A Wisdom-Pneumatology in Exegetical, Historical and Pastoral

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Abstract: The Spirit is the coequal Person with other Persons of the Father and the Son, and in the practical dimension it was called frequently, nevertheless, it inclines to be abstracted and senseless and to be only a feeling of self-confidence and psychologized. After an independent exegesis on Pr. 8:22-23 referring to Isa. 11:1ff., this author advocates that the Wisdom is attributed to the Spirit in accordance with Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus; paralleling with the modern creation pneumatology by Jürgen Moltmann, this research is to propose a Wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology.

Key words: Wisdom-Pneumatology, Proverb 8:22-23, Isaiah 11:1ff., Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus, Jürgen Moltmann

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INTRODUCTION

The Spirit is the coequal Person with other Persons of the Father and the Son(1) and in the practical dimension it was called frequently, nevertheless, it inclines to be abstracted and senseless and to be only a feeling of self-confidence and psychologized.

On the other hand, the quasi-person, quasi-hypostasis Wisdom is so affinity with the Spirit in Bible especially Proverb and would contribute to the construction of pneumatology, but in theological history it always more affinity to the Son, whereas it rarely contributes to the construction of Christology. What is the relation of the Wisdom with the preexisting triune Persons? Was it created as other creatures or uncreated as the triune Persons according to its narrative in Pr 8:22ff.?

After an independent exegesis on Pr. 8:22-23, the reorientation of the Wisdom in the triune Communion will be processed. A historical review will be involved of both Judaism and Christianity. The proposition that the Wisdom is attributed to the Spirit will be proposed, following the view of the marginalized Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus. Paralleling with the modern pneumatology development especially the creation pneumatology by the post-WWII theologian Jürgen Moltmann, this research is to propose a Wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology referring to Is 11:1ff.

The cause that why the mainline theologians always anchored on the affinity of the Wisdom with the Son rather than with the Spirit will be analyzed as an appendix.

In this paper various versions of Bible will be referred technically: NIV 1984 and 2011, KJV, The Jerusalem Bible (JB) by Catholic, Studium Biblicum Version (SBV) in Chinese by Catholic, NRSV, etc. If not indicated in the texts, it will be default as the author’s own translation.

I. THE RELATION OF WISDOM WITH TRIUNE PERSONS: BIBLICAL AND CREDAL

According to the Scripture of both OT and NT, besides the triune Persons in preexistence, there is another quasi-Person being there as narrated in Pro 8:22–31, i.e. the Wisdom. In some sense, the Wisdom is more prominently personified than the Spirit even less than other Persons. The Spirit is personified at most as a dove in NT, while the Wisdom is personified just as a female teacher in Pro 1:20–33, 8:1 ff., and 9:1 ff. Then what’s the relationship of the Wisdom with the triune Persons in the preexistence?

As for the relation between the Father with the Wisdom in preexistence, according to Pro. 8:22: “The LORD [Yahweh] brought me forth as the first of his works,” et al., the Wisdom evidently cannot be identical with or attributed to the Father (Yahweh) but subjected to the Father. As for the relation of the Father with the Son in preexistence, according to the begotten Son identity in Ps 2:7 and the Only Begotten identity in Jn 1:14, 1:18, 3:16, 3:18, and 1 Jn 4:9, the relation of the Father with the Son is evidently begotten in biblical, which is also congruent with the Creeds: “begotten not created” in Nicene Creed and “begotten before time” as well as “born in time” in Athanasian Creed.

As for the relation between the Father with the Spirit, it is vague in biblical, but the Creeds defined it “accurately”: “Who proceeds from the Father” in Nicene Creed, but in Athanasian Creed there was one more originator, “The Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son, not made nor created nor begotten but proceeding.” This added “Son” is the famous filioque controversy inducing the great schism between Latin Church and Greek Church.

In comparing, the core issue returns again to Pro. 8:22ff.: Yahweh brought forth the Wisdom is more like begot of the Son or more like was proceeded of of the Spirit? There have been various translation of the verbs itself covering all beget, bore, proceed, etc., so this passage needs to be investigated independently again in this paper. Since the verb itself can be interpreted so broadly in literal, the exegesis requires a highly intrabiblical-intertextual approach.

(3) Cf. Ibid., 42-44.
(4) As for whether Yahweh reserves the Fatherhood or the Sonship, there is the disputation. In this paper Yahweh will be exclusively identified with the Father. On one hand, the fatherhood of Yahweh can be found in OT, e.g. “This is what Yahweh says: Israel is my first-born son;” (Exodus 4:22) “he [Yahweh] said to me, ‘You are my son, today I have become your father;’” (Psalms 2:7) etc. Whereas for “the sonship of Yahweh,” the author cannot find evidence in OT or the whole Bible so far. On the other hand, the Scriptures applied by the scholars to support the Sonship used to be Pauline epistles (e.g., Richard Bauchham, Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and other Studies on the New Testament’s Christology of Divine Identity (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 194-5, 1 Cor. 10:26 /Psalm 24:1: “The earth and everything that is in it belong to the Lord [Yahweh];” Rom. 10:13 /Joel 2:32: “for everyone who calls on the name of the Lord [Yahweh] will be saved;” Rom. 14:10-12 /Isa. 45:23: “By my life,—it is the Lord [Yahweh] who speaks, ‘every knee shall bend before me, and every tongue shall praise God.’” (JB) We should be alerted that, when Paul quoted OT scripture, they are in Greek in NT, and the title “Yahweh” has been (mis)translated/transmitted into “Lord” in the Greek LXX OT. This is not a small problem in the Pauline theology: “Paul’s more specific concern about misapplying Torah;” (Craig S. Keener, Spirit Hermeneutics: Reading Scripture in Light of Pentecost (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016, 2017), 239) “When it comes to allusions and echoes, it becomes much harder to identify where Paul relies on the Old Testament text, theme, or theology.” (Andreas J. Köstenberger and Richard D. Patterson, Invitation to Biblical Interpretation: Exploring the Hermeneutical Triad of History, Literature, and Theology (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2011), 471)
(5) Ps 2:7: “He [Yahweh] said to me, ‘You are my Son; today I have begotten you.’” (Cf. Heb 1:5, 5:5)
(6) Leith, Creeds of the Churches, 33, 706.
(7) Ibid., 33, 705.
II. AN EXEGESIS ON PROVERBS 8:22-23

