



fides et humilitas

THE JOURNAL OF THE CENTER FOR ANCIENT CHRISTIAN STUDIES

ISSUE 5 | WINTER 2019

**FIDES ET HUMILITAS:
THE JOURNAL OF THE CENTER FOR ANCIENT
CHRISTIAN STUDIES**

Winter 2019 ※ Issue 5

Directors and Research Fellows

Coleman M. Ford

Shawn J. Wilhite

Reference Board

Brian J. Arnold

Michael A. G. Haykin

Jonathan T. Pennington

Jarvis J. Williams

Sr. Fellows

Ian Hugh Clary

Megan Devore

Matthew Y. Emerson

Stefana Dan Laing

J. Daniel McDonald

David Robinson

R. Lucas Stamps

Michael J. Szigel

Book Acquisition Editors

Trey Moss — Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity

Shawn J. Wilhite — New Testament and Early Christian Literature

Coleman M. Ford — Patristic Literature and Late Antique

Jr. Fellows

Darron Chapman

Jordan Edwards

Wyatt A. Graham

Jon English Lee

Alexander Long

Aaron Matherly

Trey Moss

Adam Smith

Brandon D. Smith

Fides et Humilitas is published bi-annually in Winter and Summer. No portion of this journal may be reproduced by any process or technique without the formal consent of the editors.

Correspondence and paper submission should be directed to either Coleman M. Ford or Shawn J. Wilhite.

E-mail: ancientchristianstudies@gmail.com. See back cover for contributor information.

<p>Visit us at our website: ancientchristianstudies.com Center for Ancient Christian Studies</p>

FIDES ET HUMILITAS:

THE JOURNAL OF THE CENTER FOR ANCIENT CHRISTIAN STUDIES

WINTER 2019 * ISSUE 5

Contents

Editorial: Female Voices in Early Christian Scholarship

By: Coleman M. Ford and Shawn J. Wilhite 1–2

Articles:

The Humanity of the Sabbath: Eschatology of the Sixth Day in Hebrews

By: Amy L. Peeler 3–17

Philo's Allegorization of Hagar: Its Fate among Fathers and Feminists

By: Rebecca Rine 18–35

*The Cure of Souls at Antioch: A Response to Robert Hill on Theodoret of
Cyrus as Spiritual Director*

By: Stefana Dan Laing 36–47

Interview:

Lynn H. Cohick and Amy Brown Hughes: *Christian Women in the
Patristic World: Their Influence, Authority, and Legacy in the Second
through Fifth Centuries*, Baker Academic 2017 48–56

Book Reviews:

John Behr. *Origen: On First Principles*

Reviewed by: Ryan M. Clevenger

58–61

D. Jeffrey Bingham and Clayton N. Jefford, eds. *Intertextuality in the Second Century*

Reviewed by: Wyatt Graham

62–65

Brian E. Daley, SJ. *Leontius of Byzantium: Complete Works*

Reviewed by: Ryan M. Clevenger

66–69

Michael Graves, ed. *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*

Reviewed by: Matthew Y. Emerson

70–72

Michael A. G. Haykin. *The Church Fathers as Spiritual Mentors: “Faith is Illumined.”*

Reviewed by: Coleman M. Ford

73–76

Information to Contribute:

77–78

Editorial:
Female Voices in Early Christian Scholarship

In their new book, *Christian Women in the Patristic World*, Lynn Cohick and Amy Hughes reflect:

A fundamental presupposition of this project is that women were instrumental in the construction of Christian identity and theology in the first five centuries of Christian history.¹

In agreement with them, this journal presupposes that women are instrumental for the construction of Christian identity and theology in the modern expression of early Christian scholarship. Our vision for this current issue gives prominent attention to evangelical Christian female scholars writing and researching in the field of early Christianity.

We focus intentionally on this topic for three main reasons. I still remember the first time that I read and heard lectures from three women in particular: Elizabeth Clark, Margaret Mitchell, and Frances Young. These women's scholarship revolutionized the way that I perceived early Christian environments. Second, a CACS reference board member has shaped many of those involved with the Center by

¹ Lynn H. Cohick and Amy Brown Hughes, *Christian Women in the Patristic World: Their Influence, Authority, and Legacy in the Second through Fifth Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), xxvi.

demonstrating a concern for intellectual privilege. He would often encourage us to examine/survey our personal libraries and whom do we quote in our scholarship, and to ask ourselves if these figures are persons of color or female authors. Third, there is great value in hearing from minority voices, for they will shed light and produce invaluable insights for the good of scholarship and the Church.

As Cohick and Hughes ask, we likewise ask, “Where do we go from here?”² Women in evangelical scholarship and female historical voices are essential for the fabric and life of the academic Christian guild and for the Church. As we seek to remember the “Matristics” of old, may we continue to “remember responsibly” the female voices in the contemporary guild of Christian scholarship.

And to this issue we now turn, with articles from Amy Peeler, Rebecca Rine, and Stefana Dan Laing. Additionally, we present an interview with Lynn Cohick and Amy Hughes about their recent book on Christian women in the Patristic world, followed by a number of book reviews.

Coleman M. Ford

Shawn J. Wilhite

Directors and Research Fellows

² Cohick and Hughes, *Christian Women in the Patristic World*, 265.

The Humanity of the Sabbath:
Eschatology of the Sixth Day in Hebrews

Amy L. Peeler
Wheaton College

In N. T. Wright's 2018 Gifford lectures, he sought to read Biblical texts through a temple cosmology, Sabbath eschatology, and image anthropology schema.¹ He suggested: "John and Hebrews, two of the greatest theological works of early Christianity, are both full of these themes and will yield up treasure if we recognize this." It was my goal to unearth some of that treasure, and such a task would not be too difficult. When one reads the themes Wright mapped out: "victory over dark forces (Heb 2:14); divine enthronement in the newly built world or house (Heb 1:3, 13; 3:6; 8:1); the role of the human king in both victory and building (Heb 1:1-13); king and God coming to be at 'rest' (Heb 3:7-4:12)" they sound like a description of Hebrews, for myself and the many others whose ears are often attuned to it.

It would be fruitful to explicate all three of these themes in Hebrews, but here I attend primarily to the first: the author's attention to time. Through the pressing eschatology of the letter, especially when viewed through a Sabbath lens, the author sets his readers in the

¹ I was privileged to participate in the Biblical studies seminar organized around these topics during the Spring of 2018. Led by Dr. Wright and Dr. Madhavi Nevader, students, faculty, and guest lecturers spent fifteen weeks contemplating these themes in Israel's Scriptures and texts of the Jewish second temple period.

sixth day. This temporal setting connects powerfully with the author's anthropology as well. He places them in a time that emphasizes the humanity they share with Jesus. Their temporal placement and shared identity emphasizes the rewarding cost of enduring while it is still called today.

Eschatology

The author of Hebrews imparts a heavy sense of urgency throughout his word of exhortation (13:22). Scott Mackie posits Hebrews as an “eschatological ‘exhortation’” due to the fact that “these potent and vivid eschatological convictions . . . are so indissolubly linked to his exhortation.”² According to the author of Hebrews, they are living in a penultimate time; “long ago” (πάλαι, Heb 1:1) has passed away, but their hoped for end has not yet come, so they live in an “in-between” time. Speaking in this temporal matrix provides both great explanatory (“This is why things are challenging right now,” 12:5–11) and exhortative (“Just a little further to go!” 3:12) power for the author. As catalogued here, a reader can see the numerous instances in which he emphasizes the approaching change in time. With this cumulative effect, this temporal insistence propels his message that they have much to look forward to and much to endure, but the wait should not be long.

The eschatological proximity pulses throughout the letter, and begins, actually, with the first sentence. “These days” (τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων) are upon the last, or at the end (1:2).³ A new age is about to

² Scott D. Mackie's work, *Eschatology and Exhortation in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (WUNT 2/223 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007]), emphasizes the importance of kinship confessional language in Hebrews. The citation quoted here comes from p. 1.

³ The word ἡμέρα appears along with ἔσχατος several times in other early Jewish and Christian writings to denote eschatological time (Gen 49:1; Num 24:14; Deut 4:30;

begin as soon as the current one reaches its end, and only the last of that current one is left. The author keeps that end on the horizon with the citation of Ps 101:26–28 (LXX) in the first chapter’s catena. In praise of the unchanging Lord Creator Son, the psalmist also reminds the hearers that the heavens and the earth will at some point like a garment grow old (παλαιωθήσονται), be changed (ἀλλαγῆσονται), rolled up (ἐλίξεις), and reach the end (ἀπολοῦνται, Heb 1:10–12). A change in the cosmos is coming where the heirs will inherit salvation, and this is about to (μέλλω) happen (1:14). From their present vantage point, the audience of Hebrews cannot, however, quite yet see this sovereignty. Because for them it is not yet that day, it is “today” (σήμερον). “Today if you hear his voice” (3:7), encourage one another each day as long as it is called today (3:13), “Today if you hear his voice” (3:15), God appointed a certain day, “today” when David said (4:7a), “Today if you hear his voice” (4:7c). Now is the day of salvation for there is no guarantee that this day will last much longer. Repeated five times in chs. 3 and 4, as God and God’s Holy Spirit speaks to them,⁴ σήμερον (today) acts as a drumbeat, casting this section of the sermon as one the most urgent. Now is the day of salvation for there is no guarantee that this day will last much longer.

The nearness of the time is so pressing to the author because a decent amount of time has already passed. “Because of the time” this group of believers should have already been teachers (5:12), but they remain immature. If they continue to remain unfruitful, they, like

Josh 24:27; Hos 3:5; Micah 4:1; Isa 2:2; Jer 23:20; 37:24 LXX; Ezek 38:16; Dan 2:28, 45; 10:14; 11:20; Judith 16:7; T. Levi 3.2; Herm. Vis. 2.2.5 [6.5]; 2 Clem. 17.6; Barn. 19.10).

⁴ Ken Schenck’s essay “God Has Spoken: Hebrews’ Theology of the Scriptures,” in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (ed. Richard Bauckham, et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 321–36, provides a helpful analysis of the overlap between the speech of *theos* and *to pneuma to agion* in Hebrews.

thorns and thistles, would be near the curse, whose end is burning (6:8). Such reckoning has not yet happened; they still have time to show the haste of hope until the end (6:11). Note it is a haste they should have—an urgency (σπουδή) rather than a sluggishness (νωθρός, 6:12)—for they do not have all the time in the world.

The author of Hebrews can also speak of the coming change in the ages as a change in the covenant. Jesus is the pledge (ἔγγυος)⁵ of a New Covenant (7:22). Jeremiah foretold that certain days would arrive when God would complete (συντελέω) a new covenant with Israel and Judah (8:8/Jer 38:31 LXX). The proclamation of the new (8:13, “in saying new” ἐν τῷ λέγειν Καινήν), the guarantee on the new (7:22), the promise of the new (8:6) makes the first old (παλαιόω) and gray (γηράσκω), close to being imperceptible (ἀφανισμός in the revelation of the new (8:13). The author may indicate that the aging covenant will soon cease to exist,⁶

⁵ A hapax in the New Testament, James Thompson summarizes its meaning in the Greco-Roman world: “In legal documents the guarantor (ἔγγυος) supplied a security deposit and took the responsibility for another’s debts. The guarantor was normally a relative or friend who could be trusted” (*Hebrews*, Paideia [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008], 160). F. F. Bruce called attention to the “weightier responsibility” of the guarantor who “is answerable for the fulfillment of the obligation which he guarantees. . . . Jesus guarantees the perpetual fulfilment of the covenant which He mediates, on the manward (sic) side as well as on the Godward side” (*The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT Rev. Ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], 151n70). This role is distinct from his mediation of the covenant, so states B. F. Westcott, “He Himself brought about the Covenant; and He is the adequate surety of its endurance” (*The Epistle to the Hebrews* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950], 191). So too Ellingworth suggests the possibility of a temporal distinction between μεσίτης in 8:6; 9:15; 12:24 and ἔγγυος “. . . *mesiths* refers mainly to Christ’s past action in the setting up of the new covenant, and ἔγγυος to his guarantee of it for the future,” but also notes that any systematic distinction it is not completely clear (*The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NIGTC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 388–89).

⁶ Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), §13.98.

but retention of his “visual” language remains vital to full understanding. In the glorious disclosure of the new, the old will fade from vision, but they presently find themselves in a time of “haziness” where both can be seen, if not clearly.⁷ In the present time, the first still has standing and therefore the way into the holy place is not yet perceptible (9:8–9). It is not yet the time of restoration (9:10). What Jesus has done has fulfilled the ages (9:26), brought the old to its end and inaugurated the new, but the author and his audience are still left waiting for the salvation that he will bring at his appearing (9:28). The law of God has given them the ability to make out the rough outlines of these good things to come (10:1), an impressionistic painting rather than an icon, but a faithful impression nonetheless. It is a major problem, though, if one mistakes the impression for the icon (10:1–4).

Instead, the author wants his readers to understand that Jesus has lifted up the first system and established a second (10:9).⁸ Jesus has made the offering for sin, he has sat down at the right hand of God, but the day has not yet arrived when his enemies are under his feet (10:13). Their confession is still characterized by hope and promise (10:23). The author states that they can all see that the day is drawing near (10:25). The zealous fire is about to devour the adversaries (10:27); God’s repayment and judgment are nigh (10:30). Then he tries a different tactic—a more positive spin—when he says that the reward is still

⁷ Moreover, I find the argument of Barry C. Joslin convincing that the law of the old and the law of the new retain the same referent, yet, “the law has been transformed in Christ, and this transformation involves both its internalization and its fulfillment in the New Covenant” (*Hebrews, Christ, and the Law: The Theology of the Mosaic Law in Hebrews 7:1–10:18*, PBM [Colorado Springs: Paternoster, 2008], 134).

⁸ Ellingworth notes that this statement about the Levitical sacrifices is “the strongest negative statement the author has made or will make about the OT cultus” (*Hebrews*, 504).

waiting (10:35), the promise is theirs to attain (10:36). It is just a little while until the one who is coming will come; he will not delay (Heb 10:37).

They live in a time when they cannot see fulfillment clearly.⁹ Like a song with two stanzas in ch. 11, the author draws from the history of Israel to affirm this point. Just as they trust that creation came to be through that which is not seen, Noah trusted even though he could not see the rain (11:7), Abraham trusted even though he could not see the land (11:8), Isaac and Jacob trusted even though they could not see their city (11:10), Sarah trusted even though she could not see her baby (11:11). The chorus is this: they were looking on from a distance (11:13). Stanza two: Abraham trusted even though he had not seen resurrection; Joseph trusted even though he could not yet see the exodus (11:22). Moses trusted even though he could not yet see the reward. Rahab trusted even though she did not yet see deliverance (11:31). The chorus again: they were faithful even though they did not yet attain the promise (11:39). God was looking forward too, to the congregation of Hebrews, to bring perfection for them all (11:40).

