

SUPPLEMENTS TO
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

Philo of Alexandria

An Annotated Bibliography
1997-2006



Edited by
DAVID T. RUNIA

BRILL

Philo of Alexandria

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to
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Early Christian Life and Language

Editors

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Philo of Alexandria

An Annotated Bibliography 1997–2006
with Addenda for 1987–1996

By

David T. Runia

In collaboration with

THE INTERNATIONAL PHILO BIBLIOGRAPHY PROJECT

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PREFACE

This volume is the final result of the exemplary collaboration of a large number of scholars over a period of more than a decade. My thanks are due in the first instance to the past and present members of the International Philo Project, a group of thirteen scholars in total (in addition to myself): their names are Ellen Birnbaum (Cambridge Mass.), Kenneth Fox (Toronto/Calgary), Albert Geljon (Utrecht), Heleen Keizer (Monza), José Pablo Martín (Buenos Aires), Maren Niehoff (Jerusalem), Roberto Radice (Luino), Jean Riaud (Angers), Karl-Gustav Sandelin (Åbo), David Satran (Jerusalem), Gottfried Schimanowski (Münster), Torrey Seland (Volda/Stavanger), Dieter Zeller (Mainz). With no less than eleven countries represented this team can surely lay claim to the title of 'international'. Year in year out they have responded to my call to gain access to and summarize a list of writings on Philo, and then submit their materials to me by a certain date. Of course before they can do their work the list of bibliographical items has to be prepared. I wish to extend a special vote of thanks to Marten Hofstede (Leiden), who has been most generous with his time in scouring a considerable number of electronic databases for the scholarly references that the other members of the team have had to chase.

Other scholars too have assisted with my enquiries. Their names are too numerous to list all of them individually, but I would like to single out Pieter van der Horst (Utrecht), Giovanni Benedetto (Monza), Gohei Hata (Tokyo) and Sze-Kar Wan (Dallas) for special mention. During the entire decade covered by this work there has continued to be splendid cooperation with Lorenzo Perrone, indefatigable editor of *Adamantius*, the Journal devoted to the study of Origen and the Alexandrian tradition. I would also like to thank James Royse (Claremont) in particular for reading through the manuscript and helping me with numerous valuable suggestions.

I am very grateful to my research assistants over the years, and especially to Tamar Primoratz (Melbourne), who has helped me with proof-reading and various indices, and to Edward Jeremiah (Melbourne), who contributed a number of indices to the volume. I also warmly thank Sydney Palmer for carrying out the difficult task of compiling the index of subjects.

Provisional versions of the yearly bibliographies that make up this volume were published in the pages of *The Studia Philonica Annual*. Up to 2005 the Journal was published by Brown Judaic Studies and I thank its editors Shaye Cohen (now Cambridge Mass.) and Ross Kraemer (Providence) for their cooperation and support. In 2006 the Journal was taken over by SBL Publications. My very warm thanks are extended to Leigh Andersen (Atlanta) for supporting our work and honouring the agreement that the bibliographies could be used as the basis for a separate monograph to be published elsewhere. It has been a joy to work closely with Gregory Sterling (Notre Dame), the other editor of the Annual, during the entire period.

The Publishing house of Brill (Leiden) has continued to support my scholarly work over the decades. I warmly thank Loes Schouten (Leiden) and the editors of Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* for including this study in their series. Mattie Kuiper (Leiden) helped in her usual no-fuss manner with various technical enquiries. The final presentation of the book has also received much benefit from the typesetting acumen of Johannes Rustenburg and his team at TAT Zetwerk, Utrecht.

Lastly I would like to offer a vote of heartfelt thanks to my home institution for most of the past decade, Queen's College at the University of Melbourne, and in particular to its President of Council, Mr John Castles AM, for generously encouraging me to continue my scholarship after I took on the role of Master. Australia is a long way, not only from Philo's Alexandria, but also from the heartland of modern scholarship in Europe and North America. Nevertheless the marvels of modern communication have made it ever easier to continue the truly global collaboration represented by the present volume. I dedicate this work to the band of scholars spread out throughout the entire world who continue to pursue research on the writings and thought of Philo of Alexandria and his historical and intellectual context. May their studies long flourish.

David T. Runia
Melbourne
June 8th 2011

INTRODUCTION

1. History of the Project and the Present Volume
2. Aim of the Present Work
3. Method of the Present Work
 - a. Basic Method
 - b. Scope of the Bibliography
 - c. Uniformity and Variation
 - d. Indices
 - e. Numbering
 - f. Abbreviations
 - g. Electronic Publications
4. Continuation of the Bibliography Project
5. Some Statistics

1. *History of the Project and the Present Volume*

The present bibliography of Philonic studies brings together studies on Philo of Alexandria and his *Umwelt* published in the years 1997–2006. It thus is a continuation of *Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1987–1996* (RRS) published in 2000, the scope and method of which it follows fairly closely.¹ Like its predecessor, it is primarily based on yearly bibliographies prepared by the International Philo Bibliography Project and published in *The Studia Philonica Annual*.² The Project continues to be directed by D. T. Runia, who is in charge of the database that lies at the heart of the Project. He has been generously assisted by a team of scholars who have checked the bibliographical references and compiled the summaries contained in the bibliographies. The team consists of about ten members and has undergone some changes during the ten years covered by the present work. Those members who contributed to all ten bibliographies are: A. C. Geljon, H. M. Keizer, J. P. Martín, J. Riaud and D. T. Runia. Those who contributed to one or more are: E. Birnbaum (9 years), K. A. Fox (7 years), M. R. Niehoff (2 years), R. Radice (3 years), K.-G. Sandelin (1 year), D. Satran (8 years), G. Schimanowski (6

¹ See in this volume 1214.

² See in this volume no. 1215–1221 and subsequent bibliographies in *SPhA* 19 (2007) 235–280, 20 (2008) 167–209, 21 (2009) 73–122.

years), T. Seland (9 years) and D. Zeller (4 years). A special mention must be made of the contribution of M. R. J. Hofstede, who throughout the entire period covered by this volume has given splendid assistance to the Project in the area of electronic database searching. In recent years, with the growth of the internet, this method has become the primary way of locating items of scholarship and reviews scattered across the globe.

The present volume has been compiled by D. T. Runia, with the assistance of some of the members of the project team and of his two research assistants, T. Primoratz and E. T. Jeremiah. The onerous task of preparing the subject index was carried out by Ms Sydney Palmer; the other sections of the indices were prepared by Ms Primoratz and Dr Jeremiah.

2. Aim of the Present Work

The aim of the present bibliography is two-fold:

- (1) To list and give a brief summary of all items of scholarly literature published from 1997 to 2006 dealing directly with the thought and writings of Philo of Alexandria.
- (2) To add additional items which were omitted from the previous bibliography for the years 1987 to 1996 and to correct mistakes in the earlier volume.³

3. Method of the Present Work

a. Basic Method

In all essential respects the present bibliography continues the method of its predecessor. The chief features of this method are:⁴

- (1) Accurate listing of items based where possible on autopsy of the original document;⁵

³ In this volume, in contrast to its predecessor, no attempt has been made to list reviews of books published prior to 1997 which could not be included in the previous volume. Book reviews have been located through the searching of relevant databases (see below § 3(b) and n. 7), but the listing is likely to be very incomplete.

⁴ For further details see Introduction to R-R, pp. xi–xxii.

⁵ Some exceptions have to be made, e.g. dissertations (where the summaries are based on published abstracts). In general slightly more use has been made in this

- (2) Division of the bibliography into two parts:
 - Part One: listing primary studies dealing with Philo's writings and Philonic scholarship under the following headings: Bibliographies, Editions, Fragments, Translations, Anthologies, Commentaries, Indices and Lexicographical works, Journal, Internet sites;
 - Part Two: listing critical studies, presented chronologically by year and alphabetically by author;
- (3) Brief summary of the contents of each bibliographical item, indicating its main thesis and the various subjects discussed;
- (4) Listing of reviews of monographs specially devoted to Philo;⁶
- (5) Full indices allowing fast and accurate access to the contents of the bibliography.

b. *Scope of the Bibliography*

The present work has certainly not escaped the influence of the rise of the internet, the single most significant development in the practice of scholarship during the past decade. Most items of Philonic scholarship are now identified through extensive searching of relevant scholarly databases on the internet.⁷ Because, however, the study of Philo is relevant to so many areas of scholarship,⁸ it is not possible to achieve a complete coverage of all items that discuss aspects of his writings and thought. In particular it is difficult to locate discussions hidden away in monographs on themes in related fields, particularly in studies on ancient history and the New Testament. As previously, the minimum length of the contribution on Philo has been fixed at three pages, unless it concerns a shorter item of exceptional interest. In practice the bibliography aims to be complete at least in the coverage of items that include a reference to Philo in their titles.⁹

volume of abstracts supplied by authors, particularly for works of scholarship outside the mainstream of Philonic scholarship. See for example the studies of O. S. Vardazaryan published in Armenian and Russian.

⁶ Reviews have been collected primarily via electronic databases (esp. *L'année philologique*) and our collection is likely to be quite incomplete.

⁷ The main databases that have been used (most in the public domain) are: *L'année philologique*, Arts and Humanities Index, ATLA Religion database, BILDI, Dissertation Abstracts, Francis, GVK, IBR, IBZ Online, Online contents, Philosopher's Index, RAMBI, Theoldi, WorldCat.

⁸ See the remarks on this subject in R-R pp. xiii–xiv.

⁹ It should again be noted that items relating directly to the Ps. Philonic *Biblical Antiquities* are once again excluded from the bibliography, but that this is not the case for items relating to the Ps. Philonic *De Jona* and *De Sampson*.

The present work continues a feature of its predecessor RRS that differs from the 'mother-work' R-R, namely that no linguistic restrictions are placed on items listed. In practice the main emphasis still falls on works written in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Hebrew and specialists in these languages have been sought as members of the project team. In addition the team also includes scholars versed in Dutch and the main Scandinavian languages. But when items in other languages have reached the attention of the project team and it has proved practical to obtain summaries of them, they have been included. It must be emphasized, however, that coverage of certain European languages (esp. Greek and Russian) and all non-European languages (e.g. Arabic, Chinese and Japanese) remains very incomplete.¹⁰

c. *Uniformity and Variation*

It must be emphasized once again that the preparation of the present bibliography is the result of the collaboration of a team of scholars. In deciding which items should be included in the various language areas and in preparing the summaries, individual collaborators have been given considerable latitude within the guidelines listed above. This has inevitably resulted in a certain amount of variation in terms of method and content, including some details of spelling and orthography. Only limited attempts have been made to regularize this variation.¹¹ Generally speaking European conventions have been followed in the citation of works. This means *inter alia* that initials only are given for authors' first names, the names of publishers are not listed, and single quotation marks are used throughout.¹²

¹⁰ Citation is now mainly dependent on what is included in the main databases recording scholarly publications. But personal contacts of the editor and team members remain important. In particular it should be noted that there is a considerable body of scholarly work in Japanese that it has not been possible to include (see now the article by J. S. O'Leary, 'Japanese Studies of Philo, Clement and Origen,' *Adamantius* 14 (2008) 395–402). In addition it appears that there have been quite a few studies in Rumanian, particularly by Prof Ioan Chirila, that have not gained international attention (communication by Prof. Sandu Frunza to Ellen Birnbaum).

¹¹ E.g. halachic and halakhic, programme and program etc. It was not practical to insist on strict uniformity in the area of differences of English and North American spelling.

¹² Thus deviating from the conventions of SBL publications, including *The Studia Philonica Annual* (since 2006), in which the yearly bibliographies are first published. Exceptions must be made when double quotation marks are used in the titles of books or articles.

In general Greek terms are printed in the original script and have been indexed as such. Certain central concepts, such as *logos*, *pneuma*, *nous* etc., have been transliterated and have been indexed in the index of subjects. Hebrew terms have in all cases been transliterated.

d. *Indices*

The method of the indices continues the practice of RRS. All numbers refer to bibliographical items. In the case of the most important of the indices, the Index of Subjects, we remind the user that items specifically focusing on Philo's treatises are listed under the heading *Corpus Philonicum* and that general discussions of the man and his work are listed under the heading *Philo*.

e. *Numbering*

For the numbering of the items the practice of the previous bibliography has been continued. It has, however, been necessary to make the following further adaptations:

- (i) The numbers in Part One follow on from the previous work. Because of the advent of translations into languages not previously listed, new sections are included commencing with nos. **2901** (Danish), **2911** (Chinese), **2921** (Japanese) and **2931** (Russian).
- (ii) The beginning of the new millennium in 2000¹³ necessitated an important change in numbering for Part Two. For the years 1997 to 1999 bibliographical items continue to begin with the last two numbers of the year, e.g. **9701** etc. for 1997. In years with more than 100 items we thus obtain a five figure number, e.g. **98100** etc. in 1998. From the year 2000 onwards items begin with 2 followed by the last two numbers of the year, e.g. **20001** for the first item in 2000. Years with more than 100 items can thus yield six figure numbers, e.g. **202100** in 2002.
- (iii) Additional items for the years 1987 to 1996 listed in Part Three are again given the next available number following on from the listing in RRS, which is then prefixed with an **a**, e.g. **a87107** (RRS had 106 items for 1987). As in RRS additional items for

¹³ Strictly speaking, as all classicists know, the new millennium commenced in 2001, but the problem of numbering already commenced for the year 2000.

Part One have been listed there and not in Part Three. They are also preceded by an a in their numbering.

- (iv) Cross-references to previous volumes are indicated by the agreed abbreviation R-R and RRS followed by the item number. Cross-references within this volume are indicated by the item number only printed in bold type.
- (v) The index follows the practice of RRS in placing the references to additional items after the items for 1997 to 2006, even though they are chronologically prior.

f. *Abbreviations*

The abbreviations used in the work are listed in the section following the Introduction. No abbreviations are used in the bibliographical references themselves.¹⁴ Abbreviations of journal titles are used in the lists of reviews. In choosing the abbreviations we have tried to be consistent with those used by the Society of Biblical Literature publications (including now *The Studia Philonica Annual*) and *l'année philologique*, but it has not been possible to avoid some discrepancies. For abbreviations of the works of ancient authors and of modern reference works we follow the conventions listed in the *SBL Handbook of Style* and the standard Oxford dictionaries of Liddell and Scott (Greek), Glare (Latin) and Lampe (Patristic Greek).

As suggested in the previous volume, a suitable abbreviation for the present work is RRS₂, indicating that it is a second supplementary volume to the original bibliography R-R.

g. *Electronic Publications*

The present work remains basically a bibliography of printed publications, although extensive use has been made of electronic resources in its preparation. A number of key internet sites have been listed in Part I, §H.¹⁵ No attempt has been made to include documents that have been disseminated by electronic means only, with the exception of some electronic reviews such as the *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*.

¹⁴ This differs from the practice of RRS, in which series titles were abbreviated, but journal titles were written out in full.

¹⁵ Here 3401 and 3402 listed in RRS have again been included because they have continued to be live in the period after 1996.

4. *Continuation of the Bibliography Project*

The International Philo Bibliography Project is being continued at the present time, with provisional listings being given in the pages of *The Studia Philonica Annual*. See the details on the Internet site listed at 3402. Scholars who wish their writings to be included are invited to send the relevant information to the Director of the Project.¹⁶

Some reviewers of RRS remarked that it would be better to publish a work of this kind online. It is to be agreed that it is highly desirable to publish a complete Philonic bibliography that can be consulted online and searched electronically. Unfortunately, because the International Philo bibliography Project is not linked to a research institute and has no independent funding, it has so far not been possible to achieve this goal. At present plans have been made to produce an online version within a few years. Ideally this would include the three annotated volumes R-R, RRS and the present volume, as well as their predecessor G-G (without annotations).¹⁷

5. *Some Statistics*

Once again the compilation of ten further years of scholarship allows us to gain an overview of the progress and development of published research in the field of Philonic studies.

For the years 1987 to 1996 RRS contained a total of 953 items for Part One and Part Two to which can be added 40 additional items contained in this volume, making a grand total of 993 items for the decade.

The present work lists so far (some additional items may be expected) the following totals per year (again adding together Part One and Part Two):

1997	98
1998	117
1999	90
2000	94
2001	95

¹⁶ Current postal address: Prof. D. T. Runia, Queen's College, 1-17 College Crescent, Parkville Vic 3052, AUSTRALIA; email runia@queens.unimelb.edu.au.

¹⁷ Negotiations are in progress with the publishing house Brill. Yearly bibliographies would continue in *The Studia Philonica Annual* and would be made available online in the following year.

2002	103
2003	139
2004	150
2005	92
2006	104
TOTAL	1082

There is thus an increase of about 10% compared with the previous decade. In RRS the following prediction was made (p. xiv): 'It may be concluded that scholarly output on Philo and related subjects is still on the increase, but that it shows signs of stabilizing at an average of about 100 items a year.' This prediction has proved fairly accurate, except for the exceptionally fertile years of 1998, 2003 and 2004, the numbers of which were partly fuelled by the publication of some volumes of collected essays (see 9865, 20305, 20326, 20429, 20480). If a prediction may be made this time, it might be that the inexorable rise of electronic publishing will make the task of the bibliographer much more difficult, and that the number of printed publications may well start to decrease.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Philonic Treatises

<i>Abr.</i>	<i>De Abrahamo</i>
<i>Aet.</i>	<i>De aeternitate mundi</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>De agricultura</i>
<i>Anim.</i>	<i>De animalibus</i>
<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De Cherubim</i>
<i>Contempl.</i>	<i>De vita contemplativa</i>
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>De confusione linguarum</i>
<i>Congr.</i>	<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>
<i>Decal.</i>	<i>De Decalogo</i>
<i>Deo</i>	<i>De Deo</i>
<i>Det.</i>	<i>Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat</i>
<i>Deus</i>	<i>Quod Deus sit immutabilis</i>
<i>Ebr.</i>	<i>De ebrietate</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>In Flaccum</i>
<i>Fug.</i>	<i>De fuga et inventione</i>
<i>Gig.</i>	<i>De gigantibus</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>
<i>Hypoth.</i>	<i>Hypothetica</i>
<i>Ios.</i>	<i>De Iosepho</i>
<i>Leg. 1–3</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae I, II, III</i>
<i>Legat.</i>	<i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
<i>LAB</i>	<i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo)</i>
<i>Migr.</i>	<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
<i>Mos. 1–2</i>	<i>De vita Moysis I, II</i>
<i>Mut.</i>	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>
<i>Opif.</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i>
<i>Plant.</i>	<i>De plantatione</i>
<i>Post.</i>	<i>De posteritate Caini</i>
<i>Praem.</i>	<i>De praemiis et poenis, De exsecrationibus</i>
<i>Prob.</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>
<i>Prov. 1–2</i>	<i>De Providentia I, II</i>
<i>QE 1–2</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum I, II</i>
<i>QG 1–4</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim I, II, III, IV</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	<i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>
<i>Sobr.</i>	<i>De sobrietate</i>
<i>Somn. 1–2</i>	<i>De somniis I, II</i>
<i>Spec. 1–4</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus I, II, III, IV</i>
<i>Virt.</i>	<i>De virtutibus</i>

2. *Philonic Editions, Translations*

Aucher	<i>Philonis Judaei sermones tres hactenus inediti</i> (1822), <i>Philonis Judaei paralipomena</i> (1826)
C-W	<i>Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt</i> , ediderunt L. COHN, P. WENDLAND, S. REITER (1896–1915)
G-G	H. L. GOODHART and E. R. GOODENOUGH, ‘A General Bibliography of Philo Judaeus’, in E. R. GOODENOUGH, <i>The Politics of Philo Judaeus: Practice and Theory</i> (New Haven 1938, reprinted Hildesheim 1967 ²) 125–321
Loeb	<i>Philo in ten volumes (and two supplementary volumes)</i> , English translation by F. H. COLSON, G. H. WHITAKER (and R. MARCUS), Loeb Classical Library (London 1929–1962)
PAPM	<i>Les œuvres de Philon d’Alexandrie</i> , French translation under the general editorship of R. ARNALDEZ, C. MONDÉSERT, J. POUILLOUX (PARIS 1961–1992)
R-R	R. RADICE and D. T. RUNIA, <i>Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1937–1986</i> , VCSup 8 (Leiden etc. 1988)
RRS	D. T. RUNIA, <i>Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1987–1996</i> , VCSup (Leiden etc. 2000)
RRS2	D. T. RUNIA, <i>Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1997–2006</i> , VCSup (Leiden 2011)

3. *Journals and Series*

AAAbO.H	Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A. Humaniora
AAHG	Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
Abr-N	Abr-Nahrain (Melbourne)
AC	L’Antiquité Classique
Adamant	Adamantius
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AJSR	Association for Jewish Studies Review
AKG	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
ALW	Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft
AncPhil	Ancient Philosophy
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies
Ang	Angelicum
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
Ant	Antonianum
APh	L’Année Philologique (founded by Marouzeau)

ArPh	Archives de Philosophie
ASNU	Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis
Ath	Athenaeum
ATJ	Ashland Theological Journal
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BETHL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BEvTh	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BibbiaOr	Bibbia e Oriente (Bornato)
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation
Bijdr	Bijdragen
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BJGS	Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BLE	Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique
BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review
BSac	Bibliotheca Sacra
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies University of London
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CBQ	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBQ.MS	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCARJ	Central Conference of American Rabbis Journal
ChH	Church History
CPhRev	Canadian Philosophical Review
CR	The Classical Review
CRAI	Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles- Lettres
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CrRBR	Critical Review of Books in Religion
CrSt	Cristianesimo nella storia (Bologna)
CurrThM	Currents in Theology and Mission
DA	Dissertation Abstracts
Dial	Dialogue. Canadian Philosophical Review
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
Elen	Elenchos
EphL	Ephemerides Liturgicae
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
EstE	Estudios Eclesiásticos
EstFil	Estudios Filosóficos
ET	The Expository Times
EtCl	Les Études Classiques
ETHL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
ETR	Études Théologiques et Religieuses

EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
ExpTim	Expository Times
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FZPhTh	Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie
Gr	Gregorianum
Herma	Hermathena
HeyJ	Heythrop Journal
IJCT	International Journal of the Classical Tradition
Interpr	Interpretation. A Journal of Bible and Theology
Irén	Irénikon
ISPh	International Studies in Philosophy
IThS	Innsbrucher Theologische Studien
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JbAC.E	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JETS	Journal of Evangelical Theological Society
JFRS	The Journal of the Faculty of Religious Studies. Montreal
JHS	Journal of Hellenistic Studies
JHSex	Journal of the History of Sexuality
JJS	The Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	The Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	The Journal of Religion
JRH	Journal of Religious History
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism (in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period)
JSNT.MS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Monograph Series
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSNT.S	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplementary Series
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOT.S	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplementary Series
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSP.S	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JThS	The Journal of Theological Studies
Jud	Judaica
Lat	Latomus
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LeDiv	Lectio Divina

LThPh	Laval Théologique et Philosophique
Meth	Methexis. Revista argentina de filosofía antigua
Mnem	Mnemosyne
MSR	Mélanges de Science Religieuse
Muséon	Le Muséon
NRTh	La Nouvelle Revue Théologique
NT	Novum Testamentum
NT.S	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OrChrP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
Orph	Orpheus
Paid	Paideia
Pens	Pensamiento. Revista de investigación e información filosofica
PhilAnt	Philosophia Antiqua
Phron	Phronesis. A Journal for Ancient Philosophy
POC	Proche Orient Chrétien
PrOrth	Présence Orthodoxe
QC	Qumran Chronicle
RassLettIt	Rassegna della Letteratura Italiana
RB	Revue Biblique
RBL	Review of Biblical Literature
RBPh	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
REArm	Revue des Études Arméniennes
REAug	Revue des Études Augustiniennes
REByz	Revue des Études Byzantines
RecSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
RelSt	Religious Studies
RelStR	Religious Studies Review
RevBib	Revista Biblica (Argentina)
RFN	Rivista de Filosofia Neoscolastica
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
RHPhR	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses
RHR	Revue d'Histoire des Religions
RPh	Revue de Philologie
RPhilos	Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger
RPhL	Revue Philosophique de Louvain
RRJ	Review of Rabbinic Judaism
RSPhTh	Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques
RSR	Revue des Sciences Religieuses
RThAM.S	Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale. Supplementa

RThL	Revue Théologique de Louvain
RThPh	Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie
RTR	Reformed Theological Review
SAfrJPh	South African Journal of Philosophy
Sales	Salesianum
Salm	Salmanticensis
SBL.DS	Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation Series
SBLSPS	Society of Biblical Literature. Seminar Papers Series
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SCent	Second Century. A Journal of Early Christian Studies
ScEs	Science et Esprit
SCI	Scripta Classica Israelica
Script	Scriptorium
ScrTh	Scripta Theologica
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies, Monograph Series
SPH	Studia Philonica (1971–1980)
SPhA	The Studia Philonica Annual (1989–)
Spec	Speculum
SR	Studies in Religion
StudPatr	Studia Patristica
SwJT	Southwestern Journal of Theology
ThBtr	Theologische Beiträge (Wuppertal)
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
ThRv	Theologische Revue
ThS	Theological Studies
TLS	The Times Literary Supplement
TTh	Tijdschrift voor Theologie
TTZ	Trierer theologische Zeitschrift
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VChr.S	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
VH	Vivens Homo
Vich	Vichiana
VoxP	Vox Patrum (Lublin)
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WW	Wissenschaft und Weisheit. Franziskanische Studien zu Theologie, Philosophie und Geschichte
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antike und Christentum
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie

4. Scholars Responsible for Summaries

ACG	A. C. Geljon
DS	D. Satran
DTR	D. T. Runia
DZ	D. Zeller
EB	E. Birnbaum
GS	G. Schimanowski
HMK	H. M. Keizer
JPM	J. P. Martín
JR	J. Riaud
KAF	K. A. Fox
KGS	K.-G. Sandelin
MRN	M. R. Niehoff
RR	R. Radice
TS	T. Seland

PART ONE

BIBLIOGRAPHIES
EDITIONS FRAGMENTS
TRANSLATIONS ANTHOLOGIES
COMMENTARIES
INDICES LEXICA JOURNAL
INTERNET SITES

A. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

1. *Philo Bibliography Project*

1211. D. T. RUNIA, A. C. GELJON, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, K.-G. SANDELIN, D. SATRAN and D. ZELLER, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1994,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997) 332–366.

Annotated bibliography of Philonic studies primarily for the year 1994 (81 items), with addenda for the years 1992–1993 (12 items), and provisional lists for the years 1995–1997. (DTR)

1212. D. T. RUNIA, A. C. GELJON, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, K.-G. SANDELIN, D. SATRAN and D. ZELLER, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1995,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998) 135–175.

Annotated bibliography of Philonic studies primarily for the year 1995 (93 items), with addenda for the years 1991–1994 (6 items), and provisional lists for the years 1996–1998. (DTR)

1213. D. T. RUNIA, A. C. GELJON, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, K.-G. SANDELIN, D. SATRAN, and D. ZELLER, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1996,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 11 (1999) 121–160.

Annotated bibliography of Philonic studies primarily for the year 1996 (89 items), with addenda for the years 1994–1995 (4 items), and provisional lists for the years 1997–1999. (DTR)

1214. D. T. RUNIA, *Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1987–1996*, *Vigiliae Christianae Supplements* 57 (Leiden 2000).

Continuation of the Annotated Bibliography prepared by R. Radice and D. T. Runia for the years 1937–1986, using the same method for the years 1987–1996. The work was prepared with the assistance of H. M. Keizer and the collaboration of a team of 13 scholars, most of whom are or have been associated with the International Philo Bibliography Project. Preliminary versions of the bibliography were published in this Annual in the years 1990 to 1999. A brief Introduction outlines the basic method of the work. A major difference

with its predecessor is that now all linguistic restrictions have been dropped, although it is recognized that coverage of many language areas will be very incomplete. It is also noted that the entire volume contains 953 items for the period of 10 years. It would appear that scholarship on Philo is stabilizing at about 100 items per year. Part One contains bibliographies, critical editions, translations, anthologies, commentaries, indices, journal and internet sites for the relevant years. Part Two, which is by far the longest section, gives annotated listings of all the critical studies published during this period. In Part Three additional items are given for 1937–1986, as well as some corrigenda for the previous volumes. Seven indices round off the work, including a very extensive subject index (pp. 376–408). REVIEWS: C.M. ZAC 6 (2002) 179–180; K. A. Fox, *NT* 44 (2002) 196–197; J. R. Royse, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 193–200; J.-M. Auwers, *RHE* 98 (2003) 310; H. G. Thümmel, *ZKG* 114 (2003) 256. (DTR)

1215. D. T. RUNIA, A. C. GELJON, H. M. KEIZER, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, K.-G. SANDELIN, D. SATRAN, and D. ZELLER, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1997,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 12 (2000) 148–191.

A further instalment of the yearly annotated bibliography of Philonic studies prepared by the International Philo Bibliography Project. This instalment primarily covers the year 1997 (91 items), with addenda for the years 1996 (13 items), and provisional lists for the years 1998–2000. (DTR)

1216. D. T. RUNIA, E. BIRNBAUM, A. C. GELJON, H. M. KEIZER, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, T. SELAND, D. SATRAN, and D. ZELLER, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1998,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 13 (2001) 250–290.

This year's instalment of the yearly annotated bibliography of Philonic studies prepared by the International Philo Bibliography Project primarily covers the year 1998 (104 items), with addenda for the years 1993–1997 (5 items), and provisional lists for the years 1999–2001. (DTR)

1217. D. T. RUNIA, E. BIRNBAUM, K. A. FOX, A. C. GELJON, H. M. KEIZER, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, T. SELAND, and D. ZELLER, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1999,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 14 (2002) 141–179.

This year's instalment of the yearly annotated bibliography of Philonic studies prepared by the International Philo Bibliography Project primarily covers the year 1999 (80 items), with addenda for the years 1993–1998 (16 items), and provisional lists for the years 2000–2002. (DTR)

1218. D. T. RUNIA, E. BIRNBAUM, K. A. FOX, A. C. GELJON, H. M. KEIZER, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, D. SATRAN, T. SELAND, and D. ZELLER, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 2000,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 15 (2003) 109–148.

This year's installment of the yearly annotated bibliography of Philonic studies prepared by the International Philo Bibliography Project primarily covers the year 2000 (84 items), with addenda for the years 1994–1999 (5 items), and provisional lists for the years 2001–2003. (DTR)

1219. D. T. RUNIA, E. BIRNBAUM, K. A. FOX, A. C. GELJON, H. M. KEIZER, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, D. SATRAN, G. SCHIMANOWSKI, and T. SELAND, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 2001,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16 (2004) 235–280.

This year's installment of the yearly annotated bibliography of Philonic studies prepared by the members of the International Philo Bibliography Project primarily covers the year 2001 (86 items), with addenda for the years 1987–2000 (12 items), and provisional lists for the years 2002–2004. (DTR)

1220. D. T. RUNIA, E. BIRNBAUM, K. A. FOX, A. C. GELJON, H. M. KEIZER, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, D. SATRAN, G. SCHIMANOWSKI, and T. SELAND, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 2002,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 161–214.

The yearly annotated bibliography of Philonic studies prepared by the members of the International Philo Bibliography Project primarily covers the year 2002 (99 items), with addenda for the years 1998–2001 (11 items), and provisional lists for the years 2003–2005. (DTR)

1221. D. T. RUNIA, E. BIRNBAUM, K. A. FOX, A. C. GELJON, H. M. KEIZER, J. P. MARTÍN, R. RADICE, J. RIAUD, D. SATRAN, G. SCHIMANOWSKI, and T. SELAND, 'Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 2003,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 18 (2006) 143–204.

The yearly annotated bibliography of Philonic studies prepared by the members of the International Philo Bibliography Project covers the year 2003 (131 items), with addenda for the years 1999–2002 (7 items), and provisional lists for the years 2004–2006. (DTR)

2. *Other Bibliographies*

1307. E. BIRNBAUM, 'Philo of Alexandria,' in M. TERRY (ed.), *Reader's Guide to Judaism* (Chicago 2000) 474–477.

This is a short bibliographic essay covering works in English on Philo. Resources described include the translations published by the Loeb Classical Library and by Hendrickson, the Radice–Runia bibliography (1992, 2nd ed.), and *The Studia Philonica Annual*. Also discussed are works by E. R. Goodenough, S. Sandmel, J. Morris, H. A. Wolfson, D. Winston, D. T. Runia, T. H. Tobin, P. Borgen, A. Mendelson, S. Belkin, N. G. Cohen, and E. Birnbaum. (EB)

3. *Surveys of Research*

1410. A. M. MAZZANTI, 'Ricerche su Filone Alessandrino,' *Adamantius: Newsletter of the Italian Research Group on 'Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition'* 3 (1997) 8–12.

Valuable survey of research on Philo by Italian scholars since World War II. Some attempt is also made to relate this research to wider currents outside Italy, e.g. in relation to the strong influence of the interpretation of H. A. Wolfson. On this Newsletter see the notice in *SPhA* 8 (1996) 218. (DTR)

B. CRITICAL EDITIONS

1. *Greek Texts* –

2. *Latin Texts* –

3. *Armenian Texts*

a1705. M. OLIVIERI, 'Note critico-testuali al *De Providentia* di Filone Alessandrino alla luce della traduzione armena,' *Eikasmos* 7 (1996) 167–178.

Books I and II of *Prov.* were translated in their entirety into Armenian in the 5th–6th century C.E. by the so-called 'Hellenizing school'. Earlier Eusebius had preserved four large sections of text in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*. The author considers it useful to make a detailed comparison between the Greek text and the Armenian version in order to evaluate the reliability of the Eusebian quotations and other testimonia, as well as for reconstructing the exact form of the text. In

particular he examines passages from *Prov.* 2.15, 16, 22, 25, 26, 31 and 39. Apart from errors of translation and failure to understand the original on the part of the translators, one also encounters frequent suppression of parts of the Philonic text on the part of Eusebius (see pp. 169, 170, 173). (RR)

4. Greek Fragments

a1828. I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, 'El Escorialensis X. I. 13: una fuente de los extractos elaborados por Nicéforo Gregorás en el Palat. Heidelberg. gr. 129,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86/87 (1993/1994) 20–30, esp. 23, 28.

The florilegium produced by George of Cyprus in the above mentioned work, was later taken up and synthesized by Nicephorus Gregoras in the 14th century, as attested by Ms. Palat. Heidelbergensis gr. 129. The article includes a short section on Philonic textual material included in the Escorialensis X. I. 13 and the Heidelberg manuscript. (DTR; based on summary submitted by S. Torallas Tovar)

a1829. I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El Patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240–1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio*, Nueva Roma 1 (Madrid 1996), esp. 155–174.

This work is a thorough study of Escorialensis X. I. 13, a 13th century manuscript which contains an anthology of classical literature brought together by George of Cyprus. Among the authors included in this florilegium is Philo. In the chapter dedicated to him the author collates accurately the text of the florilegium against the edition of Cohn–Wendland and finds a number of interesting readings. The text tradition, she concludes, is close to the text of the mss. Laurentianus 10, 20 and the Monacensis 459 (both 13th century). (DTR; based on summary submitted by S. Torallas Tovar)

1830. G. BOLOGNESI, 'Frammenti greci di testi filonei e pseudoepicurei in comparazione con le antiche traduzioni armene,' in W. BURKERT, L. GEMELLI MARCIANO, E. MATELLI and L. ORELLI (edd.), *Fragmentsammlungen philosophischer Texte der Antike. Le raccolte dei frammenti di filosofi antichi*, Aporemata 3 (Göttingen 1998) 375–386.

After some brief introductory remarks on the Armenian translation of *Prov.*, the author proceeds to examine a considerable number of cases in which the Armenian text provides a better indication of the correct Greek text than the manuscripts of Eusebius, who cites four extensive passages in the original. It is claimed that through the extremely literal Armenian translation the editor has access to the Greek text from the 6th century, as if in a palimpsest (p. 384). (DTR)

1831. H. HARRAUER, 'Ein neuer Philo-Papyrus mit περὶ φιλανθρωπίας,' *Analecta Papyrologica* 14–15 (2002–2003) 111–115.

Publication of *P. Vindob.* G 60584 (5.3 × 6.2 cm), part of a 5th century codex page containing a fragmentary text of Philo's *Virt.* 64.7–65.5 (on the *recto* side, line numbering according to C-W) and 69.4–70.4 (on the *verso*), i.e. of the section Περὶ φιλανθρωπίας (*De humanitate*). Cohn's translation of the two passages is included (but note the mistakes in the quotation of the first passage in translation: wrong link with previous passage and one line skipped). The article lists the four papyri with Philonic fragments hitherto available until the present fifth one was found. Each papyrus concerns a different treatise. The paper concludes with a discussion of some variant readings presented with the papyrus as compared with the manuscript tradition. Despite the Journal's published date, the article was not published until 2005. (HMK)

1832. J. R. ROYSE, 'Three More Spurious Fragments of Philo,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 95–98.

In an earlier article (in *SPhA* 5 (1993) 156–179, see summary in RRS 3214) the author had listed 124 unidentified texts attributed to Philo in one source or another. Through the aid of the TLG database of Greek texts he has now identified another three of these texts as spurious (i.e. non-Philonic). They are to be attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus, Theophylactus Simocatta, and John Chrysostom respectively. The article ends with some comments on the remaining corpus of 121 fragments. The use of the rare word μονωτικῶς in two of them (nos. 43 and 56) is intriguing because it only occurs elsewhere in Aristotle (twice) and Philo (seven times). It is surely evidence of the authenticity of the ascription. (DTR).

5. *Armenian Fragments* –

C. TRANSLATIONS INTO MODERN LANGUAGES

1. *German Translations* –2. *English Translations*

b. Translation of Single Works

2158. F. SIEGERT, ‘The Philonian Fragment *De Deo*. First English Translation,’ *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998) 1–33.

A translation, prepared by Jean Laporte, of the French article summarized below at 2255. It closely follows the contents of the original version and represents the first English translation made of this fragment. (DTR)

2159. D. T. RUNIA, ‘A Neglected Text of Philo of Alexandria: First Translation into a Modern Language,’ in E. G. CHAZON, D. SATRAN and R. A. CLEMENTS (edd.), *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 89 (Leiden 2004) 199–207.

The article, written as a contribution to the Festschrift for Michael Stone on his 65th birthday, starts out by observing that the Greek text of *QE* 2.62–68, virtually the only part of this work to survive in a manuscript tradition in the original language, has been curiously neglected. It is not included in Petit’s edition of the fragments of the *Quaestiones*, it is omitted in the TLG and in the Norwegian *Complete Greek Word Index* to Philo’s writings, and it has never been translated into a modern language (from the Greek). The author proceeds to present a fairly literal English translation of the seven chapters. It includes a small number of comments on the Armenian translation, for which the author was assisted by J. R. Royse. The article concludes by stating that, although the Armenian translation suggests a number of readings that may improve what is found in the Greek text, it should not be concluded that the Armenian translation gives access to a better text than that found in the manuscript tradition. (DTR)

3. French Translations

b. Translation of Single Works

2255. F. SIEGERT, 'Le fragment philonien *De Deo*. Première traduction française avec commentaire et remarques sur le langage métaphorique de Philon,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 183–228.

Siegert, assisted by Jacques de Roulet, presents the first French translation of the Philonic fragment *De Deo*, based on his earlier German translation and commentary published in 1988 (= RRS 3103). This fragment is preserved only in an Armenian translation. In his introductory remarks, Siegert notes that it has received very little attention, in spite of the great theological interest of its contents. He argues that it is probably part of a very late work, presenting Philo's final position on the nature of the supreme principle and on whether it can be called ὁ ὐψιστος. First the translation is given (pp. 186–191), followed by a detailed commentary (191–220). In the commentary Siegert includes a great number of retroversions from the Armenian back to what he reconstructs to be the original Greek. The commentary discusses the most important philosophical and theological themes of the fragment, and lists numerous parallels to other Philonic texts. A further section gives a systematic listing of all the metaphorical language found in the fragment under four headings, namely epistemological, ontological, cosmological, and political metaphors. For the sake of clarity all these metaphors had earlier been underlined in the translation. In an appendix Siegert lists a number of corrections to his retroverted Greek text which he published in the original edition of 1988, responding to suggestions given by D. T. Runia and J. R. Royse in their reviews of that work. The article concludes with a bibliography of literature referred to in the body of the article. (DTR)

4. Spanish Translations

b. Translation of Single Works

2354. S. TORRALLAS TOVAR, *Filón de Alejandría: Sobre los Sueños, Sobre José*, Biblioteca Clásica Gredos 235 (Madrid 1997).

This Spanish translation of three Philonic works, *Somn.* 1–2 and *Ios.*, improves on the only one hitherto available, the complete translation of Triviño (see R-R 2303). It is based on the author's dissertation (see RRS 9584). The choice of terminology is accurate and the correspondence of vocabulary in both languages is carefully maintained. The author also bears in mind parallel material on the topic of dreams in ancient literature. REVIEWS: J. P. Martín, *SPhA* (1999) 163–165. (JPM)

2355. S. VIDAL, *Filón de Alejandría, Los terapeutas, De vita contemplativa, Texto griego con introducción, traducción y notas* (Salamanca 2005).

This book represents the first bilingual edition with Spanish translation of *Contempl.* The Greek text, although it does not discuss Paola Graffigna's edition of 1992 (RRS 2452), is correctly presented and generally follows the edition of Daumas (R-R 2210). The translation is valuable, staying close to the original text but in good Spanish. The notes deal with the main questions of terminology, with the relation of text to other writings of Philo and Greco-Roman Literature, and with references to the socio-historical context of Roman Alexandria. The subjects broached in the Introduction will interest all students of Judaism, Christianity or Hellenism who wish to gain access to the difficult questions posed by Philo's work: the place of *Contempl.* in the Philonic corpus, the genre and structure of the treatise, the historicity of the group of Therapeutae in the Alexandrian context, the history of the confusion between Christian monks and Jewish Therapeutae, and the authenticity of the work established first by the literary criticism in the 19th century. (JPM)

5. Italian Translations

a. Comprehensive Translation

2408. R. RADICE, in collaboration with G. REALE, C. KRAUS REGGIANI and C. MAZZARELLI, *Filone di Alessandria: Tutti i trattati del Commentario Allegorico alla Bibbia*. 2nd ed., I Classici del Pensiero: sezione I Filosofia classica e tardo-antica (Milan 2005).

Reprint (by the publisher Bompiani, Milan) of the 1994 edition (by the publisher Rusconi, Milan) for which see RRS 2407, now with the useful addition of Cohn-Wendland's Greek text. The latter in its turn was the result of merging five separate volumes dating from 1981 to 1988 (for which see R-R 2402–2406) into one single collection of the 19 treatises together forming the Allegorical Commentary (incl. *Opif.*). The rich 'Monografia Introduttiva' by Giovanni Reale and Roberto Radice introducing the 19 treatises is taken over from the 1987 publication. Each treatise (Greek text and Italian translation) is preceded by a schematic presentation of its structure and an analytic summary of its contents, and followed by explanatory notes. The massive volume (clx + 1946 pages due to the addition of the Greek text), when compared to the 1994 edition, has a more extensive bibliography, which however does not go beyond the 1980's apart from referring to RRS and *SphA*. (HMK)

b. Translation of Single Works

2454. P. GRAFFIGNA, *Filone di Alessandria La vita di Mosè*, Testi a fronte (Milan 1999).

This volume follows the same formula as that used for *Her.* (see RRS 2454). The main body of the volume is formed by the text of *Mos.* with an Italian translation on the page opposite (the first complete Italian translation ever published). This is prefaced by a brief Introduction, in which the work is placed in the context of Philo's writings and thought and its main themes are compactly set out. It is followed by a section containing copious notes, a brief glossary of key concepts and a valuable bibliography on the treatise. REVIEWS: G. M. Greco, *Koinonia* 23 (1999) 102; M. Pittore, *Maia* 52 (2000) 642–645. (DTR)

2455. F. CALABI, *Filone di Alessandria De Decalogo*, *Philosophica* 24 (Pisa 2005).

Italian translation—with clarifying notes—of *Decal.*, flanked by the Greek text and preceded by an introduction which lucidly exposes the line of argument of the treatise. The translation is in a readable style (Philo's long periods are often divided into separate sentences). There is no indication of what edition of the Greek text has been printed. (HMK)

6. *Dutch Translations*

b. Translation of Single Works

2501. G. H. DE VRIES, *Philo Judaeus Pogrom in Alexandrië Gezantschap naar Caligula* (Amsterdam–Leuven 1999).

Remarkably this volume contains the first Dutch translation of any complete Philonic treatises ever published. These are the historical treatises *Flacc.* (under the fitting title *Pogrom in Alexandria*) and *Legat.* The translator is a historian, and in his Introduction he concentrates on historical matters and esp. the phenomenon of Alexandrian anti-semitism. The translations of the two treatises are accompanied by extensive notes. At the end of the book the author presents a most valuable collection of Greek, Latin and Hebrew-Aramaic texts translated in Dutch illustrating the subject-matter of the two treatises. REVIEWS: D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 11 (1999) 177–181; D. den Hengst, *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 114 (2001) 91–94. (DTR)

2502. A. C. GELJON, 'Philo van Alexandrië over de jeugd van Mozes,' *Hermeneus* 76 (2004) 182–191.

Translation in Dutch of the account of Moses' birth and youth as recounted in *Mos.* 1.1–24 accompanied by a short introduction and brief explanatory notes. (ACG)

For further Philonic texts translated into Dutch see the anthology summarized below at 3021.

7. Hebrew Translations

a. Comprehensive Translation

2603. Y. AMIR [י. עמיר] (ed.), פילון האלכסנדרוני. כתבים, [Philo of Alexandria. Writings]: vol. 4, part 1. *Allegorical Exegesis (Genesis 1–5)*, Bialik Institute and Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Jerusalem 1997).

This is the most recent in a projected five-volume presentation of the (Greek) Philonic corpus in modern Hebrew translation, under the general editorship of S. Daniel-Nataf. This volume presents the Hebrew reader with the initial portion of the great allegorical commentary on Genesis: *Leg. Books 1–3, Cher., Sacr., Det. Post.* The volume is the handiwork of Yehoshua Amir, the doyen of Philonic studies in Israeli universities, in conjunction with C. Schur who contributed the translation, introduction and notes for *Cher.* (DS)

See also the review article by J.-G. Kahn on the Hebrew translation and the questions it raises, below 9851.

8. Polish Translations –

9. Portugese Translations –

10. Danish Translations

2901. B. EJRNÆS, N. P. LEMCHE and M. MULLER (edd.), *Dødehavs-rullerne og de antikke kilder om essæerne i ny oversættelse* [Danish: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Antique Sources on the Essenes in a New Translation], (Frederiksberg 1998), esp. 468–495.

After a brief Introduction to Philo (pp. 468–470), a new Danish translation is given of Philo's *Prob.* 75–91 (pp. 471–474); *Hypoth.* 1–18 (pp. 475–477); and *Contempl.* 1–90 (pp. 478–495). (TS)

11. *Chinese Translations*

b. Translation of Single Works

2911. *Lun chuangshiji: yuyi de jieshi* [Chinese = *On Genesis: Allegorical Interpretation*], translated by WANG Xiaochao and DAI Weiqing, edited by S.-K. WAN (Hong Kong 1998).

This first translation of Philo into Chinese was produced by the Institute of Sino-Christian studies in Hong Kong. The works translated are *Opif.* and *Leg.* 1–3. The translation was mainly made on the basis of the Loeb Classical library version, with some further input from Sze-Kar Wan as editor. There is a short introduction by Wang on pp. xi–xxii. He first gives some historical background, emphasizing how Hellenism became less rational and more religious as a result of contact with Eastern mysteries. There follow two paragraphs on the life of Philo, references to the Loeb and Yonge’s English translations, and a list of Philo’s works in Latin, English, and Chinese. Next Wang gives a general description of Philo’s use of allegorical method to bridge Greek rational philosophy and Jewish revelation in Scripture. Some words are also devoted to Philo’s *Nachleben* among early Christian writers, with a few examples from the New Testament (Hebrews and Paul) and from the church fathers (Clement and Origen). The introduction concludes with a comparison of Philo’s development of Greek thought to modern development of Chinese theology. The volume also translates the Loeb introductions in vol. 1. (DTR; based on information supplied by the editor)

12. *Japanese Translations*

b. Translation of Single Works

2931. G. HATA, *Filon Furakusu he no Hanron + Gaiusu he no Shisetsu* [Japanese: *Philo Against Flaccus and Embassy to Gaius*] (Kyoto 2000).

This volume represents the first translation of some of Philo’s works into Japanese. Its purpose is introductory, and the author hopes that younger scholars will continue his work. It consists of annotated translations of the two writings in question, together with the translation of six documents which illuminate their contents and a final introductory discussion on Philo’s life and the contents of the two works. For a more detailed table of contents see the Note at *SPhA* 13 (2001) 291–292. (DTR)

13. *Russian Translations*

b. Translation of Single Works

2941. A. VDOVICHENKO, E. D. MATUSOVA *et al.*, *Philon Aleksandrijskij. Tolkovanija vetkhogo zaveta* [Russian = *Philo of Alexandria. Commentaries on the Old Testament*], Museum Greaco-Romanum (Moscow 2000).

This is a very important publication, since it constitutes the first volume of a planned complete Russian translation of the works of Philo (see announcement in *SPhA* 10 (1998) 201–202). It first contains a lengthy introduction on ‘Philo as exegete of the Old Testament’ by E. D. Matusova. Then seven of Philo’s treatises are translated, summarized and commented on. They are *Opif.* (by A. Vdovichenko), *Cher.* (by E. D. Matusova), *Sacr.* (also by E. D. Matusova), *Det.* (by I. A. Makarov), *Post.* (by I. A. Makarov), *Conf.* (by O. L. Levinskaja), *Congr.* (by M. G. Vitkovskaja and V. E. Vitkovsky). The volume is completed with full indices of names, important terms, Greek words, and biblical references. The volume is dated 2000, but in fact did not appear until a few years later. See also the report by V. Zatepin in *SPhA* 15 (2002) 139–140. (DTR; based on information supplied by the editor)

D. ANTHOLOGIES

3020. D. H. FRANK, O. LEAMAN and C. H. MANEKIN (edd.), *The Jewish Philosophy Reader* (London–New York 2000) esp. 11–23.

This book claims to be ‘the first comprehensive anthology of classic writings on Jewish philosophy from the Bible to postmodernism’ (back cover). Part I is entitled Foundations and First Principles. Its first four chapters fall under the heading The Bible and Philosophical Exegesis. Philo is included in chapter 1, Creation: Divine Power and Human Freedom. It contains first Genesis 1–3 in the modern Jewish version Tanakh, followed by extracts from Philo’s *Opif.*, i.e. 1–36, 69–90, 151–172, in Whitaker’s Loeb translation (the use of the old chapter numbers in Roman numerals will be confusing). The text is presented without any form of annotation. It is followed by passages from Maimonides’ *Guide of the Perplexed* and David Hartman’s *A Living Covenant* (1985). (DTR)

3021. T. H. JANSSEN, *Heel de wereld beschreven. Lucretius, Philo en anderen over kosmos, aarde en mens* [The whole world described: Lucretius, Philo and others on cosmos, earth and humanity] (Amsterdam 2000), *passim*.

This anthology contains translations from fragments of texts dating from 100 B.C.E. until 100 C.E.. They are arranged according to several themes, such as the cosmos, cosmology, and human beings. The following fragments of Philo are included: *Opif.* 1–17, 53–56, 62–70, 87–89, 103–104, 117–119, 136, 139–142, 148–163, 165–167, *Leg.* 2.49–50, 74, *Aet.* 4, 7–9, 145–149. (ACG)

E. COMMENTARIES

3107. R. RADICE, *Allegoria e paradigmi etici in Filone di Alessandria. Commentario al «Legum allegoriae»*, Pubblicazioni del Centro di Ricerche di Metafisica. Collana Temi metafisici e problemi del pensiero antico. Studi e testi 79 (Milan 2000).

The work consists of two parts. The first has the character of a monograph (pp. 19–87) with the title ‘Interpretative synthesis of the *Legum allegoriae*: the philosophical significance of the treatise’. The second part is analytical, with the title ‘Analytical interpretation of the *Legum allegoriae*: sequential commentary on the treatise’. This latter part takes up the notes to the translation of the treatise by Radice in *La filosofia Mosaica* (cf. RRS 2405), expanding and correcting them where necessary. As such it is the first formal commentary on this treatise. The commentary focuses particularly on the train of thought and not so much on individual terms and concepts. The first part is new and wishes to offer a synthesis of the chief philosophical terms that emerge in the treatise. The first chapter examines the problem of the knowability of God and the complex relation between faith and reason, in which neither is sacrificed to the other, because to the former is assigned the axiological superiority, to the latter the methodological superiority (p. 35). The second chapter interprets Philonic philosophy as a (rationalistic) hermeneutic of sacred scripture. On the basis of these assumptions Radice interprets in a comprehensive manner the contents of the three books of *Leg.*, developing the two lines presented above in the Philonic allegory. The double result, as the author observes on p. 85, is indicative of a double allegorical perspective, in terms of a moral meaning and a psychological meaning. But every allegorical linkage gives rise to a fundamental philosophical problem, which in this treatise would appear to be that of the freedom of the prototypical human being, or in biblical terms, of original sin. The deepest significance of this sin in Philo’s view is the rejection of the creator in favour of created reality (p. 86). The book concludes with an extensive bibliography and copious indices which take up more than 120 pages. REVIEWS: J. P. Martin, *Adamant* 9 (2003) 413–415. (RR)

3108. D. T. RUNIA, *Philo On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 1 (Leiden 2001).

First comprehensive commentary in English on Philo's treatise on the creation account of Moses and the first volume to appear in the new Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series. The volume commences with a general Introduction by its General Editor, Gregory E. Sterling, which outlines the aims and method of the series. A lengthy and comprehensive Introduction treats the main questions that the treatise raises. It starts with (§ 1) the question of the place of the treatise in the Philonic corpus. Despite its location in most editions and translations of Philo, it firmly belongs to the Exposition of the Law. (§ 2) The genre of the treatise is discussed and (§ 3) an analysis of its contents is given. (§ 4) The exegetical basis of the work is crucial and a detailed account is given of how it relates to the base text of Gen 1–3. A number of pages are then dedicated to (§ 5) the main themes of the treatise, followed by an examination of a special theme, (§ 6) its use of number symbolism. Next (§ 7) the intellectual *Sitz im Leben* is explored, including the sources that Philo used to compose it. One of the features of the Commentary series is that it intends also to trace the *Nachleben* of the treatises it deals with. A summary of the results (§ 8) is given in the Introduction. Then brief remarks are devoted to (§ 9) the text of the treatise, followed by (§ 10) a survey of previous scholarship. Finally some notes are presented on (§ 11) the method used in the translation and (§ 12) the method used in the commentary. The next main part of the work is a new translation of the treatise. In the trade-off between accuracy and fluency the translator has chosen the former, arguing that in a work of this kind consideration has to be given to the many users who are unable to follow the original Greek and have to be assured of faithfulness to the meaning of the author. The translation is followed by some brief notes on the text. It is important to note that the translation is divided into twenty-five chapters, which are further divided into various paragraphs. All of these divisions are of course the work of the interpreter rather than Philo, but they attempt to follow the natural divisions of the treatise as Philo wrote it. They form the basis of the divisions of the extensive commentary given on the work. Each chapter is divided into a number of sections: (a) an analysis with general comments; (b) detailed comments following the text sentence by sentence, sometimes followed by one or more excursuses; (c) parallel exegesis of the same biblical text in Philo; (d) *Nachleben*. A bibliography and five indices close the work. A paperback version of the book was published by the Society of Biblical Literature in 2005. REVIEWS: E. Hilgert, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 180–182; A. Kamesar, *Adamant* 8 (2002) 127–134; M. Martin, *ANES* 39 (2002) 229–233; F. Calabi, *JJS* 54 (2003) 336–339; S. Fletcher Harding, *JECS* 11 (2003) 235–236; J. Leonhardt-Balzer, *JThS* 54 (2003) 662–664; C. McCarthy, *JSOT* 27 (2003) 185; F. W. Burnett, *RelStR* 30 (2004) 68; N. G. Cohen, *CR* 54 (2004) 50–51; J. Dillon, *AncPhil* 24 (2004) 500–502; M. Niehoff, *JSJ* 35 (2004) 336–339; G. Sellin, *ThLZ* 129 (2004) 807–809; A. Sheppard, *Phron* 49 (2004) 375; A. M. Mazzanti, *Adamant* 11 (2005) 509–511; M. Weedman, *RBL* 04/2006; C. Zamagni, *RBL* 01/2006; S. J. Pearce, *JSOT* 31 (2007) 255–256. (DTR)

3109. P. W. VAN DER HORST, *Philo's Flaccus: the First Pogrom*, Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 2 (Leiden 2003).

The second volume in the Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series focuses on the important historical/apologetic treatise *In Flaccum*. It follows the same format as the first volume (on which see 3108), differing only when the nature of the treatise and its reception dictate (cf. p. 52). The Introduction first discusses the place of the treatise in the Philonic corpus, and then outlines its contents and structure (with some remarks on its sequel). In a discussion of its genre, it is noted that it is not a piece of pure historiography, but also contains an admixture of pastoral theology, apologetics and theodicy. The main themes in the author's view are two: (a) Providence and justice, and (b) loyalty to Rome and the baseness of the Egyptians. There follows an extensive discussion of the historical background (with an excursus on Flaccus). The Introduction continues with a detailed but deliberately not exhaustive survey of previous scholarship on the treatise. Van der Horst concludes that Box's 1939 Commentary is still fundamental but has in several respects become outdated. Two final sections discuss the treatise's Greek text and the method followed in the present work. In the second part of the work a new English translation is presented, which makes good use of previous versions by Box and Colson, but attempts to avoid the archaizing language (from a present-day viewpoint) that they use. The major part of the work is taken up by the commentary, based on the English translation. The treatise is divided into two parts, the first (§§ 1–96) is then further divided into eight chapters, the second (§§ 97–191) into another seven and an Epilogue. The commentary explicitly does not aim to be exhaustive (p. 51), but aims to help the reader obtain a better understanding of Philo's text by presenting the essential information required for that purpose. It contains a multitude of important historical, literary and philological observations. The book ends with a full bibliography and indices. A paperback version of the book was published by the Society of Biblical Literature in 2005. REVIEWS: S. Gambetti, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 286–289; M. Hadas-Lebel, *REJ* 163 (2004) 536–537; P. Borgen, *JSJ* 36 (2005) 376–381; J. Leonhardt-Balzer, *JThS* 56 (2005) 188–191; M. Niehoff, *SCI* 24 (2005) 317–318; K. L. Noethlichs, *ThLZ* 130 (2005) 1175–1177; P. Lanfranchi, *Adamant* 12 (2006) 542–544; J. E. Taylor, *Gnomon* 78 (2006) 679–683; S. J. Pearce, *JSOT* 31 (2007) 241; K. A. Fox, *NT* 52 (2010) 97–98. (DTR)

F. INDICES AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL WORKS

3217. P. BORGES, K. FUGLSETH, and R. SKARSTEN, *The Philo Index: a Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria Lemmatized and Computer-Generated*, UniTrel Studieserie 25 (Trondheim 1997).

This index of 339 quarto pages is a printout of a database in Trondheim, Norway, containing all the words in the writings of Philo (main fragments included), except the definite article and the words δέ and καί. The database is for private use only for the time being. For the references to Philo's writings the abbreviations are in accordance with the list in the 'Instructions to contributors' in *SPhA*. The introduction gives a general description of the volume, presents the editions of the text used, outlines the history of the project, and offers important hints for the use of the book. For a detailed review see the Review article by D. T. Runia, = 9888. (KGS)

3218. P. BORGES, K. FUGLSETH and R. SKARSTEN, *The Philo Index: a Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria*. 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids–Leiden 2000).

Beautifully produced commercial edition of the Index first provisionally published in 1997; see above 3217. The main innovation of this edition, aside from the more elegant presentation, is the addition of the Greek fragments of QG 2.1–7 published by J. Paramelle. The Greek text of QE 2.62–68 is still not included (for these see below 3219). REVIEWS: L. L. Grabbe, *JSOT* 89 (2000) 175–176; A. S. Jacobs, *J ECS* 8 (2000) 594–595; D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 12 (2000) 205–206; A. Valevicius, *ScEs* 52 (2000) 372–373; E. Cu villier, *ETR* 76 (2001) 120–121; J. K. Elliott, *NT* 43 (2001) 100; A. C. Geljon, *VChr* 55 (2001) 215–216; A. Hilhorst, *JSJ* 32 (2001) 298–299; E. Krentz, *CurrThM* 28 (2001) 62; A. H. Lesser, *JSS* 46 (2001) 382; J. L. North, *JThS* 52 (2001) 864–867; S. C. Mimouni, *REJ* 161 (2002) 500; D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 229–234. (DTR)

3219. D. T. RUNIA, 'Quaestiones in Exodum 2.62–68. Supplement to the Philo Index,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16 (2004) 229–234.

A companion piece to the translation of this passage published in the Stone Festschrift (see above 2159). The author notes that the text of QE 2.62–68 is missing in F. Petit's collection of the Greek fragments of the *Quaestiones*, and for this reason its vocabulary has been taken up in neither the TLG nor the Norwegian *Philo Index*. He proceeds to make the index, following exactly the same methodology and layout as the Norwegians and completing the number of examples in their index (for example, ἀμυγής occurs 45 times in the Norwegian index and there is one example in QE 2.63, so the total 46 is placed after the word). He also notes that it is surprising that such a short extract should contain five words that occur nowhere else in Philo's writings and no less than 25 which occur fewer than ten times. None, however, are particularly suspicious. (DTR)

3220. R. SKARSTEN, P. BORGES, and K. FUGLSETH, *The Complete Works of Philo of Alexandria: a Key-Word-In-Context Concordance*, 8 vols. (Piscataway NJ 2005).

This printed Key-Word-In-Context Concordance is a result of The Norwegian Philo Concordance Project. The textual database has been published in various ways, e.g. in *The Philo Index* (see above 3217–3218) and in different electronic versions included in PC programs like Libronix™, BibleWorks™ and Accordance™. This edition, printed as a Key-Words-in-Context (KWIC) version, is a concordance containing every occurrence of all the Greek words present in Philo's works. It is a monumental achievement, consisting of eight volumes with a total number of 7,556 pages. The database consists of 437,433 tokens (text forms) and more than 14,000 different lemmas (the chosen entry forms), and is built on four major text editions of Philo (Cohn–Wendland, Colson, Petit, and Paramelle). Each lemma is alphabetically ordered and presented within its context. The database is thus designed to give optimal aid to research on Philo of Alexandria's writings. (TS)

G. JOURNAL

3315. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], Brown Judaic Series 312 (Atlanta 1997).

The ninth volume of *The Studia Philonica Annual* is presented as Festschrift in honour of the distinguished Philonic scholar David Winston, its publication coinciding with his 70th birthday. In an introduction section Gregory E. Sterling first gives an account of Winston's career and scholarly achievements under the title 'The Path of Wisdom: a Portrait of David Winston' (xi–xvi), followed by a bibliography of his publications 1966–1997 (xvii–xxiii). The seventeen articles written in Winston's honour are divided into two parts: Part One contains twelve articles on Philo; Part Two contains five articles on Other Jewish, Christian and Related Texts. All the articles in Part One and the article of G. E. Sterling in Part Two are summarized under the authors' names in this Bibliography. The remainder of the volume contains the usual features of the *Annual* (Bibliography, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors), but without any Book reviews. See summaries below under the year 1997. REVIEWS: B.N.F., *OTA* 23 (2000) 569. (DTR)

3316. D. T. RUNIA (ed.), *The Studia Philonica Annual, Volume 10*, Brown Judaic Studies 319 (Atlanta 1998).

The last volume of the *Annual* to be edited by David Runia alone, it contains five articles, a review article, an article of Instrumenta and six book reviews, as well as the usual Bibliography section, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors. See summaries below under the year 1998. REVIEWS: D. Noy, *JJS* 50 (1999) 151; F. W. Burnett, *RelStR* 26 (2000) 289; S. C. Mimouni, *REJ* 159 (2000) 524–525; J. E. Bowley, *RBL* 4 (2002) 269–272. (DTR)

3317. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *The Studia Philonica Annual, Volume 11*, Brown Judaic Studies 323 (Atlanta 1999).

The volume contains five articles, an article of Instrumenta and six book reviews, as well as the usual Bibliography section, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors. See summaries below under the year 1999. REVIEWS: F. Calabi, *JJS* 51 (2000) 333–335; T. Rajak, *JSOT* 89 (2000) 202; G. J. Brooke, *JSS* 46 (2001) 383; S. C. Mimouni, *REJ* 160 (2001) 271–272; K. A. Fox, *RBL* 4 (2002) 272–273. (DTR)

3318. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *The Studia Philonica Annual, Volume 12*, Brown Judaic Studies 323 (Atlanta 2000).

The volume contains four articles, a review article and 11 book reviews, as well as the usual Bibliography section, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors. See summaries below under the year 2000. REVIEWS: F. G. Downing, *JSOT* 94 (2001) 161–162; S. C. Mimouni, *REJ* 160 (2001) 509–510; G. J. Brooke, *JSS* 47 (2002) 181. (DTR)

3319. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 13 (2001)], Brown Judaic Studies 332 (Providence RI 2001).

Following the formula used for two previous Festschrifts (vol. 3 in 1991 and vol. 9 in 1997), this volume of *The Studia Philonica Annual* is dedicated to the distinguished American Philonist and New Testament scholar David Hay. Its appearance coincided with his retirement from teaching at Coe College. In the first part a brief account of Hay's life and career is given by W. Sibley Towner, followed by a complete bibliography of his scholarly publications and two articles by E. Hilgert and G. E. Sterling on the recent history of Philonic scholarship in North America (see 20129 and 20172). Part two contains six articles on Philo. Part three presents four further articles on early Christianity. These articles are summarized below under the year 2001. The remainder of the volume contains the usual features of the *Annual* (Bibliography, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors), but without any book reviews. REVIEWS: Mimouni, *REJ* 161 (2002) 500–501; S. Pearce, *RBL* 5 (2003) 362–365; C. Hezser, *BSOAS* 68 (2005) 464–465. (DTR)

3320. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *The Studia Philonica Annual, Volume 14*, Brown Judaic Studies 335 (Atlanta 2002).

This volume in the continuing series contains six articles, a review article, 15 book reviews, as well as the usual Bibliography section, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors. See summaries below under the year 2002. (DTR)

3321. D. T. RUNIA, G. E. STERLING, and H. NAJMAN, *Laws Stamped with the Seals of Nature. Law and Nature in Hellenistic Philosophy and Philo of Alexandria*, [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 15], Brown Judaic Series 337 (Providence RI 2003).

This volume, the fifteenth in the continuing series, differs a little from the usual format, because its main section consists of six papers presented at a conference at the University of Notre Dame in 2001. As the separate title indicates, the main theme of the Conference was the theory of natural law in Hellenistic philosophy and Philo. The volume also contains a review article on the ancient synagogue, 10 book reviews, and the usual Bibliography section, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors. See summaries below under the year 2003. REVIEWS: L. Doering, *RBL* 09/2004; J. Levison, *RBL* 12/2004; J. Wyrick, *SR* 33 (2004) 261–262; S. Mimouni, *REJ* 164 (2005) 338. (DTR)

3322. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *The Studia Philonica Annual, Volume 16*, Brown Judaic Studies 339 (Providence RI 2004).

This volume in the continuing series contains four general articles, a special section entitled Etymology and Allegory with an introduction and three articles, two review articles, an article of Instrumenta on Philo (see above 3219) and 15 book reviews. In addition there is the usual Bibliography section, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors. See the summaries below under the year 2004. REVIEWS: M. Murray, *RBL* 09/2005. (DTR)

3323. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *The Studia Philonica Annual, Volume 17*, Brown Judaic Studies 344 (Providence, RI 2005).

This volume of the Journal contains five general articles, a special section entitled Philo and the Tradition of Logos Theology with an introduction and two articles, two review articles and nine book reviews, as well as the usual Bibliography section, News and Notes, and Notes on Contributors. See summaries below under the year 2005. This volume was the last to be published in the series Brown Judaic Studies. REVIEWS: G. J. Brooke, *JSOT* 31 (2007) 255. (DTR)

3324. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *The Studia Philonica Annual, Volume 18* (Atlanta 2006).

This volume contains three general articles, a special section entitled Philo's *De virtutibus* with an introduction and three articles, one review article and nine book reviews, followed by the usual Bibliography section, News and Notes section and Notes on Contributors. The various articles are summarized below under the year 2006. This volume is the first in the series to be published by the Society of Biblical Literature in Atlanta. Its cover has been redesigned and shows a picture of Ezra reading the Law from the wall painting in the Synagogue of

Dura Europus. REVIEWS: A. T. Wright, *RBL* 05/2006; G. J. Brooke, *JSS* 53 (2008) 205–206; S. J. Gathercole, *JSNT* 30 (2008) 110–111; S. C. Mimouni, *REJ* 167 (2008) 612–613. (DTR)

H. INTERNET SITES

The following current Internet sites offer information on Philo and Philonic scholarship, some of which goes back to 2006 and earlier. Only a small selection of the vast amount of material available on the Internet can be given.

3401. Internet site offering ‘Resource Pages for Biblical Studies Focusing on Philo of Alexandria,’ located at: <http://www.hivolda.no/asf/kkf/philopag.html> (commencing 1996 to 2002); later changed to <http://www.torreysof/bible/philopag.html> (still current March 2011).

This Internet site was established in 1996 by the Norwegian scholar Torrey Seland (Volda University College). Its purpose is to present scholarly material on the Web which is of relevance to the study of Philo of Alexandria. It contains lists of electronically available resources for the study of Philo and several electronically published articles and reviews. See further the notice at *SPhA* 8 (1996) 217. (DTR)

3402. Internet site of the *The Studia Philonica Annual*, located on the Web at: http://www.leidenuniv.nl/philosophy/studia_philonica (active July 1997 to October 2003); transferred to <http://www.nd.edu/~philojud> (from October 2003 onwards, still current March 2011).

The home page provides information on the Journal specially devoted to Philonic studies (see above 3315–3324) and related projects, including: mission and history of the Annual; details on the Annual’s organization and structure; instructions to contributors; instructions to subscribers; order forms for ordering copies of the Annual; information on The Studia Philonica Monograph Series, The International Philo Bibliography Project, the Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series and also news about conferences and other events related to Philonic studies. It also contains indices of articles and bibliographies, and of books reviewed by author and by reviewer. (DTR)

3403. Internet site for Philo research located on the Web at: <http://philoblogger.blogspot.com> (commenced December 2003, discontinued April 2008).

Blog established by Torrey Seland (Volda University College, Norway; moved to Stavanger, Norway, in 2005), with the assistance of Kåre Fuglseth, on which he posted items of interest for Philonic research as related to his own activities as Philo and New Testament scholar. See further the note at *SPhA* 16 (2004) 322. The blog was discontinued in April 2008 and subsumed under a new site for Philonica and New Testamentica (<http://biblicalresources.wordpress.com>), but has not been removed from the Web, so can still be consulted. See further the note at *SPhA* 20 (2008) 247. (DTR)

3404. M. Hillar, Article 'Philo of Alexandria,' *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (originally published 24 April 2001, revised 21 April 2005, still current March 2011).

Substantial internet article on Philo written from a philosophical perspective and published by the online peer-reviewed internet encyclopedia hosted by the University of Tennessee at Martin. The article contains 14 sections as follows: 1 Life; 2 Philo's Works and their Classification; 3 Technique of Exposition; 4 Emphasis on Contemplative Life and Philosophy; 5 Philosophy and Wisdom: a Path to Ethical Life; 6 Philo's Ethical Doctrine; 7 Philo's Mysticism and Transcendence of God; 8 Source of Intuition of the Infinite Reality; 9 Philo's Doctrine of Creation: a. Philo's Model of Creation; b. Eternal Creation; 10 Doctrine of Miracles: Naturalism and Comprehension; 11 Doctrine of the Logos in Philo's Writings; a. The Utterance of God; b. The Divine Mind; c. God's Transcendent Power; d. First-born Son of God; e. Universal Bond: in the Physical World and in the Human Soul; f. Immanent Reason; g. Immanent Mediator of the Physical Universe; h. The Angel of the Lord, Revealer of God; i. Multi-Named Archetype; j. Soul-Nourishing Manna and Wisdom; k. Intermediary Power; l. 'God'; m. Summary of Philo's Concept of the Logos; 12 List of abbreviations to Philo's works; 13 Editions of Philo's Works and their Translations; 14 Major Works on Philo. The article has no cross-links to other articles or further Web material. (DTR)

3405. Aa. vv., Article 'Philo,' *Wikipedia*, located at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philo> (first posted 14 April 2003, still current March 2011).