Wisdom Is the Beginning, the Way: v.22a

The grammatical role of ראשית in the second semicolon would be highlighted: whether it plays an adverbial role “at/in the beginning”, or a second object “the beginning”. If the former will be the option, as some versions add a preposition before it, how about its counterpart יִרְאַת in the second semicolon since a similar preposition cannot be seen to be suggested. יִרְאַת cannot play both adverbial and objective roles simultaneously, so the second object would be the ideal option for יִרְאַת (as well as ראשית). Accordingly יִרְאַת would be a transitive verb with double accusative. Regardless of the polyvalent of the verb, ראשית is an object, even though there are still the nuances of appositional object “Yahweh conceived me [Wisdom], the first, his principle,” or indirect object “Yahweh conceived me [Wisdom] as the first, his principle.” Anyway, Wisdom is the Beginning, the Way of Yahweh.

It would be supplemented that the Beginning is not (only) a temporal term, but (also) a logic/spacial term. Since this is an typical Creation passage, the Genesis 1:1 would be reminded and reflected: “In the beginning...” Besides the temporal beginning, Eichrodt argued also an principle being for the first word of Bible. (Actually a cognate יִרְאַת אֲדֹנָי is in Ps 111:10, referring to KJV, as well as Pr 4:7, would be translated into indicative “wisdom is the principle” rather than attributive “the beginning of wisdom”).

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(8) At the start in v.22, the most debate would be the meaning of ראשית. But the methodology in this research will be the context-first, so the syntax would be privileged. And the translation of ראשית will apply “conceive” in accordance with my exegesis directly from J. Cook, The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Colouring of the LXX Proverbs (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 213. The same approach will be applied to the other verb יִרְאַת.


(12) In Pr 4:7, there also occurs twice of ראשית as imperative and noun respectively, this will help to perceive it in the current context. This will also be available to Pr 1:7, 9:10; Job 28:28; etc. In Job 28:28, יִרְאַת אֲדֹנָי, the feminine pronounית ("it/she") indicates the feminine יִרְאַת (יִרְאַת, "awesome/fearing") so that it ought to be translated into “The awesome of YHWH itself/herself is Wisdom.” Throughout the whole Bible, the majority of the occurrences of ראשית is to refer to “firstborn,” in which it would be perceived as “chief, best.” In Job 40:15-24, Yahweh replied with a יִרְאַת, which was at times treated as a kind of animal, but is identified in Job 40:19 “the chief of the ways of God” (KJV) similarly with the current Wisdom.

In Masoretic Text, in Ps 111:10, the punctuation paseq (“restraining, dividing”) in יִרְאַת אֲדֹנָי indicates the translation would be “The Principle is the Wisdom, i.e. the awesome of YHWH.” Paseq Cf. Wilhelm Gesenius, Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar, ed. enlarg. Emil Kautzsch, 2nd Eng. trans. Arthur Ernest Cowley (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 59-60. In Job 28:28, there is also a paseq, it is especially difficult to translate. These verses all involve the issue of the nominal sentence (or nominal apposition, objective apposition): Job 28:28 “The awesome of my LORD (is) Wisdom,” Ps 111:10 “The Principle (is) Wisdom, the awesome of YHWH,” Pr 1:7 “The awesome of YHWH (is) the head of knowledge, (Wisdom...);” Pr 8:22 “YHWH conceived me (Wisdom,) (as) the Principle, his Way;” Pr 9:10 “The imbuing of Wisdom (is) the awesome of YHWH (, the knowledge of Holies [is] understanding).”

The longest nominal sentence the author saw in the Bible is Deut 6:4 “YHWH, our God, YHWH, one,” four substantives juxtaposed; the longest objective apposition would be Gn 22:2 “Now take your son, your only, whom you love, Issac.” Surely the current couplet can also be translated into four objectives apposed, “YHWH conceived me (Wisdom), the Principle, his Way, the Head of his Deeds.”
Yahweh Conceived Wisdom before Time: v.22b

Then turn to the second semicolon. The first word כָּלָה would play the same syntactical role with ראשית as before him with the similar meaning of “first/beginning.” If “the Beginning/his Way” in the first semicolon is emphasizing on the principal/logic role of Wisdom, the second semicolon would be more temporal/progressive aspect. (13)

The second word plural יהוד (his works), compared with the singular רֶשֶׁד (his Way) in the first semicolon, would more certainly play a role of attributive to יהוד. The word יהוד occurs only once here in the whole Bible. It has a feminine counterpart יהוד which occurs twice in Bible, Ps. 46:9 and 66:5. In both passages the feminine היהוד implies a judgement, while the masculine היהוד implies a/the creation. (14)

The third word is evidently temporal: (15) “from then (אָמֹן),” literally. A disputation is whether it modify only the second semicolon: “Yahweh acquired me as the Beginning his Way, and (Yahweh acquired me) as the first of his deeds from then”, or modifies both semicolons: “Yahweh acquired me [as the Beginning his Way and as the first of his deeds] from then”. Anyway a proposition can be deducted: “Yahweh acquired me from then.”

