

# Contents

Preface . . . . .	17
Historiographical Problems and Challenges: A Prolegomenon By MAGNE SÆBØ, Oslo . . . . .	19

## *A. Beginnings of Scriptural Interpretation*

1. Inner-Biblical Exegesis By MICHAEL FISHBANE, Chicago . . . . .	33
1. Introduction . . . . .	34
2. Scribal Interpretation . . . . .	35
3. Legal Exegesis . . . . .	38
4. Aggadic Exegesis . . . . .	43
5. Mantological Exegesis . . . . .	46
2. The Interpretative Significance of a Fixed Text and Canon of the Hebrew and the Greek Bible . . . . .	49
2.1. The History and Significance of a Standard Text of the Hebrew Bible By EMANUEL TOV, Jerusalem . . . . .	49
1. The Prehistory and History of a Standard Text . . . . .	50
1.1. The History of Research . . . . .	50
1.2. A New Description . . . . .	55
2. The Nature and Significance of a Standard Text . . . . .	62
2.2. The Significance of a Fixed Canon of the Hebrew Bible By JOHN BARTON, Oxford . . . . .	67
1. The Concept of Canon and the Question of Date . . . . .	68
2. Implications of the Growth of 'Scripture' . . . . .	72
3. Implications of the Closing of the Canon . . . . .	78
2.3. The Interpretative Character and Significance of the Septuagint Version By JOHN W. WEVERS, Toronto . . . . .	84
0. Terminology . . . . .	86
1. The Question of 'Interpretative Character' . . . . .	86
2. Differences in Length of Some Hebrew and Greek Texts . . . . .	87
3. Different Translators and Recensions . . . . .	89

4. Different Groups of Renderings . . . . .	91
5. The General Interpretative Character of Greek Pentateuch . . . . .	95
6. The Specific Character of Genesis in the Septuagint . . . . .	95
3. Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature By JOHANN MAIER, Cologne . . . . .	108
1. Introduction . . . . .	108
1.1. "The Bible and Qumran" . . . . .	108
1.2. Research on the Subject . . . . .	110
2. Torah . . . . .	111
2.1. Torah and Pentateuch . . . . .	111
2.2. The Verb <i>drš</i> and the <i>Midrash</i> . . . . .	113
2.3. Priestly Authority . . . . .	120
3. The Teacher of Righteousness and the Qumranic Claims to Authority . . . . .	121
3.1. "Enactor of Justice" and "Prophet like Moses" . . . . .	121
3.2. Torah and Prophets . . . . .	122
4. Questions Regarding the Chronological Relationship of Torah Traditions . . . . .	123
5. Interpretation of Non Legal Texts . . . . .	125
6. Peshet . . . . .	126
4. Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style By FOLKER SIEGERT, Münster . . . . .	130
1. Homer and Moses. Hellenistic Art of Interpretation and the Jewish Bible . . . . .	130
1.1. Classical Texts Outdated . . . . .	130
1.2. Plato's Ban of Homer and the Uses of Allegorical Interpretation . . . . .	131
1.3. The Theological Basis of the Stoic Interpretation of Homer . . . . .	133
1.4. A Note on Alexandrian Homeric Philology . . . . .	135
1.5. Homer at School. Greek Handbooks of Interpretation and Their Terminology . . . . .	137
1.6. Alternatives to Allegorism: A Note on Platonic Symbolism and on Vergilian Typology . . . . .	140
1.7. The Jews' Situation in a Greek World. Their Apologetic Interests . . . . .	141
2. The <i>Epistle of Aristaenus</i> : A Hermeneutic Programme . . . . .	144
2.1. Author, Place, Date, and Nature of the Epistle . . . . .	145
2.2. The Contents. Hellenistic and Jewish Components . . . . .	145
2.3. The Epistle's Theological Basis for the Interpretation of Scripture . . . . .	148
2.4. The Author's Bible and the Texts Referred to . . . . .	149
2.5. The High Priest Eleazar's Hermeneutical Rules . . . . .	150
2.6. The Reception of the <i>Epistle of Aristaenus</i> . . . . .	153
2.7. Results and Questions . . . . .	153
3. Aristobulus . . . . .	154
3.1. Place, Date, and Character of Aristobulus' Work . . . . .	155
3.2. The Contents of Aristobulus' Fragments . . . . .	156
3.3. Aristobulus' Theological Basis for the Interpretation of Scripture . . . . .	158

