a.

כתיב "ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ" (Prov3:19); ואין חכמה אלא תורה ומה שמה אמון שנא' "ואהיה אצלו אומן" (Ibid8:22) ולא נקראת תורה עד שנתנה בסיני ועל מנין המצות נקראת תורה....

142. E.g. Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.) Genesis 46b.

אף כן אמר אדם לפני הקב"ה רבש"ע עד שלא בראת עולמך קודם שני אלפים שנה הייתה תורה אצלך אמון שכן כתיב "ואהיה אצלו אמון ואהיה שעשועים יום יום" (Prov8:30) ב' אלפים שנה

143. E.g. Midrash Mishle (Buber ed.) 31a.
"מכאן קבעתו קיתון" (Prov. 9:1) בן ג' בתורה קנאתו קנאתו בך (שמואל)
cf. also Lev. R. 11.3, the last part of which = b. Shabbat 116a.

144. E.g. Tanhuma (Buber ed.) Exodus 7a: After a discussion of the omnipresence of the voice of God at Sinai, the text concludes "ומן יקרות תאמרים בה לבא ומכאן מבין תמצא וזו נבונה מקום קולו" (Job. 28:20)
Cf. also. Tanhuma (Warsaw 1875 ed.) Exodus 69b.

145. Knox, op. cit. p. 66f. He notes the similarity to Stoic thought, and suggests that, as a result of contact with it, "Wisdom" became more personified and, at the same time, less concrete in Jewish thought.

146. Cf. Abelson op. cit., p. 199f. "Now what distinguishes this conception of Wisdom is the fact, that here Wisdom is, as it were temporarily detached from its Divine source and treated as a Personality - a Personality which is related to the whole universe, controlling the life of the human race. This thought undoubtedly makes a great advance upon anything previously written in Jewish circles. Its effect upon the Apocrypha Wisdom of Solomon and upon much of the speculative philosophy of Philo is without question. But what is of importance to point out is, that its detachment from its Divine source was not meant by the writer to imply 'any theory of permanent distinctions within the Divine nature each indowed with its own separate self-consciousness.' Wisdom has no personal life of its own and points to no profound mystery

in the Being of God. Right through the passage viii.22-36 it is "God's" wisdom. The allusions to the Divine ownership of wisdom are frequent. 'The Lord possessed me'; 'When He established the heavens, I was there'; 'Rejoicing in His habitable earth'; all these passages clearly imply that wisdom is a quality belonging to God, one of His attributes by which He makes Himself known and felt in the world of men and in the human heart, one of the elements in the Divine nature which is most in sympathy with the innate tendency in man to go on striving ever upward and onward. Wisdom is, after all, only God's wisdom, no matter how near an approach to personality there may be in the various descriptions of the term; and in the same way 'Spirit' is 'God's Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' is 'God's Holy Spirit'; and similarly right through the Rabbinical literature, however near an approach to a distinct personality there may be in the Rabbinical handling of these expressions, there is always the underlying assumption that the personification is only used for the purpose of a particular doctrine, and not for the teaching of any metaphysical divisions in the Godhead."

147. Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan (Schechter ed.) A Version ch. 37. p. 55b.

בז' דברים ברא הקב"ה את עולמו אלו הן נדיעה בבינה
בגבורה בחסד ברחמים בדין וב גערה

In the B Version ch. 43 p. 60a, the list, with variations, is expanded to 10 and proof texts are given. The reading then is very similar to b. Hagigah 12a.

148. Ibid. A Version ch. 37 p. 55b.

ז' מדות משמשות לפני
כסא הכבוד אלו הן חכמה צדק משפט חסד רחמים אמת
שלום שנאמר "וארשתיך לי לעולם וארשתיך לי בצדק
ובמשפט בחסד וברחמים וארשתיך לי באמונה וידעת
את ה'" (Hos2:21f)

149. E.g. Tanhuma (Buber ed.) Numbers 49a. (Warsaw 1875 ed. 75a.)

"זאת חקת התורה" (Nu19:21) יתברך שמו של מלך
מלכי המלכים הקב"ה שברא את עולמו בחכמה ובתבונה
ולנפלאותיו אין חקר ולגדולתו אין מספר.