As for the meaning of אָמֹן, it plays as either preposition or conjunction “since,” or absolute “long since/from old.” This context suggests the latter. The question is “how long/how old did YHWH acquire me?” Before consulting the following מִכְלָא in the second couplet, it should be referred intertextually to its cognates in other Books: Ps 93:2 and Is 44:8; 45:21; 48:3, 5, 7.

In these Isiaanic passages it can be seen of Creation, Judgement, Soteriology, Eschatology, etc., they can be categorized into several groups. What we can deal is Is 48:3, 5, 7; (16) comparing with the current passage of Wisdom-Creation, its can be discovered of a Word-Creation, which can be seen through the verb-chain: told (דבר, hiphil)-heard (שמע, qal)-created (יברה, qal). There are two coordinate action: the mankind was told (דבר, hiphil) and heard (שמע, hiphil) of the former things, and Yahweh did/they were created. (17)

In Is 48:7, there are three temporal terms: אֲגָם (then), now (now), and מַר (day/time). Different from other current suspicious translations, the author proposes that מַר (day/time) clause should be jointed into the first semicolon: מכָּלָה הוא מן אֲגָם אֲחֵרִיתם בגוֹרַע, the translation would be, “They are created now, and not from then, and in the presence of day/time.” This מַר (day/time) reminds the author the cognate of its first occurrence in Gn 1:5, the title of the Light, the first thing God spoke out. The creation is a now (היום, in time) respond (התע) to the then (אֲגָם, before time) former things/principles (הָיוֹת) in the presence of day/time. (18)

(13) As for the progressive aspect, it can help to perceive כָּלָה frequent meaning of “eastward” in Bible. Cf. the various translations of Job 23:8. This aspect can be understood through H. W. Wolff’s insight: the Hebrew conception of time can be perceived through a man rowing a boat, who sees the past as before him (בְּפִיקוּל), the future as behind his back (בְּפִיקוּל). R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke, ed., Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament, vol. 1-2 (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1980) (abb. TWOT), 785.

(14) As for their common cognitive masculine היהוד, when it is applied to God in Bible, “refers primarily to God’s acts in history, not his acts in creation.” Cf. TWOT:1792.


(16) In Ps 93:2, it is similar with here that היהוד is followed directly by הנך, so it should co-interpreted with the second couplet Pr 8:23 later. Is. 44:8 and 45:21 refer to “someone/one beside Yahweh”, they should be co-interpreted with היהוד in Pr 8:30, we cannot do it in this paper.

(17) We might compare the first semicolon of Is 48:3 “I [Yahweh] have told former things/principles from then” with the meta-colon of Pr 8:22 “Yahweh acquired me [Wisdom/the Beginning/his Way/the first of his Deeds] from then.”

From Yahweh To World: Chiasm and Parallelism: v.23a

The first word "עולם" ("from eternity") of the second couplet needs not too much explain, for it has been intertextually interpreted though its preceding "מאז" ("from then"), they are before the Light, the first thing God spoke out in Gn 1:3.\(^{(19)}\) A supplement is that, "can refer to either the remote past or the future or to both."\(^{(20)}\) In other words, the two temporal terms "מאז" and "עולם" mean from out of time, before the Light-being, before the time-being, and the subject Wisdom is pre-existent before the creation, it shares the eternity with Yahweh.\(^{(21)}\)

Now we can see a few of prepositional particle מ (from) in this second couplet - if added with the last words from the first couplet, it looks really impressive. A transition would be seen in this couplet from the being of Wisdom, to its temporal locus, and to its spacial locus.

A chiasm can be seen between the two line: "מאז" (from then) - ירא (Yahweh)-ץרא (earth);\(^{(22)}\) and also a evident parallelism: תישאר (the Beginning/Principal)-שארמ (from the beginning) and ימדקמ (from the firsts).

From Temporal to Spacial: v.23b

The cognate of מראש can be found in Is 40:21, 41:4, 26, 48:16, and Ec 3:11,\(^{(23)}\) which can be complement to the passages with除此 (Ps 93:2; Is 44:8; 45:21; 48:3, 5, 7) mentioned above. In all these occurrences מראש is almost unambiguously translated as "from the beginning". Comparing the occurring contexts of除此 with除此, especially the former Is 40:21; 41:26 with the latter Is 44:8; 45:21; 48:3, 5, it can be found that the meaning of除此 and除此 is identified as "from the beginning". Through the intertextual exegesis of לִפְנֵי־י֖וֹם with璨 in Is 48:7 referring to Gn 1:3-5\(^{(24)}\) in above it has been concluded that the several temporal terms mean from out of time, before the Light, before the time-being, before the creation, sharing the eternity.

One of the most distinct messages, the last colon of Is 48:16, “And now the Lord Yahweh, with his spirit, sends me,” (JB) would be paid some special attention. Herein who is I/me sent by Yahweh with his Spirit? It is not the Spirit or the Father Yahweh as the text itself has been implied. The holistic passage Is 48:12-16 should be visited. Then in Is 48:12 the same subject I , “I am the first, I am the last” (JB), congruent with Rv 1:17, 2:8, would

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\(^{(19)}\) Here will induce the relation of Light with Wisdom and the triune Persons, this can not be analyzed in this paper.