For the author and his audience, that perfect end has not yet come. Until it does, they need to keep running, looking in the direction of Jesus (12:2) until they in full sanctification see the Lord (12:14) and come into his grace (12:15). A change of everything that has been made is coming, a shaking of the heavens and the earth, so that only the

⁹ I do not mean to indicate that looking forward to the unseen is the only theme in ch. 11. It is one among many reiterated themes in this encomium to faith. See the treatment of this chapter by Pamela Eisenbaum, *The Christian Heroes of Jewish History: Hebrews 11 in Literary Context*, SBLDS 156 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1997) who shows Hebrews's de-emphasis of national concerns or Michael R. Cosby, *The Rhetorical Composition and Function of Hebrews 11: In Light of Example Lists in Antiquity* (Macon, GA: Mercer, 1988) who focuses on the rhetoric of this chapter that would encourage the audience.

unshakable will remain (12:27). They are receiving this unshakable kingdom (12:28) and so they are seeking that which is coming (13:14).

I summarize this temporal, eschatological walk through Hebrews in this way: Jesus got something started—he got the end started in fact, with his offering before God—but the new has not yet arrived. Hence, they must wait with active faith until it arrives in full; if they do not, time may run out, the day may turn over, and the author does not want them caught unfaithful.

Sabbath Eschatology

For what then is he hoping? In other words, how does he describe this new time? “There remains for the people of God a *σαββατισμός*” (Heb 4:9).¹⁰ Hence, to confirm Wright’s assumption about Hebrews, yes, the author of this epistle does have a Sabbath eschatology. How, though, does he describe this Sabbath time? I contend that he portrays the Sabbath rest as the completion of the New Covenant. Two passages in Hebrews 4 and 8 are most pertinent with other statements throughout the letter coalescing as support.

In order to understand *σαββατισμός*, I trace the argument back to the beginning of the section. As is his tendency to alternate between exegesis and exhortation,¹¹ 3:7 begins a new exegetical section. In

¹⁰ This particular term does not appear in the New Testament or the Greek Scriptures of Israel. The author aims to describe a time-space in which the people of God “keep Sabbath” as God does, a definition confirmed by similar use in Plutarch (Superst. 3[166A]); Justin (*Dial.* 23.3); Apos. Con. 2.36.2; and Epiphanius Pan. 30.2.2.

¹¹ For an important work on the structure of Hebrews see Albert Vanhoye, *Structure and Message of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, SB 12 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1989); George H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews: A Text-linguistic Analysis*, NovTSup 73 (Leiden: Brill, 1994); and Cynthia Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews: The Relationship between Form and Meaning*, LNTS 297 (London: T & T Clark, 2005). Although important differences appear in the work of these scholars, each note the importance of attending to the alternating exegetical and

Hebrews 3, by drawing from Ps 95, the author first utilizes God's rest (*κατάπαυσις*) as the term that aptly captures this time. The generation of Israelites who came out from Egypt in the Exodus did not get to enter this rest because while they saw God's works they did not trust in God (3:9–11/Ps 95:8–11). Since God spoke through David after the time of Moses and Joshua, that indicates to the author that Joshua did not grant the rest into which God was inviting the Israelites (4:8).¹² Now that the Hebrews have heard the good news about God, just as the Israelites had (4:2), they too have the chance to enter this *κατάπαυσις*.¹³

exhortational dynamics. Ole Jakob Fildvedt states, "The idea is clearly that the exhortations presuppose the validity of the preceding exposition, and that the exposition is meant to substantiate the exhortations" (*The Identity of God's People and the Paradox of Hebrews*, WUNT 2/400 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015], 48).

¹² Eisenbaum's attention to the supra-national aspect of Hebrews causes her to note that, "... the conquest of Canaan did not achieve that for which it was intended. Joshua led the people into the land because Moses could not; this is his claim to fame as well as the probably reason for his exclusion from Hebrews 11. Joshua as hero is irredeemably tied up with his being a national leader" (*Jewish Heroes*, 172). I will argue, following the lead of David Moffit's work (*Atonement and the Logic of the Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, NovTSup 141 [Leiden: Brill, 2011]), that the author's concern is for Israel's comprehensive inheritance of all creation. It is still a national inheritance, but an unbounded, eschatological one.

¹³ In his treatment of the theme of rest in Hebrews, Jon Laansma sees this development as faithful to ideas latent in the scriptures of Israel: "The Sabbath does serve as a sort of capstone to both creation and the exodus, and Israel's future hopes were expressed largely in images taken from these events. Moreover, the description of the future age in terms of *minucha* and *shalom* would naturally lend itself to sabbatical conceptions." Laansma also claims that through Septuagintal and other Jewish literature developments, by the first century, "The expectation of an eschatological Sabbath is often encountered, albeit in different forms. The future age can itself be called a 'day which is wholly Sabbath and rest,' and the weekly Sabbath itself becomes a symbol of the coming age. The OT rest tradition is also projected into the future, and Ps 95 itself is applied to speculation about the *olam hazah*. More than once the Sabbath and rest tradition converge in these hopes. The sorts of hopes are being repeatedly expressed during the time of the NT." (*"I Will Give You Rest": The "Rest" Motif in the New Testament with Special Reference to Matthew 11 and Hebrews 3-4* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997], 67, 152, emphasis original).

When one does, that person can rest from works just as God does (4:10).

This kind of rest—as portrayed in Hebrews—is not the antithesis of activity. This rest is the *cessation* of work. The author of Hebrews gives evidence of this view along with other Jewish authors.¹⁴ He recognizes that the creation narrative asserts that the works of God happened, came to be (an aorist of γίνομαι) at the foundation of the cosmos, and on the seventh day, God rested from his works of creation.¹⁵ Yet, in the time of the Exodus, and before then as well, God was working again. Hence, the argument suggests that God rested from the work of creation, establishment, and thereby created a time-space of rest, yet God continued to work, however, to inspire belief to draw more people into this rest. God has been doing the same in their own community, with the bringing about (the working?) of signs, wonders, powers and divisions of the Holy Spirit (2:4). Is God at rest now? Yes, in that all the works happened since the beginning of the world (4:3), but there are still enemies to defeat, the enemies of Jesus (Heb 1:13; 10:13).

¹⁴ Such an idea appears in texts from different eras of Jewish thinkers. Previous to Hebrews, 1 Enoch 5 alludes to the finished yet continuing nature of God's work: "His work proceeds and progresses from year to year. And all his work prospers and obeys him, and it does not change; but everything functions in the way in which God has ordered it" (5.2–3). Concerning more contemporary and later eras, Lincoln states, "Judaism had already rejected the crudely anthropomorphic view of Gods' rest that conceived of it as a state of inactivity since the creation. This was not only so in Hellenistic Judaism (cf. Philo, *de Cher.* 86–90; *Leg. All.* 1.5–6) but also in rabbinic Judaism" ("Sabbath, Rest, and Eschatology in the New Testament," in *From Sabbath to the Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation*, ed. D. A. Carson [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982; reprint, Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1999], 203).

¹⁵ ". . . the point would be that 'rest' was the sequel to completed 'works.' This . . . would seem to be the most natural understanding of the current remark in view of the quotation that follows and in view of the paraphrase of the quote in vs.10. where rest is sharply distinguished from works" (Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989], 129).

Certainly, one of these enemies is the devil whose defeat is guaranteed by Jesus's movement through death, but the subjunctive here, "that he might defeat" (*καταργήσῃ*), leaves open the possibility that this defeat, while promised, is not yet secured. Other enemies exist as well, particularly enemies who seemed intent to pull the followers of Jesus off their path. Once God has secured the place of the many children, all the enemies will be under his feet. In the present sixth-day time, God rests from creation but continues to work to redeem creation under divine sovereignty,¹⁶ which is the sovereignty of the all things, including Jesus's followers, securely under the sovereignty of the Son.¹⁷

Once that is done, when there are not more sons to lead (2:10) and no more enemies to defeat, will God be completely at rest? In an essay on these themes in Hebrews, Andrew T. Lincoln states, "The time will come when both God and Jesus will cease from their work of salvation. Only then will God rest and the divine Sabbath take place."¹⁸ This too, I contend, is not complete cessation of activity.¹⁹ To show this, however,

¹⁶ Westcott states the point well: "God Himself had entered into it [rest], though it still remained that His people should share it according to His purpose. Thus the rest was at once in the past and in the future" (*Hebrews*, 97).

¹⁷ An illuminating parallel occurs in the way the author describes the work of Jesus: Jesus is seated and never has to die and defeat death again, but Jesus is waiting for God to put all enemies under his feet. Jesus rests from inauguration of his priestly ministry but continues maintenance which is the work of redemption of those who are approaching God through him (7:25).

¹⁸ Lincoln, "Sabbath, Rest, and Eschatology," 204.

¹⁹ Jubilees also sees Sabbath as a refraining from work, but full of the activity of "the seventh day, to eat and to drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us" (2:21). These commands carry a priestly connotation as well in that they ascend as "a sweet savor acceptable before Him all the days" (2:22). Betsy Halpern-Amaru notes the close association between work proscribed on the Sabbath and activities commanded on the Sabbath, especially

I look to the author's description from Jeremiah of the time of the New Covenant.

Moving then to ch. 8, although the New Covenant discussion lacks the language of seventh, Sabbath, or rest, it includes temporal elements that point toward an end where particular activities cease. The author quotes Jeremiah's prophecy that days are coming, but have not yet arrived, when God will complete a New Covenant (Heb 8:8/Jer 38:31 LXX). After certain days, God will give his laws upon the minds of his covenant people and will write them upon their hearts. God proclaims that they will be in relationship. All will know God so that the activity of teaching will not be necessary. In that time, God will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and God will not remember their sins. When the author cites Jeremiah again (Heb 10:16–17), spoken this time by God's Spirit, to him it signifies that with the establishment of this covenant offering for sins can cease (10:18).

To summarize the citation: the New Covenant is the clear revelation of God's merciful restorative presence with the covenant people. The audience of Hebrews, however, does not find themselves in such a time. The letter as a whole provides evidence that they still need teaching about God. They have not made it to the time in which the work of holding fast (4:14; 10:23), pressing on (12:1), and encouraging can cease (3:13). Their hearts are still susceptible to misunderstanding or rejecting the laws of God (3:12–14). The possibility still lies before them that they might still be unrighteous in such a way, namely by shaming the Son of God (6:6), sinning willfully (10:26), or rejecting their birthright (12:15–17), an affront that God would remember and punish. Jesus, by his sacrifice, has guaranteed that this covenant will

worship (*The Perspective from Mt. Sinai: The Book of Jubilees and Exodus*, Supplements to the Journal of Ancient Judaism 21 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015], 145).

come (7:22). Their conscience will be purified (καθαριεῖ, 9:14), but they are not living in the time when the New Covenant has been completed when they, without instruction or mistake, will live as God's people according to God's laws. Since this future time is a time when they are with God and act as God desires, "New Covenant" seems another way to explain the σαββατισμός.

Add to this that the author has yet another way of talking about this Sabbath time; it is as "salvation." The message of Jesus offers them salvation (2:3; 5:9; 6:9; 7:25). The heirs are about to inherit salvation (1:14). They await a revelation of the Messiah a second time for salvation (9:28). If those terms describe the same era then this is not a Sabbath of inactivity. Clearly dead works will have come to an end, and even their possibility will cease once the person enters the seventh day (6:1; 9:14). They will cease from any kind of work that has to do with sin or unrighteousness, either to prevent it or atone from it.²⁰ Good deeds, however, continue (6:10; 10:24; 11:33), those deeds of righteousness and community building, worship, and service, because they will be about the business of knowing God and God's laws, living as saved people.²¹ Σαββατισμός is the New and lasting Covenant, the salvific, active rest of the people of God.

As he writes and they read this letter, neither have entered into the complete salvation of the Sabbath New Covenant time, yet the

²⁰ Jubilees also refers to the Sabbath time as a time when there will be an end a perfection (*synteleia*) of sinners (Jub. 2.24). Similarly, 1 Enoch envisions the final time as a time in which "sin shall no more be heard of forever" but also a time "of goodness and righteousness" (91.17).

²¹ Ole Jakob Filtvedt comments, "This is not adequately described solely in terms of inactivity, a fact which is underlined when Hebrews qualifies the rest as a Sabbath rest (4,9). The Sabbath is a cultic event, through which one partakes in God's own time and rhythm, and celebrates God's presence" ("*Creation and Salvation in Hebrews*," ZNW 105 [2015]: 280–303, here 280).

author has said that it is close. It is at this point that a Sabbath eschatology provides a more precise illumination of the author's concept of time. Temporally, according to a Sabbath eschatology scheme, I would argue that the author locates them in the sixth day. They are on the cusp of this time of rest with God. It is close but it has not yet arrived. The temporal schema of Hebrews as informed by Sabbath eschatology I summarize thus: the Sabbath time of salvation in which they will dwell with God and, unencumbered from sin, will live out God's laws as they abide in God's New Covenant, is fast approaching.

The Human Connection

The letter offers further support for this temporal placement because of the letter's emphasis on humanity. Since the author appeals to the seventh day of the creational week, the day before, the sixth day, would carry connotations of God's creation of humans (Gen 1:26–31).²² Those who hear this sermon soon discover that God's creation of humanity is a vital theme in Hebrews. Psalm 8 provides one of his key exegetical texts, which describes humans as the pinnacle of creation, and he brings this Psalm to attention in order to comment upon the humanity of Jesus.²³ Humanity becomes the shared reality between

²² Jubilees, unsurprisingly, views the creation of humans on the sixth day of the week based on the Genesis account. It recounts the creation of the first human in the first week (Jub. 2.14), but for further emphasis, it also describes the taking out of Eve from the side of Adam as taking place on the sixth day, on the second week (Jub. 3.5).

²³ Between a Christological and anthropological reading, I seek to take a both/and approach, as many others have done. Schenck captures the interpretation well: "It would easily fit the train of thought to say that because of Christ, humanity also fulfills the psalm" (Kenneth Schenck, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Hebrews: The Settings of the Sacrifice*, SNTSMS 143 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007], 57). See also Luke Timothy Johnson, *Hebrews: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville, KY:

Jesus and the audience of Hebrews (2:17; 4:15) qualifying him to be their High Priest (2:17; 5:1, 7) and to give the final effective offering (9:14, 26; 10:10; 13:12).