Substantial internet article on Philo compiled in accordance with the famous openly editable supervised collaborative model developed by the Wikipedia Encyclopedia. As of March 2011 the article contained 15 sections as follows: 1 Ancestry, family and early life; 2 Biography; 3 Influence of Hellenism; 4 Knowledge of Hebrew; 5 Exegesis; 6 Stoic influence; 7 Attitude toward literal meaning; 8 Numbers; 9 Cosmology; 10 Anthropology; 11 Ethics; 12 Views on virtue; 13 See also (cross-references); 14 References; 15 External links (subsection 15.1 Works). The article contains numerous links to other articles via the hypertext system. It also has a link to an interesting article 'Philo (disambiguation)', in which Philo's name is distinguished from the names of other persons, places, fictional characters and record labels. For example there are three towns and a mountain named Philo in the United States. (DTR)

PART TWO

CRITICAL STUDIES
1997–2006

1997

9701. Monique ALEXANDRE, 'Du grec au latin: Les titres des œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie,' in S. DELÉANI and J.-C. FREDOUILLE (edd.), *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques: actes du Colloque International de Chantilly, 13–15 décembre 1994*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes 152 (Paris 1997) 255–286.

This impressive piece of historical research is divided into three main parts. In a preliminary section Alexandre first gives a brief survey of the study of the transmission of the *corpus Philonicum* in modern scholarship and announces the theme of her article, namely to present some reflections on the Latin titles now in general use in Philonic scholarship. In the first part of the article she shows how the replacement of Greek titles by Latin ones is part of the humanist tradition, and is illustrated by the history of Philonic editions from Turnebus to Arnaldez–Pouilloux–Mondésert. She then goes on in the second part to examine the Latin tradition of Philo's reception in antiquity (Jerome, Rufinus, the Old Latin translation) in order to see whether the titles transmitted by it were influential in determining the Latin titles used in the editions. This appears to have hardly been the case. In the third part the titles now in use are analysed. Most of them were invented by the humanists of the Renaissance and the succeeding period; only a few are the work of philologists of the 19th century. The article ends with an appendix in which the origin of all the titles now in use is indicated in tabular form. (DTR)

9702. R. ALSTON, 'Philo's *In Flaccum*: Ethnicity and Social Space in Roman Alexandria,' *Greece & Rome* 44 (1997) 165–175.

This paper aims to show that the buildings of Alexandria were significant symbols of group identity, and that by excluding the Jewish community from this urban space, the rioters in 38 C.E. enforced a particular interpretation of the urban community. The author suggests that it was also Philo's view that the riots were primarily concerned with the identity and culture of the city and the physical integration of the Jewish community. In his analysis of Philo's *In Flaccum*, Alston focuses on the role of social structures and groups, and of buildings, districts and streets. He concludes that the Jewish view of Alexandria was of separate communities which were each integral to the whole, i.e. a multi-cultural society. This was directly contrary to Roman views. The Jews failed to convince the Romans of the integral position of their community within the city. (HMK)

9703. S. C. BARTON, 'The Relativisation of Family Ties in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman Traditions,' in H. MOXNES (ed.), *Constructing Early Christian Families: Family as Social Reality and Metaphor* (London 1997) 81–102, esp. 82–88.

Barton's aim here is to show that the strong relativisation of kinship and household ties, which was part of Jesus' call to discipleship (Matt 10:37–38; Luke 14:26–27), was not unprecedented in either Judaism or the Graeco-Roman world as a whole. Subordinating mundane ties of all kinds was a rhetorical theme and a mode of action deeply rooted in the tradition of Jewish monotheism, and not without analogy in the Greco-Roman traditions concerning the cost of conversion to the life of the philosopher. The article presents the evidence found in Philo, Josephus, the Cynics and the Stoa. Philo's presuppositions are demonstrated from *Spec.* 1.316–317, i.e., his comment on Deut 13:1–11 (warning against going after false prophets). The author then briefly presents what Philo says on proselytes, the Therapeutae (their asceticism and their community as a spiritual family), and on heroic individuals as the patriarchs and other leaders of the people of Israel (who subordinate family ties for a greater cause). (HMK)

9704. D. L. BOCK, 'Key Jewish Texts on Blasphemy and Exaltation and the Jewish Examination of Jesus [Mk 14:53–65],' in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 1997*, Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series 36 (Atlanta 1997) 115–160, esp. 119–126.

In the context of an understanding of the story of Jesus brought before the Jewish leadership for examination (Mark 14:53–65) the author discusses some key passages from Judaism on blasphemy and exaltation to the side of God. For Philo comparing oneself to God is a blasphemous act (*Somn.* 2.130–131, *Decal.* 62–64). His view is rooted in the interpretation of the first commandment. In several passages Philo presents Moses as an exalted figure, who is called 'friend of God' and 'God to Pharaoh' (*Mos.* 1.156, *Sacr.* 9). He appears to have a kind of divine status. The exaltation of Moses occurs also in Ezekiel Tragicus. (ACG)

9705. J. DEN BOEFT and D. T. RUNIA (edd.), *Arche: a Collection of Patristic Studies by J. C. M. van Winden*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 41 (Leiden 1997), esp. 207–228.

In this collection of 32 articles and reviews written by the emeritus Professor of Later Greek Literature of the University of Leiden over a period of 35 years, a section has been devoted to articles on Philo. Reprinted are R-R 7851, 7946, 8376. But because the collection concentrates largely on the Alexandrian tradition of Patristic thought, many of the remaining articles refer to Philo (see the Index locorum on pp. 328–329) or are relevant to the study of his thought. In particular we draw attention to the paper originally published in a Dutch version by the Royal Dutch Academy in 1985 (= R-R 8547), which is now published in an English version entitled 'Idea' and 'Matter' in the Early Christian Exegesis of the First Words of Genesis: a Chapter in the Encounter between Greek Philosophy and Christian Thought'. (DTR)

9706. P. BORGES, *Philo of Alexandria: an Exegete for his Time*, New Testament Supplements 86 (Leiden 1997).

This monograph represents a synoptic presentation of the author's research on Philo during the last decade. The introduction discusses whether Philo was a mystic, philosopher or exegete. Borges himself sees correct observations behind the different options, but finds the last one the most relevant. The first two chapters account for Philo himself and his historical environment. The thirteen chapters that follow give, in addition to some other themes, a comprehensive treatment of Philo as an interpreter of the Scriptures. A typical feature of the book is that the author makes use of his own texts published elsewhere. Thus chapter 3 'Reviewing and Rewriting Biblical Material' differs but slightly from the text in the article published in *SPhA* vol. 9 and summarized below 9707. Chapter 4, 'Rewritten Bible?', demonstrates how Philo follows Jewish tradition in retelling the biblical story of the Pentateuch. Chapter 5, 'Questions and Answers', pertaining to Philo's exegetical use of questions and answers, is followed by three chapters discussing specific books in the Philonic corpus, *Gig.*, *Deus* and *Leg.* 1. In chapter 8, 'Proclamatio Graeca—Hermeneutical Key', Borges analyses Philo's idea that the Greek translation of the Bible was a decisive event in God's revelatory history. Three levels of interpretation of the biblical text can be detected in Philo's expositions of the Law of Moses: one referring to specific ordinances, one to cosmic principles and one to the transcendent world. The relationship between Jews and non-Jews is discussed in chapters 9, 10 and 12, 'Tension and Influence', 'The Conflict' and 'Reaching Out and Coming In', whereas chapter 11, 'Illegitimate and Legitimate Ascents', compares the illegitimate invasion of Gaius Caligula into the divine world with the legitimate ascent of Moses. For this section see Borges's *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism*, 1996, 297 ff. (= RRS 9610). In chapter 13, 'Man and God's People within a Cosmic Context', Borges elaborates upon a theme discussed in a previous article, 'Man's Sovereignty over Animals etc.', published in 1995 (= RRS 9511). Chapter 14, 'Philanthropia and the Laws of Moses', approximates the article 'Philanthropia in Philo's Writings', also published in 1996 and mentioned in the bibliography of the volume (= RRS 9616). In the final chapter, 'A Conditioned Future Hope', Borges places Philo's eschatological ideas within the general framework of his thought. The volume ends with a concluding summary. REVIEWS: A. Mendelson, *JJS* 49 (1998) 350–352; G. E. Sterling, *SPhA* 10 (1998) 183–188; A. Kamesar, *JThS* 50 (1999) 753–758; A. Klostergaard Petersen, *JSJ* 30 (1999) 327–331; F. J. Murphy, *CBQ* 61 (1999) 573–575; E. Reinmuth, *ThLZ* 124 (1999) 389–391; R. M. Wilson, *JBL* 118 (1999) 733–734; P. Cambronne, *REA* 102 (2000) 564–565; A. C. Geljon, *VChr* 55 (2001) 447–449; H. M. Keizer, *Mnem* 54 (2001) 593–596; A. C. Geljon, *VChr* 56 (2002) 200–202. (KGS)

9707. P. BORGES, 'Philo of Alexandria: Reviewing and Rewriting Biblical Material,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 37–53.

The area of Philo's activity as an exegete analysed in this article is the paraphrastic reviewing and rewriting of smaller and larger biblical units. For example, by taking a model from Deut Philo in *Praem.* presents a series of blessings tied to a series of curses. In a way that is quite similar to several early Jewish writings Philo in *Virt.* gives lists of biblical persons with the aim of creating a contrast between excellent and unworthy characters. In *Leg.* 3 such a listing of persons is combined with the theme of predestination which is articulated in transitional passages. Here Borges makes some comparisons with Paul's ideas in Rom 9. In discussion with P. S. Alexander the author points out the fact that Philo in rewriting biblical passages also incorporates presentations of laws (e.g. *Hypoth.*, *Decal.* and *Spec.*). There are similarities with Josephus which suggest a common source for the two Jewish authors. The ethical notions which Philo develops in his rewritten Bible have both a Jewish and a Greek background. (KGS)

9708. F. CALABI, 'Lingua di Dio, lingua degli uomini: Filone Alessandrino e la traduzione della Bibbia,' *I castelli di Yale* 2 (1997) 95–113.

Hebrew was the normal language which all humans spoke before the tower of Babel. Moreover it was the language that God spoke at the time of creation. The language of Adam corresponded perfectly to the nature of things. But then the problem arises: is this correspondence maintained in the Greek translation of the Bible? Philo's answer is positive. Greek is perfectly able to replace the Hebrew and corresponds perfectly to reality because the translation was inspired by God. The choice of Greek was not a matter of chance or opportunism, but was according to Calabi 'ideological', because it allowed the translators to make use of the considerable resources of thought which the Greek language allowed them to express. (RR)

9709. G. CASADIO, *Vie gnostiche all'immortalità* (Brescia 1997), esp. 75–78.

Philo's concept of immortality is strongly influenced by Platonism and thus subscribes to a clear form of dualism. Only the soul is destined for immortality and not the body, which is regarded as ontologically inferior. (RR)

9710. R. A. CLEMENTS, *Peri Pascha: Passover and Displacement of Jewish Interpretation within Origen's Exegesis* (diss. Harvard University 1997).

Origen's provocative use of the Philonic interpretation of Pascha as διόβασις, 'spiritual crossing,' is examined in relation to other Christian exegesis and also in the perspective of positive and negative invocations of Jewish interpretation. (DTR; based on DAI-A 58/09, p. 3575)

9711. N. G. COHEN, 'Earliest Evidence of the *Haftarah* Cycle for the Sabbaths between *בַּתְּמוּז* and *סוּכּוֹת* in Philo,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 48 (1997) 225–249.

The author shows that the majority of Philo's quotations from the Latter Prophets occur in the *Haftarah* cycle, and especially in the *Haftarah* of 'admonition, consolation, and repentance.' Of the 13 quotations in Philo from the Latter Prophets 10 contain verses found in this specific *Haftarah* cycle. This result is all the more striking given the very few non-Pentateuchal references in Philo. The author concludes that the traditional string of *Haftarah*—admonition, consolation, repentance—existed already in Philo's time. The author's thesis has been more fully developed in her monograph *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings: Evidence for a Haftarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism*, *Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplements* 123 (Leiden 2007). (ACG)

9712. N. G. COHEN, 'The Names of the Separate Books of the Pentateuch in Philo's Writings,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 54–78.

A thorough survey of all the passages in which Philo appears to refer to individual books of the Pentateuch. These are very infrequent when seen in relation to the countless references Philo makes to scripture as a whole. For the book Genesis there are at most four instances. Philo does not use the name Ἔξοδος, but replaces it with Ἐξαγωγή, the reason for this being, it is surmised, that the other name was associated with the theatre. The name Leviticus is used three times, Numbers not at all. The most complex case is Deuteronomy. This name is used twice only. Scholars have often thought that Philo uses alternative names to refer to this book, such as Πρωτρεπτικός, Παραίνεσις and Ἐπίνομις. The author examines all these instances and determines that they are not synonyms for the final book of the Pentateuch. By way of conclusion it is argued that Philo always considered the Pentateuch as a whole as his point of reference and as a conceptual unit. For this reason the references to individual books are so infrequent. (DTR)

9713. T. M. CONLEY, 'Philo of Alexandria,' in S. E. PORTER (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Leiden 1997) 695–713.

The crucial importance of Philo's rhetorical practices has only recently been acknowledged, but the last twenty-five years of the 20th century have seen a number of studies in this field. The aim of Conley's contribution on Philo in this handbook is to demonstrate how Philo's rhetoric 'works'. The discussion is divided in sections on (I) Style, (II) Sentence Composition, (III) Modes of Amplification, (IV) Topoi, (V) Beyond the Period: TAXIΣ, and (VI) The Debate Setting. The author concludes with regard to 'the pervasive presence of rhetorical intention' in Philo's writings that there is unmistakable evidence for Philo's awareness of the lessons taught by Hellenistic rhetoricians. 'His hermeneutical practices, far from being adapted to the services of some philosophical system, were fundamentally rhetorical.' (p. 713) (HMK)

9714. B. DECHARNEUX, 'De l'existence de l'existence de Dieu et de l'efficacité des ses puissances dans la théologie philonienne,' in C. LÉVY and L. PERNOT (edd.), *Dire l'évidence: Philosophie et rhétorique antiques*, Cahiers de philosophie de l'Université de Paris XII – Val de Marne 2 (Paris 1997) 321–334.

General reflections on the role of revelation and philosophy in Philo's theological and cosmological thought, as provoked by the general theme of the conference, i.e. 'dire l'évidence', pronouncing what is clear and evident (ἐνάργεια). For Philo the clear evidence of the existence of God and the efficacy of the working of his powers in the cosmos serve to reaffirm the validity and truth of the Jewish tradition as based on divine revelation, but also allow the entry of philosophical and rational demonstration wherever this is possible. 'Jewish thought and pagan philosophy become reconciled at the end of paths which appear to be different but in retrospect are identical.' (p. 332) The article also includes a brief discussion of Philo's debate with Alexander in *Prov.* 2. Philo does not capitulate to his nephew's arguments but calls in evidence, as well as emphasizing the limits of human knowledge. (DTR)

9715. G.-L. DEVIC, 'Philon d'Alexandrie; philosophe, mais aussi historien contemporain du Christ,' *Cahiers du Cercle Ernest Renan* 199 (1997) 93–145.

After summarizing the history of Alexandria, the author gives a general presentation of Philo of Alexandria, contemporary of Jesus Christ. He first introduces him as a philosopher who at a certain stage is annexed by the church, then as a historian, and he also gives an overview of his writings. Attention is drawn to *Flacc.* and *Legat.* A parallel is established between *Flacc.* 36–39 (the episode of Carabas) and the scene of the crowning of Jesus (Matt 27:27–31, John 19:2–3). (JR)

9716. J. M. DILLON, *The Great Tradition: Further Studies in the Development of Platonism and Early Christianity*, Variorum Reprints (Aldershot 1997).

A second volume of collected essays in the Variorum Reprint Series by the Regius Professor of Greek at Trinity College, Dublin and renowned specialist on the history of the Platonist tradition. Three articles relate directly to Philo: IV 'Reclaiming the Heritage of Moses: Philo's Confrontation with Greek Philosophy' (= RRS 9524); V 'The Formal Structure of Philo's Allegorical Exegesis' (= R-R 8326); VII 'Logos and Trinity: Patterns of Influence on Early Christianity' (= RRS 8918). (DTR)

9717. J. M. DILLON, 'The Pleasures and Perils of Soul-Gardening' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 190–197.

The general question posed in this essay concerns Philo himself: is he a man with a distinctive philosophical position who is seeking to apply this to what he regards as a sacred inspired text, or is he a pious exegete of scripture, who tries to bring in various philosophical doctrines as the text appears to demand? Dillon examines his handling of various themes in *Agr.* The image of philosophy as a garden allows him to take a stand on a number of important issues in contemporary philosophy, such as the role of the passions and the status of logic. There is no question of witless vacillation. Philo knows exactly what he is about. Of the two alternatives sketched above, the author has no compunction in settling for the former as presenting the truer picture. (DTR)

9718. D. S. DU TOIT, *Theios Anthropos. Zur Verwendung von θεῖος ἄνθρωπος und sinnverwandten Ausdrücken in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.91 (Tübingen 1997), esp. 361–382.

The dissertation examines the semantics of θεῖος, δαμόνιος, θεσπέσιος applied to historical persons in the authors of the Roman empire. Against the affirmations of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* these terms never ascribe men to the class of divinities, but either they denote a religious-ethical quality or they are used technically in an epistemological context for founders of a discipline or a type of knowledge. This result is confirmed by an inquiry in Hellenistic Judaism. After a survey on the history of research the author dedicates pp. 361–382 to the terminology in the writings of Philo: in titular function θεσπέσιοι ἄνδρες in *Praem.* 43 and *divini viri/homines* in *Prov.* 2.39 and 48 mean pagan initiators of philosophical knowledge. The expression can, however, be used also for the Jewish authors of the Law (*Migr.* 90) or the Psalms (*Plant.* 29). 'The divine prophet' of *Mos.* 2.188 could be understood in this sense, if the expression

does not have a relational meaning. In *Spec.* 1.8 and 3.178 θεσπέσιοι ἄνδρες are authoritative interpreters of the Law. In other places (*Virt.* 8, 177—not related to Moses) the adjectives have an ethical denotation and are parallel to ἱερός, ὄσιος, θεοφιλής. (DZ)

9719. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo,' in W. W. BRIGGS (ed.), *Ancient Greek Authors*, Dictionary of Literary Biography (Detroit 1997) 271–277.

Attractive brief general presentation of Philo in his historical context, both as an Alexandrian and as a Jew. Feldman retains the view of Wolfson that Philo's thought is a crucial turning point in the history of philosophy. He is important for an understanding of the spiritual crisis of the first century. It is concluded that he emerges as a truly enigmatic character. Though strongly influenced by Greek thought, in his Jewish context he was realistic enough to see the dangers of extremism. (DTR)

9720. S. DE FRANCESCO, 'Filone maestro di esegesi nelle *Quaestiones*. Interpretare domandando e coordinando,' *Ricerche Teologiche* 8 (1997) 253–269.

The article, based on a detailed analysis (applying 17 parameters) of 92 *Quaestiones* (QG 1.88–2.78), focuses on the role of the *quaestio* (as distinct from the *solutio*) in the exegetical act, and on the 'coordination' of textual data performed by the exegete in order to achieve a literal or allegorical interpretation. A study of the formulation of the *quaestio*, and how the biblical lemma in it has been 'cut out', leads to the conclusion that in the *quaestio* the exegetical act is already in progress, and that there are often indications in it of the exegete's 'pre-understanding' of the text. The exegetical 'coordination' on the level of literal interpretation aims at establishing the coherence of textual data through explanation of extraordinary facts and possible contradictions, and through references to the (wider) context of the lemma and to interpretations by other exegetes. On the allegorical level, the interpretation obtains its coherence from the exegete's 'guiding idea': in Philo's case the idea that a dramatic, existential trial purges the soul from its passions. The literal and allegorical interpretation of a single lemma may be either completely unrelated, or run parallel, or be in contrast, or be unequal (allegory dominating the letter). QG 2.52 (on Gen 9.22) presents an interesting case of both the letter (speaking of rituals) and the allegory having an equally spiritual significance. As for Philo's 'pre-understanding' of the text, decisive here is his conviction that God is absolutely transcendent, immutable, benevolent, and acting according to the principles of harmony and order. It is concluded that Philo's *Quaestiones* are above all exegetical in nature; that they constantly aim at an equilibrium between letter and allegory; and that they display a profound conviction and awareness of the unity of Scripture. Further study of the aspects of unity, internal connections and coordination in the *Quaestiones* may deepen our understanding of Philo's approach to the Bible and on the enduring value of his exegetical teaching. (HMK)

9721. P. GARNSEY, 'The Middle Stoics and Slavery: Hellenistic Constructs,' in P. CARTLEDGE, P. GARNSEY and E. GRUEN (edd.), *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History and Historiography* (Berkeley 1997) 159–174.

The Stoics considered slavery, in contrast to legal slavery, to be 'a moral condition characteristic of people who allowed themselves to be dominated by passions and emotions.' The famous early Stoic paradox, 'every good man is free, every bad man a slave,' survives only in the writings of Cicero, Philo, and Ambrose. Attempting to identify the view of Middle Stoics, Garnsey considers passages attributed by modern scholars to Posidonius as well as citations of Posidonius in ancient works. He finds Middle Stoic views on slavery to be elusive and probably not very different from earlier Stoic positions. Philo's focus in *Prob.* 17–19 upon moral—as opposed to legal—slavery or freedom, is probably characteristic of Middle Stoic views. (EB)

9722. P. VON GEMÜNDE, 'La femme passionnelle et l'homme rationnel? un chapitre de psychologie historique,' *Biblica* 4 (1997) 457–480.

The study examines the manner in which the relation between logos/nous and the passions depends on sexual stereotyping which both is derived from daily relations between men and women and at the same time determines such relations. In this article the author examines these stereotypes by studying texts derived from three traditions, the *Medea* of Euripides, *4 Maccabees*, and the Philonic corpus. From Philo's writings the stereotype that being female or feminine is equivalent to being dominated by the passions emerges clearly. But in two cases Philo distances himself from it. Spiritual progress can be described as a transformation in which women become masculine, yet when the summit of the spiritual journey is reached it is man who has to become woman. The reversal of values always takes place in relation to God, in the sense that God is the instigator of virtue. (JR)

9723. C. GERBER, *Ein Bild des Judentums für Nichtjuden von Flavius Josephus: Untersuchungen zu seiner Schrift Contra Apionem*, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 40 (Leiden 1997), esp. 100–118.

In her mainly synchronic analysis of this apologetic work (with encomiastic features) the author, after introductory remarks on its literary genre and integrity, concentrates on its third part (2.145–296) and the picture of Judaism presented there. However, since Philo's *Hypoth.* has a similar apologetic purpose, a comparative examination seems appropriate. Beside correspondences in the description of Moses and the Exodus, the function of the Sabbath, and especially the harsh sanctions (cf. *Hypoth.* 7.1f, with Josephus *Ap.* 2.215–217), differences in content are noted. The result of the examination is that it cannot be excluded but neither can it be proved that Josephus drew on Philo. Since with regard to

the epitome of the Law in 2.190–219 not only Philo *Hypoth.*, but also Pseudo-Phocylides offer parallels, even though these are stylistically quite different, a common stock ('fonds') has to be postulated. In that work OT laws were put together eclectically, without the typical Jewish rules, for the use of non-Jews. On p. 118 peculiarities of Josephus' text are listed. An excursus on its relationship to the *Laws* of Plato (pp. 226–243) may be interesting for Philonists as well. (DZ)

9724. R. GOLDENBERG, *The Nations That Know Thee Not: Ancient Jewish Attitudes toward Other Religions* (Sheffield 1997), esp. 51–56, 65–69.

Material from Philo is extensively used in this study of ancient Jewish attitudes towards other peoples and other religions. The chapter entitled 'Judaism at War (II)', which treats Jewish literary polemic, commences with Philo's strictures against polytheism in *Decal.* and uses it to structure the discussion. In the following chapter entitled 'Judaism at Peace,' Philo, though called 'the philosophical scourge of polytheism,' is interpreted as providing evidence of a softer view of pagan religions. This chapter also includes a discussion of Philo's exegesis of the LXX rendering of Exod 22:27. (DTR)

9725. R. GOLDENBERG, 'The Septuagint Ban on Cursing the Gods,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 28 (1997) 381–389.

Exod 22:27 (LXX 28) 'Do not curse *elohim* is rendered by the LXX as 'Do not speak ill of gods'. This is a surprising utterance in the light of the habitual polemics of the Torah and the prophets against other nations' gods. Philo offers three explanations of this ban: *Spec.* 1.53, *Mos.* 2.205, *QE* 2.5. Goldenberg summarizes them as follows: (1) the name 'god' should never be taken lightly, even when it is wrongly applied (*Mos.*); (2) praise is always better than attack (*QE*); religious polemic leads to social violence and should therefore be avoided (*QE*); mockery of idols can provoke blasphemy of the true God, while respect toward idols can elicit praise of the true God (*Spec.*, *QE*). A similar approach is found in Josephus. Other literary materials, however, show this law to have been a dead letter. Rabbinic literature, for instance, is full of mockery of Gentile gods. The author suggests that 'the LXX presents here an early example of Jewish community-relations publicity, a short-lived project, probably centered in Alexandria, aimed at convincing Gentiles that Jews are friendly people who seek to get along with everyone. The brief history of the theme in ancient Jewish (and Christian) literature suggests the effort quickly failed'. (HMK)

9726. K. GRAYSTON, 'The Meaning of 'Parakletos,' in S. E. PORTER and C. A. EVANS (edd.), *New Testament Text and Language: a Sheffield Reader* (Sheffield 1997) 207–221.

This article deals with the meaning of *παράκλητος*, which is often claimed to belong to Greek legal terminology. Among other sources the author investigates

Philo's usage (pp. 212–213). It indicates someone called in to help another person, either (a) by giving advice about a difficult decision, or (b) by giving support to someone making a claim, or settling a dispute, or rebutting a charge. Meaning (a) occurs in *Opif.* 23; meaning (b) is encountered at several places. These occurrences do not deal with legal proceedings, but it is noteworthy that their settings are formed by palaces, administration buildings and temples. (ACG)

9727. J. M. GUNDRY-VOLF, 'Paul on Women and Gender: a Comparison with Early Jewish Views,' in R. LONGENECKER (ed.), *The Impact of Paul's Conversion on his Life, Thought, and Ministry* (Grand Rapids 1997) 184–212, esp. 195–201.

The author discusses briefly Philo's view on women and gender. For Philo a woman is inferior to a man by nature. The place of a woman is in the domestic sphere, while the man belongs to the public sphere. In Philo's allegory 'female' stands for passion, sense-perception, passivity etc.; man represents mind, self-control, activity etc. In order to attain divine wisdom one has to lay off the female sphere of body and passion, and to become 'male'. When a woman wishes to attain divine insight, she has to become a virgin. The boundary between men and women disappears in the return to the original Adam, which is an incorporeal androgyne, neither male nor female. With regard to woman and gender, there are differences and similarities between Philo and Paul. Both see an ideal humanity that is beyond gender and inequality. Philo, having a Platonic denigration of the body, bases his ideal of androgyny on the denial of the body in the incorporeal Adam. Paul, on the other hand, bases the equality between man and woman on baptismal unification with Christ. (ACG)

9728. K. HAACKER, 'Die Geschichtstheologie von Röm 9–11 im Lichte philonischer Schriftauslegung,' *New Testament Studies* 43 (1997) 209–222.

Philo can illuminate some traditional material in Paul. Thus the relativization of descent in Rom 9:6b–13 recalls Philo's reflections on noble birth (*Virt.* 187–197), esp. the examples *Virt.* 207–210 (cf. *Praem.* 58–60). Paul, however, excludes virtue as a criterion. Philo sees proselytes as compensation for the falling away of Israelites (*Praem.* 152), just as Paul sees the Christians with a pagan origin. As common base Deut 28:15 ff., esp. verses 43 f., is postulated, where the losses of Israel mean gain for the pagans. Both authors consider the time when Israel is fallen in disfavour as limited; the restitution of Israel will be salvific for the world (cf. *Mos.* 2.43 f. with Rom 11:12, 15). These common views at least partially can be explained by a similar reception of certain biblical texts. But the author also considers it possible that Paul deliberately included Philonic material in the letter to the Romans, because knowledge of the writings of Philo in Rome could be presupposed. (DZ)

9729. R. B. TER HAAR ROMENY, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: the Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis*, *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 6 (Leuven 1997), esp. 183–192.

In his Leiden dissertation the author gives a careful discussion on the excerpt from the Genesis Commentary of Eusebius of Emesa in the *Catena* (Petit no. 194) in which appears to be quoted. It is not so likely that Eusebius was the intermediary, since he does not cite Philo anywhere else and moreover this would be his only quotation from another author. The two excerpts must have been joined together later on. (DTR)

9730. C. HAAS, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore 1997), esp. 94–99.

In order to cast light on the later fortunes of the Jewish community in Alexandria, the author looks back to the period of Philo and especially to his evidence on the bitter conflicts between Greeks and Jews. He is inclined to conclude that the discontinuity caused by the Jewish revolt was less absolute than is generally thought. (DTR)

9731. M. HARDING, 'Josephus and Philo,' in M. C. KILEY (ed.), *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine. A Critical Anthology* (London–New York 1997) 86–91.

After a brief sketch of Philo's life, works and importance, the author very succinctly mentions Philo's views on prayer and worship, and gives a selected bibliography on the subject. Right conduct is a necessary prerequisite of worship, prayer included. Prayer and praise from a devoted heart is better than literal sacrifices. In Philo's works four prayers can be found, two of which (*Migr.* 101 and *Spec.* 2.198–199) are discussed by G. E. Sterling further on in the Anthology (see below 9781). The other two prayers are located in *Somn.* 1.164 and *Her.* 24–29. (HMK)

9732. D. M. HAY, 'Putting Extremism in Context: the Case of Philo, *De Migratione* 89–93,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 126–142.

Scholarly discussion of the famous passage on the extreme allegorists has usually concentrated on identifying them in their historical context. In this article Hay investigates the passage itself and its place in the context of the treatise. Firstly a brief analysis of the passage is given. Then *Migr.* as a whole is investigated with the aim of shedding light on §§ 89–93. The major themes of the passage, such as the nature of the virtuous life and the location of one's true

home, are discussed in the treatise as a whole. Thirdly the reverse procedure is followed and the passage is used to illuminate the treatise. The author concludes in a final section that the passage should not be regarded as the master key to the entire work, but it is well integrated into it and is not a 'foreign body' within it. It is possible that the passage does not refer to a special group, but rather to a class of individuals. The main reason for mentioning them is hermeneutical, i.e. to teach his readers that both literal and allegorical interpretation is necessary, and that spiritual development requires not bodiless existence but the exercise of self-mastery. (DTR)

9733. B. HEININGER, 'Sündenreinigung (Hebr 1,3): Christologische Anmerkungen zum Exordium des Hebräerbriefs,' *Biblische Zeitschrift* 41 (1997) 54–68.

Since the entire passage is rooted in Wisdom theology, there is a traditional place for the cultic function of Wisdom as well. The formulation 'cleansing from sin', however, refers to the death of Jesus against the background of the day of reconciliation. For the specific idea of the letter, namely that the High Priest offers himself as sacrifice, the author adduces as parallel Philo's text *Fug.* 87–118, where in an exposition of Num 35 the death of the High Priest, identified with the Logos, is connected with the ritual of Lev 16. Even if in Philo's psychological application this death means something wholly different from the dying of the High Priest Jesus, the Logos is described in terms reminiscent of Hebrews as cosmic bond and as immaculate. *Somm.* 2.183 even speaks of the High Priest offering himself. (DZ)

9734. A. VAN DEN HOEK, 'The 'Catechetical' School of Early Christian Alexandria and its Philonic Heritage,' *Harvard Theological Review* 90 (1997) 59–87.

This article deals with the so-called catechetical school in Alexandria. The prime source for this school is Eusebius, from whom Van den Hoek quotes the passages in which he refers to a διδασκαλεῖον in Alexandria. The Alexandrian school was closely related to Philo. The link with Philo was a literary heritage: Clement and Origen saw Philo as part of their own tradition. Both had access to Philo's writings, which occupy a place in the library in Alexandria. The question as to how Philo's writings were transmitted in the first and second century, however, has to remain unclear. (ACG)

9735. S. HONIGMAN, 'Philon, Flavius Josèphe, et la citoyenneté alexandrine: vers une utopie politique,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 48 (1997) 62–90.

The author demonstrates that the claims of at least a certain section of the Jewish population of Alexandria, as reflected by the writings of Philo and indirectly by those of Josephus, do concern the attempt to obtain Alexandrian citizenship,

not just in the context of the Alexandrian *πολίτευμα*, but as individual persons. Parallel to this, it is impossible to maintain on this account that such Jews were 'apostates', since Philo himself was one of the people concerned. (JR)

9736. P. W. VAN DER HORST, *Bronnen voor de studie van de wereld van het vroege christendom: Joodse en pagane teksten uit de periode van Alexander de Grote tot keizer Constantijn*, Deel 1 Joodse bronnen; Deel 2 Pagane bronnen (Kampen 1997), esp. 1.91–102.

In this magnificent Dutch-language source-book for the period from Alexander to Constantine, Part One, devoted to Jewish sources, contains a section on 'Philosophy and exegesis.' Four documents are translated and briefly commented on: Aristobulus fr. 2, Philo *Opif.* 99–100, *Migr.* 86–93, *Contempl.* 21–39. The passage in Josephus in which Philo is mentioned, *Ant.* 18.257 ff. is also included (vol. 1, p. 145). (DTR)

9737. A. KAMESAR, 'The Literary Genres of the Pentateuch as seen from the Greek Perspective: the Testimony of Philo of Alexandria,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 143–189.

In this lengthy and learned paper the author attempts to demonstrate that the relationship between Judaeo-Hellenistic interpretation and the Peripatetic/Alexandrian tradition may have been deeper than has been acknowledged. He aims to reconstruct, primarily from the Philonic corpus, a theory about the genres of the Pentateuch which may go back to a time when the Peripatetic/Alexandrian tradition rather than the Stoic/Pergamene approach was dominant. The first section of the paper, entitled 'The genres of Philo and those of Peripatetic theory', argues that the cosmological, the historical/genealogical, and the legislative genre as found by Philo in the Pentateuch (see *Praem.* 2 ff. and *Mos.* 2.45 ff.) correspond with three genres of poetry distinguished in the *Tractatus Coislinianus* and Diomedes. Section II ('The Pentateuch and poetry') deals with the theory that in ancient times written discourse was generally in poetic form, whereas prose was a later development: Philo in *Det.* 125 refers to the Pentateuch as 'divine poetry'. The theory indicated here may have reached Philo via Peripatetic sources. Section III is entitled 'Non-mythical and non-mimetic literature.' Philo's statement, again in *Det.* 125, that the Pentateuch contains no myth (the same in Josephus), seems to put it in the category of non-mythical poetry as described, e.g., by Plutarch—'myth' is here an approximate equivalent of the Aristotelian term 'mimesis'. In Section IV ('The three genres as seen from the literalist perspective') it is argued that the tripartite scheme of Pentateuchal genres is essentially literalist, since it allows one to establish the primarily didactic *telos* of the Pentateuch without an appeal to allegory. Philo in *Conf.* 14 ff. acknowledges the legitimacy of the 'literalist' approach, although his own approach to the problems of the literal text is an allegorical one. The author

discusses a number of scholarly explanations of Philo's (surprising) claim that there is no myth in the Pentateuch, notably the one of G. Delling. The literalist approach is evidenced by remarks of Josephus, whose theory and practice are not without contradictions. Kamesar sets out to provide the theoretical foundations for the literalist position, which in his view was based on an appeal to literary genre. Such a 'generic' solution to the problem of apparent myth in the Pentateuch stands in stark contrast to the solution generally associated with Hellenistic Judaism and Philo involving an attempt to 'heal' the apparent myth by means of an appeal to allegory, i.e. not a 'generic' but a hermeneutical approach (pp. 180–181). In section V Kamesar considers by way of analogy Proclus' theory about Homer's poetry in his *Commentary on Plato's Republic*. Section VI gives a 'Summary and explanation of the origins and disappearance of the literalist approach'. Judaeo-Hellenistic *grammatikoi* somewhere around 100 B.C.E. came to compare the Pentateuch with Greek works written in the archaic age (such as of Empedocles and Hesiod), that is, not exclusively with Homer, nor yet with Plato. Later on the literary texts which came to be most often juxtaposed with the Pentateuch were the works of both Homer and Plato. But before the domination of the allegorical approach, there was still significant distance between these two, and there was room for a 'literal' Moses in that space (p. 189). (HMK)

9738. A. KERKESLAGER, *Jewish Pilgrimage and Jewish Identity in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt* (diss. University of Pennsylvania 1997).

This study advances the understanding of ancient constructions of Jewish identity through an analysis of the ways in which Jewish identity was expressed in pilgrimage traditions in Greco-Roman Egypt. Literary, papyrological, epigraphic and archaeological sources are used in a strongly comparative framework. The longest chapter includes lengthy discussions of sources related to pilgrimage to Mt. Sinai, including the Septuagint, Demetrius, Philo, *Jubilees*, Galatians, Josephus, Eusebius, and others. These sources suggest that Jews in the Greco-Roman period believed that Mt. Sinai was located in northwestern Arabia near the city of Madyan (modern Al-Bad'). The study concludes that a number of factors may have played a role in the diverse expressions of Jewish identity in Egypt. Philonic evidence is used throughout and his use of 'Arabia' plays an important role in the discussion of Philo's view of the location of Mt. Sinai. For the publication of a revised version of the dissertation see below 9857. (DTR; based on summary supplied by the author)

9739. A. KERKESLAGER, 'Maintaining Jewish Identity in the Greek Gymnasium: a 'Jewish Load' in CPJ 3.519 (= P. Schub. 37 = P. Berol. 13406)', *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 28 (1997) 12–33, esp. 29 ff.

The phallic humour of this papyrus is contextualised with reference to information on circumcision and the mocking of Jews in Philo. (DTR)

9740. J. KŁAWANS, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism (New Testament, Qumran)* (diss. Columbia University 1997).

The dissertation first clarifies the distinction between 'ritual' and 'moral' impurity in biblical literature and then sets out to examine how these two conceptions were interpreted in ancient Jewish texts, including Philo, who proposes an analogical relationship between the two. See below 20139 for the published version of the dissertation. (DTR; based on DAI-A 58/03, p. 0926)

9741. J. KUGEL, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge Mass. 1997), *passim*.

Kugel argues that the Bible as we read it today has been very significantly shaped by its tradition of interpretation, of which the formative phase was the period from 200 B.C.E. to 150 C.E. The entire Pentateuch is covered in a sequence of 25 chapters. Within these chapters various motifs are selected and illustrated by means of quotations from works of this period. Philo is very frequently cited, especially on the life of Moses, but also on many other aspects of interpretation. See the index of Philonic passages on pp. 676–678. A fuller version of the book was published in 1998; see below 9858. (DTR)

9742. J. KÜGLER, *Pharao und Christus? Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Frage einer Verbindung zwischen altägyptischer Königstheologie und neutestamentlicher Christologie im Lukasevangelium*, Bonner Biblische Beiträge 113 (Bodenheim 1997), esp. 185–252.

In order to prove his overall thesis indicated in the subtitle, the author thinks it possible that Hellenistic Judaism transmitted Egyptian ideas of divine sonship. Therefore he first analyses the relationship of Alexandrian Jewry to Egypt. Philo (pp. 191–193) could have been acquainted with Egyptian religiosity, at least in a Hellenized version. *Legat.* 54 ff. alludes to Egyptian-Hellenistic ideas about the king formed already in his mother's womb (see also the earlier article, RRS 9650). In *Legat.* and *Flacc.* Philo seems to accept deification on the basis of benefaction. The royal dignity of Moses also is founded in virtue. In a political context, however, Philo avoids speaking of a divine origin. This is true also for the messianic passages *Praem.* 95 and *Mos.* 1.290. Differing from a collective (Joseph and Aseneth, Wisdom) or an individual-political interpretation of divine sonship, Philo gives a spiritual one. In *Cher.* 40–50 he conceives of generation through God as a spiritual event in the soul. The imagery, however, is related to pagan cults which celebrate the birth of a child generated by a god out of a virgin mother, the initiates assuming the royal role of Horus (p. 239). Kügler wants to understand this idea in the frame of individualized royal ideology (p. 242). (DZ)

9743. M. KUYAMA, 'The Neglegentia (ἀμέλεια) Motive in Early Christianity', *The Meiji Gakuin Review* 602 (1997) 1–25, esp. 3–7.

The concept of 'negligence' (ἀμέλεια) is the key to the explanation that Origen in his *De principiis* gives for the original fall of the rational spiritual creatures before creation. The article investigates the sources for this use of ἀμελείν and its derivatives. Philo is the first author who gives positive evidence, notably in four texts: *Det.* 43–44, *Sacr.* 86, *Her.* 212–213 and *Praem.* 12. Although it is not possible to establish a direct historical relationship in this usage, the author argues that Origen was able to draw on this Philonic usage in developing his idea of the original fall. (DTR)

9744. J. LAANSMA, 'I Will Give You Rest': the Rest Motif in the New Testament with Special Reference to Mt 11 and Heb 3–4, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.98 (Tübingen 1997), esp. 113–122, 338–342.

In this study on the rest motif in the New Testament attention is also paid to Philo. He uses the rest motif particularly in connection with the Sabbath and the number seven. Rest is an attribute of God and is related to his immutability, stability, and immovability. Human beings can participate in God's rest insofar as they stand in proximity to God. The author reports the discussion about the rest motif between G. Theissen and O. Hofius (cf. R-R 7021). Although Laansma does not follow Theissen's view that in Philo there are different and contrasting strands of thought in the rest motif, he admits that there is a difference in emphasis between various Philonic passages (pp. 113–122). With regard to a Philonic background of the rest motif in Hebrews, Laansma concludes that there are no strong arguments for the view that the idea of rest in Hebrews is derived from Philo (pp. 338–342). (ACG)

9745. J. LAPORTE, 'From Impure Blood to Original Sin,' *Studia Patristica* 31 (1997) 438–444.

Brief discussion of the treatment of impurity and purification in the commentaries on Leviticus in Philo and Origen. Philo takes these themes seriously, but does not connect them with humankind's Adamic heritage. Origen follows Philo in offering a diversity of views for the transmission of sin, and these should be recovered so that we can avoid the rigidity of the Augustinian tradition on this issue. (DTR)

9746. J. LEONHARDT, 'Vergleich der Vita des Josephus mit Philos *Legatio ad Gaium*,' in F. SIEGERT and J. U. KALMS (edd.), *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Münster 1997: Vorträge aus dem Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum*, *Münsteraner Judaistische Studien* 2 (Münster 1997) 106–135.

Since both writings contain autobiographic passages and an apology for Judaism, a comparison seems appropriate. The author thus confronts the purpose, the occasion and the self-portrait of the authors in both works. In view of

the content she analyses their position towards Judaism, to single Jews, Jewish groups and the Jewish authorities, to pagans and the Roman state. While Josephus wants to defend himself against the reproaches of Justus of Tiberias, Philo's accusation of Gaius probably is occasioned by the rise of Claudius to the imperial throne. Josephus puts his own achievements and his character in the foreground, whereas Philo disappears behind the 'we' of the delegation—with the exception of §§ 181–184. He presents a picture of Jewish unity which contrasts to the many factions emerging from Josephus' narration. Josephus has better relations to the Romans than to his own people, while *Legat.* reflects the menace to Jews arising from pagan fellow-citizens and the emperor. (DZ)

9747. J. R. LEVISON, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 29 (Leiden 1997), *passim*.

In this monograph devoted to a study of how conceptions of the divine spirit underwent complex metamorphoses in Jewish biblical interpretation three chief bodies of writing are discussed, Philo, Josephus and Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*. The main body of the book consists of three long essays. In the first, entitled 'An anomalous prophet', it is shown how highly divergent and creative interpretations of the spirit were drawn from Num 24 and its account of how the spirit descended on Balaam. The difference between Philo's account in *Mos.* 1.277 ff. and the biblical account is largely due to the influence of Plato's Socrates (the same applies to Josephus), as shown in a comparison with Plutarch. The spirit thus becomes an invading angel. In the second essay, entitled 'An eclectic era', Levison attempts to uncover the complex impulses which propelled Jewish authors both to assimilate and to resist Greco-Roman perceptions of inspiration. In this part he examines Philo's presentation of Abraham at *Virt.* 217–218 and also his descriptions of the ascent of the mind in *Plant.* 18–26 and *Gig.* 19–55. In the third part, entitled 'An extraordinary mind', Levison undermines the view that in Jewish literature the spirit was associated above all with ecstasy rather than with intellectual insight. Philo's view of both Moses and Joseph is examined. Here too the influence of Socrates' daimon is felt. A long concluding section summarizes the findings and places them in a wider context. In an appendix (262–267) 'essential data' is provided on Philo. REVIEWS: P. R. Davies, *ExpTim* 110 (1998) 22–23; D. P. O'Brien, *JJS* 49 (1998) 356–357; B. W. R. Pearson, *JSNT* 71 (1998) 122–123; A. Piñero, *EstE* 73 (1998) 669–671; J. Frey, *ThLZ* 124 (1999) 722–724; C. T. R. Hayward, *JThS* 50 (1999) 664–668; A. Piñero, *JSJ* 30 (1999) 104–106; W. T. Wilson, *CBQ* 61 (1999) 591–592; G. E. Sterling, *JQR* 91 (2001) 519–520; M. Turner, *EvQ* 75 (2003) 65–67. (DTR)

9748. M. LLUCH BAIXAULI, 'El tratado de Filón sobre el Decálogo', *Scripta Theologica* 29 (1997) 415–446.

The author studies the Philonic book *De Decalogo* as a link in a long chain that goes from the biblical traditions, the LXX, and the Jewish comments through

to the Christian treatment of Decalogue. Although differences of time and conceptuality have to be taken into account, on this theme Philo clearly appears as a mediator between Judaism and Christianity. (JPM)

9749. A. A. LONG, 'Allegory in Philo and Etymology in Stoicism: a Plea for Drawing Distinctions,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 198–210.

There appears to be a scholarly consensus that Philo's allegorical method is deeply indebted to Stoic allegorical readings of myths and poets. Long strongly denies this view. Stoics have been commonly regarded as allegorists for three reasons: firstly because the early Stoics regularly etymologized the names of divinities; secondly because Heraclitus allegoricus was thought to be a Stoic; thirdly because of reports that they allegorized Homer and Hesiod. But none of these reasons are founded. Further confirmation can be found in the method of the Stoic Cornutus, who concentrates on etymology and does not practice allegory in the Philonic sense. It is concluded that Stoic exegesis of myth and Philo's interpretation of scripture have little in common. Philo's source was no doubt his Alexandrian Jewish predecessors. The article concludes with some reflections on the use of language. The Stoics would have been sympathetic to the portrayal of Adam naming the animals in *Opif.* 148 ff., but not to Philo's understanding of Moses' practice as a conscious allegorist. (DTR)

9750. J. MANSFELD and D. T. RUNIA, *Aëtiana: the Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*, Volume I: the Sources, *Philosophia Antiqua* 73 (Leiden 1997), esp. 161–163, 317–318.

In two respects Philonic evidence is important for the study of the doxographer Aëtius: firstly the interpolation of material from ps.Plutarch in *Prov.* 1.22, secondly the pre-Aëtian doxographical passage at *Somn.* 1.21–32. Both passages are briefly discussed in the context of a comprehensive examination of the reconstruction of Aëtius' work. (= RRS 9653, date corrected, full title given.) (DTR)

9751. J. P. MARTÍN, 'Sobre la cita de Homero que cierra el libro Lambda de *Metaphysica* de Aristóteles,' *Aristóteles*, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Nacional de Cuyo (Mendoza, Argentina 1997) 313–321.

The quotation of *Iliad* 2.204 in *Metaphysics* Λ 10, 1076a4 allows the concept of 'one king', εἷς κοίτανος to be linked to the unity of the cosmic principle. In the Christian literature we find the same reference to Homer although in an enlarged theological-political context, in which the political and theological connotations of the term μοναρχία are developed. The first witnesses of this tradition are the

Pseudo-Justin's *Cohortatio*, Eusebius and Epiphanius. Between Aristotle and the Christian writers references to this passage of Homer are scarce, although Philo is a witness to two quotations in similar context, in *Conf.* 170 and *Legat.* 149. (JPM)

9752. J. P. MARTÍN, 'La granada símbolo del mundo: relación entre Filón y Teófilo de Antioquía,' *Epimeleia: Revista de estudios sobre la tradición* 6 (Buenos Aires 1997) 69–82.

The author analyses Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolyicum* 1.5. He shows that the five analogies for knowledge of God which this chapter develops have narrow Philonic precedents. Four are also very well-known in the Greek, Jewish and early Christian literature: the soul, the pilot, the sun and the king. But there is a very unusual one, the analogy of the pomegranate which is taken as the symbol of the world contained in the hand and spirit of God. This analogy is found in antiquity in two authors only, as far as we know: in Theophilus in the above-mentioned chapter and in Philo, *Mos.* 2.119–121, *Spec.* 1.93 f., *QE* 2.119 f. (JPM)

9753. E. B. MATTES, *Myth for Moderns: Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough and Religious Studies in America 1938–1955*, ATLA Monograph Series 43 (Lanham Md. 1997).

In this personal account of the life of the great American scholar, the author briefly recounts the main features of his interpretation of Philo, but says little about the methodological issues that have made his work controversial. See further the review by D. M. Hay listed below. *REVIEWS:* D. M. Hay, *SPhA* 11 (1999) 161–163.

9754. B. G. MCGINN, *Storia della mistica cristiana in occidente. Le origini (I–V secolo)* (Genoa 1997), esp. 44–52.

Italian translation (by M. Rizzi) of the English work first published in 1991; see RRS 9152. According to McGinn Philo was the first thinker in the West to connect the Greek contemplative ideal to the monotheistic faith of Scripture, using above all Platonic philosophy as an apologetic instrument and also as a means to penetrate to the authentic significance of revelation. An important consequence was the extreme emphasis on divine transcendence and also the adaptation of Platonic contemplation in a more personal direction. The differences between Plato and Philo can be reduced to the theme of οὐδένεια as condition for contemplation, which is quite foreign to Platonic views. (RR)

9755. D. MEALAND, 'The Paradox of Philo's Views on Wealth,' in C. A. EVANS and S. E. PORTER (edd.), *New Testament Backgrounds: a Sheffield Reader* (Sheffield 1997) 28–32.

Reprint of the original 1985 article (= R-R 8532) as one of what the editors believe to be 'the best articles ... published in the first 50 issues (1978-1993) of *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*'. See also the article of T. E. Schmidt, below 9770. (DTR)

9756. A. MENDELSON, 'Philo's Dialectic of Reward and Punishment,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 104-125.

The theme of reward and punishment, tied to the exercise of divine justice, is central in the entire Philonic corpus. The author examines two groups of treatises, which appear to offer differing perspectives. In *Virt.* and *Praem.*, both part of the Exposition of the Law, Philo stays close to the view of the Deuteronomist in Deut 28: God rewards the good and pious and punishes the wicked and impious in this life. There is a difference between the two treatises in that in *Praem.* God is not given the same active role that he has in *Virt.* But in three treatises of the Allegorical Commentary, which deal with the fates of Cain and Abel, it is apparent that Philo was preoccupied with the problem of the suffering of the righteous and the fact that Cain does not appear to receive a commensurate punishment. He thus offers an interpretation in which, despite appearances, Abel is rewarded and Cain is punished. Throughout this trilogy Philo takes care to disassociate God from the direct exercise of punishment. The reward for the good person is knowledge of all that follows in God's wake. The article closes with some reflections on Philo's handling of divine justice. The author hesitates to draw chronological conclusions from the differences he has noted. Rather there is a creative tension between Moses, who epitomizes Law and tradition, and Plato, who epitomizes rational enquiry. (DTR)

9757. J. MILGROM, 'Philo the Biblical Exegete,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 79-83.

The author, who is preparing a commentary on Leviticus, presents seven cases in which Philo (in spite of his being a 'supreme allegorist') throws light on the plain meaning of the literal text of Leviticus. The texts concerned are: Lev 19:3 (*Decal.* 165-167; *Sacr.* 77); Lev 19:23 (*Virt.* 157-159); Lev 19:28 (*Spec.* 1.58); Lev 20:9 (*Spec.* 2.248); Lev 21:14 (*Spec.* 1.110); Lev 24:20 (*Spec.* 3.181-182); Lev 27:1-13 (*Spec.* 2.32-34). (HMK)

9758. S. ΝΑΕΗ, 'ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου: Philo and the Rabbis on the Powers of God and the Mixture in the Cup,' in H. M. COTTON, J. J. PRICE and D. J. WASSERSTEIN (edd.), *Studies in Memory of A. Wasserstein* [= *Studia Classica Israelica* 16 (1997)] (Jerusalem 1997) 91-101.

This study returns to the central and vexed question of the relationship between Philo's view of the divine powers (as reflected by the distinctive names of the Deity) and the rabbinic doctrine of the divine 'measures' of justice and mercy. Advancing a suggestion by Dahl and Segal (R-R 7812), Naeh probes the possible link between Philonic exegesis and rabbinic midrash concerning the 'mixing' of these attributes. The key texts examined are *Deus* 73–85 and *Genesis Rabbah* 12.15 (on Gen 2:4), and the author examines the possibility that the imagery of Ps 75 (LXX 74) underlies the respective arguments regarding the mingling of justice and mercy. It is concluded, cautiously, that the 'similarities between Philo's discussion and the Midrash ... suggest that both may have been based on an earlier interpretation of Ps 75:9, already reflected in the Septuagint' (p. 101). (DS)

9759. A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA, 'Il testo biblico di Filone e i LXX,' *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 2 (1997) 175–196.

The fundamental problem which the author tackles is the reconstruction of the biblical text to which Philo refers. To this end she reviews the most important scholarly treatments of the problem and concludes that it is impossible by means of Philo's writings to attain the biblical text on which he was working for the reason that his citations are not exact, but are always the result of interaction with the text. The article concludes with an excursus (pp. 193–196) in which, as demonstration of her position, she examines the biblical citations in *Leg.* 1 and compares them with the LXX text in the Göttingen edition. (RR)

9760. B. A. PEARSON, 'Ancient Alexandria in the *Acts of Mark*,' in *Society of Biblical Literature 1997 Seminar Papers*, Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series 36 (Atlanta 1997) 273–284, esp. 280 ff.

Philonic evidence on the location of Jews in Alexandria is used to shed light on topographical references in the 4th century *Acts of Mark*. (DTR)

9761. J. PELIKAN, *What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? Timaeus and Genesis in Counterpoint*, Jerome Lectures 21 (Ann Arbor 1997), esp. 67–88.

The Thomas Jerome lectures for 1996, held both at the University of Michigan and the American Academy in Rome, are devoted to a fascinating comparison of Plato's *Timaeus* and the book of Genesis (i.e. esp. the creation account) as seen in the Jewish and Christian tradition up to Boethius. The fourth lecture is entitled 'Alexandria: the God of *Genesis* as 'Maker and Father' (*Timaeus* 28C)', and is devoted to an examination of this contrapuntal interaction in Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon. Pelikan concentrates largely on *Opif.*, draping his discussion on the five 'most beautiful doctrines' of §§ 170–172. The five sections of the chapter are entitled: The God of Moses as the ὁ ὧν of Plato (sic!); The God and Father of the Universe as One; γενιτῶς ὁ κόσμος; One Demiurge and

One Cosmos; Divine Providence in the Cosmos. The final section notes that both Philo and Wisdom see an inseparable connection between immortality and virtue, but that this immortality is not possessed by humans 'by nature'. In this respect Genesis prevails over the *Timaeus*. REVIEWS: E. G. Mathews, *BMCR* 10 (1999); D. Rehm, *AncPhil* 19 (1999) 436–440; D. V. Meconi, *RMeta* 53 (1999–2000) 190–191; D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 12 (2000) 218–222. (DTR)

9762. C. D. REDMOND, *The New Testament Predication of Christ as the Agent of Creation* (diss. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary 1997).

The purpose of the dissertation is to analyse the passages which depict Christ as the agent of creation in order to determine their conceptual background and christological implications of these predications. In the second chapter the religious and philosophical background is surveyed and it is noted that Philo utilizes the motif of God as creator in various ways, including its use as the foundation for the praise of God. He also depicts God's creative act operating through the Logos. (DTR; based on DAI-A 59/10, p. 3854)

9763. H. REHMANN, 'Eva, die 'Traum'-Frau Adams: Das Motiv der Erdenarbeit in der Cotton-Genesis-Tradition im Spiegel der Genesisdeutungen von Philo von Alexandrien und Origenes,' *Frauen, Kunst, Wissenschaft* 10 (1997) 22–35.

The author attempts to detect in medieval pictures the influence of a theology hostile to women, represented by Philo's allegorical explanation of the creation and of the sin of the first human couple. (DZ)

9764. J. R. ROYSE, 'Heraclitus B 118 in Philo of Alexandria,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 211–216.

Royse briefly and fascinatingly tells the fate of a brief fragment of Heraclitus, cited by Philo in *Prov.* 2.109, in the direct and indirect textual transmission of the work. It is found in the original Greek in Eusebius *PE* 8.14.67 and in the Armenian translation edited by Aucher. The Greek text printed by Mangey and Colson in fact contains an emendation of the fragment's first word put forward by R. Stephanus in 1544. Aucher emended the Armenian text in order to conform to this emendation. In fact the Greek supports the reading found in other sources (ἀνγή), whereas the Armenian reading is αὔτη, a variant also found in Plutarch. Royse concludes by offering two scenarios of how the history of the text can be explained. Finally he notes that Philo also alludes to the fragment at *QG* 2.12. (DTR)

9765. D. T. RUNIA, 'Filone ed i primi teologi cristiani,' *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 14.2 (1997) 355–380.

In a lecture held in Pisa and Bologna in 1996 the author gives a general presentation of the results of his research on the fate of Philo in the Christian tradition, with special attention given to the influence he exerted on Origen and Augustine. The former reveals a full acceptance of the Philonic heritage within the bounds of his Christianity, but at a cost. The latter evaluates Philo's method of biblical interpretation and finds it partly unsatisfactory. The author concludes that the Augustinian perception of Philo's role was more accurate, because he had more of an eye for Philo's essential 'ebraicità'. (DTR)

9766. D. T. RUNIA, 'The Reward for Goodness: Philo, *De Vita Contemplativa* 90,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 3–18.

The final section of *Contempl.* has given rise to problems: how is the text to be established, translated and interpreted? The author first cites three translations which all differ at important points. He then establishes the text, making use of parallel passages elsewhere to determine that the text should read ἀθλα προθεῖσα and not προσθεῖσα. This section concludes with the author's own translation of the sentence. In the third part an interpretation is given of the entire section, concentrating on how its main terms—excellence, friendship of God, reward of/for goodness, prosperity and felicity—relate to each other. The *Therapeutae* show two chief excellences, self-control and piety. When these are combined with a desire for contemplation of God, the reward of friendship with him and felicity is theirs. The climactic use of the theme of *eudaimonia* also occurs in other Philonic treatises. The article concludes with some brief words addressed to the honorand comparing *inter alia* Lake Mareotis and Berkeley. (DTR)

9767. D. T. RUNIA, 'The Text of the Platonic Citations in Philo of Alexandria,' in M. JOYAL (ed.), *Studies in Plato and the Platonic Tradition: Essays Presented to John Whittaker* (Aldershot 1997) 261–291.

The late John Whittaker in an important article argued that ancient writers often practised the 'art of misquotation,' and so their evidence for the indirect tradition of texts has to be regarded with suspicion. In this contribution Whittaker's theory is tested by applying it to the 23 Platonic citations in Philo (this category covers both direct quotes and paraphrases, the criterion is that Philo himself makes clear that he is citing the work of another author). For each citation the text is cited (with mss. variants), the Platonic passage cited is indicated and brief comments are made on the way that Philo reports or adapts it. At the end of the article four conclusions are reached. (1) Philo practises a good deal

of variation in his manner of citation. (2) In general the citations adhere reasonably closely to the original Platonic text. (3) On a number of occasions Philo 'tampers' with the quotation, esp. for theological reasons. (4) On six or seven occasions 'retro-correction' has occurred in the critical editions of Philo, i.e. the Philonic text has been altered to conform to the Platonic original. These texts require fine-tuned philological judgment. (DTR)

9768. D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], Brown Judaic Series 312 (Atlanta 1997).

See above Part One, 3315.

9769. P. SCHÄFER, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge Mass. 1997), esp. 136–160.

In recounting and interpreting the most violent eruption of anti-Jewish sentiment in antiquity, i.e. the Alexandrian riots of 38 C.E., the Philonic evidence is carefully evaluated. On the issue of civic rights which played a crucial role in the conflict, Philo's evidence is found to be more reliable than that of Josephus. Schäfer argues against Kasher's view that most Jews only sought rights as members of a *πολίτευμα* and also against Bergmann and Hoffmann's view that the cause of the riots was purely political and had nothing to do with anti-semitism. In a later chapter Philo's stand against infanticide is discussed (p. 174f.). (DTR)

9770. T. E. SCHMIDT, 'Hostility to Wealth in Philo of Alexandria,' in C. A. EVANS and S. E. PORTER (edd.), *New Testament Backgrounds: a Sheffield Reader* (Sheffield 1997) 15–27.

Reprint of the original 1983 article (= R-R 8365) as one of what the editors believe to be 'the best articles ... published in the first 50 issues (1978–1993) of *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*'. See also the article of D. Mealand above 9755. (DTR)

9771. A. M. SCHWEMER, 'Gottes Hand und die Propheten. Zum Wandel der Metapher „Hand Gottes“ in frühjüdischer Zeit,' in R. KIEFFER and J. BERGMAN (edd.), *La Main de Dieu. Die Hand Gottes*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 94 (Tübingen 1997) 65–85.

With regard to the older prophets the expression 'the hand of Jahweh came over ...' means that God's power seized them. In Philo's incorporeal understanding of God his hand is interpreted as his Logos or as his powers (pp. 70f.). Similar substitutes are used by the *Targumim*. In later descriptions of prophetic rapture an angel or the Spirit takes the place of God's hand. (DZ)

9772. G. SELLIN, 'Die Allegorese und die Anfänge der Schriftauslegung,' in H. Graf REVENTLOW (ed.), *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen Hermeneutik*, Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 2 (Gütersloh 1997) 91–132, esp. 108–126.

After specifying the meaning and the function of the terms 'metaphor', 'allegory', 'symbol' the author sketches the history of allegorical interpretation, distinguishing between a Stoic and a Platonic ('diaeretic') form whose first identifiable representative is Philo. Since there is no allegoric exposition in early Rabbinic writings, Philo's method hardly can go back to the Palestinian haggadic midrash, but has nearly exclusively Greek roots. The method of the *Quaestiones et solutiones* grew out of Alexandrian philology of Homer and is exemplified on p. 112 f. The Allegorical commentary develops this method against a Platonic background: the ideas or powers constitute the true signification of the words. Thus beside the immediate predecessors, the Jewish allegorists from Alexandria, the Philonic allegory has its precedents in the Platonic-Pythagorean tradition which seems to be alluded to in *Contempl.* 29. For this, the Platonic use of myths may have been exemplary. Philo's occasional polemics against a Stoic-physical explanation do not necessarily take aim at Jewish allegorists. But the existence of etymological lists presupposes Jewish exegetes under Stoic influence. (DZ)

9773. Y. SHAVIT, *Athens in Jerusalem: Classical Antiquity and Hellenism in the Making of the Modern Secular Jew* (London 1997).

English translation by C. Naor and N. Warner of the Hebrew original first published in Tel Aviv in 1992. It is remarkable how infrequently Philo is mentioned in this wide-ranging study of how the views on the relation between Judaism and Hellenism developed from antiquity to modernity, but he is occasionally mentioned, e.g. on p. 68 (Moses learning from the Greeks), pp. 328–334 (later Jewish views on Alexandrian Judaism). (DTR)

9774. F. SIEGERT, 'Die hellenistisch-jüdische Theologie als Forschungsaufgabe,' in F. SIEGERT and J. U. KALMS (edd.), *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Münster 1997: Vorträge aus dem Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum*, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 2 (Münster 1997) 9–30.

In his inaugural lecture the author first lists the testimonies of Hellenistic Judaism in the order of literary genres. Philo is characterized by the way he combines divine transcendence, expressed in Platonic vocabulary, with immanence described in Stoic terms. On p. 16 the author deplors the fact that scholars failed to take sufficient notice of the pseudo-Philonic sermons he published in 1980 and 1992. After terminological questions about Hellenistic Judaism and the concept of Christian 'theology' borrowed from (Jewish) Greek sources he gives three

examples of Hellenistic and Hellenistic-Jewish theology: verbal inspiration, as Philo among others represents it; the threefold office of king, prophet and priest; and above all the doctrine of the Logos, in which Siegert sees a preparation of the Christian message. (DZ)

9775. D. SILLS, 'Strange Bedfellows: Politics and Narrative in Philo,' in S. D. BRESLAUER (ed.), *The Seductiveness of Jewish Myth; Challenge or Response?* (Albany 1997) 171–190.

The question posed by this article is how we can understand the various ways in which Philo portrays the figure of Joseph. In *Ios.* Philo tells Joseph's life as the life of a statesman. According to Philo there are three prerequisites for a statesman: shepherd-craft, household management, and self-control. Joseph possesses all three prerequisites. In *Somn.* 2 Philo deals with Joseph in quite a different way, and Sills discusses briefly scholarly solutions for the problem of this divergence. She suggests that Philo is especially interested in Joseph as statesman and politician. For this reason she draws attention to the historical treatise *Flacc.* in which Philo describes Flaccus' fall from power, exile, and death. Sills argues that Philo deals with the same theme in *Flacc.*, *Ios.*, and *Somn.* 2, namely the nature of political leadership. Flaccus is an example of a person who did not succeed as political leader, missing the three prerequisites Joseph did possess. (ACG)

9776. M. SIMONETTI, 'Teologia e cristologia dell'Egitto cristiano,' in A. CAMPLIANI (ed.), *L'egitto cristiano aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica*, *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 56 (Rome 1997) 11–38, esp. 11–15.

From the 2nd to the 6th century Alexandria played a fundamental role in the history of Christian theology along a line represented by Philo, Valentinus, Clement and Origen. What is the common element of these authors? The reply is: Platonism, which in this religious environment is first secured by Philo. The aim of these pages is above all to demonstrate how fundamental Stoic elements—such as the Logos and also the Pneuma—found a complete integration in the *forma mentis* of Platonism, and that for this reason the thought of Philo as well as that of Valentinus, Clement and Origen should be considered Platonist, having as its foundation a dualistic conception of reality (and not monistic as in the case of Stoicism), combined with a transcendent conception of God. (RR)

9777. T. C. SKEAT, 'The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?,' *New Testament Studies* 43 (1997) 1–34, esp. 24–26.

As part of a detailed investigation of a number of early New Testament papyri, the author has to discuss their provenance, namely the famous Philo papyrus codex discovered in Coptos in 1889. Skeat disagrees with earlier scholars that the codex may have come from Caesarea. It was most likely produced in Alexandria, perhaps in the scriptorium of Pantaenus. (DTR)

9778. H. DIXON SLINGERLAND, *Claudian Policymaking and the Early Imperial Repression of Judaism at Rome*, South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 160 (Atlanta 1997), esp. 65–110 and *passim*.

This book on Claudius' policymaking starts from the claim (made by Momiigliano) that examination of Claudius in terms of his relationship with Jews and their religion provides privileged entry into the appreciation of his policy making as a whole. Of central importance in the study is the statement of Suetonius in *Claudius* 25.4 that 'since the Jews constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he [Claudius] expelled them from Rome.' The author argues that 'Chrestus was neither Jesus nor any other such messianic figure, and, consequently, that the practically universal *interpretatio christiana* has taken *Claudius* 25.4 out of context. This study intends to restore the claim of Suetonius to various settings genuinely appropriate to it.' A significant role in the investigation is played by Philo's *Legatio*, besides Josephus, Acts of the Apostles, Dio Cassius, Orosius, and Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Chapter 3 (pp. 65–87) is entitled 'Pre-Claudian Repression from between the Lines of the Jewish Sources': the main source is here Philo's *Legatio*, from which several passages are quoted (in translation) and discussed. In the fourth chapter (pp. 89–110), 'Fundamental Reflections of Claudian Policy making vis-à-vis Roman Jews and Judaism', a central piece of evidence is *Legat.* 155–158. The author concludes that, whereas modern scholarship tends to draw the false conclusion that trouble-making Roman Jews were in great measure responsible for their own repeated difficulties, the available Gentile and Jewish sources show the regular object of governmental hostility to have been Jewish religiosity rather than any presupposed inclination to disorder or violence. (HMK)

9779. P. STEFANI, 'La spiritualità dell'Esodo negli scritti giudaici dell'epoca del secondo Tempio,' in *L'Esodo nella Bibbia*, Dizionario di Spiritualità Biblico-Patristica 17 (Rome 1997) 88–103, esp. 98–101.

Philo is chosen as representative of the whole of Hellenistic Judaism, and his thought is analysed by means of three themes: Exodus, the life of Moses, and the Pascha. Philo's interpretation of the Exodus account can be regarded as an alternative in comparison with those of the messianic movements, because the latter concentrate on the historical account, where Philo adds a moral and psychological aspect which falls outside the historical account. Nevertheless Stefani maintains that our philosopher does not reduce the letter of the Bible to 'pure atemporal myth', because he retains the belief in the specific nature of the history of the Jewish people. (RR)

9780. G. E. STERLING, 'The Bond of Humanity: Friendship in Philo of Alexandria,' in J. T. FITZGERALD (ed.), *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship*, Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study 34 (Atlanta 1997) 203–223.

Philo does not present anywhere a systematic treatment of the question of friendship, but it is possible to reconstruct a general understanding of what he takes *φιλία* to be. Sterling first studies those texts in which Philo indicates what friendship is, with particular attention paid to *Plant.* 104–106. Friendship is virtually identical with goodwill (*εὐνοία*), the Stoic definition of which he takes over. It is clear that Philo is well acquainted with the themes and vocabulary of hellenistic philosophical discussions on friendship. This is also seen in the fact that he takes over various *topoi* on the subject, e.g. on what the limits of friendship are when one is called upon to do something less than morally just in order to help a friend. Philo's support for the rigid Stoic viewpoint here is perhaps prompted by polemic against Epicurean flexibility. A final theme is the boundaries of friendship, and here it is striking that Philo applies it both to fellow-Jews and to friendship with God. In fact Philo redefines friendship in religious terms; one's friend is he who worships the true God. The bond of friendship is placed by nature in the heart of human beings, i.e. there is affinity (*οἰκειότης*). In conclusion Sterling argues that Philo was attracted to the Stoic understanding of friendship because it balanced the claims of Jewish nationalism and exclusivism. The notion of friendship was thus wedded to a particular understanding of monotheism. It 'became the vehicle for a Jewish universal understanding of the human race' (p. 222). (DTR)

9781. G. E. STERLING, 'Philo and Alexandria: Two Prayers,' in M. C. KILEY (ed.), *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine: a Critical Anthology* (London–New York 1997) 99–107.

Presentation of two of the four prayers to be found in Philo's writings (complementing the study of M. Harding summarized above, 9731) in English translation together with introductory remarks. The first is *Migr.* 101 (prayed by Abraham): the introduction deals with the attestation of the text, its cultural setting, its social setting and theology, and its use and influence on later periods. Then follows *Spec.* 2.198–199 (prayed by Philo), with an introduction on the textual witnesses, the literary context, and the setting and theology of the passage. (HMK)

9782. G. E. STERLING, 'Prepositional Metaphysics in Jewish Wisdom: Speculation and Early Christological Hymns,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 219–238.

Starting-point for this rich and learned article are the doctrinal controversies in the 4th century, in which attention is drawn to various prepositional phrases in the New Testament and their implications for Christology. But is this usage based on knowledge of the technical use of 'prepositional metaphysics' in Greek philosophy? Why is there so much inconsistency in their use? And in which way did this knowledge reach early Christian writers? In order to answer these

questions the author first outlines the use of such prepositional phrases in Greek philosophy. Philo is a witness for their use in Middle Platonist thought (see pp. 228–231). The variety of usage in the New Testament reflects a variety of schemes in Greek philosophy, with a basic divide between Stoic and Platonist formulations. Special attention is paid to the Christological hymn in Col 1:15–20, which contains a number of such phrases. It is suggested that this material entered the Jewish synagogue liturgy as a result of the attempt to present the doctrine in terms of philosophical categories and wisdom speculation. Philo's use of such prepositional phrases for his doctrine of the Logos may have served as a basis for the development of several competing christologies in Alexandrian theology. Hellenistic Judaism thus played an important mediating role for Christian theology. (DTR)

9783. A. TERIAN, 'Back to Creation: the Beginning of Philo's Third Grand Commentary,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 19–36.