\(^{(20)}\) TWOT, 672.

\(^{(21)}\) Similarly to the verb קנה in last couplet, the second word verb נסך in this couplet will be suspended and the concentration will be paid to the wide context.

\(^{(22)}\) There looks be a pan-chiasm or cross phenomenon in Hebraism. The first evidence is the classical chiasm structure in form criticism. The second can be the mutual contamination in clause of curse and oath in Joüon-Muraoka, A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, 583 (similar with this grammatical discovery, it looks to happen also in the relation of prefix/affix and vav-conversive/reversive). The third is the “cross blessing” of Israel to Joseph’s two sons. And there should be the fourth that in Ezekiel 37:1-14, the gender-exchanging usages are highly frequent in the resurrection narrative, especially the seemingly “dual-gender” word וּוְתִּקְרְב in verse 7. This unique Hebraism phenomenon always involves a historical, grammatical, or life event. It even recalled the author some Chinese Yin-Yang theory.

\(^{(23)}\) The current מראש should be the apposition to מִקַּדְמֵי־אָֽרֶץ, it is the only plural apparatus attributed to “me/I/Wisdom” so far. Even though it should be the same syntactic position, but would play a different attribute rather than temporal.

\(^{(24)}\) Since Genesis 1 is the archetype of Creation, it would always be the privileged reference when the topic of Creation is mentioned.
be the Word/Son, sent by the Father Yahweh with the Spirit now (עָשָׂה, v.16). when (מָצֵא) it/she (the Spirit) be, I (the Word) be there.(25) (Its identity would be highly exegetically disputed, in Catholic JB and Chinese SBV, the identity in v.16 is identified as Cyrus, and SBV even rendered the last colon of v.16 into that, “And now my Lord Yahweh will implement redemption (original in Chinese我上主现在要施行救援).”) This is a convince that, יִשְׁמָר יִשְׁמָר is about the now creation through the truine communion,(26) while יִשְׁמָר יִשְׁמָר is about the then pre-creation. The Now is the junction between the Time with the Eternity.

Now it’s the time for the last word יִשְׁמָר יִשְׁמָר. As above mentioned, this only plural apparatus submitted directly to “me/I/Wisdom” in this strophe, would play a different attribute rather than temporal. A question is whether it is submitted only to the verb יָשָׂה, or also to the former verb יָשָּׁב. Anyway, it is submitted to the universal subject Yahweh and the universal object Wisdom. Another distinction is that יֶשָּׁב is the only concrete term in the whole strophe. As the last word יָשָּׁב in the first couplet inaugurates the temporal chain-terms in the second couplet, the last word יָשָּׂה in the first strophe is inaugurating the spacial-geographical chain-terms in the following strophes.

III. REORIENTATION OF THE WISDOM IN THE TRUINE COMMUNION

Wisdom Controversy in History

Since the Wisdom is the Beginning Way, the Principle of Yahweh, this will be congruent with the approach of Targum, “Yahweh created the heavens and the earth in the Wisdom.”(27) This would naturally recall the statement about the Son in NT, “For in(by) him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth…all things have been created through(by) him and for him. He is before all things, and in him, all things hold together.” (Col. 1:16–17, NIV 2011(1984)) From this Targum approach, the affinity between the Wisdom with the Son can be suggested (meanwhile it never refutes the same affinity with the Spirit, as the Apostles’ Creed stated, “Who [the Son] was conceived by the Holy Spirit”(28)). The author cannot ensure the relation of Targum with the intertestamental scripture, but they would be independently paralleling in Jewish community somehow.

In the intertestamental (or Second Temple) scriptures around Jesus, Wisdom became a hermeneutical construct for interpreting sacred Scripture.(29) In Wisdom of Ben Sira (also known Sirach or Ecclesiasticus),(30)

(25) Even though it is very weak that John 1:1: “In the beginning was the Word” should be remind accordingly, the author still notes it here: Would the author of John’s Gospel also imply that “In Wisdom was the Word” as in Targum? Since it will resonant the Apostles’ Creed: “…who [the Son] was begotten of the Holy Spirit…” (Leith, Creeds of the Churches, 23ff.) And the counter-relation between Wisdom and the Spirit, between Word and the Son will be elaborated in the next part in accordance with Philo of Alexandria, Theophilus of Anthioch, and Irenaeus.


(27) Bruce K. Waltke, The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15 (The New International Commentary on the Old Testament; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004), 129. Thomas F. Torrance, Space, Time and Incarnation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) would have contributed to the spaceo-temporal approach in this paper. We should pay attention to that, except the rendering “in the beginning” into “in the Wisdom,” the subject was also rendered from “Yahweh” to “God,” even though the exegetical value cannot be seen yet.

(28) Leith, Creeds of the Churches, 24ff. A question is that whether the Apostles’ Creed can be listed in the Judaism/Jewish scriptures.


(30) Sirach is listed as deutorocanon in the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Slavoni Bibles. Cf. NRSV.
which was written in the later second century, the Wisdom is identified with Torah, but as created creature (not ποιεω in Gen 1:1, but κτιζω the same with LXX of Pr 8:22) in creation context. Thus the approach of Sirach about the Wisdom is different from Hebrew Bible or Targum. In Sirach it is evidently said that the Wisdom was created, while in Hebrew Bible and Targum the Wisdom is that in which God created, while in Sirach and LXX it is evidently said that the Wisdom was created plainly.