150. E.g. Ex. R. 48.4.

בג' דברים הללו ברא העולם שנאמר
"ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ כונן שמים בתבונה בדעתו תהומות
נקבעו" (Prov3:19) ובג' דברים הללו נעשה המשכן
שנאמר "ואמלא אותו רוח אלהים בחכמה בתבונה ובדעת"
(Ex 35:3)

cf. also b. Berakoth 55a; Midrash Tehillim (Buber ed.) on Psalms 50 p. 140a; Tanhuma (Buber ed.) Exodus 61b-62a; and Pirke d'Rabbi Eliezer ch. 3.

151. E.g. Tanhuma (Buber ed.) Genesis 6a. "אלה תולדות השמים והארץ" זש"ה "ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ" (Prov3:19) אתה מוצא בחכמה ברא הקב"ה שמים וארץ

cf. also Pesikta d'Rav Kahana (Buber ed.) 36a; and Seder Eliyahu Rabba (Friedmann ed.) ch. 6 p. 21.

152. J. Sanhedrin (Zhitomir ed.) ch. 4. Halacha 9, p. 17b.

"חכמות בנתה ביתה" (Prov9:1) זה הקב"ה שבנה את העולם בחכמה שנאמר "ה' בחכמה יסד ארץ" (Prov3:19) "חצבה עמודיה שבעה" (ibid9:1) אילו ז' ימי בראשית "טבח טבחה מסכה יינה (ibid9:2) אילן ימים ונהרות וכל צריכי העולם "מי פתי יסור הנה" זה אדם לחוה (ibid9:4)

153. E.g. Lev. R. 11.1. ר' ירמיה בר אלעא' פתר קרא בברייתו של עולם "חכמות בנתה ביתה" (Prov9:1) זה הקב"ה דכתיב "הי בחכמה יסד ארץ" (ibid3:19) "חצבה עמודיה שבעה" (ibid9:1) אלו ז' ימי בראשית שנא' "כי ששת ימים וגו'" (Ex20:11) "ויברך אלהים את יום השביעי" (Gen2:3) "טבחה טבחה" (Prov9:2) "ויאמר אלהים תוצא הארץ" (Gen1:24) "מסכה יינה" (Prov9:2) "ויאמר אלהים יקוו המים" (Gen1:9) "אף ערכה שלחנה" (Prov9:2) "ויאמר אלהים תדשא הארץ דשא עשב מזריע זרע" (Gen1:11) "שלחה נערותיה תקרא" (Prov9:3) זה אדם וחיה "על זבי מרומי קרתי" (ibid) שמסיתן הקב"ה וקרא אותן אלהית הה"ד "והייתם כאלהים" (Gen3:5)...

cf. the Soncino edition p. 136, for some attractive emendations which eliminate some of the difficulties in the present text. Cf. also b. Sanhedrin 38a.

154. Ex. R. 15.22. שלשה ברירות קדמו את העולם המים והרוח והאש המים הרו וילדו אפלה האש הרה וילדה אור הרוח הרה וילדה חכמה ובשש ברירות אלו העולם מתנהג

155. J. Yebamot (Krotochin ed.) 9c. יבמות דף ט"ו ע"ג קרוטושין

156. Their consideration, of course, lies beyond the scope of this paper. For an index to such passages, cf. Hyman, A. Torah Ha K'tuvah V'hamsurah, D'vir, Tel Aviv, 1940 and Kasher, M.M. Torah Sh'lemah, Jerusalem, 1927.

157. Dr. Frank Baxter on the Bell Telephone Television Series on Man in the Universe - November, 1958.

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Wisdom in Creation, a paper delivered by Professor R.B.Y. Scott at the December 1958 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, was received too late for consideration in this paper. His paper deals with the exegesis of Proverbs 8:30 and is germane to Chapter I of the present work.

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