Nikiprowetzky's sweeping statement that Philo's Allegorical Commentary and the Exposition of the Law are basically one grand commentary is an incentive to look once again at the relation between *Opif.* and *Leg.* and the proper place of *Opif.* in the Philonic corpus. Moreover the question of the proper chronology or sequence of Philo's various writings remains a fundamental issue that must be addressed before the chronology of thematic aspects of his thought can be established. Terian begins his detailed investigation with an examination of the evidence in Eusebius and the manuscript tradition. None of this material supports the placement of *Opif.* at the beginning of the Allegorical Commentary. In fact in the manuscripts *Opif.* is always followed by one of the works of the Exposition. Next the internal evidence is taken into account, and esp. the cross-references to *Opif.* in *Abr.*, *Praem.* and *Mos.* In the final part of the article Terian widens his focus somewhat and considers the aspect of development in Philo's writings. He regards it as probable that there was a progression from midrashic type commentaries to thematic expositions. But none of these considerations give us any freedom in the placement of *Opif.* It is locked in position as the opening treatise of the Exposition of the Law. (DTR)

9784. C. THOMA, 'Philo von Alexandrien: Inspirator für Deutungen von Christentum und Judentum,' *Edith-Stein-Jahrbuch* 3 (1997) 37–49.

Philo is one of the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus who at least indirectly paved the way for Christianity. After sketching his life and personality Thoma finds a theological trace of Philo in Luke 1: Mary, full of grace, recalls Enoch in *Abr.* 17–19 or Hannah in *Ebr.* 144–146. Though Luke thus does not want to describe the spiritualization of the individual, but the invasion of the messianic salvation into the present, he could have consulted the writings of Philo. Philo's speculations on

the Logos are associated with the christological hymn Col. 1:15f, the Johannine prologue, the heavenly manna in John 6:22–35 and the prayer for unity in John 17. Finally the author also detects Philonic influence in rabbinic ideas: *mSanh* 4.5 (the worth of human life because of the divine stamp), *BerR* 1.1 (the Torah as architectonic plan of the creation). (DZ)

9785. H. G. THÜMMEL, 'Logos und Hypostasis', in D. WYRWA (ed.), *Die Weltlichkeit des Glaubens in der Alten Kirche: Festschrift für Ulrich Wilckert zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 85 (Berlin 1997) 347–398, esp. 357–364.

The article first summarizes the ontological and cosmological ideas of Plato which became influential in Middle Platonism. The Greek Bible of the Jews has its own roots because it is orientated by wisdom. But in the concept of the Logos Jewish and Platonic–Stoic elements can be synthesized. This synthesis is realized in Philo, for whom the Logos is at the same time the Platonic Demiurge and the Model, as well as the Stoic governor of the world. The Philonic system of the divine powers is brought in relation to the mythological interpretations of the universal Logos as Hermes or Heracles in allegorists of the 1st century C.E., but with the New Testament as well. The remainder of the article outlines the further development in the Valentinian gnosis and the Platonism of the 2nd century C.E. There, the supreme god thinks the ideas, the second god orders with their help the material world. A Platonic revival induces a series of three divine beings. (DZ)

9786. T. H. TOBIN, 'Philo and the Sibyl: Interpreting Philo's Eschatology', in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Wisdom and Logos: Studies in Jewish Thought in Honor of David Winston* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 9 (1997)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 312 (Atlanta 1997) 84–103.

The author explores the complexity of Philo's eschatology as found in *Praem.* Earlier Borgen (RRS 9211) and Mack (RRS 9143) have come to very different conclusions about that subject, Borgen emphasizing Philo's messianic expectations, Mack finding no messianic or apocalyptic features, but only mythology and wisdom tradition in the treatise. Tobin wants to locate the 'eschatological' texts from *Praem.* in the social and political contexts within which Philo wrote. To this end he considers *Sibylline Oracles* books 3 and 5. First comes an analysis of these two books. A significant trait of the books when considered chronologically is the growing importance and ferocity of oracles against Rome; parallel to that, the deliverer figure shifts from being a worldly ruler (whether Cyrus or Ptolemy; cf. Isa 45:1) to being a heavenly figure (cf. Num 24:7, 17 LXX). The fact that the oracles were added to and reconfigured over a period of 400 years from the middle of the 2nd century B.C.E. onwards attests to their continuing popularity among Egyptian Jews. Philo's *Praem.*, with its remarkable this-worldly eschatology in §§ 163–172, contains several parallels to *Sib. Or.* 3 and 5, notably the eschatological interpretation of Num 24:7 LXX ('There shall

come forth a man . . .', interpreted by Philo non-eschatologically in *Mos.* 1.263–299). Tobin argues that the eschatological passages in *Praem.* make much more sense when seen as significant revisions of viewpoints found in *Sib. Or.* 3 and 5. He concludes that (1) Philo, like most Jews of his time, does have eschatological expectations; (2) Philo has thoroughly revised the kind of eschatology found in much of the Jewish Sibylline tradition; (3) the most obvious reason for this is that he saw in the violent denunciations of Gentile peoples and especially the Roman empire in the Jewish Sibylline tradition a danger to the existence and well-being of the Jewish community of Alexandria, Egypt and elsewhere. (HMK)

9787. G. M. VIAN, 'La preghiera nella tradizione alessandrina,' in F. COCCHINI (ed.), *Il dono e la sua ombra. Ricerche sul Περὶ εὐχῆς di Origene. Atti del I Convegno del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su 'Origene e la Tradizione Alessandrina,'* Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 57 (Rome 1997) 53–81, esp. 64–75.

After having first recognized that the subject of prayer is rather diffuse in Philo, the author attempts to establish its salient characteristics, making reference to texts taken from the entire Philonic corpus. On the basis of this material he finds three types of prayer: (1) those of biblical personages; (2) those prescribed by scripture; (3) personal prayers of the soul of every human being. (RR)

9788. N. WALTER, *Praeparatio Evangelica: Studien zum Umwelt, Exegese und Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, edited by W. KRAUS and F. WILK, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 98 (Tübingen 1997).

This volume collects essays, in part complemented by addenda, written by the author in the period 1964 until 1995. We list here only those which focus on Hellenistic Judaism. 'Frühe Begegnung zwischen jüdischem Glauben und hellenistischer Bildung in Alexandrien' (pp. 1–11, first published in 1964) presents a survey on the Jewish authors before Philo who appropriate Greek thinking or Greek forms of culture. Walter approves the view of Tcherikover that most of these writings were not read by non-Jews, but were destined for insiders. In '„Hellenistische Eschatologie“ im Frühjudentum—ein Beitrag zur „Biblischen Theologie“?' (pp. 234–251, first published in 1985) Walter establishes a Jewish-Hellenistic type of eschatology which is oriented to a timeless salvation already prepared in heaven, in principle accessible to all mankind and exemplified *inter alia* by the concept of God's eternity in Philo and in the Slavonic *Enoch*. 'Kann man als Jude auch Grieche sein? Erwägungen zur jüdisch-hellenistischen Pseudepigraphie' (pp. 370–381, published in the Festschrift Ben Zion Wacholder in 1994) gives an evaluation of Jewish writings under the name of Greek authors, most of whom want to show to their Jewish readers how congenial Judaism is with its Hellenistic environment, an aspiration which in the long run failed. Finally we note the contribution on how Hellenistic

Judaism prepared the way for early Christianity: 'Hellenistische Diaspora-Juden an der Wiege des Urchristentums' (pp. 383–404, = RRS 9589). (DZ)

9789. R. B. WARD, 'Why Unnatural? The Tradition behind Romans 1:26–27,' *Harvard Theological Review* 90 (1997) 263–284.

Ward argues that one answer to why same-sex acts are against nature can be found in Plato's *Timaeus*. He then further discusses the ways in which the tradition, derived from Plato and merging with Judaism in Philo and Pseudo-Phocylides, resembles Rom 1:26–27. (HMK)

9790. B. W. WINTER, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*, Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series 96 (Cambridge 1997), esp. 60–112.

The first half of the monograph, based on a 1988 Macquarie University Sydney dissertation (see RRS 8874), focuses on Alexandria, the second half on Corinth. In both cases, the author argues, we should take references to the existence of practising sophists seriously. The beginnings of the second sophistic movement are thus earlier than is generally thought. The first chapter of the Alexandrian section examines POxy 2190, a letter from a young student to his father complaining about the educational situation, the second to Dio Chrysostom's Alexandrian oration (p. 32). Three chapters are devoted to Philo. In the first the Philonic texts mentioning sophists are analysed. Winter urges us to take these references literally, i.e. as referring to actual educators working in Philo's city. Specific texts discussed are *Contempl.* 31, *Agr.* 136, *QG* 3.33, *Congr.* 67, *Opif.* 157. In the second chapter it is argued that Philo does not polemicize against the educational ethos of the Greek *paideia*, but against its misuse by the orators and sophists of his day. The terms in which this critique is formulated are clearly indebted to Plato. Sophists misuse *paideia* for vice, deception and personal gain. The third chapter shows how Philo himself, as orator and debater, enters into debate with the sophists and defeats them. In conclusion Philo's experiences are compared with those of another Hellenized Jew, Caecilius of Calacte. REVIEWS: Anonymous, *Iren* 71 (1998) 148; F. G. Downing, *JThS* 49 (1998) 788–789; A. J. Kostenberger, *Faith and Mission* 15 (1998) 90–91; A. Mendelson, *JJS* 49 (1998) 352–353; A. C. Mitchell, *ThS* 59 (1998) 551–552; R. H. Nash, *Choice* 35 (1998) 1390; T. R. Schreiner, *Trinity Journal* 19 (1998) 246–249; J. R. C. Cousland, *BMCR* 1999.02.13; B. Fiore, *CBQ* 61 (1999) 803–804; D. M. Hay, *SPhA* 11 (1999) 165–167; B. K. Peterson, *JBL* 118 (1999) 156–157; D. F. Watson, *ATJ* 31 (1999) 147–149; P. van der Horst, *NTT* 54 (2000) 72–73; E. Krentz, *CurrThM* 27 (2000) 301–302; D. T. Runia, *EvQ* 72 (2000) 89–91; R. Hawley, *JHS* 121 (2001) 195; T. E. Klutz, *BibInt* 9 (2001) 87–88; J. Murphy-O'Connor, *RB* 3 (2003) 428–433. (DTR)

9791. N. H. YOUNG, 'Reconciliation in Philo, Josephus, and Paul,' in D. MERLING (ed.), *To Understand the Scriptures: Essays in Honor of William H. Shea* (Berrien Springs Mich. 1997) 233–244.

Observing that Philo, Josephus, and Paul all wrote in Greek during the first century C.E., Young examines how the three understood the *καταλλαγή*-word group (i.e. words pertaining to reconciliation). Usage is classified according to four categories, adopted from I. H. Marshall: reconciliation between two parties effected by a third-party mediator ('reconciliation by mediation'), reconciliation initiated by one of two affected parties ('reconciliation by initiative'), reconciliation whereby one party gives up anger and forgives the other ('reconciliation by forgiveness'), and reconciliation whereby one party removes the cause of the problem from and forgives the other party ('reconciliation by forgiving and removing'). Philo and Josephus speak of reconciliation in ways that fall into the first three categories, but only Paul speaks of reconciliation by forgiving and removing, thereby expanding the sense of the word-group. The prime example of this unique usage is 2 Cor 5:18–22, in which God reconciles sinners to Himself through forgiveness and removal of their sin. (EB)

9792. D. ZELLER, 'Philons spiritualisierende Eschatologie und ihre Nachwirkung bei den Kirchenvätern,' in E. GOODMAN-THAU (ed.), *Vom Jenseits. Jüdisches Denken in der europäischen Geistesgeschichte* (Berlin 1997) 19–35.

In Philo's literal exposition the biblical promise of a long life is expanded to immortality, albeit only of the soul. The anthropological foundations for this are found in Plato: the imperishability of the soul ensures immortality for man if the spiritual element is made dominant in his life. Death then means returning to the soul's origin, i.e. to God. Typical for Philo is the actualization and the religious interpretation of 'life' and 'death' in his allegorical commentary, analysed by the author in his article 'The Life and Death of the Soul in Philo of Alexandria' (= RRS 9596). Zeller then goes on to show the continuing influence of this conception, as can be recognized by exegetical devices in Christian fathers. Clement of Alexandria, like Philo, combines Deut 30:15 f. with v. 30, thus defining life as virtue and sin as death (*Paed.* 1.5.1, dependent on Philo). The influence of Philo is also perceptible in Origen's interpretation of Num 17:13 and Gen 2:17, but now faith in Christ constitutes the criterion of life. Ambrose, esp. in his exposition of the Paradise-story, transports Philonic ideas to the West, where he is echoed by Augustine. However, the latter's polemics against 'some' who apply Gen 2:17 to the death of the soul do not aim at Philo, but rather at the Pelagians. On the whole, the Church fathers resist a complete spiritualization of death and life. (DZ)

1998

9801. D. H. AKENSON, *Surpassing Wonder: the Invention of the Bible and the Talmuds* (Montreal 1998), esp. 128–132.

The author considers the Bible and later literature based on it as inventions of three sets of texts and their faiths: ancient YHWH faith, or 'Judahism'; the modern Jewish faith, also called Rabbinic or Talmudic Judaism; and the Christian faith, which developed out of Jesus-faith. Philo is included in a survey of the richly diverse manifestations of Judahism in the Second Temple period. Although, according to Akenson, Philo is relatively—and unjustly—ignored in discussions of the pre-70 C.E. period, he provides an excellent example of 'a highly-devout diaspora Judahist' (p. 128), fully conversant with the contemporary Greek philosophical writings, who points in several ways to elements in future Jewish and Christian religions. In this regard, Akenson finds especially significant the question-and-answer form used by Philo and found in later rabbinic literature; Philo's allegorization of the Temple; the Logos concept, reflected later in the Gospel of John; Philo's emphasis on Moses as mediator between the Logos and God's people; and, finally, Philo's thinking in 'types,' an approach used by later Christians (pp. 131–132). (EB)

9802. Manuel ALEXANDRE JR, 'The Power of Allegorical Interpretation in Philo's *De Abrahamo* 107–132,' *Euphrosune* 26 (1998) 35–48.

After some initial remarks on Philo's method of allegoresis and some recent interpretations by scholars such as Hamerton-Kelly, Dawson, Hay and Dillon, the author presents a close reading of *Abr.* 107–132, paying particular attention to the structural and rhetorical features of the passage. It is concluded that 'allegory is . . . a rhetorical instrument that can be used as an exegetical technique as well as a persuasive argumentative tool' (46). (DTR)

9803. Monique ALEXANDRE, 'Apologétique judéo-hellénistique et premières apologies chrétiennes,' in B. POUDERON and J. DORÉ (edd.), *Les Apologistes chrétiens et la culture grecque*, *Théologie Historique* 105 (Paris 1998) 1–40.

The author examines the relationship between early Christian apologetics and Hellenistic-Jewish apologetics. In response to accusations of atheism, the first Christian apologists present monotheism in terms that resemble those of Philo's *Opif.* 170–171. Their polemics against polytheism and idolatry make use of the hierarchy of kinds of paganism elaborated by Philo earlier in *Spec.* 1.13–19, *Decal.* 52–81, *Contempl.* 3–9. In responding to accusations of incest, ritual murder and misanthropy, the apologists praise Christian ethics and condemn pagan customs, taking their inspiration from Hellenistic-Jewish apologetics and notably from Philo. The same applies to their response

to the accusation of novelty. But this debt on the part of the Christian apologists, though indisputable, reveals thematic than direct literary dependence. (JR)

9804. Monique ALEXANDRE, 'Le lexique des vertus: vertus philosophiques et religieuses chez Philon: μετάνοια et εὐγένεια,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 17–46.

A study of *Virt.* 175–186 on μετάνοια and 187–227 on εὐγένεια, in which the author intends to demonstrate how Philo's discourse, while using philosophical themes and vocabulary, is of a religious nature and embedded in an historic context. The author analyses first the 'problematique, thèmes et lexique philosophiques' (pp. 20–27) as well as the 'cohérence religieuse' (27–34) of the section on μετάνοια; the same twofold analysis (philosophical 36–40, religious 40–46) is then applied to the section on εὐγένεια. In Platonic and Stoic philosophy μετάνοια (repentance, conversion) is mainly disqualified—the wise person should not repent. Philo, however, affirms the sinfulness of man, and the wisdom of the person who returns from his idle ways. The interpretation of μετάνοια strikes Platonic and Stoic notes, but fails to show the coherence of a philosophical system (*pace* A. Michel, RRS 8763). By contrast, the author stresses the religious coherence of Philo's discourse on μετάνοια. The biblical motif of return to God is here of central importance (where the Septuagint mainly uses the verb ἐπιστρέφειν, Philo prefers μετανοεῖν, μετάνοια), as is the concept of the προσήλυτος (Philo often prefers to use the term ἐπίλυτος). In the final part of *Virt.* devoted to the virtue of εὐγένεια (nobility) Philo again can be found speaking in Platonic and Stoic terms, but Alexandre once more argues that the passage develops a religious argument, which is in tune with Philo's historical context. The heart of Philo's exposition, it is argued, is a reflection on the contemporary spiritual situation of proselytes and apostates. (HMK)

9805. R. ARNALDEZ, 'De quelques mots-clés dans la pensée de Philon d'Alexandrie, et de l'origine de leur contenu de signification,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 47–58.

A systematic study of the consistent relation in Philo between philosophic concepts and the literal biblical text (philosophic concepts as represented allegorically by certain keywords, in this case certain biblical proper names). Arnaldez focuses on Cain, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Hagar and Ishmael. All of these figures in their lives express a particular attitude towards themselves, towards the other, and towards God. It is concluded that in Philo we find Platonic and Stoic as well as Epicurean vocabulary. But Philo's main allegiance is to the Law of Moses, and his first interest is human life in all its complexity, for which philosophical ideas may serve as instruments of reflection. (HMK)

9806. C. ASLANOFF, 'Exégèse philonienne et herméneutique midras-hique: esquisse de confrontation dans une perspective linguistique,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 265–286.

The author argues that Philo's writings belong to a different world when compared with the classic Jewish commentaries on the Bible. An attempt is made to explain this irreducibility, which is due to purely objective reasons caused by the use of Greek in the commentary on a text translated from Hebrew into Greek. In order to measure the extent to which this linguistic factor determines the differences between a Philonic commentary and a text such as the Midrash Rabbah, one needs to take into account the Hebrew text of the Bible, the Hebrew Mishnaic commentary, the Greek text of the Septuagint, which is already a kind of commentary, and the commentary in Greek produced by Philo. The data yielded by these comparisons is analysed from various points of view: the relation between signifiers, the quest for unity and coherence, and the pressure exerted by other literary corpora, namely the Greek pagan literature adduced in the case of Philo and the tradition of the oral Law in the case of the rabbis of the Midrash. (JR)

9807. M. BALTES, *Die philosophische Lehre des Platonismus: Platonische Physik (im antiken Verständnis) II*, Der Platonismus in der Antike 5 (Stuttgart 1998), *passim*.

The Philonic texts that are cited, translated and commented on in this magnificent work of scholarship (cf. RRS 8731, 9016, 9603) are *Deus* 31–32 (the ideas, time and eternity), *Prov.* 1.20–22, *Aet.* 13–17 (the cosmos is created according to Plato), *Leg.* 1.5–6 (God's immutability), *Aet.* 52–53 (nature of time). (DTR)

9808. J. M. G. BARCLAY, 'Paul and Philo on Circumcision: Romans 2:25–29 in Social and Cultural Context,' *New Testament Studies* 44 (1998) 536–556, esp. 538–543.

Barclay compares Paul and Philo with regard to their view on circumcision. In *Spec.* 1.1–11 Philo lists six reasons for the custom of circumcision, ending with two allegorical explanations: circumcision is a symbol of cutting away the pleasures; further, it denotes the excising of the idea that human beings are able to generate on their own. Despite these allegorical interpretations, Philo does not reject the literal practice. In *Migr.* 91–92 he offers the same allegorical explanations, but at the same time he emphasizes that the literal observance should be maintained, because he wants to avoid the censure of the masses and their accusations (*Migr.* 93). Having analysed the Philonic texts, Barclay discusses Rom 2:25–29, where Paul argues that the only circumcision that matters is the circumcision of the heart. In contrast to Philo, Paul is not concerned about the opinion of the masses. The author

concludes that ‘Paul emerges as socially far more controversial than Philo, willing to face Jewish unpopularity where Philo wishes to avoid ‘censure’” (p. 555). (ACG)

9809. M. R. BARNES, ‘Eunomius of Cyzicus and Gregory of Nyssa: Two Traditions of Transcendent Causality,’ *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998) 59–87, esp. 71–73.

In his work *Against Eunomius* Gregory criticizes Eunomius’ understanding of *dynamis*. According to Gregory Eunomius presents God’s *dynamis* as separate from God himself, being independent and possessing creative power. To Gregory this separation seems to be Philonic and based on material in Philo’s writings. Against this view he argues that a productive capacity is natural to God, and that God’s transcendence includes the capacity to create. (ACG)

9810. A. BAUMGARTEN, ‘Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations and Ancient Jewish Sects,’ in M. GOODMAN (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford 1998) 93–111.

In the Greco-Roman world there was a large variety of voluntary associations such as guilds, clubs and cult fellowships, of which people chose to be members. A major feature of these groups was that they ate together. At the same time Judaism in the Second Temple period was marked by a number of important sects, such as the Essenes and Pharisees. These two blocks of social organization were brought in relation to each other by both Philo and Josephus when describing the Jewish sects, apparently in the hope that the Greco-Roman varieties would illumine the Jewish examples because they were better known to their Greek readers. In his paper Baumgarten concentrates on the account that Philo and Josephus give of the Essenes (no mention is made of the Therapeutae), focusing above all on issues such as what food they ate, with whom, how often, and under what conditions. He ends by suggesting that the popularity of these sects in the Second Temple period may have something to do with urban alienation. (DTR)

9811. G. BECHTLE, ‘La problématique de l’âme et du cosmos chez Philon et les médio-platoniciens,’ in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d’Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 377–392.

The aim of the article is to elucidate a highly pertinent topic for Philonic studies, namely the importance of the philosophical background against which Philo’s thought is elaborated. The continuity of this background is particularly evident in the case of Platonism. It allows us, even though our explicitly philosophical sources are scanty, to trace the course of the exegesis of Plato’s dialogues. In order to study one thread of this strand of development, the author focuses

on the case of the *Timaeus* and its doctrines on the genesis of the cosmos in the interpretation of Philo, Plutarch and Atticus. In the case of Philo the author concentrates particularly on the introductory section of *Aet.* (pp. 379–381). (JR)

9812. P. J. BEKKEN, *The Word is Near You: a Study of Deuteronomy 30:12–14 in Paul's Letter to the Romans against the Background of Philo's Exposition in De Virtutibus and De Praemiis et Poenis* (diss. University of Trondheim 1998).

In this Norwegian dissertation supervised by P. Borgen the author suggests that Paul's interpretative rendering of Deut 30:12–14 represents a sample of the conventional exegetical paraphrase of a biblical text. In such exegesis words, phrases and sentences from the OT are either omitted, repeated or replaced by interpretative terms and fused together and supplemented with other qualifying terms. Paul's treatment of Deut 30:12–14 can thus be placed within the literary conventions of his day, of which *Praem* 79–97 and *Virt* 183–186 represent important examples. Hence Paul's treatment of Deut 30:12–14 should not be considered an idiosyncratic creation by himself. After a brief review of research, and some literary observations on the surface level of the texts selected, Bekken further argues his thesis by in-depth studies of *Virt.* 183–184 (Chap. 4), *Praem.* 79–84 (Chap. 5), Rom. 10:4–17 in its literary and Jewish Context (Chap. 6), followed by a final summary. A revised edition of the thesis with almost the same title was published in 2007. (TS)

9813. P. J. BEKKEN, 'Election, Obedience and Eschatology: Deuteronomy 30:12–14 in Romans 9–11 and the Writings of Philo', in P. BORGEN, V. K. ROBBINS and D. B. GOWLER (edd.), *Recruitment, Conquest, and Conflict: Strategies in Judaism, Early Christianity, and the Greco-Roman World*, Emory Studies in Early Christianity (Atlanta 1998) 315–331, esp. pp. 315–325.

This article is a summary of the main parts of the author's dissertation listed above. Bekken here tries to demonstrate that there are reasons for Paul's choice and use of Deut 30:12–14 which can be clarified and explained from the application of this text in contemporary Judaism. The author especially finds that passages from Philo's works as *Praem* 79–97 and *Virt* 183–186 provide a Jewish background and exegetical context for Paul's use of Deut 30:12–14 in Rom 9–11. (TS)

9814. R. M. BERCHMAN, 'Arcana Mundi: Magic and Divination in the *De Somniis* of Philo of Alexandria', in IDEM, *Mediators of the Divine. Horizons of Prophecy, Divination, Dreams and Theurgy in Mediterranean Antiquity*, South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 163 (Atlanta 1998) 115–154.

Berchman seeks to place Philo's treatment of dreams in *De Somniis* within the wider context of what he calls an 'oneirocritical tradition in antiquity'. The first part of the essay surveys discussion of dreams in such writers as Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Stoic thinkers, Artemidorus, and Asclepius, showing varying assessments of the 'prophetic and divinatory significance' of dreams. Oneirocritical writings contain classification of and theories about different types of dreams, elements of which can be found in Philo's *Somn.* These elements include technical terms, topics, symbols, and theory. Claiming that Philo used the oneirocritical tradition to underscore the divine source, the character, and the prophetic and philosophical significance of dreams recorded in the Pentateuch, Berchman encourages further study of this tradition for a better understanding of Philo's approach. This essay was earlier published in 1987; see RRS 8710. (EB)

9815. D. BERTRAND, 'Philon et les Sources Chrétiennes,' in *Hommages à Jean Pouilloux*, Collection de la Maison de l' Orient Hors série 5 (Lyons 1998) 121–128.

Brief account of the collaboration between Father Claude Mondésert (1906–1992), editor of the famous Patristic series of texts Sources Chrétiennes, and Jean Pouilloux (1917–1996) on the French translation of Philo's works, published by the same publisher as a kind of supplement to that series and completed in 1992. (DTR)

9816. P. BILDE, 'The Essenes in Philo and Josephus,' in F. H. CRYER and T. L. THOMPSON (edd.), *Qumran between the Old and the New Testaments*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements 290 (Sheffield 1998) 32–68.

During recent decades the revival of the discussion of the identity of the Qumran community has led to a renewed interest in the descriptions of the Essenes in Philo and Josephus. Bilde emphasizes that the old scholarly opinion of the Dead Sea Scrolls as being rather untouched by the Hellenistic culture, in contrast to Philo and Josephus, is no longer tenable. Hence his aim in this article is to provide a renewed discussion of the accounts of Philo and Josephus in light of recent discussions of the Qumran community's identity and early history. After a lengthy presentation of similarities and differences between Philo's and Josephus' presentations of the Essenes (pp. 34–61), including the Therapeutae, Bilde offers some interesting conclusions. He finds that Philo and Josephus present the same general picture of the Essenes, namely that of an admirable voluntary association of pious and virtuous men. Furthermore, their descriptions are based on traditional material, that is on one or more, possibly written sources. The Therapeutae are to be understood as a Diaspora group closely related to the Essenes. Finally, we should not consider Philo's and Josephus' accounts as 'Hellenized distortions' of the historical reality found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but the two groups of writings represent two different types

of Hellenization, as well as being different literary genres. Hence the accounts in Philo and Josephus should be regarded as relevant sources to the Essenes/the Qumranites even where they do not verbatim correspond to the Dead Sea Scrolls. (TS)

9817. A. BLASCHKE, *Beschneidung. Zeugnisse der Bibel und verwandter Texte*, Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 28 (Tübingen–Basel 1998), esp. 193–223.

The author presents the Philonic texts bearing on circumcision in translation and comments on them. His conclusion is (p. 222): circumcision for Philo is an essential mark of Jewishness, required for both Jews and proselytes. In his rational apologetics for the usage Philo depends on Jewish, but also Egyptian predecessors. His favoured symbolic interpretation is held in common with the radical allegorists opposed in *Migr.* 89–94. Nowhere is circumcision considered to be a sign of the covenant. On pp. 217–219 Blaschke collects rabbinic parallels to the idea presupposed in *QE* 2.2 that the Israelites in Egypt lacked circumcision. The roots of this tradition probably are to be found in Josh 5:2, 5 MT. (DZ)

9818. L. BOCHET, 'Un philosophe juif du premier siècle: Philon d'Alexandrie,' in O. FLICHY, G. COMEAU and P. VALLIN (edd.), *Le milieu du Nouveau Testament: Diversité du judaïsme et des communautés chrétiennes au premier siècle* (Paris 1998) 52–67.

Introductory text on Philo's thought in its historical and intellectual context written for theology students. The four themes discussed are Philo's Bible, his philosophical allegiances, the 'true philosophy' and the allegorical method. (DTR)

9819. D. L. BOCK, *Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.106 (Tübingen 1998), esp. 59–66, 137–140.

In order to illustrate the charge of blasphemy in Mark 14:53–65 the author collects testimonies on blasphemy in Judaism. In Philo the Greek term βλασφημ- shows a wide range of meaning from secular use to evil speech directed against God. It is not connected with the use of a specific term for God, but it appears in *Mos.* 2.203–206 that the fact the one uses the Name 'unseasonably' is worthy of death, which is close to the rabbinic position. Three of the four texts discussing blasphemy refer to cases where a human being is claiming divine-like authority (though Bock sees in *Decal.* 61 ff. an attack on the ruler-cult). An example where 'divinity' is attributed to a human being, is Moses. But this is the way that Philo describes how Moses becomes a vessel for divine revelation (p. 140). On p. 203 f. the Philonic passages are shown to be important for the evaluation of Jesus' claim to share divine authority. (DZ)

9820. H. K. BOND, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 100 (Cambridge 1998), esp. 24–48.

The aim of the monograph is to present the first full-length academic treatment of the famous governor of Judea, concentrating especially on an examination of how this real historical figure was used by various Jewish and Christian authors of the 1st century C.E. The first chapter is devoted to Philo, who is the first literary author to refer to Pilate. Philo's harsh description of Pilate's character and motivation in the incident of the shields stems largely from his political rhetoric, in which he tries to prevent the new emperor Claudius from adopting his predecessor's attitude to the Jews, and from his theology, in which the enemies of Judaism are portrayed as the enemies of God. Behind the theological gloss, however, the historical Pilate is just visible. Philo's presentation of the facts seems trustworthy. (DTR)

9821. P. BORGEN, 'The Crossing of the Red Sea as Interpreted by Philo. Biblical Event—Liturgical Model—Cultural Application,' in J. V. HILLS (ed.), *Common Life in the Early Church: Essays Honoring Graydon F. Snyder* (Harrisburg Pa. 1998) 77–90.

The author first describes the hermeneutical insight that Philo can interpret one and the same biblical text on two or three different levels, that is on the concrete and specific level, on the level of cosmic and general principles, and on the level of the divine realm of the beyond. Then he sets out to illustrate Philo's two-level exegesis of Exod 13:17–15:21. This he carries out by an investigation of *Mos.* 1.163–180, 2.246–257, *Contempl.* 85–89 and *Ebr.* 111. In the first two texts he finds that Philo illustrates Moses' role as king and prophet, in the *Contempl.* 85–89 he finds a typological and liturgical interpretation of the biblical event, a kind of liturgical re-enactment in the present. In the last text he argues that Philo presents a cultural application which is applied to the life of the Jews in their pagan cultural context. (TS)

9822. P. BORGEN, 'Proselytes, Conquest and Mission,' in P. BORGEN, V. K. ROBBINS and D. B. GOWLER (edd.), *Recruitment, Conquest, and Conflict. Strategies in Judaism, Early Christianity, and the Greco-Roman World*, Emory Studies in Early Christianity (Atlanta 1998) 57–77.

In this article Borgen investigates some of the various views and activities of the Jews and early Christians related to proselytism and mission. According to his findings the sources demonstrate that some Gentiles became proselytes to Judaism because of attraction. In other cases Jews actively presented their religion in Gentile circles and even at times used military force to bring people into the Jewish religion. These various approaches were applied both to individuals as well as to collective groups; they were seen as being at work both in past and present history, and they were also part of the future eschatolog-

ical scenarios. Although the Christian mission did have some distinctive features, its matrix was the Jewish notions of proselytism, eschatology and conquest. Borgen further argues that according to Philo the conversion of Gentiles to Judaism consisted of three aspects: religious conversion, ethical conversion, and social conversion. Concerning Christian mission in the New Testament he finds that it is rooted in Jewish ideas and methods of proselytism, but these are recast on the basis of the motif of eschatology and conquest. Hence Philo's ideas about proselytes offer a strikingly apposite background with the threefold understanding of conversion, as Borgen finds that also Christian mission consisted of these three aspects. There are, however, differences: while Jewish proselytism brought Gentile converts into the Jewish nation, Christian mission brought these into a cross-national community of Jews and Gentiles. (TS)

9823. P. BORGMAN, 'Abraham and Sarah: Literary Text and the Rhetorics of Reflection,' in C. A. EVANS and J. A. SANDERS (edd.), *The Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Sheffield 1998) 45–77.

The author discusses different views of the narrative of Abraham and Sarah, including Philo's interpretation. For Philo Abraham's journey is the journey of the soul who leaves the material world and strives for purification. Sarah is a symbol of virtue and Abraham, the virtue-loving mind, can call her his sister because this name indicates the common love of all who desire excellence (QG 4.60). According to Borgman, Philo's 'drama of the soul's journey helps to illumine the story of Abraham' (p. 50). (ACG)

9824. A. P. BOS, 'Philo of Alexandria: a Platonist in the Image and Likeness of Aristotle,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998) 66–86.

The author argues that, although Philo certainly presents his Mosaic philosophy in terms of Platonism, in actual fact a number of its distinctive doctrines have an Aristotelian origin. This applies above all to the doctrine of the divine Powers, which turns on the distinction between God-as-he-is and God-turned-to-the-world. The closest parallel for this doctrine is found in the Aristotelian writing *De mundo*, which may have been Philo's source. In *Opif.* 7 Philo does not polemicize against Aristotle, but against the erroneous theology of the Chaldeans. In *Opif.* 8 the doctrine of two causes is closer to Aristotle than Plato. The image of the magnet, also derived from the *De mundo*, is used by Philo in various contexts in connection with God's powers, the cosmos and the soul. In the final part of the article Bos gives an evaluation of Philo's doctrines of the Powers and suggests that the final words of *Opif.* 172 should be read as alluding to Plato via the final quotation of the *De mundo*. He concludes (p. 86): '... whenever we encounter statements about 'Philo's Platonism', we will do well to remember the words of the blind seer Isaac: 'the voice is the voice of Plato, but the philosophy is the philosophy of Aristotle.' (DTR)

9825. J. BOUFFARTIGUE, 'La structure de l'âme chez Philon: terminologie scolastique et métaphores,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 59–76.

It is when he is dealing with the divisions of the soul—whether binary (*Congr.* 26), tripartite (*Leg.* 3.115) or other divisions (*Mut.* 110–111, *Abr.* 29–30)—that Philo demonstrates most completely his competence in Greek philosophical doctrine. He thus furnishes his readers with knowledge of the human soul, which is not in the first place physiological or 'anatomical'. It is rather the key element of a 'soteriology', as appears from the presence of a most influential metaphor in ancient thought, the clothes of the soul (cf. *QG* 1.53, *Deus* 56, *Leg.* 2.53–59, 60 and 64). From a study of this metaphor it emerges that the Alexandrian is able to integrate diverse elements of Greek nomenclature and imagery in an anthropology and soteriology which remains faithful at a deep level to the teaching which he read in scripture. (JR)

9826. D. BRADSHAW, 'The Vision of God in Philo of Alexandria,' *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 72 (1998) 483–500.

Although Philo is not always held in high regard as a philosopher, his understanding of the vision of God is well worth studying for the way in which he understands the Bible in Platonic terms, while bringing Platonic concepts together with the notion of a personal God. One prepares oneself to see God by living a virtuous life through obedience to the Law. Such behaviour leads to the Platonic goal of assimilating oneself to God; unlike the Greek Fathers, however, Philo does not see this as a process of deification. Philo distinguishes between divine essence and existence, claiming only the latter can be known. Nonetheless Bradshaw argues that God's essence has a personal dimension, the pursuit of which constantly draws the seeker, and that God's existence can be felt as a personal presence. In Philo's thought, therefore, vision of God is more than a rational apprehension of divine existence; it is a personal encounter. (EB)

9827. S. A. BRAYFORD, *The Taming and Shaming of Sarah in the Septuagint of Genesis*, (diss. Iliff School of Theology and University of Denver 1998).

It is argued that Sarah's shameful portrayal in the Septuagint served as a model for subsequent Hellenistic retellings of her stories. Unlike other scholars who credit Philo and Josephus with Sarah's domestication, the author endeavours to show that they merely continued the Hellenization process already started in the LXX. (DTR; based on abstract in DA-A 59–04, p. 1209)

9828. M. B. BROWN, 'Faith, Knowledge, and the Law, or maybe the Jews will be Saved: Clement of Alexandria's Reading of Romans 10–11

in *Stromateis* 2,' in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series 37* (Atlanta 1998) 921–942, esp. 926–930.

The first section of the paper attempts to place early Alexandrian Christianity in its historical context. It is likely that it grew out of the kind of 'school environment' found in Alexandrian Hellenistic Judaism and described by Philo. Some brief remarks are also devoted to the debt of Alexandrian Christianity to Philonic ideas. (DTR)

9829. G. BÜSING, 'Adam und die Tiere—Beobachtungen zum Verständnis der erzählten Namengebung in Gen 2,19 f.,' in G. BODENDORFER and M. MILLARD (edd.), *Bibel und Midrasch: Zur Bedeutung der rabbinischen Exegese für die Bibelwissenschaft*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 22 (Tübingen 1998) 191–208, esp. 199–202.

After some examples of modern interpretation and a short analysis of the biblical text the author presents three ancient Jewish understandings of the naming of the animals: *Jubilees* 3, Josephus, *Ant.* 1.35 and Philo, *Opif.* 148–150. Whereas in the first two authors the encounter with the animals reveals to the first man his sexual need, in Philo he is a perfect being. His name-giving reveals his intuitive wisdom and his royal position over against the animal world. This interpretation is found again in Johann Gottfried Herder, but does not correspond to a concept held in the Ancient Near East, as modern commentators like to think. (DZ)

9830. F. CALABI, *The Language and the Law of God: Interpretation and Politics in Philo of Alexandria*, South Florida Philo Series 1 (Atlanta GA 1998).

In this translation of the Italian original (see following item), Calabi devotes two chapters to examining the relationship between how the Law is interpreted and how it is applied and a third chapter to discussion of the principles of Philonic exegesis, with some reference to Greek commentaries and rabbinic literature. REVIEWS: A. Reinhartz, *SPhA* 11 (1999) 168–170; H. Najman, *JR* 80 (2000) 137–138; K. A. Algra, *Phron* 46 (2001) 102; M. Hadas-Lebel, *REJ* 160 (2001) 272; J. F. Pradeau, *RPhilos* 127 (2002) 231–232. (EB)

9831. F. CALABI, *Linguaggio e legge di Dio: Interpretazione e politica in Filone di Alessandria* (Ferrara 1998).

The chief theme of this monograph is the role of the Law in Philo, investigated by focusing on three fundamental questions: (1) the transmission of the Law from God to humankind; (2) the extent of and practical application of the Law; (3) the interpretation of the Law. To each of these questions a chapter of the study is devoted. (1) The first theme centres on the figure of Moses in his roles as prophet, interpreter and lawgiver. If Moses is passive, however, in his reception

of the divine message, does he still have an active role? In fact both conditions occur: as prophet the passive role predominates, as interpreter and lawgiver the active. But the process of mediation from God to humankind through Moses also involved an ontological leap, a shift from the spiritual to the material realm. For this reason the figure of Aaron is introduced. It is also emphasized that the translation of the LXX is strictly analogous to the transmission of the text via Moses. (2) The biblical Laws do not have an exclusively ethical or political role, but propagate a state of order and harmony which applies both to the cosmos and to the human realm. In the former no transgression is possible, in the latter it is. The author discusses how this is in the context of creation. For Philo's political thought it is essential to recognize that the first founder of the state is actually external to the state, i.e. God. This means that ethics is superior to politics. Differently than in Plato, however, the goal of political legislation cannot be the felicity of the polis, but rather the realization of a cosmic and human order. (3) The process of the transmission of the Law is continued in human exegetical activity. The riches of the biblical text admit a plurality of interpretations, a characteristic which makes the Torah different to what occurs in philosophical texts. This plurality allows different levels of interpretation and authority, from the text itself which cannot be changed to the opinion of philosophers which are fully disputable. Calabi emphasizes two further aspects of the biblical record. Firstly, no reference is made to non-written traditions, because scripture contains the whole of what is revealed (but it then has to be interpreted). Secondly the entire Torah is unitary and uniform; no one part is more or less important than the other. The final part of this chapter gives examples of biblical interpretation based primarily on *Mut*. The main question discussed is how God, who is essentially unknowable, can still be known in some ways at the human level. REVIEWS: M. Hadas-Lebel, *REJ* 160 (2001) 272; A. Kamesar, *Adamant* 7 (2001) 340–341. (RR)

9832. F. L. CANALE, 'Philosophical Foundations and the Biblical Sanctuary,' *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 36 (1998) 183–206.

The notion of the biblical sanctuary expressed in Exod 25:8, which calls for building a sanctuary so that God 'may dwell among' the Israelites, poses a challenge to philosophical principles. Surveying classical and modern thinkers, Canale shows that the philosophical approach, including that of Philo (pp. 189–190), requires a metaphorical understanding of the building. This is because from the philosophical perspective, God is either timeless or spaceless, and the sanctuary building exists in both time and space. Canale suggests taking a pre-scientific Biblical approach based upon Exod 3:14–15, which would allow for a view of God that is compatible with time and space and would thereby also allow for a literal understanding of the sanctuary. (EB)

9833. J. CAZEAUX, 'Philon ou la tapisserie de Pénélope,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 287–312.

Philo habitually only considers the Greek text of the Bible, but in one area he makes an exception, the use of proper names, which he explains with reference to the Hebrew. These proper names, which in his eyes are a vestige of transcendence in the text itself, allow him to exploit common nouns. So the names of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their predecessors supply the key to the Philonic (allegorical) code. Without Hebrew of these names, the author argues, the entire Philonic system would collapse like a house of cards. This remark puts us on the track of allegorical exegesis and in the rest of the article various passages are analysed: *Sobr.* 62b–68; *Somn.* 2.21–77; *Deus* 104–110; *Leg.* 3.75–104. (JR)

9834. J. COOK, 'Greek Philosophy and the Septuagint,' *Journal of North Semitic Languages* 24 (1998) 177–191, esp. 178–180.

Focusing upon the creation account in Gen 1–2 and upon Proverbs, particularly Prov 8:30, Cook argues against various scholarly claims that Greek thought influenced the translation of these biblical sections. Philo, discussed on pp. 178–180, exemplifies a prominent writer from antiquity who saw philosophical—especially Platonic—notions in the LXX creation account, and Philo influenced a number of later thinkers. The textual features of the LXX, in which Philo and others saw indications of philosophical concepts, can be explained in other ways, however, and do not necessarily indicate the influence of Greek thought. (EB)

9835. M. G. CREPALDI, 'Admiration philosophique et admiration théologique: la valeur du θαυμάζειν dans la pensée de Philon d'Alexandrie,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie, Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 77–86.

Starting from the famous Aristotelian passage *Metaph.* A 2, 982b about θαυμάζειν (admiration, wonder) as the origin of philosophy, Crepaldi analyses the original position on this theme developed by Philo, arguing that he makes the distinction between philosophical admiration and theological admiration. At stake is here the relation between Reason and Revelation. At the end of her article Crepaldi argues that the subjugation of Reason to Faith betrays a misunderstanding of this relation: the two domains should be considered as heterogeneous, mutually irreducible and of equal dignity. The relationship between them is one of dialogue. (HMK)

9836. E. DASSMANN *et al.*, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Band XVIII (Stuttgart 1998).

R. Turcan, Art. Initiation, 87–159, esp. 129–132; C. Marksches, Art. Innerer Mensch, 266–312, esp. 276–278 (Inner human being); K. Thraede, Inspiration, 329–365, esp. 341–343; P. Pilhofer, Art. Joseph I (Patriarch), 715–748, esp. 721–722; C. Jacob, Art. Isaak I (Patriarch), 910–930, esp. 913–915; O. Betz, Art. Isangelie, 945–976, esp. 951–952 (Equality with angels). (DTR)

9837. A. DE LA FUENTE, 'Trasfondo cultural del cuarto evangelio: sobre el ocaso del dilema judaísmo/gnosticismo,' *Estudios Bíblicos* 61 (1998) 491–506.

The article argues that the author of Fourth Gospel did not read Philo, although it is admitted that he could have received some indirect influence through Jerusalem. It also asserted that the conception of Logos is clearly different in both authors. However, no specific texts in the Philonic corpus are discussed. (JPM)

9838. B. DECHARNEUX, 'Quelques chemins détournés de la parole dans l'œuvre de Philon,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 313–326.

A brief study on the vast subject of the meaning of λόγος, in particular as used for the Logos, in Philo's thought. The author discusses the Philonic 'Logos as first-born (πρωτόγονος) of God' (a title also applied to Israel), the 'anthropological Logos' (embodied in the Ten Commandments), and the 'Logos of the Therapeutae'. He concludes that 'the Logos is above all a relation, a bond, a mediation which fills the void and creates space, the ratio between two numbers and the operation which is its result' (p. 326). (HMK)

9839. B. A. DESBORDES, 'Un exemple d'utilisation de la philosophie: la stratégie du recours à la thèse des lieux naturels,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 393–448.

In this complicated article (the major part of which consists of extensive notes), an important role is played by the 17th century scholar Justus Lipsius. He appears to have been the first to draw attention to Philo's Stoicism, as compared with the widespread opinion concerning his Platonism. Philo's relationship with Stoicism is problematic, it is true, and there definitely is a distance between his allegorisation and that of the Stoics. Lipsius notably referred to Philo's treatise *Aet.* The author, agreeing with D. T. Runia R-R 8126 on this point, discerns an Aristotelian θεοίς (the world as ungenerated and indestructible) in this treatise, which Philo refutes as being atheistic with the help of Stoic arguments. The author discusses in particular Lipsius' translation of *Aet.* 10. But as regards atheism (or impiety), does this not paradoxically enough apply to the Stoics as well? To answer this question the author draws attention to the theory of natural places (hence the paper's title) and the use made of it by Philo, precisely because it is on the cornerstones of the edifice of Aristotelian teleology (p. 411). The author then focuses on Philo's argumentation in *Prov.* 2.60–63—a text unknown to Lipsius—in which Peripatetic arguments are once again countered with Stoic ones. An excursus elaborates Lipsius' thesis of Philo's Stoicism in contrast to his Platonism, and describes the ensuing discussion about the characterization of Philo's philosophy from Lipsius' own time onwards to the 20th century. (HMK)

9840. F. DEUTSCH, 'La philautie chez Philon d'Alexandrie,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 87–98.

The term φιλαυτία does not originate with Philo, but he does use it rather frequently. For this usage he is indebted to Plato and Aristotle, but he adds to the reflection of his predecessors the inspiration of his Jewish convictions, as the author shows in discussing the more important Philonic texts on this subject, which concentrate on two major figures, Cain and Pharaoh (*Det.* 32, 78, 103, *Sacr.* 51, *Conf.* 128, *Post.* 35, *Leg.* 3.12, *Cher.* 74). As negation of the God and the Beautiful, *philautia* above all focuses on leisure and pleasure. In regarding himself as the cause of all things, the *philautos* pursues every path of unreason, illustrating the confrontation of the sensible and the intelligible. When *philautia* holds someone in its grip, the person flees towards the passions and so distances himself from God. (JR)

9841. J. DILLON, 'Asômatos: Nuances of Incorporeality in Philo,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 99–110.

With reference to *Gig.* 8, *Plant.* 12, and *Opif.* 73 (where Philo seems to imply that the stars, as pure intellects, are incorporeal), *Fug.* 133 (the mind as ἐνθρονον καὶ πεπυρωμένον πνεῦμα), *Opif.* 31 (where Philo seems to make a *gradual* difference between the super-celestial, paradigmatic light and the celestial lights), *Conf.* 176–177 (angels and heavenly bodies called ἀσώματα), *Leg.* 1.82 and *Somn.* 1.36 (two peculiar uses of the term ἀσώματος), Dillon concludes (p. 109) that 'for Philo, as part of his heritage of Antiochian Platonism, the substance of not only the immanent Logos and the individual intellect, which are not perceptible to our senses, but also the heavenly bodies, which are ... accessible to our vision, can be properly ascribed as 'incorporeal', by contrast with the corporeality of sublunary beings, while also being composed of pure fire or *pneuma*. This can be seen as a piece of muddle-headedness, and as a compromise with Stoic materialism, but it can also—more profitably in my view—be seen as an indication that the boundary between the corporeal and the incorporeal was not drawn by many ancient thinkers where we might think it should be drawn.' (HMK)

9842. K. DOWDEN, 'Cupid and Psyche: a Question of the Vision of Apuleius,' in M. ZIMMERMAN (ed.), *Aspects of the Golden Ass. Vol. II Cupid and Psyche* (Groningen 1998) 1–22, esp. 14–17.

In trying to place Apuleius' story of Cupid and Psyche in its intellectual context, the author argues that Apuleius, the Middle Platonist and man with an interest in the soul and in mystery religions, represents the mainstream on which Philo (and Valentinus) drew when developing his allegories. A brief discussion on the theme of sleep in Philo illustrates this point. (DTR)

9843. M. Cordero GARCÍA, 'Interpretaciones 'gnósticas' de la persona y mensaje de Jesús,' *Ciencia Tomista* 125 (1998) 421–447, esp. 427–437.

Philo is mentioned to document the evolution of concepts from Greek philosophy to Christian Gnosticism. In particular the terms γνῶσις, δαίμων, φιλοσοφία and στοιχεῖα are analyzed. (JPM)

9844. K. GERLACH, *The Antenicene Pascha: a Rhetorical History*, Liturgie Condenda 7 (Leuven 1998), esp. 86–90.

Brief discussion of Philo's interpretation of Pesach. Philo calls Pesach διάβασις or διαβατήρια, which means 'passing through' or a 'passing over into'. As a consequence he transfers the accent from the rites of Pesach to the passing of the Red Sea. Allegorically interpreted, Pesach means the purification of the soul from the passions of the body. (ACG)

9845. P. GRAFFIGNA, 'La presenza di Eraclito nel trattato *De vita Mosis* di Filone d'Alessandria,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 449–458.

There is an influence of Heraclitus on Philo which can be called 'concealed', in the sense that it is not reducible to the fundamental concept of the Logos and the views on it that the Alexandrian received from Heraclitus through the intermediation of the Stoa. This influence is encountered in the general theory of opposites which in Philo characterizes the figure of Moses. Moses is seen as an example of an equilibrium between the opposites. But in the treatise on his life these opposites taken together are multiple, and for this reason the mediating function of Moses is multiple as well. On the one hand he represents the equilibrium between doctrine and life (*logos* and *bios*). On the other hand the same Moses becomes the intermediary between God and man (p. 453). There can be no doubt, therefore, that the philosophy of Heraclitus is very much present in the treatise *Mos*. (RR)

9846. E. S. GRUEN, *Heritage and Hellenism: the Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, Hellenistic Society and Culture 30 (Berkeley 1998), esp. 73–109.

The chapter on Hellenistic images of Joseph discusses at some length Philo's various interpretations of this important biblical figure. See below 9931. REVIEWS: M. Niehoff, *SPhA* 12 (2000) 222–226. (DTR)

9847. V. GUIGNARD, 'Le rapport de Philon d'Alexandrie à la philosophie grecque dans le portrait des empereurs,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon*

d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 459–470.

In the portraits which he sketches of the Roman emperors in *Flacc.* and *Legat.*, Philo uses a terminology, inspired by Greek philosophy, which was an integral part of his cultural heritage. But it should not be thought that he merely uses it for purposes of flattery or when his Jewish culture is no longer capable of supplying what he wishes to express. In this regard his usage of the theme of the king-shepherd, present both in the Old Testament and in Greek literature, is illuminating (cf. *Ios.* 2, *Prob.* 31). Philo's consistent inclination to draw on Greek culture can be explained by the fact that certain ideas developed in political philosophy were close to his own. This is what happens with the ideal of the king as living law (*Mos.* 2.4), which the Alexandrian understands as the accommodation of the will of the king to the Law, which in his eyes is the Law of Moses (cf. *Spec.* 4.163–168). In short, emphasizing the role of philosophy in the portrait of the emperors amounts to emphasizing the role of the Law and of the Jewish people who were attached to that Law. Philo thus makes himself the advocate of Judaism for an enlightened Roman public. (JR)

9848. L. HARTMAN, 'The Human Desire to Converse with the Divine: Dio of Prusa and Philo of Alexandria on Images of God,' in P. SCHALK and M. STAUSBERG (edd.), *Being Religious and Living through the Eyes. Studies in Religious Iconography and Iconology. A Celebratory Publication in Honour of Professor Jan Bergman*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Historia Religionum 14 (Uppsala 1998) 163–171.

In this study the author examines the role played in the works of Philo and Dio of Prusa by the human desire to come close to the being(s) they worship. After a brief presentation of the texts focused on (*Decal.* 52–81; *Spec.* 1.12–50, and Dio's *Twelfth Oration*), Hartman outlines the thoughts of both writers concerning the Divine. Then he considers the reasons adduced by Dio in defense of the cult of the Zeus statue at Olympia, and Philo's arguments for opposing idolatry. There are differences, but also similarities, not the least because of their relations to Stoicism. Dio defends the efforts to depict the invisible, because of the human need to have the Divine nearby in the form of visible and tangible symbols by statues and temples. Philo, on the other hand, ridicules the idols, but at the same time recognizes a similar desire to approach and converse with the Divine. For Philo, since sacrifices can only be offered in the one temple, this desire is met by prayer as a major virtue, and by living according to the Law. (TS)

9849. D. M. HAY, 'The Veiled Thoughts of the Therapeutae,' in R. M. BERCHMAN (ed.), *Mediators of the Divine. Horizons of Prophecy, Divination, Dreams and Theurgy in Mediterranean Antiquity*, South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 163 (Atlanta 1998) 167–184.

Although Philo's treatise *Contempl.* describes in quite laudatory terms the religious community living on the shores of Lake Mareotis, upon closer inspection one realizes there is much information he does not provide about the group. Hay suggests that Philo may not have agreed with all the values of the group such as celibacy, equality of the sexes, renunciation of property, and avoidance of slavery. Details one can glean about the Therapeutae include their life away from city, plain diet, use of sexual imagery for spiritual experience, preference for allegorical interpretation, and celebration of a fiftieth day festival which culminated in a song of thanksgiving. One can only guess why Philo is silent about so many aspects of the group. His purposes in this work may have included extolling the virtue of contemplation and showing the superiority to pagan ways of Judaism, as practised by this community. For an earlier version of this paper, see RRS 9241. (EB)

9850. M. HILLAR, 'The Logos and its Function in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria: Greek Interpretation of Hebrew Thought and Foundations of Christianity. Part One,' *A Journal from the Radical Reformation* 7 (1998) 22–37.

In using Greek philosophical concepts, like the Logos, to explain the biblical account, Philo laid the groundwork for later Christian philosophical and theological doctrines. The 'Logos' idea had been found in both Greek philosophy and Jewish thought. In Philo's usage the Logos 'changed from a metaphysical entity into an extension of the divine and transcendental anthropomorphic being and a mediator between God and men.' Hillar characterizes Philo's descriptions of the Logos and its functions as follows: (1) utterance of God, whereby God's words and actions are the same; (2) divine Mind, which encompasses God's thought and powers, identified with Plato's notion of intelligible forms; (3) agent of Creation, whereby the Logos creates matter based upon God's eternal creation of the intelligible world; (4) transcendent power, which unites the two divine powers (referred to by Philo in different ways); and (5) universal bond, which binds together and administers all parts of the universe. (EB)

9851. M. A. JACKSON-MCCABE, *Logos and Law in the Letter of James: the Law of Nature, the Law of Moses, and the Law of Freedom* (diss. University of Chicago 1998).

The thesis is concerned to illuminate the background of the expression 'implanted logos' in James 1:21, both in Greek philosophy (especially in Stoicism), and in Jewish and Christian writings influenced by this philosophical theory. One of the authors examined in this regard is Philo. A revised edition of the dissertation was published in 2001; see below 20132. (DTR; based on DA-A 59–11, p. 4172)

9852. J.-G. KAHN, 'Philo hebraicus? La traduction des Œuvres complètes de Philon en hébreu moderne: ce qu'elle peut nous apprendre sur Philon lui-même,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 111–128.

The Hebrew translation of Philo, commenced in 1984, is making good progress, but poses a number of problems which the author attempts to resolve by examining the following questions: (1) would the Hebrew language, as known and practised in Philo's time, been able to accommodate the expression of his thought? (2) would Philo have been able to express himself in Hebrew if he had wanted to do so? (3) did he have access to writings which in his time were only available in Hebrew? The author answers these questions and also gives some examples of problematic terms. (JR)

9853. J.-G. KAHN, 'La valeur et la légitimité des activités politiques d'après Philon d'Alexandrie,' *Méditerranées* 16 (1998) 117–127.

A stimulating survey of Philo's thoughts on political involvement and political ideals. Philo does not believe in the ivory tower of contemplation but insists that the philosopher take up the active life when necessary. Moreover contemplation is presented as best practised in a collective context, as for example in the case of the Therapeutae. When Philo pronounces on political ideals, he has to take various audiences into account, and it may well be that his personal meaning is concealed. This can be sensed in his interpretations of the figures of Joseph and Jethro. The article ends with a brief account of Philo's views on slavery, which are remarkable on account of their anticipation of abolitionism. (DS)

9854. A. KAMESAR, 'Philo, the Presence of 'Paideutic' Myth in the Pentateuch, and the 'Principles' or *Kephalaia* of Mosaic Discourse,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998) 34–65.

For Philo it is axiomatic that Moses rejected the use of myth and that the Pentateuch is a non-mythical work. Generally Philo explains away apparently mythical elements by allegorizing them. But Kamesar points out that there are some texts in Philo where myth seems to have a paedeutic purpose. A key text in this regard is *Deus* 51–69, in which he sets out two Mosaic principles of discourse. It is shown that attempts to pin down what Philo exactly means by these principles have not been very successful. The background of these principles seems to be a literalistic form of exegesis, which Philo faithfully records, but is not in accordance with his preferred method of reading the Bible. But where does this theory of the two principles come from? Kamesar rejects the view that it has semitic or rabbinic roots. A much better parallel is found in the literary theorist Hermogenes. This confirms that it is more likely that the principles have a literalist background. They are both meant to be taken at a literary level, but refer to two different modes of expression of the biblical text. The 'mythical' mode, however, is not meant for purposes of delectation, as in

Greek theory. Philo prefers a purely 'didacticist' interpretation of its usefulness. The article concludes that Philo's position is made up of a mixture of elements. He is prepared to support the use of 'paedeutic' myth, but this does not cohere so well with his employment of allegory for the 'healing' of myth. The Neoplatonists with their distinction between paedeutic and inspired myth were able to put forward a more consistent theory. (DTR)

9855. H. M. KAMSLER, 'Philo Judaeus: Linking Biblical Judaism and Hellenistic Beliefs,' *The Jewish Bible Quarterly* 26 (1998) 111–115.

The Jews who, after the conquests of Alexander the Great, migrated to Alexandria, adjusted well to the new environment. New Jewish concepts arose during this period, some of which were influenced by Greek thought, including the division between body and soul, immortality, resurrection, angels and demons, and the development of the messianic idea. Philo's ideas are used to illustrate this development, e.g. in his allegorical interpretations, his distinction between the world of perception (sense) and conception (intellect), the transcendence of God and the divine Logos, and notions—found also in Proverbs and Rabbinic Midrashim—about wisdom and creation. (EB)

9856. J. J. KANAGARAJ, 'Mysticism' in the Gospel of John: an Inquiry into its Background, JSNT.S 158 (Sheffield 1998), esp. 69–77.

It is the thesis of this study that the Gospel of John, even its mysticism, should be interpreted against a Palestinian Jewish background. Important in this background is the so-called Merkabah mysticism: the author finds that John, being a Palestinian Jewish Christian, polemicizes against the Merkabah mystical practice prevalent at that time. To substantiate his thesis, he traverses several works related to Hellenistic mysticism, including Philo (pp. 69–77), Palestinian mysticism in the Hekhalot literature, evidence of Merkabah mysticism in pre-Christian writings, in the Christian era, in apocalyptic literature, in the Yohanan ben Zakkai tradition, and the influence of key passages from Scripture (Ezek 1, Isa 6 and Dan 7), building up a list of 14 aspects of Merkabah mysticism. Against this background he investigates seven motifs of the Gospel of John: ascent, glory, king, sending, indwelling, light and the logos. For all these, however, he finds that the conceptual and phraseological parallels with Hellenistic mysticism and Philo's 'mystical' teachings are very slender. For example, the eschatological aspect of seeing is not found in Philo's writings, and it is less probable that John was influenced by Philo's mystical reflection on the Logos than that both had used contemporary cosmological speculation based on Gen 1. (TS)

9857. A. KERKESLAGER, 'Jewish Pilgrimage and Jewish Identity in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt,' in D. FRANKFURTER (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 134 (Leiden 1998) 99–225.

This is a slightly revised version of a University of Pennsylvania dissertation; see above 9738. Traditions surveyed include pilgrimage to Jewish temples and synagogues (Jerusalem, Elephantine, Leontopolis, Alexandria, and local synagogues); tombs of heroes and ancestors; Mt. Sinai; and other ritual centres for both Jews (Pharos) and non-Jews (Edfu, El-Kanais). These traditions demonstrate continuities of identity with earlier Jewish and non-Jewish traditions, but purported continuities with the innovations of later Christian pilgrimage are more tenuous than often realized. Philo is frequently cited regarding the Jerusalem temple (pp. 107–109), synagogues (pp. 115–122), and Pharos (p. 215). The allegorical methods of Philo and other Jews originated among non-Jews, as exemplified in the Derveni Papyrus (p. 118). A long section devoted explicitly to Philo concerns his understanding of 'Arabia' and the location of Mt. Sinai (pp. 162–169; cf. 202, 210). Like other Jewish authors surveyed, Philo located Mt. Sinai in north-western Arabia, not the Sinai peninsula. (DTR; based on author's abstract)

9858. J. KUGEL, *Traditions of the Bible: a Guide to the Bible as it was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge Mass. 1998), *passim*.

This magnificent volume is a fuller version of the book *The Bible as It Was*, published in 1997; see above 9741. The greater scope of this volume allows much more Philonic material to be included, illustrating one of the more idiosyncratic traditions of Jewish and Christian exegesis. See the index of passages on pp. 1038–1042. For an explanation of the strange mistake in this list and a further discussion of Kugel's use of Philonic evidence see the review article by D. T. Runia summarized below 20062. (DTR)

9859. L. KUNDERT, *Die Opferung/Bindung Isaaks. Vol. 1: Gen 22,1–19 im Alten Testament, im Frühjudentum und im Neuen Testament; Vol. 2: Gen 22,1–19 in frühen rabbinischen Texten*, Wissenschaftlichen Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 78–79 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1998), esp. 1.107–163.

This research work under the supervision of Prof. Wolfgang Stegemann was accepted as a dissertation in Basel in 1997. Philo's writings are analysed together with *Jubilees*, the texts of Qumran, Josephus' *Antiquities*, 4 Macc and the Pseudo-Philonic *Biblical Antiquities*. In the long chapter on Philo a brief introduction discusses his education and his allegorical method. The research method outlined here dates back to the early nineties. Different exegetical tendencies of Philo's writings are not mentioned and hermeneutical questions are not strongly prioritised. The account of the sacrifice of Isaac in *Abr.* is central. Material relating to the New Testament (the letters of Paul, Hebrews, but also James) is emphasized. Parallels to Jewish traditions are given more consideration than the Greek philosophical background. The author distinguishes between 'Alexandria' for Hellenistic traditions and 'Jerusalem' for Palestinian traditions. In addition, other texts of Philo are discussed, for example the offering of Isaac

as parable to the behaviour of the wise (*Fug.* 132 ff.). In *Fug.* 166 ff. Isaac is the symbol of the man who receives the gift of wisdom. In *Cher* 106 Isaac is exemplified as the soul which loves virtue, bearing fruit through Divine powers. All in all, two different interpretations are offered for the writings of Philo. First, in the allegorical interpretation the wise man (Abraham) discovers the enjoyment (Isaac) as the embodiment of otherworldly life. Second, the offering is viewed from the point of the son Isaac himself: the willingness of the wise man (here Isaac) is symbolised as offering God his own spirit. Apparently Philo has drawn on the wisdom tradition of Early Judaism. Links to the Christology of John (for example John 8.36–38) on the basis of this Wisdom-literature are postulated. This also applies to the question of the Logos' pre-existence. (GS)

9860. J. LAPORTE, *Teologia liturgica di Filone d'Alessandria e Origene*, Cammini nello Spirito 30 (Milan 1998).

Italian translation by Beppe Gabutti of the French original published in 1995. See the summary in RRS 9551. (DTR)

9861. A. LE BOULLUEC, 'La place des concepts philosophiques dans la réflexion de Philon sur le plaisir,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 129–152.

A study of Philo's concept of pleasure as developed in *Sacr.* The author signalizes in this treatise, which he considers as belonging to the genre of the moral sermon, three characteristic traits: (1) elaboration of the theme of mastering of the passions (which includes the themes of freedom of choice and that of the relation between pleasure, reason, and the senses); (2) polemics with Epicurean philosophy; (3) discussion of the question what is true well-being (εὐδαιμονία). Le Boulluec discusses these traits in three successive sections, and concludes that much further study of the Philonic concept of pleasure is needed, e.g. a comparison with the rabbinic notion of the 'evil inclination'. But one thing is certainly clear: Philo's reflection on ἡδονή in all its complexity is in no way inferior to that of the philosophers. (HMK)

9862. J.-Y. LELOUP, L. BOFF and L. M. A. DE LIMA, *Terapeutas do deserto: de Filon de Alexandria e Francisco de Assis a Graf Dürckheim* (Petropolis, Brazil 1998).

This book is the result of a seminar on therapeutic psychology directed by the authors. Leloup contributes the point of departure, i.e. Philo's idea of θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν, 'taking care of being' (*Contempl.* 2). That was the topic of a previous book on Philo (cf. RRS 2254, 2851). The expression 'care of being' is understood in the context of contemporary phenomenology and with a strong emphasis on transpersonal therapeutics. L. Boff contributes with a reflection on the life and writings of Francis of Assisi in the same perspective.

Leloup, finally, incorporates within the therapeutic proposal the anthropological perspective and methodology of the psychologist and philosopher Karlfried Graf Dürckheim (1896–1988), promoter of the ‘transpersonal psychotherapy’ which both authors find congruent with basic features of Philo’s *Therapeutai*. The treatise *Contempl.* is mentioned frequently as witness to the therapeutics practised by priests of the desert, who took care of the human phenomenon in its totality, involving the harmony of men and women, body and soul, immanence and transcendence. Philo can thus be considered an old instructor for the contemporary holistic therapies. A second edition was published in 2000. (JPM)

9863. B. LÉVY, ‘Philon et le langage de la philosophie: D... et la création du mal,’ in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d’Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 257–264.

In the author’s view Philo has become a hostage of the language of philosophy, which means that he has placed himself ‘out of bounds’ for the proper deployment of Jewish thought. In order to support this thesis, he examines the Philonic conception of creation and compares it with that of *Midrash Rabbah*. From the comparison it emerges that Philo has been constrained to think what he did not wish to think, the absolute nature of evil and the eternity of the posterity of Cain. Philo thus forgot what every Jew knows, namely that evil will come to an end. (JR)

9864. C. LÉVY, ‘Éthique de l’immanence, éthique de la transcendance: le problème de l’*oikeiōsis* chez Philon,’ in IDEM (ed.), *Philon d’Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 153–164.

The author demonstrates that the Stoic concept of *οἰκειώσις* (‘appropriation’, i.e. the natural instinct of every living being to strive after that which is salutary for himself, resulting in a harmonious relationship with the self and the world) is contrary to Philo’s views (in which ethics is not guided by instinct but by the Law of God, and based on reason). When Philo uses the term, it is in the sense of an implicit refutation of the Stoic view, but also charged with a positive meaning, in which *οἰκειώσις* approaches the Middle Platonist notion of *οἰκειώσις τῷ θεῷ*. (HMK)

9865. C. LÉVY, *Philon d’Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie: Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre d’études sur la philosophie hellénistique et romaine de l’Université de Paris XII-Val de Marne (Créteil, Fontenay, Paris, 26–28 octobre 1995)*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998).

Collected papers of a conference held in Paris and environs in the autumn of 1995. As the organiser of the conference and editor of this volume, Carlos

Lévy, states in the Preface, the theme of the conference was inspired by the thesis of Valentin Nikiprowetzky that in Philo philosophy is used in the service of scripture. A number of papers comment on this thesis. Another aim of the conference was to see to what extent the advances in our knowledge of both Greek philosophy and Alexandrian Judaism are making it possible to offer new interpretations of Philonic thought. It would seem, however, that at the present time no consensus is being reached on how Philo should be read. This is illustrated by the diversity of approaches illustrated in this volume. In total 25 papers have been collected together, all of them focusing on Philo. They are grouped into three sections: I The philosophical language of Philo (12 papers); II The problems of hermeneutics (6 papers); III Philo and the philosophical schools (7 papers). With the exception of one paper in English (Sterling) and one in Italian (Graffigna), they are all published in French. The papers are separately summarized in this bibliography under the names of their authors. REVIEWS: G. Reydams-Schils, *SPhA* 11 (1999) 170–177; F. Calabi, *Adamant* 6 (2000) 305–311; A. M. Mazzanti, *AnnSE* 17 (2000) 668–673; K. A. Algra, *Phron* 46 (2001) 102–103; P. Hummel, *RHPhR* 81 (2001) 107–109; J. P. Martin, *Meth* 14 (2001) 135–142; P. H. Poirier, *LThPh* 57 (2001) 456–457; M. Lassègue, *RPhilos* 127 (2002) 245–246. (DTR)

9866. J. P. MARTÍN, ‘La configuración semántica ἀρχή—νοῦς—θεός en Filón: una temprana combinación de Platón y Aristóteles,’ in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d’Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 165–182.

The question the author poses is how Philo selects his terminology in order to deal with the topic of the first principle, ἀρχή. In a general sense, Philo uses the term αἴτιον; in a specific sense, this incorporates the term *nous* in order to designate the first cause, although without the further Aristotelian attribution of νοητός. This last term, instead of being an attribute of the cause, instead denotes the product of their action, i.e. the *kosmos noëtos*. In this way Philo produces a combination of Plato’s lexical tradition with that of Aristotle, in such a way that it is functional to express a biblical idea, namely of a Subject which conceives its own Logos. In this context, the use of ἀυταρχέστατον in Philo is Aristotelian rather than Stoic. (JPM)

9867. N. MARTOLA, ‘Eating the Passover lamb in House-temples at Alexandria: Some Notes on Passover in Philo,’ in U. HAXEN, H. TRAUTNER-KROMANN and K. L. GOLDSCHMIDT SALAMON (edd.), *Jewish Studies in a New Europe. Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Jewish Studies in Copenhagen 1994 Under the Auspices of the European Association for Jewish Studies* (Copenhagen 1998) 521–531.

In this article, the author questions the often repeated assertion that the Passover lamb was never sacrificed outside Jerusalem after the emergence of the

Deuteronomic efforts at centralization. He suggests that the Philonic texts of *Spec.* 2.145–148 and *Mos.* 2.224 convey the notion that in Philo's time the Jews of Alexandria slaughtered a lamb for the Passover meal in their own houses, and regarded it as equivalent to the sacrificial lamb slain and offered up in the temple of Jerusalem. Such a practice he also finds supported by the Elephantine papyri, by the case of the temple at Leontopolis, and by the *TYomTov* 2.15, which seems to indicate that some Jews prepared a lamb for the Passover in Rome, and called it a Passover offering. Philo's reasoning in his texts seem to form an attempt to find a meaning and a justification for such a custom in a Diaspora context. (TS)

9868. S. MATHEWS, 'Great is the Mystery of Godliness'. *A Historical and Biblical Study of ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑ* (diss. Trinity Evangelical Divinity School 1998).

Since this dissertation wants to present a comprehensive study of the term εὐσέβεια from its first occurrence to the NT, it is natural that a treatment of Philo's usage would also be included. This is found in chapter 3. (DTR; based on author's abstract, DA-A 59–12, p. 4454).