Since Hebrew Bible, Targum and Sirach all belonged to the Jewish community in the intertestamental era, we can see that in the Jewish community there has been the disputation about the nature of Wisdom. In Hebrew Bible and Targum the Wisdom is that in which God created, while in Sirach and LXX it is evidently said that the Wisdom was created plainly.

Among the Fathers, who were capable commonly to read LXX rather than Hebrew, they overwhelmingly accepted the connotation that the Wisdom is created. In addition, they were eagerly looking for the scriptural evidence in OT about the preexistence of the Son, then the ideal option come to be Pr 8:22ff. which looks most like. The result is that, the the cognate or prototype of the Son, i.e. the Wisdom, was perceived to be the first creature among Fathers. Athanacius (ca. A.D. 325) risked to undercut the Son to be created when he became incarnate. While the supporter of Arius spoke boldly that “Yahweh created me,” which “reverberated in every street and alleyway in Alexandria and everywhere else.”

This is the consequence that the Father interpreted according to LXX, as Waltke’s statement (as well as what we found in independent exegesis) revealed, “a grammatico-historical exegesis of Proverbs 8 does not...

(31) James D. Martin, Proverbs (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 88. Sir 1:4: “Before all other things wisdom was created;” v.5: “Wisdom’s source is the word of God in the heavens; her ways are the eternal laws;” v.9: “He himself has created her (in the Holy Spirit. Vulg.).” (JB)
The Fathers’ exegetical source on Wisdom in Pr 8:22ff. looks influenced by Sirach rather than following Hebrew Bible or Targum. Especially in v.5, it suggests that the Word precedes/ed the Wisdom, while the Apostle’s Creed suggests that the Spirit precedes/ed the Son, in terms of the approach in this paper.

(32) Accord to the reading of Martin about another intertestamental scripture the Wisdom of Solomon, in which wisdom not just presents at creation but as an active participant in it as a quasi-hypostasis and God’s gift to humankind, the Solomon of Wisdom would be listed with Hebrew Bible and Targum.


DNS 14 explained that “formed (κτιζεσθαι)" is applied to just when he “has become human (γεγονενανθρωπος),” which is easy to to identified with incarnation. The problem is that in Nicene Creed, that are two different terms: σαρκωθεντα (“already-being-fleshed”) and then just ἐνανθρωπησαντα (“among-human-being”). The former is rendered from the prologue of John’s Gospel as was translated as “incarnation,” with which the latter is usually treated identical. Is this real? Burn’s writing suggests no, the latter succeeded Creed of Eusebius with the meaning “lived as a citizen amongst men,” which would be rendered also from the prologue “made his dwelling among us (ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν).” (A. E. Burn, An Introduction to the Creeds [London: Methuen, 1899] The author is not sure yet the relationship between the terms [Cf. AEL 17]). In this text, the term θεοποιηθήναι (“god-being-created, deification”) was mentioned. In addition, the author cannot ensure the relationship between “flesh (σαρξ)” and “body (σωμα).”

DSD 11 referenced to Heb 3:2 (in which there is exactly ("The One) already creating (ποιησθητι)" Jesus - if so, how can we treat “Jesus Christ... being begotten not being created (ποιηθητοι)" in Nicene?), Heb 1:4 (in which the Son “already becoming (γενομενος)”) as well as Pr 8:22. Athanasius applied three words in juxtaposition “to have (been) formed (εκτισθαι), to have (been) created (κτιζεσθαι), to have (been) become (γεγονεθαι)" for his incarnation, while they are not congruent with Is 43:7 in LXX.

In AEL 17, we can see a theological translation nuance happened. Pr 8:22 “The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways for His works” added with an “in.” One puzzle is what is the meaning of “being Word and Wisdom of the Father, He...is the Creator, and is not created (τοδημιουργικον, κτιζεσθαι),” referring to his Godhead herein? It looks like that in accordance with that “...being made man, and bearing our flesh, He is necessarily said to be created and made (κριζεσθαικαικτιζεσθαι).” Moreover, Athanasius applied the Nicene term ενανθρωπησαντα in “the body or the incarnation (ἐνανθρωπησαντα) of the Lord.” According to Nicene and Johannine text, it would be translated as “economy.” More definitely, we can see the distinction between “flesh” and “body,” the latter refers to the temple of body (Joh 2:21), i.e. Shekhinah (השתנ). As a conclusion: the definition of Athanasius about whether Jesus Christ was created, doesn’t coincide with Nicene Creed.
support patristic exegesis,” which was just “two blindfolded men trying to hit each other.”(34) For the Wisdom is not created in nature, as revealed in Hebrew exegesis. Nevertheless, the modern exegetes are still applying the old path. For example Waltke still attributes Wisdom to the Son, change the new wine in the old wineskins. To resolve the problem of the locus of the preexisting Wisdom among the triune Persons, Waltke even applied typology, “Solomon’s personification of Woman Wisdom functions as a type of Jesus Christ...the antitype shows both similarities and superiority to the type. Without escalation history would be going nowhere.”(35) Waltke looks falling into the same dilemma as Athanasius thousand years before, or even into Darwinism or progressism.(36)

Another Marginalized Wisdom
The Wisdom Attributed to the Spirit

But another option was overlooked in the footnote, that is the two except Fathers Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus, both of whom attributed Wisdom with the Spirit instead of the Son.(37) In Irenaeus’ Against Heresies,(38) the Word and the Wisdom is paralleled and identical respectively with the Son and the Spirit:

“For with Him were always present the Word and Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit, by whom and in whom, freely and spontaneously, He made all things.” (4.20.1 or p. 487-8)

...the same God who made all things by the Word, and adorned them by [His] Wisdom. (4.20.2 or p. 488. The underlines were added by the author.)