3.4. Aristobulus' Bible and the Texts Referred to . . . . .	159
3.5. Aristobulus' Hermeneutical Rules . . . . .	160
3.6. The Reception of the Fragments . . . . .	161
3.7. Results . . . . .	162
4. Philo of Alexandria . . . . .	162
4.0. Introductory . . . . .	163
4.1. Place, Date, and Classification of Philo's Writings . . . . .	166
4.2. Philo's Theological Basis for the Interpretation of Scripture . . . . .	168
4.3. Philo's Bible and the Texts Referred to . . . . .	172
4.4. The <i>Questions on Genesis</i> and <i>Questions on Exodus (QG, QE)</i> . . . . .	177
4.5. The 'Allegorical Commentary' on Genesis (G) . . . . .	178
4.6. The 'Exposition of the Law' (L) . . . . .	179
4.7. Other Treatises . . . . .	181
4.8. Philo's Rules of Literal and Allegorical Interpretation . . . . .	182
4.9. The Reception of Philo's Works . . . . .	187
4.10. Results . . . . .	188
5. Alexandrian Jewish Non-Allegorists . . . . .	189
5.1. The Fragments of Demetrius, Aristeas, Artapanus, and Others . . . . .	190
5.2. The Sermons <i>On Jonah</i> and <i>On Samson</i> . . . . .	191
5.3. The Theological Basis for the Interpretation of Scripture in the Sermons . . . . .	192
5.4. The Preacher's Bible and the Texts Referred to . . . . .	193
5.5. Literal Methods . . . . .	194
5.6. Hellenistic Jewish <i>midrash</i> . . . . .	195
5.7. Typology . . . . .	196
5.8. Epilogue: Hellenistic Jewish Hermeneutic and the Church. An Art Exchanges Its Masters . . . . .	197
5. Scripture and Canon in the Commonly Called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and in the Writings of Josephus . . . . .	199
5.1. Scripture and Canon in Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha By ROBERT A. KRAFT, Philadelphia . . . . .	199
1. Introduction . . . . .	200
2. Categorizing the Evidence . . . . .	204
3. A Starting Point: Scripture before Moses' Scriptures (Or, In the Beginning God Inscribed the Heavenly Tablets) . . . . .	205
3.1. The Situation in <i>Jubilees</i> . . . . .	205
3.2. Production and/or Transmission of Earthbound Books: Other Scriptures before 'the Scriptures' . . . . .	207
3.3. Conclusions Regarding Pre-Scriptural 'Scriptures' . . . . .	208
4. Works Showing Explicit Knowledge of what Comes to Be Canonical Scriptural Literature . . . . .	209
5. Other Materials Reflecting Traditions that Come to Be Scriptural, without Focusing Explicitly on 'Scripture' . . . . .	213
6. Writings in which the Scriptural Traditions Play no Obvious Role . . . . .	215
7. Conclusions and Prospects . . . . .	215

5.2. Josephus on Canon and Scriptures By STEVE MASON, Toronto with ROBERT A. KRAFT, Philadelphia . . . . .	217
1. Introduction . . . . .	218
2. Context and Purpose of <i>Against Apion</i> 1.37–43 . . . . .	219
3. Key Terms . . . . .	222
4. The Integrity of Josephus' Biblical 'Record' . . . . .	226
5. Scope and Arrangement of Josephus' Scripture . . . . .	228
6. The Bible in the <i>Judean War</i> . . . . .	231
7. Conclusions and Implications . . . . .	232