Hence, the author's focus upon humanity, primarily Jesus's humanity, also includes a particular emphasis upon human mortality. The author of Hebrews does not reveal his interpretation of prelapsarian humanity. In other words, he does not comment on the weighty anthropological question whether mortality was part of the original created human condition or not, but in the present time to be living in the sixth day, to be human, is to be moving toward mortality. Jesus embodies Ps 8 through the suffering of death (2:9). He takes on flesh and blood so that he might die and defeat the power of death (2:14–15). In the days of his flesh, he prays to the one who is able to save him from death (5:7). He endured the cross (12:2). The audience too finds themselves instructed to go out with him (13:13), where death threatens them though they have not yet suffered it (12:4). The author depicts them poised as a sacrifice before the moment of offering (Heb 4:13). On such a day as this, they need to be ready to enter into the same experience of death their Lord willingly entered.

Presently they are living in the last day of the creational week—a sixth day, as it were—when their createdness is especially pertinent. Their humanity provides them a connection with Jesus, the Son of God, their exalted Lord, who is *still* another human like them. Their humanity also provides them, as it did for Jesus, an offering to give. They should be ready, throughout life or up to death, to give themselves as a pleasing sacrifice to God.

Westminster John Knox, 2006), 90; Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews*, AB 36 (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 219–20.

Conclusion

Urgency pervades the tone of Hebrews. The author and those who listen to his address are living in the last days. Interpreting this eschatological trope through the lens of the Sabbath sheds light on Hebrews in several ways. First, Sabbath Eschatology grants precision to the author's temporal scheme. When viewed through a creational week, readers see how close they really are to the end. Second, this prism shows the relationship between several of the author's major emphases: urgency, Sabbath, covenant, and salvation. All are united as he places his readers on the precipice of a divinely restful but active salvation. Finally, Sabbath eschatology highlights the audience's connection with Jesus the Son of Man. As they remain tethered to him, he will advocate for them to complete creation's day and enter creation's rest.

Philo's Allegorization of Hagar:
Its Fate among Fathers and Feminists

Rebecca Rine
Grove City College

Remembering Philo

As has often been noted, the works of Philo, a Jewish philosopher and biblical commentator who flourished during the first half of the first century, were preserved not by Jews, but by Christians.¹ Later patristic writers both within and beyond his native city of Alexandria found in Philo a compelling example—and sometimes a suitable foil—for their own attempts to understand and teach various Septuagintal passages. The worth of Philo's writings for ancient Christian thinkers is evidenced by the great quantity of his corpus that survives, including multiple works explicating the Pentateuch, several topical treatises, and numerous fragments preserved in catenae and florilegia.²

¹ David Runia, "Philo and the Early Christian Fathers," in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, ed. Adam Kamesar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 210.

² For the transmission history of manuscripts in Greek, Latin, and Armenian, see David Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 16–31. For an overview of the Philonic corpus arranged by genre, see James R. Royse, "The Works of Philo," in *Cambridge Companion*, 32–64. Many of Philo's works are available in English (with facing Greek) in ten volumes and two supplements of the Loeb Classical Library published by Harvard University Press. An accessible but dated one-volume translation by C. D. Yonge (1812–1892) is *The Works of Philo* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993).

In recent decades, modern scholars have likewise exhibited substantial interest in Philo's oeuvre, primarily as a resource for understanding diverse aspects of antiquity, from Jewish and Hellenic identity formation to textual criticism and habits of scripture reading in the ancient synagogue.³ Ellen Birnbaum detailed the initial stages of this renewed attention in her 2006 article "Two Millenia Later: General Resources and Particular Perspectives on Philo the Jew," highlighting the increased production of print and electronic resources as well as a growing focus on Philo among those studying Second Temple and Diaspora Judaism.⁴ Since 2006, these trends have only intensified, with the publication of the *Studia Philonica Annual* now reaching its thirtieth year, the ongoing mapping of the field via David Runia's bibliographic work,⁵ and the pending release of several new volumes in Brill's *Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series* constituting just a few notable developments.⁶

³ For instance, the book description for Mireille Hadas-Lebel and Robyn Fréchet's *Philo of Alexandria: A Thinker in the Jewish Diaspora* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2012) locates Philo "at the crossroads of Judaism and Hellenism." Gert J. Steyn examines Philo's biblical quotation in "The Text Form of LXX Genesis 28:12 by Philo of Alexandria and in the Jesus-Logion of John 1:51," *In die Skriflig* 49.2: e1-e7, and Michael Graves adduces evidence from Philo in "The Public Reading of Scripture in Early Judaism," *JETS* 50, no. 3 (2007): 467-87.

⁴ Ellen Birnbaum, "Two Millennia Later: General Resources and Particular Perspectives on Philo the Jew." *Currents in Biblical Research* 4, no. 2 (2006): 241. Birnbaum traces the recent revival of interest in Philo among Jewish scholars to nineteenth-century Germany, where German Jews began looking to Alexandrian Judaism for models of Diaspora living.

⁵ See David Runia's *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1997-2006 with addenda for 1987-1996* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) and subsequent editions of the *Studia Philonica Annual*, also published by Brill.

⁶ For an overview of this series, see <https://brill.com/view/serial/PACS>. A list of planned volumes is included on Yale Divinity School's website at

One element of Philo's biblical commentary that has attracted the attention of both ancient and modern readers is his teaching regarding Hagar, whose story is told in Genesis 16 and 21.⁷ The church fathers exhibit interest in Philo's approach to Hagar for two primary reasons. The first is that Philo frequently employs *allegorēsis* when explaining Hagar's significance.⁸ Ancient Christian exegetes held varying opinions about the methodological suitability of allegorical interpretation, with some vociferously supporting it and others avoiding it except in a few cases explicitly legitimized by the New Testament. One focal point of this debate was Paul's discussion of Hagar and Sarah in Galatians 4, where he describes the details recorded in Genesis as "allegorical" (*ἀλληγορούμενα*), the only time this term is used in the New Testament.⁹ Though Philo and Paul diverge in the details of their allegorization, both are remembered by later exegetes who are wrestling with the biblical narrative itself as well as the suitability of allegory for reading scripture within the church. Additionally, a second reason the fathers perpetuate Philo's interpretations of Hagar concerns the way he defines the allegorical reference of the term "Hagar"; Philo associates

<https://divinity.yale.edu/lifelong-learning/philo-alexandria/related-projects/philo-alexandria-commentary-series>.

⁷ Hagar is not mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, though the Hagrites appear in 1 Chr 5:19, 21 and Ps 83:6. Gal 4:25, discussed below, contains the only explicit reference to Hagar in the New Testament.

⁸ As detailed below (see note 30), his interpretation of Hagar is often but not *exclusively* allegorical.

⁹ Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, 86. For a distinction between Palestinian (Pauline) and Alexandrian (Philonic) allegory, see Harry Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956). R. P. C. Hanson, in *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* (London: SCM Press, 1959), further distinguishes between Palestinian, Alexandrian, and Hellenistic allegory, 63ff.

Hagar with a course of preliminary studies (μέση παιδεία¹⁰ and τα ἐγκύκλια¹¹) and Sarah with wisdom (σοφία),¹² or a life of virtue (ἀρήτη).¹³ This interpretive move situates the Genesis narratives in relation to ancient instruction on the progress of the soul and addresses a question perennially pertinent to Christian teaching: if biblical wisdom is the highest good, then what is the value of other kinds of study (such as basic literacy training or general education¹⁴) that precede it? Miyako Demura identifies this Sarah-Hagar motif “as one of the most important themes in Alexandrian exegetical tradition,”¹⁵ and Albert Henrichs traces the medieval Christian commonplace *philosophia ancilla theologiae*, philosophy is the handmaiden of theology, to Philo’s exposition of Hagar and Sarah.¹⁶ Thus, many church fathers adopt and

¹⁰ *Congr.* 12.

¹¹ *Congr.* 79.

¹² *Congr.* 79.

¹³ *Congr.* 11–12.

¹⁴ The semantic range of the term “*encyklios paideia*” and synonyms in Philo’s usage is a matter of some debate. For a review of relevant literature, see L. M. de Rijk, “‘Enkyklios Paideia’: A Study of Its Original Meaning,” *Vivarium: A Journal for Medieval and Early-Modern Philosophy and Intellectual Life* 3 (1965): 24–93, and Abraham P. Bos, “Hagar and the *Enkyklios Paideia* in Philo of Alexandria,” in *Abraham, the Nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham*, eds J. van Ruiten, Hendrik van Beurt, and Martin Goodman (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 163–75.

¹⁵ Miyako Demura, “Origen and the Exegetical Tradition of the Sarah-Hagar Motif in Alexandria,” *Studia Patristica* 56 (2013): 73.

¹⁶ Albert Henrichs, “Philosophy, the Handmaiden of Theology,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 9, no. 4 (2003): 437–50. This topic is further explored in Hent de Vries, “*Philosophia Ancilla Theologiae*: Allegory and Ascension in Philo’s *On Mating with the Preliminary Studies* (*De Congressu Quarendae Eruditionis Gratia*),” trans. Jack Ben-Levi, *The Bible and Critical Theory* 5, no. 3 (2009): 41.1–41.19. Wendy Hellerman, in chapter two of *The Feminine Personification of Wisdom: A Study of Homer’s Penelope, Cappadocian Macrina, Boethius’ Philosophia, and Dante’s Beatrice* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin

adapt Philo's interpretations due to their apparent relevance to the intellectual and theological debates of their day.

More recently, Philo's depictions of Hagar have garnered attention as part of a wider reassessment of the interpretive fate of various female figures in the Bible.¹⁷ Following Phyllis Trible's groundbreaking *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (1984), which highlighted how Hagar was "victimized by her mistress,"¹⁸ scholars have reread the biblical narratives themselves as well as the history of their interpretation (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) in light of the insights of feminist, postcolonial, and critical theory.¹⁹ Those who arrive at Philo via this pathway often note two features of his presentation of Hagar. First, like the fathers, they evaluate the

Mellen Press, 2009), discusses precursors to Philo's exegesis in the writings of Bion (ca. 325–255 BCE), Aristippus (ca. 435–350 BCE), and Ariston (fl. 250 BCE), all of whom compare students who are preoccupied by preliminary studies and do not ascend to the study of philosophy to suitors of Penelope, Odysseus's wife, who never court her because they are consorting with her handmaidens.

¹⁷ For an in-depth summary of twentieth-century feminist scholarship on Hagar, see John L. Thompson, *Writing the Wrongs: Women of the Old Testament among Biblical Commentators from Philo through the Reformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18–24. Anna Fisk provides extensive analysis of recent feminist and womanist scholarship on Hagar in "Sisterhood in the Wilderness: Biblical Paradigms and Feminist Identity Politics in Readings of Hagar and Sarah," in *Looking through a Glass Bible: Postdisciplinary Biblical Interpretations from the Glasgow School* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 113–37.

¹⁸ W. Elgersma Helleman, "Augustine and Philo of Alexandria's 'Sarah' as a Wisdom Figure," *Studia Patristica* 70, ed. Markus Vinzent (Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2013), 107.

¹⁹ Justin M. Rogers notes the feminist and postcolonial focus on Hagar in "The Philonic and the Pauline: Hagar and Sarah in the Exegesis of Didymus the Blind," *The Studia Philonica Annual* 26 (2014): 57. See also relevant bibliography in Phyllis Trible, "Ominous Beginnings for a Promise of Blessing," in *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Perspectives*, eds. Phyllis Trible and Letty M. Russell (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 62–69.

legitimacy of his allegorizing. As detailed below, some regard allegorical interpretation as *de facto* avoidance of the moral implications of Hagar's story, while others tacitly accept or actively embrace *allegorēsis* as a productive and ethical method of reading. Second, these researchers often focus on how Philo depicts the relationship between the terms of his allegory, that is, between Hagar and Sarah. Whereas exegetes such as Paul²⁰ or Augustine²¹ set up a firm antithesis between Hagar, who is to be rejected or discarded, and Sarah, who is to be emulated or exalted, Philo usually presents Hagar and Sarah as existing on a continuum, such that one who wants to bear children with Sarah (i.e., attain virtue) must necessarily first bear children with Hagar (i.e., acquire preparatory education).²² Philo's evaluative stance vis-à-vis Hagar is notable for those who, in the words of Lynn Gottlieb, regard Sarah and Hagar as the "first matriarchs of the Jewish and Muslim peoples," who may be viewed as "sisters sharing a common bond"²³ and thus regarded as potential models for

²⁰ Letty M. Russell, "Twists and Turns in Paul's Allegory," in *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children*, 72: "Paul does not help us move away from the conflict and enmity between the two women, but instead moves straight into it with an allegory that represents the two women as opposing covenants of law and promise."

²¹ For further discussion, see Helleman, "Augustine and Philo," 110–11, and the section on "Augustine's Use of the Hagar, Sarah Story" in Elizabeth A. Clark, "Interpretive Fate amid the Church Fathers," in *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children*, 136–43.

²² Amir Yehoshua, "Transference of Greek Allegories to Biblical Motifs," in *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*, eds. Frederick E. Greenspahn, Earle Hilgert, and Burton L. Mack, (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984) 15–25: "In Philo, for the first time maiden and mistress do not stand in irreconcilable enmity to each other, but rather the maiden serves the mistress" (18).

²³ Lynn Gottlieb, *She Who Dwells Within: A Feminist Vision of a Renewed Judaism* (San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins, 1995), 88–90.

cooperative, rather than conflictual, interaction between adherents to what are often called the “Abrahamic” faiths.²⁴ Philo’s distinctive treatment of the mutual worth of Hagar and Sarah is useful for those seeking to reimagine the social and spiritual connections between groups historically in opposition.

As the brief survey above indicates, ancient and modern scholars revisit Philo’s discussions of Hagar for varying reasons and with differing expectations. In addition, they often focus on divergent elements of his allegorizing: certain fathers attend to the *reference* of terms in his allegory (such that “Hagar” refers to “preliminary studies,” Sarah to “virtue,” and so on), and several scholars in conversation with feminist theory focus on the *relation* of terms, that is, his depiction of Hagar and Sarah as complementary rather than antithetical. However, despite these significant differences, the groups share an overarching question that shapes their assessments of Philo, namely, what constitutes ethical engagement with the biblical figure of Hagar? Their mutual focus on the pragmatics of biblical interpretation—on the likely *effects* of Philo’s allegorization of Hagar, as distinct from Philo’s *accuracy* in accounting for the meaning, or semantics, of the wording of Genesis²⁵—informs their arguments about the worth and relevance of Philo’s teaching.

²⁴ For instance, in “Unto the Thousandth Generation,” the opening chapter of *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children*, Phyllis Trible and Letty M. Russell provide evidence that “most contemporary studies of the three faiths keep the traditional focus on Abraham” and propose that a more promising way forward is to “study...the women Hagar and Sarah” rather than “stressing the putative unity located in Abraham” (1, 26n1).