...the Word, namely the Son, was always with the Father; and that Wisdom also, which is the Spirit, was present with Him, anterior to all creation... “The Lord conceived me the beginning of His ways in His work...” (4.20.3 or p. 487-8)

(36) Waltke’s dilemma would be indebted to his confined temporio-spatial worldview. All his arbitrary statements focusing only on the temporal aspect are suspicious, e.g., “As the first (rê´sît) probably means ‘first’ in time (i.e., ‘as the beginning’ or ‘in the beginning’), not in importance or quality of the best of a series (i.e., ‘choicest,’ ‘chief,’ ‘foremost’), nor in principle (see 1:7; 4:7), nor in virility (i.e., ‘firstborn’). In vv. 22-23 temporal min (‘of,’ ‘from’) is repeated four times in connection with terms, such as the parallel qedem, that almost exhaust the vocabulary of primordial time,” (Waltke, The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1-15, 409-410) et al. In contrast, as the above independent exegesis revealed, the Hebrew texts convey typical logical, principle, or spacial aspects more than only temporal. Even though Waltke and other modern exegetes can read original Hebrew better than that most of the Church Fathers were reading only translated versions (Cf. Robert Louis Wilken, with Angela Russell Christman and Michael J. Hollerich, trans. ed. Isaiah: Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators (Grand Rapids: Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), xxvi, cf. xviii), their temporio-spacial worldviews shared the same typical dualism with a linear time and a stereo space. As for the worldview of time and space, see Torrance, Space, Time and Incarnation.
(39) English translation is “created,” the author retro-translated theologically without finding a Greek original. Migne’s Latin translation is “creavit”. The German translation is similarly “schuf.” http://www.unifr.ch/bkv/kapitel694-2.htm, accessed September 4, 2020. The Father Irenaeus Hatziefraimidis from University of Western Macedonia emailed the author that it is κτίζω congruent with LXX.
In Theophilus’ *Ad Autolycum*,(40) the Spirit of God (Gen. 1:2), the Beginning (Gen. 1:1; Prov. 8:22), the Wisdom (Prov. 8:22) in OT, with the Spirit (Luke 1:35) in NT are identical:(41)

He is God, who heals and gives life through *Logos* and *Sophia*. God made everything through *Logos* and *Sophia*, for *by his Logos the heavens were made firm and by his Spirit all their power* [Ps 32/(33):6]. *His Sophia* is most powerful: *God by Sophia founded the earth; he prepared the heavens by intelligence; by knowledge the abysses were broken up and the clouds poured forth dews* [Prov 3:19f.]. (1.7 or p.11)

Therefore God, having his own *Logos* innate in his own bowels [cf. Ps. 109/(110):3], generated him together with his own *Sophia*, *vomiting* him *forth* [Ps. 44.2] before everything else. He used this *Logos* as his servant in the things created by him, and through him he made all things [cf. John 1:3]. *He is called Beginning* because he leads and dominates everything fashioned through him. It was he, *Spirit of God* [Gen. 1:2] and *Beginning* [1:1] and *Sophia* [Prov. 8:22] and *Power of the Most High* [Luke 1:35], who came down into the prophets and spoke through them about the creation of the world and all rest [cf. 2.9] For the prophets did not exist when the world came into existence; there were the *Sophia* of God which is in him and his holy Logos who is always present with him. ...And Moses...says: ‘In the *Beginning* God made heaven and earth’ [Gen. 1:1]. First he mentioned *Beginning* and creation, and only then did he introduce God, for it is not right to mention God idly and in vain [cf. Exod. 20:7].(42) (2.10 or p. 39)

...the three days prior to the luminaries are type of the triad of God and his *Logos* and his *Sophia*. In the fourth place is man, who is in need of light - so that there might be *God, Logos, Sophia, Man*. For this reason the luminaries came into existence on the fourth day. (2.15 or p.53)

Following the approaches of Theophilus and Irenaeus, the Wisdom would be attributed to the Spirit, and the Word would be to the Son; according to Theophilus’ *Ad Autolycum*2.10, the Wisdom and the Word can be inter-transformed or inter-changed. As “without either confusing the persons or dividing the substance” in Athanasian Creed,(43) the relationship between the Wisdom and the Word with the Spirit and the Son would be illustrated as following (If the Father appears, the illustration requires to be stereo, as should be not mentioned in this paper):

This approach will neatly theologically order the the relation of the preexisting Wisdom with the triune Persons. Wisdom Pneumatology for the Trinity

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(41) Cf. 1.7. Herein we can see that Theophilus would be listed in the same line with Targum.
(42) As Clayton discovered, in this passage, the Word and the Spirit and the Wisdom seem identical sometime.
(43) Leith, *Creeds of the Churches*, 705.
In earliest Christianity, “creation through the Word/Son” is not found apart from the Prologue of John’s Gospel, and it would be the Wisdom/Spirit in prominent as in its contemporary Judaism, even though it lost its importance after a time in both religions, as R. S. Barbour proposed. But the Spirit was much vague and uncertain, some of the earliest approaches to the Christian formulation of the doctrine of God were essentially binitarian rather than trinitarian, concentrating on God and his Word, on the Father and the Son.