9869. C. E. MCLEESE, *Augustine on Adam's Rib and Eve's Sin: an Evaluation of Theological Sexism in Augustine's Exegesis of Gen. 2:15–25 and Gen. 3* (diss. University of Montreal 1998).

It is noted that in Augustine's readings of Gen 2:15–25 and Gen 3 there are tantalizing hints and echoes of Philo. This is an important background for Augustine's exegesis, which contains a small but strong sub-current of theological sexism. (DTR; based on author's abstract, DA-A 59–11, p. 4186).

9870. M. MERINO RODRIGUEZ, *Clemente de Alejandría, Stromata II–III; Conocimiento religioso y continencia auténtica*, Fuentes Patristicas 10 (Madrid 1998), *passim*.

In a continuation of the author's important edition and commentary on the *Stromateis* (cf. RRS 9657) a careful study is made of Clement's sources. In this context, Philo occupies a privileged place: he or his writings are mentioned or cited on almost 200 occasions. Philo is the source used most apart from the Bible. Special comments devoted to Philonic material are found on *Str.* 2.51.1–6 (God as universal *nous* and superior object of human understanding, drawn from Philo); 2.78.1–96.4 (the long extract from Philo's treatment of the virtues); 2.100.3 ('the Pythagorean Philo'). (JPM)

9871. M. MERINO RODRÍGUEZ, 'La demonología y la angelología en los inicios del Imperio. Filón de Alejandría,' *Helmantica* 49 (1998) 58–70.

From the perspective of classical philology the author analyzes the literary use of the terms ἀγγελος, δαίμων, and ψυχή in Philo. The entities to which these

terms refer belong to one of the four regions of the created world, the region of the air. Philo reveals the beginnings of a usage in which progressively the term ἄγγελος occupies the place that δαίμων had in the ancient Greek culture. In various ways this kind of living being acts as mediator between God and the cosmic processes. (JPM)

9872. A. MICHEL, 'Philon d'Alexandrie et l'Académie,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 493–502.

Was Philo a Stoic? Or a syncretist? This article aims to shed light on the argument by way of comparison with Cicero, who has been similarly labelled. As C. Lévy has demonstrated, Cicero's thought forms a coherent whole and shows strong affinities to the new Academy (Carneades). His thought refrains from systematization and resorts to the eclecticism of dialogue, in order to leave the discussion open. Likewise, Philo's thought is coherent and brings together distinct currents of thought (Stoic, Aristotelian) in the spirit of the New Academy of his day, which was on its way to forming the synthesis from which Neoplatonism would arise. At the same time Philo may well have been inspired by Jewish commentaries before him, as argued by R. Goulet. Philo's thought is original in that his God is the God of Israel, and the knowledge of God is a gift from this God himself: it is grace. Academic scepticism here develops its extreme consequence within a religious perspective, resulting in negative theology and a theology of divine illumination. (HMK)

9873. T. MORGAN, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds*, *Cambridge Classical Studies* (Cambridge 1998), *passim*.

Philo's *Congr.* is one of the sources regularly consulted for this learned and readable account of how literacy was achieved and what it meant in the Greco-Roman world. See esp. pp. 149, 194, 265. (DTR)

9874. J. MORRIS, 'Il filosofo giudeo Filone,' in E. SCHÜRER, *Storia del popolo guidaico al tempo di Gesù Cristo (175 a.C.–135 d.C.)*. Italian edition edited by C. GIANOTTO, with bibliographical additions by G. FIRPO, C. GIANOTTO, C. MARTONE, G. STEMBERGER, *Biblioteca di storia e storiografia dei tempi biblici* 13 (Brescia 1998), vol. 3 tomo 2, 1061–1159.

Main editor of the Italian edition of this important reference work (as revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman, and P. Vermes) is Claudio Gianotto; the translator of the second part of volume 3 is Vincenzo Gatti. Author of the section on Philo (§ 34) is Jenny Morris; see further RRS 8766. The Italian edition is enriched with a bibliographic appendix, five pages of which are dedicated to Philo. (HMK)

9875. H. NAJMAN, *Authoritative Writing and Interpretation: a Study in the History of Scripture* (diss. Harvard University 1998).

The author of this dissertation, prepared under the supervision of J. Kugel, argues that the very concept of Scripture—in this case the Hebrew Bible—as an authoritative text emerged through a protracted process of development, together with related concepts of authorship, readership and interpretation. Philo is one of the three authors (together with Ezra and the author of *Jubilees*) who are studied in detail in order to illustrate this thesis. It is concluded that he recasts the written Mosaic Law as the perfect embodiment of universal Natural Law. Other themes dealt with are Philo's views on textuality, authorship, reading and interpretation of Scripture. A revised edition of the dissertation was published in 2003; see below 20387. (DTR; based on author's abstract, DA-A 59–10, p. 3853).

9876. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'Alexandrian Judaism in 19th Century 'Wissenschaft': between Modernity and Christianity,' in A. OPPENHEIMER (ed.), *From Schürer to the Revised Schürer: the Study of Jewish History in the First and Second Centuries C.E.* (Munich 1998) 9–28.

In the 19th century many Jewish scholars—stimulated by Christian scholarship—studied Hellenistic Judaism, esp. Philo, with a view to his supposed alienation from authentic Judaism and his congeniality to later Christian theology. Two famous names are Immanuel Wolf in his foundational manifesto from 1822, and later on Zacharias Frankel, who emphasized the contrast to Palestinian exegesis. The liberal pioneer Isaac Marcus Jost, however, praised the synthesis of Judaism and Hellenism in Alexandria as a paradigm for modernization in Germany. Similarly, Maurice Wolff discovered Philo as a model for modern Jewish spirituality, while the position of Heinrich Graetz remains ambivalent. The scholarship on Alexandrian Judaism from 1865 onwards is characterized by institutionalization and proliferation. Jacob Freudenthal and Moritz Friedländer, to mention two of the more important scholars, show an appreciation for the Jewishness of Philo and other authors. REVIEWS: D. R. Schwartz, *SPhA* 12 (2000) 211–215. (DZ)

9877. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'Philo's Views on Paganism,' in G. N. STANTON and G. STROUMSA (edd.), *Limits of Tolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge 1998) 135–158.

In this article Philo's attitude towards paganism is discussed. Basing himself on the second commandment of the Decalogue, Philo develops a philosophical position on paganism. He distinguishes between paganism of the Egyptians, who worship cats and dogs, and Greek paganism, in which natural elements, such as the stars, are deified. Philo's view on mythology is complex. Following Plato he criticizes pagan myth, but he does appreciate philosophical mythology. He qualifies myth as by nature false and untrue, and contrasts it with truth. Niehoff

sees a contradiction in Philo: he regards myth as foolishness, but he also makes use of it. On this score, he resembles Plato, who speaks negatively about myth, but tells his own stories as conveying philosophical truth, i.e. as a 'logical myth'. Philo implicitly treats the creation account in Genesis as such a logical myth, making good use of Plato's *Timaeus* in his interpretation. (ACG)

9878. H. OHME, *Kanon ekklesiastikos: die Bedeutung des altkirchlichen Kanonbegriffs*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 67 (Berlin 1998), esp. 30–36.

This *Habilitationsschrift* studies extensively the concept of canon in the 1st to 4th century C.E. A section is dedicated to the LXX and Philo. The latter uses κανών in the sense of 'normative rule'; in a juridical context this can be nature (*Spec.* 3.137); in particular the Decalogue has a canonical function vis-à-vis the rest of the commandments. The expression κανών τῆς ἀληθείας is contrasted to myth and sophistry. Ultimately it consists in the cosmic order, incorporated in the Law. (DZ)

9879. E. F. OSBORN, 'Philo and Clement: Quiet Conversion and Noetic Exegesis,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998) 108–124.

Osborn returns once more to the question of the relation between Philo and Clement. The question of Philo's influence on Clement is not the right question to ask, but rather, to what use did Clement put what he read in Philo. But here again one should not just look at the passages and words taken over. The question is: what did Clement do with them? Osborn suggest that two main purposes can be discerned. Firstly Clement quietly wants to convert Jews to the Christian faith and Philo could supply apologetic instruments to this end. Secondly Philo could supply the method of noetic exegesis of Scripture to show how the hidden meaning could be uncovered. Logical analysis is linked to divine vision. The techniques of logic and philosophy are not made redundant by prophetic inspiration, because its meaning is hidden, and has to be brought out in lucid teaching. In the final pages of the article Osborn returns to the methodological problems involved and makes a comparison with the method of Justin. Justin's dialogue with Trypho was noisy. Clement's appropriation of Philo was quiet and all the more effective. (DTR)

9880. A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA, 'Innovazioni lessicali e attributi divini: una caratteristica del giudaismo alessandrino?,' in A. C. DI RINALDO FABRIS, (ed.), *La parola di Dio cresceva (At 12,24): scritti in onore di Carlo Maria Martini nel suo 70° compleanno*, *Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica* 33 (Bologna 1998) 87–108, esp. 87–90.

The attributes of unnameability, ineffability and incomprehensibility of God in Philo are expressed in a language taken from Greek philosophy. The same can be said of the two powers, creative and ruling, which correspond to two differing

names, θεός and κύριος. The author observes that the rabbis too are acquainted with this distinction, but the names associated with them are reversed. For a time it was thought that this was due to Philo's faulty knowledge of Hebrew, but today it is regarded as probable that the Alexandrian drew on a tradition which is older than the rabbinic sources and that this doctrine could represent a difference between Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism. (RR)

9881. A. PAWLACZYK, 'Philo in Poland since the Second World War,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998) 125–130.

A survey is presented of Polish scholarship on Philo. It is mainly a history of 'lacks.' The Polish translation of Philo has so far not advanced beyond the first volume (1986). Little has been done specifically on Philo himself. Most scholarly treatments have been carried out in the context of Classical and New Testament studies. These publications are briefly outlined and discussed. (DTR)

9882. S. PEARCE, 'Belonging and not Belonging: Local Perspectives in Philo of Alexandria,' in S. JONES and S. PEARCE (edd.), *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series* 31 (Sheffield 1998) 79–105.

This article deals with Philo's conception of his local environment. In the first part the author describes Philo's negative attitude towards Egypt and the Egyptians. For him Egypt is a symbol of (1) body, (2) sense-perception, (3) passion. He interprets the Exodus from Egypt as the liberation of the soul from the body. Moreover, he shows a special hostility towards Egyptian idolatry, which implies worship of animals. Because of this condemnatory attitude towards the Egyptians, he makes a strong distinction between Jews and Egyptians. In the second part the author considers the question of Philo's identification with Alexandria. Philo is proud of Alexandria as his home town, and as a proper home for the Jews who live there. At the same time, he considers the city as a place unsuitable for understanding higher realities. (ACG)

9883. A. PETIT, 'Philon et le pythagorisme: un usage problématique,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 471–482.

According to Eusebius of Caesarea, Philo was particularly attached to the ἀγωγή κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν (HE 2.4.2). But Pythagoreanism, either in its dualistic (matter/the dyad co-eternal with God/the monad) or in its monistic version (the dyad/matter proceeding from the monad) is hard to reconcile with Philonic theology. The author, reviewing various solutions, inclines towards the hypothesis of a Philonic usage of monistic Pythagoreanism. One gets the impression of an instrumental dyad in Philo. If Philo was a Pythagorean, he was one of an unusual kind. (HMK)

9884. R. RADICE, 'Le judaïsme alexandrin et la philosophie grecque: influences probables et points de contact,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 483–492.

The author complains about a certain lack of reciprocity in the study of the relations between Philo and the Greek philosophical tradition, as seen in the fact that almost all scholars are inclined to underline the debt that Philo has incurred to Greek philosophical thought, but virtually no one is prepared to admit the reverse, namely the influence that the Alexandrian could have exerted on thinkers of the Imperial age and on the Platonist tradition in general. If, however, one thinks of the distribution of Philo's writings in the Christian era, along the three axes of Alexandria, Syria and Rome–Italy, which take their lead from Clement, Justin and Ambrose respectively, it is difficult not to place these in relation to the three major representatives of 'secular' thought, such as Alcinous (and the Middle Platonists in general), Numenius and Seneca. Both Numenius (whom Radice does not discuss explicitly) on the one hand and Alcinous and Seneca on the other reveal a number of fairly obvious points of contact with Philo. This can easily be observed if one places Philo within the confines of the Platonist tradition, as a representative of a particular line of thinking (p. 490). (RR)

9885. C. L. ROSSETTI, '*Sei diventato Tempio di Dio: il mistero del Tempio e dell'abitazione divina negli scritti di Origene*, Tesi gregoriana, Serie Teologica 43 (Rome 1998), esp. 16–22.

In Philo's thought on the Temple two themes can be discerned: the cosmic temple and the temple-soul. A brief review of passages leads to the conclusion that Philo's allegorical interpretation of the tabernacle/temple highlights on the one hand the cosmic character of true worship of God (the whole cosmos is called to worship), and on the other hand the spiritual worship to be rendered by the human soul as a microcosm. Philo achieves a brilliant synthesis between prophetic Judaism and the Stoa, while his interpretations have clearly influenced Clement and Origen. (HMK)

9886. R. ROUKEMA, *Gnosis en geloof in het vroege Christendom* (Zoe-termeer 1998), esp. 72–74, 95–102.

On two occasions in this judicious introductory survey of Gnosticism in relation to Early Christianity the author pays attention to Philo. In a chapter entitled Origin and purpose of life, *Cher.* 114–115 is cited and its ideas on the body and the soul's knowledge outlined. In the chapter on Plato, Philo and Platonic philosophy, Philo's thoughts on the status of Greek philosophy, on creation as presented in *Opif.*, on unity and plurality in God, and on the origin and destiny of souls are outlined. In the end, however, Philo is not a Platonist philosopher, but a Jew who was profoundly influenced by the Greek

philosophy of his time. In his writings numerous themes occur which will be further developed in Gnosticism. (DTR)

9887. D. T. RUNIA, 'l'exégèse philosophique et l'influence de la pensée philonienne dans la tradition patristique,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 327–348.

The article combines a theoretical look at the question of the influence of Philo on early Christian thought with a practical example of how that influence took place. Starting point is the thesis of Valentin Nikiprowetzky that Philo's use of philosophy is 'instrumentalist'. This needs to be related to the fact that Philo places reason in the form of logos in Scripture itself. After outlining a number of difficulties involved in the study of Philo and the Fathers, the author sets out what he judges to be the four principal aspects of Philo's influence: the central role of exegesis, the methods of exegesis (including allegory), the use of specific philosophical terminology, and the use of a number of particularly influential biblical texts. These aspects are then illustrated by means of two texts of the Alexandrian theologian Didymus the Blind, the former from his Genesis commentary on the creation of humankind in Gen 1:26–28, the latter from the *Commentary on Zechariah* and involving the use of the *verbum Philonicum* ἰσχυρολογεῖω. The article ends with some conclusions on the value of Nikiprowetzky's thesis for the subject of Philo's influence on the Fathers. It should be noted that very often in the Fathers philosophy becomes spirituality, a change that is anticipated in Philo himself. (DTR)

9888. D. T. RUNIA, 'A New Philo Word Index (Review article),' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998) 131–134.

The features of the new Philo word index by Borgen, Fuglseth and Skarsten (see above 3217) are reviewed under the headings of completeness, accuracy and user-friendliness. The index is a considerable advance in comparison with Mayer's earlier work and will no doubt render valuable service for Philonic scholarship in the coming years. The article ends by citing a witty listing of the advantages of the book compared with the computer. (DTR)

9889. L. H. SCHIFFMAN, 'The Prohibition of Judicial Corruption in the Dead Sea scrolls, Philo, Josephus and Talmudic law,' in J. MAGNESS and S. GITIN (edd.), *Hesed ve-emet. Studies in Honor of Ernest S. Frerichs*, Brown Judaic Studies 320 (Atlanta 1998) 155–178, esp. 162–164.

Brief remarks on Philo's views on the administration of justice and the prohibition against taking bribes in *Spec.* 4.55–78 in the wider context of an examination of the prohibition of judicial corruption in Second Temple and early rabbinic Judaism. (DTR)

9890. D. SEDLEY, 'Theophrastus and Epicurean Physics,' in J. M. VAN OPHUIJSEN and M. VAN RAALTE (edd.), *Theophrastus Reappraising the Sources*, Rutgers University Studies in the Humanities 8 (New Brunswick–London 1998) 331–354.

Sedley argues that in book V of his poem Lucretius responds to the four arguments on behalf of the eternity of the cosmos attributed to Theophrastus by Philo in *Aet.* 117–149. Although the language of the passage is primarily Philonic, the material presented is authentically Theophrastean. (DTR)

9891. T. SELAND, *Paulus i Polis. Paulus' sosiale verden som forståelsesbakgrunn for hans forkynnelse* [Norwegian: Paul in Polis. Paul's Social World as Background for Understanding his Proclamation], *Forskningsrapport 34* (Volda 1998), esp. 154–156.

In this textbook on the social background of Paul, the author not only presents central aspects of the life and work of Philo (pp. 154–156), but also makes extensive use of Philo's works in describing the social conditions in the Diaspora at the time of Paul. For the revised edition published in 2004 see 204114. (TS)

9892. R. SGARBI, 'Tecnica traduttiva nella versione armena del trattato filoneo Sugli altari,' in R. UMBERTO and G. GARBUGINO (edd.), *Grammatica e lessico delle lingue 'morte'* (Alessandria 1998) 259–269.

The Armenian translation of the works of Philo contains a separate treatise with the title 'Work of Philo on the duties of the altar', which corresponds to the final part of the treatise 'On sacrifices' in *Spec.* 1. Sgarbi places the Greek text (in the edition of C-W) opposite the Armenian version, and this comparison allows him to reach the general conclusion that the Armenian translation, 'though remaining largely faithful to the Greek, does deviate from it in syntax and the order of the words' (p. 261). In such cases he examines what he calls 'semantic calques', both from the lexical and syntactic point of view, as well as the cases of double translation in their various forms. (RR)

9893. R. W. SHARPLES, *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence*, Commentary Volume 3.1 Sources on Physics, *Philosophia Antiqua* 79 (Leiden 1998), esp. 130–142.

In Sharples' Commentary on part of the new collection of fragments of Theophrastus, the collaborator and successor of Aristotle (cf. RRS 2157), he gives extensive comments on the long section in Philo's *Aet.* 117–150, which is partly drawn from Theophrastus, including numerous references to the copious secondary literature on this controversial passage. See also the article of D. Sedley above. (DTR)

9894. H. G. SNYDER, *Teachers, Texts and Studies: Textual Performance and Patterns of Authority in Greco-Roman Schools* (diss. Yale University 1998).

The dissertation attempts a synoptic look at the literary practices of eight different Greco-Roman groups active under the Late Republic and Early Empire. Philo is examined as representative of Judaism in Alexandria. The aim is to evaluate how 'bookish' these groups are when compared with each other. Explicit remarks about the use of books in teaching environments are analysed. A schema is also proposed which characterizes the various ways in which teachers and texts were related in these ancient groups. A revised edition was published in 2000; see below 20070. (DTR; based on author's abstract, DA-A 60-05, p. 1613)

9895. G. E. STERLING, 'A Philosophy according to the Elements of the Cosmos: Colossian Christianity and Philo of Alexandria,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1998) 349-373.

Sterling argues that the Christian heresy against which Paul warns in Colossians has to be read against the background of Philo. He discusses the Colossians' religious conception and practice which Paul qualified as 'philosophy according to the elements of the cosmos' (Col 2:8). In Sterling's interpretation the elements of the cosmos are elemental spirits or daemons, and Philo's daemonology in *Gig.* 6-18 sheds light on the Colossians' view. They are acquainted with a scale of being in which the elements are correlated with zones. The angels or daemons are placed between God and human beings. The practice of asceticism is a means to avert evil spirits. (ACG)

9896. M. E. STONE and T. A. BERGREN, *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg Pa. 1998), *passim*.

Philo is mentioned repeatedly in this collection of essays on the interpretation of biblical figures in Jewish and Christian traditions outside the Bible. See the lists in the indices on pp. 414-415 and p. 430. We mention especially the articles on Enosh by S. E. Fraade (pp. 67-69), Melchizedek by B. A. Pearson (pp. 180-182) and Joseph by H. W. Hollander (pp. 242-245). (DTR)

9897. H. SZESNAT, 'Deviant Behaviour' and Moral Discourse in the Writings of Paul and Philo: an Historical-Exegetical Study of the Moral Problematisation of Sexual Desire and Behaviour in First-Century Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity, with Special Reference to the Work of Michel Foucault (diss. University of Natal 1998).

This study is concerned with the moral problematisation of sexual desire and intercourse in two Jewish/Christian writers of the first century of our era, namely Philo of Alexandria and St. Paul. A detailed methodological chapter

argues for a fundamental re-thinking of the analysis of Jewish and Christian writings of this period in line with the theoretical discussion which is taking place in cognate disciplines like classics, philosophy, sociology and history: the author argues that a social constructionist perspective on the study of 'sexuality' in antiquity is called for in the study of Philo and Paul, that is, an approach which regards sexual desire and behaviour as a social phenomenon rather than a 'natural given'. This methodological part is followed by an extensive summary and review of the critical responses to the historical proposals of Michel Foucault on the history of 'sexuality' in antiquity, which are taken as the focus of this study. Rather than an extensive critique of Foucault's proposals themselves, however, the focus of this study is on reading two important authors representing strands of first-century Hellenistic Judaism, which Foucault's work ignores altogether. The author presents an extensive study of Philo and Paul, analysing their moral problematisation of desire and intercourse, and comparing Foucault's historical suggestions with the results. The study suggests that reading Hellenistic Jewish texts would help to correct and sometimes explain some of Foucault's suggestions with regard to this historical period in the 'history of sexuality'. (DTR; based on author's abstract)

9898. H. SZESNAT, 'Mostly Aged Virgins': Philo and the Presence of the Therapeutrides at Lake Mareotis, *Neotestamentica* 32 (1998) 191–201.

It is generally agreed that Philo has a positive view of the female members of the community at Lake Mareotis which is described in *Contempl.* The author questions this view, taking as his point of reference Philo's attitude to 'pretty slave boys' used for sexual purposes, to whom he ascribes the 'female disease'. Philo was forced to accommodate the Therapeutrides even though he did not approve of their presence in the community as such. He describes them as 'mostly aged virgins' because his view of γυναῖκες (as opposed to παρθένοι) does not permit him to ascribe positive values to them. (DTR; based on author's abstract)

9899. H. SZESNAT, 'Pretty Boys' in Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa*, *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998) 87–107.

In this article the author examines Philo's harsh condemnation of the sexual use of slave boys. For Philo sexual intercourse is only permissible if it is done for the sake of procreation. In *Contempl.* he contrasts the 'banquets' of the Therapeutae and Therapeutrides with ancient συμπόσια, at which pretty slave boys were present. Szesnat discusses Philo's condemnation of intercourse of men with these slave boys, to whom Philo ascribes the 'female disease'. The author argues that this disease concerns the attachment of what is regarded as female (passion, body) to a man. When boys are used for sexual purposes, their souls and bodies are changed into a female form. (ACG)

98100. J. E. TAYLOR and P. R. DAVIES, 'The So-Called Therapeutae of *De Vita Contemplativa*,' *Harvard Theological Review* 91 (1998) 3–24.

This article deals with some aspects of the religious community of Therapeutae which Philo describes in *Contempl.* The authors argue that the designation *θεραπευταί* is not restricted to this community but has to be understood universally. Therapeutae are persons who are devotees of God or people who serve him. Philo finds a prominent example of them outside Alexandria. The location has to be situated on an hill on the south-west side of the town. The authors discuss the participation of women in the community. With regard to the socio-economic grouping they conclude that members of the community came from educated Jewish circles in Alexandria. (ACG)

98101. J. W. THOMPSON, 'The Appropriate, the Necessary, and the Impossible: Faith and Reason in Hebrews,' in A. J. MALHERBE, F. W. NORRIS and J. W. THOMPSON (edd.), *The Early Church in its Context: Essays in Honor of Everett Ferguson*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 90 (Leiden 1998) 302–317.

The author discusses a form of argumentation used by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, namely argumentation that concerns categories of the fitting, the necessary and the impossible. This use is unique in Scripture and it has been suggested that Philo forms the background of its use. In his interpretation of the Bible, Philo avoids inappropriate views on God. It is, for instance, inappropriate for God to punish personally. The anthropomorphic language of God in the OT is also inappropriate for God. Philo never, however, considers the practice of the Jewish sacrifices as inappropriate for God. These are symbols of realities that are necessitated by the nature of reality and of God. The author concludes that Philo's 'understanding of necessity and appropriateness was shaped not only by the tradition of the philosophers, but by his commitment to Judaism as well' (p. 314). (ACG)

98102. L. TROIANI, 'L'ellenismo nel pensiero giudaico fino a Filone,' in R. FABRIS (ed.), *Il confronto tra le diverse culture nella bibbia da Esdra a Paolo. XXXIV Settimana Biblica Nazionale (Roma, 9–13 Settembre 1996)*, Ricerche storico bibliche 10.1–2 (Bologna 1998) 69–80.

Although Philo figures in this article mainly in the title and in brief general references, the subject matter of the article nonetheless is of great interest for students of Philo as one of our most important witnesses of Hellenistic Judaism and the period immediately preceding the rise of Christianity. It is Alexandria, not Jerusalem, which has provided the Greek world with the first information on the Jewish people: the first Greek historian we know to have written about the Jews was Hecataeus of Abdera in his ethnographic work on Egypt. Troiani very briefly discusses, with reference to modern debate, Hecataeus' excursus on the Jews, which combines elements of the book of Exodus with Egyptian traditions

and at the same time seems to reveal views of Diaspora Judaism on its own past and institutions. ‘Hellenization’ in its original sense was the requisite for integration in the civil administration and the army. Notables of every ethnic origin could be called ‘Greeks’. Hellenization appears to have been promoted by the Jewish elites (cf. the books of the Maccabees). The author then points out the international dimension of Judaism in the Hellenistic or Greco-Roman period, and argues that this is not sufficiently taken into account when common exegesis identifies the *ethnê* in the NT with Gentiles (e.g. in Acts 10:45). This term, apart from indicating Jewish communities in many nations of the ancient world, can also have the connotation of ‘those that know nothing of the law’ (cf. John 7:49). The author argues that Hellenism played an important role in the differentiation between strict adherents of the Law of Moses and Jews with an Hellenistically ‘enlightened’ approach to the Law (for which cf. Strabo 16.2.34–46). He quotes other sources (Josephus, Justin, Eusebius) to support the probability of an interpretation of ‘Greeks’ as ‘Hellenized Jews’ (in e.g. John 7:35, and with reference to Paul’s audiences in Acts); Jews of the Diaspora seem sometimes not to have been circumcised. Christianity, then, may have absorbed these ‘Greeks’. In the conclusion it is suggested that the rapid ‘Hellenization’ of Christianity may find an explanation in Christianity being rooted precisely in the ‘Greek’, Hellenized part of Judaism. (HMK)

98103. H. TRONIER, ‘Allegorese og universalisme—erkendelse som gruppemarkør hos Filon og Paulus’ [Danish: Allegorization and Universalism—Cognition as a Group Marker in Philo and Paul], in N. P. LEMCHE and H. TRONIER (edd.), *Etnicititet i Bibelen* [Danish: Ethnicity in the Bible] (Copenhagen 1998) 67–108.

In this article Tronier compares the ways Philo and Paul argue in determining the identity of their respective groups, finding great similarities between the two men. Both ways of arguing are to be read as Hellenistic, and inner-Jewish, but they are also related in other ways. Concerning Philo, Tronier especially investigates *Her.* 277–299 and *Migr.* 89–94. He finds the identity of the Jews to be rooted in the philosophical community of interpretation. This community, furthermore, mirrors a transcendental reality above time and space. The task of allegorical interpretation is to recognize the general in the particular, the universal, cognitive and transcendental in the particular and empirical. Jewish identity mirrors the transcendental; ethnic-specific praxis mirrors and realizes the universal transcendental reality (κόσμος νοητός). Philo’s community is κόσμος in ἔθνος, and its ethic mirrors κόσμος too as κόσμος in ἥθος. Philo’s and Paul’s construction of the identity of their respective communities is not so much concerned with the ethnic versus the universal, but in a different understanding of the relation between the universal/transcendental, and the concrete/particular, an understanding that also leads to a different praxis. Tronier finds, furthermore, that Paul’s allegory in Gal 4:21–31 is closely related to Philo’s. At the same time, however, it corresponds to the attitudes of the allegorists denounced by Philo in *Migr.* 89–94, which led to their abandonment of the observance of the

ritual Torah. By introducing apocalyptic cosmology into his interpretation, Paul develops a change in view that makes him construct a new, *third* ethnic group, with a new praxis. (TS)

98104. W. M. URASSA, *Psalm 8 and its Christological Re-interpretation in the New Testament Context: an Inter-contextual Study in Biblical Hermeneutics*, Europäische Hochschulschriften Theologie 577 (Frankfurt am Main 1998), esp. 96–104.

Although Philo makes no explicit or direct commentary on Ps 8, his commentaries on Gen 1–3 do seem to bear some great influence on the Psalm's re-interpretations in the NT. Created after the image of God, man is appointed king over all the creatures under the moon (cf. esp. *Opif.* 84). From there a line can be drawn to Jewish apocalyptic speculations on the 'heavenly man' and to the Gnostic concept of the primordial man. (DZ)

98105. M.-A. VANNIER, 'Aux sources de la voie négative,' *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 72 (1998) 403–419, esp. 408–410.

In her survey of the ancient sources of negative theology in medieval writers, the author briefly discusses the contribution of Philo. He is the first to make the connection between Scripture and Platonism. Various texts are cited to illustrate God's essential unknowability. A text such as *Somn.* 1.184, however, reveals the difference between Philo's approach and that of Plato. God is not an abstract principle, but the creator, who differs fundamentally from what he creates. (DTR)

98106. S. WAN, 'Commentary as Pedagogical Guide: Scripture and Commentary in the Thoughts of Philo Judaeus,' *Journal of Humanities East/West (Taiwan)* 18 (1998) 65–98.

The article commences with reflections on the relation between scripture and education. They might seem to be natural allies, but in actual fact there is potentially a strong conflict between them. Scripture projects its authority through self-transcendence, but this can have the effect of making it remote. Education is meant to project its ideals on the community. One way of linking the two is through scriptural commentary as a pedagogical instrument to bridge the gap between scripture and educational ideals. In the remainder of the article the author pursues this subject with specific reference to Philo. He first explains how Plato and the Platonist tradition used allegory to make Homer morally and intellectually palatable. He then explains how the Torah or Law functioned in Hellenistic Judaism. It is clear that Torah-centred education was in competition with Greek liberal education. Philo accords the latter some value, but mainly because ultimately it will lead the soul to seek the higher reality of moral and spiritual values. In this process scriptural commentaries, especially in the allegorical mode, play a vital role. The remainder of the article sets out how

Philo produced different kinds of commentaries to fulfil his aim of guiding the initiate into the deeper truth of the Torah, which leads the soul to a vision of God. It might seem, Wan concludes, that Philo's strategy was a failure, but in a different Christian setting it actually became 'wildly successful' (p. 87). It may be concluded that scripture and commentary can live in a hermeneutical symbiosis. It is in fact commentary that makes scripture finally acceptable to a community. Without a commentary tradition scripture would not survive. So educators have to be interpreters of their own traditions. At the end of the article there is a summary in Chinese. (DTR)

98107. B. WANDER, *Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten: Studien zum heidnischen Umfeld von Diasporasynagogen*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 104 (Tübingen 1998).

The author first offers a terminological study of θεοσεβής and analogous terms in literary texts and inscriptions. The root εὐσεβ- in Philo can have a social component and is used in the context of conversion to Judaism (pp. 59 f.). The root θεοσεβ- designates the highest virtue (p. 69). Later on, Wander collects indirect testimonies in Jewish and pagan authors. Philo (pp. 140–143) testifies to the attractiveness of Judaism for pagans. However, the Syrian legate Petronius (*Legat.* 245) is not the best example of such sympathizers. Nor is *QE* 2.1 a clear allusion to this group (p. 52). In contrast to these, the term προσήλυτος refers to real converts. (DZ)

98108. L. WELLS, *The Greek Language of Healing from Homer to New Testament Times*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 83 (Berlin 1998), esp. 103–119.

After a study of the use of σώζω, ἰάομαι, ὑγιαίνω and θεραπεύω in pagan sources Wells prefaces to her section on the NT some pages on the terminology in LXX, Philo and Josephus. The inquiry into Philo is limited to the use of θεραπευ- in *Prob.*, *Contempl.*, *Flacc.* and *Aet.* The example of the Therapeutae shows that 'holistic health and spiritual worship are inextricably entwined'. (DZ)

98109. J. WHITTAKER, 'How to Define the Rational Soul,' in C. LÉVY (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie*, Monothéismes et Philosophie (Turnhout 1998) 229–253.

Modern editors in *Det.* 83 and *Praem.* 26 read κέκληται ('has been named') to the effect that according to Philo νοῦς καὶ λογισμός (*Det.*) or νοῦς καὶ λόγος (*Praem.*) were in use as definitions of the highest form of soul. Neither of these designations, however, belongs to the usual Middle Platonic repertoire of terms. Whittaker argues that κεκλήρωται ('has been allotted'; cf. *Conf.* 21 and *Spec.* 1.201) should be read instead. The couplets νοῦς καὶ λογισμός/λόγος nevertheless do have their own history, and this history is sketched by the author by means of a learned discussion of passages from, among others, Plutarch,

Plato, Cicero, Calcidius, Marcus Aurelius, Gregory of Nyssa and Philo himself. A recurrent theme in these passages is man's relation to the Divine. At the end of the article, Whittaker focuses on the triad νοῦς/λόγος/αἴσθησις in Philo and other authors. For an earlier version of the same article see RRS 9692. (HMK)

98110. D. WINSTON, 'Philo and the Rabbis on Sex and the Body,' *Poetics Today* 19 (1998) 41–62.

The author writes his article in reaction to recent attempts to present Philo not only as a misogynist, but as the author of later Western misogyny. The chief proponent of this view which he argues against is D. Boyarin, who compares Philo's platonizing soul-body dualism unfavourably with the rabbinic view of the body-soul relationship; see RRS 9213 and 9312a. Winston argues that both in the case of Philo and the rabbis much depends on the rhetoric of the passage as determined by the context. In fact often both share the same view which denigrates the body in comparison with the soul. Moreover Boyarin is mistaken in thinking that Philo's divinization of soul necessarily leads to a great degree of asceticism and a down-grading of the body. Philo's positive views towards physical reality can be seen in his view that marriage is more than merely procreative necessity, but can also be the occasion for genuine love. Just like the rabbis, Philo has a fundamentally positive evaluation of the sexual act. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Philo was thoroughly androcentric in his thinking, and there appear to be some traces of misogyny in his thought. No answer is given, however, to whether Philo is more or less misogynistic than the rabbis. (DTR)

1999

9901. W. AALDERS, *De Septuagint: brug tussen synagoge en kerk* [Dutch: The Septuagint: Bridge between Synagogue and Church] (Heerenveen 1999).

The author, a senior Dutch theologian (born in 1909), presents here a personal and theological reflection on the Septuagint, which he considers to be a bridge between the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church. Philo plays an important role in the book because he is regarded as the 'Jewish crown-witness to the Septuagint' (p. 26). Later in the book he devotes an entire chapter to him, entitled 'Philo Alexandrinus as theologian of the Septuagint' (pp. 78–95). Philo's great achievement is that he pointed out the comprehensibility of divine revelation. He is the chief witness to a renaissance of Jewish thought inspired by the Greek translation of the Torah. His interpretation of the creation account is important because he deduces from it the unity of creation and identification of the order in the cosmos with the divine Logos. The author emphasizes that Philo's theology also relates to the work of God in history, and contains an eschatological and messianic perspective. It is suggested that the emphasis on salvation history and eschatology is the result of the experience of confrontation that he had with the Emperor Caligula. 'His language [in *Legat.*] is no longer that of a contemplative theologian, but of the writer of a diary in a concentration camp or a prison, such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer or Jochen Klepper' (p. 90). (DTR)

9902. Manuel ALEXANDRE JR, *Rhetorical Argumentation in Philo of Alexandria*, Brown Judaic Studies 322; Studia Philonica Monographs 2 (Atlanta 1999).

English translation of the original Portuguese monograph published in 1990. See the summary of its contents in RRS 9001. The translation is prefaced by a Foreword written by Burton L. Mack. Although the English version closely resembles the original, considerable effort has been made to bring the *status quaestionis* and the bibliography up to date. This work is the most extensive examination of Philo's rhetoric and rhetorical strategies available at present. REVIEWS: T. M. Conley, *JSJ* 31 (2001) 298–302; T. H. Olbricht, *JBL* 120 (2001) 763–765; S. E. Porter, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 156–158. (DTR)

9903. K. A. ALGRA, J. BARNES, J. MANSFELD and M. SCHOFIELD (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge 1999), *passim*.

Some of Philo's treatises are regarded as an important source for Hellenistic philosophy (cf. p. 9) and the Alexandrian is referred to periodically in the course of the magisterial handbook of the philosophy for the period 300 to 100 B.C.E. REVIEWS: D. Winston, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 228–235. (DTR)

9904. G. BECHTLE, 'La problématique de l'âme désordonnée chez Plutarque et Atticus (avec une discussion en particulier des fragments 10–36 d'Atticus et quelques essais de comparaison),' in F. DASTUR and C. LÉVY (edd.), *Études de Philosophie Ancienne et de Phénomologie*, Cahiers de Philosophie de Paris XII – Val de Marne 3 (Paris 1999) 15–72, esp. 57–61.

As part of a lengthy discussion of the particular interpretation of Plato's central doctrines by the Middle Platonists Plutarch and Atticus, the author argues that there are detailed points of similarity between them and Philo. An example is Philo's view on the eternity of the world, in which Bechtle follows the interpretation of D. T. Runia. (DTR)

9905. B. BESNIER, 'Migration et *telos* d'après le *de migratione Abrahami*,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 11 (1999) 74–103.

The article was initially delivered as a contribution to the Colloquium 'Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la philosophie' (on which see 9856). It attempts to give an analysis of the allegorical interpretation of the Patriarchs' migrations or flights (concentrating mainly on the case of Abraham) as a condition for reaching virtue by their natural endowment. This theme shows how Philo accommodates Stoic and Middle Platonist definitions of the goal of human life (*telos*) to his own purpose. In the course of the inquiry the difficult problem is encountered of the Philonic conception of the relation between human individual, human generic and divine intellect(s). Some doubts are expressed about the appropriateness of Philo's use of the Stoic (and Peripatetic) concepts of $\pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ as a means to express divine life and to indicate the difference between earthly and heavenly (or noeric) intellect(s). (DTR; based on the author's abstract)

9906. O. BETZ, 'The Essenes,' in W. HORBURY, W. D. DAVIES and J. STURDY (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, vol. 3 The Early Roman Period* (Cambridge 1999) 444–470, esp. 468–470.

Philo is used extensively as a source in this clear presentation of our knowledge of the Essenes. The last three pages are devoted to the Therapeutae, who should not be regarded as a figment of Philo's imagination. (DTR)

9907. S. BEYERLE, 'Die „eherne Schlange“: Num 21. 4–9: synchron und diachron gelesen,' *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 111 (1999) 23–44.

The author first describes the structure of the narrative in its context and the history of its tradition. In the last part he analyzes its reception in Hellenistic Judaism and in the New Testament. In Wisdom 16:5–14 the episode illustrates God's salutary power for His sons, which in turn serves as a reminder of the

Law. Philo uses the motif of the snake to create a contrast with the symbol of lust; thus the brass snake represents σωφροσύνη (*Leg.* 2.79–81) or κατεργία (*Agr.* 95–98). In contrast to Wisdom Philo concentrates on the figure of Moses. 1 Cor 10 and John 3 place yet other aspects of the story in the foreground. (DZ)

9908. D. D. BINDER, *Into the Temple Courts. The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 169 (Atlanta 1999), *passim*.

In this dissertation the author studies literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources contemporaneous with the period of the Second Temple. Due to his more than two dozen references to synagogues, Philo of Alexandria is used as one of the most important sources of information about Second Temple synagogues. The book is divided in 7 main sections, dealing with the Sources, Terminology, Palestinian synagogues, Diaspora synagogues, Synagogue functionaries, Synagogue functions, and Sectarian synagogues (the Essenes, Therapeutae and the Samaritans). It is concluded that the synagogues are not to be considered as rivals to the Temple. The fact that Philo and Josephus could hold both institutions in high esteem strongly speaks against such an oppositional relationship. The synagogues should rather be viewed as an extension of the Temple; as subsidiary sacred precincts that extended spatially the sacrality of the Temple shrine and allowed Jews everywhere participation within the central cult, the shrine of the Holy One in Jerusalem. (TS)

9909. L. BOFF and J.-Y. LELOUP, *Terapeutas del Desierto: De Filón De Alejandría y Francisco de Asís a Graf Dürkheim* (Santander 1999).

Spanish translation of the book summarized above at 9862 under the authorship of J.-Y. Leloup, L. Boff and L. M. A. de Lima. (JPM)

9910. P. BORGAN, 'Two Philonic Prayers and their Contexts: an Analysis of *Who is the Heir of Divine Things* (*Her.*) 24–29 and *Against Flaccus* (*Flacc.*) 170–175,' *New Testament Studies* 45 (1999) 291–309.

Although Abraham's prayer in *Her.* 24–29 has several distinctive features, the similarities with the *Hodayot* suggest that it is an Alexandrian example of the same kind of prayer. Flaccus' prayer in *Flacc.* 170–175, and the whole treatise *Against Flaccus*, belong to the writings which present the view that those who attack God or God and His people suffer punishments. Writings of this kind are the book of Esther and parts of the books of Daniel and 2 Maccabees. A parallel is also found in Rev 18. Abraham's prayer illustrates how a cited text in Philo's *Allegorical Commentary* is interpreted by means of expository paraphrases and elaborations in which various biblical texts are woven together. In the treatise *Flacc.* the interpretation of the Laws of Moses in the practice and crisis of communal life is the main issue. Flaccus' exile and death were

indubitable proof that, in spite of the pogrom suffered by the Jews, God's help was not withheld from their nation. In Abraham's prayer, his exile and that of the people and banishment are understood paradoxically. What Abraham was lacking as an outcast, he nevertheless possessed in his Lord. (TS; based on the author's summary)

9911. R. BRAGUE, *La sagesse du monde. Histoire de l'expérience humaine de l'Univers*. Nouvelle édition révisée par l'auteur (Paris 1999), esp. 117–121.

In his discussion of the knowledge of the self as superior to that of the world, the author regards Philo as the first ancient thinker to have asserted this superiority. When reflecting on the travels of Abraham, the Alexandrian shows that there is no need for the person who is able to know himself to make a detour involving the consideration of nature. One can speak of an 'Abrahamic Socratism'. (JR)

9912. D. K. BUELL, *The Making of the Christians: Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy* (Princeton 1999), esp. 57–60 and *passim*.

The author argues that ancient assumptions about procreation played a role in how early Christians imagined and constructed their relations with each other. She compares Philo and Clement of Alexandria in terms of their attitudes toward sexual conduct and the role of the metaphors of procreation and ingestion in conjunction with the education of the soul, and shows how Philo's agricultural imagery for procreation was a source for Clement's metaphors of procreation. (KAF)

9913. F. CALABI, 'Serafini, Cherubini, Potenze in Filone Alessandrino: a proposito di Isaia 6', *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 4 (1999) 221–249.

The author does not wish to enter into the debate on the authenticity or otherwise of *De deo*, but on the basis of a provisional acceptance of its authenticity she proposes, firstly, to compare the language and the philosophical contents of the work with parallel passages in the Philonic corpus. Secondly, she wishes to see whether it is possible to find a rationale for the author's recourse to the text of Isaiah instead of limiting himself to exegesis of Genesis as he usually does. On the basis of a detailed and well-documented analysis of the texts, which focuses on the nature of the divine Powers, the author concludes that the presentation of the Powers is somewhat toned down in comparison with the views found in the Philonic corpus. In the *De Deo* they are understood as 'ways of acting and manifestations of God', and are not linked with the moral journey of the progressing soul. As for the citation of Isa 6, this would be a unique case in Philo, but could be justified in that this lemma enables him to link the doctrine of the Powers to the scriptural account. (RR)

9914. A. CARRIKER, *The Library of Eusebius* (diss. Columbia University 1999), esp. chapter 6.

See the summary of the published version of the dissertation, 20329. (DTR)

9915. J. CAZEAUX, 'Le repas de Mambré dans le «De Abrahamo» de Philon,' in M. QUESNEL, Y.-M. BLANCHARD and C. TASSIN (edd.), *Nourriture et repas dans les milieux juifs et chrétiens de l'antiquité: mélanges offerts au Professeur Charles Perrot*, *Lectio Divina* 178 (Paris 1999) 55–73.

The author presents the three readings that Philo gives of the episode of Abraham and his visitors at Mamre in *Abr.* 107–132: (a) literal exegesis (§§ 107–113); (b) the 'no man's land' of exegesis (§§ 114–118); (c) allegorical exegesis involving Noon and noon (§§ 119–132). (JR)

9916. A. T. CHEUNG, *Idol Food in Corinth. Jewish Background and Pauline Legacy*, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplementary Series* 176 (Sheffield 1999), esp. 56–64.

This study deals with Paul's understanding of idol food in 1 Corinthians, and includes a section on the background to Paul's attitude, as well as an investigation of the early Christians' understanding of Paul's attitude to idol food, ranging from the Book of Acts to Patristic authors in the third century c.e. The section on Philo (pp. 56–65) is rather brief, dealing only with a few texts. Cheung argues, however, that it is highly unlikely that Philo would approve of the eating of idol food. Surprisingly these Philonic texts play no role in the rest of this study. (TS)

9917. R. A. COHEN, 'Philo, Spinoza, Bergson: the Rise of an Ecological Age,' in J. MULLARKEY (ed.), *The New Bergson* (Manchester 1999) 18–31.

The author claims that Bergson's thought is as revolutionary as that of Philo and Spinoza. His philosophy represents the third of three turning-points that determine the history of Western thought. Cohen's interpretation is thus a revision of Wolfson's thesis that Philo and Spinoza were revolutionary thinkers who have decisively influenced the development of thought. Wolfson sees the history of thought determined by the relation between reason and revelation. In the ancient period reason and revelation were separate; in the medieval period, inaugurated by Philo, reason and revelation were in harmony; in the third period, that begins with Spinoza, reason dominates revelation. Revising Wolfson's thesis Cohen claims that (1) Bergson represents the beginning of a third epoch, the contemporary period, and that (2) it is in fact this third period, and not the medieval period, that represents the harmonisation of reason and revelation. (ACG)

9918. Y. COHEN-YASHAR, 'I am that I am' (Exodus 3, 14) as a Basis for a Philosophical Ontology according to Philo Alexandrinus, in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Division A—The Bible and its World* (Jerusalem 1999) 185–194.

The author addresses a problem, which occurred in the translation of Philo's writings into Hebrew, namely the rendition of the expression 'I am who I am'. After reviewing the different meanings of the verb 'to be' in Greek and Hebrew, he shows that, parallel to Maimonides, Philo has chosen the ontological meaning, stressing that God is essentially unknowable to man. (MRN)

9919. W. COTTER, *Miracles in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (London–New York 1999), esp. 93–95 and *passim*.

Focusing upon the first century C.E. as 'a chronological center', this source book collects miracle tales from the Greco-Roman world, especially to provide a context within which to understand miracle stories about Jesus. The book is organized into four parts: 'Gods and heroes who heal'; 'Exorcists and exorcisms'; 'Gods and heroes who control nature'; 'Magic and miracles'; to which are added two appendices entitled 'Diseases and doctors' and 'Jesus, Torah and miracles'. Philo is cited on pp. 35, 40 and 148, with reference to his description of Augustus as healer of pestilences and calmer of storms (*Legat.* 144–145); and on pp. 93–95, with reference to his view of δαίμονες (*Gig.* 12–16). (EB)

9920. H. DIJKHUIS, *Kains kinderen: over Kain en de oorsprong van het kwaad* [Dutch: Cain's Children: on Cain and the Origin of Evil] (Amsterdam 1999), esp. 21–56.

In this study on the interpretations of the story of Cain and Abel by philosophers through history, the first chapter deals with Philo's exegesis. Dijkhuis offers an overview of Philo's interpretation. Cain is generated by Eve, symbol of sense perception, and Adam, who symbolizes the mind. The name Cain means possession and he thinks that all things are his own possession, not regarding God as creator. He is placed opposite to Abel, who refers all things to God. Protagoras, who thinks that man is the measure of all things, is an offspring of Cain's madness. Because Cain regards himself as his own possession he is also a self-lover, whereas Abel is a lover of God. The characterization of Cain as self-loving Philo is inspired by Plato (*Laws* 731d–e). Cain challenges Abel for a dispute in order to master him with sophisticated tricks. He kills his brother but Philo explains that in reality Cain kills himself: he loses the virtuous life; Abel continues to live the happy life in God. Cain builds a city, that means he constructs his own world view. Philo's interpretation influenced Christian thought: both Ambrose and Augustine follow Philo's exegesis of the two brothers. (ACG)

9921. L. DÖRING, *Schabbat. Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 78 (Tübingen 1999), esp. 315–383.

The volume inquires into the norms for behaviour on the Sabbath and their praxis in Judaism from Elephantine until the 2nd century C.E. In the chapter on the Jewish Diaspora of Hellenistic-Roman times there are paragraphs on Aristobulus (pp. 306–315) and Philo (pp. 315–383). In a survey of the history of research esp. the positions of S. Belkin, E. R. Goodenough and I. Heinemann are reviewed. Unlike the latter, however, Döring does not look for sources in Philo's interpretation of Jewish feasts, but at best for traditions. After a general discussion of the passages on the Sabbath in Philo, he deals with the single prescriptions. They show that Philo knew precise halachic practices from different Jewish origins. He interprets them within the horizon of his Greek and Jewish formation. He has a universalistic conception of the Sabbath which is grounded in the creation of the world and looks forward to the acceptance of the Sabbath by all peoples in the end of times. Nevertheless, arguing against the extreme allegorists, he insists that the Sabbath should be literally observed. An appendix on the Therapeutae highlights that they honour the sabbath by breaking their fast on this day (*Contempl.* 36). REVIEWS: H. Weiss, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 200–204. (DZ)

9922. T. ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, 'Philo's *De vita contemplativa* as a Philosopher's Dream,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 30 (1999) 40–64.

What is the genre of Philo's *Contempl.*? The author proposes two possible answers, then suggests a method for choosing between them, and finally elaborates on a close reading of the whole work to bring out its comprehensive and coherent meaning. The Philonic work has long been treated as a 'moral philosophical treatise'. Engberg-Pedersen, however, opts for its genre as a 'fictional story' (πλάσμα). After presenting his arguments for this genre, he carries out a close reading of Philo's work, finding that it exhibits such a degree of literary coherence that he finds it to vindicate his proposal that the treatise is a fiction. Hence scholars should not go on asking questions about the historicity of the Therapeutae. Basically, the good scholarly questions to be asked should be about Philo and 'his' Therapeutae, not about 'the' Therapeutae as such. Hence the treatise is a 'philosopher's dream'. (TS)

9923. S. FERNÁNDEZ, *Cristo Médico, según Orígenes. La actividad médica como metáfora de la acción divina*, *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 64 (Rome 1999), esp. 43–45.

The author exhaustively examines the topics of disease and health in Origen. The study proper is preceded by an interesting survey of Greek, Hellenistic and Biblical antecedents (pp. 15–58). Philo is dealt with as a source which has had influence on Origen, either directly or through Clement. The author studies

specially the Philonic use of the terms *ἰατρὸς* and *νόσος*, although the term *θεραπευτής* could deserve greater attention. (JPM)

9924. R. B. FINAZZI, 'Note sulla versione armena del *De Deo* di Filone Alessandrino,' *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 4 (1999) 213–220.

The author demonstrates, on the basis of exact research, that the Armenian text of the *Deo* was produced in an environment that was both Greek and Christian. It must be said that the understanding of the original Philonic text is not always satisfactory, because the translator stands at too great a distance from Philo's philosophical sensibility. In spite of this, the author concludes, the Armenian version of *Deo* was of considerable significance at the time in which the exegesis was prepared. (RR)

9925. J. FREY, 'Die paulinische Antithese von »Fleisch« und »Geist« und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition,' *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 90 (1999) 45–77.

Frey first summarizes the history of research on the background of the opposition between flesh and spirit in history of religion. When the discussion of the Qumran discoveries faded out, the derivation from Hellenistic Judaism prevailed (E. Brandenburger, cf. R-R 6805). Frey however criticizes the use of Wisdom and Philo to defend this thesis. In Wisdom human mortality is contrasted not with *πνεῦμα*, but with *σοφία*. Philo's abstract use of *σάοξ* is conditioned by the Bible. It designates earthly existence, which is not in itself opposed to God. Not even in *Her.* 57 is there a dualism of classes of human beings. Neither the sinfulness of *σάοξ* nor its character as cosmic power has a real analogy in these authors. Instead Frey again points to the Qumran texts, especially the recently deciphered wisdom-instructions 4Q416–418, to show that already in wisdom-circles of Palestine in the 3rd and 2nd century B.C.E. the traditional ethical dualism had been widened with a cosmic and eschatological dimension. (DZ)

9926. P. FRICK, *Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 77 (Tübingen 1999).

This monograph, based on a McMaster doctoral dissertation under the supervision of A. Mendelson, is the first comprehensive study devoted to the theme of providence in Philo's thought. The author sets out to determine how Philo conceptualizes the idea of providence, and whether it is possible to interpret the references to the idea that are scattered throughout his works into a coherent conception. The structure of the study is primarily determined by its starting-point, Philo's famous summary of the five chief doctrines that contribute to piety and well-being in *Opif.* 170–172. There the doctrine of providence is specially tied to those of the existence and nature of God and of creation. Accordingly the first two chapters examine Divine transcendence and Divine immanence in relation

to providence. The third then moves on to providence in relation to Philo's theory of creation. The fourth and fifth chapters examine two more specific themes, namely providence and astral fatalism and theodicy and providence. A sixth and rather brief chapter takes on the subject of providence and history, looking at providence in relation both to individuals and to the Jewish people as a whole. In his conclusion the author states that Philo's conception of divine providence is central to his theology as a whole. Indeed he claims that it is no exaggeration to declare that this doctrine is the structural pillar which gives Philonic theology its coherence. REVIEWS: F. Avemarie, *Jud* 56 (2000) 47–49; P. Borgen, *ThLZ* 125 (2000) 1275–1277; M. W. F. Stone, *RelSt* 36 (2000) 124; F. W. Burnett, *RelStR* 27 (2001) 304; D. T. Runia, *JSJ* 32 (2001) 299–302; G. E. Sterling, *JQR* 91 (2001) 515–518; R. Vicent, *Sales* 63 (2001) 583–584; F. Calabi, *Adamant* 8 (2002) 349–351; M. Sheridan, *CBQ* 64 (2002) 755–756; A. Terian, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 182–185. (DTR)

9927. E. FRÜCHTEL, 'Platonisches Denken als Modell christlicher Dogmenentfaltung in den ersten Jahrhunderten,' *Perspectiven der Philosophie* 25 (1999) 117–130, esp. 118–122.

Starting from the concept of 'dogma', the author gives a sketch of the Philonic doctrine of God and His Logos: the Deus Absconditus with his unfathomableness needs a Deus Revelatus. Christian Apologists like Justin presuppose the identification of the Logos with Hermes. The origins of the Christian Trinity, however, are sought in the family-constellation of Father, Mother and Son (cf. *Ebr.* 30) and in the later development of Platonic principles in Middle Platonism. (DZ)

9928. J. DE GARAY, 'Sentidos de la diferencia en Filón de Alejandría,' in *Averroes y los averroísmos; III Congreso Nacional de Filosofía Medieval* (Zaragoza 1999) 439–458.

The author analyzes the concept of διαφορά in Philo, and distinguishes two patterns of understanding difference. The Greek philosophical pattern is based on the contradiction of opposites within the identity of the subject that supports them. Philo proposes its own pattern to understand difference, which focuses on a radical distance between the capacities of human mind and the inexhaustible action of the divine Wisdom. It is not within man's disposition to understand this sense of difference, but comes upon him. In diverse ways, we find the development of this idea in medieval and modern thought. (JPM)

9929. R. M. GARCÍA, 'La concepción de Albino y Apuleyo de los atributos del Dios trascendente, con especial referencia al término *árrêtos*,' *Revista Agustiniana* 40 (1999) 103–131.

The author studies Middle Platonism as a cultural syncretism which recognizes in Plato its supreme theologian. This Platonism conceives the world

presided over by an immaterial God as a first principle, in opposition to the immanent view of Stoic thought. In this context, the author does not agree with Wolfson and others who consider Philo to be the main source of the attribution of ἄρρητος and analogous terms to God; he considers rather that these attributions belong to a Middle Platonic school dogma, which ultimately goes back to Plato. (JPM)

9930. P. VON GEMÜNDEN, 'Die urchristliche Taufe und der Umgang mit den Affekten,' in J. ASSMANN and G. G. STROUMSA (edd.), *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions*, Studies in the History of Religions 83 (Leiden 1999) 115–136, esp. 123–126.

For Paul, the Deutero-pauline writings and the letters of Peter, baptism means a new structuring of the dominion over the passions. In antiquity, especially in Hellenistic Judaism, this control is not connected with a rite (Philo's allegorizing of circumcision is noted as an exception). The solutions offered by 4 Maccabees and Philo are characterized as 'remaining within the system'. In contrast to what is found in 4 Maccabees, in Philo the passions are not only to be cultivated by reason, but there are also statements which tend to their elimination. But this corresponds to steps in human perfection. Again in contrast to 4 Maccabees, the role of divine help is emphasized in Philo. For Paul, however, man has to change the system and become a Christian. He is less optimistic than 4 Maccabees or Philo about the possibility to dominate the passions by reason or by means of the Law. (DZ)

9931. M. GRAVER, 'Philo of Alexandria and the Origins of the Stoic Προπάθειαι,' *Phronesis* 44 (1999) 300–325.

The Stoic doctrine of the προπάθειαι or 'pre-emotions' concerns the involuntary pre-emotional and pre-rational response to sudden events. The history and conceptual significance of the doctrine are difficult to trace. Some scholars think it is a late doctrine, while others believe it is part of the early Stoic system. In the present article the author examines Philonic evidence that has so far not been taken into scholarly consideration. These texts are located mainly in the *Quaestiones in Genesisim* (esp. QG 1.55, 1.79, 2.57, 3.56, 4.15–17, 4.73). It is not to be expected that Philo's treatment of the question will necessarily conform to the usage of his Stoic sources. His evidence is nevertheless of great value when it coincides with what is found in other witnesses, e.g. in Cicero and Seneca. On the basis of Philo's evidence, it may be inferred that the concept already belonged to an earlier period of Stoicism. The study has been reprinted in the volume edited by F. Alesse, *Philo of Alexandria and Post-Aristotelian Philosophy*, Studies on Philo of Alexandria 5 (Leiden 2008) 197–221. (DTR)

9932. E. S. GRUEN, 'The Hellenistic Images of Joseph,' in F. B. TITCHENER and R. F. MOORTON (edd.), *The Eye Expanded: Life and the Arts in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Berkeley 1999) 113–146, esp. 118–122.

Brief analysis of Philo's presentation of the figure of Joseph in *Ios.* and *Somn.* in the wider context of a Hellenistic Judaism. Reasons for the divergence between the two portraits are suggested and the author concludes that 'the ambiguities of Joseph's personality and achievements made him readily malleable for Hellenistic Jews to serve a variety of purposes' (p. 122). A slightly different version of the article appeared as a chapter in Gruen's monograph published in 1998; see above 9846. (DTR)

9933. J. A. HARRILL, 'The Vice of Slave Dealers in Greco-Roman Society: the Use of a Topos in 1 Timothy 1:10,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118 (1999) 97–122, esp. 115–117.

In conjunction with exploring how 1 Tim 1:10 puts ἀνδραποδιστής ('slave trader/dealer') to use, the author shows how Philo connects Greco-Roman cultural stereotypes about slave traders with violations of the Jewish law. With reference to *Spec.* 4.14–19, Harrill argues that Philo's vituperation is not so much directed against legitimate slave dealers as against Jews who kidnap fellow Jews in violation of the Jewish law. (KAF)

9934. R. HAYWARD, 'Balaam's Prophecies as Interpreted by Philo and the Aramaic Targums of the Pentateuch,' in P. J. HARLAND and C. T. R. HAYWARD (edd.), *New Heaven and New Earth. Prophecy and the Millennium: Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston* (Leiden 1999) 19–36.

In his examination of Philo's re-writing of the Balaam oracles (Num 23:7–24:19) at *Mos.* 1.278–291, Haywood illustrates how Philo invests the prophecies with massive authority. Despite being a villain Balaam prophesied *in persona Israel*. The author documents strong similarities between Philo's exegetical work and the Targums, and sees the conclusions reached in this essay as corroborating P. Borgen's view that a future universal dominion of the Hebrews over the human race is fundamental to Philo's thinking. (KAF)

9935. W. E. HELLEMAN, 'Reading Plato for the 21st Century: Reflections Based on A. P. Bos,' *Philosophia Reformata* 64 (1999) 148–164.

This study contains critical remarks on Bos' publication *Geboeid door Plato (Under the Spell of Plato)*, in which he argues that the rationality of Plato's philosophy has deformed early Christianity (= RRS 9618). In this context Bos quotes extensively from the allegorical interpretation of Philo, whom he regards as playing a crucial transitional role in the history of Christian Platonism. Bos strongly rejects Philo's allegorical reading of Scripture. Helleman, on the contrary, has more appreciation for this method of interpretation. Other parts

of Bos' argument are also critically examined, for instance his presentation of Plato's philosophy as absolutization of the logical aspect of reality. Helleman ends with some remarks on Christian Platonism in Russia today. (ACG)

9936. A. VAN DEN HOEK, 'The 'Catechetical' School of Early Christian Alexandria and its Philonic Heritage,' in E. FERGUSON (ed.), *Forms of Devotion: Conversion, Worship, Spirituality, and Asceticism* (New York 1999) 19–47.

This is a reprint of an article first published in 1997 and summarized above (= 9734). It is now published in a collection of recent studies on Early Christianity. (DTR)

9937. P. W. VAN DER HORST, 'Was the Synagogue a Place of Sabbath Worship Before 70 CE?', in S. FINE (ed.), *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue. Cultural Interaction during the Graeco-Roman Period*, Baltimore Studies in the History of Judaism (London–New York 1999) 18–43.

In his discussion of H. McKay's view that the synagogues were not places of worship on the Sabbath before 70 C.E., Van der Horst appeals to Philo as an important witness in this matter. At various places Philo speaks about gatherings of the Jews in places of prayer on the Sabbath in order to read and study the Torah, but he does not explicitly mention worship or praise (*Mos.* 2.216, *Contempl.* 30–32, *Hypoth.* 7.12–13). Van der Horst rejects McKay's claim, arguing *inter alia* that Philo and Josephus call the places of assembly *προσευχαί* and *προσευκτήρια* (houses of prayer) and that it is improbable that in these houses no prayer occurred on the Sabbath. There is, at least, one pagan author, Agatharchides of Cnidos (c. 200–130 B.C.E.), who mentions praying of the Jews on the Sabbath. Moreover reading and teaching the Torah were regarded as a form of worship. For a Dutch version of this article see 20032. (ACG)

9938. C. HUTT, 'Qumran and the Ancient Sources,' in D. PARRY and E. ULRICH (edd.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (Leiden 1999) 274–293.

The author addresses how historians should best use Pliny, Philo, and Josephus to identify the community at Qumran, and he presents an array of scholarly opinions on various issues. He notes that neither Josephus nor Philo was an eyewitness to the community and may have relied on an earlier common source. Though the community did not apply to itself the Greek words in these sources for 'Essene', this term may have been a name designating many groups. Whether the Therapeutae were included under this rubric is questionable. It is

important to note that all authors had their own biases. Philo, for example, introduces into his account certain Hellenistic themes like preference for spirit over body and male over female. One must also use caution in assessing later sources like Eusebius and Jerome, who connect the Essenes with Christianity. Only an adherence to positivism and physicalism will anchor any subsequent claims to surety in deriving information from these sources about the Qumran community. (EB)

9939. A. JAKAB, 'Le judaïsme hellénisé d'Alexandrie depuis la fondation de la ville jusqu'à la révolte sous Trajan,' *Henoah* 21 (1999) 147–163.

The article attempts to trace the history of the Jewish community of Alexandria from its foundation until the age of Trajan. It includes archeological evidence from early Hellenistic times and describes the Hellenistic Jews as a prosperous community, whose members belonged to all classes of society. With the coming of Roman rule (30 B.C.E.) the political situation started to deteriorate, and Jews became the main targets for Greeks hostile to Roman rule. In the first century a number of incidents took place that forced the Jewish community to withdraw to one area. After the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem (70 C.E.) they had to pay a special tax, and the repression of the Jewish revolt under Trajan (115–117) appears to have led to the extermination of Judaism in Alexandria. Philo's work *Flacc.* is used to exemplify the social and legal status of first century Judaism when the situation was beginning to become grave, and his *Legat.* is utilized for its important historical information. (DTR; based on a summary supplied by A. van den Hoek)

9940. C.-B. JULIUS, *Die ausgeführten Schrifttypologien bei Paulus*, Europäische Hochschulschriften XXIII 668 (Frankfurt 1999), esp. 71–141.

After a sketch of pre-Philonic Alexandrian exegesis (pp. 41–70) the author dwells on the biblical text of Philo and its authority, as well as on Philo's hermeneutical terms, esp. the concept of *typos* in his theory of knowledge and in pedagogical contexts. These are seen against the background of the Platonic thought of model and image, which is applied in Philo's doctrine of creation, esp. of the spirit as image of God. Here Julius notes a difference between the ontological concept in *Opif.* and a more soteriological one in *Leg.* (see also pp. 159–162). Scripture has a 'typical' character, too, because there historical-human contents correspond to spiritual facts, which have a normative function. On p. 135 a difference is drawn between this kind of typology and allegory as continuous metaphor. *Abr.* 133–166 and *Ebr.* 94–125 are analyzed as examples of such an exegesis. The author there detects fixed models of interpretation, which reveal the scholarly context. This is esp. perceptible in the opposition of figures like Jacob and Esau under different aspects. Julius wants to show that a similar exegetical school is responsible for preconceived Pauline typologies which transcend their context. (DZ)

9941. A. KAMESAR, 'The Bible Comes to the West: the Text and Interpretation of the Bible in Its Greek and Latin Forms,' in J. E. BOWLEY (ed.), *Living Traditions of the Bible: Scripture in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Practice* (St. Louis 1999) 35–61, esp. 55–58.

The Bible is now seen as such an integral part of the development of Western culture that it is easy to forget that this has not always been the case. Kamesar's splendid overview of how the Bible came to the West divides into three sections. Firstly he briefly outlines the historical and political background. Secondly he gives an account of the origin of the Greek and Latin versions of the Bible. Thirdly he relates how the method of biblical interpretation developed in the West. For each section he gives a complex but most illuminating diagram indicating the main trends. Philo as the major representative of Jewish-Hellenistic biblical interpretation is frequently referred to in the final section. According to Kamesar the Antiochene tradition of interpretation in the 4th century C.E. came about as a direct reaction to the Philonic-Origenian tradition, yet there seems also to have been a connection between the classical scholarship of the Alexandrian tradition and the methods of the Antiochene school. It must be suspected, he concludes, that there are some lines of connection between Philo's 'literalist' predecessors and the Antiochene school, but these need to be further elucidated. (DTR)

9942. T. W. KANG, *Wisdom Mythology and Hellenistic 'Paideia' in Philo: a Case Study of 'De congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia'* (diss. Claremont Graduate University 1999).

The dissertation written under the supervision of K. J. Torjesen supports two theses. (1) In his allegorical interpretation of Scripture Philo drew upon Jewish wisdom mythology, a mode of thinking that employed a personification of wisdom partially derived from Egyptian myths of the goddesses Maat and Isis. (2) A major focus of Philo's allegorical interpretation was a studied attempt to relate Jewish beliefs to the practices and concepts of Hellenistic *paideia*. The treatise *Congr.* is used as an example to show how Philo's ideas related to the twin themes of wisdom and *paideia*. It is concluded that wisdom was a common discourse relating to both Jewish and Hellenistic traditions. Through the use of wisdom mythology Philo was able to interpret both traditions as well as build his own hermeneutical system. (DTR; based on DAI-A 60–02, p. 456)

9943. H. M. KEIZER, 'Aion in Philo of Alexandria: Biblical 'Time' and Philosophical 'Eternity',' in J. TARGARONA BORRÀS and A. SÀENZ-BADILLOS (edd.), *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century. Proceedings of the 6th EAJS Congress, Toledo, July 1998*, vol. 1: Biblical, Rabbinical, and Medieval Studies (Leiden 1999) 296–302.

A paper on the meaning of the term αἰών in Philo, the fuller developed version of which is chapter V of the next item. (HMK)

9944. H. M. KEIZER, *Life Time Entirety: a Study of ΑΙΩΝ in Greek Literature and Philosophy, the Septuagint and Philo* (diss. University of Amsterdam 1999).

This study is devoted to the development of the meaning and interpretation of the Greek word αἰών in the period from Homer to Philo. Although 'eternity' is the best-known meaning of αἰών, its earliest attested meaning is 'life'. Investigation of the usage and meaning of αἰών in Greek literature, from Homer up to and including the Hellenistic period (Chapter II), leads to the conclusion that αἰών means here either 'lifetime', more specifically a complete or completed life (life-lot), or 'all time' (past, future, or both). Where the role of αἰών in Greek philosophy is concerned (Chapter III), it is argued that for Plato and Aristotle, life as a whole of time is the seminal notion in their reflection on αἰών and time (χρόνος). Hellenistic (immanentist) philosophy uses αἰών to designate 'all time' in relation to the universe. The other path in the history of αἰών is the usage and meaning of the word in the Biblical context, i.e. in the Septuagint (Chapter IV). It emerges that αἰών in the Septuagint is the standing translation of 'olām. 'Olām, and hence αἰών in the Biblical sense, is time constituting the human temporal horizon. Formulated in another way, it is all time coinciding with the created world. Chapter V of the book is devoted to the biblical exegesis of Philo, the first author in whom we find the meeting of the worlds of Greek thought and the Bible documented. The chapter investigates Philo's interpretation of Biblical *aiōn* and the role he allots to philosophical αἰών (the latter especially in *Her.* 165, *Mut.* 267, and *Deus* 31–33). It is concluded that Philo in his exegesis of the biblical words *aiōn* and *aiōnios* keeps to the biblical, i.e., 'creational', meaning of the words, also when the adjective pertains to God. In Philo's conception of Platonic αἰών, the notion of 'life' again is important. For Philo, the intelligible world no less than the perceptible world is created by God. αἰών in Philo is not used for the life of God (as the doubly emended text of *Deus* 32 suggests) but in whatever meaning it is used, it describes what belongs to the created realm. Two appendices list and categorize all instances of 'olām and αἰών(ιός) in the Septuagint as well as all instances of αἰών(ιός) in Philo. REVIEWS: D. M. Hay, *SPhA* 12 (2000) 206–209; R. A. Bitter, *Mnem* 55 (2002) 237–240. (HMK)

9945. H.-J. KLAUCK, 'Accuser, Judge and Paraclete: on Conscience in Philo of Alexandria,' *Skrif en Kerk* 20 (1999) 107–118.

An abridged version in English of the essay summarized in RRS 9436. (DZ)

9946. G. H. VAN KOOTEN, 'Enoch, the 'Watchers,' Seth's Descendants and Abraham as Astronomers,' in A. BRENNER and J. W. VAN HENTEN (edd.), *Recycling Biblical Figures*, *Studies in Theology and Religion* 1 (Leiden 1999) 292–316, esp. 311–315.

The article argues that one of the modes of reinterpretation employed by Jews of the Greco-Roman period in the process of recycling figures from Moses'

Pentateuch consisted in the application of the motif of the 'first inventor' derived from Greek historiography. The final section focuses on Philo's presentation of Abraham as astronomer. Abraham's Chaldean background is acknowledged, but in contrast to Josephus, Philo is not interested in crediting the Chaldeans with the discovery of astronomy. Abraham himself is presented as a kind of Jewish Plato who proceeds from the visible to the immaterial and conceptual. He thus anticipates Plato's later reflections on the role of astronomy. (DTR)

9947. A. LAATO, 'The Idea of *kipper* in the Judaisms of Late Antiquity,' *Xristianskij Vostok: the Christian East* 1 (1999) 155–193, esp. 155–158, 184–186.