²⁵ For an overview of semantics and pragmatics as fields of linguistic study, see chapters 17 and 21, respectively, of David Crystal’s *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). For extended discussion of the scope of pragmatics, with examples throughout, see Stephen C. Levinson, *Pragmatics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). An application of the

The Figure of Hagar

Before proceeding to analyze the ethical concerns of these groups more fully, I will first offer a brief overview of Philo's engagement with the biblical figure of Hagar. My use of the term "figure" here is deliberately multivalent, because in literary studies, a "figure" may be a person (as in, "she is an important figure," where "she" refers to a human being) or a representative of something else (Merriam Webster cites for this usage the King James Version of Romans 5:14: "Adam . . . who is a *figure* of things to come"²⁶). These two senses of the term correspond with Philo's understanding of the word "Hagar" as both referring to a woman and symbolizing various teachings about the progress of the soul.²⁷ He interprets other biblical figures similarly, describing the double signification of the Abraham narratives as follows: "The actual words of the [Genesis] story are an encomium on Abraham as a man; but, according to those who proceed from the literal to the spiritual, characters of soul are indicated also, and therefore it will be well to investigate them too."²⁸ This search for

insights of pragmatics to biblical exegesis is provided by Gene Green in "Lexical Pragmatics and Biblical Interpretation," *JETS* 50, no. 4 (2007): 799–812.

²⁶ "Figure," Merriam Webster Online Dictionary, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/figure.

²⁷ On these appearances of dual interpretations of Hagar in the works of Philo, see Henrichs, "Philosophy," 440, and Judith Romney Wegner, "Philo's Portrayal of Women—Hebraic or Hellenic?" in *Women Like This: New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1991), 55.

²⁸ *Abr.* 217.

multiple levels of meaning is characteristic of expert readers trained in the Alexandrian milieu.²⁹

Following this schema, Philo comments on both the historical and the allegorical Hagar in a number of his works. In the *Questions and Answers in Genesis*, for example, he habitually addresses first the literal and then the allegorical sense of the wording of Genesis 16.³⁰ Philo gives Hagar more than a passing consideration: in comparison with other Jewish commentators in antiquity, Philo “pays the most attention to Hagar,”³¹ mentioning her name twenty-seven times across nine works extant in Greek, and also in the *Questions*, preserved in Armenian. In *On Abraham*, as well, Hagar is alluded to, though not named, as part of an extended soliloquy Philo attributes to Sarah as she articulates why she has urged Abraham to seek an heir through her handmaiden (Greek: δούλῃν).³² In several instances, Philo’s references to Hagar are abbreviated, but he also offers sustained commentary in works such as *De Congressu*, in which the narrative in Genesis 16:1-6 provides the organizing frame for the entire work.³³

²⁹ For classic accounts of Alexandrian hermeneutics, see David Dawson’s *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991) or Frances Young’s *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Young revisits the relationship between Alexandrian and Antiochene biblical interpretation in “Traditions of Exegesis,” *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, eds. J. Carleton Paget and J. Schaper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 734–51.

³⁰ *QG* 2.13–38.

³¹ Adele Reinhartz and Miriam Walfish, “Conflict and Coexistence in Jewish Interpretation,” in *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children*, 104.

³² *Abr.* 247–254.

³³ *The Philo Index: A Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria* by Peder Borgen, Kåre Fuglseth, and Roald Skarsten (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) cites the following mentions of Hagar in the Greek manuscripts: *Leg.* 3:244; *Cher.* 3, 6,

Though Philo values both the historical and allegorical senses of scripture,³⁴ he often favors the latter when discussing Hagar. For instance, at the end of *De Congressu*, Philo epitomizes his allegorical approach as follows:

When, then, you hear of Hagar as afflicted or evil-entreated by Sarah, do not suppose that you have here one of the usual accompaniments of women's jealousy. It is not women that are spoken of here; it is minds [διάνοια]—on the one hand the mind which exercises itself in the preliminary learning, on the other, the mind which strives to win the palm of virtue and ceases not until it is won.³⁵

Hagar and Sarah are just two of the many biblical figures Philo perceives as part of an overarching allegory of the education of the soul. He expands on this theme at length in works such as *De Congressu*, *On the Creation* (Gen 1), the three books of *Allegorical Interpretation* (Gen 2–3, with excursions into other portions of the Pentateuch), *On Abraham* (Gen 5–26), *On the Migration of Abraham* (Genesis 12:1–3, 6), *On Joseph* (Gen 37–47), and the second book of *On Moses* (selections from

8; *Sacr.* 43, 43; *Post.* 130, 130, 137; *Sobr.* 8; *Congr.* 1, 11, 20, 23, 23, 24, 71, 88, 121, 122, 139, 180; *Fug.* 2, 5, 202; *Mut.* 255; *Somn.* 1:240. See also QC 2.13–38 and *Abr.* 247–254.

³⁴ This is noted by Dorothy Sly in *Philo's Perception of Women* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990), 216, 218. For a related analysis of Philo's literal and allegorical interpretations of the figure of Sarah, see Maren R. Niehoff, "Mother and Maiden, Sister and Spouse: Sarah in Philonic Midrash," *Harvard Theological Review* 97, no. 4 (2004): 413–44. Niehoff argues that previous studies of Philo that depict him as "writ[ing] women out of the traditions and history of his people" are based on selective reading of his works and expands analysis to *Abr.* as well as the more customarily read *QG* and *Leg.*, 414–415.

³⁵ *Congr.* 180.

Exod–Deut). In every case, he invites his readers to approach the Pentateuch as a book that teaches them about historical figures, but also as one that speaks figurally about how to live in the present: in particular, about how to nurture and discipline their souls so as to attain the heights of virtue. For Philo, allegorical interpretation is what enables readers to understand scripture in this way.

Philo's Allegorical Method

Because *allegorēsis* is featured so prominently in Philo's depictions of Hagar, later readers who cite Philo must wrestle with its suitability as a mode of reading scripture in general as well as its application in this particular instance. In both patristic and feminist contexts, critiques of allegory abound, as do defenses of its viability, and even necessity, for Christian engagement with scripture.³⁶ Those who approve and those who disparage Philo's allegorizing are not merely concerned with whether or not he has interpreted the Hagar narratives correctly according to historical, linguistic, or literary criteria, but also with the potential of his allegorical reading to encourage or hinder moral behavior. Thus, many of their claims about Philo's allegorization of Hagar are also claims about what constitutes ethical engagement with scripture.

This can be seen, first, by considering just two of the many critiques of allegory that emerge from patristic and feminist quarters. On the one hand, ancient teachers such as Eustathius of Antioch, Diodore of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia resist allegory because,

³⁶ Jason Byassee provides an incisive overview of recent support for allegorical interpretation in "The Return to Allegory Movement," chapter two in his *Praise Seeking Understanding: Reading the Psalms with Augustine* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 9–53.

in their view, it enables undisciplined *eisegesis*, or reading meanings *into* the narrative.³⁷ When Theodore comments on Galatians 4:24, for example, he mocks those who “suppose that everything must be tossed into allegory,”³⁸ as though this method of reading encourages arbitrary or ad hoc interpretation. But as Hauna Ondrey has argued, Theodore here is not so much concerned about “any and every” meaning being imported into scripture, as about certain very specific Origenist views, which Theodore regards as heretical, being legitimized. In other words, Theodore is not arguing about “method for method’s sake,”³⁹ but is fencing against a method of reading *and its effects*, which might harm to the reader by enticing him to heresy.

On the other hand, various scholars engaged in feminist-influenced reassessments of Philo’s treatment of Hagar equate his allegorization with a failure to address the moral implications of Genesis. Reinhartz and Walfish set up the contrast this way:

Philo does not attach great importance to Hagar as an individual or as a character in a biblical story, nor does he show much concern for the moral issues raised by Genesis 16 and 21. *Rather*, he

³⁷ Hauna Ondrey identifies this as one of two concerns shared by these teachers. The other is that since allegorical reading was typically applied to fiction, its use implied that scripture was fiction (*The Minor Prophets as Christian Scripture in the Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyril of Alexandria*, Oxford Early Christian Studies [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018], 24–25).

³⁸ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Galatians* 83. The Latin reads: *illorum qui uniuersa in allegoriam iactanda esse existimant*. *Theodore of Mopsuestia: The Commentaries on the Minor Epistles of Paul*, trans. and ed. Rowan Greer (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 124–25.

³⁹ Ondrey, *Minor Prophets*, 25.

treats Hagar solely as an element in his thorough allegorical interpretation of Genesis.⁴⁰

Elizabeth Clark characterizes patristic interpretations of Hagar similarly: “When the Fathers do refer to Hagar, it is as a symbol. . . . Nowhere does she seem to be a character for whom sympathy might be shown, a character who all too well recalls the plight of homeless, destitute, abandoned, and mistreated women.”⁴¹ These statements imply that the primary “moral issues” signaled in Genesis are the use and abuse of Hagar at the hands of Abraham and Sarah, and/or the representation of God or the narrator as perpetuators of patriarchy.⁴² Many of those “who approach the text with a concern to emphasize the plight of the oppressed—such as liberation, feminist, African-American, and postcolonial interpreters”⁴³—express concern that the *effects* of cursory engagement with Hagar’s experience as human, woman, slave, Egyptian, and/or mother will necessarily involve “the domination of women and of all groups considered inferior because of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, disability, and the like.”⁴⁴ Their resistance to allegorization is linked to their resistance to the perceived effects of allegory on readers’ actions and attitudes.

⁴⁰ Reinhartz and Walfish, “Conflict and Coexistence,” 104, emphasis mine.

⁴¹ Clark, “Interpretive Fate,” 143.

⁴² Fisk, “Sisterhood,” 123–24, cites as an exemplar of this view Esther Fuchs, “The Literary Characterization of Mothers and Sexual Politics in the Hebrew Bible,” in *Women in the Hebrew Bible: A Reader*, ed. Alice Bach (London: Routledge, 1999).

⁴³ Fisk, “Sisterhood,” 115.

⁴⁴ Letty M. Russell, “Children of Struggle,” in *Hagar, Sarah, and Their Children*, 186.

A shared concern about the ethics or effects of interpretation can be seen, second, among proponents of allegory. Philo and many others who employed Alexandrian techniques of literary criticism regarded *allegorēsis* as a way to address perceived moral difficulties in the scriptural text, and thus a way to ensure that readers did not take the *wrong* moral message from biblical narratives.⁴⁵ Problematic features of this passage cited by various fathers include the apparent endorsement of adultery/polygamy by Sarah, Abraham, and Hagar as well as Sarah's jealousy of and harshness toward Hagar.⁴⁶ According to Ambrose of Milan, who relies so heavily on Philo that the nineteenth-century scholar J. B. Aucher referred to him as *Philo Christianus*,⁴⁷ these are not actions that later readers should emulate.⁴⁸ Instead, to Ambrose and others trained in allegorical interpretation, the presence of these details in Genesis suggests that faithful readers should look beyond the historical sense in order to discover the full extent of this passage's

⁴⁵ As Hent de Vries concludes, "Allegory arises from the theological need to conceive of a higher meaning behind whatever may seem offensive," 41.14. Other attributes of scripture that may prompt allegorical interpretation include its status as divine discourse, which some ancients associate with its polysemy, and the presence of any infelicity such that the passage seems "'absurd,' 'impossible,' 'morally noxious,' or 'in contradiction' (with another passage)," as discussed by Adam Kamesar in "Biblical Interpretation in Philo," *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, ed. Adam Kamesar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 65–91, quote on page 78.

⁴⁶ On the former, see Henrichs, "Philosophy," 439–40, citing *De Congr.* 12. On the latter, see Niehoff, "Mother and Maiden," 429, citing *Fug.* 1–6, *Cong.* 139–140, 180, and *QG* 3.25. Niehoff observes, "It is striking that the texts . . . Philo reads allegorically are almost exclusively verses that he ignored in his literal exegesis . . . Sarah's jealousy and maltreatment of Hagar are treated only in Philo's allegories, and tactfully omitted from the *Life of Abraham*," (429).

⁴⁷ Runia, *Philo*, 292.

⁴⁸ *On Abraham* 1.28.

divine teaching.⁴⁹ In this construal, allegory is not only a turning away from what is morally objectionable on one level of the narrative, but also a turning toward what the narrative teaches on another level about “the progression and appearance of virtue.”⁵⁰ For instance, Ambrose interprets the fact that Abraham had to bear children with Hagar before doing so with Sarah as indicating that the full acquisition of virtue takes persistent discipline over time. He also notes that, just as Sarah could not bear children according to her own desire or timing, people cannot acquire virtue whenever they please, but must rely on God’s mercy and provision.⁵¹ Another supporter of allegory, Clement of Alexandria, cites Philo’s allegorical interpretation of Hagar in support of the claims that “he . . . who has received previous training is at liberty to approach wisdom” and that “wisdom can be acquired through instruction”⁵² (as opposed to being inherited or natural). In these instances, Ambrose and Clement recommend and use allegory in order to protect readers from interpretations of scripture they regard as potential enticements to sin—and to urge them on in their pursuit of moral excellence.

Finally, among modern researchers engaging with feminist theory, John L. Thompson exhibits an appreciative approach to allegory while still attending to the potential effects of allegorical interpretation on the perspectives of later readers. Thompson

⁴⁹ Ambrose also affirms the historical sense, especially in the first half of *On Abraham*, where he draws conclusions about marriage and adultery. For discussion, see Marcia L. Colish, *Ambrose’s Patriarchs: Ethics for the Common Man* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 51–53.

⁵⁰ *On Abraham* 2.1.

⁵¹ *On Abraham* 2.74–75.

⁵² *Stromateis* 1.5.

accomplishes this by distinguishing Philo's use of the allegorical method from the nature of his opinions about Hagar as a person, thus calling into question the equation of the allegorical method with morally suspect exegesis.⁵³ Thompson says:

[O]ne may also argue that Philo's own intention and usage did not necessarily determine the later reception of his words. That is to say, Philo himself may well have had a low opinion of the "real" Hagar (thought, perhaps significantly, he does not comment). *Yet the equanimity with which he often treated the allegorical Hagar may still have had an ameliorating effect on how the literal Hagar was later perceived.* In any case, on the allegorical level, Philo clearly had no problem reading and even redirecting the biblical narrative so as to portray Hagar in a relatively flattering light.⁵⁴

This statement entails at least two relevant claims: first, that Philo's use of allegory has no necessary relationship with his view of the "real" Hagar, and second, that Philo's use of allegory is just as likely to have encouraged "sympathetic" or appreciative approaches to the historical Hagar as it is to have discouraged them.⁵⁵ Maren Niehoff offers a similar appraisal of Philo's allegorization of the figure of Sarah, asserting that although "Philo certainly was a conservative who did

⁵³ Here, Thompson is in dialogue with the position stated above that, if Philo does not demonstrate sympathy for the historical Hagar's plight, then his interpretations are potentially harmful.