### *B. Parting of the Ways:*

#### *Jewish and Christian Scriptural Interpretation in Antiquity*

6. Social and Institutional Conditions for Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, with Special Regard to Religious Groups and Sects By JARL FOSSUM, Ann Arbor . . . . .	239
1. The Origination of Sects . . . . .	239
2. The Proliferation of Jewish and Christian Sects . . . . .	240
3. The Samaritan Connection . . . . .	242
4. The Samaritans and Their Interpretation of Scripture . . . . .	243
5. Samaritan Sects . . . . .	245
6. Jewish and Jewish Christian Baptismal Sects . . . . .	248
7. Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Christians, and Gnostics . . . . .	251
7. From Inner-Biblical Interpretation to Early Rabbinic Exegesis By JAY M. HARRIS, Cambridge, MA . . . . .	256
1. Introductory . . . . .	256
2. The Legal Mandates of the Torah . . . . .	258
3. Aggadic Exegesis . . . . .	264
4. How the Rabbis Saw All This . . . . .	266
8. Formative Growth of the Tradition of Rabbinic Interpretation . . . . .	270
8.1. Local Conditions for a Developing Rabbinic Tradition By DAVID KRAEMER, New York . . . . .	270
8.2. Scriptural Interpretation in the Mishnah By DAVID KRAEMER, New York . . . . .	278
8.3. Patterns and Developments in Rabbinic Midrash of Late Antiquity By RICHARD KALMIN, New York . . . . .	285

8.4. The Hermeneutics of the Law in Rabbinic Judaism: Mishnah, Midrash, Talmuds By JACOB NEUSNER, Tampa, FL . . . . .	303
1. What Do We Mean by Hermeneutics? . . . . .	304
2. The Hermeneutics of the Mishnah . . . . .	305
3. Sifra's Hermeneutics of the Mishnah . . . . .	309
4. The First Talmud's Hermeneutics of the Mishnah . . . . .	312
5. The Second Talmud's Hermeneutics of the Mishnah . . . . .	317
8.5. The Targums: Their Interpretative Character and Their Place in Jewish Text Tradition By ÉTAN LEVINE, Haifa . . . . .	323
1. The Background of Targum . . . . .	323
2. Public Declamation of Targum . . . . .	324
3. Exegesis in the Targum . . . . .	326
4. The Dating of Texts . . . . .	327
5. The 'Official' Targum . . . . .	328
6. The 'Palestinian' Targum Texts . . . . .	328
7. The Afterlife of the Targum . . . . .	330
9. New Testament Interpretation of the Old Testament By HANS HÜBNER, Göttingen . . . . .	332
0. Introduction . . . . .	334
1. Quotations—Allusions—the Language of the Septuagint . . . . .	334
2. Jewish and Christian Hermeneutics of the Old Testament . . . . .	336
3. The Septuagint as (the) Holy Scripture of the New Testament Authors . . . . .	338
4. Theological Treatment of the Old Testament by Individual New Testament Authors . . . . .	339
4.1. Paul . . . . .	340
4.2. The Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles . . . . .	347
4.3. The Gospel of John . . . . .	358
4.4. The Epistle to the Hebrews . . . . .	362
4.5. The Remaining Epistles of the New Testament . . . . .	367
4.6. The Revelation of John . . . . .	367
5. Final Remarks . . . . .	371
10. The Development of Scriptural Interpretation in the Second and Third Centuries —except Clement and Origen By OSKAR SKARSAUNE, Oslo . . . . .	373
1. The Apostolic Fathers and Their Time . . . . .	377
1.1. First Clement . . . . .	381
1.2. Barnabas . . . . .	384
2. The Apologists . . . . .	387
2.1. Justin Martyr . . . . .	389
2.2. Melito of Sardis . . . . .	410
2.3. Theophilus of Antioch . . . . .	414
3. The <i>testimonia</i> Tradition . . . . .	418

4. Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Novatian, Cyprian:	
A Tradition Come of Age . . . . .	421
4.1. Irenaeus . . . . .	422
4.2. Tertullian . . . . .	429
4.3. Hippolytus . . . . .	434
4.4. Novatian . . . . .	437
4.5. Cyprian . . . . .	440
11. The Question of Old Testament Canon and Text in the Early Greek Church	
By OSKAR SKARSAUNE, Oslo . . . . .	443
12. Greek Philosophy, Hermeneutics and Alexandrian Understanding of the Old Testament	
By J. F. PROCOPÉ † . . . . .	451
1. Introduction . . . . .	452
2. Middle Platonism . . . . .	453
2.1. Eclecticism . . . . .	453
2.2. Origins and Development . . . . .	453
2.3. The Parts of Philosophy . . . . .	455
2.4. Theology . . . . .	456
2.5. Ethics . . . . .	458
2.6. Philosophy and Exegesis . . . . .	459
2.7. Primal Wisdom . . . . .	460
3. Hermeneutics . . . . .	462
3.1. Homer and Homeric Problems . . . . .	462
3.2. Lines of Interpretation . . . . .	464
3.3. Allegory . . . . .	465
3.3.1. General Principles . . . . .	465
3.3.2. Early Allegorical Interpretation . . . . .	467
3.3.3. Plato . . . . .	468
3.3.4. Hellenistic and Stoic Approaches . . . . .	469
3.3.5. Later Antiquity . . . . .	472
3.4. 'Impersonation' . . . . .	473
3.5. 'Elucidating Homer from Homer' . . . . .	474
4. Epilogue: Pagan and Biblical Exegesis . . . . .	476
13. The Christian Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Alexandrian Tradition	
By J. N. B. CARLETON PAGET, Cambridge . . . . .	478
1. The Context of Alexandrian Exegesis of the Old Testament . . . . .	478
1.1. The Jewish Context . . . . .	479
1.2. Some Assumptions of Jewish-Hellenistic Exegesis of Scripture . . . . .	480
1.3. The Christian Community . . . . .	482
2. Clement and the Old Testament . . . . .	484
2.1. Introductory Observations . . . . .	485
2.2. The Authority and Inspiration of the Old Testament . . . . .	488
2.3. Interpretative Assumptions . . . . .	491
2.4. Method . . . . .	493
2.5. Senses and Use of the Old Testament . . . . .	493
2.6. Conclusion . . . . .	498

3. Origen as Exegete of the Old Testament . . . . .	499
3.1. Introduction . . . . .	500
3.2. Canon and Text . . . . .	502
3.3. Hermeneutical Presuppositions and the Place of the Old Testament . . . . .	508
3.4. Origen's Exegetical Approach to the Old Testament . . . . .	519
3.4.1. Introduction: Types of Evidence . . . . .	519
3.4.2. Origen and the Sensus Literalis of the OT . . . . .	521
3.4.3. Beyond the Literal . . . . .	526
3.4.4. Characteristics of Origen's Exegesis of the OT . . . . .	529
3.5. Concluding Remarks . . . . .	532
4. Origenism in Some Later Writers . . . . .	534
4.1. Introductory Remarks: What Do We mean by Origenism? . . . . .	534
4.2. Eusebius of Caesarea . . . . .	534
4.3. Athanasius . . . . .	536
4.4. The Cappadocian Fathers . . . . .	538
4.4.1. The Philocalia . . . . .	538
4.4.2. Basil of Caesarea . . . . .	539
4.4.3. Gregory of Nyssa . . . . .	540
 14. Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Antiochene School with its Prevalent Literal and Historical Method By STEN HIDAL, Lund . . . . .	   543
1. The Elder Antiochene School . . . . .	544
2. Diodore of Tarsus . . . . .	545
3. Theodore of Mopsuestia . . . . .	550
4. John Chrysostom . . . . .	557
5. Theodoret of Cyrrihus . . . . .	563
6. The Development and Influence of the Antiochene School . . . . .	566
 15. Exegetical Contacts between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire By GÜNTER STEMBERGER, Vienna . . . . .	   569
1. Delimitation of the Topic . . . . .	569
2. History and Problems of Earlier Research . . . . .	570
3. The Disproportion of Jewish and Christian Exegesis . . . . .	571
4. A Different Biblical Text . . . . .	572
5. Jews Influenced by Christian Exegesis? . . . . .	573
6. Christian-Jewish Contacts in Alexandria? . . . . .	576
7. Palestine . . . . .	577
8. Syria . . . . .	583
9. The Latin West . . . . .	585
 16. The Interpretative Character of the Syriac Old Testament By MICHAEL WEITZMAN, London . . . . .	   587
1. Introduction . . . . .	587
2. Construal and Interpretation . . . . .	588