The stated aim of this long article is to determine what sorts of theological and religious themes are connected with the idea of *kipper* (atonement) in Jewish texts written and read around the time of Jesus. The Old Testament is not dealt with *per se* in this article, but the author examines the etymology of *kipper* (pp. 155–158), including reference to Philonic material. The author finds that Philo's writings provide a way of understanding the term $\theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ τῆς χάριτος in Hebr 4:16 as 'the mercy seat', an equivalent translation of 'kapporet.' Furthermore, in the section on Philo (pp. 184–186), he finds that repentance is an important element in Philo's understanding of expiation. Indeed it would seem that, according to Philo, expiation is possible only when it is accompanied by the right attitude of the heart: repentance from the one that sinned and prayers for the sinner said by the priest who performs the expiation ritual. (TS)

9948. M. LATTKE, 'The Call to Discipleship and Proselytizing,' *Harvard Theological Review* 92 (1999) 359–362.

Philo's discussion of proselytes sheds light upon two 'call to discipleship' passages in the New Testament, Mark 10:28–30 and Luke 14:26–27. Although the NT mentions proselytizing explicitly only once (Matt 23:15) and in a negative sense, these two passages clearly point to proselytizing among early Christians. Unlike other such passages, they mention the leaving of one's home and family, and the Mark passage also mentions a new home and family. Similarly, Philo's discussion of proselytes, which must reflect a well-known Hellenistic understanding, includes leaving one's home and family in order to join a 'new and godly commonwealth' (*Spec.* 1.51–52). Whereas the motive for leaving one's background in the Philonic passage is 'for the sake of virtue and religion', the implied motive in the NT passages is to follow Jesus' teaching. The twofold *Sitz im Leben* of the passages includes the call to follow the historical Jesus and the later proselytizing by Jewish and non-Jewish Christians. (DTR)

9949. O. LEAMAN, 'Philo,' in R. L. ARRINGTON (ed.), *A Companion to the Philosophers* (Malden Mass.–Oxford 1999) 688–690.

The goal of this volume is 'to present the thoughts and theories of the major figures in the dominant philosophical traditions throughout history'. Sections cover African, Chinese, European and American, Indian, Japanese, and Islamic and Jewish philosophers. Within each section, profiles are arranged alphabetically by philosopher, and the profile of Philo comes last in the book. Explaining that Philo used allegorical interpretation to understand the Bible in terms of Greek philosophy, Leaman surveys Philo's views on a number of philosophical issues: form, matter, and creation; divine providence, the existence of evil, and aspects of divine intervention in the world; ways of knowing God; and natural, divine, and human law. He notes that Philo 'is generally credited with being the originator of the notion of negative theology, according to which one has to be satisfied with knowing what God is not as opposed to what he is'. Though 'Philo is often seen as too eclectic ... to be a really interesting thinker', one finds in his thought 'some unusual and intriguing ideas'. (EB)

9950. J. R. LEVISON, *Of Two Minds: Ecstasy and Inspired Interpretation in the New Testament World*, The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins Library 2 (North Richland Hills Texas 1999).

A popularized version of the monograph summarized in 9747. REVIEWS: K. A. Fox, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 216–217. (DTR)

9951. J. MARCUS, 'A Note on Markan Optics,' *New Testament Studies* 45 (1999) 250–256.

The author draws on Philo to confirm his interpretation of *τηλαυγῶς* at Mark 8:25, namely that in Mark 8:22–26 the Gospel writer employs an extramission theory of vision whereby light beams come out from the eye and travel to the object of sight thereby producing vision. (KAF)

9952. C. MARKSCHIES, 'Origenes und die Kommentare des paulinischen Römerbriefs—einige Bemerkungen zur Rezeption von antiken Kommentar-techniken im Christentum des dritten Jahrhunderts und ihrer Vorgeschichte,' in G. W. MOST (ed.), *Commentaries—Kommentare, Aporemata* 4 (Göttingen 1999) 66–94, esp. 70–73.

Brief remarks on Philo's role as predecessor of the Patristic biblical commentators. The first real Christian commentator is Origen, but he is more a mystagogue than a philologist. (DTR).

9953. K. MARTIN-HOGAN, 'The Exegetical Background of the 'Ambiguity of Death' in the Wisdom of Solomon,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 30 (1999) 1–24.

Interpretations of Gen 1–4 in Philo probably contain older traditions well-known in Alexandria and these traditions may lie behind passages about death

in the Wisdom of Solomon, especially 1:13 and 2:23–24. These passages reflect what M. Kolarcik has termed the ‘ambiguity of death’, because Ps.Solomon wishes to emphasize that there are different kinds of death—that of the body, to which righteous and ungodly alike are subject, and that of the soul, to which only the ungodly are subject because of their own choice to behave immorally. Themes found in Philo that are echoed in Wisdom include the distinction between death of the body and that of the soul, the notion that spiritual death ‘entered the world’ as a punishment when Adam disobeyed God’s commandment, the idea that Cain experienced his punishment when he killed Abel, and the idea that Abel, though physically dead, remains alive to God. (EB)

9954. S. M. McDONOUGH, *YHWH at Patmos: Rev. 1:4 in its Hellenistic and Early Jewish Setting*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.107 (Tübingen 1999), esp. 79–84 and 162–169.

The title of the study refers to its main subject, a thorough historical analysis of the background of the description of God in Rev 1:4 as ‘the One who is and who was and who is to come’. Two sections survey the evidence that Philo can bring to the discussion. In the first (pp. 79–84) the author first emphasizes that for Philo God is essentially nameless, as is clear from a number of texts which are given a brief analysis. Next it has to be asked whether Philo knew about the *tetragrammaton* in Hebrew. It is concluded that he certainly knew about it and may have seen it as underlying the LXX terms ὁ ὢν and κύριος. He may well not have known how it was pronounced, but was aware of restrictions in its use. In the second section (pp. 162–169) McDonough discusses the evidence on Philo’s use of the Septuagintal self-description of God as ὁ ὢν and of its philosophical equivalent τὸ ὄν. The pre-existing convergence of these two descriptions was a vital source of inspiration for Philo’s project of reconciling religion and philosophy. In contrast to Plato and the Platonists Philo does not use τὸ ὄν for the forms. Only God is ‘real being’, which means that he is radically different firstly to all idols, and secondly to all other beings. It is also possible that Philo derived God’s necessary being from the epithet ὁ ὢν, a step that is also found in Greek philosophy. The discussion concludes with a brief examination of the question whether Philo takes the epithets to indicate God’s everlasting or timeless being. The most important text here is *Deus* 32, which in fact contains a *Dreizeitenformel* parallel to Rev 1:4. (DTR)

9955. M. MEISER, ‘Gattung, Adressaten und Intention von Philos ‘In Flaccum’,’ *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 30 (1999) 418–430.

The fictive speeches found in *Flacc.* do not allow the work to be classified as pragmatic historiography, but fit the mimetic genre. The upshot of the treatise as formulated in § 191 that God does not desert his people does not yet prove a destination to Jews (against Gerschmann), whereas the lack of a specific Jewish terminology, the pagan colour in which Judaism is presented, and the emphasis on the loyalty to the emperor indicate that *Flacc.* is written for pagan readers (the

position held by Goodenough). Its apologetic intention is demonstrated by an analysis of the five speeches placed in the mouth of Flaccus; they show the topics of the speech which an enemy of God would be expected to deliver after having been chastised. Since the word ἄρετή does not occur, the treatise can hardly have had the title Περὶ ἀρετῶν. (DZ)

9956. J. MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI, 'Esperances et illusions du judaïsme alexandrin,' in *Alexandrie: une mégapole cosmopolite. Actes du 9^{ème} colloque de Villa Kérylos, Cahiers de la Villa «Kérylos» 9* (Paris 1999) 129–144.

The πολιτεία that Philo claims for his Jewish compatriots does not relate to civic rights accorded to the Jewish πολίτευμα at Alexandria, an appropriation that would be unacceptable to the Roman authorities. This πολιτεία is none other than Judaism itself, both as practised by the individual and as a way of life which conforms to the precepts of the Torah. (JR)

9957. A. MENDELSON, 'The Dialectics of Reward and Punishment in Philo of Alexandria,' in P. SCHINE GOLD and B. C. SAX (edd.), *Cultural Visions: Essays in the History of Culture*, Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft 41 (Amsterdam 1999) 239–257.

Lightly revised reprint of the article earlier published in the Festschrift for David Winston (= 9756). (KAF)

9958. C. MONDÉSERT, 'Philo of Alexandria,' in W. HORBURY, W. D. DAVIES and J. STURDY (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, vol. 3 The Early Roman Period* (Cambridge 1999) 877–900.

This chapter in a major reference work gives the reader the opportunity to read the interpretation of Philo's life and work by the great Jesuit scholar Claude Mondésert (1906–1990). After a brief account of Philo's life, a survey is given of his writings. On the allegorical treatises we read that 'these astonishing writings have not yet been studied closely enough'. If they are studied carefully they yield 'a coherent pattern of thought which bears witness to the religious maturity of Alexandrian Judaism at that time' (p. 886). A short section on the transmission and influence of Philo's works follows. The final three sections are on Hellenism and Judaism in the works of Philo, Philo as spiritual master, and Philo and politics. As a complement to the chapter an extensive bibliography is presented on pp. 1183–1189. (DTR)

9959. S. MOURAVIEV, *Heraclitea II.A.1. Héraclite d'Éphèse, La tradition antique et médiévale, Témoignages et citations, Textes et traduction, d'Épicharme à Philon d'Alexandrie* (Sankt Augustin 1999), esp. 237–253.

As part of a comprehensive critical edition of all the testimonies to and fragments of the life and works of Heraclitus of Ephesus (at least five volumes are planned) the excerpts found in Philo are presented as T(estimonia) 326 to 343. Mouraviev prints the text, a French translation and extensive apparatuses. It is noteworthy that for the five texts preserved primarily in Armenian the Armenian text is also given. (DTR)

9960. H. NAJMAN, 'The Law of Nature and the Authority of Mosaic Law,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 11 (1999) 55–73.

The author discusses the question how Philo authorizes the law of Moses. Although Moses' law was given to a particular people, it has universal significance. Philo claims that Moses' law is the most excellent copy of the law of nature. Moses' written law is not a denigration of the unwritten laws of nature, as Hellenistic thinkers might think. The story of the translation of the Pentateuch shows that the Septuagint has divine authorization. Because Moses' law begins with an account of creation and the lives of the patriarchs, not with particular laws, it has universal significance. For Philo, the law of nature is the law of reason, and therefore human beings, endowed with reason, are able to live according to the law of nature. The aim of Philo's allegorical interpretations is to show the authority of Mosaic law: particular laws, explained by allegorical interpretation, have universal significance. (ACG)

9961. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'Jewish Identity and Jewish Mothers: Who was a Jew according to Philo?,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 11 (1999) 31–54.

In contrast to studies focusing upon the 'Jewishness' of Philo's thought, Niehoff argues that Philo's Jewish identity should be understood within the social context of Roman Egypt. Claiming that descent from a Jewish mother was important to Philo, Niehoff uses this issue to illustrate Roman influence on Philo's position. Roman practice emphasized the civil status of the mother—in addition to that of the father—in determining the status of the offspring. Likewise, Philo considered a child to be Jewish only if both the mother and the father were Jews. To support her argument, Niehoff discusses Philo's interpretation of Hagar, Bilhah, Zilpah, and Tamar, contending that he viewed them as non-Israelite women who became Jews. Accordingly, except for Hagar, whose menial status kept her son from being considered legitimate, Philo conferred legitimate status on the offspring of the other women, who had achieved proper status, both religious and social. (EB)

9962. C. PANACCIO, *Le discours interieur de Platon à Guillaume d'Ockham* (Paris 1999), esp. 63–71.

Among the oldest direct references to the twin concepts of the λόγος προφορικὸς and the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος are a considerable number in the Philonic corpus. Often used with reference to the metaphysical and religious doctrine of

the Word of God, they appear in two kinds of context: the debate on whether animals have reason (cf. *Anim.*) and passages of allegorical exegesis referring to the interior and exterior. (JR)

9963. T. M. POPA, 'Functions of the *Typos* Imagery in Philo of Alexandria,' *Ancient Philosophy* 19 Special Issue: Representations of Philosophy in the Classical World (1999) 1–12.

Although scholars such as Dillon and Runia have briefly touched on the importance of the imagery of the mark or seal (τύπος) in Philo, they have not discussed it in any detail. Popa argues that the idea is derived from Middle Platonism and ultimately goes back to Platonic texts in the *Timaeus* and the *Theaetetus*, but that Philo uses it much more often and also significantly expands its scope. On the basis of a discussion of central texts, found mainly in *Opif.*, he concludes that Philo's use of τύπος imagery accomplishes three main functions. (1) Just like the less sophisticated εἰκῶν imagery, it underscores significant similarities between a model and its replica. (2) It neatly marks the ontological difference between a paradigm and the corresponding physical objects. (3) This difference is not regarded as a simple sequence in the hierarchy of the cosmos, but rather as a dynamic relationship in which the pattern informs and governs its material image. Indeed, it may be claimed that this τύπος imagery epitomizes what is distinctive in Philo's metaphysics. (DTR)

9964. R. RADICE, 'Modelli di creazione in Filone di Alessandria,' in C. MORESCHINI and G. MENESTRINA (edd.), *Lingua e teologie nel cristianesimo greco: atti del convegno tenuto a Trento l'11–12 dicembre 1997* (Brescia 1999) 35–58.

In this article Radice makes clear the unity of method and content in *Opif.* and *Leg.*, locating both treatises in the development of the allegory of the creation in seven days. In his judgment the creation which is described in *Leg.* should be located on the seventh day and should rightly be regarded as the creation of values. The fact that God proceeds to this creative activity precisely on the day of his 'rest', is meant to indicate to human beings the superiority of contemplative activity in comparison with practical activity in accordance with a typical Greek attitude. From the theological point of view this unified interpretation of the two treatises would confirm the mixed nature of the divine action, which is *ex nihilo* for the conceptual aspect and demiurgic for the material aspect. In a previous work (RRS 8948) Radice has defined this creative activity as 'foundational', i.e. creation of the foundations of reality. (RR)

9965. G. J. REYDAMS-SCHILS, *Demiurge and Providence: Stoic and Platonist Readings of Plato's Timaeus*, *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout 1999).

This monograph is the definitive version of the author's 1994 Berkeley dissertation (= RRS 9457). It describes the process whereby Stoic philosophy absorbed cosmological and psychological doctrines from Plato's *Timaeus*, which then subsequently influenced the way that the Platonic dialogue was read in later antiquity. The main authors discussed after Plato and the early Stoics are Posidonius, Philo, Antiochus of Ascalon and Cicero, Various Middle Platonists and Calcidius. Chapter three is entitled Philo Judaeus: immanence and transcendence (pp. 135–165). It revisits themes already discussed in RRS 9548 and 9566. The first part of the chapter discusses background issues, such as the relation between Stoicism and Platonism in Philo's thought. The second part examines the doctrines of God and the principles of the universe with an emphasis on important texts in *Opif*. The third part focuses on psychological themes and especially the relation between cosmology and the structure of the human soul. REVIEWS: A. P. Bos, *SPhA* 12 (2000) 226–229; P.-H. Poirier, *LThPh* 57 (2001) 359–360. (DTR)

9966. D. T. RUNIA, 'A Brief History of the Term *Kosmos Noétos* from Plato to Plotinus,' in J. J. CLEARY (ed.), *Traditions of Platonism: Essays in Honour of John Dillon* (Aldershot etc. 1999) 151–172.

The article studies the origins and development of the term and concept of the κόσμος νοητός in the period from Plato to Plotinus. It chiefly concentrates on the appearance and use of the specific term, but this involves studying the concept as well. Although the expression does not appear as such in Plato, its origins can clearly be traced to various Platonic passages in the *Republic*, *Timaeus* and *Philebus*. The earliest extant author to use it explicitly is Philo, in whose works we find at least 30 instances. These references go in a number of different directions, being either related to cosmological or epistemological concerns. Thereafter the author discusses usage by other 1st century sources such as Timaeus Locrus and the doxographer Aëtius, 2nd century Middle Platonist authors, Alexandrian Church Fathers such as Clement and Origen, and finally Plotinus. At the end of the article five 'modest conclusions' are drawn. (1) The use of the term is less frequent than one might think. (2) Historically the strongest connections are linked to the concept of the model in the *Timaeus*. (3) There is also a tradition connecting the term with epistemological doctrines. (4) In pre-Plotinian texts little overt reflection is found on the contents and organization of the intelligible cosmos, but this complacency is broken in Plotinus. (5) The evidence available makes it risky to speak of a 'brief history' at all. (DTR)

9967. D. T. RUNIA, *Filone di Alessandria nella prima letteratura cristiana: Uno studio d'insieme, a cura di R. Radice*, Pubblicazioni del Centro di Ricerca di Metafisica: Collana Platonismo e filosofia patristica. Studi e testi 14 (Milan 1999).

Italian translation, prepared by Roberto Radice, of the monograph first published in 1993 (= RRS 9373). The Italian version differs in two important respects

from the earlier English work. Firstly, Runia's text is prefaced by a valuable Introduction by the translator (pp. v–xxix), in which he summarizes its contents under 13 headings and adds comments of his own. Secondly, the original work had an Appendix listing all the direct references to Philo in Patristic literature up to 1000 C.E. Radice has expanded this Appendix by giving the original text and an Italian translation of all these texts (pp. 365–445), making it a much more valuable instrument of research. REVIEWS: A. Pellegrini, *VH* 12 (2001) 441–443; J. P. Martín, *Adamant* 9 (2003) 188–192; A. M. Mazzanti, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 161–162. (DTR)

9968. D. T. RUNIA, 'Philo of Alexandria and the Greek *Hairesis*-model,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 53 (1999) 117–147.

The article undertakes to examine the extent to which Philo made use of the Greek notion of αἵρεσις in his presentation of Mosaic thought. First the term itself with its wide range of meanings is examined. It is then argued that a distinct model of the *haireisis* was prevalent in the Greek intellectual world from the 2nd century B.C.E. to the 4th century C.E. This model is articulated in terms of seven features, the most important of which is that a *haireisis* is not a philosophical school in the sense of an institution, but rather represents a school of thought, to which one owed loyalty, but from which one could move away. Although Philo in fact seldom uses the term, the model outlined is in fact very relevant to the way he presents the 'school of Moses', even if he certainly does not take over all its aspects. This can be shown when the seven features of the Greek model outlined earlier are compared with the Philonic material. Why then does Philo actually use the term so little? It is suggested that this has to do with the apologetic focus of his portrayal of Judaism, which emphasizes unity in contrast to the dissension that marks Greek thought. (DTR)

9969. D. T. RUNIA, 'Philonica in the *Catena in Genesim*,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 11 (1999) 113–120.

This review article examines what the monumental edition in four volumes of the *Catena on Genesis* produced by Françoise Petit (cf. RRS 9264, 9363, 9563) can tell us about the presence of Philo in that work. It emerges that he is directly or indirectly cited in 73 lemmata. These excerpts are analysed in a database on the basis of six criteria: the number in Petit's edition, the Genesis text being commented on, the source of the excerpt in Philo's QG, the length of the excerpt, the title used to describe Philo (whether name only, or Philo the Hebrew or Philo the Bishop) and the method of exegesis used. This evidence allows some conclusions to be drawn about the usage of Philonic material in the compendium. (DTR)

9970. D. T. RUNIA, 'The Pre-Christian Origins of Early Christian Spirituality,' in P. ALLEN, W. MAYER and L. CROSS (edd.), *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church Volume 2* (Brisbane 1999) 11–24.

When the early Christians developed their distinctive spirituality they claimed that they were singing a 'new song'. But this does not mean that they did not have antecedent traditions which exerted a strong influence on them. The article first examines the spirituality of the Greek philosophical tradition. It then turns to the tradition of Hellenistic Judaism and explores the characteristic spirituality found there. In the third and final part it investigates how these two traditions actually make their presence felt in early Christian spirituality, using the 'New song of the Logos' in the opening chapter of Clement's *Protrepticus* as an example. In the section devoted to Philo's spirituality (pp. 16–20) particular attention is paid to the views of Marguerite Harl and David Winston. (DTR)

9971. K.-G. SANDELIN, 'Filon från Alexandria och den grekisk-romerska kulturen' [Swedish: Philo of Alexandria and the Graeco-Roman Culture], *Finsk Tidskrift* 6 (1999) 367–380.

In this printed version of a lecture delivered to a Finnish Classics society, Sandelin briefly presents Philo's attitudes to the Graeco-Roman culture of his time as exhibited by his attitudes to four aspects of this culture: the aesthetic, the religious, the intellectual and the political. Philo describes several aspects of the aesthetic in positive terms, but his own attitudes are more ambiguous; concerning religion, the author finds that Philo's use of mystery terms demonstrate more that he was well versed in the culture of his time than a reflection of his own religious praxis. Furthermore, Philo is a person of considerable intellectual status and learning, and demonstrates great respect for philosophers such as Plato: he has a dualistic anthropology, he uses allegory in his expositions of Scripture, and he is influenced by Stoic traditions. Philo's political views are demonstrated by his attitudes to the Roman prefect Flaccus, he criticizes Caligula, but praises Augustus for his reign of order. Hence Philo is presented here as one who tries to integrate while trying to keep a critical distance from his contemporary Graeco-Roman culture. (TS)

9972. P. SCHÄFER, *Guideofobia. L'antisemitismo nel mondo antico*, translated by E. TAGLIOFERRO and M. LUPI (Rome 1999).

Italian translation of the monograph originally published in 1997 (= 9769). (DTR)

9973. B. SCHALLER, '4000 Essener–6000 Pharisäer. Zum Hintergrund und Wert antiker Zahlenangaben,' in B. KOLLMANN, W. REINBOLD and A. STEUDEL (edd.), *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum. Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 97 (Berlin–New York 1999) 172–182.

Both Philo *Prob.* 75 and Josephus *Ant.* 18.20 give the number of the Essenes following a common source; the same source or Nicholas of Damascus is

responsible for the number of the Pharisees in *Ant.* 17.42. The numbers of 4000 or 6000 are current generalizations in Josephus and in biblical, Jewish and Hellenistic-Roman literature. They should not be taken at face value. (DZ)

9974. M. SCHWABE, 'Philo, *De opificio mundi* § 15. Edited and Translated from the Hebrew with an Introductory Note by Adam Kamesar,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 11 (1999) 104–112.

Moshe Schwabe (1889–1956) taught classical languages for many years at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, after moving to Palestine from Germany in 1925. During his early years there he did research on Hellenistic-Jewish literature and produced an annotated Hebrew translation of Philo's *Opif.* which was published in Jerusalem in 1931 (= G-G 498). The present article was published in 1925 and focuses on a textual and interpretative problem at *Opif.* 15. Schwabe proposes that the adjective ἐξαίρετον be emended to ἀόρατον with reference to Gen 1:2. As the translator of the article, Adam Kamesar, rightly notes, even if this bold emendation is not accepted, the article makes a fine contribution to the elucidation of the difficulties of the passage, including some excellent philological observations, and so deserves to be rescued from the total oblivion which threatens to overwhelm it. (DTR)

9975. G. SELLIN, 'Eine vorchristliche Christologie. Der Beitrag des alexandrinischen Juden Philon zur Theologie im Neuen Testament,' *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 4 (1999) 12–21.

Popularizing the results of his earlier research (cf. esp. RRS 9279, 9681, and above 9772) the author gives an introduction to Philo and his work, showing his relevance for the theology of the New Testament. It is this universalistic, philosophical line of Jewish theology which is at the roots of Hellenistic Christianity. Sellin explains Philo's allegorical method, his view of the Logos, with whom the pious can identify, and his position between Greek philosophy and Jewish piety. He notes three points which cannot be deduced from Greek philosophy: (1) immortality of the soul by God's inspiration, (2) a holistic anthropology, (3) the negative theology, which is based on OT motifs. Finally, Sellin sketches Philo's influence on NT Christology (through Philo it becomes understandable that a man is the cosmic Logos), the Pauline 'mystic' of Christ and other NT subjects. (DZ)

9976. G. SELLIN, 'Hagar und Sara. Religionsgeschichtliche Hintergründe der Schriftallegorese Gal 4,21–31,' in U. MELL and U. B. MÜLLER (edd.), *Das Urchristentum in seiner literarischen Geschichte. Festschrift für Jürgen Becker zum 65. Geburtstag*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 100 (Berlin–New York 1999) 59–84, esp. 74–84.

The author first delineates the (cyclic) structure of the Pauline text. For the sequence of quotations of the Torah and secondary texts from outside the Pentateuch he recalls similar procedures in Philo. He then elucidates the terminology for the exegetical method applied here and draws some parallels to Philo. Philo also has an interpretation of *παύζειν* (Gen 21:9f.) *in malam partem*, presupposed in Gal 4:29. The localization of Mount Sinai in Arabia (v. 25a) is confirmed by Philo, *Mos.* 1.47. For the equation of Hagar with this mountain an explanation via the Philonic etymology of Hagar and the etymology found in Exod 2:22 LXX is suggested. Especially Philo's allegorical exegesis of Hagar and Sarah and their sons provides an analogy to Gal 4:21–31. He, too, illustrates with the story two types of men, not simply identical with Israel and the pagan peoples. Like Paul, Philo stresses the supernatural birth of Isaac, which is contrasted with the bastard origin of Ishmael. Both dwell on the free state of Sarah. Thus, Philo at least indirectly attests the difference between a spiritual and a natural relation to God. (DZ)

9977. F. SIEGERT and J. DE ROULET, *Pseudo-Philon. Prédications synagogales*, Sources Chrétiennes 435 (Paris 1999).

The Jewish homilies contained in this volume have been transmitted under the name of Philo, but are certainly not authentically his and also cannot be attributed to another Ps. Philo, the author of the *Biblical Antiquities*. The author of these works is probably a contemporary of Philo, earlier than the Jew referred to by Celsus. Alexandria is the most likely *Sitz im Leben* of these writings. Frequent reference is made to Philo's genuine writings in the Introduction and the notes to the text. (JR)

9978. G. E. STERLING, 'Recherché or Representative? What is the Relationship between Philo's Treatises and Greek-speaking Judaism?' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 11 (1999) 1–30.

In this article the author examines two questions: (1) were Philo's writings read by Jewish and pagan authors in antiquity? (2) are there thematic parallels between Philo and other Jewish works? To answer these questions the author compares Philo with Jewish works written in Greek outside Alexandria and with a few pagan authors. The following works and authors, arranged geographically, are involved in the research: Cleodemus Malchas, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 2 *Enoch*, 3 *Baruch*, Egyptian *Sibylline Oracles*, Eupolemus, *Lives of the Prophets*, *Sibylline Oracle 4*, Justus of Tiberias, 4 *Maccabees*, Hellenistic Synagogue Prayers, Numenius of Apamea, Celsus, Heliodorus *Aethiopica*, Plutarch, Caecilius of Calcate, Ps. Longinus *On the Sublime*, Josephus, and Plotinus. The author observes some overlaps between Philo and 2 *Enoch*, *The Testament of Joseph* and Hellenistic Synagogue prayers in themes such as cosmology, ethics and anthropology. Cleomedes, Eupolemus, and Justus represent Jewish apologetic traditions, which Philo also clearly knows. Three pagan authors from Syria may have known some of Philo's treatises: the philosopher

Numenius of Apameia, the opponent of Christianity Celsus, and Heliodorus, who in his *Aethiopica* quotes Philo verbatim. From the authors working in Rome, Ps.Longinus is indebted to Philo, Josephus has read Philo's *Opif.*, and Plotinus also knows, directly or indirectly, Philo's writings. The author's general conclusion is that 'there is evidence to suggest that some of Philo's treatises began circulating in Egypt, Syria, and Rome within Jewish and pagan circles during the first and second centuries C.E.' (p. 29). (ACG)

9979. G. E. STERLING, 'The School of Sacred Laws': the Social Setting of Philo's Treatises, *Vigiliae Christianae* 53 (1999) 148–164.

Using philosophical schools as a model, Sterling argues that Philo probably taught students either in his home or in a privately owned structure. School settings depend upon a tradition of learning, and that Philo worked within such a tradition seems probable, based upon his explicit references to other exegetes, the likelihood that he relied upon earlier sources, and the similarity of themes and discussions in related Jewish and Christian literature. Philo himself uses vocabulary referring to synagogues as schools and to various ideas or groups—especially the Therapeutae and Essenes—as reflecting or constituting schools of thought. Also, in *Anim.* 6, Lysimachus, Philo's great-nephew, addresses Philo as if Philo were his teacher within a formal school setting. Also relevant is that Philo's commentaries may belong to a school tradition, as suggested by such features as their focus upon a specific text, discussion of the text on different levels, and incorporation of several points of view. Philo must have had a library comprising his own works and those of others, which was probably preserved by one or more of his disciples. (EB)

9980. H. SZESNAT, 'Philo and Female Homoeroticism: Philo's Use of γύνανδρος and Recent Work on *Tribades*,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 30 (1999) 140–147.

The article investigates Philo's use of the rare term γύνανδρος in the context of recent scholarship on ancient male writers' concerns about female homoeroticism in the early Principate. In contrast to other classical Greek sources, which seem to use the word as a synonym of ἀνδρόγυνος, Philo appears to use γύνανδρος to refer to women who usurp the sexual role preserved for men. Philo, like Paul and Ps.Phocylides, confirms that the increasing male concern about female homoeroticism in early Judaism occurs not only as late as rabbinic literature, but clearly has its roots as far back as the first century C.E. (DTR; based on author's abstract)

9981. S. TORALLAS TOVAR, 'Sobre la clasificación de los sueños de Filón de Alejandría y sus implicaciones posteriores,' *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica: estudios griegos e indoeuropeos* 9 (1999) 191–212.

In his treatise on dreams Philo uses a Stoic three-fold dream classification as a framework. The aim of the article is to examine how this classification should be located in relation to similar classifications in antiquity, such as is found in Artemidorus, Macrobius and Calcidius. (DTR; based on author's abstract)

9982. J. ULRICH, *Euseb und die Juden: Studien zur Rolle der Juden in der Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea*, Patristische Texte und Studien 149 (Berlin 1999), esp. 88–100.

In a lengthy excursus the author of this habilitation thesis (Erlangen 1997) gives a detailed survey of the portrayal of Philo in the works of Eusebius. Besides his relevance for Jewish historiography, the writings of the Alexandrian author are cited at length in his *Praeparatio evangelica* and *Historia ecclesiastica*. Philo is significant especially for his exegetical contribution and because of his methodological approaches. Eusebius naturally underlines the Platonic doctrine of the Logos, which he widely adopts. For the Christian reader the selection of the citations suggest a Christian understanding of the doctrine about the 'second cause'. Finally, the ascetical living community of the Therapeutae is declared to be a proto-Christian community. Nevertheless, it is important to note that for Eusebius Philo always remains the highly esteemed 'Hebrew' and 'Jew' and is not converted into a Christian himself. (GS)

9985. G. M. VIAN, 'L'escatologia nel giudaismo ellenistico,' *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 16 (1999) 21–34.

After briefly presenting the conceptions of the after-life in early Judaism, the author proceeds to show the features of eschatology in the different texts of Hellenistic Judaism. Among the latter particular attention is given to the second and fourth books of Maccabees, the book of Wisdom, other non-biblical books, and finally Philo, who breaks with the dominant stream of Jewish eschatology. (DTR; based on author's abstract)

9986. M. WOLTER, '„Zeremonialgesetz“ vs. „Sittengesetz“. Eine Spurensuche,' in S. BEYERLE, G. MAYER and H. STRAUSS (edd.), *Recht und Ethos im Alten Testament: Gestalt und Wirkung. Festschrift für Horst Seebass zum 65. Geburtstag* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1999) 339–356, esp. 350–353.

The differentiation between ceremonial and moral law can not be derived from Philo's division of the Old Testament Law nor from Josephus, but belongs to the context of anti-Jewish Christian apologetics, beginning with Justin. (DZ)

2000

20001. R. A. ARGALL, 'A Hellenistic-Jewish Source on the Essenes in Philo, *Every Good Man is Free* 75–91, and Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.18–22,' in R. A. ARGALL, B. A. BOW and R. A. WERLINE (edd.), *For a Later Generation: the Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (Harrisburg Pa. 2000) 13–24.

Argall pursues the suggestion of Morton Smith that a common Hellenistic Jewish source about the Essenes underlies *Prob.* 75–91 and *Ant.* 18.18–22 rather than that Josephus drew upon Philo. He also posits that this source and Pliny may both make use of a core of older material found in the work of Marcus Agrippa. Although R. Bergmeier had proposed an outline of such a source based upon additional passages from Philo and Josephus, Argall suggests that the focus should be limited to the two passages mentioned in the title of his article. This allows him to argue that the Hellenistic source encompassed the additional topic of sacrifice, which Philo and Josephus each mention and address in their own ways. Argall provides a list of *topoi* covered in the hypothetical common source, including the older material used also by Pliny. He notes that Philo and Josephus discuss these *topoi* in the same order; that their common source had inserted a moralizing commentary, e.g., about the injustice of slavery; and that this list of topics is shorter than Bergmeier's because Argall includes only those topics mentioned in both *Prob.* and *Ant.* (EB)

20002. G.-H. BAUDRY, *Le péché dit original*, *Théologie historique* 113 (Paris 2000), esp. 115–135.

This work, which undertakes to reexamine the problem of original sin with reference to the history of ideas, represents a complete and very well documented study. It contains a chapter devoted to Philonic views on the subject, a first version of which appeared earlier in 1993 (see RRS 9308, p. 183). Philo's views depend on the manner in which he understands the revealed doctrine of the creation of the world and of humankind. In first presenting these themes, the author highlights the dualistic emphasis of Philo's anthropology. This dualism, even though it is mitigated by a monotheistic faith in creation, nevertheless does remain a dualism, situating the origin of evil in the sensible, corporeal and terrestrial world. A pessimistic view of humankind is the result. Human beings are born marked by a 'congenital stain'. They are driven to wickedness by a dominant evil tendency within their make-up. (JR)

20003. P. J. BEKKEN, 'Abraham og Ånden. Paulus' anvendelse av Genesis 15:6 i Galaterbrevet 3:6 belyst ut fra jødisk materiale' [Norwegian: Abraham and the Spirit. Paul's application of Genesis 15:6 in Gala-

tians 3:6 in the Light of Jewish material], *Tidsskrift for Teologi og Kirke* 71 (2000) 265–276.

The author discusses the usage of Gen 15:3 within the literary context of Gal 3:5–6 against the background of Jewish material. In particular he points to the lack of parallels in the Hebrew Scriptures with regard to Abraham receiving the spirit. However, authors like Paul did not only draw upon the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures, but on traditions of exegesis of these Scriptures. Hence the author further argues that Paul probably had access to traditions that associated Abraham and the spirit. He briefly discusses Philo's *Virt.* 212–219, Ps. Philo *De Sampson* 25 and Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael *Beshallah* 7.134–140, arguing that these provide interesting parallels to the emphasis on the spirit in Gal 3:5–6. (TS)

20004. P. J. BEKKEN, 'Misjon og eskatologi: Noen observasjoner til Paulus' misjonsteologi på bakgrunn av eskatologiske forventninger i tidlig jødedom' [Norwegian: Mission and Eschatology. Some observations on Paul's Theology of Mission against the Background of Eschatological Expectations within Early Judaism], *Norsk Tidsskrift for Misjon* 54 (2000) 85–104.

This study seeks to locate some aspects of Paul's mission and theology within the framework of expectations related to Israel and the nations in Early Judaism. In this endeavour Philo of Alexandria plays a major role in the Jewish texts the author draws upon. Central topics in his presentation are: the universal Reign of the Messiah; the eschatological role of the Law; the blessings of Israel as shared with the Gentiles in the end-time; the conversion of the Gentiles; and the restoration of Israel. On this basis the author suggests it is possible to see Paul's view on the relationship between Israel and the nations as a redefinition of Jewish hopes, and Paul as Israel's eschatological apostle. (TS)

20005. R. M. BERCHMAN, 'Philo and Philosophy,' in A. J. AVERY-PECK and J. NEUSNER (edd.), *Judaism in Late Antiquity: vol. 4 Where We Stand: Issues and Debates in Ancient Judaism*, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1.53.3 (Leiden 2000) 49–70.

Berchman deals with the issue of Philo and philosophy. Many modern scholars—for example Nikiprowtzky, Winston, Runia, Radice—consider Philo to be not a philosopher but an exegete. Berchman opposes this view, arguing that philosophy can be found in Philo's connection of allegory and rhetoric. Furthermore, it is Philo's aim to connect Jewish and Greek wisdom. Berchman sums up Philo's philosophy in three words: (1) atomism, (2) fundamentalism, (3) criticism. (1) Philo employs philosophical ideas, but never wrote a philosophical commentary. (2) His borrowings of philosophical ideas are stripped of their technical philosophical value. (3) His criticism does not consist in evaluating ideas, but he considers their meaning only within the exegetical context. (ACG)

20006. G. BOLOGNESI, *Studi e ricerche sulle antiche traduzioni armene di testi greci* (Alessandria 2000).

The ancient Armenian translations of Greek texts not only have much to offer for students of inter-linguistic relations, but, as a result of their accuracy, also allow textual critics to improve existing Greek texts. In the present collection of articles by the distinguished Italian Armenologist, two studies are reprinted which focus on Philo's writings: 'Note al testo armeno del 'De providentia' di Filone' and 'Frammenti greci di testi filonei e pseudoepicurei in comparazione con le antiche traduzioni armene.' For summaries see RR 6901 and above 1830. (RR)

20007. P. BORGÉN, 'Philo's *Against Flaccus* as Interpreted History,' in K.-J. ILLMAN, T. AHLBÄCK, S.-O. BACK and R. NURMELA (edd.), *A Bouquet of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of Karl-Gustav Sandelin*, Religionsvetenskapliga Skrifter 48 (Åbo 2000) 41–57.

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the interpretive activity in Philo's work *Against Flaccus*. The present study reviews the studies of M.A. Kraus, M. Meiser and R. Alston, focusing on how they may contribute to a holistic perspective on this work and on the relationship between Philo's interpretations and historical events. In the final part the author elaborates on his own view of Jewish laws and customs in community conflict as interpreted by Philo, and at the end offers some observations on comparative material, briefly focusing on 2 Maccabees, Rev 18 and Acts 12:1–24. According to Borgén points of similarity between *Flacc.* and other writings of Philo support the view that Philo applied Pentateuchal principles, as understood and formulated by him, to his interpretation of historical events. (TS)

20008. A. P. BOS, 'De wijsgerige theologie van Philo van Alexandrië als wegbereidster van gnostische theologieën' [Dutch: The Philosophical Theology of Philo of Alexandria as Trailblazer for Gnostic Theologies], *Kerk en Theologie* 51 (2000) 52–63.

In *Opif.* 7–9 Philo rejects the view, attributed to the Chaldeans, that the universe itself is divine. Bos calls this view 'cosmic theology'. Philo, by way of contrast, does not regard God as part of the cosmos but as a transcendent, meta-cosmic principle. Important in Philo's theology is the difference between God himself on the one hand and God's Logos and his powers on the other. God himself is the creator of the universe but he uses his powers as an instrument to create and to rule his creation. In *Abr.* Philo narrates that Abraham is aroused from the Chaldean mentality and discovers the existence of a transcendent God. The image of the awakening is borrowed from Aristotle. Bos argues that Philo is not a true Platonist, but rather a Platonist in the image of Aristotle. Philo's theology is inspired by the Aristotelian treatise *De Mundo* (which Bos regards as authentic). Finally, it is argued that Philo's meta-cosmic theology is a source of inspiration for Gnostic ideas. (ACG)

20009. A. P. BOS, 'Philo van Alexandrië: Joodse spiritualiteit in Griekse geest' [Dutch: Philo of Alexandria: Jewish Spirituality in a Greek Spirit], in G. GROENEWOUD (ed.), *Tussen de regels van de filosofie: spiritualiteit bij grote filosofen* (Zoetermeer 2000) 14–32.

In his treatment of Philo's philosophical spirituality, Bos discusses three texts: *Opif.* 7–9, *Abr.* 60–70 and *Congr.* 1, 6–11, 79. In *Opif.* Philo, rejecting the cosmic theology of the Chaldeans, opts for a meta-cosmic theology: God is not part of the universe, but is transcendent. In *Abr.* Philo narrates that Abraham awakes from the Chaldean state of mind and gains the insight that there exists a transcendent God. In the last text Philo interprets the allegory of Hagar and Sarah in terms of preparatory general education and virtue. Explaining this interpretation, Bos affirms that Philo brings a Greek philosophical message and fails to do justice to the biblical text. Finally, some remarks are presented on Philo's dualistic anthropology, based on Gen 2:7. (ACG)

20010. S. BRESLAUER, 'Philosophy in Judaism: Two Stances,' in J. NEUSNER and A. J. AVERY-PECK (edd.), *The Blackwell Companion to Judaism* (Oxford 2000) 162–180.

With regard to the relationship between Judaism and philosophy, one stance views the two as identical, while another sees philosophy as external to Judaism. This article surveys the ancient, medieval, and modern periods and focuses on a representative of each stance within the different periods. Issues common to all periods include 'an interpretation of scripture, a defense of the unity of reality, and a justification for Jewish practice' (p. 178). In the ancient period, Philo represents the stance that philosophy is external to Judaism and Josephus represents the position that Judaism in itself is philosophical. Believing that Judaism carries a universal message, Philo uses allegorical interpretation to expound upon the philosophical ideas embedded in the Bible. Influenced by Plato, he envisions an 'emanational system,' in which the Logos is a link between the corporeal and intellectual realms. To grasp the philosophical teachings of Jewish laws, Philo believes it is essential to observe these laws. (EB)

20011. F. CALABI, 'Galeno e Mosè,' *Rivista di storia della filosofia* 4 (2000) 535–546.

The article takes its starting-point from the passage in Galen (*De usu partium* 11.14, 3.905–906 Kühn) in which he criticizes Moses and Epicurus with regard to their views on providence. Whereas Epicurus denies that there is a providential order in nature, Moses does admit its existence, but also retains the possibility that God can intervene at any moment to modify that order by acting in a manner that is arbitrary and lacking regularity. The author seeks to determine what Galen is referring to when he speaks about Moses: does he have a particular author in mind, e.g. Philo, when he recalls the Bible here, or does he cite an

opinion which was widely held about Jewish thought? Referring to the interpretation put forward by R. Radice, she notes that certain aspects of Galen's statement could make one think of Philo, e.g. the principle of the divine word, the absoluteness of God, divine omnipotence, the simultaneous nature of creation. If, however, in the Galenic passage certain aspects appear to be reducible to Philo, others seem to recall the biblical text of Genesis more directly. Calabi's hypothesis is that Galen, when speaking about Moses, does not distinguish precisely between the views of Jews and Christians, but on the contrary tends to assimilate them. Invoking other authors, in particular Celsus and Irenaeus, she puts forward the view that Galen's reference is composite, consisting of Genesis, Philo and Christian authors, all seen in a unitarian manner as presenting 'the view of Moses'. (RR)

20012. B. CENTRONE, 'Platonism and Pythagoreanism in the Early Empire,' in C. J. ROWE and M. SCHOFIELD (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought* (Cambridge 2000) 559–584, esp. 561–567.

As a historiographical category Middle Platonism is somewhat problematic. The authors of most interest during this period in the area of political thought are Philo and Plutarch. Both had active involvement in politics but their theoretical reflections are of limited importance for their thought. This is because the programmatic and utopian aspects of Plato's political legacy could not be influential in the differing political circumstances of their time. A brief account of Philo and his political ideas follows. The paradigms of kingship for him are the biblical figures of Joseph and Moses. The principal themes of Philo's teachings on politics, rule and kingship, are rooted in Greek traditions, but for realization of his ideal he looks to Judaism, inspired by what he read in its scriptures. (DTR)

20013. N. L. COLLINS, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 82 (Leiden 2000), esp. 144–156, 165–172.

In this study it is argued that the reliability of the *Letter of Aristeas* regarding the history of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch has since the 17th century been discredited for no good reason. The author establishes the date of the translation as 281 B.C.E., deducing this date from the evidence found in the Fathers of the Church who preserved eleven relevant dates. Analysis of the accounts of the translation in Philo (*Mos.* 2.25–44) and Josephus (notably *Ant.* 12.107–109) leads to the conclusion that both 'are based on Aristeas, and that changes made by each author to Aristeas are a reflection of their opinion on the divinity of the text' (p. 169). Philo, in his overriding desire to convince his reader of the sanctity of the text, minimizes the role of the Greeks and in so doing completely distorts the account of the translation (p. 156). We can probably learn next to nothing from Philo and Josephus about the factual history of the translation (p. 169), but the accounts of both authors 'suggest that they are part

of a persistent debate within Hellenistic Judaism concerning the question of the sanctity of the Pentateuch in Greek, of which Philo provides the earliest proof' (p. 171). See also the review article by A. Passoni dell'Acqua, 20272. (HMK)

20014. N. L. COLLINS, 'Who Wanted a Translation of the Pentateuch into Greek?' in G. J. BROOKE (ed.), *Jewish Ways of Reading the Bible* (Oxford 2000) 20–57.

Collins defends the basic premise of the *Letter of Aristeas* that the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was initiated by Demetrius of Phalerum, librarian to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, for acquisition in the royal library. While acknowledging that not all aspects of the Letter are true, she selects details of the Letter which, she claims, challenge the current scholarly consensus—held for only two hundred years—that the Jews themselves initiated this translation because they no longer knew Hebrew. Although Aristeas relied upon an earlier source, which contained hints of Jewish opposition to the translation, by his time the translation was viewed as divinely inspired, and he adapted the earlier source to conform to the later view. Philo 'continued the fight to prove the divine origins of the translation' (p. 39), consistent with his purpose to spread knowledge of Judaism among the Greeks, and he omitted any account of Jewish opposition to the translation. Josephus, who did not believe in the divine inspiration of the translation, follows the account of Aristeas in large part. Later Jewish sources expressed very negative attitudes toward the Greek translation, presumably because it was used against them. (EB)

20015. D. DAWSON, 'Plato's Soul and the Body of the Text in Philo and Origen,' in J. WHITMAN (ed.), *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 101 (Leiden 2000) 89–107.

Beginning with a bibliographic overview, this essay explores how the allegorical readers Philo and Origen used the metaphor of body and soul in relation to text and meaning. Because both writers were so strongly influenced by Plato, it is ironic that Plato himself rejected 'as philosophically pointless' the practice of reading poetic narratives allegorically (p. 96). Dawson adduces three Philonic examples that show how Philo highlights 'the positive and productive interaction of mind and body' (p. 98). One example (*QG* 4.117) emphasizes the epistemological importance of sense-perception and likewise of the narrative aspect, or body, of the text. Another example (*Migr.* 89–93) presents the text as 'recorded law,' whose meaning is discerned through physical performance. The third example (*Contempl.* 78) underscores that one arrives at the inner meaning, or soul, of Scripture only through its outward, literal text, or body. Origen, who opposed excessive literalism, posited three levels of meaning of the text, using the metaphor of body, soul, and spirit. As one progresses in understanding, 'the body becomes more and more spiritualized, but it is never simply left behind' (p. 105). (EB)

20016. G. DELLING, *Studien zum Frühjudentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1971–1987*, edited by C. BREYTENBACH and K. W. NIEBUHR (Göttingen 2000).

This is another collection (the first one appeared in 1970) of previously published essays by the well known specialist who died in 1986. The studies giving an overall view of Hellenistic Judaism and concerning Philo are already registered in R-R 7214, 7411, 8420 and RRS 8728 f. The rest deals with Ps. Philo LAB (cf. R-R 7105), *Joseph and Aseneth*, Josephus and the Alexander novel. The three contributions collected under 'Varia' might be relevant for Philo research as well: 'Biblich-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten' (392–422, though relying mainly on *CPJ* and *CIJ*), 'Die Bezeichnung „Söhne Gottes“ in der jüdischen Literatur der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit' (pp. 423–434, summarized in R-R 7712), and finally a survey on the influence of Jewish thought on the Greek Christian Fathers of the Church (pp. 435–460). On p. 438 the monographs on Philo in the series *Texte und Untersuchungen* are enumerated, on p. 442 Clement of Alexandria's use of Philo is mentioned, on p. 450 his etymologies of Jewish names. (DZ)

20017. R. ERVINE, 'Antecedents and Parallels to Some Questions and Answers on Genesis in Vanaken Vardapet's *Book of Questions*,' *Muséon* 13 (2000) 417–428.

In the *Book of Questions*, the 13th century Armenian writer Vanakan Vardapet gives citations from several church fathers, among whom are Efreim, Gregory of Nazianzen and Epiphanius of Cyprus. He also offers four citations from Philo, of which three are derived from *QG* (1.27, 1.86, 4.56). (ACG)

20018. S. ETIENNE, 'Réflexion sur l'apostasie de Tibérius Julius Alexander,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 12 (2000) 122–142.

The exceptional *cursus honorum* of Philo's nephew, the Roman knight Tiberius Julius Alexander, has been the object of numerous investigations and studies. Yet historians have often failed to reflect on the validity of the accusation of apostasy with which he has been carelessly charged. Further, the majority of modern authors rely on the *testimonium* of Flavius Josephus (*AJ* 20.100) without expressing the least suspicion in respect to it. The personality of Tiberius Julius Alexander and the events of his prestigious career agree with this statement of the case since, at first glance, everything leads us to think that he had to renounce his ancestral religion. The innovative aspect of the analysis given in this article lies in the fact that an investigation of all the elements of the life of Tiberius Julius Alexander—not just the statement of Josephus—leads us to think that he had to apostatize or stand in opposition to the Jewish law. It is, however, imperative to determine which elements actually merit consideration and to justify their selection. The essay does this by setting out the concept of apostasy, the evidence of the two Philonic treatises that involve Tiberius Julius Alexander, the

evidence of his career, and finally how all of this evidence affects our understanding of Josephus' statement. (KAF; based the author's English abstract)

20019. L. H. FELDMAN, *Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary: vol. 3, Judean Antiquities Books 1–4* (Leiden 2000).

This is the first volume to be published in the Brill Josephus project under the general editorship of Steve Mason. It consists of a fairly literal translation together with copious annotations linked to the translation. Philo is used extensively for comparative purposes; see the index at pp. 522–524, with a special concentration on *Mos.* and *Spec.* REVIEWS: D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 219–223. (DTR)

20020. N. FÖRSTER, 'The Exegesis of Homer and Numerology as a Method for Interpreting the Bible in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria,' in G. J. BROOKE (ed.), *Jewish Ways of Reading the Bible* (Oxford 2000) 91–98.

Greek interpreters preserved the central role of Homer in their educational system by interpreting his work allegorically to bring his message up to date. Some interpreters also applied different kinds of Pythagorean arithmological exegesis. We have evidence of this kind of exegesis from various writings, including those of Nicomachus of Gerasa and Anatolius, Ps.Plutarch and excerpts in Stobaeus, and various Scholia on Homer. Philo occasionally quotes lines of the *Iliad* in providing arithmological interpretations of the Bible as well as in other contexts. Although the *results* of his exegesis differ from those of other known arithmological interpreters of Homer, his exegetical *method* is similar to theirs, and it is likely that he was familiar with the traditions upon which they drew. (EB)

20021. E. FRÜCHTEL, 'Das Problem des „peccatum originale“: Zu Herkunft und Wirkung der augustinischen Erbsündenlehre,' *Perspectiven der Philosophie* 26 (2000) 357–383, esp. 363–366.

The radical opposition in Augustine between love of god and self-love is traced back to Plato and Aristotle. In his exegesis of Exod 12:23 (*QE* 1.23 ff.) Philo underlines the necessity of divine grace to overcome the destructive forces in the soul. In *Sacr.* 55–59 he shows how victory over self-love is possible. This vice is inherited and corresponds in that respect to original sin. More directly, however, Augustine depends on Plotinus. To declare the abuse of human freedom the cause of all evil does not resolve the problem of theodicy. (DZ)

20022. J. DE GARAY, 'Bárbaros e infieles en el pensamiento de Filón de Alejandría,' in J. CHOZA and W. WOLNY (edd.), *Infieles y bárbaros en las tres culturas* (Sevilla 2000) 41–67.

The author shows that according to Philo virtue and faithfulness are not bound to an ethnic conception, but opened to the universal call of Jewish law. All humankind can belong to the nation of priests by virtue, and only by virtue. In this sense, the concepts of foreigner and unfaithful correspond. (JPM)

20023. J. DE GARAY, 'La extrañeza de la inteligencia en Filón de Alejandría,' *Anuario Filosófico* 33 (2000) 203–216.

The author emphasizes the novelty of Philo's thought with respect to the theory of knowledge. Going beyond the idea of an appropriation on the part of a subject that reaches the identity with the object, Philo proposes a concept of knowledge which extends towards hearing and hoping, i.e. not far from the modern proposal of Levinas. Understanding occurs in intellectual attention, but also in the presence of otherness. It reaches a higher degree in the recognition of the difference between being and not being. (JPM)

20024. A. C. GELJON, *Moses as Example: the Philonic Background of Gregory of Nyssa's De vita Moysis* (diss. University of Leiden 2000).

This Leiden dissertation under the supervision of D. T. Runia was subsequently published in the *Studia Philonica Monograph Series*; see below **20243.** (ACG)

20025. L. GRABBE, 'Eschatology in Philo and Josephus,' in A. J. AVERY-PECK and J. NEUSNER (edd.), *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Vol. 4 Death, Life-after-Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity*, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1.53.4 (Leiden 2000) 163–185.

Philo's eschatology is discussed under three headings: (1) individual eschatology; (2) national eschatology; (3) cosmic eschatology. (1) Important in Philo is the distinction between the rational and the irrational soul. Whereas the rational soul is immortal, the irrational soul, from which the passions originate, is mortal and corruptible. At death the rational soul can escape from the body. (2) According to P. Borgen, Philo claims a national role for the Jews: they have the cosmic divine law which will establish universal peace. Grabbe is not convinced by Borgen's interpretation. (3) Philo's description of a paradise in *Praem.* 87–126 has been interpreted as referring to the age to come. Grabbe rejects this view, arguing that Philo is basically following the text of Lev 26 and Deut 28. (ACG)

20026. L. GRABBE, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (London–New York 2000), esp. 89–92 and *passim*.

This book is meant to be 'a synthetic history of religion among the Jewish people' during the Second Temple period (p. 1) and a companion to the author's

earlier history book, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*. Part I is a chronological survey of major sources during several different periods: Persian, early Greek, later Greek (including Hasmonean), Roman, and Yavneh. Here Philo is discussed briefly (pp. 89–92) in the chapter ‘Under Roman rule (63 B.C.E.–70 C.E.)’. Part II covers special topics, including temple and priesthood; Scripture, prayer, and synagogue; sects and movements; concepts of the Deity and spirit world; prophecy, apocalypticism, the esoteric arts, and predicting the future; eschatologies and ideas of salvation; messiahs; and Jews and Judaism in the Hellenistic world. Philo is mentioned here in scattered places, but especially in the chapters on concepts of the Deity and on messiahs. Part III by way of conclusion provides a holistic perspective on Judaism in the Second Temple period. Bibliographies are provided throughout. REVIEWS: L. H. Feldman, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 206–216. (EB)

20027. V. GUIGNARD, ‘Le rapport d’Israël à l’histoire dans l’œuvre de Philon d’Alexandrie,’ in L.-J. BORD and D. HAMIDOVIC (edd.), *De Jérusalem à Rome: Mélanges offerts à Jean Riaud par ses amis, ses collègues et ses anciens élèves* (Paris 2000) 175–194.

Philo’s view of history is fundamentally sceptical. This is the reason that messianism represents no more than a marginal part of his preoccupations. Apart from Divine providence, to which he attaches great importance, he looks above all to Rome when evoking the security and earthly prosperity of the Jews. The particular concern that Providence shows towards Israel testifies to her election. A sign of this election is the observance of the Law. This gives Israel a separate state in history, because she is not subject to its ‘cyclical revolutions’. (JR)

20028. C. T. R. HAYWARD, ‘Philo, the Septuagint of Genesis 32:24–32 and the Name ‘Israel’: Fighting the Passions, Inspiration and the Vision of God,’ *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51 (2000) 209–226.

Philo’s understanding of the etymology of Israel as ‘[the] one who sees God’ occurs frequently throughout his work and appears to derive from an earlier tradition. Because the Septuagint is central to Philo’s exegesis, Hayward explores how Philo uses the LXX in relation to his discussions of Israel. Although Philo does not use the LXX to explain the link between Israel and ‘seeing God,’ he draws from the LXX several other themes, which he develops in connection with Israel. These themes include the portrayal of Jacob as a wrestler and athlete; Israel’s name change as ‘a blessing uttered in prophecy’ (p. 215); and, especially, Israel’s role as a ‘boundary figure’ between heavenly and earthly things—a role similar to that played by the Logos, the high priest, and the first man. In addition, Philo uses the episode at Bethel (Gen 28) rather than the one at Penuel (Gen 32) to illustrate the experience of Israel as ‘the one who sees God.’ Underlying these various complex associations may be an understanding of divine inspiration, which Philo himself may have experienced. In turn, this experience may account

for his 'evident fascination' with Israel and the vision of God and 'his expressed wish that others, too, might share such a privilege' (p. 226). (EB)

20029. R. HENKE, *Basilius und Ambrosius über das Sechstagerwerk. Eine vergleichende Studie*, Chrêsis 7 (Basel 2000), esp. 22 ff., 106–109.

In his *Homilies on Genesis* 1 Ambrose relies less on Philo than in other works. But in his interpretation of heaven and earth in Gen 1:1 as the two principles of form and matter he follows—deviating from Basil—the exegetical line of Philo and other Jewish sages. (DZ)

20030. A. VAN DEN HOEK, 'Endowed with Reasons or Glued to the Senses: Philo's Thoughts on Adam and Eve,' in G. P. LUTTIKHUIZEN (ed.), *The Creation of Man and Woman: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 3 (Leiden 2000) 63–75.

Philo's interpretations of the creation of man and woman, which rely upon two contradictory biblical accounts, are themselves complex and inconsistent. In one set of interpretations—classified here as 'anthropos undivided and divided'—Philo first posits creation of an exemplary human being, modeled upon the noetic world. Changing the biblical wording of Gen 1:27, he declares this ἀνθρώπος to be neither male nor female, i.e. undivided. In another interpretation, based upon Gen 2:7, Philo sees the creation of a human who could be male or female. Elsewhere, Philo modifies these interpretations in ways that produce various inconsistencies. In another set of interpretations of passages which come after the creation story—classified here as 'anthropos divided: man and woman'—Philo moves away from the cosmological to the anthropological realm. Here he leaves his 'generic, non-gendered concept of anthropos' and uses allegorical interpretation to present man as mind and woman as sense-perception becoming entangled with sensual pleasure. Both in his allegorical interpretations and elsewhere in his works, Philo speaks of women in very negative terms, preferring male-oriented language to discuss the general human condition. (EB)

20031. A. VAN DEN HOEK, 'Philo and Origen: a Descriptive Catalogue of their Relationship,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 12 (2000) 44–121.

This catalogue of no less than 414 items is meant to serve as the foundation for a comprehensive assessment of the extent and nature of Philo's role in Origen's work. Every passage in Origen where there is a potential parallel in Philo is briefly analyzed and the degree of dependency on Philo assessed on a sliding scale of A (certain dependency) to D (no evidence of relationship). The rigorous criteria for making the evaluations, which err on the side of caution, are explained. At the end of the catalogue a reverse catalogue appears, in which Philo's works come first and Origen is in the second position. (KAF)

20032. P. W. VAN DER HORST, *Mozes, Plato, Jezus: Studies over de wereld van het vroege christendom* [Dutch: Moses, Plato, Jesus: Studies on the World of Early Christianity] (Amsterdam 2000).

The 1993 study on Philo's conception of divine anger is reprinted here (cf. RRS 9344), and also Dutch translations of the study on silent prayer (cf. RRS 9432) and on the Synagogue before 70 C.E. (cf. 9937). Note too the study on the ἐκπύρωσις which briefly discusses Philo on p. 168. (DTR)

20033. M. HOSE, 'Philo und die hellenistische Philosophie,' in W. STEGMAIER (ed.), *Die philosophische Aktualität der jüdischen Tradition*, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 1499 (Frankfurt am Main 2000) 113–132.

The subject of divine providence is selected to illustrate Philo's attitude to Hellenistic philosophy. First, the author gives an outline of the Stoic and the Peripatetic views on this subject. He then analyzes Philo's treatise on providence (*Prov.*). It is not a shaky early writing, but consciously plays one philosophical school off against the other to establish a Jewish view which takes a middle position between determinism and complete freedom. (DZ)

20034. K.-J. ILLMAN, T. AHLBÄCK, S.-O. BACK and R. NURMELA, *A Bouquet of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of Karl-Gustav Sandelin*, Religionsvetenskapliga Skrifter 48 (Åbo 2000).

Festschrift in honour of the 60th birthday of the Finnish scholar who was a member of the International Philo Bibliography Project from 1994 to 2000 (see RRS 1208–1210, above 1211–1213). A list of his publications is given at the end of the volume. Only one article, by P. Borgen (see above 20007), specifically deals with Philo. REVIEWS: D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 238–239. (DTR)

20035. J. C. INOSTROZA, *Moisés e Israel en el desierto. El midrás paulino de 1 Cor 10, 1–13* (Salamanca 2000), esp. 101–111.

Studies the history of Israel according to 1 Cor 10:1–13 with its double character: on the one hand God unfolds a plan to rescue his people and lead them through the desert; on the other a part of the people does not accept the divine gift and loses God's favour. In order to illustrate this complex idea, the author extensively analyzes its antecedents in Palestinian, Qumranic and Hellenistic Judaism. In this context he incorporates a careful study on Philo, focusing especially on *Mos.* 1.163–211. (JPM)

20036. H. JUNGBAUER, *Ehre Vater und Mutter*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.146 (Tübingen 2000), esp. 217–230.

This dissertation describes the story of the fourth (or fifth) commandment not only in the Old and the New Testament, but also in the Jewish tradition in between. Philo in *Decal.* 106–120 reflects on its close connection with the duties towards God and subsumes under it several social laws (*Decal.* 165–167, *Spec.* 2.224–248, 261 f.). In a second step, Philo's interpretation of laws outside of the Decalogue establishing the rights of the parents is considered. Other passages also illustrate the relation between parents and children. There, the care about the aging parents is marginal; more important is the education of the subsequent generation and the safeguard of the patriarchal order. (DZ)

20037. H. M. KEIZER, 'Eternity' Revisited: a Study of the Greek Word 'Aión,' *Philosophia Reformata* 65 (2000) 53–71.

A succinct presentation of the author's 1999 dissertation (= 9944) on the meaning of the term αἰών in Greek literature, philosophy, the Septuagint and Philo. It is concluded that in whatever way Philo uses the words αἰών or αἰώνιος himself (whether or not philosophically) or in whatever way he interprets them (when he finds them in the LXX), the words refer to what belongs to the created realm. In the philosophical discourse of *Deus* 32, αἰών is not the life of God, as a double text emendation of this passage has led scholars to believe. And Philo's exegesis of Exod 3:14–15 in *Mut.* 12 as well as his comment on Prov 8:22–23 in *Ebr.* 31 show that for Philo 'the αἰών' in the LXX correlates with the created world. (HMK)

20038. J. KÜGLER, 'Spuren ägyptisch-hellenistischer Königstheologie bei Philo von Alexandria,' in M. GÖRG and G. HÖLBL (edd.), *Ägypten und der östliche Mittelmeerraum im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 2000) 231–249.

Kügler here elaborates a chapter from his 1997 *Habilitationsschrift* (see above 9742). Philo in *Mos.* 1.149–162 ascribes to Moses qualities well known from the Hellenistic royal ideology; the messianic-eschatological concept does not matter for him. In allegorizing the conception of the mothers of the patriarchs (*Cher.* 40–50) Philo is far away from the Egyptian-Hellenistic idea of a royal Son of God. He sees in God, however, the true king who delegates his authority to the Logos, his firstborn Son. People who follow his direction and do what is good can be called Sons of God too (*Spec.* 1.318). In *Conf.* 145–149 this sonship is mediated by the Logos as Image of God; he thus fulfills a similar soteriological function as the Egyptian king. In Philo's image of the shadow (for the Logos cf. *Leg.* 3.96) Egyptian traces are also detected. On the whole, political ideas are spiritualized; this however has political consequences in the critique of contemporaneous aspirations of emperors. (DZ)

20039. A. KUSHNIR-STEIN, 'On the Visit of Agrippa I to Alexandria in A.D. 38,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51 (2000) 227–242.

Although scholars generally recognize that Philo's so-called historical treatises, *Flacc.* and *Legat.*, contain many questionable details, one detail that has generally gone unquestioned is Philo's claim that Gaius advised Agrippa to sail to Syria via Alexandria. Evidence suggests, however, that the northern Mediterranean route was shorter, safer, and more comfortable than the way via Alexandria. It is also fairly well accepted that Agrippa left Italy in July and arrived in Alexandria in early August, but this dating does not accord with other events linked to the death of Gaius' sister Drusilla in June. It is more likely that Agrippa set sail for Alexandria earlier in the spring, specifically to help the Jews in their struggle with the Greeks. His purpose would have been to obtain and convey to Gaius a letter from the Jews expressing their congratulations upon his accession and presenting their complaints against the Greeks. Because the Greeks feared the potential success of Agrippa's intervention, his visit sparked their violence against the Jews. Philo's explanation that Agrippa stopped in Alexandria because of Gaius' advice was therefore provided to cover up the real intent behind his visit. (EB)

20040. A. LEBEDEV, 'Xenophanes on the Immutability of God: a Neglected Fragment in Philo Alexandrinus,' *Hermes* 128 (2000) 385–391.

It is argued that the anonymous couplet of archaic verses at Philo *Aet.* 41 should be attributed to Xenophanes. The main argument is the parallel at Ps. Aristotle *De Melisso Xenophane Gorgia* 3, 977a14 (= Xenophanes 21A28 DK). The comparison with children on the sea shore, drawn from Homer, may also go back to Xenophanes. Both arguments can be well fitted into an understanding of Xenophanes' theological argument. (DTR)

20041. S. LÉGASSE, 'Exégèse juive et exégèse patristique: le cycle biblique de Gédéon,' *Studi Biblici Franciscani Liber Annus* 50 (2000) 181–262, esp. 183, 211–212.

Of Gideon's campaigns (Judg 7:16–8:21) Philo only mentions the destruction of the tower of Phanuel (Judg 8:8–9, 17, cf. *Conf.* 128–132). Like the Tower of Babel, this tower represents impious pride which thinks it can conquer the skies in order to subdue intellectual values and subject them to the world of sensible reality, when in fact the celestial realities are inaccessible. To this pretension Gideon is opposed, whose name signifies 'piracy'. He embodies the just person, 'this pirate who maltreats injustice and incessantly seeks its death'. (JR)

20042. L. I. LEVINE, *The Ancient Synagogue: the First Thousand Years* (New Haven 2000).

This is a magisterial volume about the synagogue from its origins through to the early seventh century C.E., presented from diachronic and synchronic perspectives. Part I covers the historical development of the synagogue and includes chapters on origins, pre-70 C.E. Judaea, pre-70 C.E. Diaspora, role and functions

of the Second Temple synagogue, later Roman Palestine, Byzantine Palestine, and Diaspora synagogues. Part II, entitled 'The Synagogue as an Institution,' covers such topics as the building, the communal dimension, leadership, the Patriarch (Nasi), sages, women, priests, liturgy, and iconography. Although Philo's works pertain to just a brief segment of these 'first thousand years,' his writings are deemed to be 'of inestimable importance as a source for Alexandrian Jewry generally and for the synagogue in particular' (p. 82). His works are used here especially to shed light upon sermons, Torah reading, and women in the synagogue. REVIEWS: T. Rajak, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 100–108 (review article). (EB)

20043. C. LÉVY, 'Philon aus Alexandria: Glaube und Philosophie,' in M. ERLER and A. GRAESER (edd.), *Philosophen des Altertums: vom Hellenismus bis zur Spätantike. Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt 2000) 70–90.

In this second volume of introductory portraits of ancient philosophers, Philo ranges between Cicero and Seneca. First his works are presented (*Mos.* is missing). Then his attitude to philosophy is discussed. A conflict between his identity as Jew and as philosopher cannot be denied. Through use of the allegorical method he wants to avoid contradictions in the revealed text. As for his philosophical presuppositions, Lévy points out that in Philo's time the borders between the Platonists and the Stoics had become fluid, and that Eudorus established the absolute transcendence of the highest principle. In Philo, however, this transcendence is that of a person, not of an abstraction. His doctrine of the Logos allows Philo to maintain a God who is immanent to the world without being inconsistent regarding his transcendence. Finally, Philo's ambivalent attitude towards scepticism and education as well as towards the passions is outlined. (DZ)

20044. C. LÉVY, 'Philon d'Alexandrie et l'épicurisme,' in M. ERLER (ed.), *Epikureismus in der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit*, *Philosophie der Antike* 11 (Stuttgart 2000) 122–136.

Although the presence of Epicureanism in Philo's *œuvre* is much less marked than that of Stoicism and Platonism, it is still a subject well worth studying. The author first discusses those passages, in *Prov.* 1.50, *Post.* 2 and *Aet.* 8 where Epicurus and his school are mentioned explicitly. The main questions on which Philo strongly disagrees are those of divine providence in creation and the role of pleasure. Lévy is inclined to downplay the specific role of Epicurean themes in Alexander's arguments in Book 2 of *Prov.* It would be a mistake to think that Philo's references to the Epicurean doctrine of pleasure were wholly superficial. An analysis is given of the defence of pleasure that Philo places in the mouth of the serpent in *Opif.* 160–161. This text puts forward the Epicurean theory of οἰκείωσις. The only other text with the same argument is found at Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Eth.* 96, but Philo's presentation is in actual fact more precise and informative. Other texts in the Allegorical

Commentary confirm that his knowledge of Epicurean doctrines is far from superficial. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that there is not a single point of confluence between Epicurus and Philo. Surprisingly his use of the theme of 'cataleptic sensation' is closer to the Garden than the Porch. He is prepared to accord an important role to sensation, but obviously cannot regard it as the supreme good. The author ends his article with three conclusions. (1) Philo's philosophical knowledge is much more precise and deep than often thought. (2) In relation to Hellenistic philosophies Philo has a double mission, to refute them when they deny transcendence, but at the same time use their views to bolster it. (3) Epicureanism paradoxically tries to unite all systems of dispersion in one thought. It thus symbolizes the very antithesis of monotheism. But it is possible that Philo did appreciate its quest for unity. (DTR)

20045. Y. LIEBES [יהודה ליבס], תורת היצירה של ספר יצירה, [*Ars Poetica in Sefer Yetsirah*] (Jerusalem–Tel Aviv 2000), esp. 76–79, 91–92, 105–110, 206–207, 226–228, 230–231.

Liebess' monograph presents a radical reevaluation of the status of the Jewish mystical treatise known as *Sefer Yetsirah* or, somewhat inadequately, the 'Book of Formation.' This small but enigmatic composition, which played a seminal role in the development of central components of Jewish mysticism in the Middle Ages, has been described as 'layers of tradition woven together to form a collage of speculation on the process of divine creativity and the nature of what has been created' (E. R. Wolfson p. 227 in the critical review article cited below). The claim of this book for the interests of the present audience lies precisely in its extreme argument for an early dating of the *Sefer Yetsirah*: in opposition to a consensus of scholarly opinion which sees the treatise as inherently tied to an early Islamic context, Liebess would assign the work to the end of the period of the Second Temple. The argument naturally turns to salient parallel material from the first century C.E., and there are extended discussions of presumed contacts between the mystical treatise and the Philonic corpus, especially with regard to the presentation of Abraham (pp. 76–79, 91–92, 105–110), the Temple (pp. 206–207) and messianic universalism (pp. 226–228). In his concluding discussion of the date of *Sefer Yetsirah* (pp. 230–231), Liebess emphasizes the extreme proximity of the worldviews of the author with those of Philo. REVIEWS: E. R. Wolfson, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 218–228 (review article). (DS)

20046. J. P. MARTÍN, 'Las *Quaestiones* del Pseudo Justino: un lector cristiano de Aristóteles en tiempos de Proclo,' *Tópicos* 18 (2000) 115–141.

In an attempt to determine the historical place of *Quaestiones christianorum ad gentiles* attributed to Justin the Apologist, the author compares this treatise with the *Commentary on the Timaeus* by the Neoplatonist Proclus. In this context the author cites Philo in connection with two topics: (1) the παραδειγματική αἰτία, cf. QG 2.34; (2) the perichoretic function of Divinity, cf. QE 1.1. (JPM)

20047. M. J. MARTIN, 'Philo's Interest in the Synagogue,' *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 37 (2000) 215–223.