⁵⁴ Thompson, *Writing the Wrongs*, 27, emphasis mine.

⁵⁵ The language of "sympathy" for Hagar and the association of sympathy with ethical interpretation is common in feminist-influenced scholarship. For instance, it appears in the quote from Clark cited above (n41); Thompson argues that Philo "is clearly capable of portraying Hagar sympathetically" despite his acceptance of "patriarchal values" (*Writing the Wrongs*, 26–27).

not challenge prevalent patriarchal structures,” his allegorical interpretations reveal that “he is willing to idealize Sarah as the personification of masculinity who enjoys the closest ties to God.”⁵⁶ Niehoff and Thompson express reservations about allegorization but also acknowledge its potential for effecting morally acceptable attitudes and actions; they reject the claim that all use of allegory necessarily has negative moral consequences.

Thus, ancient and modern adjudicators of Philo’s allegorization advance numerous arguments about the hazards and benefits of the allegorical method. They disagree over the potential of the method to evoke or deter moral action. What these groups share, however, is a tendency to assess the value of allegory in general or its use in a particular instance in light of the effect it has on later readers: in other words, they focus on what speech act theorists call the “perlocutionary force” of the allegorization.⁵⁷ Insofar as Philo’s use of allegory provides what they regard as a helpful way forward (i.e., if it helps them read scripture as an instruction manual for virtue or to appreciate the moral complexities of Hagar’s experience), they approve it. Insofar as Philo’s allegorization is perceived as giving license to heretics or perpetuating immoral behavior, they criticize it. This ostensible debate about the allegorical method is also a debate about what constitutes moral action and ethical interpretation.

⁵⁶ Niehoff, “Mother and Maiden,” 444.

⁵⁷ See chs. 8–9 of J. L. Austin’s *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962, 1975) for further description of the locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary elements of speech acts.

A Conversation among Fathers and Feminists

In sum, Philo's allegorization of Hagar has been a focal point of analysis for many readers across the ages, including those conversant with ancient Alexandrian study culture and contemporary feminist biblical criticism. These readers demonstrate a range of responses to Philo's teaching on Hagar: some reject, modify, or qualify his exegesis, while others embrace, extend, or merely record it. In their evaluation of Philo's contribution to the exegetical tradition, they are far from univocal.

At the same time, one characteristic these diverse readers hold in common is their focus on the ethics of biblical interpretation. When they evaluate the worth and relevance of Philo's *allegorēsis*, they do so not only on semantic or philological grounds (could "Hagar" mean "preliminary studies"? does this reading accord with authorial intent?) but also in light of its pragmatics (how will interpreting "Hagar" in this way encourage or inhibit moral action?). For these readers, the fate of Philo's allegorization of Hagar is a function not only of what Philo says about Hagar, but also of what he *does* in the act of expositing the Bible—and of what his interpretations may inspire others to do.

This unity of focus situates fathers and feminists as cross-cultural dialogue partners who are mutually concerned with the definition and limits of ethical interpretation. As such, they illustrate how different study cultures can provide unique yet complementary vantage points on a common method of textual evaluation. Contemporary assessments of Philo's allegory would do well not only to consider the pragmatic approach highlighted by these two groups, but also to examine how other interpreters separated by time, space, and culture might combine to illuminate new avenues for exploration.

The Cure of Souls at Antioch:

A Response to Robert Hill on Theodoret of Cyrus as Spiritual Director

Stefana Dan Laing
Beeson Divinity School

This paper addresses Robert Hill's critique of Theodoret of Cyrus's deficiency as a spiritual advisor. His position is outlined most clearly in a 1999 article, "A Spiritual Director from Antioch [Theodoret's Psalms Commentary]." There he writes:

Theodoret did not cast himself in the role of a guru, leading his readers through the dark night of the soul . . . he is reluctant to get beyond the historical or Christological or eschatological sense he gives a psalm to apply it with any intimacy to the lives of his flock. . . . Perhaps fewer than a dozen times does the bishop move from the historical or eschatological application he is giving to a psalm to tease out its significance for his readers's lives: they are left to bridge the gap themselves.¹

This is not the only place that comments to this effect appear. In an April 2000 article, Hill mentions Theodoret's "fascination for marginal

¹ Robert Hill, "A Spiritual Director from Antioch," *Pacifica* 12 (1999): 186–87.

figures” in addition to his deficiency as a spiritual director.² In the introduction to his 2000-01 English translation of Theodoret’s massive *Interpretatio in Psalmos* (a translation for which he is owed a great debt of gratitude!), Hill presented similar charges against Theodoret’s spiritual leadership with a sort of running commentary of his own in the footnotes, noting Theodoret’s deficiency as a spiritual director in the appropriate psalms.³ In his NAPS 2002 paper, Hill is more magnanimous to Theodoret when comparing him to Diodore’s and Theodore’s hermeneutical perspective which overemphasized “to *historikon*,” thereby confining the Psalms’s meaning to the Old Testament.

“Spirituality is a casualty of the commentators’s mode of interpretation,” he writes.⁴ “Theodoret will come to realize the spiritual impoverishment this approach can produce.”⁵ Hill continues on in a final section on “limited spiritual guidance on the Psalms,” comparing favorably Theodoret’s and Chrysostom’s hermeneutical moderation and attempts to incorporate some interpretations of spiritual value for readers or hearers, respectively, to Diodore’s and Theodore’s “bare historicism.” In a 2003 article comparing the resulting commentaries of the four Antiochenes on Psalm 41(42), Chrysostom alone emerges as praiseworthy for application of the psalm to the lives of his audience, Theodoret being classed a “desk

² Robert Hill, “Theodoret, Commentator on the Psalms,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 76 (2000): 91, 98, 101, 104.

³ Robert Hill, *Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on the Psalms*, 2 vols. Fathers of the Church 101-102 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 2000-2001).

⁴ Robert Hill, “His Master’s Voice: Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Psalms” (paper presented at the North American Patristics Society, Chicago, IL May 2002), 7.

⁵ Hill, “His Master’s Voice,” 8.

commentator” along with the other two exegetes. Hill indicates that this difference of genre is the cause of Theodoret’s restraint in personal, spiritual application.⁶ The “preacher” can expound on personal application, while the desk theologians are bound by exegetical and ascetical inhibitions.⁷

By contrast to Hill’s view of Theodoret’s spirituality, Yvan Azéma, the critical editor of Theodoret’s epistolary corpus, made the following comment in his introduction to his own work: “Among all his activities, there was one which Theodoret practiced with particular zeal, and this was spiritual direction.”⁸ Again, a difference of genre could possibly account for these competing views of Theodoret’s spirituality: Azéma’s comments were occasioned by his treatment of Theodoret’s personal, intimate writings, while Hill’s comments were occasioned by his treatment of a technical exegetical work.

In addition, it seems that the two translators’s expectations and understandings of a spiritual director may differ. Hill seems to require one main criterion: personal application of Scripture to the lives of the readers. His expectation in the Psalms commentary is that Theodoret will assume the role of a spiritual director who has a personal, intimate relationship with his disciple, an expectation for which he (Hill) cannot be faulted. After all, as Irénée Hausherr writes in his classic study of spiritual direction in the Eastern Church, the chief concern of the spiritual director (or spiritual father or mother) is the *personal*

⁶ Robert Hill, “Psalm 41 (42): A Classic Text for Antiochene Spirituality,” *Irish Theological Quarterly* 68 (2003): 26, 30, 33.

⁷ Hill, “Antiochene Spirituality,” 33.

⁸ Yvan Azéma, trans., *Theodoret of Cyrus: Correspondance*, Sources chrétiennes 40 (Paris: Les Éditions Du Cerf, 1955), 57.

relationship which develops between one experienced master and one disciple who wishes to profit.⁹

Azéma seems to have a broader understanding of Theodoret's spirituality, taking at face value what he finds in the correspondence.

To bring to souls badly informed or troubled by doubts the clarity which they lack, to strengthen a flagging will, to propose in a difficult case a solution which is in keeping with the principles of reason and moral laws . . . to redress erroneous opinions or to reprimand when there has been a fault, to reignite a zeal which seems to be flickering, these are some of the tasks which are imposed on Theodoret in his role as director of conscience (spiritual director).¹⁰

He continues: "Throughout these letters of moral direction, Theodoret always reveals himself as a guide to whom one can appeal in tragic moments, and who, with devotion, brings to some what he believes to be the truth, to others delineates their duties, and to others he furnishes words of condolence."¹¹

I would like to propose that Theodoret does indeed qualify as a spiritual director—even on Hill's terms—and that he offers spiritual direction both directly and indirectly. Direct application is given in a number of Psalms, some even admitted by Hill, though he simultaneously laments the inadequacy of that direction. Some of the

⁹ Irénéé Hausherr, *Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East*, translated by Anthony P. Gythiel, Cistercian Studies Series 116 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 1–2.

¹⁰ Azéma, *Correspondance*, 57–58.

¹¹ Azéma, *Correspondance*, 58.

Psalms in which Theodoret specifically intended an application include Psalm 4 on prayer, Psalm 14 on trusting in God despite injustice, Psalm 18 which refers to recent fifth-century invasions from the north and east, Psalm 24 on moral virtue, Psalm 25 on his audience's various life states, Psalm 30 on the Christian response to death, Psalms 31 and 32 on sin, repentance and prayer, Psalm 35 on righteous suffering and Christian love, Psalms 39, 47, and 51 on the passions, Psalm 69 on hope and prayer, and many others besides. Nonetheless, Hill concludes in his April 2000 article, "there are others [limitations] that may be highlighted by readers expecting more from this pastor in the way of moral principle and spiritual guidance. Theodoret never moralizes, rarely applies a Psalm to his readers' lives, and does not pretend to mysticism; he would resist any claim to guru status. . . . If the Psalms offer more and deserve better, he could not give it."¹²

An examination of his personal correspondence reveals that Theodoret was able to give spiritual direction and application. The themes which appear in the letters as spiritual themes involve the movements of the soul, as he dwelt on how to curb and overcome the passions, thus cultivating a life of Christian virtue or *aretēs*. For example, in an intimate consolatory letter to the newly-widowed Alexandra, Theodoret wrote empathetically about controlling the passion of grief, giving direction and simultaneously showing pastoral love:

Had I only considered the character of the loss which you have sustained, I should have wanted consolation myself, not only because I count that *what concerns you concerns me*, be it agreeable or otherwise, but because I did so dearly love that admirable and

¹² Hill, "Commentator on the Psalms," 104.

truly excellent man. But the divine decree has removed him from us and translated him to the better life. I therefore *scatter the cloud of sorrow from my soul*, and urge you, my worthy friend, to *vanquish the pain of your sorrow (or grief) by the power of reason*, and to *bring your soul in this hour of need under the spell of God's word*. Why from our very cradles do we suck the instruction of the divine Scriptures, like milk from the breast, but that, when trouble falls upon us, we may be able to *apply the teaching of the Spirit as a salve for our pain?*¹³

These same themes are treated in various Psalms. Middle Stoic virtue ethics manifested themselves in the episcopal tradition of spiritual guidance in terms of movements of the soul involving the struggle between reason and the passions, often advocating the ideal of *apatheia* (tranquility or complete balance of the passions). Psalm 51 is a good example of this kind of spiritual teaching.

Now, we learn from this [David's sin with Bathsheba] . . . that nature tends to stumble when troubled by passions; yet victory lies with the mind-set (*gnōmē*), making use of effort to lend assistance . . . With [passions] and what springs from them, reason (*logismō*) is in combat, and if victorious, it is celebrated and crowned with a victor's laurels, but if defeated, it is deserving of shame and liable to punishment.¹⁴

In Psalm 6, Theodoret even used the Platonic charioteer motif to speak of this tension:

¹³ Theodoret *Epistulae 14 to Alexandra* (SC 98).

¹⁴ Theodoret *In Psalmos 50 (51):5* (PG 80:1244–45; trans. Hill, FC 101, 297–98).

Under the influence of weakness, sin overcomes. After all, if the reasoning faculty within us were not weak, the passions would not rebel; to put it another way, provided the charioteer is firm, and steers and controls the horses skillfully, there is no occasion for bucking.¹⁵

Spiritual direction also used wellness metaphors. Theodoret may not be overt, but traditional images of God as healer and physician of souls, and language of sin and the human sinful condition as requiring surgery and healing pervade Theodoret's commentary, particularly the penitential Psalms. In Psalm 6, David's sin is a wound (*traumatōn*) for which the remedy (*pharmakion*) is repentance and the cure (*therapeia*) is forgiveness. In Psalm 4, Theodoret says the psalmist "was correct in bidding us pass in review what was said or done during the day, and in obliging us to heal (*therapein*) our wounds (*traumatōn*) with the remedy (*pharmakō*) of repentance."¹⁶ Incidentally, the use of medical metaphors by Theodoret is acknowledged by Hill, who refers to them neatly as "traditional," but he implies that they may be trite. However, Timothy Ware insists that the spiritual director as *doctor* was by far the primary image used in the East from the fourth century forward, and Theodoret often used this kind of language of himself when writing consolatory letters.¹⁷ In my estimation, two factors may account for Theodoret's brand of spirituality: method and audience. Here we shall only have time to deal with method.

¹⁵ Theodoret, *In Pss* 6 (trans. Hill, FC 101: 74).

¹⁶ Theodoret, *In Pss*. 6 and 4 (trans. Hill, FC 101: 74-75; 65).

¹⁷ Timothy Kallistos Ware, introduction to *Spiritual Direction in the Early Christian East*, by Irénée Hausherr, xii-xiii; For example, *Letter 15 to Silvanus the Primate* (NPNF² 3:255).

A Method of Mimesis

Theodoret frequently indicates an indirect application by means of concrete mimetic exemplars, both positive and negative. The use of exemplars fulfills Theodoret's intent to deal with ethical themes that arise in the text, themes of virtue and vice, which certainly were the concern of a spiritual director. He used positive exemplars such as David, Josiah, and Hezekiah to teach on Christian love (Psalms 35 and 141), loyalty to God in the face of idolatry (Psalms 101 and 139, Josiah being proffered as a "model of perfection"), and the effectiveness of fervent prayer (Psalm 14). He also set forth negative exemplars such as Rabshakeh and/or Sennacherib, Saul, and Absalom to teach about atheism and unbelief (Psalm 14 and 53, for the words of Sennacherib and Rabshakeh are those of the fool who says in his heart that there is no God, drawing an explicit comparison to Julian the Apostate), the tragedy of betrayal by a beneficiary (Psalm 140 and 142), and he uses the story of Absalom in Psalms 3 and 7 to teach about hoping in God despite injustice (even at the hands of a fratricide and parricide like Absalom). The use of concrete models whose historical situation is an integral part of the lesson given illustrates another aspect of Theodoret's method: noble or reprehensible deeds, and those who accomplish or perpetrate them respectively, constitute the substance of a narrative's intended *mimēsis*.