Nevertheless, there was another stream of Christian thought which maintained the link of the Spirit with the Wisdom, i.e. in the theology of Theophilus of Antiochene – the precedent of Nestorian, as mentioned above – the Wisdom identified with the Spirit found a prominent place. (And this Wisdom-oriented theology earns its accord with its neighbor Judaism and centuries later with Islam.) Once the Christology was clarified in the fourth century and the status of the Spirit had to be considered, the wisdom pneumatology of the Antiochene provided some of the necessary materials for a more fully trinitarian understanding.

Tragically, soon the Syriac Antiochene Church was marginalized and persecuted more again following the condemnation of Nestorius in the Council of Ephesus (431 AD), this is called the Great Schism by Asian church historian Samuel Moffet. And in the following millennium, the second Greatest Schism inside the Latin Catholic and Greek Orthodox happened just because of the filioque dispute about the Spirit again.

The Wisdom Contributing to a Holistic Pneumatology

The Challenge of Current Pneumatology

There is an evident crisis of current power-oriented pneumatology popular among NT believers, especially Evangelical-Pentecostals. The confined Spirit of redemption in the Latin tradition (Catholic and Protestant) has been observed by Jürgen Moltmann, it led Western Christians – in fact the global Latinized Christians – to look for the experience of the Spirit only in the context of the intrinsic religion. Moltmann associated it with the influence of Platonism that “spirit and spirituality are set over against the concerns of the body and the world.” Thus, it is a concept of the human redemption as inner salvation from the world. This dualism induces the crisis of individualism as well as consumerism, that is why Moltmann proposed an ecological theology in the eschatological perspective and holistic pneumatology.

In the preface to God in Creation, Moltmann deliberated that, following the systematic theological agenda for the reconciliation between the humankind and the nature in the relative peace of the post-World War era, he
was to develop a “pneumatological doctrine of creation,” not only related Protestant and Catholic sources, but also rediscovered “the Orthodox theology has preserved a creation wisdom which was pushed aside and lost in the West,” alongside the ancient, medieval, and modern Jewish theology.\(^{(53)}\) Through a historical investigation in this paper, the wisdom-pneumatology tradition concealed in another Eastern tradition Antiochene-Nestorian was revealed.)

In the Pentecostal circles, the Spirit and spirituality are emphasized especially and exited also several ecumenical theologians such as Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, but the Pentecostal theology looks always historical and dogmatic weak. That can explain why Kärkkäinen’s five volumes brilliant and systematic theology *A Constructive Christian Theology for the Pluralistic World* was on one hand so inclusive, but on another hand can rarely be seen of his own original insight especially about pneumatology, which is been mentioned mostly by Pentecostals ironically.

A Holistic Pneumatology referring to Is 11:1ff.

The author proposes Is 11:1ff. as a scriptural foundation for a wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology. In Isa 11:2 wisdom is narrated as the first attribute of the six.\(^{(54)}\) The six attributes were categorized by Alec Motyer into three pairs. The first pair of wisdom and understanding are judicial and governmental attributes, the second pair of counsel and power is strategical and actual attributes/gifts, and the third pair of knowledge and fear of Yahweh is the intellectual and moral attributes.

Several insights from this passage about the six attributes of the Spirit will be presented. Firstly, all the six attribute words in Hebrew are feminine. Secondly, so far only Gregory of Nazianzus was observed to take the mention of the attributes as an occasion to discuss the nature of the Spirit.\(^{(55)}\) Thirdly, Augustine of Hippo notice that it begins with wisdom and closed with the fear of Yahweh, and the fear of Yahweh is Wisdom, the Beginning (Ps 111:10; Pr 1:7, 9:10; Job 28:28).\(^{(56)}\) Fourthly, following the approach of Augustine, another strategy about the six attributes can be rearranged: wisdom=fear of Yahweh, understanding-knowledge, and counsel-power, or even, wisdom=fear of Yahweh, understanding=knowledge, and counsel=power.


These six attributes in Is 11:2 can also be found in Pr 8:12-14, and the following passage Is 11:3-5 about righteousness/justice is paralleling with Pr 8:15-21. The justice and the following messianic peace in Is 11:4ff. does not come directly from Yahweh, but from the one who has been anointed with the Spirit with the six attributes. This Anointed One will administer justice among peoples.(57)

Spirit/Wisdom’s role in the socio-historical community (Is 8:1-9; Pr 12-21) is not discontinuous with her role in the cosmological or protological context (Pr 22-31).(58) God’s creative decrees give enduring structure to the cosmos or proto-existence (Pr 27-31), and Wisdom in turn enables the anointed one to issue decrees that give enduring structure to society. Only Wisdom has observed the creation from the Beginning, only she knows the whole story and so has the knowledge to counsel others.(59)

The kingdom of God would not occur until the divine provision of righteousness became a reality; the gifts of righteousness of God cannot become a reality unless they were given shape within the socio-economic sphere. The peace is not the “peace of soul” for the believer who survives in the midst of a wicked world, but can be attained only when evil is overpowered.(60)

IV. THE PREEXISTENCE OF THE WORD REORIENTED IN BIBLICAL

Why did the theologians incline so spontaneously to relate the Wisdom with the Son throughout the history? One reason would be the seemingly short of support for the preexistence of the Son in OT.