The article poses the question: why does Philo refer so seldom to the synagogue? In fact almost all of his references to this institution occur in the two so-called historical treatises. Martin argues that the lack of references should not be taken to indicate a lack of interest. It may well be a consequence of the genre of most of Philo's extant writings, as well as the fact that he just takes the synagogue for granted as a central institution of Alexandrian Jewish life. Although he expresses distaste for the common masses, Philo is nevertheless devoted to the maintenance of Jewish praxis, which includes the study and interpretation of scripture in a synagogue setting. The most powerful evidence for the importance of the synagogue for Philo's Judaism is probably his description of the practices of the community of the Therapeutae. (DTR)

20048. M. J. MARTIN, *The School of Virtue and the Tent of Zion. An Investigation into the Relationship between the Institutions of the Graeco-Roman Diaspora Synagogue and the Jerusalem Temple in the Late Second Temple Judaism: Philo—a Case Study* (diss. University of Melbourne 2000).

In this Melbourne dissertation it is argued that an inherent tension existed between the institutions of the Graeco-Roman Diaspora synagogue and the Jerusalem Temple in the pre-70 C.E. period. The relationship between these two institutions was characterised by an inherent ambiguity, thus contrasting with attempts to demonstrate the existence of either a complementary relationship or an overt opposition between the Temple and synagogue in this period. This ambiguous relationship derives from the fact that both institutions functioned as loci of divine worship, yet each embodied quite distinct constructions of the locus of sanctity. A structuralist model of sacred spaces in Judaism is drawn upon in an attempt to describe these conceptions of the locus of sanctity and characterize their ambiguous relationship in first century Judaism. The relationship is placed in the context of the transition from a temple-centred locative worldview to an anthropocentric utopian worldview taking place in the religious thought of the Mediterranean world during this era which a number of scholars have proposed. Proceeding from a position admitting the existence of a plurality of Judaisms in the post-Maccabean era, the writings of Philo of Alexandria are taken as a discrete body of evidence to serve as a case study to test the proposed hypothesis. It is shown that Philo betrays a notable tension in his thought concerning the relationship between the institutions of the Temple and the synagogue. While Philo vociferously defends the relevance of the Jerusalem Temple, examination of his exercises in idealizing speculation—his description of the life of the Therapeutic community of *Contempl.* and his vision of the eschatological endtime—reveals that ultimately the Temple is irrelevant to the mode of spiritual worship, the life of the virtuous man, which he consistently and wholeheartedly advocates and

which is embodied in the life of the synagogue, a 'school of virtue'. The Temple retains relevance for Philo only insofar as it functions as a symbol of Jewish corporate identity in the Gentile Roman world. The notion of the 'centrality' of the Jerusalem Temple, commonly ascribed to the Judaisms of the late Second Temple period, is revealed to be a dubious and ill-defined concept. Some implications of the ambiguous relationship thus revealed for the issue of synagogues associated with Greek-speaking Diaspora communities in pre-70 C.E. Jerusalem (such as that of Acts 6) are examined. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20049. A. M. MAZZANTI, Art. 'Filone di Alessandria,' in A. MONACI CASTAGNO (ed.), *Origene Dizionario* (Rome 2000) 168–171.

In the view of the author 'the methodological and conceptual influence which Philo exerted on Origen was noteworthy' and concerns above all the problem of the allegorical interpretation, especially the corporeal (i.e. literal or historical), the psychical (i.e. moral) and the spiritual (i.e. mystical) exegesis of the Bible (p. 168). Mazzanti recounts in brief terms the views held by scholars on this issue. Other points of contact between Philo and Origen are the dominance of Platonic themes and the figure of the Logos. Origen's anthropology also seems to be influenced by the Alexandrian, and especially the allegory of the human being created in the image and the human being formed from the earth. (RR)

20050. H. NAJMAN, 'The Writings and Reception of Philo of Alexandria,' in T. FRYMER-KENSKY, D. NOVAK and M. SIGNER, (edd.), *Christianity in Jewish Terms* (Boulder 2000) 99–106.

As a Jew who wrote before Judaism and Christianity parted ways but whose writings were preserved by Christians, Philo offers a unique opportunity to study links between the two traditions. Influenced by the universalist concerns of Greek philosophy and aided by allegorical interpretation, Philo presented Biblical figures like Moses and Abraham as paradigms, and he explained the Mosaic laws as embodiments of the universal, unwritten law of nature. Philo upheld, however, both the particularity of the law for the Jews and the need for obedience to the law. After the decline of the Alexandrian Jewish community, his works were preserved by Clement and Origen in the 2nd century C.E., who applied Philo's universalizing interpretations to suit Alexandrian Christians. To maintain the distinctiveness of Judaism, the rabbis shunned the universalizing tendencies found in Philo, although shared exegetical traditions can be found in rabbinic and Philonic works. Some later Jewish philosophers addressed issues similar to those raised by Philo, but universalizing tendencies were often controversial also among later Jews. Study of Philo can help Christians appreciate particularistic aspects of Jewish law and interpretation and can help Jews appreciate the universality of the divine-human encounter emphasized by Christians. (EB)

20051. S. T. NEWMYER, 'Philo on Animal Psychology: Sources and Moral Implications,' in S. KOTTEK and M. HORSTMANSHOFF (edd.), *From Athens to Jerusalem: Medicine in Hellenized Jewish Lore and in Early Christian Literature* (Rotterdam 2000) 143–155.

Published in a volume recording the partial proceedings of a Symposium held in Jerusalem, the article concentrates almost exclusively on Philo's treatise *Anim.* The disappearance of the original Greek text of the work is a great loss, since it makes it more difficult to determine Philo's sources, but nevertheless it deserves careful study for the insights it yields on his views in the area of psychology. The paper examines how Philo interprets classical animal psychology through his presentation of Alexander's case for animal rationality and his own rebuttal of that position. The question is not only important on theoretical grounds; it also has clear juridical implications, since Philo's position entails that animals do not fall under the purview of human justice. When Alexander argues that animals outstrip humans in some attainments, this recalls what G. Boas has called 'theriophily'. The author also notes that Philo, though plainly hostile to Alexander's case, does not try to answer all the points that he makes, but rather resorts to generalizations and rhetorical effects. At the end of the article the title page and first page of Aucher's *editio princeps* of the work are reproduced. (DTR)

20052. C. NOACK, *Gottesbewußtsein. Exegetische Studien zur Soteriologie und Mystik bei Philo von Alexandrien*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.116 (Tübingen 2000).

This dissertation is dedicated to the phenomenon of divine inspiration in Philo seen from a perspective of religious psychology ('mysticism'). Against H. Jonas, who generalizes the model of prophetic ecstasy, Noack wants to show that inspiration does not necessarily exclude human 'consciousness'. In introductory remarks Philo is situated sociologically, and his writings are differentiated form-critically into three categories: the missionary writings (the Exposition of the Law together with the philosophical and historico-political treatises), the *Quaestiones*, and the Allegorical commentary. From each group Noack analyzes an exemplary text, enabling him to establish three types of 'Gottesbewußtsein'. (1) *Virt.* 211–219 is a kind of encomium presenting Abraham as a model for proselytes with features of a 'divine man'. Through inspiration he becomes a successful teacher of wisdom. He is also impressive in terms of bodily beauty. The contact with God has the effect of a holistic improvement which, however, does not persist. (2) In *QE* 2.29 the ascent of Moses is an allegory for the temporary ecstatic identity of the consciousness with God while the sensual world disappears. In contrast to Abraham's case this does have an external manifestation. (3) In *Her.* 63–74 inspiration functions only as analogy for the non-ecstatic, persisting change of consciousness, the decision for a view of reality where everything depends upon God. This is conceived in dualistic terms, but acquires a new relation to the sensual world. Noack also wants to read *Her.* 263–265 in the same vein. In prophetic ecstasy the mind is excluded only in so far as it insists on its

own absoluteness. In his final synthesis Noack tries to sharpen the soteriological profile of the three genres under consideration and even attempts to make some suggestions on their 'Sitz im Leben' and their chronological order. REVIEWS: F. Avemarie, *Jud* 56 (2000) 279–280; A. Schenker, *FZPhTh* 47 (2000) 511–513; D. Zeller, *SPhA* 12 (2000) 199–205; W. Adler, *CBQ* 63 (2001) 760–761; E. Früchtel, *ThRv* 97 (2001) 322–324; A. C. Geljon, *JSJ* 32 (2001) 333–335; M. Mazzanti, *Adamant* 7 (2001) 341–343; G. Sellin, *ThLZ* 126 (2001) 407–409; P. Borgen, *JThS* 53 (2002) 165–173; E. Hilgert, *JR* 82 (2002) 318–319. (DZ)

20053. M. OLIVIERI, 'Influenze di lessici greci nelle traduzione armene di Filone,' *Eikasmos* 11 (2000) 235–247.

The Armenian translation of *Prov.* (with particular reference to 2.15, 22, 26, 36, 95) and *QG* (with particular reference to 3.16) has been influenced by exegetical material which was not just in the form of marginal glosses or scholia to the Alexandrian's text, but also in the form of lexicographical repertoria independent of the author being translated. This is how glosses were included which do not regard Philo specifically but are 'traditional' (p. 245). In this respect one might think of the lexicon of Diogenianus or its Epitome. (RR)

20054. K.-H. OSTMEYER, *Taufe und Typos*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.118 (Tübingen 2000), esp. 18–26.

In his comprehensive survey on the semantics of τύπος the author wants to resolve the contradiction that the term can signify 'model' as well as 'image'. He therefore reduces its semantic content to 'that what makes visible another thing or forms it'. Against the older work of L. Goppelt (1939, R-R 3905) he insists that the term is used without connotations of time and value. It expresses a relation, not an entity. This is evident also in Philo, where the Logos can be conceived as model of the earthly man as well as as image of the Creator. In this flexibility the author sees a difference to the Platonic ideas. He challenges the view of Goppelt (who relies among other things on a doubtful interpretation of *Mos.* 2.76), that τύπος in Philo usually means the lesser image. Philo uses the concept in his cosmology, in his exposition of Scripture and in his doctrine of the soul. Here, the τύποι have an active character. In this connection, the 'third type' in *Her.* 231 is explained as model of the mind, not as imprint. Other passages which seem to contradict this view (the idols *Leg.* 2.255f.; *Mos.* 1.119) are interpreted in this sense, too. In an appendix he shows that Philo uses ἀντίτυπος only in the classical sense of 'resistant'. (DZ)

20055. A. PAWLACZYK, 'The Motif of Silence in Philo of Alexandria's Treatise 'Quis rerum divinarum heres sit'. Some Remarks,' *Polish Journal of Biblical Research* (Kraków) 1 (2000) 125–130.

Although Philo is not the first author writing in Greek to place speech and silence on an equal footing—this honour must go to Plato—, he is certainly very

aware of the role of silence in relation to speech and the various forms that such silence can take. The article briefly analyses the kinds of silence in relation to speech that occur in Philo's treatise *Her*. The author concludes that 'the process of speaking, creating and articulating logos becomes a complex one, where the very elocution of words and statements is preceded by 'quiet' mental activity, the soul's discourse with itself' (p. 131). (DTR)

20056. E. PERETTO, 'L'anno sabbatico e l'anno giubilare nel c. 25 del *Levitico* e risonanze in Filone d'Alessandria,' in P. GIANNINI and M. P. CICCARESE (edd.), *Kairos. Studi di letteratura cristiana antica per l'anno 2000*, Rudiae Ricerche sul mondo classico 12 (Galatina 2000) 7–92, esp. 56–92.

The article starts with a discussion of the Year of Jubilee in Christian interpretation (notably as proclaimed by the pope in A.D. 2000 with reference to the christological interpretation of the Year of Jubilee in Luke 4:16–30 and Gal 4:4), an analysis of Luke 4:16–18 where Isa 61:1–2 is quoted, and an excursus on the Qumran text 11 Qmelch (11Q13). After a detailed discussion of the biblical concepts of Sabbath Year and Year of Jubilee as described in Lev 25 (but see also Exod 21:2–11 and Deut 15:12–18) and their historical realization, the author then analyses Philo's treatment, both literal and allegorical, of these concepts. It is concluded that Philo defends the Jewish law and practice of Sabbath rest in the context of the fact that it was not well accepted in Greco-Roman society. Where he underlines the benefits of the Sabbath Year, he does not give enough evidence for us to conclude that in his time the law on the Sabbath Year was observed. Philo's allegorical interpretation gives much importance to arithmology and to a spiritual detachment from earthly matters in favour of pursuit of knowledge and wisdom, while a social note of solidarity is also present: the 'holy years' restore the social and personal dignity of slaves and the poor. (HMK)

20057. F. PETIT, *La Chaîne sur l'Exode. II Collectio Coisliana. III Fonds caténique ancien (Exode 1,1–15,21)*, *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 10 (Louvain 2000).

In this volume the author continues her edition of the ancient *Catena*, now turning to the *Catena on Exodus*. She argues that the 26 texts of the *Collectio Coisliana* should first be separately treated, since they are not part of the original *Catena*. There are no Philonic texts among these, although no. 23 from Clement's *Stromateis* is heavily dependent on Philo. For the Chain itself Petit follows the same method as in previous volumes, editing the excerpts, identifying the original source where possible and making brief comments. In the section up to Exod 15:21, which is quite well preserved, there are five excerpts from Philo, all from the first book of *Mos*. REVIEWS: D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 162–165. (DTR)

20058. A. PIÑERO (ed.), *Textos gnósticos. Biblioteca de Nag Hammadi III: Apocalipsis y otros escritos* (Madrid 2000), esp. 272–278.

In the last volume of the Nag Hammadi Library translated from Coptic to Spanish some passages of Philo are cited. Although few texts are given, this edition recognizes a relation of common patterns between *The teachings of Silvanus* and *Migr.* (p. 272). (JPM)

20059. V. REBRIK, 'Hermetik und jüdische Überlieferung,' in J. U. KALMS (ed.), *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Aarhus 1999*, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 6 (Münster 2000) 298–301.

The *Poimandres* betrays not only the influence of the LXX known to the author perhaps through synagogue-worship, but also of Philo. Numerous agreements in ideas and terms (e.g. the Logos as son of God, the primordial man, the concept of the divine forces, the double nature of man) foster the hypothesis that the author knew the works of Philo at least in excerpts or compilations. (DZ)

20060. R. ROUKEMA, 'Studies about the Alexandrian Tradition in the Dutch Language,' *Adamantius* 6 (2000) 98–108, esp. 99–100.

The article surveys publications in the Dutch language (including Flemish) which have been devoted to the Alexandrian tradition (Jewish, Patristic and Gnostic) during the last 25 years. Although most scholars in the Low countries publish their research in English and French, there remains a lively tradition of publication of studies written in Dutch. Scholars mentioned in connection with Philonic studies are R. A. Bitter, D. T. Runia and A. P. Bos. (DTR)

20061. J. R. ROYSE, 'The Text of Philo's *Legum Allegoriae*,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 12 (2000) 1–28.

The author summarizes the transmission of the text of Philo's works and of *Leg.* in particular. He indicates the uneven attestation of *Leg.* and affirms that the two well-known 3rd century papyri from Coptos and Oxyrhynchus should not be seen as deriving from the exemplars of Euzoius. A collation of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus fragments containing small portions of the text of *Leg.* 1 and *Leg.* 2 that differ from the *editio critica* of Cohn-Wendland is provided. Because differences are slight, Royse infers the essential integrity of the medieval textual tradition but warns about the possibility that genuine readings have disappeared. Next, a preliminary report of the planned new edition of Philo's works by Peter Katz, which was left unfinished at his death in 1962, is given together with a list of alterations to the C-W edition from *Leg.* 1–3 which he proposed. Detailed analysis of several of Philo's scriptural quotations (*Leg.* 1.52, 3.161, 1.31, *Cher.* 74) supports Katz's argument for the secondary character of the 'aberrant text'. The article concludes with a list of textual variations where the German (Heinemann), English (Whitaker), and French (Mondésert) translations differ from the text of Cohn-Wendland. (KAF)

20062. D. T. RUNIA, 'Alexandria and Cambridge: James Kugel's *Traditions of the Bible*,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 12 (2000) 143–147.

This review article, a contribution to a panel discussion at the Society of Biblical Literature's Annual meeting (Boston 1999), light-heartedly compares James Kugel (in his study *Traditions of the Bible* = above 9858) and Philo of Alexandria as interpreters of Scripture, presenting first similarities and then differences. Among other things, in their profound concern for biblical interpretation, Kugel and Philo love to pose questions at the biblical text and then see what answers they can come up with. Further, they emphasize the centrality of exegetical traditions and thus are pluralist and inclusivist in their approaches. For both, 'there is no single interpretation that represents the truth' (p. 145). (KAF)

20063. D. T. RUNIA, 'Art. Philo the Theologian,' in T. A. HART (ed.), *The Dictionary of Historical Theology* (Carlisle–Grand Rapids 2000) 424–426.

Brief general presentation of Philo's thought with an emphasis on his theological ideas, ending with a brief bibliography. (DTR)

20064. D. T. RUNIA, Art. 'Philon [12] Philon von Alexandria (Philo Iudaeus),' in H. CANCIK and H. SCHNEIDER (edd.), *Der Neue Pauly: Encyclopädie der Antike*, (Stuttgart 2000) 9.850–855 (columns).

Philo of Alexandria is the twelfth of nineteen Philos listed in this new Encyclopedia, which sits halfway between the great Pauly Wissowa *Realencyclopädie* (83 vols. published 1890–1978, for Philo see R-R 4109) and the *Kleine Pauly* (5 vols. published 1964–1975, article on Philo by B. Schaller, 4.772–776). The article is divided into four sections: Life and Context; Works; Teachings; *Nachwirkung*. It is completed with a listing of editions, translations and a limited bibliography. An English translation was published in 2007. (DTR)

20065. D. T. RUNIA, 'The Idea and the Reality of the City in the Thought of Philo of Alexandria,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61 (2000) 361–379.

The theme of the paper is the conception of the city as a social and cultural phenomenon in Philo's thought. As an inhabitant of Alexandria Philo was thoroughly immersed in urban life. But what were the views that he held on the nature of the city itself? Firstly Philo's views on Alexandria itself are noted. He was clearly proud to be a citizen of this great metropolis, even though during his lifetime life became increasingly precarious for the Jewish community. Next the city is treated as a potent symbol of order. This is best illustrated by the beautiful image used at *Opif.* 17–18 to illustrate the process of creation. Further material on the city is found in Philo's vast exegetical output, e.g. the allegorization of the passage in Genesis when Cain builds a city. The theme of the city is used to illustrate the inner workings of the human soul. Just as there are two kinds of

city, so there are two kinds of soul, one marked by order and virtue, the other by disorder and vice. In certain passages Philo also criticizes the city and praises solitude. This theme is also relevant to his idealized descriptions of two extra-urban communities, the Essenes and the Therapeutae. Finally the article briefly touches on the theme of Jerusalem as the idealized city. Philo is a distant ancestor of Augustine's famous contrast between the city of God and the city of human beings. The article ends with some conclusions. Philo is seen as ambivalent towards the city. He habitually makes three contrasts: between the ideal and the reality of the city, between the good and the bad city, and between city life and solitude. His thought represents a mixture of both classical and Judaic views. From a historical point of view his conception looks both backwards to the ideal of the classical polis and forwards to Christian views when the desert was to become like the city. (DTR)

20066. D. T. RUNIA, 'Philo's Longest Arithmological Passage: *De opificio mundi* 89–128,' in L.-J. BORD and D. HAMIDOVIC (edd.), *De Jérusalem à Rome: mélanges offerts à Jean Riaud* (Paris 2000) 155–174.

The article was written as a preliminary study for the author's commentary on *Opif.* in the Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series (= 3108). The placement of such a long excursus on the hebdomad in Philo's commentary on the Genesis creation account is quite remarkable and gives rise to two questions which are examined in the article. Firstly, what is the principle of organization that Philo uses to structure the excursus? The author first examines two structural analyses made by K. Staehle and R. Radice and finds them both defective. A structural analysis of the entire passage is given. It can be divided into two main parts, §§91–110 and §§111–127. The chief difference between the two is that the former contains much arithmetical calculation involving the seven (e.g. four phases of the moon amounting to $7 \times 4 = 28$ days), whereas the latter only lists groups of seven things (e.g. seven planets, seven vowels). The latter part is well structured. The former part is much more difficult, with esp. the section §§101–106 proving difficult to understand from a structural point of view. The author stresses the role that association plays in this section. It is possible to reconstruct Philo's mode of thought, but the result is far from satisfying. In order to understand it the methods of ancient authors, who make use of excerpted material, need to be taken into account. The second question to be discussed is why the long excursus is so little related to the rest of the treatise. Partly this is explained by the emphasis that scripture places on the hebdomad, which Philo wishes to explain in philosophical terms, i.e. by emphasizing the special features of the number, rather than exegetically. Another factor is that Philo did not wish to emphasize the role of the hebdomad as completing the other six days, as he did in *Spec.* 2.56–59. The article closes by looking at the relationship between Judaism and Hellenism in the excursus. Although Hellenism predominates, there are a number of hints that reveal that the writer is Jewish. In some respects the excursus is reminiscent of Philo's philosophical treatises. (DTR)

20067. D. L. SCHIFF, *Abortion in Judaism: the History of a Struggle to 'Choose Life'* (diss. Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion 2000).

This dissertation presents a complete Jewish legal history of abortion from the earliest relevant biblical references to the present day. Three tasks are undertaken: to present the fullest picture of the unfolding Jewish legal response to abortion; to explain the relevant texts in detail; to derive some critical lessons about the functioning of Jewish law. The attitudes to abortion found in the works of Philo and Josephus form part of the survey of Jewish history, which is divided into five epochs. (DTR; based on DAI-A 61–02, p. 649)

20068. K. SCHOLTISSEK, *In ihm sein und bleiben: die Sprache der Immanenz in den johanneischen Schriften*, Herders Biblische Studien 21 (Freiburg etc. 2000), esp. 106–118.

In a preliminary section this *Habilitationsschrift* compares the Johannine reciprocal formulas μένειν and εἶναι ἐν with various materials of the history of ancient philosophy and religion. Philo uses μένειν to characterize the immutability of God. In particular he recognizes an indwelling of God, his Logos or his Pneuma in the human soul, although usually he cannot stay there forever (*Gig.* 28). Reciprocity is never stated directly. The author wants to distinguish these statements from prophetic inspiration through ἔκστασις and substitution of the human mind. REVIEWS: G. Sellin, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 217–219. (DZ)

20069. M. B. SCHWARTZ, 'Greek and Jew: Philo and the Alexandrian Riots of 38–41 CE,' *Judaism* 49 (2000) 206–216.

Philo belonged to two worlds, the Jewish and the Greek, 'but he never felt quite at one with either' (p. 211). Although he believed that the highest truth could be found in Judaism alone, Philo remained outside the inner circle of rabbinic tradition and he wrote about Judaism 'almost as a foreigner' (p. 212). Well aware of tensions between Jews and Greeks in Alexandria, Philo defended the Jews in his writings and hoped for a time of harmony among different peoples. His essays *Flacc.* and *Legat.*—summarized in detail in this article—are philosophical more than historical and are based upon the notion that God punishes the wicked and protects the Jews. (EB)

20070. D. SLY, 'The Conflict over Isopoliteia: an Alexandrian Perspective,' in T. L. DONALDSON (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima* (Waterloo, Canada 2000) 249–265.

In a volume that focuses upon religious rivalries in Caesarea Maritima, the author introduces the example of Alexandria as a useful comparison. She discusses the two cities in terms of location and population, arguing that the

Alexandrian population of Hellenes, Egyptians, and Jews was more complex than the Caserean population of Jews and non-Jews. She then summarizes details of the Alexandrian ethnic conflict of 38 C.E. and examines the complicated issue of ἰσοπολιτεία, equality of civil rights. With very few exceptions, which included Philo and his brother Alexander, Jews were not citizens of Alexandria. They had a πολίτευμα, whose authority is not clear, and discussions of ἰσοπολιτεία may reflect Jewish membership in the πολίτευμα rather than citizenship in Alexandria. As a source of information about Jewish-Gentile relations in Alexandria, Philo represents a narrow, elitist point of view. Philonic studies would thus do well to embrace social scientific approaches, which would provide a broader, more inclusive picture of all classes of society. (EB)

20071. J. F. M. SMIT, 'You shall not Muzzle a Threshing Ox': Paul's Use of the Law of Moses in 1 Cor. 9, 8–12,' *Estudios Bíblicos* 58 (2000) 239–263, esp. 254–256, 262–263.

In this article it is argued that Paul appends to the saying 'You shall not muzzle a threshing ox' (Deut 25:4), which he quotes in 1 Cor 9:9, an explanation in which he enlarges the scope of this rule in view of himself and Barnabas as founders of the Corinthian church. Philo (*Virt.* 145–146), Josephus and the Mishnah treat this biblical law in ways similar to Paul, but, whereas their interpretation intends to enhance Jewish identity, Paul's interpretation exhibits a definitely ecclesiological character and ultimately intends to enhance the identity of the church in Corinth as the exclusive community of the one Lord. (HMK; based on the author's abstract)

20072. H. G. SNYDER, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World: Philosophers, Jews and Christians* (London–New York 2000), esp. 123–136.

Snyder studies the function and use of texts in the following 'book-centered groups' in antiquity: Stoics, Epicureans, Aristotelians, Platonists, Philo (for lack of evidence, the author could not discuss Hellenistic Jews as a group), Qumran, Judaism in Palestine, and Christians. On the basis of an analysis of the formal characteristics of Philo's Allegorical Commentaries and *Quaestiones*, Snyder attempts to draw conclusions about their origin and use. Passages with an autobiographical tone like *Cher.* 49 and *Abr.* 23, contribute to the conclusion that 'by writing, Philo served his own devotional needs, in so far as reading and reflecting on scripture placed him at the feet of Moses and Jeremiah. No doubt he hoped that his own writings would do the same for others' (p. 136). Philo 'creates a 'virtual classroom' by means of written text' (p. 137). REVIEWS: K. A. Fox, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 226–228. (HMK)

20073. E. STAROBINSKI-SAFRAN, 'Philon von Alexandrien über Krieg und Frieden,' in W. STEGMAIER (ed.), *Die philosophische Aktualität der jüdischen Tradition* (Frankfurt am Main 2000) 133–149.

The author quotes from various exegetical writings of Philo to show that God alone is true peace. Man can participate in peace by freeing himself from internal and external warfare and taking rest in God. Philo's historical and apologetic works depict the Hebrews and their Fathers as peaceful people, which does not exclude readiness for struggle, as the example of Phineas may illustrate. Finally, some hints as to the philosophical roots of Philo's conception are given, notably the theme of the cosmopolitan state of the wise. (DZ)

20074. J. M. STARR, *Sharers in Divine Nature: 2 Peter 1:4 in its Hellenistic Context*, *Coniectanea Biblica* 33 (Stockholm 2000), esp. 93–118.

Philo is part of the comparative material used to explain the unique expression in 2 Pet 1:4 that 'you may become partakers of the divine nature'. For the structural connection between divine virtue and divine incorruption, to which the believer can attain through Christ, interesting parallels are found in both Philo and Plutarch. REVIEWS: R. Bauckham *JThS* 53 (2002) 278–281; L. Renwart, *NRTh* 126 (2004) 482–483. (DTR)

20075. H. SZESNAT, Art. 'Philo of Alexandria,' in G. E. HAGGERTY (ed.), *Gay Histories and Cultures: an Encyclopedia* (New York 2000) 685–686.

Brief account of Philo's views on homosexuality, which are very harsh. He is fearful of gender boundary transgression and has a horror of female characteristics associated with a man, a position not unusual in ancient Mediterranean societies. (DTR)

20076. J. E. TAYLOR, 'Spiritual Mothers: Philo on 'Theapeutrides,' in N. SIMMS (ed.), *Letters and Texts of Jewish History* (Hamilton, New Zealand 1998) 68–88.

A reading of Philo's description of the community of the Therapeutae which focuses on the way he presents the women of the community. After some opening words in which she emphasizes that Philo's depiction and the reality behind it will not be the same, the author first outlines the images of womanhood that Philo develops in his work, both in his allegories (in which it is often masculinized) and his description of social reality. When Philo includes women among the 'disciples of Moses' he does not domesticate them in the manner of female Pythagorean philosophers. Because he wants them to eclipse Greco-Roman models they seem 'strangely beyond gender' (p. 75). Though described as 'mothers', in fact they move beyond womanliness to a state of spiritually fruitful celibacy, which may be closer to a cultic and prophetic spirituality than to the philosophical life. Finally there is a discussion of how Philo presents a gendered space in their meeting house, in which it is possible that female elders may have led the worship. In conclusion Taylor emphasizes that in Philo's description 'the women of the community have not 'become

men' but retain the identification of women; ... gender remains and has not been blurred by spiritual achievement' (p. 86). (DTR)

20077. C. TERMINI, *Le potenze di Dio: studio su dynamis in Filone di Alessandria*, Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 71 (Rome 2000).

The critical debate on the doctrine of the Powers in Philo concentrates on two problems, one genetic, the other functional (p. 10). On the first problem it can be said that Philo inherits the concept of power from the Hellenistic-Jewish tradition which precedes him, which means that he inherits it in a theological, or rather a theophanic perspective, i.e. it is connected to the way that God reveals himself, either in revelation or in creation. At the same time Hellenistic Judaism, in developing the concept of divine *dynamis*, was influenced by the Hellenistic religious environment. The cultural polyvalence of the term finds its maximum extension in Philo. By speaking of powers in the plural (which represents a break with the Alexandrian Jewish tradition) and emphasizing a universalist and philosophical conception of God, Philo allows the transcendence of God to be preserved, though at the same time maintaining his direct concern with the world and the plurality of his manifestations in relation to humanity (pp. 39 ff.). The resultant osmosis between Judaism and Hellenism allows the problem of anthropomorphic expressions in the biblical text to be resolved at least to a certain degree. These in fact can be taken to be no more than symbols or descriptions of divine powers which allegory (esp. in the form of etymology or by means of division) succeeds in interpreting, in this way achieving a 'conception of God purified of anthropomorphic and anthropopathic elements' (pp. 84 ff.). With regard to the functional aspect of *dynamis*, it needs to be understood that Philo is not completely clear on the relationship between essence and power in God: there appears at times to be a partial overlap of the two, which does find a precise articulation because the powers too are rooted in the depths of the divine mystery. From the allegorical point of view, against the background of divine transcendence, the powers are channelled into the two major figures of *theos* and *kurios*, into the symbolism of the two cherubim (in various hierarchical schemes which are fully analysed), and in the allegory of the creation of the human being. Here the powers have above all the role of acting as a 'screen' for God, guaranteeing the extraneous nature of evil (cf. p. 187). On this basis it can be affirmed that 'in the creation of humanity no sin is introduced' and that 'evil depends wholly on the exercise of human freedom.' This means, according to the author, that the multiplicity of creators is only 'virtual' (p. 236) and that, when allegorical necessity does not impose, God remains the sole protagonist in creation, and that δύνανμις and πνεῦμα have for Philo above all an instrumental value. The divine power has in Philo a cosmological and an anthropological role, which confers on creation its stability and gives the powers the function of bond (δεσμός). At this point, according to Termini, the distance between Philo and both the Platonic doctrine of the World-soul and the Stoic concept of the pneuma-logos becomes apparent, because the notion of *desmos* in no way implies that God is (only) immanently present in the cosmos. REVIEWS: C. Badilita, *Adamant* 8 (2002) 358–360; D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 151–156. (RR)

20078. C. TERMINI, 'Spirito e Scrittura in Filone di Alessandria,' in E. MANICARDI and A. PITTA (edd.), *Spirito di Dio e Sacre Scritture nell'auto-testimonianza della Bibbia*. XXXV Settimana Biblica Nazionale (Roma, 7–11 Settembre 1998), *Ricerche Storico Bibliche* 1–2 (Bologna 2000) 157–187.

In Philo's thought the connection between spirit and scripture operates at three levels. The first corresponds to the actual process of formulating the sacred text and is reserved for Moses. The second is linked to the translation of the Bible into the Greek language in the Septuagint. The third involves the allegorizing exegete, and thus Philo himself, in the task of uncovering the hidden and fundamental contents of revelation. The author, after presenting this analytical analysis of the three relations with reference to numerous texts, points out that they are based on a particular concept of revelation as a non-conclusive process, which moves from inspiration to translation and then to reflection. In actual fact both translation and commentary have the task of 'unveiling the beauty of the Torah to the Greek-speaking world' (p. 187). (RR)

20079. T. H. TOBIN, 'The Beginning of Philo's *Legum Allegoriae*,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 12 (2000) 29–43.

The author explores the question whether Philo wrote a treatise interpreting Gen 1:1–2:6 along the lines of *Leg.* and the allegory of the soul. He says there is enough evidence to suggest that Philo wrote such a treatise. The fact that two of the four treatises of *Leg.* have been lost makes it possible that a third treatise has been lost as well. The opening of *Leg.* 1 seems to refer to a previous interpretation of Gen 1 (*Leg.* 1.1), one not found in *Opif.* Moreover *Leg.* 1.19, 21–30 and *Leg.* 2.9–13 point retrospectively to an elaborate interpretation of Gen 1:1–3:1 along the lines of the allegory of the soul. Tobin speculates that the treatise was intentionally suppressed by the Alexandrian Jewish community some time between Philo's death and the Jewish revolt in Egypt in 115–117 C.E. (KAF)

20080. G. ULUHOGIAN, 'Ricerche filologico-linguistiche su antiche traduzioni armene di testi greci: fra «archeologia» e attualità,' *Lexis* 18 (2000) 181–192.

Observations on the interest that the Armenian translations have for the establishment of the original text of Greek works and on the necessity to understand these translations better. Among the examples given are Homeric citations found in Philo. (DTR; based on *APh* 71–08067)

20081. O. S. VARDAZARYAN, 'Meknoghakan ɛnt'ercanut'yunnerə ew P'ilon Alek'sandrac'u erkeri hayeren meknut'younnerə' [Armenian: Readings with commentaries and Armenian scholia of the works by Philo

the Alexandrian], *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani. Hasarakakan gitut'yunner [Proceedings of the Yerevan University: Social Studies] 102.3 (2000) 110–118.*

Some works by Philo and Pseudo-Philo, which were translated into Armenian in about the 5th century, were actively commented on in twelfth–fourteenth centuries by Armenian ecclesiastical doctors (*vardapets*). While observing the hermeneutic ‘coat’ of the ‘Armenian Philo’, as well as the description of the ‘class-reading’ given in medieval Armenian manuscripts, it is possible to reconstruct the stages of preparing and digesting philosophical and theological texts which were included in the school curriculum. As such, the procedure did not differ from grammatical and rhetorical methods of analyzing, memorizing and paraphrasing texts, as they are described in *Ars Grammatica* by Dionysius Thrax and especially in the three chapters at the end of *Progymnasmata* by Theon of Alexandria which were lost in Greek but are preserved in an ancient Armenian translation. The correlation may be noted between these stages of commenting and the genres of commentaries: (a) the introductory lection about an author under the study (Gr. ὑπόθεσις, Lat. *causa*, Arm. *patčar*); (b) an exposition of the text(s), i.e. piece by piece paraphrase with sporadic explanations (the *scholia* in proper sense, Arm. *lucmunk*); (c) a concise rhetorical composition on the basis of the studied text, an epitome (arm. *hawak'umn*). (DTR; based on the author's summary)

20082. R. WEBER, *Das „Gesetz“ im hellenistischen Judentum: Studien zum Verständnis und zur Funktion der Thora von Demetrios bis Pseudo-Phokylides, Arbeiten zur Religion und Geschichte des Urchristentums 10 (Frankfurt am Main 2000).*

This is the first part of a *Habilitationsschrift* (for the second volume on Philo and Josephus see below 20187) which against the backdrop of the ‘new perspective on Paul’ tries to differentiate the Jewish understanding of the Law from the 3rd century B.C.E. until the first half of the 1st century C.E. For this eleven Greek-speaking authors are selected, including Aristobulus, Ps.Aristeas and Wisdom. Diaspora Judaism, confronted with the rationalizing tendency of Hellenism, tried to maintain its identity by means of the Torah. Hellenistic culture is related to the Law of a single people, and at the same time this particular Law gets a universal meaning. This implies an ethical interpretation of the entire Torah which is founded in the nature of the cosmos created by God. The appendix treats 10 special questions, mainly of a philosophical kind (no. 4 on allegory) and mentions Philo on p. 333, p. 395 (the name(s) of God) and pp. 396–398 (Philo as founder of negative theology). (DZ)

20083. H. WEDER, ‘Abschied von der Welt und Ausdehnung des Ichs. Die Allegorese bei Philo von Alexandrien und die Schriftauslegung der Gnosis,’ in P. MICHEL and H. WEDER (edd.), *Sinnvermittlung. Studien zur Geschichte von Exegese und Hermeneutik I (Zürich 2000) 93–113.*

By means of two examples the author aims to demonstrate the interrelation between exegetical method and disclosure of the world. Through allegorical interpretation Philo can perceive the phenomena of the visible world as signs of an invisible One. In interpreting Abraham's way as farewell to the universe of the senses (*Abr.* 68–88), Philo at the same time justifies allegorical understanding as such. This shows the connection between cosmology, gnoseology and allegory. In the gnostic movement (e.g. the Naassenes Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.7 ff.) allegorical interpretation serves the emancipation of the true Self. Here, the sensual world no longer bears the traces of God as it does in Philo. (DZ)

20084. J. WHITMAN, 'Present Perspectives: Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages,' in J. WHITMAN (ed.), *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period* (Leiden 2000) 33–70.

The function of the essay is to introduce the section 'Antiquity to the Late Middle Ages.' The author aims to outline the variety of scholarly approaches to interpretation and allegory during the past three or four decades. For the period of antiquity he poses the question, 'What constitutes the 'unit' of writing that is to be analyzed?' He then reviews the status of this question in relation to ancient Homeric interpretation, Alexandrian allegorization of Jewish scripture, rabbinic interpretation in its midrashic forms, and early Christian typology. Philo, discussed on pp. 38–40, is said to have approached the spirit of Scripture through 'continual engagement with the 'letter' of the law'—i.e., in both its narrative and legal portions. The second part of the essay addresses the extent to which allegorical interpretation might have 'textures' of its own. Here the literature reviewed pertains to philosophic modes in medieval Islam, Jewish approaches to philosophic allegory, Christian allegorization of ancient philosophic writing, and philosophic attitudes toward signification in Christian Scripture. REVIEWS: A. KAMESAR, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 306–309. (EB)

20085. W. YANGE and V. A. RUSSELL, 'Philo, *On the Embassy* 80: Caligula Dressing as Heroes?,' *Journal of Ancient Civilizations (Changchun, China)* 15 (2000) 69–78.

Philo's treatise *Legat.* appears to be especially prone to textual problems and stylistic idiosyncracies. It is proposed that at *Legat.* 80 we read τὰς (τιμὰς) πάντων ἡρώων instead of τὰς (τιμὰς) πάντων ἀθρόων as conjectured by C-W (mss. ἄθροον). 'Heroes' is parallel to 'demi-gods', which Philo treats in §§ 78–92. The suggestion of the emendation is preceded by an analysis of the use of ἄθροος in the treatise. (DTR)

2001

20101. S. P. AHEARNE-KROLL, 'Who are my Mother and my Brothers?' Family Relations and Family Language in the Gospel of Mark, *Journal of Religion* 81 (2001) 1–25, esp. 7–9, 20–21.

This study contextualizes the Gospel of Mark's theme of family relations within its wider literary environment by comparing views on family in Mark with Philo's view of the Therapeutae in *Contempl.* and with Epictetus' and the Cynic Epistles' views. Comparison is made along two fronts: (1) the relativization of family; and (2) 'family' as a metaphor for new life. (KAF)

20102. Manuel ALEXANDRE JR, 'La elaboración retórica en el tratado *De vita contemplativa* de Filón de Alejandría,' in H. BERISTÁIN (ed.), *El horizonte interdisciplinario de la retórica*, Bitácora de Retórica 14 (Mexico City 2001) 79–99.

After an introductory section on patterns of argumentation in ancient rhetorical theory and practice, the author presents a rhetorical analysis of the treatise *De vita contemplativa*. It is shown to have an A B C D E D' C' B' A' structure, i.e. forming a symmetrically organized whole. A further more detailed analysis is given of §§ 2–19 and §§ 40–44. Rather than a philosophical dream (Engberg-Pedersen), the author concludes (p. 96), the treatise is 'a narrative of something real, a pedagogic and apologetic narrative, with form and content of an epideictic nature.' Philo uses the techniques of rhetoric in order to offer a spirited defence of a philosophical way of life embodied by these 'citizens of the heaven and the world' (§ 90). The article covers some of the same ground as the English article summarized below 20104. (DTR)

20103. Manuel ALEXANDRE JR, 'Rhetorical Hermeneutics in Philo's Commentary of Scripture,' *Revista de Retórica y Teoría de la Comunicación* 1 (2001) 29–41.

The purpose of the paper is to argue the central role of rhetoric in Philo's hermeneutics, i.e. not only to show how he rhetorically deals with the biblical text being interpreted and how rhetorical strategies enter into his hermeneutic activity, but also how rhetoric and hermeneutics intersect as they work together in order to establish meaning and produce a new persuasive discourse. In this interaction Philo moves from the operational to representational process of interpretation. In our reading of his texts we as readers have to perceive the dynamics of these moves. The way Philo composes and structures texts is illustrated by an analysis of *Mut.* 252–263. (DTR)

20104. Manuel ALEXANDRE JR, 'The Eloquent Philosopher in Philo's *De vita contemplativa*,' *Euphrosyne* NS 29 (2001) 319–330.

The author argues against Engberg-Pedersen that Philo's famous description of the Therapeutae is not a fiction or a thought experiment in narrative form. It is rather a consistent description in the form of an epideictic discourse, modelled as a narrative composition and integrating within it sequential articulations of narrative and chreia elaboration. Philo's rhetorical techniques are illustrated by a structural analysis of the treatise, including detailed analyses of §§ 11–17 and §§ 40–44. The community consists of committed philosophers who apply themselves to learn with the all-wise Moses and reflect together on the actual truth, the meaning of which is hermeneutically disclosed and rhetorically mediated for instruction. The author suggests that the encomium of these philosophers may also have had a paraenetic function, i.e. Philo is encouraging his readers to pursue God's friendship and true excellence of life. (DTR)

20105. C. BERMOND, *La danza negli scritti di Filone, Clemente Alessandrino e Origene: storia e simbologie* (Frankfurt am Main 2001).

The work consists of three sections, of which the first and second are dedicated to Philo. The first focuses on the passages in which the Alexandrian condemns the dance, whereas the second concentrates on the Philonic texts in which the dance is appreciated and celebrated. Prominent among these is *Opif.* (esp. § 53), which is connected with the *Timaeus* of Plato. Philo's condemnation is reserved for a particular kind of dance—whether it is accompanied by the mime or is rather boisterous and masculine as mentioned in *Agr.* and *Mos.* 2—which is tied to the senses, the passions and pure entertainment. This means that Philo does not condemn the dance as such. In fact, the dance that Philo particularly appreciates is the one of the virtuous person, who imitates the motions of the stars, not in a physical sense, but because it shares in harmony and measure, i.e. not so much a 'danced' dance, but rather a contemplated one. This not only prepares the soul for astronomy, but is also contemplation of the creation in all its beauty with a special involvement of the intellect (cf. *Opif.* 70–71). But the dance can also be an expression of joy (*Ebr.* 146f.), when the soul is full of grace or possessed by God (cf. *Her.* 69f.). Finally there is a type of dance which is the perfect expression of piety (*Contempl.* 83ff.). In all these views, including the distinction between 'lascivious' and 'virtuous' dance Philo is indebted to Plato, except that in Plato the dancer is the virtuous person, who owes his virtue to himself, whereas in Philo the pious person is touched by God and swept along in a kind of 'sober ecstasy'. REVIEWS: C. Corsato, *StudPat* 49 (2002) 227–229; P. Fornaro, *Adamant* 8 (2002) 246–249; J. P. Martín, *CrSt* 25 (2004) 1024–1026; H. R. Seeliger, *ThQ* 183 (2003) 85–86. (RR)

20106. E. BIRNBAUM, 'Philo on the Greeks: a Jewish Perspective on Culture and Society in First-Century Alexandria,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early*

Christianity in Honor of David Hay [= *The Studia Philonica Annual 13* (2001)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 332 (Providence RI 2001) 37–58.

To determine how Philo saw the relationship between Greek culture and the opponents of the Jews in Alexandria, the author examines two commonplaces—first, that Philo was a great admirer of the Greeks and their culture and, second, that the opponents of the Jews in Alexandria were Greeks and Egyptians. Based on a study of vocabulary pertaining to ‘Greeks’ (Ἕλληνες) and ‘Greece’ (Ἑλλάς), Birnbaum concludes that although Philo admired the Greeks and their culture, he was also critical of them. At times he portrays the Jews as in some way better than Greeks and even as better than Greeks and barbarians combined. Philo never refers to the opponents of the Jews in Alexandria as Greeks and Egyptians. Instead he calls them Alexandrians and Egyptians, and he obscures distinctions between these two groups. Philo does not associate Alexandrian opponents of the Jews with Greek culture. Despite the universalizing aspects of his thought, he sometimes distinguishes sharply between Jews and non-Jews and sees Jews and their heritage as superior to all other peoples and cultures. (EB)

20107. P. BORGEN, ‘Application of and Commitment to the Laws of Moses. Observations on Philo’s Treatise *On the Embassy to Gaius*,’ in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual 13* (2001)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 332 (Providence RI 2001) 86–101.

In this article the author argues that ‘Philo’s treatise called *Legat.* is to be ranked among Philo’s exegetical writings. In it Philo applies Scriptural principles to historical events in a way similar to that found in his expository writings, such as for example in *Somn.* 2.115–132. The conflict in Alexandria and Jerusalem was a struggle for the way in which the Laws of Moses and ancestral traditions should be interpreted and practised in society’ (88). The laws are here thus interpreted relative to the practices in communal life and the critical events that took place. To demonstrate and substantiate this thesis, Borgen applies an interpretative model, formulated by B. Gerhardsson, that views the Jewish laws as woven into the very fabric of Jewish society and institutions. Borgen then investigates *Legat.* by focusing on the role of the Torah as inner tradition (the Torah-centric relation to the only god), verbal tradition (Torah as words), behavioural tradition (Torah as practised), institutional tradition (Torah as institution) and material tradition (Torah as thing). In each section he starts with aspects from the *Legat.*, and then relates these to comparable discussions in the expository writings, finding that the *Embassy* exemplifies how the Laws functioned in communal life on all these various levels. (TS)

20108. P. BORGEN, ‘Greek Encyclical Education, Philosophy and the Synagogue. Observations from Philo of Alexandria’s Writings,’ in

O. MATSSON (edd.), *Libens Merito. Festskrift til Stig Strømholm på sjuttioårsdagen 16 sept. 2001*, Acta Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsalensis. Kungl. Vetenskapssamhällets Uppsala Handlingar 21 (Uppsala 2001) 61–71.

The author here deals with Philo's views on the relationships between Greek encyclical education, philosophy and the Jewish synagogues. In Philo, we find all the seven *artes generales* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, geometry, arithmetic, music and astronomy) mentioned, though not all in one and the same work. Furthermore, as there were Greek debates on encyclical education and philosophy, Philo's writings also reflect these debates. Philo allows the encyclical education to be characterized as 'virtue', but as a kind of lower virtue than that of revealed wisdom. This distinction is interwoven in Philo's writings. The encyclical education is primarily a preparatory form of education. It should prepare for the true philosophy, which to Philo is the wisdom of Moses. According to Philo the Jewish synagogues are places of philosophy; they are schools of the sacred laws. Several aspects of Greek educational ideas are brought together in Philo's discussion of these issues. But a basic difference between these 'two schools' is that 'the encyclical education uses human teaching as its basis, whereas the philosophy of the Laws of Moses studied in the synagogues has its basis in self-taught wisdom brought forth by nature itself' (p. 67). The last part of this article deals with the dangers to be avoided. One is that the student should not become so charmed by the encyclical education that he ignores philosophy, i.e. that he forgets to proceed. Another danger is getting a false impression of God, still a third one is to misuse it for social and political offices of prestige. In this way Philo's writings demonstrate how central issues in his Greek educational environment also are mirrored in the Jewish fight for their identity in their Greco-Roman world. (TS)

20109. D. BOYARIN, 'The Gospel of the *Memra*: Jewish Binitarians and the Prologue to John,' *Harvard Theological Review* 94 (2001) 243–284, esp. 249–252.

This study concludes, on the basis of a comparative analysis of Philo's Logos theology, the *Memra* of the Targum, and the Prologue of the Gospel of John, that the beginnings of Logos theology and trinitarian reflection are to be found, not in the mere idiosyncrasies of Philo but in the widespread religious imagination of 1st century Jews. In short, Logos theology as it comes to expression in Philo was an integral element of much Jewish and early Christian–Jewish theology. (KAF)

20110. G. R. BOYS-STONES, *Post-Hellenistic Philosophy: a Study of its Development from the Stoics to Origen* (Oxford 2001), esp. 90–95.

In the chapter entitled 'Antiquity in Jewish Apologetic' Boys-Stones also deals with Philo. He poses the question how Philo can explain his belief in the sacred

text of Scripture. Although Philo says little about his exegetical method, it seems that he follows Stoic views in rationalizing his belief in Scripture. He has a deep interest in traditional Greek mythology, and—in contrast to Josephus—offers an allegorization of Greek myths. Philo considers the Jewish tradition as superior to the Greek tradition, which has deviated from the purest tradition of thought. Following Stoic views he sees the validity of a tradition in its antiquity. Because Scripture is older than Greek philosophy it represents a superior theology. In this way he can justify his programme of allegorical exegesis. REVIEWS: J. M. Dillon, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 236–238. (ACG)

2011. R. CACITTI, 'Οἱ εἰς ἔτι νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς κάνοντες. I Therapeuti di Alessandria nella vita spirituale protocristiana,' in L. F. PIZZOLATO and M. RIZZI (edd.), *Origene maestro di vita spirituale*, Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 22 (Milan 2001) 47–89.

An amply annotated study which explores how the Therapeutae as a movement in Judaism—when the latter was not yet separated from nascent Christianity—came to be recognized, by a tradition of which Eusebius is witness, as the first Christians in Egypt. The author reviews the possible (and in his view probable) relationship between the Therapeutae and the Essenes, the historicity of Eusebius' testimony and the characteristics of the Therapeutae's monachism, ecstasis, and use of hymns. He concludes that early Alexandrian Christianity found enough reasons to consider the Therapeutic movement as being part of its own roots. (HMK)

2012. F. CALABI, 'I sacrifici e la loro funzione conoscitiva in Filone di Alessandria,' *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 18 (2001) 101–127.

The author analyses the double presentation of sacrifices in Philo, (1) in the literal sense, i.e. sacrifices as acts of worship rigorously following the norms of Leviticus, and (2) in the allegorical sense, i.e. sacrifices as signification, alluding to reality. The two conceptions are interrelated. It is emphasized that both cultic observance and the spiritual disposition of the sacrificer are of parallel importance. The attention directed at the status and the intention of the sacrificer are not in contrast with the value accorded to the purity of the body and the perfection of the offered victim, which means that the purity of the will of the sacrificer is also not set in opposition to the role of cultic norms centred on Jerusalem and the Temple. The article concentrates in particular on a special aspect of its theme: to what extent can sacrifices, as 'signifiers' of reality, be considered as a 'language', i.e. as formulations of truth expressed by means of cultic acts which refer back to the profound and real significance of the acts involved. Linked to this aspect is the pedagogic significance of the sacrifices which, far from serving God, are in fact useful for human beings. God has no need to receive what already belongs to him. The sacrifices are thus situated at two levels. In the first instance sacrifice is intended in the literal sense as cultic reality, but this does not detract from the sacrifice's allegorical significance and

symbolic value, which surpasses the simple offering of meat or plants. It becomes an evocation of the monad, of the cosmos, of moderation, of knowledge of divine grandeur, of the perfection of God's works. Sacrifices, therefore, are indicators of messages, of linguistic elements which are situated in between reading of truth and instrument of knowledge. (RR)

20113. E. CAROTENUTO, *Tradizione e innovazione nella Historia Ecclesiastica di Eusebio di Cesarea* (Bologna 2001), esp. 134–142.

In dealing with Eusebius' technique of including literal transcriptions of official documents in his *Church History*, the author gives examples of the use of the same technique (for apologetic purposes) in Jewish historiography. She discusses Philo's *Legat.* (and also *Flacc.*) in order to elucidate the context and import of a letter quoted there (*Legat.* 315). It was written by the proconsul Gaius Norbanus Flaccus to the ἄρχοντες of Ephesus and gives evidence of Augustus' favourable attitude toward the Jews. (HMK)

20114. W. CARTER, 'Adult Children and Elderly Parents: the Worlds of the New Testament,' *Journal of Religious Gerontology* 12 (2001) 45–59.

As background for understanding NT teaching about adult children and elderly parents, the author discusses Philo, Aristotle, and the 2nd century C.E. Stoic Hierocles. Philo speaks of honouring one's parents in connection with the Fifth commandment. According to him parents have a God-like role, are superior in virtue because they are older, and function as instructors and benefactors to their children. Philo does not acknowledge any change in the relationship between children and parents as children become adults. Based on Lev 19, Philo also mentions respect for the elderly, for whom parents are 'prototypes'. Philo's teachings are similar to other first-century discussions—which go back to as early as Aristotle—on household organization. Aristotle establishes a hierarchical household structure in which the male is central—as husband, father, master, and wealth-earner. Children are indebted to parents for sustenance, upbringing, and education and remain obligated to parents throughout their lives. Hierocles also emphasizes a child's 'never-ending obligation' to care for parents (p. 52) and elaborates on this obligation in several ways. The NT does not speak with one voice on this issue. Some writings uphold Aristotelian tradition, but Matthew calls for a new kind of community of disciples that is egalitarian and inclusive. This diversity in NT positions opens the way for different Christian responses regarding obligations of adults to their parents. (EB)

20115. A. CHOUFRINE, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis: Studies in Clement of Alexandria's Appropriation of his Background* (diss. Princeton Theological Seminary 2001).

See the summary of the published edition of this dissertation, below 20222.

20116. A. A. DAS, *Paul, the Law and the Covenant* (Peabody Mass. 2001), esp. 23–31.

Philo's views on adherence to the Law and repentance fall within a section of the book dealing with several Jewish writings from 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. which E. P. Sanders had considered representative of covenantal nomism. Contrary to Sanders, Das argues that certain Jewish writers, including Philo, maintained that Jews were expected to obey the Mosaic law perfectly and in its entirety (*Spec.* 4.143–147). Although complete obedience to the Law is impossible, it must be pursued. A merciful God graciously bestows forgiveness on the person who repents and participates in the sacrificial system. (KAF)

20117. E. DASSMANN, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart 2001) Band XIX.

R. Kany, Art. Jünger, 258–345, esp. 283 f. (Disciples); E. Eyben, M. Stein, P. Terbuyken, Art. Jugend, 388–442, esp. 429–430 (Youth); G. Schöllgen, Art. Jungfräulichkeit, 523–592, esp. 544–546 (Virginity); S. Schrek, Art. Kain und Abel, 943–972, esp. 950–951. (DTR)

20118. L. DÍEZ MERINO, 'El hombre: imagen y semejanza de Dios en la literatura judía antigua,' *Ciencia Tomista* 128 (2001) 277–315.

The article examines the extra-biblical Jewish traditions on the creation of man, especially in the Apocryphal books and early rabbinical literature. Although it does not concentrate on Hellenistic Jewish authors, it does mention Philo several times to document the antiquity of various traditions on Adam's creation: the Creator's dialogue with the angels or with their powers, Adam's relationship with the four elements, the narrow correlation between Adam, Logos and the cosmos, the double creation of man and his intermediate nature as a creature with free will. (JPM)

20119. L. H. FELDMAN, 'The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah according to Philo, Pseudo-Philo and Josephus,' *Henoah* 23 (2001) 185–198.

For Philo the virtue of hospitality was particularly important in view of the charge made to the Jews of their being misanthropic and hateful toward strangers. He emphasizes the inhospitality of the people of Sodom in contrast with the hospitality of Abraham and Lot. The Sodomites' second vice was their extreme licentiousness. In Philo's account of Gen 18–19 (in various treatises), Abraham does not dispute or bargain with God, but rather pleads with Him. For Philo there is no problem of theodicy: he justifies the destruction of Sodom by noting that *all* inhabitants were involved in unholy acts. Philo stresses that it is not God who is the cause of evil, but his subordinates who do the work of punishing sinners. Philo couples the Flood (destruction by water)

and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (by fire). In addition to his literal explanation, Philo also, in his usual fashion, explains the episode allegorically. (HMK)

20120. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo's Interpretation of Joshua,' *Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha* 12 (2001) 165–178.

As its title indicates, this article investigates how Philo portrays Joshua. Generally, he tends to downgrade Joshua in order to stress Moses' role. Retelling the war with Amalek (*Mos.* 1.216), he presents Moses as mustering the men and taking the lead, whereas in the biblical account it is Joshua who leads the battle (*Exod* 17:9–13). In the episode with the golden calf, when the people cry (*Exod* 32:17), Joshua represents one's subjective feeling toward the tumult, but Moses knows the true cause (*Ebr.* 96). In his account of the mission of the spies to the promised country, Philo does not mention Caleb and Joshua by name, when they report a deviating point of view (*Mos.* 1.220–236). Philo does, however, discuss at some length the fact that, when Moses chooses a successor, he does not select one of his sons, but appoints Joshua. (ACG)

20121. K. A. FOX, *Paul's Attitude toward the Body in Romans 6–8: Compared with Philo of Alexandria* (diss. St. Michael's College, Toronto 2001).

The inceptive stimulus for this examination of the body was the question whether Paul held a disparaging view of the body. This investigation concludes that he did deprecate the body. For the unbaptized, this attitude came to expression in his assertion that, even though the cosmic power of sin acts upon the entire person, yet there is a peculiar relationship between that power and the body, whereby sin seizes the body, and then from its seat in the body wages war against the mind and its desire to do good. The result of this is the captivity and enslavement of the mind in the body under the power of sin. Further devaluation of the body came into view with respect to Paul's attitude toward the body of the baptized. For while the mind of the baptized experiences life, the body does not. Presently, the body of the believer is mortal and corrupt—like Philo, Paul devalues the body because it is mortal—, and as such it is the dwelling place of sinful passions. To the extent that Paul devalued the body in ways that he did not devalue the mind, it can be said he shared with the dominant Greek culture a deprecating view of the body. Yet when his attitude is brought into relation with Philo's, the author is led to conclude that Paul's devaluation of the body was much less extreme than Philo's. For contrary to Philo, Paul identified with the biblical notion that the body is a territory for purity and dedication to God, and held out a future for the resurrection of the body. (KAF)

20122. L. E. GALLOWAY, *Freedom in 1 Corinthians 9: Paul in Conversation with Epictetus and Philo* (diss. Emory University 2001).

This dissertation formed the basis of a monograph with the same title; see below 20437.

20123. P. VON GEMÜNDE, 'La figure de Jacob dans l'époque hellénistico-romaine: l'exemple de Philon d'Alexandrie,' in J.-D. MACCHI and T. RÖMER (edd.), *Jacob commentaire à plusieurs voix de Gen 25–36: Mélanges offerts à Albert de Pury* (Paris 2001) 358–370.

Even though one finds a fairly critical view of Jacob in the prophetic context, the Jewish authors of the Hellenistic-Roman epoch testify to his idealization. This applies particularly to the most important witness, Philo of Alexandria, who sees in the patriarch the model of progression by $\pi\omicron\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$, i.e. the ascetic *par excellence*. It is his practical engagement in life that makes him show progress. His reward is expressed symbolically by the change of name which the athlete Jacob receives: Israel, which for Philo means 'he who sees God', whereas Jacob is the name for study and progress. Beside this reward, Philo also cites an additional prize, 'numbing of the hip', which symbolizes the paralysis of the impetuosity of the passions. (JR)

20124. D. GOODBLATT [ד. גודבלט], 'איחוד הכהונה והמלוכה רץבא-ישראל', 'בתקופת בית שני' [The Union of Priesthood and Kingship in Second Temple Judea], *Cathedra* 102 (2001) 7–28, 209 [English summary].

The author claims that the commonly perceived opposition in Judaism of the Second Temple period to the union of the offices of priesthood and kingship deserves careful reexamination. In response to a scholarly consensus that interprets widespread enmity to the Hasmonean dynasty as a result of principled opposition to the possibility of the linking of the roles of king and priest, Goodblatt argues that such expressions are consistently *ad hominem* and should not be treated as an expression of ideological incompatibility. In the course of the argument, Philo's standpoint is reviewed (pp. 20–21): the brief examination of five key passages leads the author to the conclusion that Philo is positively inclined in principle to the possibility of the union of kingship and priesthood, while his reservations are always on the level of either practical difficulty or historical circumstance. (DS)

20125. V. GUIGNARD, 'L'interprétation de l'année jubilaire chez Philon,' in L.-J. BORD and D. HAMIDOVIC (edd.), *Jubilé ... Jubilés. Actes du colloque tenu à Angers les 1er, 2 et 3 mars 2000* (Paris 2001) 101–105.

The article deals only with texts from the Exposition of the Law. Philo justifies the Jubilee year from an ethical point of view, but also emphasizes the connections which he sees between the Jubilee year and the contemplation of the universe. One also finds in this context the allegorical interpretation which he habitually proposes for the number fifty, symbol of the soul which, freed from its corporeal bonds, can turn itself towards contemplation. (RR)

20126. L. GUSELLA, 'Esseni, comunità di Qumran, terapeuti,' *Materia Giudaica. Rivista dell'associazione per lo studio del giudaismo* 6 (2001) 223–246.

The article discusses three forms of Jewish community life: the Essenes, the Qumran community, and the Therapeutae. The article begins by looking briefly at the identity and organizational structure of the first two groups and then examines the Therapeutae in greater detail. Described by Philo in his *Contempl.*, the group's characteristic features include the presence of women, celibacy practiced by all members, and total dedication to contemplative life. The discussion focuses on the Therapeutae's social-cultural extraction, their daily contemplative life, the Scriptures and other books they used, the question whether they performed manual labour, their celebration of the Sabbath, their festival of the fiftieth or forty-ninth day (with Nikiprowetzky's reconstruction), their celibacy, the Therapeutrides and the meaning of 'elderly virgins' (*Contempl.* 68 and *Cher.* 50). The article concludes with a discussion whether the three groups were autonomous or related to one another. It is argued that the Essenes and the Qumran community were closely related; the community experience of the Therapeutae, on the other hand, was independent and unique. (HMK; based on the author's English abstract)

20127. A. M. HAHN, *Tohu va-Vohu: Matter, Nothingness and Non-being in Jewish Creation Theology* (diss. Jewish Theological Seminary of America 2001).

Hellenistic Jewish thought, with a special focus on Philo, is one of the four periods dealt with in this dissertation, which investigates the interpretation of the phrase *tohu va-vohu* up to and including the Middle Ages. Two basic approaches are followed. The first is philological, the second utilizes philosophical exegesis and inter-textual analysis. It is speculated that there might have been a kind of 'Jewish matter', in which everything is mixed up as mish-mash, in contrast to the Greek idea of four elements. The ethical connotations of the concept are also pursued throughout the entire period covered by the study. It might seem that matter has a kind of eternity and so can be regarded as somewhat like God. Many authors warn against such a misapprehension. (DTR; based on DAI-A 63/09, p. 3228)

20128. D. M. HAY, 'Philo,' in D. A. CARSON, P. T. O'BRIEN and M. SEIFRID (edd.), *Justification and Variegated Nomism: a Fresh Appraisal of Paul and Second Temple Judaism. Vol. 1, The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.140 (Tübingen 2001) 357–379.

This article is part of a two-volume work intended to assess the usefulness of E. P. Sanders' concept of 'covenantal nomism' for understanding Second Temple Judaism (vol. 1) and Paul (vol. 2). After describing the Philonic corpus,

Hay notes that Philo wrote with different aims for different audiences. He used both literal and allegorical exegesis of the Bible and believed that the deepest understanding of the laws comes from allegorical interpretation. The spiritual journey of the individual is at the core of Philo's religious philosophy, but he was a leader in the Alexandrian Jewish community and he evinces solidarity with the entire Jewish nation. 'Covenantal nomism' is not a useful description for Philo's deeply individualistic religious pattern. He rarely mentions the divine covenant with Israel and his frame of thought is not soteriological. Taking for granted the requirement of obedience to Mosaic laws, Philo equates these laws with the law of nature. He believes in divine grace but also affirms rewards for the good and punishments for the wicked. While Philo does not argue directly that Judaism is the ultimate truth, one may conclude this from his works. (EB)

20129. E. HILGERT, 'The Philo Institute, *Studia Philonica* and their *Diadochoi*,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 13 (2001)], Brown Judaic Studies 332 (Providence RI 2001) 13–24.

The article presents a historical account of Philonic research in the United States from 1970, when the Philo Institute was founded in Chicago through the initiative of Robert Hamerton-Kelly, to the time of writing. It describes the membership of the Philo Institute and the research it carried out on traditions in Philo. A section is devoted to the journal of the Institute, *Studia Philonica*, which appeared from 1971 to 1980. It is then recounted how the group also had cooperative relationships with other research institutes in Europe and Armenia. Finally Hilgert describes how the work of the Institute was continued through the publication of *The Studia Philonica Annual* in the Brown Judaic Series and the Philo Seminar held annually at the meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. See also the article by Sterling below 20172. (DTR)

20130. M. IDEL, 'On Binary 'Beginnings' in Kabbalah Scholarship,' in G. W. MOST (ed.), *Historicization—Historisierung*, Aporemata 5 (Göttingen 2001) 313–337, esp. 317–318, 334–335.

Interesting observations on Wolfson's theory on the beginnings of Western religious philosophy in which Philo played a central role. Since the American scholar regarded the biblical elements as dominant and the role of Greek philosophy as subordinate, it should be seen as a non-symmetric binary synthesis. Comparisons are also made with Scholem's theory, which attributed a dominant role to Jewish gnosticism. In both cases biographical factors may explain why they sought for beginnings. (DTR)

20131. M. A. JACKSON-MCCABE, *Logos and Law in the Letter of James: the Law of Nature, the Law of Moses, and the Law of Freedom*, *New Testament Studies* 100 (Leiden 2001), esp. 87–95.

Revised version of the University of Chicago dissertation completed in 1998 (see above 9851). Although there are many decidedly Stoic terms and concepts in Philo's treatment of natural law, his presentation of such ideas is scarcely typical of the Stoics in every respect, because it is also informed by his dependence on other traditions of discourse, whether Middle Platonic, Neo-Pythagorean or Jewish. The result is a quite distinctive presentation of the Stoic correlation of λόγος and law. (DTR)

20132. D. R. JOHNSON, *Herod Agrippa's Letter to Gaius (Caligula): a Manifesto for Peace in Judaea* (M.A. thesis, California State University, Fresno 2001).

In 40 C.E. the emperor Gaius (Caligula) ordered his statue to be placed inside the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem. Herod Agrippa I, the King of Judaea and a good friend of the emperor, wrote a letter to Gaius attempting to convince him to cancel the decree. According to the Jewish writer Philo of Alexandria, who preserved Agrippa's letter in his writings, the letter convinced Gaius to cancel the decree. Three months later, Gaius was assassinated, ending the threat to the Temple and the expected violent Jewish resistance. While many historians are convinced that Philo wrote the letter, this study shows that the evidence points toward Herod Agrippa as its author. The letter not only revealed Agrippa's views towards the Jewish God, Yahweh, but it was also an effective manifesto for peace between the Jews and the Romans who ruled over them. (DTR; based on MAI 40/03, p. 585)

20133. C. H. KAHN, *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans* (Indianapolis 2001), esp. 99–104.

A number of pages are devoted to Philo as part of this valuable general introduction to Pythagoreanism. He is included in the chapter on the Neopythagoreans. After discussing the philosophy of Eudorus Kahn states: 'It is a Platonism of this sort, with heavy Pythagorean overtones, that we find reflected a generation or two later in the Biblical allegories of Philo of Alexandria' (p. 99). Philo's writings can thus help to 'put flesh and bones on the bare skeleton provided by the fragments and testimonia for Eudorus' (*ibid.*) A brief discussion follows on Philo's theology and use of number symbolism, both of which combine Pythagorean and biblical/Jewish ideas. (DTR)

20134. A. KAMESAR, 'Ambrose, Philo, and the Presence of Art in the Bible,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9 (2001) 73–103.

The article is a treatment of Ambrose, *Ep.* 55, in which he addresses a problem that had long troubled educated readers of the Greek and Latin Bible, but came especially to the fore during the pagan-Christian cultural rivalries of the fourth century. The problem was that the biblical authors did not appear to have written their works according to principles of literary art involving rules of composition and style. In defence Ambrose puts forward the assertion that the requisites of art are in fact indicated in the biblical text. In formulating this claim he relies heavily on a section of Philo's treatise *Fug.* 132–136. However, in this passage Philo is not concerned with the issue of art in the Bible. Nevertheless, although Ambrose does remove the Philonic passage from its original context, in his own way he does return to that context. Suggestions are made as to why Ambrose took the passage in the direction that he does. These reasons have as much to do with changes in the general philosophical and religious environment in the period between the two authors as they do with specifically Christian as opposed to Jewish approaches to the divine text. (1) The tendency to concretize the abstract divine word as the written text of Scripture is a general post-Philonic development in both Judaism and Christianity. (2) The manner in which Ambrose interprets the three-fold scheme of *Fug.* 133 is probably due to a late Platonic (rather than Stoic) orientation towards the concepts involved. On the other hand (1) the assumption that the ram of Gen 22 typifies the Christ/Logos is based on a Christian reading of the text, and (2) the identification of the Christ/Logos with the 'inscribed' logos is derived from Alexandrian Christian theology. However, the identification of the λόγος with the ἀποτέλεσμα of the text is based on a tighter application of Philo's allegorization to the actual wording of the text. The implications of this identification as refined by Ambrose, although seemingly alien to the apparent context at the beginning of the letter, move in a thoroughly Philonic direction. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20135. A. KASHER [אריה כשר], 'שאלת שוויון הזכויות של יהודי התפוצה', 'ההלניסטית-הרומית' ['The Question of Equal Civic Rights for the Jews of Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora'] in I. GAFNI (ed.), *Kehal Yisrael: Jewish Self-Rule through the Ages*, Volume One: the Ancient Period (Jerusalem 2001) 55–73.

The article presents a convenient summary statement of the author's ongoing research (see especially R-R 8527) into the legal status and rights of the Jewish population of the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora. With a primary dependence on the testimony of Josephus, reinforced by references to Philo's historical works, Kasher argues that the Jews of Alexandria constituted a *πολίτευμα*, with the right to practice their own customs and to participate in the general civic rights of all those classified as citizens. (DS)

20136. U. KELLERMAN, 'Der Dekalog in den Schriften des Frühjudentums: ein Überblick,' in H. Graf REVENTLOW (ed.), *Weisheit, Ethos und*

Gebot: Weisheits- und Dekalogtraditionen im frühen Judentum, *Biblich-Theologische Studien* 43 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2001) 147–226, esp. 161–170.

The author gives an overall view of the history of reception (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) of the Decalogue in Early Judaism. Among other Jewish Greek Literature—Septuagint, Letter of Aristeas, Wisdom of Solomon and the Greek Jewish Tradition around Alexandria—it is especially Philo who underlines the centrality of the Decalogue. In the end of the treatise *Decal.* 154–173 he summarizes his understanding: the Decalogue is an abbreviation of the whole Torah. The Decalogue is related to all people, not restricted exclusively to Israel. This text (and the parallel in *Her.* 168–173) is discussed and its importance for Philo underlined. According to Philo the Decalogue seems to be an universal call of Jewish law: law for the whole world (cf. in the same collection D. Sanger, ‘Tora fur die Volker—Weisungen der Liebe: Zur Rezeption des Dekalogs im fruhem Judentum und Neuen Testament’ 97–146, esp. 104–106). Kellermann then goes on to explore the Palestinian (Josephus; Ps.Philo) and Samaritan tradition, as well as Qumran texts and early Jewish Prayers. (GS)

20137. J. KIRWAN, ‘The Postmodernist’s Journey into Nature: from Philo of Alexandria to Pocahontas and Back Again, by Way of Jean-Franois Lyotard,’ in B. HERZOGENRATH (ed.), *From Virgin Land to Disney World: Nature and Its Discontents in the USA of Yesterday and Today*, *Critical Studies* 15 (Amsterdam 2001) 33–52.