In Theodoret's province of Syria, teaching through historical narrative was commonplace, and D. S. Wallace-Hadrill indicates that Syrians especially emphasized the importance of teaching through narrative. Commenting on two Syriac narratives,¹⁸ Wallace-Hadrill sets forth the ancient authors' belief that "a doctrinal point can be

¹⁸ The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Barhadbešabba and the *Pseudo-Dionysian Chronicle*.

demonstrated by historical exposition: the facts have only to be stated for the truth of the doctrinal issue to be manifest to the reader. The record speaks for itself.”¹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill emphasizes that the author of the *Pseudo-Dionysian Chronicle* believed that the very point of a historical narrative was to admonish:

The events are enough by themselves, and if the events did not teach us a lesson, the events were a waste of time. And indeed the author does not point [out] any moral but leaves the events to teach their lesson. The effectiveness of the method can be overestimated, but it is characteristic of the Antiochene and Syrian presentation of their case and it is analogous to their understanding of the scriptural record.²⁰

Indeed, Azéma comments that Theodoret was saturated by Biblical culture, and that he saw in the sacred text a “nourishment and an irreplaceable instrument for personal formation and moral direction. Persuaded that the Scripture speaks to all situations, and that it is capable of enlightening the theologian as well as informing one’s conduct, he referred to it incessantly.”²¹ This method analysis just confirms Hill’s point, but *my* point is that the *ancient* audience *understood* what Theodoret intended and did not *expect* explicit application, so that Theodoret can hardly be faulted for being more oblique in the eyes of a *modern* audience.

¹⁹ D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Christian Antioch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 66 (see chapter 3, “Historiography in the Eastern Church”).

²⁰ Wallace-Hadrill, *Christian Antioch*.

²¹ Azéma, *Correspondance*, 65.

Theodoret's mimetic technique was grounded in Hellenistic *paideia* and in Middle Stoic virtue ethics, both of which had found their way into Christian spirituality and theological anthropology by the fourth century. A good example of the combination of Christianity and virtue ethics is the use of David (the exemplar par excellence in the Psalms) to teach on Christian love in Psalms 34 and 35. Theodoret insists that the Scriptures provide for "us" the best virtues of David as an example (archetype), and he proceeds to explain how David manifested Christian charity towards the belligerent Saul, even before the law of love (i.e., the Gospel requirement of love of enemies) had been issued. Throughout the commentary, David demonstrates magnanimity toward his enemies. He embodies the four cardinal virtues: temperance, prudence, fortitude and justice/ righteousness (*sōphrosunē*, *phronēsis*, *andreia*, and *dikaiousunē*).²² Besides the traditional virtues, David also embodied characteristically Christian virtues such as love of neighbor. In Psalm 34, Theodoret says that David "proposes himself . . . as a model (*archetupon*)" for Christians.²³ In this exemplary capacity, David adheres to the forms of Christian virtue such as purifying the tongue, shunning evil and seeking peace. Theodoret goes further to teach on Christian ethics, specifically here, love and true friendship: "The peaceable person entertains peace towards everyone, not purloining the neighbor's property furtively, not committing homicide, not undermining marriages, not speaking evil, not doing

²² Theodoret, *In Psalmos* 7:4-5 (PG 80:908; trans. Hill, FC 101, 78). The exception, of course, is the famed sin against Bathsheba and Uriah, when David's passions overcame his reason. The sin appears in all the Penitential Psalms, as well as in all Psalms set in the context of Absalom's pursuit of his father (an example of the enduring consequences of his sin). David is commendable, however, for his sincere repentance.

²³ Theodoret, *In Psalmos* 33 (34):5 (PG 80:1104; trans. Hill, FC 101, 208).

evil, doing favors, showing respect, sharing, lending support, sharing dangers and struggles—such is unalloyed love and genuine friendship.”²⁴ Psalm 35 likewise shows David vis-à-vis Saul living by the New Testament law of love rather than the Old Testament law which allowed hatred of enemies. Theodoret comments on David’s prayer for the shaming of his enemies,

The inspired author was adopting the way of life sanctioned by the Law, not by the Gospels. Now, the Law speaks plainly of loving the neighbor and hating the enemy. By contrast, Christ the Lord, to show virtue in its perfection, said, “. . . Love your enemies and bless those who persecute you.” . . . Now, for proof that in keeping with the Gospel requirements, even [David] did not take vengeance on those who wronged him, listen to him saying, “If I repaid in like fashion those rendering me evil, let me then end up empty-handed before my foes” . . . and he did not say this without doing it: he put his words into practice, and the actions are clearer than the words. . . . Now, I was obliged to recount these events because of those who boast and quote the case of the divine David, so that they may have the best values of David as a beneficial model (*archetupon*).²⁵

The same point appears in Psalm 141, where David is again pursued by Saul. Through his prophetic charisma, David knew the law of love would supersede the old law, and therefore he preferred to act in accordance with love. Theodoret remarks, “Foreseeing the evangelical way of life, however, he preferred to live by it, and he prays he will

²⁴ Theodoret, *In Psalmos*, 33 (34):13-14 (PG 80:1108; trans. Hill, FC 101, 210). A similar list is found in Psalm 118 (119):64 (PG 80:1841; trans. Hill, FC 102, 259).

²⁵ Theodoret, *In Psalmos*, 34 (35):28 (PG 80:1120; trans. Hill, FC 101, 217).

take no excuse for sin.”²⁶ The Psalms were intended for the spiritual guidance of faithful Christians, and Theodoret allowed David to serve an exemplary function for them. Christians (or any reader of the commentary) were to imitate David’s example.

Theodoret’s use of mimetic exemplars answers Hill on two counts: first, it casts a positive light on Theodoret’s usage of “marginal figures,” confirming Theodoret’s commitment to Antiochene principles of historical exegesis, for these figures spring directly from the text and its context. Rabshakeh, Sennacherib, Mephibosheth, Shimei, and others appear in the books of 1 and 2 Kings which were understood as the background to the histories of David and Hezekiah. Second, Theodoret’s use also demonstrates his skill as a spiritual director after all, one who does not teach virtue solely as an abstract ideal to be cultivated by Christians, but rather one who offers models which *embody* virtue for the benefit of the reader, even if that benefit is offered in “concentrated form.”

²⁶ Theodoret, *In Psalmos*, 140 (141):4 (PG 80:1949; trans. Hill, FC 102, 339).

Author Interview:

Lynn H. Cohick and Amy Brown Hughes:

Christian Women in the Patristic World: Their Influence, Authority, and Legacy in the Second through Fifth Centuries. Baker Academic, 2017

A brief bio about each author:

Dr. Lynn H. Cohick serves as Provost/Dean at Denver Seminary. She earned her Ph.D. in New Testament and Christian Origins from the University of Pennsylvania. She researches the ways Jews and Christians lived out their faith in the ancient settings of Hellenism and the Roman Empire, and how Jews and Christians today can better appreciate and understand each other. Dr. Cohick also explores women's lives in the ancient world, most recently focusing on Christian women in the Early Church. She enjoys studying the Apostle Paul and his epistles within their larger Jewish and Greco-Roman contexts. Her publications include *Philippians* in *The Story of God Commentary* (Zondervan, 2013); *Ephesians* in *New Covenant Commentary* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010); *Women in the World of the Earliest Christians* (Baker Academic, 2009).

Dr. Amy Brown Hughes is an assistant professor of theology at Gordon College. The overarching theme of Amy's work as a historical theologian is that early Christian writers continue to be fruitful interlocutors in modern discussions of theology. Her research interests

include Eastern Christianity, Trinitarian and Christological thought, Christian asceticism, theological anthropology, and highlighting the contributions of minority voices to theology, especially those of women. In addition to *Christian Women in the Patristic World*, Dr. Hughes contributed to an edited volume of essays from a symposium on Methodius of Olympus at Friedrich Schiller University Jena, Germany, *Methodius of Olympus: State of the Art and New Perspectives* (De Gruyter, 2017) and co-authored a series of essays about early Christian writers with George Kalantzis (Wheaton College) for the early Christianity section of the volume *Reading Christian Theology in the Protestant Tradition* (T & T Clark, 2018).

CACS Editors: Why did you two decide to team up and co-write this book on Christian women? How did you go about co-writing, how did you choose these figures, and what did you hope to accomplish?

Dr. Cohick: We knew each other at Wheaton College, where Amy received her PhD and we discovered we had similar interests in the women of the early church. We lived in the same location for the first year of the project, so it made collaboration easier. We would meet over lunch and sketch out our research findings and discuss ideas. We chose figures who exemplified their culture and its questions.

We wanted to offer an accessible, academic volume that would demonstrate the variety of women and the range of experiences and contributions they made. There are other excellent books on these women that focus on the historical – what it was like to be a woman in late antiquity, what do we know about their particular contexts, how to read texts written by men about women, etc.

We wanted to draw upon that work and then focus on the theological contributions of these women. We are used to hearing about the church “fathers” and their contributions to trinitarian theology and other major discussions but not so much about what role women played in the development of Christianity. We wanted to show that they were there, they were in those conversations, and they were innovating and living lives of devotion and service just like their male counterparts.

CACS Editors: You highlight female martyrs, females in art, females and the spiritual life, females and written literature, women and the Empire, and women and early Christian theology. Seeing that women experienced such a broad role in early Christianity, what does this tell us about the role of women in the early Church? What might we do to help recapture this vision of women in antiquity?

Dr. Cohick: I think people have a skewed view of women at this time – that they were very minimally involved in the church, very passive, just not really doing things in the public sphere. But that is not what the texts and inscriptions and other evidence tell us.

For example, women were arrested and testified publicly for their faith. We have many examples of female martyrs, and confessors, those who were awaiting their execution. The second-century martyr, Thecla, serves as a model for later men and women who desire an ascetic or strict moral life dedicated to teaching the gospel and healing. In 203 in North Africa, Perpetua and Felicitas were martyred. We have Perpetua’s diary, where she talks about her struggles with her father,

who was not a Christian. He pleads with her to recant, but she says she cannot, for she is a Christian. This line “I am a Christian” is a constant refrain. Slave women, such as Blandina from ancient Lyons, or Felicitas, Perpetua’s companion and a slave woman who gives birth just days before she goes to her death in the arena, make this testimony.

We think the fearless testimony by these female martyrs is astonishing and compelling. It means that the public face of Christianity was that of a martyr, male and female. In the most crucial of events—dying for Christ—we see that there is neither male nor female, all are one in Christ. This might be a guide for working together in churches today—regardless of the church’s ordination practices. The bishop was martyred alongside the slave woman—both equally testified to the reality of the resurrection of the body.

A second matter is that women were active participants in the worship life of the churches, as noted in inscriptions that talked about their active prayer life, and we see it in catacomb frescos. We see it in women’s desire to live ascetic lives that challenge the status quo that pursues wealth and social status. Actually, in some ways Roman culture in the third and fourth centuries is a lot like American culture. But the denial of self gratification that was evidenced in many Christian women’s lives was a push back against a culture that also was highly stratified and did not care at all for the lives of slaves and the poor. Women actively met the needs of the poor and sick.

CACS Editors: You (Dr. Hughes) recall an encounter with a young woman in a small urban church who struggles through her Christian vocation. Would you mind expanding upon your experiences as a

woman in scholarship, a woman in the church, and how we might paint a better vision of human flourishing for women and men in the church/scholarship?

Dr. Hughes: Sarah's question struck me so deeply because it was a question I had asked myself over the course of many years. She wasn't just asking about her vocation, she was asking me about what trajectories were even available in the first place.

If there's little to no representation or a lack of cultivation of a broad range of opportunities for women, then those trajectories, if they are even available to women in the first place, aren't obvious. Let me offer an example of what I mean: I knew that I wanted to be a teacher from a very young age and I knew that I wanted to study theology as a first-year undergraduate student. What was not clear to me was that becoming a professor, and a theologian at that, was even an option. I had never seen or even heard of a women theologian, let alone a woman pastor until I entered college. Even then, they were few and far between. It took some perceptive mentors (most of whom were men) who saw something in me, showed me what was possible, and helped me navigate the terrain.

For me, a better vision of human flourishing for women and men in the church and in scholarship involves prioritizing opportunities for women (especially women of color) to move freely through the ecclesial and academic spaces. We also need to highlight voices and books by scholars who are the trailblazers and support those newer scholars and church leaders well.

Flourishing is difficult when one is isolated as the only woman in the department or on staff. The isolation is magnified when one is the only black woman, the only Native woman, the only disabled woman, the only mother, the only single woman in that environment. It is exhausting to be “the only.” Until it is normal for women to be in the pulpit, in the department, in the administration, in the boardroom, we need to work toward intentional, practical support systems for women to flourish.

CACS Editors: How does this book, that highlights the role of Christian women in antiquity, help us in modern expressions of the Christian faith? How does this help us engage public theology, university life, and ecclesial life?

Dr. Hughes: About halfway through a class on early and medieval theology, one of my students reflected upon what he was learning (most of it for first time) and mused “I feel held by the tradition.” This struck me because I think it’s easy to make the mistake of skipping over context and privileging what’s right in front of us. It takes work and empathy to listen to the stories of and learn from those in our own families who are a few decades older than us, let alone those who lived centuries ago and are removed from us by language, location, and culture.

Yet, Christianity doesn’t make sense without the story of God’s relationship with the people of Israel, God showing up in first-century Palestine, or the witness of both those who saw him in the flesh and those who’ve remained faithful to that witness ever since. That “great cloud of witnesses” is always with us and they instruct us through their

lives of devotion, their treatises, their letters, their art, their churches, and whatever other physical and textual connections they have left behind. Without those witnesses, our Christianity becomes untethered, impersonal, and small. Learning about those who've gone before us in the faith brings connection, family, and breadth to our faith; and upon experiencing the embrace of witness, we feel the security and intimacy of being "held by the tradition."

This is the experience I had when I began reading about these women. It was like realizing for the first time that Christianity had always been for me as a woman. You'd think that would be obvious but it wasn't. When the story doesn't include you, you don't think the story is about you. I needed these stories told. Women and men need these stories told for what they are: core to the development of Christianity.

The moment we relegate women as tangents in the history of Christianity is when it becomes normal to treat women as ancillary to theology, scholarship, and the work of the Church now. Unfortunately, this is already par for the course in some academic arenas and in far too many churches. This should tell us that we've not been telling the story well for a long time. We hope our book helps us relearn the story of the early development of Christianity, not merely for the sake of knowing it but so that all of us can feel "held by the tradition."

CACS Editors: Why are the voices of (ancient and modern) Christian women important for the life and growth of Christian piety, Christian theology, and the Christian way of life?