For a long time, the author also treated the Wisdom in Pr 8:22ff. as the scriptural evidence for the preexistence of the Son in accordance with the apostolic statement Col. 1:16–17. But this approach will fall into theological confusion throughout the history as above revealed. So this paper ought give some contribution to this issue.

Firstly it can be traced to how the Son himself revealed his preexistence in gospels. There are several scriptures that can contribute to it. In his own words inducing the stoning, “Your father Abraham rejoiced at the thought of seeing my day; he saw it and was glad…before Abraham, I am!” (John 8:56, 58), his preexistence can be traced to before Abraham but not “in the beginning.” And in the following second stoning by the statement, “I and the Father are one” (John 10:30), his preexistence “in the beginning” was proclaimed.(62)
Secondly, Jesus’ *my day* in John 8:56 would shed a light on the Word-Creation in OT as revealed from Isaishic passages above.\(^{(63)}\) *My Day*, i.e. the Lord’s Day or the Word’s Day, is *Now* they are being created, in presence of the Day, as the above inter-textual exegesis of Is 48:7 revealed. From the Speaking Word to its Realization, this process is of the Day, the Day of Lord, the Day of Word (cf. The contextual meaning of six *day* in Genesis 1). The Word was called out from the eternity, out of time; when it is responded in time, God has done it. This is the process of creation, when is the presence of the Day. What Abraham saw in John 8:56 is this *Day*.\(^{(64)}\)

From the Word-Creation or Logos-Creation perspective to read OT, there will be sufficient scriptures to support the preexistence of the Son, the Word. It is unnecessary to obtain the Wisdom in Pr. 8:22ff. eagerly for the Son. Wisdom is more suitable under the attribute of the Spirit.

**CONCLUSION**

Bible must be read in a supra-temporeo-spacial perspective, but not only in a popular dualism with linear time and stereo space. In this perspective, the exegesis on Pr 8:22-23 reveals the uncreated preexistence of the Wisdom, and the Wisdom-Creation with the typical Word-Creation evident in Isaianic scriptures.

Throughout the history the Wisdom was popularly attributed to the Son, as induces two crisis. On one hand, the Son fell into a proto-identity confusion; the Spirit was hollowed into a psychological feeling. This problem existed both in Judaism and Christianity. In history the proposal of Wisdom-Spirit by Theophilus of Antiochene and Irenaeus was minority and was overlooked. Whereas the Wisdom-Pneumatology that was held by Antiochene has ever contributed to the construction of triune Trinity.

The weakness of pneumatology has maintained until modern times, and was fulfilled somehow by some persons such as the post-WWII theologian Jürgen Moltmann, who rediscovered the heritages from some Eastern traditions including Orthodox and Judaism. In this paper, another Eastern tradition Anthiochene was highlighted by its Wisdom-Pneumatology.

Alongside the Wisdom-Pneumatology in protological or cosmological dimension according to Pr 8:22ff, this paper also proposed a Wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology in socio-historical or practical dimension according to Is 11:1ff.with Pr 12-21, which was endowed with wisdom, understanding, counsel, power, knowledge, and fear of Yahweh, with the crown of justice and the glory of peace.

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\(^{(63)}\) Actually the Hebrew term (דְּבָרָא́ḍeba̱rā’) in many OT contexts can be identical with λόγος (word) in John’s Gospel–actually in LXX many places of (דְּבָרָא́ḍeba̱rā’) in Hebrew) have been translated into λόγος (word in Greek). The Jewish philospher Philo’s bridge-role must be noticed (Cf. Martin, *Proverbs*, 89). According to Philo, “God’s Word is his act” (James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the incarnation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1980), 228). This will resonate the Word-Creation as above exegesis revealed.


The Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini) in Vol. II: 65 (p.143): “But the divine Teacher is swifter even than time, for not even when he Created the Universe did time co-operate with Him, since time itself only came into being with the world. God spake and it was done–no internal between the two–or it might suggest a truer view to say that His word was deed.”

The footnote a in *On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)* in Vol. V: 95 (p.60): “Philo sometimes thinks of the Logos as in the literal sense the ‘word’ which God speaks...every creative act is preceded by ‘God said’.”

\(^{(64)}\) This Day Abraham saw the Word forces the author to ponder the see frequently used in the story of Abraham sacrificing Isaac in Gn 22:1ff. When Jesus said “before Abraham, I am!”, *before* is not (only) temporal, but (also) spacial or logical. Creation co-exists with redemption. Before Abraham, the Ram is.
As a supplement, coinciding with John’s Gospel, the independent discovery of Word-Creation from mainly Isaianic scriptures, can support enough materials for the preexistence of the Word, the Son, guaranteeing for the respective integrity of both Christology and Pneumatology.

The issue about the relation of the Spirit with the Father and the Son, i.e., the controversy is another big question, which needs another big paper to deliberate.

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智慧圣灵论：释经、历史与教牧

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提要：圣灵是与圣父和圣子同等的位格，也经常在教牧中被提到。但是它总是趋于抽象化和虚无化，仅仅成了自信和心理的感觉。在对《箴言书》8:22-23的希伯来文释经以及参考《以赛亚书》11:1及后，跟随安提阿的提阿非罗（Theophilus of Antioch）和爱任纽，作者主张智慧归属于圣灵；平行于尤尔根•莫特曼的创世圣灵论（creation pneumatology），作者主张一种智慧导向的整全圣灵论（Wisdom-oriented holistic pneumatology）。

关键词：智慧圣灵论、箴言8:22-23、以赛亚书11:1ff.、安提阿的提阿非罗、爱任纽、尤尔根•莫特曼