This article is devoted to an aspect of Jean-Franois Lyotard’s thought that pertains to nature. In spite of what the title might suggest, Philo is mentioned only once toward the end, in a reference to ‘the narrative of Neoplatonism, that moment which links the *via negativa* of Philo of Alexandria to the Christianity of Augustine’ (p. 49). (EB)

20138. M. KISTER, ‘‘Leave the Dead to Bury their own Dead,’’ in J. L. KUGEL (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (Cambridge Mass. 2001) 43–56.

Abraham’s leaving his father’s house in response to God’s command in Gen 12:1 raises for several interpreters the question of whether he ignored his filial responsibility to stay with his father, Terah, and bury him at his death. Philo (*Migr.* 177) and Stephen (Acts 7:4) maintain that Abraham left Haran after his father died, a claim with no basis in the LXX. The solution of R. Isaac in *Genesis Rabbah* that Terah was spiritually dead may indicate a Jewish background to Jesus’ saying in Matt. 8:21–22 (Luke 9:59–60): ‘Leave the dead to bury their own dead.’ Figurative understandings of ‘dead’ as spiritually dead can be found in Philo and rabbinic sources, which have in common some prooftexts and exegetical methods. A related notion is that ‘the righteous dead are really alive.’ In rabbinic and Hellenistic writers, including Philo, death might refer to wickedness generally, to participation in worldly life, or to life as a pagan.

Conversion is often seen as a new birth, separating proselytes from their families of origin. These notions about conversion are reflected in interpretations of Abraham and Terah found in Jerome and *Genesis Rabbah*. (EB)

20139. J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford 2001), esp. 64–66.

This monograph contains a brief discussion on impurity and sin in Philo's thought. For Philo there is clearly a relationship between ritual and moral impurity. Ritual impurity, affecting our bodies, is resolved by ritual purification, and the defilement of the soul, caused by various kinds of sins, is resolved by sacrifices. Because the soul is superior to the body, moral purity is more important than ritual purity, Philo does not consider ritual impurity as a punishment for sin: it is natural and often unavoidable. (ACG)

20140. C. Kraus Reggiani, 'Il monoteismo ebraico e il concetto di mediazione,' *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 67 = N.S. 25 (2001) 5–35, esp. 12–21.

Within the culture and religiosity of Israel there is the significant problem of the relationship between the proclaimed transcendence of God (from which derives his substantial unknowability and ineffability) and his constant presence in the world and in the history of Israel. For this reason it has proved necessary to single out mediating figures, among which the Logos of Philo stands out. In the few pages that Kraus Reggiani devotes to this argument, she succeeds in giving a complete outline of the significance of the Logos in Philo by means of citations and comments on the chief Philonic texts on this subject. The author warns, however, that 'logos' is an ambiguous term with a diversity of meaning that can be quite disconcerting. She adds that its significance sometimes is confused or identified with the biblical Wisdom. Thus if the Logos is the principle (ἀρχή) in philosophical contexts, Wisdom is the basic principle in the biblical context. (RR)

20141. J. Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 84 (Tübingen 2001).

The monograph offers a detailed description and analysis of Philo's views on worship. It is argued that it is problematic to use a definition of the modern term 'worship' as the starting point of the research. Instead Philo's own terminology should be used. The study analyses the terrain covered by the term *λάτρευσις* (even though it is not very common in Philo) rather than *θεραπεία* (which is too broad). It consists of three main chapters. The first discusses the Jewish festivals, with a special emphasis on the Sabbath and Sabbath assemblies. Leonhardt strongly rejects any notion of distinguishing between Sabbath observance and Sabbath worship. For Philo the very purpose of the Sabbath is to rest from one's labours so that one can study the holy books and so approach God. The second

main chapter treats prayer (including vows) and praise, with a long section on Philo's use of the Psalms and on his references to psalm and hymn singing. Prayers, vows and hymns are all associated with thanksgiving to God. But for Philo εὐχαριστία (a largely non-Septuagintal term) is the fundamental attitude behind all religious acts and must pervade every aspect of worship. The third chapter focuses on the Temple in Jerusalem, including issues of tax, offerings, sacrifice and purification. Leonhardt strongly emphasizes Philo's loyalty to the Temple. This devotion allows him to present Judaism as the ultimate cult for the entire world, not an ideal as in Plato, but actually realized in practice through its worship of the one God and creator. The study concludes with a chapter summarizing its results. It emerges that Philo's knowledge of Jewish tradition appears to be broader than is sometimes assumed. Material aspects of religious ritual remain important for the social and corporeal aspects of life. The symbolic meaning of religious acts leads the worshipper to a life in direct relation to God the creator. This means that for Philo Jewish worship offers what no other Hellenistic cult could, a set of rites that do justice to the social needs of humanity but also offer a philosophical system that satisfies the needs of the intellect. For Philo, therefore, Judaism is the ultimate Hellenistic cult (cf. p. 294). REVIEWS: C. Grappe, *RHPPhR* 82 (2002) 213–214; A. M. Mazzanti, *Adamant* 8 (2002) 352–354; D. M. Hay, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 158–160; P. W. van der Horst, *NTT* 57 (2003) 161–162; H.-J. Klauck, *BZ* 47 (2003) 153–155; H. Löhr, *ThLZ* 128 (2003) 505–509; R. Vicent, *Sales* 65 (2003) 202–203; D. T. Runia, *JThS* 55 (2004) 690–693. (DTR)

20142. J. P. MARTÍN, 'El lenguaje de la filosofía y Filón: tema de un coloquio internacional,' *Méthexis* 14 (2001) 135–143.

This brief article comments on almost all the papers of the Conference on Philo held in Paris in 1995 and published in the volume *Philon d'Alexandrie et le langage de la Philosophie* (see above 9865). The commentary recognizes that we are still a long way from consensus among the interpreters of Philo, but it also highlights the fact that steps have been taken to understand the logic of the author's eclecticism, which means not reducing it to the sum of its sources. (JPM)

20143. Y. D. MATUSOVA, 'Philo of Alexandria and Greek Doxography' [Russian], *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1 (2001) 40–52.

The article was written partly in response to D. T. Runia's note on 'Why does Clement of Alexandria call Philo the Pythagorean?' in *VChr* 49 (1995) 8–10 (= RRS 9569). While commenting on Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.15.72–73, the author suggests that the somewhat strange philosophical school attribution of Aristobulus and Philo means simply that Clement puts these persons in the general perspective of Greek philosophy. Matusova notes that both authors believe that the teaching of Moses was accepted by Pythagoras followed by Plato and Aristotle. As Matusova writes, 'it was not unusual for the first generation of Aristotle's disciples to connect the Pythagorean doctrine

of which they produced the first systematic descriptions, with the Orient in general and with Judaea in particular. Later these ideas became very popular with the Neopythagoreans whose literary and philosophical activity was closely connected with the heritage of the Peripatos'. While Aristoxenus (at Hippolytus *Haer.* 1.2.11, 18, Eusebius *PE* 11.3.8) for the first time connects the person of Pythagoras with the Chaldeans, Theophrastus (*De pietate*, at Porphyry *De Abst.* 2.26) and Clearchos (*De Educatione*, at D.L. 1.9, cf. *De somno*, at Jos. *Ap.* 1.179) develop the idea of borrowing from the Eastern wisdom. Sotion of Alexandria (3rd century B.C.E.) (cf. Diels *Dox. Gr.* 147) and Heraclides Lembos (*ibid.* 148–150) are doxographers who testify to the fact that Pythagoras has borrowed some of his ideas from the wisdom of the East. Hermippus was the first known author to witness to Pythagoras' connection with Judeans (at Jos. *Ap.* 1.164–165; Origen, *Cels.* 1.115). Aristobulus says that Pythagoras draws heavily on the teaching of Moses and so does Philo when he connects Plato's philosophy with Mosaic teaching. The author concludes that the epithets of 'Peripatetic' and 'Pythagorean' given by Clement to Aristobulus and Philo in connection with the history of philosophy illustrate the two periods (Post-Aristotelian and Neo-Pythagorean) of this doxographic tradition. (DTR; based on summary supplied by the author)

20144. W. B. McNUTT, *Philo of Alexandria: an Exegete of Scripture* (diss. University of Missouri, Kansas City 2001).

Philo of Alexandria has been characterized by scholars of the twentieth century as a great philosopher (Harry A. Wolfson), a Hellenized mystic (Erwin R. Goodenough, David Winston), and recently as an allegorizing exegete of the Hebrew scriptures (Valentin Nikiprowetzky and Peder Borgen). Nikiprowetzky and Borgen viewed Philo as an exegete, whose commentaries are designed to explain the Pentateuch to a thoroughly Hellenized religious community. While this debate continues among Philonic scholars, contemporary New Testament studies have downplayed at best, and ignored at worst, Philo's contribution to the understanding of the Christian scriptures. By comparing Philo's writings with Paul's Letter to the Galatians, this dissertation attempts to advance the perspective that Philo was an exegete and that his writings are useful to New Testament scholarship. After a brief biographical introduction to the lives of Philo and Paul in ch. 1, the dissertation surveys the survival of Philo's writings and outlines Philonic scholarship of the twentieth century in ch. 2. Ch. 3 provides a historical backdrop by surveying the history of interpretation of the Jews during the Second Temple period and the Christians in the early first century. Following the survey, this chapter focuses on three key features of Philo's and Paul's interpretative methodology: the socio-historical contexts of their first-century readers, their use of the literal and allegorical methods of interpretation, and their apologetic motives. Ch. 4 compares Philo's and Paul's interpretations of the narrative of Abraham, Sarah and Hagar found in Gen 15–21. Using the socio-historical discussion of ch. 3 as a point of departure, this chapter juxtaposes the author's interpretative rationale and structure in order to discover common exegetical elements. In this approach to Philo as an exegete of scripture, the

dissertation attempts to uncover aspects about Philo's Alexandrian context and writings that may have been similar to Paul's historical horizon and letters. Ch. 5 highlights the contributions of each chapter and posits areas for further study. While no single factor may be sufficient to support the entire thesis, the cumulative effect of the biographical, motivational, and exegetical similarities uncovered in this dissertation offer valid evidence for the comparative approach to understanding Philo of Alexandria. (DTR; based on DAI-A 62-03, p. 1068)

20145. A. NAGY, 'A Timaiosz recepciója Philónnál: *De opificio mundi* [Hungarian: The Reception of the *Timaeus* in Philo of Alexandria: *De opificio mundi*]; *Filozófiai Folyóirat [Pécs]* 3 (2001) 134-151.

Philo's cosmogonical theory is systematically explained in his work *Opif.*, considered as an allegorical interpretation of the book of Genesis. This interpretation, however, in some crucial points shows remarkable parallels, formal as well as essential ones, to Plato's *Timaeus*. The paper examines the possible influences, affinities and differences between the two texts. It concentrates, through a comparative study, on the examination of the structural points of the two theories on the creation of the world, namely (i) the relationship between model and image both at the ontological and the epistemological level, (ii) the reasons of a theory of double creation in Philo, (iii) the types of causes introduced for the explanation of cosmogonical processes, and (iv) the roles and characteristics of the precosmic stage, time and intermediate creatures. Finally the author suggests that Philo's work should be regarded as a fine example of the way in which the philosophical exegesis introduces a necessary alteration of the interpreter's disposition and point of view in relation to the text she has to explain. Philo, in fact, passes the bounds set by religion not only by making use of a terminology which is completely different from the religious one. His allegorical interpretation gives a new perspective to universal questions rendering them more existential and more immediately relevant for the individual. (DTR; based on summary supplied by the author)

20146. M. R. NIEHOFF, *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 86 (Tübingen 2001).

The author studies Philo's ideas by drawing upon the theories of F. Barth and C. Geertz. Emphasizing subjective rather than objective standards, these thinkers see the key to understanding ethnic identity and culture in how groups perceive themselves in relation to others and how groups select features of their environment as self-defining. Following the Introduction, Part One on Jewish identity covers how Philo perceived Jews in relation to Egyptians, Romans, and Greeks. Two other chapters are devoted to 'Jewish Descent: Mothers and Mothercities' and 'Jewish Values: Religion and Self-Restraint.' An overriding theme in Part One is that Philo's views on all these topics were strongly influenced by 'the contemporary Roman discourse.' Philo wrote for his elite Jewish associates, whose opinions he wished to bring into accord with this discourse of the ruling

class. Part Two, on Jewish culture, includes his discussion of the birth and raising of Jewish children, the centrality of Scripture in his thought and his ideas about Divine language, his use of parables, and his portrayal of the connection between Nature and the Jewish way of life. REVIEWS: E. Birnbaum, *SPhA* 14 (2002) 186–193; F. Calabi, *Adamant* 8 (2002) 354–357; L. H. Feldman, *SCI* 21 (2002) 314–318; J. M. G. Barclay, *JJS* 54 (2003) 154–156; A. C. Geljon, *JSJ* 34 (2003) 102–105; F. J. Murphy, *CBQ* 65 (2003) 647–648; R. Vicent, *Sales* 65 (2003) 186–187; J. Neusner, *RRJ* 8 (2005) 331–333. (EB)

20147. D. NOY, ‘A Sight Unfit to See’: Jewish Reactions to the Roman Imperial Cult, *Classics Ireland* 8 (2001) 68–83.

Taking his point of departure in Gaius Caligula’s decision to have a statue of himself installed in the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem, the author discusses this and other episodes in order to reach a conclusion on the general Jewish reactions to the imperial cult. Using the works of Philo, Josephus, the Rabbis and some papyri and inscriptions, the author’s main thesis is that the case of Caligula was exceptional, and that usually there was no pressure from central authorities for Jews to compromise with the cult, although the issue may have been less clear-cut at a local level. In general, the Jews seem to have been content to ignore the imperial cult, and the proponents of the cult were content to ignore the Jews. (TS)

20148. M. OSMANŚKI, *Logos i stworzenie. Filozoficzna interpretacja traktatu De opificio mundi Filona z Aleksandrii* [Polish: *Logos and creation. Philosophical Interpretation of the treatise De opificio mundi of Philo of Alexandria*] (Lublin 2001).

In this book the author focuses on the problem of Logos in *Opif.* and its place within Philo’s conception of creation. The main analysis is preceded by a brief exposition of Philo’s life, his philosophical background, the structure and place of the treatise in the Philonic corpus and the sources of his conception of the Logos. In the first chapter two main questions are raised: (1) Is the Logos to be identified with or distinguished from God? (2) Is the Logos created or not created? In the next chapter questions concerning the immanent Logos are raised: (1) Is it material or immaterial? (2) How can its relation to nature or the law of nature be described? In the final chapter the Logos’ relation to human beings is analysed. Each of these questions is preceded by a review of scholarly positions on the subject. Although the author refrains from giving definitive answers to these problems, he argues for an interpretation of the Logos in Philo as ‘God’s mind turned towards creation’. Within the Logos thus conceived he distinguishes four aspects: (1) formal, i.e. thinking itself; (2) material, i.e. the ideas conceived; (3) unifying or arranging, i.e. the unity of all the ideas forming one archetype; (4) creative, i.e. creating the sensible world according to the archetype. In a formal sense the Logos is the principle of the unity of these four aspects in the act of creation. It seems that the manifestation of these four

elements are identifiable in the material world (though under different names), which means that the basic unity of the transcendent and immanent aspects of the Logos can be maintained: God's mind, which serves as an 'instrument' during creation, is 'then' introduced into the world and serves as nature (or immanent Logos) in maintaining its existence and governing its course. The Logos' relation to humankind is twofold: anthropological, which consists in likeness (or kinship) between God and the human mind, and ethical, which arises from that likeness and consists either in direct illumination of the human mind by the Logos, or in an indirect influence through the mediation of the Mosaic Law. In the view of the author Philo's conception of the Logos may be regarded as his answer to the difficulties contained in the biblical account of creation, namely the creation of the sensible world by the transcendent God, God's presence in this world 'after' creation, the resemblance of human beings to God, and the story of creation in six days. Thus the conception of the Logos makes it possible for Philo (1) to include earlier notions of creation such as forming or ordering (Plato) and thinking (Aristotle), (2) to emphasize the absolute transcendence of God who 'limits' his gifts in the Logos, (3) to bring together God (the Logos as God's *nous*) and the creation (the Logos as its model), (4) to explain God's activity as *creatio continua*, and (5) to show that God's creative activity is proportional to its subject (the Logos as the model and guide for the world and human beings). (DTR; based on the author's summary)

20149. A. PAUL, 'Les «Écritures» dans la société juive au temps de Jésus,' *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 89 (2001) 13–42.

There are three witnesses to the Jewish scriptures at the time of Jesus: the Dead Sea scrolls, the works of Philo of Alexandria and the writings of the New Testament. Thanks to the texts of Qumran we understand better the pre-eminent role of the Torah and its cult, a cult which is also attested by Philo. He comments on the Torah and is also the first extant witness to its composition in five books. It seems that, although he does mention other books ('Royal books,' 'Hymns,' 'Proverbs'), Scripture for him is only the Law of Moses. (JR)

20150. F. PETIT, *La Chaîne sur l'Exode. IV Fonds caténique ancien (Exode 15,22–40,32)*, *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 11 (Louvain 2001).

Final of the four volumes devoted to a critical edition of the *Catena on Exodus*. At this point the primary tradition of the *Catena* discontinues and the editor is constrained to use the traces that have remained in a secondary tradition. The evidence of Procopius also continues. The use of Philo in this volume is confined to twenty excerpts all taken from *QE* 2.1–49 and relating to Exod 20 to 24. The edition contains one fragment (n. 699) that was hitherto attributed to Isidore of Pelusium, but the author has discovered that it is a combination of *QE* 2.11 and 12. **REVIEWS:** D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 162–165. (DTR)

20151. T. E. PHILLIPS, 'Revisiting Philo: Discussions of Wealth and Poverty in Philo's Ethical Discourse,' *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 83 (2001) 111–121.

The author revisits the debate regarding Philo's attitude toward wealth and poverty. Phillips sides with Schmidt (cf. R-R 8365) in detecting an 'observable pattern' in Philo which helps to explain the supposed contradiction that Mealand saw between Philo's great personal wealth and his criticism of it (cf. R-R 7833). Unlike in Schmidt, however, the basis for Philo's coherent view on wealth and poverty is not located in the will of the one possessing wealth but in one's control over the desire for possessions. See further R-R 8532. (KAF)

20152. R. PLUNKETT-DOWLING, *Reading and Restoration: Paul's Use of Scripture in 2 Corinthians 1–9* (diss. Yale University 2001).

In arguing that Paul regarded opposition to his ministry as a defection from God, the author analyses his writings as part of a community of Hellenistic–Jewish readers and frequently compares him with Philo. (DTR; based on DAI-A 62–10A, p. 3433)

20153. P. H. POIRIER, 'Gnose et patristique. À propos de deux attestations du discours intérieur,' *Laval Théologique et Philosophique* 57 (2001) 235–241.

The author returns to the interpretation of QG 4.96 made by C. Panaccio, *Le discours intérieur*, p. 70 (= 9962). In his view, if one bases one's reading on the Armenian text and the Greek original behind it, it emerges that according to Philo there are two kinds of discourse, the one interior, the other exterior. The former is performed by means of reasonings, reflections and the intelligible, the other by nouns and verbs. (JR)

20154. F. RAURELL, 'La recerca sobre els LXX,' *Estudios Franciscanos* 102 (2001) 1–52, esp. 5–7.

In the first section of the article Philo is mentioned in order to show the antiquity of the LXX. At the same time, however, it is recognized that in Philo the biblical text does not always belong to our established LXX. (JPM)

20155. J. RIAUD, 'La célébration de chaque septième sabbat dans la communauté des Thérapeutes d'Alexandrie,' in L.-J. BORD and D. HAMIDOVIC (edd.), *Jubilé ... Jubilés. Actes du colloque tenu à Angers les 1^{er}, 2 et 3 mars 2000* (Paris 2001) 107–123.

Returning to the interpretation of *Contempl.* 65, the author notes that it is not the fiftieth day but rather the forty-ninth which the Therapeutae celebrate. There are two reasons for honouring this day; first, its connection with the

sacred number seven; second, its proximity to the sacred fifty, which for the Therapeutae has a symbolic value, being the 'number of liberation'. As for the great feast allotted to the number fifty and of which the seventh sabbath is the prelude, it can either be Pentecost or the Jubilee. But QG 2.5 invites us to give precedence to the Jubilee. (JR)

20156. J. R. ROYSE, 'Philo's Division of his Works into Books,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay [= The Studia Philonica Annual 13 (2001)]*, Brown Judaic Studies 332 (Providence RI 2001) 59–85.

By the time of Philo it had become established practice in the ancient world for writers to divide longer works into books, which generally coincided with the length of writing that could be placed on a papyrus scroll. This was not only a practical feature, but was also used for literary purposes and so had an effect on how works were planned and written. In this article Royse presents a comprehensive and detailed treatment of all the information we can find in Philo about how he consciously divided up his treatises. After discussing the ancient context, he first examines how Philo refers to his own works. This often occurs at the beginning of treatises. Philo is generally rather inexact about the number of books in a particular work or series, which is in marked contrast to Josephus' practice. Next the terminology that Philo uses for his books is analysed. The relevant terms are: βιβλίον/βιβλος, γραφή, λόγος, πραγματεία and σύνταξις. Further evidence on Philo's practice is supplied by divisions in manuscripts of his writings, which often appear to reflect his original divisions, and also by the way he refers to the writings of others. In the final part of the article Royse returns to the difficult question of the original division into books of the *Quaestiones* (cf. R-R 7736). It is conceded that the evidence is fragmentary and sometimes contradictory. Nevertheless, Royse argues, it is possible to reconstruct the original structure so that justice is done to most of the evidence. Philo appears to take the physical constraints of books in his time into account, but also wishes to follow the divisions of the biblical text as used in Synagogue readings of his time. (DTR)

20157. A. RUNESSON, *The Origins of the Synagogue. A Socio-Historical Study*, Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series 37 (Stockholm 2001), esp. 80–108, 223 f., 446–459.

This fine study, a dissertation written at the University of Lund, Sweden, and supervised by Prof. Birger Olsson, is part of a large-scale project directed by him on *The Ancient Synagogue: Birthplace of Two World Religions*. The author's ambition is to present a socio-historical investigation of the origins of the ancient synagogue. After an introduction (pp. 21–66), he deals with Important Views and Theories over 2000 Years (pp. 67–168), The First Century Synagogue (pp. 169–236), The Origins of the Synagogue in the Land of Israel (pp. 237–400), The

Origins of the Synagogue in the Diaspora (pp. 401–476), and a summary chapter on Some Decisive Stages in the Development of the Early Synagogue (pp. 477–490). He further presents his aim as to ‘define what is meant by ‘synagogue’ and trace its origins in the Land of Israel as well as in the Diaspora.’ In doing this, he focuses especially on issues such as institutional, liturgical, non-liturgical and spatial aspects of his subject, but the aspect functioning as a *sine qua non* for the identification of a ‘synagogue’ is the public reading and teaching of the Torah. His main and partly innovative conclusions are that the origin of the ‘synagogue’ as a public assembly including Torah-reading rituals is bound to the administrative structure of the land of Israel and goes back to the Persian period, more specifically to the reign of Artaxerxes (p. 479). The first signs of non-official institutions dedicated to communal reading and study of Torah appeared somewhere in the final phase of the Early Hellenistic and the beginning of the late Hellenistic period. These voluntary associations were probably influenced by the general pattern of the Graeco-Roman *thiasoi* or *collegia*. The developments of the ‘synagogue’ in the Diaspora were, however, quite different from those in the land of Israel. In Diaspora countries with an ancient Jewish presence, the ‘synagogue’ grew from Jewish temples (p. 484). The author deals with the works of Philo in several of his sections, not least in Chapter Five on the origins of the Diaspora synagogue. Concerning Egypt, he argues that the ‘synagogues’ of the first century C.E. were, spatially, temples into which ‘synagogue’ rituals had been incorporated. This he also finds confirmed by the use of the term *προσευχή* in several texts, Philo’s works included. Furthermore, he reads Philo, *Spec.* 3.171 as addressed to Jews, and its reference to a Jewish Temple. The same basic interpretation he finds valid for *Deus* 8 and *Flacc.* 48–49. Hence, the *προσευχή*-synagogue of Philo’s time grew from a temple institution, and in fact, was still a temple in its nature and architecture. (TS)

20158. D. T. RUNIA, ‘Philo’s Reading of the Psalms,’ in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual 13 (2001)*], *Brown Judaic Studies* 332 (Providence RI 2001) 102–121.

The book of the Psalms has played a major role in expressing both Jewish and Christian spirituality. Philo refers to the Psalms about forty times, which is much less than his references to the Pentateuch. Nevertheless it seems worthwhile to look at his use and reading of the book in closer detail. The article first presents the evidence. Twenty quotations or paraphrases and ten allusions to Psalm texts are presented, divided into Philo’s three major biblical commentaries. In each case location, context, method of introduction, text, method of citation and pretext for citation are outlined. The evidence fully justifies the division into two distinct groups. For example, most allusions are found in the Exposition of the Law, which contains no cited texts at all. On the other hand, all quotations or paraphrases are introduced by an explicit introductory formula preceding the text itself. In all cases the text cited is very short. In only one case does it exceed

ten words (*Gig.* 17). All the passages discussed occur in allegorical contexts. Why does Philo quote them, even though they are not part of the Pentateuch? The author suggests three reasons: (1) evidence or proof of a daring exegesis; (2) illustration of an exegetical point being made; (3) offering fresh material which allows the exegesis to be substantiated and advanced. A brief section of the article also discusses other references to hymns and songs, e.g. in the accounts of the Therapeutae and of the events in Alexandria involving the Prefect Flaccus. The article ends with a discussion of Philo and the spirituality of the Psalms. The full potential of that spirituality is certainly not exploited. On occasion it is even toned down. Philo does not feel a need to exploit it because through his use of the allegorical method he is already spiritualizing the Pentateuch. (DTR)

20159. D. T. RUNIA, 'Philon d'Alexandria devant le Pentateuque,' in C. DOGNIEZ and M. HARL (edd.), *La Bible des Septante: Le Pentateuque d'Alexandrie* (Paris 2001) 99–105.

Brief account of Philo's distinctive interpretation of the books of Moses as part of the Introduction to the publication of the translations of the entire Pentateuch prepared by the project 'La Bible d'Alexandrie'. Philo's three commentaries are discussed and attention is drawn to the diversity of interpretations which they contain, which is at least partly explained by his debts to Alexandrian predecessors. The survival of Philo's works is a great stroke of luck, because they yield insight into a very different kind of Judaism than is found in the Rabbinic tradition, a form of Judaism which was later to exert considerable influence on the Fathers of the Church. (DTR)

20160. K.-G. SANDELIN, 'Philo's Ambivalence towards Statues,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay [= The Studia Philonica Annual 13 (2001)]*, *Brown Judaic Studies* 332 (Providence RI 2001) 122–138.

In his ways of handling statues, either as concrete phenomena or as elements in figurative speculation, Philo demonstrates the difficulty he had in balancing between the commitment to his Jewish religious heritage and his fondness for the culture of the Greco-Roman world. He fights for monotheism and aniconic religion against polytheism and worship of images. For his basic Jewish attitude he every now and then finds support in ideas of a Platonic kind (e.g. *Decal.* 66–67; *Spec.* 1.28–29; *Gig.* 59). Nevertheless, Sandelin argues, Philo cannot always resist the fascination that statues of the gods exert on his mind. When in a non-Jewish manner he evaluates them in positive terms, he reveals his indebtedness to Platonism (cf. *Opif.* 69; *Ebr.* 88 ff.). There exists at this point in his thought a conflict between the Jewish and the Greek ideas that cannot be reconciled. (TS; with the assistance of the author)

20161. D. SÄNGER, 'Torah für die Völker—Weisungen der Liebe: Zur Rezeption des Dekalogs im frühen Judentum und Neuen Testament,' in H. Graf REVENTLOW (ed.), *Weisheit, Ethos und Gebot: Weisheits- und Dekalogtraditionen in der Bibel und im frühen Judentum* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2001) 97–146, esp. 104–106.

Philo's exegesis of the Decalogue emphasizes two aspects: first its importance in relation to the other legal regulations; second its role as an abbreviation of the whole Torah, since the other legal injunctions are linked to it (see also the article of U. Kellermann in this same collection, summarized above **20136**). The second—ethical—tablet seems to be more important for him than the first. Nevertheless these systematics do not diminish the Decalogue's authority. Säger emphasizes this Jewish background also in the New Testament understanding of the Decalogue. Even if the Decalogue itself is not cited often, it remains the fundamental orientation for ethics. In particular the second tablet was the basis for the dialogue with non-Jews, as is shown by the majority of New Testament texts in which the Decalogue is cited. (GS)

20162. U. SCHNELLE, M. LABAHN and M. LANG (edd.), *Neuer Wettstein: Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechenland und Hellenismus. Band I/2 Texte zum Johannesevangelium* (Berlin 2001).

The project of revising Wettstein's collection of parallels to the New Testament is continued with a compendious volume on the Gospel of John (see below under G. Strecker). Once again no author is used more often to illuminate the Gospel text than Philo. There are 303 Philonic extracts, listed on pp. 917–921. For example for John 1:1 the following passages are cited: *Leg.* 1.19, 1.65, *Her.* 172, *Leg.* 2.15, *Somn.* 1.211, *Cher.* 27, *Fug.* 51, *Leg.* 2.86, *QG* 2.62, *Somn.* 1.65–66, 229–230, 239–241 (and also many cross-references to passages cited under other lemmata). For John 1:3 we have: *Fug.* 12, *Leg.* 1.41, 3.175, *Fug.* 94–95, 109, *Leg.* 3.96, *Sacr.* 8, 65, *Cher.* 125, 127, *Aet.* 53, *Opif.* 20–21, 24, *Her.* 36. Once again brief attention is given to the context of the Philonic passages, but there is no explanation of the *tertium comparationis*. (DTR)

20163. T. SELAND, 'Πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος: Proselyte Characterizations in 1 Peter?,' *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 11 (2001) 239–268.

In some Jewish diaspora works, the terms *πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος* belong to the semantic fields of 'proselyte/proselytism'. In 1 Peter, however, they do not indicate that the recipients of the letter are considered former proselytes. Drawing on the view of G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors we live by* (Chicago 1980), the author argues that the terms function rather as metaphors drawn from the social world of proselytes (source domain), which characterize the social situation of the Petrine Christians (target domain), and especially throw light on the social estrangement of the Christian converts in the Greco-Roman

societies of Asia Minor as understood by the author. Several aspects from the works of Philo are used to demonstrate how the social conditions of proselytes may illuminate issues in 1 Peter. (TS)

20164. A. M. SERRA, 'La 'spada': simbolo della 'parola di Dio,' nell'Antico Testamento biblico-guidaico e nel Nuovo Testamento,' *Marianum* 63 (2001) 17–89, esp. 32–46.

In interpreting the symbol of the sword representing the word of God, the author also deals with the contribution of Philo. This occurs in section II devoted to ancient Jewish literature. The biblical passages which he focuses on are Gen 3:24, 48:22, Exod 32:27 and Num 22:29, where Philo takes the sword as symbolizing the word of God. The major part of the discussion, however, concentrates on an analysis of the doctrine of the Logos cutter in *Her.* Here the double role, i.e. both cosmological and soteriological, of the Logos comes clearly to the fore. (RR)

20165. R. SGARBI, 'Prevedibilità vs. imprevedibilità: questioni di traduttologia armena in riferimento a testi greci,' in R. B. FINAZZI and A. VALVO (edd.), *Pensiero e istituzioni del mondo classico nelle culture del Vicino Oriente: Atti del Seminario Nazionale di studio (Brescia, 14–15–16 ottobre 1999)*, *L'eredità classica nel mondo orientale* 4 (Turin 2001) 259–263.

The author analyses a few words from the first book of *Spec.* and the way that they are rendered in the Armenian translation. For example the translation of ἀμούσων in *Spec.* 1.321 corresponds to a lexical calque with the Armenian term *aneražišt* (non-musical), which introduces the significance of 'uneducated and boorish' in a form that hitherto did not exist and so is only comprehensible with reference to the Greek. In another case, *Spec.* 1.290, the Armenian translation allows us to reconstruct the exact form of the Greek text. Other cases in turn demonstrate inaccuracies and errors of comprehension on the part of the translator (e.g. in *Spec.* 1.286). (RR)

20166. Y. SHIBATA, 'On the Ineffable. Philo and Justin,' *Patristica. Proceedings of the Colloquia of the Japanese Society for Patristic Studies*, Supplementary Volume 1 (2001) 19–47.

The article treats the subject of divine ineffability as indicated by the term ἄρρητος. The main emphasis of the article is on Justin, but Philo is brought in mainly at the beginning for purposes of comparison and contrast. In the view of the author Philo places more emphasis on the limitations of the human cognitive faculty. Justin's main emphasis is different. The ineffable maintains a certain contact with human language through the evolution of the Logos in his incarnate role. (DTR)

20167. F. SIEGERT, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 9 (Münster 2001), *passim*.

The Director of the Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum in Münster has written a most interesting Introduction to the Septuagint. The 'long road to the 'Septuaginta-Urtext'' is described and the method of translation explained. This book provides a mass of historical and philological information with regard to language and style, translation or transcription of proper names and terms, and the interaction of translation and editing. A companion volume with index and a chapter on the history of the reception of the LXX was published 2003; see below 203117. Philo is an important witness to this reception (see pp. 104–105, 254, 260, 290 and the index at 413). REVIEWS: J. R. Royce, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 165–169. (GS)

20168. R. DE SMET and K. VERELST, 'Newton's Scholium Generale: the Platonic and Stoic Legacy—Philo, Justus Lipsius and the Cambridge Platonists,' *History of Science* 39 (2001) 1–30.

This article deals with sources of Newton's *Scholium Generale*, published in 1713. In this work Newton searches for an explanation of bodily motion, and he employs the Stoic notion of divine *pneuma* as a cause of the motion of bodies. Interpreting the working of God in nature, Newton makes use of Philo, who immaterializes the materialistic *pneuma* of the Stoics. For Newton, as for Philo, God is both immanent and transcendent at the same time. Newton also profits from the works of the Neo-Stoic Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), who is acquainted with Philo's works and uses him to reconcile Stoicism with Christianity. De Smet and Verelst offer an analysis of the *Scholium Generale* with references to Philo's writings. The relevant Latin text is printed as an appendix. (ACG)

20169. R. SOMOS, 'Philón' in *Az Alexandriae teológia* [Hungarian: *The Alexandrian Theology*], Catena 1 [Series of the Center for Patristic Studies in the University of Pécs] (Budapest 2001) 19–47.

The introductory section of the first chapter gives a short summary on the state of the Alexandrian Jewish community in the first century C.E. and on Philo's life and his works (19–25.) The second part of the chapter deals with the Philonian theology (method of the interpretation of the Scripture, the God, the Logos, 29–34). An essential element of Philo's writings is their strong religious character with the dogmatic content of the Jewish monotheistic, transcendent concept of God. Although in his interpretation of the Scriptures, in order to achieve his apologetic and rhetorical purposes, Philo uses heterogeneous philosophical themes (Platonism, Pythagoreanism, Stoicism), in fact his ideas are not without coherence. Platonism and Pythagoreanism constitute the main elements of his theological thoughts (negative theology, Middle Platonic attributes), but there is insufficient evidence of direct influences of Antiochus of Ascalon or Eudorus on

the Jewish thinker. The third section of the chapter discusses Philo's anthropology and his ethical and spiritual teaching (35–41). Philo's thoughts on anthropological and psychological matters are less consistent than his theological ideas, because he has no clear teaching on the soul. (DTR; summary supplied by the author)

20170. H. J. SPIERENBURG, *De Philonische geheime leer: de Kabbala van Philo van Alexandrië* [Dutch: The Philonic Secret Doctrine: the Kabbala of Philo of Alexandria] (Deventer 2001).

This is the first monograph devoted to an account of Philo's thought from a theosophical perspective. After two introductory chapters on Philo's life and his writings, the author introduces the allegorical method used by Philo, illustrating it by giving an account of the allegorization of the ark of the covenant. After this a chapter follows on the development of the Kabbalistic tree of the ten divine emanations (*Sefirot*) from Rabbi Hillel to the *Zohar*. Five chapters are then devoted to central aspects of Philonic doctrine: the Deity; the immaterial world; the structure of the universe; the structure of the human soul; the original, functioning and final goal of the soul. The parallelism between the Kabbalistic tree and Philo's theology and psychology is demonstrated through two diagrams on pp. 82 and 84. A brief chapter follows on a secret in the Septuagint, namely the significance of the twelve jewels on the High Priest's $\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$. This can only be explained here because it presupposes acquaintance with Philo's psychology. In the climactic chapter of the book the relation between Philo and the Kabbalah is explained. Two texts that demonstrate this link are *Her.* 216, 221, 225 (on the Menorah) and *Fug.* 100–104 (on the six cities of refuge). The author is unable to determine, however, whether Philo used the Kabbalistic schema consciously or unconsciously. A final chapter elaborates on the relation between Philo's theology and psychology and the much older Hindu Advaita-Vedanta school. The author claims that it is startling how great the parallelism is. (DTR)

20171. G. E. STERLING (ed.), *The Ancestral Wisdom: Hellenistic Philosophy in Second Temple Judaism. Essays of David Winston*, *Studia Philonica Monographs* 4, *Brown Judaic Series* 331 (Providence RI 2001), esp. 27–32, 115–219.

This volume collects together significant essays on Hellenistic Judaism written by David Winston over a period of nearly thirty years. The basis for the selection is explained in the Preface by the editor. Some of Winston's best known and most accessible essays are not included because the material they contain will be used in his forthcoming monograph on Philo. Essays were chosen because they cover a range of texts and authors or have been difficult to access. All the essays published have been modified in small points of detail, including the addition of bibliographical material and some conceptual aspects. Part One consists of just a single essay, which gives an overview of Hellenistic Jewish philosophy, including several pages devoted to Philo (1996/97 = RRS 9693). Part

Two focuses on Ben Sira, Part Three on The Wisdom of Solomon. Part Four contains seven essays on Philo: 'Philo's Theory of Eternal Creation: Prov. 1.6–9' (1980 = R-R 8044); 'Theodicy and Creation' (1986 = R-R 8668); 'Freedom and Determinism in Philo of Alexandria (1974–1975 = R-R 7555); 'Was Philo a Mystic?' (1978 = R-R 7852); 'Sage and Super-Sage in Philo of Alexandria' (1995 = RRS 9595); 'Judaism and Hellenism: Hidden Tensions in Philo's Thought' (1990 = RRS 9073); 'Philo and the Rabbis on Sex and the Body' (1998, see above 98111). Comprehensive indices of ancient authors and texts and of modern authors complete the volume. REVIEWS: J. J. Collins in *SPhA* 14 (2002) 204–206. (DTR)

20172. G. E. STERLING, 'A History of the Philo of Alexandria Program Units in the Society of Biblical Literature,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 13 (2001)], *Brown Judaic Studies* 332 (Providence RI 2001) 25–34.

Briefly recounts the purpose and the policies of the Philo of Alexandria program units (whether as a consultation or a seminar or a group) that have been held as part of the annual Society of Biblical Literature conferences from 1984 up to 2000. This is followed by a complete list of papers presented during that time. It is also indicated by means of a full bibliographical reference if the paper was published either in the Seminar Papers or elsewhere. All in all ninety-seven papers were presented in this period. (DTR)

20173. G. E. STERLING, 'Judaism between Jerusalem and Alexandria,' in J. J. COLLINS and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *Hellenism in the Land of Israel, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series* 13 (Notre Dame 2001) 263–301.

Starting from Martin Hengel's thesis that *all* Judaism (i.e., both Palestinian and the Diaspora) from about the middle of the third century B.C.E. is to be considered hellenized Judaism, the author sets himself the task of testing the hypothesis that while all Jews were hellenized, the specifics of their Hellenization varied markedly, the most important of the variables controlling the extent of Hellenization being the community to which an individual Jew belonged and its situation within the larger Graeco-Roman world. The hypothesis is tested by comparing Jerusalem and Alexandria c. 175 B.C.E.–135 C.E. under three headings: the political-social situations, linguistic practices, and the social-religious practices of the communities. Obviously, Philo is often cited as source. The overview of the evidence confirms the hypothesis. Language does not appear to have been much of an issue: it was a matter of acculturation not assimilation. The article contains an appendix listing (1) Graeco-Jewish literature in Jerusalem; (2) inscriptions in Jerusalem; (3) ossuaries in Jerusalem; (4) Greek manuscripts in the Judean desert; (5) Graeco-Jewish literature in Alexandria; (6) non-literary Jewish texts from or dealing with Alexandria. (HMK)

20174. G. E. STERLING, 'Ontology versus Eschatology: Tensions between Author and Community,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay* [= *The Studia Philonica Annual* 13 (2001)], Brown Judaic Studies 332 (Providence RI 2001) 190–211, esp. 199–204.

After sketching the *status quaestionis* with regard to the possible relationship between Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author formulates his intention with this article as follows: to 'address the relationship between Platonic ontology and Christian eschatology in Hebrews by examining the use of the tabernacle in Heb 8:1–10:18'. A detailed analysis of Heb 8:1–5, 9:1–10, 9:11, 9:23–24 and 10:1 is followed by a discussion of the tabernacle in Philo (including a comparison with Josephus' description) and in apocalyptic traditions. In Hebrews a vertical/spatial orientation (in line with Platonic ontology) and a linear/temporal orientation (of Christian eschatology) can be distinguished. The author is 'convinced that the spatial dimension is indebted to Platonizing exegetical traditions'. His conclusion is that Hebrews 'does not reflect a profound understanding of Platonism; it only betrays a knowledge of Platonizing exegetical traditions. (...) It indicates that Platonism (...) had become common coin in some exegetical circles among Jews and Christians. This means that Philo should not be read as a solitary figure, but as the most sophisticated representative of a larger tradition of exegesis.' (HMK)

20175. J. E. TAYLOR, 'The Community of Goods among the First Christians and among the Essenes,' in D. GOODBLATT, A. PINNICK and D. R. SCHWARTZ (edd.), *Historical Perspectives; from the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden 2001) 147–161.

The author discusses texts from Acts about the community of life among the first Christians. They had a radical form of common life and property. This description is compared with Philo's text about the Essenes in the *Hypothetica* preserved by Eusebius (*PE* 8.11). Taylor concludes that the way of life of the Christians as described in Acts closely resembles that of the Essenes. (ACG)

20176. J. E. TAYLOR, 'Virgin Mothers: Philo on the Women Therapeutae,' *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 12 (2001) 37–63.

Philo's *De vita contemplativa* is a highly rhetorical piece and it is valuable to explore the relation between the rhetoric and the historical reality to which it points. Taylor's article, which explores themes dealt with at greater length in her subsequent monograph (see below 203122), focuses on the role of women in Philo's account. It is plain that Philo's purpose was to describe the members of the Therapeutae community as 'good'. But how could he do this in the case of the women members and at the same time hold on to his own gender theory, in which women were regarded as less philosophical? In the first part of the article Philo's conception of women in general is treated. The

author observes that, in spite of the negative presentation given of 'feminine' characteristics of the soul, there is something strangely powerful about the feminine that remains in Philo's construction. Next Taylor discusses the role of the women as students of Moses. It is unlikely that their presence would be regarded positively, since women philosophers were generally seen in a negative light in the context of philosophical schools. The final part of the article focuses on two characteristics of the portrayal of the women, first that they are in some way maternal, secondly that they are celibate and are described as virgins (but this is likely not to have been literally the case). Here, however, Philo's rhetoric may not have been pure apologetics. It is possible that the notion of being spiritually fruitful through celibacy was an ideal that the community itself embraced. Taylor concludes by emphasizing that in Philo's presentation the theme of gender remains and has not been blurred by celibacy or spiritual achievement. (DTR)

20177. N. H. TAYLOR, 'Popular Opposition to Caligula in Jewish Palestine,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 32 (2001) 54–70.

Caligula's order to construct a statue of himself for the Jerusalem Temple provoked effective popular protests among Judeans and Galileans, who confronted the local Roman ruler Petronius on two separate occasions. Philo and Josephus, the main sources about this crisis, represent elite interests opposed to such popular movements. Although both writers discuss these movements, Philo and Josephus attribute resolution of the crisis to Agrippa's intervention and to the subsequent assassination of Caligula. Taylor attempts to identify the composition, leadership, and motivations of the popular groups. The Judeans may have been led by prophetic figures drawn from priestly and scribal classes, while the Galileans, consisting primarily of farmers who abandoned their agricultural pursuits, may have been led by a popular prophetic figure or figures. Both groups, motivated by piety and devotion to the Temple, may have been inspired by eschatological expectations of divine intervention. (EB)

20178. C. TERMINI, 'La creazione come APXH della legge in Filone di Alessandria (*Opif.* 1–3),' *Rivista Biblica* 49 (2001) 283–318.

Philo's treatise *De opificio mundi* should not be placed before *Legum Allegoriae*, the beginning of the Allegorical Commentary on Genesis—where it has habitually been placed since Mangey's edition—but should be placed at the beginning of the Exposition of the Law. There are two main reasons for this: (1) the form of the treatise itself, which does not have the structure of a sequential commentary giving a lemma by lemma analysis, but rather the aspect of an exposition or paraphrase of Gen 1:1–3:19, without a connection to the next treatise (*Leg.*), and (2) because the opening section of *Opif.*, and indeed the entire treatise inasmuch as it is dedication to the creation account, presents itself as a proemium (*ἀρχή*) to the revealed Laws. Of fundamental importance for Termini's argument is research into the cultural context to which Philo makes reference in a quite polemical manner, i.e. in his opening remarks, which refer to

legislators who either show little respect for the subject of the Laws or invest them with a mythical character which undermines their credibility. Needless to say Moses' ἀρχή does not fall into either camp, but assumes a philosophical principle as its basis. The author is well aware of the influence of Plato's views on the role of the proemium (*Laws* 719e–720a) which is particularly visible at *Mos.* 2.49–51, as well as the principle of harmony between νόσιμος and νόμος which is typical of the Stoics, and especially Chrysippus. The Torah, by assimilating and synthesizing these models, rises above them and is able to assume a universal character. (RR)

20179. J. L. THOMPSON, *Writing the Wrongs. Women of the Old Testament among Biblical Commentators from Philo through the Reformation*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford 2001), esp. 24–27.

This study examines how the stories of Hagar (Gen 16), Jephthah's daughter (Judg 11:30–40), and the Levite's concubine (Judg 19–21) were interpreted from the first century until the sixteenth and seventeenth. Philo sees in Hagar a symbol of preliminary or encyclical studies. She functions as a 'handmaid' of virtue in its purest form, symbolized by Sarah. In this allegory Philo exalts and denigrates Hagar at the same time. As a concubine she stands below a wife, but she is important on the philosophical level: she is necessary for the acquisition of virtue. Philo's interpretation of Hagar is taken over by Clement of Alexandria. Origen and Didymus the Blind combine the Philonic interpretation with Paul's exegesis from Gal 4. Gregory of Nyssa's picture of Hagar is more Pauline than Philonic. Ambrose follows Philo: Sarah represents virtue, whereas Hagar is the wisdom of the world. (ACG)

20180. T. H. TOBIN, 'The Jewish Context of Rom 5:12–14,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay [= The Studia Philonica Annual 13 (2001)]*, Brown Judaic Studies 332 (Providence RI 2001) 159–175, esp. 162–164.

The author locates Rom 5:12–14 within the context of the diverse ways Adam's sin was interpreted in early Judaism. Philo, like Josephus, employs Gen 3 as illustrative of the human moral condition. Two interpretations of Gen 3 stand side by side in *Opif.* 151–170 and are briefly discussed. One is exemplary of the human choice of vice over virtue, the choice of mortality over immortality. The second interpretation is symbolic or allegorical. The main figures in the Genesis narrative, Adam, Eve, and serpent, are internalized as aspects of the human being, mind, sense-perception, and pleasure. (KAF)

20181. S. TORALLAS TOVAR, 'El libro de los sueños de Sinesio de Cirene,' in R. TEJA (ed.), *Sueños y visiones en el paganismo y el cristianismo* (Santa María la Real 2001) 69–81.

This paper expounds the most relevant features of Synesius' treatise about dreams, and compares it with *Somn.* 1–2 of Philo. It is concluded that both authors make a fundamental connection between the perfection of the soul that dreams and the quality of dreams received. (JPM)

20182. L. TROIANI, 'Filone alessandrino e il cristianesimo delle origini,' in D. AMBAGLIO (ed.), *ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗ. Materiali e appunti per lo studio della storia e della letteratura antica* (Como 2001) 157–172.

The testimony of Philo, esp. in *Legat.*, is of fundamental importance in correcting certain fixed theories on the genesis of Christianity, even if up to now it has been little used. The value of Philo in this case is due to the fact that *Legat.* gives a precise picture of the variety—geographical, linguistic and cultural—of the Jewish community in the Diaspora, and also helps us to understand the influence that Philonic thought may have exerted on Paul. Finally, *Legat.* also helps us reconstruct the context in which the Gospels were spread, because it gives us a picture of the condition of the Jews of Rome and of the Empire at the time of the Embassy. This community undoubtedly reveals a variety of attitudes towards the Laws because it was time and time again constrained to make compromises with the Roman and the imperial authorities. These differences were determinative for the diversity of reactions on the part of Jewish communities towards Christianity. (RR)

20183. J. D. TURNER, *Sethian Gnosticism and the Platonic Tradition*, Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi. Section «Études» 6 (Quebec–Louvain–Paris 2001), esp. 355–362.

This is an extensive study of 'the relationships and possible mutual influences' between Gnosticism, especially Sethian Gnosticism, and Platonism from 100 B.C.E. to 400 C.E. After an introductory review of the various ways these relationships have been understood, Part One discusses Sethian literature and history, Part Two covers Platonic doctrines and their history, Part Three deals specifically with the Platonizing Sethian treatises, and the Conclusion presents an overview of Sethian religion. Aspects of Philo's thought are briefly included as part of the Platonic tradition in Part Two: his metaphysical conceptions, presented as an example of Neopythagorean Platonism (pp. 355–362); his ideas about the Logos and souls (pp. 459–460); and his notion of the monad and hebdomad, which are compared in passing to elements in the theology of Xenocrates (pp. 336–337). (EB)

20184. J. C. VANDERKAM, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids 2001), esp. 138–142.

Very brief account of the life, writings and thought of Philo as part of an introductory textbook on early Judaism treating the period from the Persian period (538–332 B.C.E) to the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 C.E. (DTR)

20185. E. VILLARI, *Il morso e il cavaliere. Una metafora della temperanza e del dominio di sé*, Università 52 (Genua 2001).

There is undoubtedly a direct relation between certain Philonic texts (especially QG 3.3 and Agr. 67–94, both cited in an appendix), and Plato's *Phaedrus*. Noteworthy is the role of the 'bit' in the relation between the rider and the horse. It is used to indicate the role of a brake on the passions and the mastery that the intellectual part should exercise on all that belongs to the senses. But in Philo's exegesis of the myth of the flying chariot of the *Phaedrus* his own views on sensuality also emerge. It is given a negative value in the moral and intellectual perspective (basically it is regarded as the origin of sin), but a positive value as an essential aspect of creation. (RR)

20186. H. C. WAETJEN, 'Logos pros ton Theon and the Objectification of Truth in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel,' *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 63 (2001) 265–286.

Philo is seen to be the first person to give expression to the uniting together of the biblical Word of God and the Greek Logos with the resulting objectification of truth as correct seeing rather than hearing. Philo's objectification of truth was appropriated by the Gospel of John, which attempted in the Prologue of the Gospel to refute Philo's platonically-oriented metaphysics. Philo's understanding of the Logos and its activity is thus contrasted with that of the Gospel of John. (KAF)

20187. R. WEBER, *Das „Gesetz“ bei Philon von Alexandrien und Flavius Josephus: Studien zum Verständnis und zur Funktion der Thora bei den beiden Hauptzeugen des hellenistischen Judentums*, Arbeiten zur Religion und Geschichte des Urchristentums 11 (Frankfurt am Main 2001).

This is the second volume (for first part see 20082) of the revised and completed published version of Weber's 1990 Göttingen *Habilitationsschrift Eusebes Logismos. Studien zum Verständnis und zur Funktion der Thora im hellenistischen Judentum*. Philo together with Josephus forms the inner core of the widespread Hellenistic–Jewish culture. Their understanding of the Torah is profoundly related to the entire way of life of the Jews in the Hellenistic world. In conclusion Weber sums up the understanding of the Torah in Hellenistic Judaism (including Philo) in five points. (1) The Torah functions as fundamental medium of identity and self-expression. (2) The particular is universalized, while foreign aspects are integrated and adapted. (3) The Torah is understood as universal law, known to all human beings as normative guide to action, which can be performed. (4) The Torah is also the inner unity of a universal and fundamental ordering of the cosmos, making it a 'religion for humanity' (D. Georgi). (5) Philosophy and religion draw near to each other, so that in Hellenistic Judaism the roots can be found of the (Christian) West. It

should be noted that exegetical questions are rarely discussed in Weber's treatment of his theme. REVIEWS: B. Schroder, *JQR* 93 (2003) 666–667. (GS)

20188. J. WEINBERG, *Azariah de' Rossi, The Light of the Eyes* (New Haven 2001), esp. xxxvi–xxxviii, 111–159 and *passim*.

This splendid annotated translation of Azariah de' Rossi's famous work, which was first published in 1573 and laid the foundations of critical Jewish historiography, makes it very accessible to the modern reader. In the Introduction the translator briefly recounts the role of Philo in the work, without giving a detailed analysis. The main discussion of Philo occurs in chapters 4 to 6 in Section 1 of Part Three entitled Words of Understanding. Chapter 4 recounts 'the commendable aspects' of his works which are compatible with the Torah. Chapter 5 outlines 'four defects' which can be brought against Philo. Chapter 6 offers 'a plausible defence' against these charges and gives a final verdict on him. He concludes (p. 159): 'In view of all that has been written in this chapter, I say to the Jewish people that I cannot pass an unconditional verdict on [him]. I cannot absolutely absolve or convict him. I shall call him neither Rav nor sage, heretic nor sceptic. My only name for him shall be Yedidyah [beloved of the Lord] the Alexandrian. Whenever he is mentioned in these chapters, it will not be as an intimate member of my people, but as any other sage of the world to whom a hearing will be given when he makes general statements and has no vested interest in the subject ...' There are, in accordance with this conclusion, frequent references to Philo in the remaining parts of the work, which can be tracked down via the index of sources on pp. 783–785. (DTR)

20189. D. WINSTON, *The Ancestral Wisdom: Hellenistic Philosophy in Second Temple Judaism. Essays of David Winston*, edited by G. E. STERLING, *Studia Philonica Monographs* 4, *Brown Judaic Series* 331 (Providence RI 2001).

See the summary above listed under G. E. Sterling as editor, 20171.

20190. D. WINSTON, 'Philo of Alexandria and Ibn al-ʿArabī', in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay [= The Studia Philonica Annual 13 (2001)]*, *Brown Judaic Studies* 332 (Providence RI 2001) 139–155.

In this article the author investigates the similarities between Philo and the Sufi mystic Ibn ʿArabī (1165–1210). Like Philo, Ibn ʿArabī wrote a great number of exegetical writings, which seem to lack any kind of structure. Winston deals first with exegetical similarities. Both thinkers offer a mystical or allegorical exegesis, without rejecting the literal meaning. Next Winston discusses conceptual similarities. For both Philo and ʿArabī God is the highest, absolute and transcendent Being, whose essence is unknown. God manifests

himself to human beings, but he manifests himself according to the capacity of the receivers. Although both writers are mystics, there is a difference between their respective mysticisms. Philo can be regarded as an intellectual mystic, whereas 'Arabî appears as a practising mystic with encounters of a direct kind. (ACG)

20191. B. W. WINTER, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists*. 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids 2001).

Lightly revised second edition of the monograph published earlier in 1997; see above 9790. Some changes have been to the sections on Paul. REVIEWS: A. C. Geljon, *JSJ* 34 (2003) 364–366; J. Twomey, *BMCR* 2003.06.34; P. Bolt, *RTR* 63 (2004) 96–97; F. W. Burnett, *RelStR* 30 (2004) 72; N. King, *ExpTim* 116 (2004) 101; C. Noack, *ThLZ* 129 (2004) 529–531; P. Oakes, *JSS* 49 (2004) 391; T. J. Burke, *NT* 47 (2005) 83–85; M. A. Jackson-McCabe, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 225–229; R. Strelan, *JRH* 29 (2005) 217–218. (KAF)

20192. J. WOYKE, '„Einst“ und „Jetzt“ in Rom 1–3? Zur Bedeutung von „nuni de“ in Rom 3,21,' *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92 (2001) 185–206, esp. 188–195.

The phrase $\nu\nu\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ is explored in the writings of the Septuagint, Josephus and Philo. These texts served as the background to Paul. Structure, rhetorical function and understanding of the phrase are discussed. Most of the eight Philonic passages have adversative and temporal sense. But it is claimed that Paul in Rom 3 only has a rhetorical function in mind. (GS)

20193. D. ZELLER, 'Die angebliche Enthusiastische oder spiritualistische Front in 1 Kor 15,' in D. T. RUNIA and G. E. STERLING (edd.), *In the Spirit of Faith: Studies in Philo and Early Christianity in Honor of David Hay [= The Studia Philonica Annual 13 (2001)]*, *Brown Judaic Studies* 332 (Providence RI 2001) 176–189.

The assumption commonly held that those who deny resurrection (1 Cor 15:12) did so because they enthusiastically anticipated the last things or because of a spiritualistic tendency contemptuous of the body, is not supported by the argument that follows in the chapter. The latter position is often reconstructed with the help of Philo. This raises the question whether Paul necessarily became acquainted with certain anthropological terms via the so called Alexandrian dualistic wisdom. The motifs of the deniers hardly can be correlated with the enthusiasts sarcastically criticized in 1 Cor 4:8 nor with the supposed liberal slogan at 1 Cor 6:13ab. Consequently caution is advised for those who want to assume an uniform front in Corinth and who exploit the writings of Philo for this purpose. (GS; based on the author's English abstract)

2002

20201. R. ABUSH, 'Eunuchs and Gender Transformation: Philo's Exegesis of the Joseph Narrative,' in S. TOUGHER (ed.), *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond* (London 2002) 103–121.

The article examines Philo's interpretation of Joseph in order to gain a better understanding of his views on gender relations, castration, eunuchism and circumcision. Philo's views of gender relations are complex because views on the differences between male and female are combined with the notion of spiritual progress in which the female can be left behind, but the soul can also receive the divine seed. After some general observations on Philo's interpretation of eunuchism, the article concentrates on the figure of Joseph. Just like the Rabbis, Philo is sensitive to ambiguities in the figure of Joseph as he appears in the biblical narrative. He can be read both negatively (indulging in pleasure) and positively (rejecting passion). The latter interpretation runs parallel to his allegorization of circumcision. Ultimately Philo's gender hierarchy guarantees that the figure of the eunuch must always be subject to slippage back into the passive realm of sensuality. Philo thus prefigures debates about the role of self-mutilation in early Christianity. (DTR)

20202. V. ALFARO BECH, and V. E. RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍN, 'Precedentes de las doctrinas antiastrológicas y antifatalistas de Tertuliano,' *MHNNH (Revista Internacional de Investigación sobre Magia y Astrología Antiguas)* 2 (2002) 203–220.

The writings of Philo and Josephus are among the sources studied in this survey of Jewish and Christian opposition to the doctrines of astrology and fatalism prior to Tertullian. (DTR; based on *Aph* 73–06107)

20203. F. BACK, *Verwandlung durch Offenbarung bei Paulus. Eine religionsgeschichtlich-exegetische Untersuchung zu 2 Kor 2,14–4,6*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.153 (Tübingen 2002), esp. 24–38.

The monograph contends that in 2 Cor 2:14–4:6 Paul, when he compares himself with Moses, uses the metamorphosis motif to convince the Corinthians about his legitimacy as an apostle. In her examination of Jewish-Hellenistic texts Back explains Philo's reports of the metamorphosis of Moses (*Mos.* 2.66–70) and Abraham (*Virt.* 212–219) as a phenomenon of charismatic and prophetic enthusiasm. The authority of the mediator of divine revelation (*Offenbarungsmittler*) is underlined, the divinity of his message confirmed and the development of his spiritual perfection documented. Philo, just like the author of *LAB*, knows about the metamorphoses of Moses; but he limits the brightness of his face. Both Paul

and Philo use the metamorphosis motif to show that the message of some chosen human beings comes directly from God and is confirmed by their life. In this way they become models for others on the path to the knowledge of God. (GS)

20204. S. BADILITA, 'Le symbolisme des couleurs chez Philon: l'exemple du *De Somniis* I, 189–227,' in L. VILLARD (ed.), *Couleurs et vision dans l'antiquité classique* (Rouen 2002) 153–165.

Philo's commentary on one of the dreams of Joseph (Gen 31:11–13) is of particular interest for the study of the symbolism of colours. The author proposes a first interpretation of the three σημεῖα: τὸ διάλευκον, τὸ ποικίλον and τὸ σποδοειδὲς ὄντων in relation to Jacob, the symbol of the ἀσκητής, who attains to wisdom through practice, but at the time of the dream has not yet reached the goal of his spiritual itinerary (§§ 199–212). A second interpretation is then given: the same signs, but now in reverse order, are related to the High Priest, the symbol of the τέλειος, the man who has attained wisdom (§§ 213–219). The three signs this time represent the three stages in an ascent that can be described as mystical. Attached to this second part is also a digression on the politician, represented by Joseph (§§ 219–227), who only has access to the intermediate sign, the ποικίλον, which has a negative connotation. (JR)

20205. M. BALTES, *Die philosophische Lehre des Platonismus: Von der »Seele« als der Ursache aller sinnvollen Abläufe*, 2 vols., *Der Platonismus in der Antike* 6 (Stuttgart 2002).

Continuing this magnificent source-book of the history of Platonism up to about the 4th century C.E. (cf. R-R 8731, RRS 9015, 9603, above 9807), Baltes now systematically collects and comments on texts relating to the doctrine of the soul. The only Philonic text selected is *Opif.*137, illustrating the soul as a μέση οὐσία, but there are further references to the Alexandrian in the commentary on other texts. Sadly this volume is the last to be completed by Baltes, who died in January 2003. The project is being continued by C. Pietsch and M.-L. Lakmann. (DTR)

20206. J. M. G. BARCLAY, 'Apologetics in the Jewish Diaspora,' in J. R. BARTLETT (ed.), *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* (London 2002) 129–148.

Barclay points out the ambiguities and difficulties presented by use of the term 'apologetics'. In his original *History*, E. Schürer viewed Jewish apologetic literature as primarily defensive in refuting anti-Jewish claims, and he distinguished between apologetics and propaganda, which sought either to proselytize or to create a positive impression of Jews. In his revision of Schürer, M. Goodman, influenced by V. Tcherikover's seminal article, acknowledges that much Jewish apologetic literature may have been intended for Jews and not aimed at

Gentiles at all. Goodman also distinguishes between general Jewish apologetics and different kinds of 'missionary' purposes that include information, education, apologetics, and proselytization. As Barclay observes, apologetics may be direct or indirect. The term 'apologetics' raises complex issues related to actual and implied readers of Jewish works, oral and written apologetics, and apologetics and proselytism. Some scholars with a Christian perspective may overlook that so-called apologetic literature may have a variety of aims, as suggested by Goodman, not just full proselytism. Although Barclay mentions Philo only in passing, his article has direct relevance for the questions of Philo's audience(s) and intentions. (EB)

20207. L. BAYNES, 'Personification, and the Transformation of Grammatical Gender,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 14 (2002) 31–47.

Philo saw grammatical gender as philosophically important, but this created a problem when a word's grammatical gender and its true nature conflicted. *Fug.* 51–52 is illustrative (cf. *Abr.* 101–102; *QG* 4.18). Rebecca's father is Bathouel, which etymologically means 'daughter of God'. Philo asks how the female 'daughter of God', Wisdom, which is grammatically feminine, can in nature be masculine. Contrary to Sly (RRS 9066), Baynes shows that Philo was not the only ancient to wrestle with the significance of grammatical gender and, although Philo does not have a systematically consistent and sustained philosophy of language, he nevertheless draws on Stoic linguistic theory to resolve this conflict. Philo enters the nature/convention debate and in almost complete agreement with the Stoics comes down on the side of convention. Names were given by human imposition but, and here is the qualification, the names given reflect the nature of things (cf. *Opif.* 149–150). Philo and the Stoics only part company in the identity of the name-giver. For the Stoics it was wise men, for Philo it was the wise man Adam (*Leg.* 2.15). With the Stoics, Philo believed that language gradually underwent corruption with the addition and subtraction of letters to words. As a result, grammatical gender now deceives by obstructing meaning rather than clarifying it. Through etymology as practised by the Stoics and Philo nouns can be divested of their feminine grammatical gender so they conform to their true meaning and fit Philo's philosophical schema. (KAF)

20208. C. BENNEMA, *The Power of Saving Wisdom: an Investigation of Spirit and Wisdom in Relation to the Soteriology of the Fourth Gospel*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.148 (Tübingen 2002), esp. 71–83.

In this study on spirit and wisdom in the Gospel of John, a chapter is devoted to Philo and other Jewish writers. In Philo's thought $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ is seen as the essence of the rational soul breathed in by God. Because $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ is given by God, it functions as the principle of communication between God and man. It provides the basis for knowing and seeing God. Philo argues, however, that God cannot be known in himself, but only through the lower levels of being. Wisdom

is a guide on the way to the understanding of God. Salvation is given through a fuller measure of participation in the divine *pneuma*. (ACG)

20209. S.-P. BERGJAN, *Der fürsorgende Gott. Der Begriff der PRONOIA Gottes in der apologetischen Literatur der Alten Kirche*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 81 (Berlin 2002), esp. 39–43.

The conviction that God was concerned for the world was generally current at the time of the rise of Christianity. In her study on the Christian apologetic literature of the 2nd and 3rd centuries Bergjan makes some reference to the term *πρόνοια* in Philo's writings. For example *Conf.* 115, *Det.* 144f. and *Post.* 11 are cited as the background of some ideas of the Church Fathers, especially those of Alexandria. Philo was one of the first who explained the nature of God with reference to his activity—as a general pattern of meaning, in terms of order or as individual care. It is a pity that in the monograph no attention was paid to Philo's treatise on divine providence (*Prov.*) or the two political–apologetic ones (*Flacc.* and *Legat.*), where the idea of the divine providence is underlined in central passages. (GS)

20210. R. BERGMIEIER, 'Der Stand der Gottesfreunde; zu Philos Schrift „Über die kontemplative Lebensform“', *Bijdragen* 63 (2002) 46–70.

Usually scholarly interest in Philo's *De vita contemplativa* is limited to the so-called Therapeutae as a distinctive group or community of Jewish sectarians, their identity and character, their Mareotic settlement and ascetic way of life. But Philo himself is not really engaged in giving an account of a historical community, for he writes a philosophical treatise on being wholly devoted to worship and contemplation (*Contempl.* 1, 58, 67, 90). For this reason he does not describe, but actually defines that τὸ θεραπευτικὸν γένος has consisted of those who aspire to 'the contemplation of the Being' (§ 11; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 582c) and in this way obtain complete felicity. At the end of the treatise (§ 90) this idea is taken up again in idealizing words about being true philosophers, i.e. friends of God, a gift of God that affords true virtue and leads to the height of felicity. Philo presents the contemplative manner of living by telling about the so-called Therapeutae. In doing so he uses different traditions and sources that allow him to present an apparently historical community: (a) remarks that actually refer to Jewish life and institutions in general; (b) the source on the Essenes which he already used when writing *Prob.* 75–91 and *Hypoth.* 11.1–18; (c) another source on the Essenes, not used before, but also known to Josephus and Pliny, not Pythagorean, but presenting the Essenes in a Pythagorean perspective. The common features of the Therapeutae and the Essenes thus represent Philo's version of the matter, and his Therapeutae are the paradigm of the philosophical manner of living that Philo wants to promulgate. Jews, at least the best of them, he wishes to say, are those people who belong to God's friendship and spend all their virtuous life in meditation and worship (*Contempl.* 58, 90; cf. *Praem.* 43–44). (GS; based on the author's summary)

20211. K. BERTHELOT, 'La mise en cause et la défense de la 'philanthropie' des lois juives au Ier et au XVIIIe siècles de notre ère,' *Revue des Etudes Juives* 161 (2002) 41–82.

In the 18th century, in response to the accusations of misanthropy originally formulated in the literature of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, a new defence of the 'philanthropy' of the Laws of Moses was developed. This defence shows continuity with the apologetics of Philo and Josephus, but is also radically different in the way it interprets the biblical concept of *ger*, the resident stranger. In the 1st century of our era Jewish philanthropy is expressed in the welcome accorded to proselytes. In contrast in the 18th century the term designates a stranger who is not converted to Judaism and the philanthropy consist in guaranteeing his safety within the Jewish community without demanding his conversion. The author demonstrates that in both cases the cultural context influences the interpretation. In antiquity this occurs through praise of Roman philanthropy, in the 18th century through the idea of tolerance. (JR)

20212. K. BERTHELOT, 'Philo and Kindness towards Animals (*De Virtutibus* 125–147),' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 14 (2002) 49–65.

The paper demonstrates how Philo in response to accusations of misanthropy against the Jewish people argues apologetically that the Law of Moses commands Jews to behave in humane ways toward all human beings. Applying the *a minori ad maius* argument to Deut 22:10, Philo argues that if Jews are commanded in the law to extend gentleness and goodness to animals, then all the more so will they extend justice to all humans. Berthelot says that the 'ass' of Deut 22:10 does not signify proselytes as Colson supposed (LCL) but non-Jews in general. Extending kindness to animals becomes a form of training for the practice of φιλανθρώπινα toward humans. That this same argument in *Virt.* 125–147 can be seen in Plutarch and Sotion, as reported by Seneca, suggests that this *a minori ad maius* argument was well-known before Philo and was Pythagorean in origin. (KAF)

20213. G. BOHAK, 'Ethnic Continuity in the Jewish Diaspora in Antiquity,' in J. R. BARTLETT (ed.), *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* (London 2002) 175–192.

The author suggests that a common assumption in many studies of the Jewish Diaspora is the certainty of Jewish ethnic continuity in Diaspora settings. This view, Bohak claims, is based on the experiences of the *mediaeval* Jewish Diaspora, and is a model that should be challenged as a key to understanding the Jewish Diaspora in antiquity. According to Bohak, Jewish continuity in Diaspora settings cannot be taken for granted, and in some cases it may have been the exception, not the rule. The author first investigates the Thessalian Demetrias—which attracted many foreigners—focusing especially on the Phoenician immigrants; then he deals with the works of Philo, the Egyptian Chora and the land

of Onias. Especially interesting for Philonists is his exposition of *Flacc.* 45–46. Bohak's own conclusion is that the often implicit assumption that the communities of the Jewish Diaspora thrived from one generation to the next flies in the face of what we know about the fate of immigrants in the ancient world—and of some of the Jewish evidence as well. (TS)

20214. A. P. BOS, 'Gnostische spiritualiteit: de Grieks-filosofische component,' *Philosophia Reformata* 67 (2002) 108–127.

Characteristic of the Gnostic movement is a double theology: a distinction between the highest, unknown and invisible God, who is truly good, and a lower God, who creates the cosmos. According to Bos, Philo is an important figure in the development of this gnostic belief. In the beginning of *Opif.* he rejects the world-view of the Chaldeans, who consider the created cosmos to be God. Bos refers to this view as cosmic-theology, whereas Philo, believing in a transcendent God, represents a meta-cosmic theology. The author also discusses *Abr.* 60–70, in which Abraham is commanded to free himself from the Chaldean world-view. The metaphor of awaking from a deep sleep, used by Philo, is—directly or indirectly—borrowed from Aristotle. (ACG)

20215. F. CALABI, 'Conoscibilità e inconoscibilità di Dio in Filone di Alessandria,' in EADEM (ed.), *Arrhetos Theos: l'ineffabilità del primo principio nel medio platonismo* (Pisa 2002) 35–54.

Philo in some passages speaks of God as being unnameable, but in other passages of human beings as being unable to know the name of God. The author therefore poses the problem whether in Philo's view (1) God does not reveal his name (because it is such as humans are not able to know it) or whether (2) God does not have a name (because of his nature). Her conclusion is that Philo expresses himself along the lines of the first hypothesis when he is quoting and commenting on a biblical text, whereas in (much more numerous) expositions more or less independent from biblical passages he develops the second hypothesis (for which cf. Plato's *Parmenides*). The second problem the author discusses is the relation among the *via negationis*, *via eminentiae* and *via analogiae*, all of which can be found in Philo's discourse. Here she concludes that for Philo the three ways are not mutually exclusive or incompatible: they are three different modes, not of how God relates to the world, but of how human beings relate to God. (HMK)

20216. F. CALABI, 'Filone di Alessandria tra Bibbia e filosofia,' in P. STEFANI (ed.) *Due grandi sapienze: Bibbia ed ellenismo* (Florence 2002) 231–260.