Dr. Cohick: I read this question several times, and thought – would anyone ask why the voices of Christian men are important? I think the fact that we even ask about women’s voices shows that we have conceived of the church as really only half a body of Christ. But as we study ancient female Christians, we see the piety and endurance of these disciples – the women who stayed with Jesus at the cross and faced the likely harrassment of the Roman soldiers; the women who died horrific deaths as martyrs, testifying to the faith; the women who learned Scripture and debated theology with the male leaders of the day. Their testimony provides confidence for women today that they have a history to live into, and to live up to.

Our book is in part a response to the incomplete story the church has told about its early centuries. We know about the councils and their creeds, but we have not remembered the dialogues learned, wealthy, and imperial women had with their male counterparts in the church. We have not fully accounted for the influential testimony of female martyrs that shaped men’s and women’s spiritual imagination for centuries. I would say that women’s voices are as important as men’s voices in fully understanding the Christian life – and we have neglected to listen.

CACS Editors: You invite your readers to *tolle lege* ancient sources. If educators, academics, and the informed Christian pick up your book, what ancient sources might they supplement their reading? [Perpetua, Eusebius on Blandina’s martyrdom, etc.]

Dr. Hughes: Thankfully there are many translations out there to choose from that make these texts accessible. Many of them are even

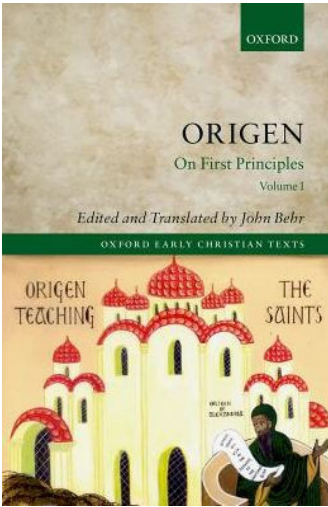
available online (mostly older translations but still a good resource). There are a couple of collections of texts about women in early Christianity that have selections or full texts.

The trailblazing scholar in this field is Elizabeth Clark and she has a volume like this called *Women in the Early Church*. There is also a volume that focuses on the Greek texts by Patricia Cox Miller called *Women in Early Christianity*. These volumes include the sections from Eusebius's *Church History* that tell the story of Blandina as well as others referenced in our book. Those are a good place to start. Full texts of the *Life of Melania the Younger* and Gregory of Nyssa's two works with his sister Macrina (*Life of Macrina* and *On the Soul and the Resurrection*) are widely available as is Augustine's *Confessions*.

CACS Editors: Are there any remaining comments or words that you'd like to leave us with?

Dr. Cohick: I'd like to say that I think anyone studying women in the ancient world runs a risk of making the historical figures two-dimensional. They might nuance the material to suit a modern purpose. Both Amy and I have tried to let these women speak for themselves, even if they seem hard to relate to by modern standards. I don't know what I'd chat about with Felicitas or Blandina if I had a coffee with them – their lives as slave women is so foreign to my own. But I'd love to hear them talk to me about their Savior, because I know I would see Him with deeper understanding. I guess what I'm getting at is that in our proper quest to bring these ancient women into the modern conversation, I want also to make sure that they say what they want to say, and not what I want them to say.

Book Reviews



John Behr. *Origen: On First Principles*. 2 volumes. Oxford Early Christian Texts.

Oxford: Oxford University Press 2017

Pp. xcviii + 664. ISBN: 978-0-19-968402-1.
\$180 [Hardback].

Ryan M. Clevenger, Ph.D.
Wheaton College

If John Stuart Mill reminded us that there once was a man named Socrates, it is no exaggeration to say that in the twentieth century we cannot be too often reminded that there once was a man named Origen. Not only the twentieth century, but over all of church history the specter of Origen looms large, even if more often than not as a bogeyman. As in his own time, Origen is a divisive figure earning both disciples and detractors, and perhaps no work of his is more divisive than *Peri Archon* (henceforth, *PA*). It is with open arms that we should welcome Behr's enormous accomplishment for bringing to English-speaking scholarship a critical edition of Rufinus's Latin translation and a new English translation.

Considering the contentious nature of Origen's work, Behr's 98-

page introduction offers a thorough yet concise entrée into the debates surrounding *PA*—who Origen was, the reliability of Rufinus’s translation, and the structure and content of *PA*, all of which could constitute a book in itself. For those skeptical of attempts to exonerate Origen, it should be said that Behr’s work here is not *merely* an attempt to do so. Behr does discuss the controversies surrounding Origen, and the most important discussion for me concerns the critical edition of *PA* by Paul Koetschau (published in 1913 in *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*), and the problems it has caused for modern reception of Origen. Koetschau inserts many fragments from Jerome and Justinian into his critical edition. Behr shows why we should be incredulous about Jerome’s reliability as a source for Origen’s beliefs, and it is now well established that the Origenism of Justinian’s time is of an Evagrian flavor. If that were not enough, fragments 10 and 12 were compiled by Koetschau from various sources and passed off as Origen’s own words (and Butterworth credulously follows Koetschau in his English translation). The unreliability of Jerome, Justinian, and Koetschau has become standard in Origenian scholarship, and Behr’s summary of this new consensus will be helpful to non-specialists who wish to make use of *PA*. Behr rightly places Koetschau’s interpolations in an appendix, though once in a while he will place a relevant fragment from Jerome or Justinian under Rufinus’s Latin with an English translation in the footnotes on the right-hand page. The one exception is the beginning of book 4 that is in large part preserved in the original Greek in the *Philocalia* (erroneously, in my opinion, attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea by Behr). We are, whether we like it or not, left with Rufinus’s translation, and throughout his edition and translation, Behr notes carefully where one should be suspicious or where—based on testimony from elsewhere in Origen’s extant corpus—

Rufinus's condensed or expanded translation can be trusted.

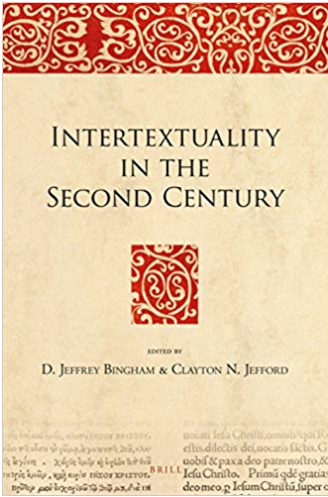
When discussing *PA*, there is always a temptation to gravitate toward the controversial issues (pre-existence of the soul, the fall into bodies, universalism, etc.). While I do want to mention that I was intrigued by Behr's appeal to Tzamalikos's analysis of time to explain Origen's "antecedent cause" of the Fall (that is, not as chronological but with reference to God's foreknowledge [p. lxxx–lxxxiii]), the most significant feature of Behr's work is actually how he divides the book. Behr's choice to split his translation up into two volumes—by no means necessary—is an ingenious maneuver to reinforce his argument for the structure of *PA*. The physicality of the two volumes forces the reader to ignore the actual book divisions in favor of Behr's division between Theology (1.1–2.3), Economy (2.4–3.6), Inspired Scripture (4.1–4.3), and Recapitulation (4.4).

The latter divisions will be less controversial than the former. With regard to the former, Behr divides the first two sections into Apostolic Preaching (1.1–1.6; 2.4–2.9) and the Church's Preaching (1.7–2.3; 2.10–3.6). He justifies these subdivisions by appealing to the rough outline of *PA* provided by Origen in the Preface and what seems to be a distinction Origen himself makes between apostolic preaching and ecclesiastical preaching. However, I am not completely convinced. I do not think the references to the faith of the Church (*ecclesiae fidem*) in 1.7.1 or ecclesiastical preaching (*ecclesiastica praedicatio*) in 2.10.1 function as a demarcating division within the book, at least not one as important as the book divisions within the text. For example, Behr justifies lumping 2.1–3 with 1.7–8 (therefore ignoring the book division between 1.8 and 2.1) on the grounds that Origen references what "was discussed in the preceding book" (*quae superiore libello disserta sunt*)—which is the contents of 1.7–8—and takes that to indicate that 1.7–8 is

to be taken with 2.1–3 as a *whole unit* (p. 145 n. 3). However, Origen makes the same comment a little further down (*libra superiore dissertum est*) which clearly references 1.6.2, so it cannot be the case that 1.7–8 is more closely linked with 2.1–3 than 1.6. Instead, “the preceding book” should be understood to refer to one thing containing both 1.6 and 1.7–8.

Despite my disagreement about the division of the book, this volume should be required for any student of early Christianity, Christian theology, or biblical studies (Behr’s introduction is especially important for catching up the latter two groups on current Origenian scholarship). His translation is readable and—especially when one considers Butterworth’s translation—uncluttered. I did notice a mistake in the Greek accents on pages 222–223 (should read *φανταστική* and *ὀρμητική*), but these are negligible when considered in light of Behr’s whole accomplishment.

Ryan M. Clevenger, Ph.D.
Wheaton College



D. Jeffrey Bingham and Clayton N. Jefford.
Intertextuality in the Second Century. The
Bible in Ancient Christianity 11

Boston, Brill: 2016.

Pp. Xvi + 252. ISBN: 978-90-04-30891-6.
\$142.00 USD [Hardcover].

Wyatt Graham, Ph.D.

Intertextuality in the Second Century contains twelve chapters and an introduction. The multi-author volume “offers an appreciation of the value of intertextuality—from Greek, Roman, Jewish, and biblical traditions—as related to the post-apostolic level of Christian development within the second century” (p. 3). In this work, Clayton Jefford writes on Sirach and Matthew; Christopher Tuckett studies 2 Clement and the New Testament; Richard Bauckham discusses Papias and Irenaeus; Michael Holmes studies how Socrates, Jesus, and Polycarp intertextually relate; Allen Brent writes on Ignatius; Candida Moss engages Pauline reception in the Acts of Ignatius; Paul Hartog works on 1 Corinthians 2:9 within the apostolic Fathers; Lynn Cohick looks at *Peri Pascha*; Mark Edwards writes on Justin and ends with Athenagoras; Jeffrey Bingham looks at accounts of martyrdom; John Behr discourses on Irenaeus and so does Stephen Presley.

The term *intertextuality* refers to how two texts interact with one

another to create new meaning. *Intertextuality in the Second Century*, thus, studies how second century texts interact with other texts. For the most part, this volume studies how patristic texts interact with Scriptural texts, although not exclusively so. For example, Richard Bauckham discusses how Irenaeus cites the words of Papias in his chapter, “Intertextual Relationships of Papias’ Gospel Traditions: The Case of Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.33.3–4” (pp. 37–50). Each essay is well written, and each chapter fits into the purpose for which this volume was produced. By studying it, readers will gain a greater appreciation for Patristic sources, and they will also gain a greater understanding of how these sources interact with others texts. The major challenge in reading *Intertextuality in the Second Century*, however, is found in defining the term *intertextuality*.

Julia Kristeva coined the term *intertextuality*, speaking of it in this way: “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of *intertextuality* replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least *double*.”¹ In short, *intertextuality* refers to how texts relate to one another without regard to authorial intent or diachrony (if one quote precedes another quote). But, within the field of biblical studies, *intertextuality* often means something entirely different. Likewise, within *Intertextuality in the Second Century*, one can detect a tension between *intertextually* as classically defined and *intertextuality* as presented within this volume.

In his chapter, Michael Holmes recognizes the problem of *intertextuality*, writing, “conceived as a synchronic concept,

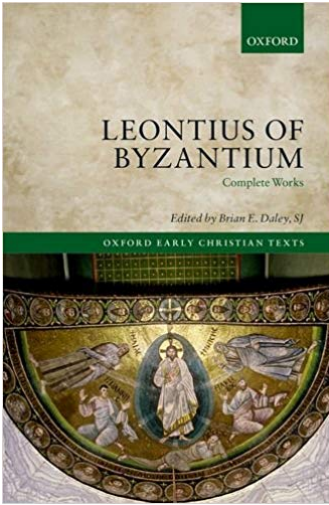
¹ Julia Kristeva, “Word, Dialogue, and Novel,” in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 66 (*italics original*).

'intertextuality' is frequently employed in [sic] diachronic way that stands in sharp tension with its original vision" (p. 58). John Behr also makes note of the problem in his brilliant chapter, "Scripture and Gospel: Intertextuality in Irenaeus" (pp. 179–94). He underscores how intertextuality divests intertexts of authors and of a signified behind the signifier (p. 179). And yet, Behr shows how Christ is the meaning of Scripture for Irenaeus and that Irenaeus believes in a transcendent signifier (pp. 193–94). Furthermore, despite these affirmations of intertextuality as an authorless and synchronic discipline, Candida Moss writes a chapter on how the Antiochene Acts of Ignatius use Pauline literature (pp. 87–97). What is fascinating, then, is to see a tension between what the discipline of intertextuality means (is the author involved or not; does it matter if one text precedes another or not?) within a work that aims to cover intertextuality in the second century. The problem is less with the work itself and more with idea of intertextuality. Scholars use the term intertextuality in various ways, and perhaps this honors Kristeva's vision of intertextuality. After all, she proposed that intertextuality is a "mosaic of quotations," and at times scholars seem to use intertextuality to mean whatever they want it to mean; it becomes a mosaic of definitions without regard to its original intent.

Despite the tension and perhaps because of the tension, *Intertextuality in the Second Century* is a fascinating multi-author volume on one of the most central topics of Christianity in the ancient world: how Christians receive and interpret texts. If early Christian studies or intertextuality are of interest, then readers should not hesitate to engage this volume. It will clarify how early Christians received biblical texts (and other texts). This volume will illuminate readers as they

engage the texts found within as a “mosaic of quotations” that come to have a life of their own, an afterlife so to speak.

Wyatt Graham, Ph.D.
Hamilton, Ontario



Brian E. Daley, SJ. *Leontius of Byzantium: Complete Works*. Oxford Early Christian Texts

Oxford: Oxford University Press 2017.

Pp. xvii + 616. ISBN: 978-0-19964-5237. \$205 [Hardback].

Ryan M. Clevenger, Ph.D.
Wheaton College

Since the influential work of Frederick Loofs, Leontius of Byzantium has been much discussed in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Christology. Yet despite his prominence, Leontius's corpus remained untranslated into English. Therefore, the publication of Brian E. Daley's translation of the complete works of Leontius—originally his doctoral work begun in the 1970s—is to be most welcomed. Contemporary Christology debates on the relationship between Christ's divine and human nature continue, thus Daley's translation makes the whole range of Leontius's thought available to a wider audience, giving readers access to more than the few choice quotes that tend to get discussed.