3. Text Believed to have been Understood . . . . .	590
4. Text not Believed to have been Understood . . . . .	593
5. Theological Attitudes of the Translators . . . . .	597
6. Elements Inherited from a Jewish Background . . . . .	601
7. Factors Anterior to Interpretation . . . . .	603
8. Factors Subsequent to Interpretation . . . . .	605
9. Names . . . . .	607
10. Conclusion . . . . .	609
17. The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation	
By LUCAS VAN ROMPAY, Leiden . . . . .	612
1. Introduction . . . . .	612
1.1. The Place of Syriac Christianity . . . . .	612
1.2. The Sources of Syriac Biblical Interpretation . . . . .	614
1.2.1. The Biblical Text . . . . .	614
1.2.2. Jewish Sources . . . . .	616
1.2.3. Greek Literature . . . . .	617
1.3. The Earliest Period of Syriac Literature . . . . .	618
2. Aphrahat . . . . .	619
2.1. General Remarks . . . . .	620
2.2. Historical and Typological Interpretation . . . . .	620
2.3. Aphrahat's Place in Tradition . . . . .	621
3. Ephrem . . . . .	622
3.1. General Remarks . . . . .	622
3.2. The Various Levels of Exegesis . . . . .	623
3.2.1. Historical Exegesis and Christian Message . . . . .	623
3.2.2. Limited Use of New Testament Typology . . . . .	624
3.2.3. A Different Approach: A Wealth of Symbols . . . . .	626
3.3. The Sources and Historical Context of Ephrem's Exegesis . . . . .	627
4. Other Writings Prior to the Dogmatic Split . . . . .	629
4.1. The Book of Steps . . . . .	629
4.2. The Cave of Treasures . . . . .	629
4.3. John the Solitary's Commentary on Qohelet . . . . .	631
5. The School of Edessa and the Creation of the East-Syrian Exegetical Tradition . . . . .	632
5.1. Exegesis in the School of Edessa . . . . .	632
5.2. The Syriac Translation of the Works of Theodore of Mopsuestia . . . . .	633
5.3. Narsai and East-Syrian Exegesis of the Sixth Century . . . . .	635
5.4. Further Developments of East-Syrian Exegesis . . . . .	636
6. The Creation of the West-Syrian Exegetical Tradition . . . . .	637
6.1. Jacob of Serug . . . . .	637
6.2. Daniel of Şalaḥ's Commentary on the Psalms . . . . .	639
7. Epilogue . . . . .	640
18. The Latin Old Testament Tradition	
By EVA SCHULZ-FLÜGEL, Beuron . . . . .	642
0. A Survey . . . . .	643



1. 1.1. Old Latin Translations . . . . .	645
1.2. Jerome's Hexaplaric Recension . . . . .	650
2. The Vulgate, Its Translational and Interpretative Character . . . . .	652
3. The Problem of <i>Hebraica veritas</i> in Jerome and Augustine . . . . .	657
19. Jerome: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics	
By RENÉ KIEFFER, Uppsala . . . . .	663
1. Biographical Elements . . . . .	664
2. Jerome's Exegesis and Hermeneutics . . . . .	667
2.1. The Translations of the Old Testament . . . . .	668
2.2. The Commentaries and Other Works on the Old Testament . . . . .	669
2.3. Jerome's Principles of Interpretation and Translation . . . . .	670
2.4. Jerome's Concrete Work as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture . . . . .	675
3. Conclusion . . . . .	681
20. The Reception of the Origenist Tradition in Latin Exegesis	
By CHRISTOPH JACOB, Münster . . . . .	682
1. Allegory and the Text of the Bible . . . . .	682
2. Hilary of Poitiers . . . . .	685
2.1. The Fullness of His Exegetical Work . . . . .	685
2.2. The Bible in the Christological Debates . . . . .	688
3. Ambrose of Milan . . . . .	690
3.1. Towards the Principles of His Exegesis . . . . .	690
3.2. <i>Allegorica dissimulatio</i> : the Ambrosian Rhetoric . . . . .	691
3.3. The Song of Songs in Ambrosian Allegory . . . . .	693
4. Allegory and Interpretative Pluralism . . . . .	697
21. Augustine: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics	
By DAVID F. WRIGHT, Edinburgh . . . . .	701
0. Introduction . . . . .	701
1. The Exegetical Work of Augustine . . . . .	704
2. The <i>De doctrina Christiana</i> of Augustine and His Hermeneutics . . . . .	716
3. The Influence of Augustine's Old Testament Exegesis and Hermeneutics . . . . .	727
22. Church and Synagogue as the Respective Matrix of the Development of an Authoritative Bible Interpretation: An Epilogue	
By MAGNE SÆBØ, Oslo . . . . .	731
Contributors . . . . .	749
Abbreviations . . . . .	753
Indexes (Names / Topics / References) . . . . .	765