Daley provides a thorough 110-page introduction that discusses Leontius biography, context, and theological contribution, as well as an overview of the manuscript tradition, earlier editions, Daley's edition,

and a select bibliography. Some of the introduction is discussed by Daley elsewhere (such as Leontius's relationship to Origenism), but the introduction provides a brief recapitulation of his prior scholarship and much more. While he does have a section analyzing Leontius's theological contribution (more on that below), Daley devotes more space to summarizing the content of each of Leontius's works. At times he discusses how a particular work might relate to another (e.g., the *Epilyseis* to *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* [CNE]) or interpretive difficulties, but mostly he summarizes the content of each work. Additionally, Daley provides a summary of Leontius's use of *florilegia*, including citations for each quote. Such *florilegia*, which became popular in the fifth century, were important for theological debates in Leontius's time, and might easily be overlooked by the non-specialist. Authors such as Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, or Cyril of Alexandria are, unsurprisingly, cited often, but even Augustine (*Ep.* 137 and *Tractatus in Joannem* 78, 3) makes an appearance. The rest of the volume includes a critical edition of the Greek text with apparatus and an English translation on the facing page, four appendices, and English and Greek indices. The first two appendices, appearing after CNE (the first work in Leontius's corpus), are diagrams found in scholia on Leontius that illustrate two arguments in CNE, the third, at the end of the volume, is a collection of uncertain fragments of Leontius (left untranslated), and the fourth is a tabular comparison of Leontius's *florilegia* with other ancient *florilegia*.

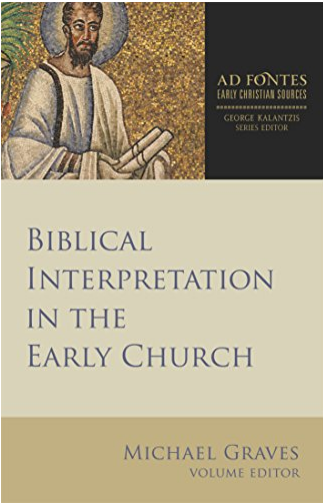
Overall, Daley provides an excellent English translation. There is a marked difference between Daley's florid translation of Gregory of Nazianzus and his translation of Leontius, but this merely reflects the distinct styles between those two authors. Daley's translation tries to balance Leontius's technicality with readability, and he does this well

(though this by no means diminishes the difficulty of reading Leontius). The works of Leontius range in quality (e.g., the analytical rigor one finds in *CNE* is almost entirely absent in *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos*), but there is much here that remains of interest both to historians and to contemporary theologians. While I think more attention should be paid to *Contra Aphantodocetas* and the early 6th century debate over the corruptibility of Christ's flesh, many theologians will be interested in Leontius primarily because of his use of the term *enhypostatos*. What Leontius means by the term has been muddled by Loofs's over-reading the *en-* in *enhypostatos* to mean "hypostatized *in*." Daley gives a summary of this as well as the influence of Loofs's interpretation in authors such as Adolf von Harnack, H. M. Rellon, Karl Barth, Stefan Otto, Abbot Daniel Hombergen (pp. 74–75). Against this, Daley translates *enhypostatos* as "hypostatic" (e.g., in the key passage of *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* 1, 134, 19–135, 20), because *enhypostasis* for Leontius is a concrete nature as opposed to an abstract concept of nature (which is *anhypostatos*). Daley only gives a brief summary of the issue (partly in the summary of *CNE*, but mostly in the section "Leontius the Theologian" [pp. 72–78]). Daley does not engage in depth with the most recent scholarship—historical or theological—on the use and meaning of *enhypostatos* (though the bibliography has been updated since his dissertation). This, of course, is understandable considering the scope of Daley's work; those looking for more in this regard will have to look elsewhere such as Benjamin Gleede's, *The Development of the Term ἐνυπόστατος from Origen to John of Damascus* (Brill, 2012).

A few problems should be noted, though by no means do they detract from Daley's achievement. The first is a simple error in the heading of the third work in this translation, the *Eaporēmata* (also

identified by its short Latin title, *Triginta Capita*). In the introduction, Daley correctly gives the title *Epaporēmata*, but in the actual translation, the heading is erroneously given as *Epilyseis* (the work translated immediately prior to *Epaporēmata*). Second is a typesetting issue. Throughout Daley's critical edition one finds lines where there are no spaces between words (e.g., p. 132 l. 21 is a particularly egregious example). While not a serious problem, this should not have been an issue for a critical edition such as this. As I said, these are really minor issues, especially when compared to Daley's overall accomplishment. While the book would naturally appeal to specialists in Byzantine history or theology, theologians interested in Christology will also benefit from Daley's work.

Ryan M. Clevenger, Ph.D.
Wheaton College



Michael Graves, ed. *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*. Ad Fontes: Early Christian Sources

Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2017.

Pp. xxx + 299. ISBN 978-1-4514-96376. \$24.00 [Paper].

Matthew Y. Emerson, Ph.D.
Oklahoma Baptist University

The purpose of Ad Fontes, according to series editor George Kalantzis, is “to invite readers ‘to return to the sources,’ to discover firsthand the riches of the common Christian tradition and to gain a deeper understanding of the faith and practices of early Christianity” (p. viii). In this addition to the series, Michael Graves aims to “provide a useful survey of early Christian interpretation of Scripture through primary sources” (p.xi). Graves’s volume includes selections from fifteen sources, ranging from the second through the fifth centuries, that give the reader a glimpse into the theory and practice of early Christian interpretation. The primary factors in editorial selection include, for earlier (pre-Origen) passages, the texts’ ability to “illustrate major features of Christian exegesis, such as christological typology, proofs from prophecy, appeal to the Rule of Faith, salvation-historical paradigms, and use of Scripture to refute heresy” (xi-xii). Regarding

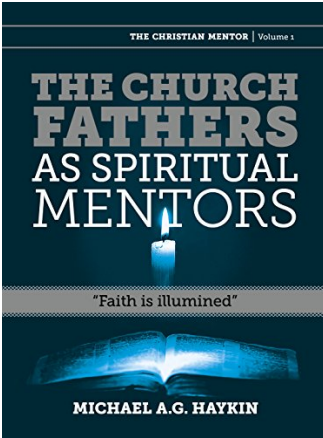
the later period, beginning with Origen and stretching through the fifth century, Graves selects passages that “articulate coherent ideas about how to interpret Scripture and also treat specific biblical texts with enough detail to show how the theoretical ideas work in practice” (p. xii).

Graves begins the book with an introduction to and historical overview of early Christian interpretation. The author focuses his attention in this initial chapter on the definitions of and relationship between the literal and spiritual (or allegorical) senses of Scripture. The remainder of the book consists of selection from fifteen different authors in the early Christian period. For the period prior to Origen, there are selections from five different authors: the anonymous author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian. The selections from the later period of early Christianity are taken from works by Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Ephrem the Syrian, Diodore of Tarsus, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuetia, John Chrysostom, Augustine, and John Cassian. Each chapter consists of a brief historical and conceptual overview by Graves, followed by the selections from the primary sources. Most often the primary sources included are from one work by the author, although this is not always the case. For instance, the chapter on Origen includes selections from multiple works.

This book is a welcome resource for the classroom, particularly in undergraduate settings. The selections do exactly what Graves wants them to do, namely, provide an overview of the theory and practice of early Christian interpretation. Graves should be commended both for his choices and for his ability to introduce the reader to interpretive theory and the historical background needed to understand the development of Christian interpretation during this period. Those

considering this for classroom use should note, though, that most of the selections are incomplete (that is, they are not the entire work by an author but only portions of it) and that Graves's introductory comments regarding early Christian interpretation are necessarily brief and therefore in need of further comment by instructors. This is not a criticism of the book; far from it. Rather, it is only to say that the book's purpose and scope are properly and necessarily limited, and so those considering it for classroom use should not expect it to be able to do all things for all classes. It does, though, accomplish its stated purpose and is therefore useful in a variety of settings. For those who need an entry way into the world of early Christian interpretation, whether for themselves for their students, I highly recommend *Biblical Interpretation*.

Matthew Y. Emerson, Ph.D.
Oklahoma Baptist University
Shawnee, Oklahoma



Michael A. G. Haykin. *The Church Fathers as Spiritual Mentors: "Faith is Illumined"* The Christian Mentor, Vol. 1.

Ontario: Joshua Press 2017.

Pp. 212. ISBN: 978-1-894400-81-7. \$21.99 [Softcover].

Coleman M. Ford, Ph.D. Candidate
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

The Church Fathers as Spiritual Mentors: "Faith is Illumined" is volume 1 of a three-volume series entitled *The Christian Mentor* by Michael A. G. Haykin. Volume 2 covering the Reformers and Puritans was released in 2012, with volume 3 on 18th-19th century Christians forthcoming. In this series, Haykin wishes to help readers recover church history for modern consideration and application. This *ressourcement* allows modern (particularly Evangelical) readers to continue to remedy their historical amnesia in order to see the historical foundation upon which they stand. Haykin's agenda is to provide chronological vignettes across the early centuries of Christian history, highlighting key events and people who can serve as spiritual mentors for the present.

Starting in chapter two, Haykin provides an overview of pre-Nicene Christology, highlighting early theological debates and the Christian response. He promotes both Ignatius of Antioch and the author of the letter to Diognetus as helpful guides in understanding

early Christian (post-NT) claims regarding the person and work of Christ. Though plenty of other texts and authors could have been included, Haykin claims these two as representative of early orthodox Christological claims (p. 18).

The next mentor Haykin wants readers to consider is Irenaeus of Lyons on the nature of Scripture. He draws out Irenaeus's view of Scripture primarily from *Against Heresies*. Contrary to some scholars's rendering of Irenaeus as hungry for power, Haykin asserts that the Bishop was motivated primarily by "a genuine love for truth and a sincere desire for the spiritual well-being of his fellow believers" (p. 34). In chapter four, Haykin assesses Greek eschatological thought from Irenaeus of Lyons to Basil of Caesarea. What Irenaeus considered of first importance had been relegated to "an old wives' tale" by the likes of Basil (p. 59). Haykin relates the debates of these Greek thinkers to modern debates over the millennium among Evangelicals. Such debates must not be fellowship-breakers but should always be approached in a spirit of humility and mutual respect, even amidst disagreement (p. 60).

Chapter five focuses on the pneumatology of Cyprian of Carthage, while chapter six highlights the history and faith of emperor Constantine. Cyprian provides a pre-Nicene perspective on the Holy Spirit—rarely considered, but helpful in understanding the work of the oft-neglected third member of the Trinity. As Haykin turns to the life of Constantine, he concludes that this emperor was sincere in his confession though perhaps flawed in his execution. Haykin argues that Constantine and his reign should be given a sympathetic hearing, even if it produced mixed results for the Church.

Chapters seven, eight, and nine consider diverse topics and events within the post-Constantinian fourth century. Haykin treats readers to

a fascinating look at an early Christian argument against abortion from Basil of Caesarea in chapter seven. His lengthiest chapter by far is chapter eight on the topic of biblical exegesis within fourth century trinitarian debates. This is not surprising given his doctoral thesis.¹ This chapter is a boon in light of Evangelical debates over trinitarian doctrine in recent years. Missing here, however, is any trinitarian discussion from the Latin West. Chapter nine provides an overview of the life and thought of Macarius Symeon. His thought on the Holy Spirit and the Christian life gives Evangelical readers a rarely heard but important voice within early Christianity. In chapter ten Haykin looks to Augustine of Hippo and his *City of God* as a helpful commentary on understanding temporal affairs in light of eternity. Haykin provides an overview of “imperial theology” and how Augustine corrects this faulty view of the Church’s temporal state.

Haykin concludes his work with two summative chapters on the act of preaching in the early church (ch. 11) and the development of the papacy (ch. 12). While there are certainly more thorough works on preaching in the early church,² Haykin’s summary is worthy in its own right. In his final chapter, Haykin traces the development of the papacy, ultimately ruling for two crucial “non-theological” reasons: the collapse of Roman rule in Western Europe and the advent of Islam in the seventh century (p. 202). Haykin asserts the importance of understanding the historical context, especially for Evangelicals who may be tempted to believe Roman Catholic historiography of the

¹ See Michael A. G. Haykin, *The Spirit of God: The Exegesis of 1 and 2 Corinthians in the Pneumatomachian Controversy of the Fourth Century*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

² See David Dunn-Wilson, *A Mirror for the Church: Preaching in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

papacy as “providentially ordered” and therefore necessary for church order and doctrine (p. 203).

This volume in The Christian Mentor series should be as helpful to lay-readers as to informed readers in the area of early Christianity. With a wide array of topics, and a few rarely considered subjects, this volume should appeal to a wide audience. That said, the book’s readability does suffer from being a collection of essays and previously published chapters. While this fact is not hidden by Haykin, readers might discern a certain lack of cohesiveness. Haykin does smooth over some of these rough edges with helpful conclusions to keep the theme of spiritual mentor consistent, but even a few of these ties feel forced, as in the chapters on Constantine and the concluding chapter on the papacy. Even so, Haykin’s intended audience will be well-served should they consider taking his advice and listening to the voices of the past in order to help them understand the present and prepare for the future.

Coleman M. Ford, Ph.D. Candidate
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
Louisville, Kentucky

Information for Contributions to the Journal

Fides et Humilitas: The Journal of the Center for Ancient Christian Studies

We invite contributions to the following areas:

- Septuagint Studies
- Second Temple Judaism
- New Testament Studies
- Early Christian Studies
- Patristic Hermeneutics
- Theology and Ethics (Early Christianity)
- Review Essays

Correspondence

- Correspondence and paper submission should be directed to either Coleman F. Ford or Shawn J. Wilhite; e-mail: ancientchristianstudies@gmail.com.

Submission Instructions

- All manuscripts submitted for publication in *Fides et Humilitas* should be carefully edited, grammatically coherent, cogently argued, and contribute to their respective field.
- All submissions must be delivered in a Microsoft Word file or RTF document.
- Place full name, degree, and current institution on the title page. Do not put name in the article for blind review.

Format and Presentation of the Paper

- Articles should begin with an abstract of 100–150 words.

- Article submissions should be between 2,000 and 6,000 words in length.
- Use primary and secondary headings.

Fonts and Foreign Languages

- Use Gentium Font for all articles.
- Use the available SBL Fonts for foreign and biblical languages.
- Quotations from other languages (e.g. German, French, Latin, etc.) should also be translated along with the original text.

Biblical Abbreviations

- When quoting canonical and non-canonical texts, consult Patrick H. Alexander, et al., eds. *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).
 - When references begin a sentence, fully spell the source. E.g., Matthew 7:6 says . . .
 - When references do not begin a sentence, abbreviate the source. E.g., As Matt 7:6 says . . . or (Did. 9:5)
 - All references in the footnotes must be abbreviated regardless if they begin a sentence.

Footnotes

- Chicago Style (Turabian) is required throughout the article.
- Footnotes only; no endnotes.
- No *ibid.* Use Shortened forms on all repeating entries: Last Name, *Shortened Title*, page #.