The aim of the article is to illuminate the joint presence and close interrelationship of the Jewish heritage and Greek culture in Philo. Elements which contribute to the doctrines of the creation of the cosmos and the divine Powers

are drawn from Plato's *Timaeus* and *Republic* as well as Middle Platonist developments. Reference is also made to Aristotle's *Physics*, *De generatione animalium* and *De partibus*, not to speak of numerous allusions to Stoicism. Such references, however, are used for the purpose of interpreting the biblical text, e.g. the clarification of difficulties inherent in the double account of creation, the explanation of creation as act of divine will, the providential role of God etc. In addition the doctrine of the Powers must be seen in the context of the Jewish prohibition of pronouncing the divine Name and the double appellation of God and Lord in the Bible. The article focuses in particular on the passages in *Opif.* dealing with the simultaneous creation of the cosmos, the divine Model of which the empirical world is a copy, the role of the Architect of the cosmos, as well as the representation of the Divine powers in *Cher.*, *Abr.* and *Deo.* (RR)

20217. F. CALABI, 'Il governante sulla scena. Politica e rappresentazione nell'*In Flaccum* di Filone Alessandrino,' in EADEM (ed.), *Immagini e rappresentazione. Contributi su Filone di Alessandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity (Binghamton N.Y. 2002) 45–57.

The article studies the theatrical metaphors present in *Flacc.*, the numerous references to mimics and actors, and the presentation of public life as a great spectacle in which the main figures present themselves publicly. As background the author recalls the cross-currents between theatre and political oratory in Greek literature of the 5th and 4th century B.C.E., the negative view of Plato, who considered theatre as a place of fiction, and the Stoic use of the metaphor of the actor. The article presents the evidence for the exhibitionism and villainy of Flaccus, which is echoed by the games and contests in the circus, while the reversal that takes place in the theatre is represented by the farce of Carabas. Philo views the theatre in a negative light, seeing it as characterized by falsity and obscurity. Apart from the traditional Jewish hesitation towards the theatre, Platonic influences probably also play a role here. Opposed to the negative representation of the deceivers is the dignified 'spectacle' of the persecuted Jews. The account taken as a whole is negative, presenting the protagonist as similar to a mimic or an actor. There is a reversal in relation to the Stoic metaphor of the actor. The virtuous individual consents to the choices he has carried out. He does not recite his life but lives it. For an English translation of this article see below 20328. (RR)

20218. F. CALABI (ed.), *Immagini e rappresentazione. Contributi su Filone di Alessandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity (Binghamton N.Y. 2002).

The volume collects together the papers of a section of the 'Mediterranean XXI Conference' held in Castellamare di Stabia, Italy in 1999. The studies it contains were presented from a multi-disciplinary perspective, with each author belonging to a different discipline and attempting to illuminate aspects

of Philonic thought from differing points of view. The subjects discussed range from the conceptions of humanity and political power to the interrelationships between Philonic thought and Platonic and Stoic philosophy. For individual contributions see the summaries under the names of Calabi, Graffigna, Mazzanti and Radice. (RR)

20219. F. CALABI, 'Sovranità divina, regalità umana in Filone di Alessandria,' in P. BETTILOLO and G. FILORAMO (edd.), *Il dio mortale: Teologie politiche tra antico e contemporaneo* (Brescia 2002) 63–77.

Philo is rather indifferent as to what may be the best type of government. What interests him is to assert and demonstrate the legitimacy of the Law of Moses. Prototype and model of the true king is Moses, the lawgiver. In first century Alexandria the Mosaic Law needed to be defended: Philo underlines its eternity, necessity and truth in respect of other laws. The Law is one and contains all there is to know about the relationships between God, cosmos and man and about the relationships between men. Human kingdoms and governments come and go, what counts is concordance with the will and the Law of God. (HMK)

20220. C. CARLIER, *La Cité de Moïse: la représentation du peuple juif chez Philon d'Alexandrie* (diss. Sorbonne, Paris IV 2002).

This doctoral dissertation was prepared under the supervision of Prof. Monique Alexandre and defended in June 2002. The basis of the study is a philological investigation of the terms used to describe the city as a community of persons (πολίτης, πολιτεύω–πολιτεύομαι, πολίτευμα, πολιτεία—πόλις had been covered in an earlier unpublished study). On this basis conclusions are reached on how Philo as a Hellenized Jew conceives the community of the Jewish people in terms of the Hellenistic conception of the city. The dissertation consists of five chapters. The first examines the use of πολίτης and πολιτεία in relation to the Jews in non-Jewish authors such as Hecataeus, Manetho, Nicholas of Damascus and Strabo. In the second chapter Carlier examines various Hellenistic-Jewish writers before Philo and their use of the vocabulary of the city. In the last three chapters attention is fixed on Philo himself. Chapter three examines Philo's use of institutional terminology when describing the city of Moses and the members of its community. Chapter four examines the conceptual terminology used to depict the relations between the members of the city of Moses, notably φιλία, κοινωνία, ἰσονομία. The fifth chapter turns to the philosophical use of the vocabulary of the city, examining the link between city and cosmology, the concept of the κοσμοπολίτης, the connection between citizenship and virtue and the concept of God as only citizen. In an appendix a commentary is given on *Legat.* 281–282 which describes Jerusalem as ἱερόπολις. The main conclusion of the study is that Philo's conception of the Mosaic polity shows a community of Jews and proselytes held together by a common devotion to the laws of Moses, a community without a territory, but with the created reality of the cosmos as its spiritual home. In this conception Philo is influenced by

his reading, not only of Plato, but also of Aristotle's political thought. To some degree he shows nostalgia for the institutions of the classical polis as set out in 4th century philosophical writings. But at the same time he stands in the middle of the volatile political situation of his own time, in which Alexandria is ruled from Rome. Philo thus combines being both a bookish figure and one who is very much involved in contemporary politics. In both cases his Jewish identity is paramount. The dissertation was published in 2008 in the series *Monothéismes et Philosophie* (Turnhout). (DTR)

20221. J. C. CAVADINI, 'Exegetical Transformations: the Sacrifice of Isaac in Philo, Origen, and Ambrose,' in P. M. BLOWERS, A. RUSSELL CHRISTMAN, D. G. HUNTER and R. D. YOUNG (edd.), *In Dominico Eloqui: In Lordly Eloquence. Essays on Patristic Exegesis in Honor of Robert Louis Wilken* (Grand Rapids–Cambridge 2002) 35–49.

The author considers how Origen and Ambrose receive and transform Philo's interpretation of the 'Aqedah (Gen 22:1–19). Philo understands Abraham to be an unwritten law, and his identity is closely bound up with God. He is therefore 'always ready to renounce'—as shown by his willingness to leave home and to sacrifice his 'beloved and only son' (*Abr.* 168). Answering 'unnamed 'quarrelsome critics'' (*Abr.* 178), Philo emphasizes Abraham's obedience to God as the motivation behind his willingness to sacrifice Isaac. Philo also allegorizes the story to mean that the sage must sacrifice his joy to God, i.e., recognize that 'his joy is only in God' (p. 38). Origen focuses on Abraham as an archetype of faith—rather than of law, as in Philo—ready to give up his identity by sacrificing God's promises, an act that may suggest martyrdom on Abraham's part. Origen's Abraham is also 'a kind of figure for God the Father' (p. 42), and Isaac and the ram are figures for Christ. Ambrose builds on and transforms elements from Origen and Philo, but in Ambrose's exegesis, Isaac plays the primary role as a type for Christ, and Abraham becomes a mere onlooker. Cavadini ends with some reflections on how to evaluate 'precritical' exegesis and observes that, because Ambrose minimizes the role of Abraham as depicted in the biblical narrative, his exegesis 'seems less successful' than that of Philo and Origen (p. 48). (EB)

20222. A. CHOUFRINE, *Gnosis, Theophany, Theosis: Studies in Clement of Alexandria's Appropriation of his Background*, *Patristic Studies* 5 (New York 2002).

Choufrine examines how Clement draws from and synthesizes different elements from his background in his interpretations of Christian baptismal initiation (the 'gnosis' part of his title), scriptural accounts of Abram's conversion and the creation of primordial Light ('theophany'), and of 'assimilation to God' ('theosis'). Sources from Clement's background studied here include Basilides and Valentinus, Philo, and Middle Platonic notions influenced by Aristotle's concept of the *telos*. Besides Clement's synthesis of sources, Choufrine discusses his

continuity and discontinuity with earlier Christian thinking, and his orthodoxy. Philo appears primarily in Chapter 2 ('Theophany as Light'), which includes Clement's revision of the Philonic idea of Abram's conversion, Philo's notion of the eternal Day, an Aristotelian background for his idea of illumination, and his ontology of light. (EB)

20223. N. G. COHEN, 'Context and Connotation. Greek Words for Jewish Concepts in Philo,' in J. L. KUGEL (ed.), *Shem in the Tents of Japheth: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 74 (Leiden 2002) 31–61.

The author aims to show that in the case of several rather common Greek words, Philo found a Judeo-Greek connotation (related to their general connotation, but not the same) ready to hand. The terms discussed are νόμος and νομοθεσία (= Torah), παράδοσις (= ancestral traditions), δόγμα (= rule), δικαιοσύνη (= faithful adherence to Torah statutes), and most extensively σοφία and λόγος (= Torah). The author goes on to argue that these Judeo-Greek terms were once again redefined by early Christianity and these re-definitions were accepted by scholars as their primary connotation. This explains why they have so often been misconstrued by Philonic scholars. (HMK)

20224. I. DAVIDZON, 'Il deserto nel *De Vita Mosis* di Filone Alessandrino: possibilità di un'ascesa etica e conoscitiva attraverso i prodigi,' *Materia guidaica* 7 (2002) 67–73.

The article deals with the meaning of the desert as seen in Philo's *Mos*. It intends to show how the desert is not only a physical place but offers to human beings the possibility of rising to God. In this treatise there is a strict relationship between the desert, suffering and divine intervention. In this context manna is the link between human beings and God. The human path towards God starts with the sufferings and the deprivations inflicted by the desert, but finally humans reach the contemplation of nature and the knowledge of God through the wonder of manna as divine manifestation. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20225. D. M. DE SOUZA-FILHO, 'The Maker's Knowledge Principle and the Limits of Science,' *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 76 (2002) 229–237.

In modern philosophy, the 'maker's knowledge argument' denotes that people can know what they make. The argument can be construed positively—that people can indeed know what they make—or negatively—that people can know *only* what they make. This understanding of human knowledge has implications for the definition of 'scientific knowledge, which is thus separated from speculative metaphysics and purely theoretical knowledge' (p. 232). Although it is widely assumed that the maker's knowledge argument is not found in ancient

philosophy, the author argues that the Demiurge in Plato's *Timaeus* has a maker's knowledge of the universe, though this is a knowledge of 'a technical, practical kind' (p. 233), rather than a metaphysical knowledge of unchanging forms and principles. Philo may have been the first to articulate the maker's knowledge principle in relation to God. For Philo God, unlike Plato's Demiurge, incorporates the Platonic Form of the Good and therefore he has perfect knowledge that is both theoretical and practical. Christian thinkers further developed the explicit idea of God as *creator ex nihilo*. Originally attributed to God as creator, maker's knowledge gradually came to be applied to humans and this application became the foundation of the maker's knowledge argument in modern philosophy. (EB)

20226. B. DECHARNEUX, 'Hérésies, sectes et mystères des premiers siècles de notre ère,' in A. DIERKENS and A. MORELLI (edd.), «Sectes» et «hérésies» de l'Antiquité à nos jours, Problèmes d'histoire des religions 12 (Brussels 2002) 29–43.

The author aims to show that the concept of heresy (αἵρεσις in Greek; the corresponding Latin term is *secta*) with its connotation of inciting repressive measures is late. In the case of Philo, who strives to present Judaism as the philosophical religion *par excellence*, he demonstrates that the way of life of the Therapeutae as described in *Contempl.* is highly spiritual and valorizes Judaism. In their case the use of the term αἵρεσις is positive. (JR)

20227. J. M. DILLON, 'The Essenes in Greek Sources: Some Reflections,' in J. R. BARTLETT (ed.), *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* (London 2002) 117–128.

In this article, the author compares some aspects of the descriptions of the Essenes in Philo and Josephus with descriptions of the Qumranites in the Qumran scrolls. The aspects focused on are asceticism and rejection of marriage, community of life and property, and some various provisions like the total number of members, their clothes, swearing and the degree of determinism in their ideology. The author argues that neither Philo nor Josephus can count as first-hand witnesses. The evidence from Greco-Roman sources such as these very probably refer to the same groups as depicted in the Scrolls; but one should not expect a greater degree of accuracy than is generally characteristic of Greek sources of alien civilizations or customs. (TS)

20228. S. DOCHERTY, 'Joseph the Patriarch: Representations of Joseph in Early Post-biblical Literature,' in M. O'KANE (ed.), *Borders, Boundaries and the Bible* (Sheffield 2002) 194–216.

The author pays special attention to how interpreters of the Joseph narrative are influenced by their religious and cultural settings. Besides an introduction and conclusion the article is divided into four sections: inner-biblical

interpretation, covering Ps 105:16–22 and 1 Maccabees 2; Hellenistic Jewish sources, including Artapanus, *Joseph and Aseneth*, and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*; Palestinian Jewish sources, including *Jubilees* and Ps. Philo; and negative presentations of Joseph, including those of Philo (p. 214) and *Genesis Rabbah*. Most of these depictions of Joseph are quite positive and highlight his resistance to Potiphar's wife and his exalted position in Egypt. Themes that reflect the concerns of authors and readers include 'the issue of intermarriage with Gentiles, the continuing validity of the Jewish law and the need to promote unity' (p. 215). Philo is not discussed among the Hellenistic Jewish texts but only under the section on negative interpretations. His treatment of Joseph is positive in *Ios.*, in which he stresses Joseph's powerful position in Egypt, and more negative in *Somn.*, in which he calls attention to Joseph's arrogance and instability, perhaps as a way of criticizing contemporary Roman rulers. (EB)

20229. M. DULAËY, 'L'apprentissage de l'exégèse biblique par Augustin. Première partie: dans les années 386–389,' *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 48 (2002) 267–295, esp. 286.

It is very unlikely that Philo exerted influence on the exegesis that Augustine gives of Gen 2:4–5 as he read it in the *Vetus Latina*. On the other hand, the interpretation which he gives in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* of the rivers Geon and Tigris is the one found in *Leg.* 1.23. (JR)

20230. J. E. DYCK, 'Philo, Alexandria and Empire: the Politics of Allegorical Interpretation,' in J. R. BARTLETT (ed.), *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* (London 2002) 149–174.

The aim of the article is to explore the cultural and political dimensions of allegorical interpretation as it is evidenced by the works of Philo, especially the way in which it is embedded in the cultural politics of Alexandria on the one side, and the imperial politics on the other. The essay takes the form of critical reflections on David Dawson's cultural critical reading of Philo, using Daniel Boyarin as a third dialogue partner. The focus throughout the article, however, is primarily on the work of Dawson, and the author reaches some different conclusions. Far from revising Greek culture and imperial politics, Dyck suggests, Philo in actual fact endorses it. To him, Philo represents 'a form of Judaism which had come to terms with a high degree of socio-cultural and political assimilation and acculturation. Furthermore, it accommodated Judaism to the dominant culture via practices such as allegorical interpretation without abandoning its distinctive traditions and practices' (p. 174). (TS)

20231. G. ELLIA, *L'expression de la vie intérieure chez Philon d'Alexandrie* (Mémoire de maîtrise Université Caën 2002).

The first part of the thesis is devoted to an examination of the exegetical themes in Philo which are the most revealing in relation to the interior life. These

are the following: snakes and the grasshopper, fire, the two trees, the desert and paths. These themes signify the dynamism of the interior life. The second part of the thesis emphasizes those moral situations that humans have at their disposal in order for that interior life to follow its course, a life which is the locus of a struggle of the soul with herself. The third part clarifies how the human being can put an end to this struggle or at least not be overwhelmed. It emphasizes the importance of 'working on oneself' ('travail sur soi') for Philo, a process that takes place not only through effort and conversion, but also through a new-found understanding of 'knowledge of the self' ('connaissance de soi') as quest for the Other in oneself ('l'Autre en soi'). (JR)

20232. L. H. FELDMAN, 'The Death of Moses, according to Philo,' *Estudios Bíblicos* 60 (2002) 225–254.

This article deals with several aspects of the presentation of Moses by Philo, including Moses' alleged divinity. Philo is reluctant to call Moses divine, because this epithet was used for the Roman emperors. In addition, Philo tries to refute the story of Moses' bodily ascension to heaven and his apotheosis. At his death Moses' whole being is transformed into mind and is thus immortal, but he does not become God. In Exod 7:1 Moses is said to become 'as God to Pharaoh' but Philo allegorically interprets God as referring to the mind, which is God to the unreasoning part. Moses is the most perfect man and is a level higher than Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. He is the wise man who possesses all the virtues. Being neither God nor man, he stands on the borderline between the uncreated and creation, just as the High priest is less than God but superior to humans. Moses is not God but is called friend of God. He is a partner of God, and enters the darkness that is God's invisible existence. (ACG)

20233. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo's Version of the 'Aqedah,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 14 (2002) 66–86.

This paper describes Philo's treatment of the binding of Isaac at *Abr.* 167–202 and investigates reasons that motivated Philo's shaping of the biblical narrative of Gen 22:1–19. Philo's omissions and additions to the biblical account are due to the fact that he wrote his narrative to defend Abraham in the face of non-Jewish critics who minimized Abraham's deed and accused Jews of misanthropy. Philo does not mention the physical binding of Isaac, for example, as that probably would have seemed excessive to a Greek audience and would have been incriminating for Abraham. (KAF)

20234. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo's View of Moses' Birth and Upbringing,' *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 64 (2002) 258–281.

In *Mos.* Philo presents Moses as a representative of the perfect king, and in describing Moses' life he follows the method of ancient biographies, discussing his descent, childhood and education. He emphasizes the excellence of Moses'

parents, who are both Levites, and dramatizes the story of the abandonment of Moses by his parents. Retelling the narrative, he refers several times to the role of divine providence in the rescue of Moses. A typical motif in the biography of a hero is his exceptional physical and intellectual development, his beauty, and his self-restraint. This motif occurs in Philo as well, who narrates that Moses was educated by teachers from Greece and Egypt, and that he quickly surpassed his teachers' intellect. It is noteworthy that he is educated in the same subjects as the philosopher-king in Plato's *Republic*. In contrast to Josephus, Philo recounts the story of the killing of an Egyptian overseer by Moses, giving justification for Moses' deed, but he does not speak about the two Israelites fighting. (ACG)

20235. L. H. FELDMAN, 'The Plague of the First-born Egyptians in Rabbinic Tradition, Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus,' *Revue biblique* 109 (2002) 315–346.

Feldman addresses the question how the Rabbis, Philo, Ps.Philo, and Josephus cope with the fact that God, in slaying the first-born in Egypt, kills innocent people and animals. Philo underscores that God kills the first-born only, and not the whole nation. Moreover, the children embodied the vices of their parents. He avoids the problem of the justification of punishing innocent children for the sins of their fathers. With regard to the Flood and the destruction of Sodom, Philo remarks that the people performed so many wicked deeds that they deserved punishment. In discussing the war with the Amalekites he passes over the command to annihilate them. (ACG)

20236. L. H. FELDMAN, 'The Portrayal of Phinehas by Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus,' *Jewish Quarterly Review* 92 (2002) 315–345.

Philo discusses Phinehas in eight treatises. Acknowledging that the multitude would consider Phinehas a murderer for killing Zimri and Cozbi the Midianite, Philo—in contrast—praises Phinehas for his zeal. He also considers as well-deserved the reward of peace bestowed on Phinehas by God. In committing murder Phinehas kept others from apostasizing. On the symbolic level, 'Zimri and Cozbi represent passion and mere appearance, while Phinehas represents sincerity, truth, reason, and intelligence' (p. 323). Ps.Philo greatly expands the role of Phinehas, whose activities extend from the Exodus to the time of the Judges. Josephus' treatment of Phinehas, however, is influenced by contemporary factors and his own situation. A priest who sympathized with Rome and disdained the Zealots of his day, Josephus does not call Phinehas a zealot and does not mention the reward he received for taking the initiative to do violence. Instead Josephus depicts him as a hero who took the law into his own hands to halt Zimri—a figure possibly reminiscent of Josephus' own contemporaries—who intermarried and flouted Moses' authority. (EB)

20237. L. H. FELDMAN, 'The Portrayal of Sihon and Og in Philo, Pseudo-Philo and Josephus,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 53 (2002) 264–272.

The author retells two biblical stories of genocide against King Sihon of the Amorites (Num 21:21–32; Deut 2:26–37) and King Og of Bashan (Num 21:33–35; Deut 3:1–7), and then examines how these stories were portrayed in Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus. At *Mos.* 1.258–262, Philo drops any mention of God hardening Sihon's heart and the divine mandate to destroy all men, women and children. Only soldiers are put to death. Moreover, the Israelites had justice on their side in view of how their emissaries were treated. At *Leg.* 3.225–235, the story is treated allegorically with Sihon being equated with Sophists. Philo does not treat the elimination of Og and his people. (KAF)

20238. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo's Version of the Biblical Episode of the Spies,' *Hebrew Union College Annual* 73 (2002) 29–48.

This paper describes Philo's non-allegorical treatment of the episode of the spies in Num 13–14 at *Mos.* 1.220–236. Although brief in length, Philo's version closely parallels Josephus' treatment but contains several revisions due to theological problems and aspects in the biblical text that could cause embarrassment. Philo focuses on Moses and his qualities of leadership. As a general Moses takes responsibility for the decision to reconnoitre the land and he alone chooses the spies. Sensitive to the charge that Israelites might be accused of theft, Philo omits Moses' instruction to the spies to take fruit from the land. He also leaves out the dialogue between Moses and God in which God threatens to annihilate the Israelites as this would make Moses more merciful than God. (KAF)

20239. C. B. FORBES, 'Pauline Demonology and/or Cosmology? Principalities, Powers and the Elements of the World in their Hellenistic Context,' *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 85 (2002) 51–73, esp. 58–67.

As part of an investigation of what Paul means with his terminology of 'principalities and powers,' the author examines Philo's theological use of the term δυνάμεις. A large number of passages are quoted and it is concluded that Philo's doctrine is not fully consistent (and is exacerbated for the reader by inconsistent use of capital letters for 'Powers'/'powers' in translation). The tendency to create personified abstractions for and around God is not idiosyncratic and peculiar to Philo, but is also common in Middle Platonism, for example in an author such as Plutarch. Paul uses this terminology not just for purposes of communication, but as the result of personal synthesis of Hellenistic-Jewish and Greco-Roman thought. (DTR)

20240. F. FRAZIER, 'Les visages de Joseph dans le *De Josepho*,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 14 (2002) 1–30.

Although entitled *Life of the Statesman*, Philo's *bios* of Joseph offers neither a reappraisal of the political world nor a transformation of the biblical Joseph into an ideal Greek πολιτικός. Instead we discover a series of tensions within

the text. First, within the commentary sections of the treatise (§§ 28–36, 54–79, 125–156) the high moral value of the *politicus* is relativized by the ontological inferiority of the political world. Second, in the narrative sections of the treatise (§§ 2–27, 37–53, 80–124, 157–268), the figure of Joseph displays a number of characteristics that belong to the pious biblical hero rather than to the πολιτικός of the commentary sections. Third, in the final narrative section and conclusion, Philo displaces the portrait of the commentary sections through two speeches of Joseph (§§ 238–245 and 262–266) and two final assessments (§§ 246–249 and 268–270). Can these different images of Joseph merge into a synthetic figure of an ideal *politicus judaeus*? Neither the composition of the text nor a comparison of Joseph with Moses suggest that they can. The *politicus graecus* is immersed in the material world and cannot be fully unified with Jewish piety. The figure of Joseph represents a distinctive spiritual experience. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20241. K. FUGLSETH, *A Sectarian John? A Sociological-Critical, Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Gospel of John, Philo and Qumran* (diss. University of Trondheim 2002).

Dissertation version of a doctoral thesis presented to The Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway, for the degree of Dr. art. in 2002 under the supervision of Peder Borgen and Jarl H. Ulrichsen. For the version published as a monograph see below 20525, where a detailed summary is given. (TS)

20242. A. C. GELJON, 'Mozes als Platoonse Stoïcijn,' *Hermeneus* 74 (2002) 344–353.

This article focuses on the presentation of Moses as a Stoic sage and a Platonic philosopher-king in Philo. The four functions that Philo ascribes to Moses—philosopher-king, lawgiver, high priest, prophet—have a Stoic background. Philo attributes Platonic–Stoic virtues to Moses, such as self-restraint, temperance, and justice. Describing Moses' youth in *Mos.*, Philo depicts him as subduing the passions with self-control, just as a Stoic sage would do. When Moses stays in Midian he practices the theoretical life and tries to live according to the right reason of nature. Having attained the ideal of the Stoic sage totally, Moses is the *sapiens*, whereas his brother Aaron plays the role of the *proficiens*, who is still under way, unable to reach the final goal. (ACG)

20243. A. C. GELJON, *Philonic Exegesis in Gregory of Nyssa's De vita Moysis*, Brown Judaic Series 333: Studia Philonica Monographs 5 (Providence RI 2002).

This book is a revised version of the author's 2000 Leiden doctoral dissertation: see above 20024. In the first part of this study, the author argues that Philo's biography of Moses, *Mos.*, is not part of the so-called Exposition of the

Law, as is usually assumed, but that it has to be compared with introductory lives (*bioi*) of philosophers. Examples of such *bioi* are the Lives of Democritus and Plato, written by Thrasyllus, and Porphyry's *Vita Plotini*. A *bios* not only narrates the important facts of the philosopher's life such as his descent, birth and death, but also discusses his writings. It is meant as an introduction to his philosophy. In *Mos.* Philo recounts Moses' life, but also relates the origin of the Greek translation of the books of Moses. In this way the treatise introduces readers without any knowledge of the Pentateuch to Mosaic philosophy, as more elaborately explained in the allegorical writings. Part II is an introduction to Gregory's *De vita Moysis*, in which the author also deals with Gregory's attitude towards Judaism. Gregory discerns a kinship between Philo and the neo-Arian Eunomius, because both do not ascribe being to the Logos, but only to God the Father. Gregory resists the view that the Logos is, in one way or another, subordinated to God. But at the same time there are similarities between Philo and Gregory in the doctrine of God, especially in the notion that God's essence is incomprehensible for the human mind. Both show also a negative approach to the divine, which is expressed with alpha-privatives. In part III Geljon analyses the Philonic background of Gregory of Nyssa's treatise. He distinguishes between Philonic phraseology on the one hand and exegesis derived from Philo on the other. On the level of phraseology Gregory offers more than 25 borrowings from Philo, the greatest part of which are derived from *Mos.* The most important exegetical theme in which Gregory uses Philo's exegesis is the interpretation of Egypt, Pharaoh, and the Exodus from Egypt. Like Philo, Gregory interprets Egypt as the land of the passions, Pharaoh as lover of the passions and the exodus as the liberation of the passions. Remarkably Origen, to whom Gregory is also indebted, does not offer this reading of Egypt. Other important exegetical themes which reveal Philo's influence are the necessity of education, the interpretation of the serpent as a symbol of pleasure and the exegesis of the royal way. In all these themes Gregory does not rely on Philo's *Mos.* but draws on the treatises belonging to the Allegorical Commentary. Gregory does derive two interpretations from Philo's *Mos.*: the dark blue of the high priest's robe referring to the air; and the interpretation of the hardness of the nut of Aaron's staff as a symbol of the austerity of the virtuous life. In the conclusion the author states that Gregory is not a slavish imitator of Philo, but an original and creative thinker and exegete. REVIEWS: G. Maspero, *ScrTh* 35 (2003) 612–613; J. P. Martin, *Adamant* 10 (2004) 486–488; R. L. Wilken, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 315–317. (ACG)

20244. U. GERSHOWITZ and A. KOVELMAN, 'A Symmetrical Teleological Construction in the Treatises of Philo and in the Talmud,' *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 5 (2002) 228–246.

The composition of some Philonic treatises and Talmudic tractates is characterized by 'unity and coherence' (p. 228 n. 4). The authors recognize two connected principles of organization—anticipation and symmetry—described by J. Cazeaux in relation to Philonic treatises. According to the principle of

symmetry, the beginning and end of a work are marked by ‘two fixed points, two sister-quotations for example’ (p. 230). Anticipation, or teleological construction, describes the organization of a work whereby between the beginning and the end a chain of quotations and exegeses distract the reader, but the topic of the opening verse reappears at the end. Without arguing for any continuity between Philo and the Talmud, the authors observe that ‘the same tension between exegetical and homiletic foundations must have created the same patterns and structures in both sources’ (p. 232). To illustrate the pattern of symmetry and teleology, the authors analyze Philo’s *Leg.* and *B. Qid* 29a–36a (the pattern may characterize the underlying Mishnaic chapter as well). Variations on the pattern in the Talmud are also discussed. Some observations by Philo about beginnings and ends are adduced to argue that symmetry and teleology were at the heart of both his composition and his philosophy. (EB)

20245. R. M. M. GERTH, *The Interpretation of Genesis 6.6—‘and the Lord repented’—in Early Rabbinic and Patristic Tradition* (diss. Hebrew Union College 2002).

This dissertation concerns the interpretation in antiquity of Gen 6:6, ‘and the Lord repented that He had made man on the earth, and it grieved Him to His heart’, and specifically the phrase *v’yinachem Adonai* (‘and the Lord repented’) in early rabbinic and patristic tradition. Chapter three examines Gen 6:6 as it appears in the LXX translation and in the writings of Philo. (DTR; based on DAI-A 63–11, p. 3975)

20246. P. GRAFFIGNA, ‘L’immagine della bilancia in Filone d’Alessandria,’ in F. CALABI (ed.), *Immagini e rappresentazione. Contributi su Filone di Alessandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity (Binghamton N.Y. 2002) 27–44.

The figure of the balance is part of a ‘conceptual and metaphorical field’ which illustrates the notion of equilibrium for various points of view, from the stability of the wise person to the precarious and insecure situation of the one who yields to passion. In general the image gets used in the context of ethical values in order to represent the continual oscillation of foolish persons in opposition to the solidity of those who follow the ‘royal road’ that leads to God. There is a direct link with the metaphor of the ship battered by the waves in order to indicate the tempest of the passions. But it also represents the concept of the mean and of a balanced account before God. (RR)

20247. E. GRUEN, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge Mass. 2002), esp. 54–83 and *passim*.

This wide-ranging study of the Jewish diaspora in the four centuries from Alexander to the fall of the Temple offers the revisionistic thesis of Jewish communities who felt at home in the Greek and Roman cities in which they lived

and exhibited little sense of insecurity in an alien society, maintaining both respect for the Jewish homeland in Palestine and commitment to Gentile government in their local environment. Chapter 2 focuses on the Jewish community in Alexandria. In giving a close reading of the incident in 38 C.E., Gruen argues that Philo's account of events is flawed. Flaccus should not be seen as the principal villain, nor other Greeks mentioned in his narrative. The chief source of hostility to the Jews were the rank and file Egyptians. The dreadful pogrom of 38 C.E., however, now defines the history of Jews in Alexandria. Their experience in the city was primarily positive. Philo is also frequently referred to in Chapter 7, 'Jewish constructs of Greeks and Hellenism', and Chapter 8, 'Diaspora and Homeland'. For detailed references see the index on p. 383. (DTR)

20248. L. GUSELLA, 'The Therapeutae and other Community Experiences of the Late Second Temple Period,' *Henoch* 24 (2002) 295–329.

This study proceeds along the same lines as an Italian article published by the same author in 2001 (see above 20126) about three forms of Jewish community life of the second and first century B.C.E.: the Essenes, the Qumran community and the Therapeutae. Essenism was a movement spread over the whole of Palestine, consisting of local communities in towns, villages or isolated spots; the Qumran community represents one of these, albeit with specific characteristics and an independent development. The Therapeutae formed a single community of limited dimensions and with peculiar characteristics: the presence of women, celibacy practiced by all members, preponderance of solitary contemplative activity, alternated by community meetings on the Sabbath and on the festival of the fiftieth day. While the Essenes and Qumran appear closely related (cf. the Groningen thesis), the community experience of the Therapeutae was independent and unique. (HMK; based on the author's Italian abstract)

20249. H. GZELLA, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit. Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta-Psalters*, Bonner Biblische Beiträge 134 (Bonn 2002), esp. 38–39, 109–111.

In the course of his Münster dissertation, while controversially discussing whether the Septuagint Psalms are aware of traces of independent interpretation, Gzella has explained some hermeneutical trends of Philo. Translation has a mystical dimension for him (*Mos.* 2,40), a kind of *unio mystica* between author and translator. While interpreting Ps 16 (LXX 15) and the anthropological ideas that it contains Gzella compares the dualistic aspects of the Septuaginta-Psalms with the Platonically influenced ideas in Philo's treatises (esp. the deep antithesis between body and soul). Further relations between Septuagint Psalms and Philonic anthropological or eschatological ideas (such as toil and trouble, enjoyment, pain and education, eternity and coming face to face with God) can be found by consulting the excellent indices. (GS)

20250. C. HAYES, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford 2002).

Jewish notions of Gentile impurity are integral to the understanding of group identity because these notions influence ideas about whether and how non-Jews can join the Jewish community. Indeed controversies on these questions 'led to the rise of sectarianism in the Second Temple period and, ultimately, to the separation of Christianity and Judaism' (p. 10). Hayes identifies different kinds of purity/impurity, including ritual, moral, and genealogical. In Part I she examines concepts of Gentile impurity in the Bible and various Second Temple sources and then considers implications regarding intermarriage and conversion. She also examines the positions of Paul and early Church Fathers. Part II is devoted to rabbinic views of Gentile impurity, intermarriage, and conversion. Hayes argues against earlier scholars who claim that it is ritual impurity that Jews most commonly associate with non-Jews. Instead she maintains that it is genealogical purity that concerns Ezra, *Jubilees*, and 4QMMT, while other Second Temple sources, the Rabbis, and Paul emphasize the moral factor. Philo exemplifies this concern with moral—rather than ritual or genealogical—purity/impurity, and he understands conversion as 'a passage from impiety to piety (moral impurity to moral purity)' (p. 57). Likewise Philo's explanation of the prohibition against intermarriage is based on 'the deleterious moral-religious effect it may have on the Israelite partner' (p. 70). REVIEWS: M. L. Satlow, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 309–315. (EB)

20251. L. R. HELYER, *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period. A Guide for New Testament Students* (Downers Grove Ill. 2002), esp. 311–335.

The stated purpose of this book is to provide undergraduates, seminary students, pastors and interested lay-persons an introduction to Jewish writings important for an understanding of the New Testament. It deals primarily with selections from Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Josephus, Philo, Bar Kochba Letters and Mishnah. The presentation is chronological, providing historical introductions to the various groups of literature. Chapter 9 deals with Philo (pp. 311–335). After a brief historical introduction, the author presents Philo's writings. Then he discusses selected passages and their relevance for the New Testament by dealing with topics such as creation and the origin of evil; the problem of circumcision; the Logos; Adam Christology; substance and shadow; mysticism; and allegorical interpretation. The Chapter ends with some suggestions for further reading. (TS)

20252. I. HIMBAZA, 'Le Décalogue de Papyrus Nash, Philon, 4 Qphyl G, 8Qphyl 3, et 4Qmez A,' *Revue de Qumran* 79 (2002) 411–428.

A comparative study of the texts cited in the title of the article demonstrates that the form of the Decalogue that they represent stands closer to the version of Exodus than to that of Deuteronomy, and that this Decalogue is closer to the

LXX than the Masoretic text. In the case of Philo (cf. *Decal.* 36, 51, 97–101) it appears that the order of commandments six to eight agrees with that of the LXX (Deut). But various indications presented by the author lead to the conclusion that Philo agrees more with the text of Exod than that of Deut. These indications are the elements specific to the text in Exod (cf. *Decal.* 16, 44–45, 47, 97–101). The elements of the Deuteronomy text are found in *Decal.* 44. On the basis of his enquiry the author concludes that Philo cites the text of the Decalogue from memory. (JR)

20253. A. VAN DEN HOEK, ‘Assessing Philo’s Influence in Christian Alexandria: the Case of Origen,’ in J. L. KUGEL (ed.), *Shem in the Tents of Japheth: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 74 (Leiden 2002) 223–239.

The article is a more discursive presentation of the material set out in full in the author’s article in *SPhA* 12 (2000); see the summary above 20030. The comparison of two huge corpora of texts such as those of Philo and Origen presents considerable methodological challenges. Van den Hoek advocates being as thorough as possible, i.e. building up a complete dossier of links between them. She bases her material primarily on identifications given in editions of Philo’s and Origen’s works. These are then graded in categories from A to D, depending on the kind of influence or dependence shown in them. A dozen examples are treated in more detail in order to show how the classification works. On the basis of the results (only summarily indicated in the article) a number of conclusions are reached. The most interesting texts are those graded A or B, which indicate certain or highly likely borrowings. It appears that Origen drew on 22 of Philo’s 36 preserved works. The subject matter is predominantly biblical interpretation and allegories, but there are also quite a few texts dealing with philosophical questions and the theme of creation. Philo was for Origen not only a theoretical model, but also a limitless resource for practical purposes. (DTR)

20254. P. W. VAN DER HORST, ‘The First Pogrom: Alexandria 38 CE,’ *European Review* 10 (2002) 469–484.

The first ever documented pogrom took place in Alexandria in 38 C.E. The eye-witness account given by Philo is a problematic source because his concern is largely theological and also because he fails to inform the reader about the causes of the violence. These causes must be sought in a growing tendency among Alexandrian intellectuals to depict Jews as criminal misanthropes, and the Jewish tendency to side with the Roman occupiers of Egypt. (DTR; based on the author’s summary)

20255. F. JUNG, ΣΩΤΗΡ. *Studien zur Rezeption eines hellenistischen Ehrentitels im Neuen Testament*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 39 (Münster 2002), esp. 240–256.

The NT term Σωτήρ (saviour, deliverer) has long been seen as the counterpart of pagan gods or of persons such as Hellenistic or Roman emperors who were honoured as gods. Consistent with this interpretation, NT scholarship has presented Jesus as the saviour in opposition to all the other pretensions. But the present Munich dissertation under the supervision of J. Gnllka shows that it is a widely used term relating to saving actions on the part of both gods and human beings. The thesis of this Monograph is that the idea was not developed in contrast to one or many concepts of salvation but through the reception of well-known religious, cultural and political traditions, of which Philo is a good example. In the chapter about the Septuagint Jung offers a detailed description and analysis of the term in the different texts and *Gattungen* of the books which show deep Hellenistic influence. God's activity for his chosen people becomes more and more a trait of his personality. Philo could build upon these descriptions. He focuses all his testimonies on the God of Israel as the one true Saviour. But Jung also marks the differences. First of all it is noted that the Saviour can also change to becoming Judge. This supports the paraenetical approach of the author. It is interesting that all the references to God as saviour come from the Pentateuch. Jung notes the difference between the *Gattungen* in Philo's treatises. But he does not notice that all the texts which underline God's activity in preserving the world originate in the Exposition of the Law. In contrast the Allegorical Commentary uses the term σωτήρ for God's beneficent activity only once (*Sobr.* 55). Deliverance can only be offered by the true creator, the God of Israel, whom all people are invited to worship. This motif is most clearly seen in the apologetic treatises (such as *Legat.*). In the various texts or inscriptions (and some coins) which he cites (in both Greek and German) Jung develops his method and ability of differentiation most impressively. The NT authors refer to these common ideas and are able to develop their own Christological concepts against this background. (GS)

20256. A. KAMESAR, 'Writing Commentaries on the Works of Philo: Some Reflections,' *Adamantius* 8 (2002) 127–134.

In response to the plans for the new series of commentaries on the works of Philo, the author offers suggestions for how these commentaries should approach their task. Because he himself is preparing a commentary on *Det.*, he focuses particularly commentaries on the Allegorical Commentary. He argues that progress may be achieved by a greater focus on what he calls the 'lower elements' of the text. The first of these is Philo's understanding of the Septuagintal text that forms the basis of the treatises. The Septuagint should be seen as a 'stand-alone' text, not just a translation of the Hebrew. Moreover Philo's reading of the text is not always easy to discern, because he often moves straight to allegorical interpretation. The second 'lower element' is the 'grammatical' level, using the term in the ancient sense, i.e. the level of interpretation or exegesis of literary texts. The third is the rhetorical level, which is the aspect of the text directed towards the reader's edification. Kamesar ends the article by emphasizing that other themes, including the relation to wider exegetical

traditions and philosophical issues, should not be neglected. But choices have to be made, and it is hoped that differing approaches will result in a broader illumination of Philo's writings. (DTR)

20257. P. KOTZIA-PANTELI, 'Forschungsreisen. Zu Iamblichos' Protreptikos 40,1–11 Pistelli,' *Philologus* 146 (2002) 111–132, esp. 124–132.

Philo *Migr.* 217–219 is cited and discussed at some length in order to show that the motif of the 'traveller in search of gain,' which is found in Iamblichus' *Protrepticus* and is often thought to originate in the Aristotelian work of the same name (B53 Düring), is a typical theme of the protreptic genre and can be traced back to Theophrastus. (DTR)

20258. J. L. KUGEL (ed.), *Shem in the Tents of Japheth: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 74 (Leiden 2002).

This monograph contains the papers of two conferences on the encounter of Judaism and Hellenism held at Bar Ilan University in 1998 and Harvard University in 1999. The title is a playful reversal of the biblical injunction that Japheth should dwell in the tents of Shem (Gen 9:27). After an initial essay by A. I. Baumgarten on whether the Greeks as overlords of Palestine for two centuries were different from previous rulers, the volume is divided into three parts: two papers on Issues of language, five papers on Hellenism in Jewish Writings, and three papers on The Reception of Judaism by the Greek Fathers. Papers specifically relating to Philo were presented by N. Cohen, A. van den Hoek, D. T. Runia (2) and D. Winston. See the summaries presented under the names of the authors. REVIEWS: M. Niehoff, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 298–300. (DTR)

20259. Y. T. LANGERMANN, 'On the Beginnings of Hebrew Scientific Literature and on Studying History Through 'Maqbilot' (Parallels),' *Aleph* 2 (2002) 169–189, esp. 180–185.

The author mentions four texts that he believes represent the earliest Jewish writings in Hebrew about scientific knowledge; he dates these to the 8th or 9th century. One text is *Sefer yetsirah* (SY), which discusses components of the universe and their relationship to numbers and letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The second part of the article is a critique of Y. Liebes' *Ars Poetica in Sefer Yetsirah* (see above 20045)—specifically, of Liebes' use of parallels to date SY to the 1st century. Langermann primarily objects that Liebes ignores important questions about his sources and juxtaposes parallels without explaining how he chooses them and why they are significant. Liebes adduces so many parallels between SY and Philo that he devotes a separate index to Philo's works alone. According to Langermann, these works may have been known to later Jewish writers and thus parallels with Philo would not necessarily support a first-century dating for SY. Citing an article by B. Chiesa, who suggests that Jews writing in Arabic

knew Philo's works through the Armenian tradition, Langermann observes, 'If Chiesa is correct, the question is no longer whether Philo's writings were known in the early Islamic period, but how much of the Philonic corpus was available and through which channels of submission' (p. 182). Langermann also discusses Pythagorean aspects of Philo's thought, especially arithmology. (EB)

20260. M. MACH [מאך, ל. מאך], 'אברהם, הלומד הניצח, לפי פילון', [Hebrew: Faith, Practice and Learning—Abraham according to Philo], in M. HAL-LAMISH, H. KASHER and Y. SILMAN (edd.), *The Faith of Abraham in the Light of Interpretation throughout the Ages* (Ramat-Gan 2002) 59–70.

Following a brief survey of the importance of Abraham in the varied forms and expressions of Judaism during the Second Temple period, Mach turns to the centrality of the figure in the writings of Philo. The point of departure for the investigation is the divergence of Philo's portrayal from that found in the epistles of Paul. The latter's focused treatment of Abraham's 'justification through faith' (Gen 15:6) is contrasted with Philo's dynamic description of the patriarch's progress through the acquisition of secure knowledge of the Deity. Mach places predominant emphasis on the epistemological process which underlies Philo's own use of the word πίστις and the concomitant portrayal of Abraham on his path to becoming a νόμος ἔμψυχος. (DS)

20261. J. P. MARTÍN, 'Alegoría de Filón sobre los ángeles que miraron con deseo a las hijas de los hombres,' *Circe* 7 (2002) 261–282.

Compares the exegesis of Philo on the myth of the *nephilim* (Gen 6:1–4) with *Jubilees* and with the tradition of *Enoch*, which interpret the myth in connection with the history of human culture and the entrance of evil in the world. Philo accepts a mythological reading of the biblical text. By means of allegory, he denies any sexual interpretation and affirms the radical distinction between angels and women, that is to say, between soul and material bodies. In this context we find early the term πνευματικός in the sense of 'immaterial' (QG 1.92, Greek fragment). (JPM)

20262. J. P. MARTÍN, 'El concepto de hermenéutica en Filón de Alejandría,' *Anales de la Academia Nacional de Ciencias de Buenos Aires* 36 (2002) 287–306.

The author distinguishes three senses of ἐρμηνεύειν in Philo: to communicate; to translate; to interpret. The three senses constitute a chain of actions between God and man. Communication begins with the creative act of the divine Logos, and extends to the unfolding of λόγοι in nature and to the text written by Moses, the ἑρμηνεύς. The hermeneutical act continues in the translation of the LXX for all the nations, and finally, it finishes in the comprehensive reading by the wise person, who culminates the process of ἐρμηνεύειν by silence before God. (JPM)

20263. J. P. MARTÍN, 'Historiografía, religión y filosofía en el siglo II,' in J. FERNÁNDEZ SANGRADOR and S. GUIJARRO OPORTO (edd.), *Plenitudo Temporis, Miscelánea Homenaje a R. Trevijano Etcheverría* (Salamanca 2002) 313–332.

The author shows that the Christian apologists of the 2nd century Tatian and Theophilus develop certain conceptions of history inherited from the Hellenistic Judaism, including Philo. They hold a universal and unitary vision of history, in which Adam is the origin and in which the first developments are led by the patriarchs. The Pentateuch is considered the first non-mythological book of the history of mankind. (JPM)

20264. J. P. MARTÍN, 'Religión y teología,' in F. DIEZ DE VELASCO and F. GARCÍA BAZÁN (edd.), *El estudio de la religión*, Enciclopedia Ibero-Americana de Religiones 1 (Madrid 2002) 227–255, esp. 231–235.

Analyzes the influence that Philo had on the Christian concept of theology, a tradition to which Clement, Origen, Augustine and others belong. In the Philonic model scientific theology furnishes instruments which convert narrative accounts, i.e. μῦθοι, to the condition of ἐπιστήμη. (JPM)

20265. A. MAZZANTI, 'L'identità dell'uomo in Filone di Alessandria,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Immagini e rappresentazione. Contributi su Filone di Alessandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity (Binghamton N.Y. 2002) 7–26.

The characteristic of 'boundary-dweller' (μεθόριος) which Philo attributes to human beings in a certain measure constitutes their essence, inasmuch as the human being (ἄνθρωπος) is presented as the being which stands in between the material world and the heavenly realm. This fact according to some scholars (H. A. Wolfson, A. Maddalena, T. H. Tobin, D. Winston, M. Harl, G. Reale and others) implies an aspect of negativity implicit from the beginning, even if it is possible to surmount the dichotomy in a third dimension of the Spirit (πνεῦμα). This third constituent bestows on the corporeal a certain positive element of participation, thanks to the (Platonic) relation between the model and the image. In this perspective the human being comes to be identified with the noetic and rational essence. This is indivisible and immanent in anthropological reality. (RR)

20266. D. A. NIELSEN, 'Civilizational Encounters in the Development of Early Christianity,' in A. J. BLASI, J. DUHAIME and P.-A. TURCOTTE (edd.), *Handbook of Early Christianity. Social Sciences Approaches* (Walnut Creek Calif. 2002) 267–290, esp. 269–278.

The author deals with the topic of civilizational encounters under three headings: Civilizational Encounters I: Judaism, Hellenism and the second axial age of

antiquity (pp. 269–278); Civilizational Encounters II: Christianity and Paganism in Origen's creation theology (pp. 278–287); and Civilizational Encounters III: Christianity amidst religious and philosophical cults (pp. 287–289). Only the first is directly concerned with the views of Philo. He focuses on Philo's accounts of creation under the following headings: the root image, of creation by measure, weight and number; the role of law and rule in creation; the related neo-Pythagorean number symbolism; the similar congruent role of the logos in the creative process; and the relationship of these ideas to those about universal moral order, including retribution, judgment, and punishment. The categories of Greek philosophy are here used as a tool or instrument in setting forth his views. In this way Philo proves to be one of the first Jewish thinkers to respond in a systematically creative way to the 'modernizing' challenges of his time. (TS)

20267. J. NOVOA, 'Filón de Alejandría y el diálogo entre helenismo y judaísmo,' in F. ARENAS-DOLZ, E. BÉRCHEZ CASTAÑO and D. CAMACHO RUBIO (edd.), *Actas del I congreso Nacional de Estudiantes de Humanidades: Filosofía y formas literarias en la Antigüedad, Symposion Asociación Cultural (22–24 abril 1999)* (Valencia 2002) 161–174.

Presents an introductory portrait of Philo. The author deals with some Philonic topics such as the figure of Moses as universal model of the wise man, and the relation of Greek and Jewish traditions in the interpretation of the Bible. (JPM)

20268. J. C. O'NEILL, 'How Early is the Doctrine of *Creatio ex Nihilo*?', *Journal of Theological Studies* 53 (2002) 449–465, esp. 456–462.

Argues forcefully, esp. against Gerhard May, for the view that Philo, and Hellenistic-Jewish authors before him, held the doctrine that God created the world out of nothing. A large number of Philonic texts, including from *Prov.* and *Deo*, are adduced. Because the doctrine was already creedally formulated by the time of the NT, there is nothing in the NT that contradicts it. Indeed at Rev 4:11 the minority reading οὐκ ἦσαν should be accepted. (DTR)

20269. T. H. OLBRICHT, 'Greek Rhetoric and the Allegorical Rhetoric of Philo and Clement of Alexandria,' in S. E. PORTER and D. L. STAMPS (ed.), *Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible*, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series* 195 (Sheffield 2002) 24–47.

In this comparative study of the function of allegory in the works of Philo and Clement, the author finds that both believed that the Scriptures contained truths that might be decoded by help of allegorization. Philo's allegorization pointed upward (beyond sense experience) and downward. The allegorization of Clement exhibited neither of these: his allegorization was flat and immediate. Clement, however, could use typology, a procedure Philo did not employ. (TS)

20270. L. PADOVESE, *Cercatori di Dio. Sulle tracce dell'ascetismo pagano, ebraico e cristiano dei primi secoli*, Uomini e Religioni: Saggi (Milan 2002), esp. 68–104.

In his wide-ranging account of the religious life in the first centuries of our era, with an emphasis on the themes of the search for God and the role of asceticism, the author devotes a chapter to Jewish asceticism, which he subtitles 'marginal parenthesis in the history of Israel'. After a brief section on rabbinic/talmudic objections to asceticism, Padovese goes back in time and devotes sections to the Essenes and the Therapeutae, for whom Philo is his chief or sole source. The final ten pages of the chapter are devoted to Philo himself. After some introductory remarks, the author concentrates on the themes of the quest for God and spiritual virginity. In the case of the former theme, he notes the emphasis on human nothingness, which is contrasted with the Greek and Platonic emphasis on human perfection and self-realization. Philo thus leaves the framework of Greek asceticism and anticipates the affirmation of asceticism in Christian monasticism. (DTR)

20271. R. PASSARELLA, 'Medicina in allegoria: Ambrogio, Filone e l'arca di Noè', in I. GUALANDRI (ed.), *Tra IV e V secolo: Studi sulla cultura latina tardoantica*, Quaderni di Acme 50 (Milan 2002) 189–252.

A study of Ambrose's interpretation of Noah's ark as allegory of the human body, in particular of the digestive process (*De Noe* 7.22–9.29 and *Hexam.* 6.9.9.66–71). The author concentrates on Ambrose's use of (medical) terminology and on his sources, among whom Philo (QG 2.3, 2.6 and esp. 2.7, and *Opif.* 118–119) has a prominent place. (HMK)

20272. A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA, 'I LXX nella Biblioteca di Alessandria', *Adamantius* 8 (2002) 114–126, esp. 125 f.

Critical review of N. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek* (see above 20013). The reviewer discusses Collins' detailed argumentation for her thesis (rehabilitating the historicity of Aristeas' account) that the origin of the LXX was a Greek initiative (Ptolemy) which met with *resistance* on the part of Judaism, and she expresses her surprise that Collins feels the need to exclude the possibility of more than one contributing factor at the origin of the LXX, i.e. both a Greek initiative and an interest from the part of Hellenistic Judaism to have the Scriptures in a more accessible tongue. For Passoni Dell'Acqua, the way in which Collins interprets Philo's and Josephus' accounts of the origin of the LXX—in her view Philo stresses the role of the Jews in the enterprise, and in so doing completely distorts Aristeas' account, while Josephus avoids as much as possible any allusion to divine inspiration of the translation, and in so doing eliminates any support for the thesis of a Jewish initiative—is much influenced by the thesis which is her point of departure, and therefore runs the risk of creating a vicious circle of argumentation. (HMK)

20273. R. RADICE, 'Filone Alessandrino e la tradizione platonica. Il caso di Seneca,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Immagini e rappresentazione. Contributi su Filone di Alessandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity (Binghamton N.Y. 2002) 58–69.

Seneca could have been present at the lectures held by Philo at Rome during his participation in the Embassy in 39–40 C.E. Moreover certain statements in Seneca's *Ep.* 65—which constitute somewhat of an exception in his thought—look very much like a reference to the doctrine of the ideas as thoughts of God as we find it in *Opif.* It is in fact possible to recognize in this letter a valuable link which is lacking in the history of Platonism as it develops from the Academy to Middle Platonism. It is also a witness in favour of the thesis of the 'bi-directionality' of the relations between Alexandrian Judaism and Greek philosophy, i.e. the need to consider the contributions that the Jewish-Alexandrian tradition may have made to Greek philosophy and not only those contributions that move in an inverse direction. (RR)

20274. F. RAURELL, *Carta d'Aristeas. Introducció, text revisat, traducció i notes* (Barcelona 2002).

The author gives ample consideration of Philo in this new bilingual edition of the *Letter of Aristeas*. In a well-researched introduction and also in his notes Raurell describes the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the *Letter* in the works of Hellenistic Judaism and elucidates similarities and differences between Aristeas and Philo, specially in relation to *Mos.* 2.31–44. (JPM)

20275. G. REYDAMS-SCHILS, 'Philo of Alexandria on Stoic and Platonist Psycho-Physiology: the Socratic Higher Ground,' *Ancient Philosophy* 22 (2002) 125–148.

The aim of the article is to explore which psychological model Philo uses in his analysis of rational behaviour and the passions. The author argues that the two strands of philosophical influence which he undergoes are balanced because they have been subsumed under his larger purpose. In the first part she outlines the trajectory of thought from Plato to Philo, emphasizing the role of the 'Socratic' view of the relation between body and soul, which is prominent in both Plato and the Stoics. Adding to the complexity of Philo's stance is the pressure of interpreting scripture, which in large part determines his strategies. In the second part a valuable list of Philonic passages is presented under five headings: the soul/body distinction, mind versus the senses and the passions, the Stoic model of the soul, the Platonist model of the soul, and 'mixed' cases. On the basis of these passages a conceptual analysis of Philo's stance is given in the final part of the article. Reydams-Schils argues that Philo's choice for one psychological model over the other is largely determined by the context of the scriptural passage being commented on, but this is by no means sheer randomness. The distinctions between body and soul and between mind and

passions provide the higher hermeneutical ground from which he can launch either into the Platonic or the Stoic model. In both cases the Socratic paradigm plays an important role. For this reason the epigraph of the article is a quote from QG 4.99, which alludes to the contrast between beautiful mind and ugly body in the case of Socrates himself. The study has been reprinted in the volume edited by F. Alesse, *Philo of Alexandria and Post-Aristotelian Philosophy*, Studies on Philo of Alexandria 5 (Leiden 2008) 167–195. (DTR)

20276. J. REYNARD, 'La notion d'athéisme dans l'œuvre de Philon d'Alexandrie,' in G. DORIVAL and D. PRALON (edd.), *Nier les dieux, nier Dieu*, Textes et Documents de le Méditerrané antique et médiévale (Aix-en-Provence 2002) 211–221.

As an adherent of strict monotheism, Philo criticizes atheism as it manifests itself in diverse guises: polytheism (animal cult, veneration of natural elements, divinization of human beings); atheism as doctrine; atheism as moral category, symbolized by Pharaoh, but also by Cain; atheistic exegesis. In the author's view the problematics of atheism centre on the unicity of God the uncreated creator. Polytheistic cults, philosophical doctrines, wicked behaviour, inappropriate readings: all of these are judged in accordance with the single criterion of conformity to Jewish monotheism. Everything that threatens this belief is imbued with atheism, a term which sums up everything which Philo fights against. One atheist, however, does find favour in his sight: Theodore of Cyrene, whom he sees not so much as a denier of God but of the Athenian gods (*Prob.* 127–130). (JR)

20277. D. ROKEAH, *Justin Martyr and the Jews*, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 5 (Leiden 2002), esp. 22–28.

This work is a revised and updated version of an earlier edition published in Hebrew by The Ben-Zion Dinur Center for Research in Jewish History, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem in 1998. Chapter four of this study contains a summary of the discussion on the question of Justin's dependence on Philo. E. R. Goodenough argues that several Philonic interpretations in Justin prove the Christian author's dependence on Philo. A different view is advanced by L. W. Barnard, who examines the development of the theory of the Logos in Judaism and Greek thought. In his view the similarities between the two writers must be regarded as a product of their common source, viz. the LXX. Finally, the opinion of O. Skarskaune is reported, who posits that no evidence for a direct link between Philo and Justin exists. Justin's sources are (1) Christian testimonies, based on disputes between Jewish-Christians and Christians, and (2) typological interpretations developed by Justin himself. (ACG)

20278. R. ROUKEMA, 'Le Fils du Très-Haut. Sur les anges et la christologie,' *Études Théologique et Religieuses* 77 (2002) 343–357, esp. 346–348.

Deut 32:8–9, which shows that before the exile Israel had a belief in a pantheon similar to that which occurs in Ugaritic texts, is cited twice by Philo

(*Post.* 89–92, *Plant* 59–60). The text in Deut 32:8 is read as ‘following the number of the angels of God’. For Philo the Israel which belongs to the Lord (Κύριος) are those who see and worship God. There is no difference between the Most High (Υψιστος) and the Lord, and elsewhere (*Opif.* 171, *Leg.* 3.82, *Decal.* 64–65) Philo affirms that there is no other God than the Most High, because God is One. Polytheism is thus rejected. However, in the Philonic texts things are not that simple. Philo records the distinction between θεός and κύριος and the appearance of God as three (*Abr.* 121–124). He also speaks of a seven-fold appearance of the single God (*QE* 2.67–68). According to the author Philo has joined together Old Testament and Jewish conceptions with Greek and philosophical ideas. Despite his confession of monotheism, Philo takes up again the ancient Israelite conception of the Pantheon by paying attention to the plurality in the single God. (JR)

20279. D. ROURE, ‘L’obtenió del perdón en Ben Sira i en Filón d’Alexandria,’ in A. PUIG I TÍRRECH (ed.), *Perdón i reconciliación en la tradición jueva*, Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat (Barcelona 2002) 209–221.

Without taking sides in the theological discussions of other contributions in the volume, Roure presents a philological comparison of the vocabulary of forgiveness in Sirach and in Philo. There are common terms in both authors, such as ἔλεος and συγγνωμή. Other terms are found only in Sirach, e.g. ἐξιλασμός, others only in Philo, e.g. οἴκτος. (JPM)

20280. D. T. RUNIA, ‘Eudaimonism in Hellenistic-Jewish and Early Christian Literature,’ *Iris (Journal of the Classical Association of Victoria)* 15 (2002) 63–72.

A reduced version of the following article (20281) adapted for presentation to a conference entitled Christ on Olympus, named after a poem written by the Bendigo poet William Gay in 1895. (DTR)

20281. D. T. RUNIA, ‘Eudaimonism in Hellenistic-Jewish Literature,’ in J. L. KUGEL (ed.), *Shem in the Tents of Japheth: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 74 (Leiden 2002) 131–157.

The article examines the relation between Greek philosophical and Hellenistic-Jewish ideas by focusing on the concept of εὐδαιμονία, usually but misleadingly translated ‘happiness’. In the first section six crucial features of the concept in Greek thought are outlined, notably the link to the good life and theological connotations. In the next two sections use of the term and concept in Philo and Josephus is examined. It is concluded that in these authors a form of eudaimonism is present, but elsewhere in Hellenistic-Jewish literature it scarcely occurs. The question is then raised whether this is perhaps merely a matter

of terminology, i.e. a Greek term is used but its content is Jewish. It is proven that this is not the case by noting that Philo relates the concept of εὐδαιμονία to God, which does not take place in the Bible at all. In the final section the question is raised why Philo is so attracted to the themes of excellence (ἀρετή) and well-being (εὐδαιμονία). It is concluded that they help him bridge the gap between his loyalty to Judaism and his situation as an intellectual in Alexandria. (DTR)

20282. D. T. RUNIA, 'One of Us or One of Them? Christian Reception of Philo the Jew in Egypt,' in J. L. KUGEL (ed.), *Shem in the Tents of Japheth: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 74 (Leiden 2002) 203–222.

The starting-point for the article is the discovery of three significant Philonic papyri in Egypt, the Coptos codex, the Oxyrhynchus codex and a small papyrus fragment published in 1994. All three are definitely of Christian provenance. The paper falls into four parts. In the first part a brief account is given of Philo's survival in Egypt (including Alexandria). Thereafter the article concentrates on two test cases, the use of Philo by Didymus the Blind and Isidore of Pelusium. On this basis some conclusions are reached in the final section. Philo's greatest value to Christians in Egypt was the contribution he could make to biblical interpretation. Up to the 4th century there was no reason to emphasize that Philo was a Jew. He was 'one of us'. During the 4th century this tacit acceptance starts to change and it may be concluded that he begins to become 'one of them', albeit as a special case. With regard to the papyri, however, it is quite possible that their owners simply regarded their author as a Christian interpreter, i.e. 'one of us'. (DTR)

20283. D. T. RUNIA, 'Philo of Alexandria and the End of Hellenistic Theology,' in A. LAKS and D. FREDE (edd.), *Traditions of Theology: Studies in Hellenistic Theology, Its Background and Aftermath*, Philosophia Antiqua 89 (Leiden 2002) 281–316.

The article is the final one in a collection of nine papers presented at the 8th Symposium Hellenisticum held in Lille in the summer of 1998. Its basic thesis is that Philo's theology is a witness to the end of Hellenistic theology and the beginning of a new theology that would dominate philosophy until the end of antiquity. It begins with two texts in the doxographer Aëtius and the sceptic Sextus Empiricus which, it is argued, are typical of Hellenistic theology. They are confident and direct in their approach to the question of the divine nature. It either exists or it does not exist. The evidence of Philo is then called in. The paper concentrates on texts from the Exposition of the Law, esp. *Opif.* 7–25, *Spec.* 1.32–50 and *Praem.* 36–46. Through an analysis of six theological themes—the basic division of reality, the noetic cosmos and the extended image in *Opif.* 17–18, the Logos, the reception of the divine powers, existence and essence, a superior path to knowledge—it is argued that the confident and direct epistemology of

Hellenistic theology gives way to a different approach which is less confident and more complex, involving a negative theology in which the nature of God is not denied but regarded as not directly accessible to human knowledge. Three further authors are adduced by way of comparison: the Ps.Aristotelian *De mundo*, Seneca and Alcinous. The paper ends with some reflections on whether Philo, in his philosophical theology, is a witness or an innovator. 'Philo stands at the interface of Hellenistic and later Greek philosophy, looking ... both back and forward. He has the status of an outsider. The inspiration that he found in biblical thought made him sensitive to changes that were in the air, e.g. in the case of negative theology ... [T]he texts in which Philo points forward to later developments are the ones that are most interesting.' (p. 311) (DTR)

20284. M. SALCEDO PARRONDO, 'El problema del determinismo astral en el 'De providentia' de Filón de Alejandría,' in A. PEREZ JIMENEZ and R. CABALLERO (edd.), *Homo Mathematicus (Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Astrologos Griegos y Romanos)* (Malaga 2002) 249–258.

In *Prov.* Philo takes a stand against astral determinism, emphasizing the free will and responsibility of human beings. In the extensive Philonic corpus, however, the opposition against astrology is not clear. Salcedo Parrondo concludes that the thought of Philo rather seems a compromise between the Jewish monotheism and its Hellenistic culture, virtually an eclectic Platonism. (JPM)

20285. K. O. SANDNES, *Belly and Body in the Pauline Epistles*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 120 (Cambridge 2002), esp. 108–135.

In a number of passages, Paul uses expressions like 'their god is the belly' (Phil 3:19), or serving 'their own belly' (Rom 16:18). In this study K. O. Sandnes suggests that Paul here exploits a traditional idiom, a *topos* or a literary commonplace that is attested in ancient Greco-Roman sources, and exploited in Jewish sources as well. The belly became a catchword for a life controlled by the passions. Accusations of belly-worship was not only pejorative rhetoric to Paul, but developed from his conviction that the body was destined to a future with Christ. After an introductory chapter, Sandnes deals in Chapter Two with 'Aspects of ancient theories of the belly': 'the belly as a sign—ancient physiognomics' (pp. 24–35); 'The belly in ancient moral philosophy' (pp. 35–60); 'Ancient critique of Epicureanism' (pp. 61–78), and 'Banquets—opportunities for the belly' (pp. 79–93). In Chapter Three he deals with 'The appropriated belly' (pp. 97–135), briefly presenting aspects of the belly-topos in Jewish-Hellenistic sources, and then 'The belly in Philo's writings' (pp. 108–135). Sandnes finds two partly conflicting views on the belly in the writings of Philo. On the one hand, his warnings against being enslaved to the belly and its pleasures indicate opposition to immoderate pleasure. The desires of the belly have to be controlled,

mastered or tamed. On the other hand, the belly is viewed from another perspective as well. It is not only a matter of taking control of the belly, but of abandoning it altogether. At the end, belly-devotion is a sign of paganism. According to Sandnes, a possible way to reconcile these two views might be Philo's concept of gradual progress through training. Philo does not expect everyone to have reached the same level in mastering the belly, thus allowing for some flexibility in his attitudes. In the rest of his study, Sandnes deals with belly-worship in the Pauline texts of Philippians, Romans and 1 Corinthians. Finally he tests his results by having a look at how the earliest expositors of Paul's letters dealt with this topic. (TS)

20286. P. SCHÄFER, *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah. Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World* (Princeton–Oxford 2002), esp. 39–57.

The notion of a feminine manifestation of God is found in the earliest kabbalistic work, the 12th century book *Bahir*. Schäfer seeks the origins of this notion by tracing possible precedents in biblical and early Jewish wisdom literature, Philo and gnostic sources, and in the idea of the *Shekhinah* in rabbinic literature and Jewish philosophical writings. Observing that 'the kabbalistic notion of God's femininity [is] a radical departure from earlier Jewish models' (p. 10), Schäfer reexamines G. Scholem's theory that the notion originated in gnostic sources. He then turns to the Christian side of the *Bahir's* setting in 12th century France and finds significance in 'the gradual deification of Mary' (p. 12) and in Jewish-Christian polemics about Mary. He concludes by suggesting ways of understanding origins and influence as a dynamic process. On the subject of Philo he notes that, influenced by Jewish and philosophical traditions, Philo presents a range of complex ideas about Wisdom and the Logos, at times even changing the gender of Wisdom from female to male. *REVIEWS:* G. E. Sterling, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 177–180. (EB)

20287. K. L. SCHENCK, 'Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews: Ronald Williamson's Study after Thirty Years,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 14 (2002) 112–135.

Even though direct dependence cannot be demonstrated, the author of Hebrews and Philo stand in the same common milieu of Alexandrian Hellenistic Judaism. Both rely on similar Alexandrian traditions in the areas of Middle Platonic cosmology and psychology, even if they develop them differently (cf. Heb 8:5), and both used the same Alexandrian text of the LXX (cf. Heb 13:5 and *Conf.* 166). There are fundamental differences between Hebrews and Philo in their eschatology and allegorical interpretation but even here, the differences are not as great as R. Williamson supposed in his monograph (cf. R-R 7037). (KAF)

20288. G. SCHIMANOWSKI, 'Philo als Prophet, Philo als Christ, Philo als Bischof,' in F. SIEGERT (ed.), *Grenzgänge. Menschen und Schicksale zwischen jüdischer, christlicher und deutscher Identität: Festschrift für Diethard Aschoff*, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 11 (Münster 2002) 36–49.

It is a curious part of the reception of Philo that he was adopted by Christianity as witness of the sufferings of Christ and the beginning of Christianity and that by the end of the Patristic period he had virtually achieved the status of a Church Father. This development is clearly demonstrated through two bronze busts in the Cathedral of Münster, Germany, where Philo is twice represented as part of altogether 14 busts of the OT prophets. He holds a scroll written with a Latin text in his hand: *Philo. Morte turpissima condemnemus illum* (Philo. Let us condemn him to a shameful death). This shows that he is regarded as the author of the book of Wisdom (cf. Wis 2:20). The article pursues Philo's *Nachleben* in Christianity as Prophet, witness to the beginning of Christianity and even finally by the end of the 5th century C.E. as bishop (ἐπίσκοπος). This first part is based upon the monograph of D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: a Survey* (R-R 9373). The second part gives an overview of the three historical aspects: Philo the Jew, Philo the Alexandrian and Philo the Roman. Two illustrations of Philo's bust precede the article. (GS)

20289. I. W. SCOTT, 'Is Philo's Moses a Divine Man?,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 14 (2002) 87–111.

To test C. R. Holladay's claim (R-R 7717) that Jews in the Diaspora did not deify their heroes, the author isolates Philo's biography of Moses as the most important place to evaluate his thesis. The author shows how the modern scholarly construct of θεῖος ἀνὴρ has little to do with ancient perceptions and that to first-century eyes there was no set type or model of θεῖος ἀνὴρ. Scott's eventual concern seems to be to explore how Jesus of Nazareth came to be seen as God in the Church. He identifies two features that divinized humans had in common, divine parentage and bodily ascension, but since both traits are absent from Philo's portraiture of Moses, Scott concludes, as did Holladay before him, that we cannot look to Philo for a bridge between Hellenism and early Christian thought. (KAF)

20290. T. SELAND, 'Saul of Tarsus and Early Zealotism. Reading Gal 1.13–14 in Light of Philo's Writings,' *Biblica* 83 (2002) 449–471.

One of the most consistent features in the portraits of Saul of Tarsus in the Acts of the Apostles and in the letters accredited to Paul is the fervent zeal of his youth. The zeal of the young Saul has been dealt with in several studies, drawing on the issue of zealotry in Palestine, but the conclusions reached are rather diverse. The present study suggests that the often overlooked phenomenon of zealotry in the writings of Philo of Alexandria should also be considered. The

material from Philo does not support the view that the early zealots formed any consistent movement or party, but that they were vigilant individuals who took the Law in their own hands when observing cases of gross transgressions of the Torah. (TS)

20291. F. SHAW, *The Earliest Non-Mystical Jewish Use of Iao* (diss. University of Cincinnati 2002).

The publication of a fragmentary Septuagint manuscript from the Judean desert, 4QLXXLevb (= 4Q120), which contains a few instances of the earliest Greek form of the Jewish name of God Ἰαώ, has brought up the problem of the role of this name in the LXX's textual tradition. After reviewing what little has been said in scholarship on this matter, in order to investigate the issue of this form of the divine name within Judaism, the study examines all (or nearly all) the earliest non-mystical usage of *Iao*. This includes the following: (1) Christian copies of ancient *onomastica* (which must go back to earlier Jewish originals) where a surprising number of instances of *Iao* are found in expositions of biblical characters' names. This evidence indicates that far more copies of LXX mss. containing *Iao* must have circulated than the single instance found so far since the *onomastica* were originally based on the LXX's text. (2) Several classical/Gentile sources: specifically Diodorus of Sicily and the Roman polymath Varro; other instances may exist in Herennius Philo of Byblos, the emperor Gaius (in Philo Judaeus), Valerius Maximus, and the pagan story of Jewish ass worship. (3) Jewish sources: a passage in the Mishnah, several instances in the Pseudepigrapha, epigraphic evidence. (4) Ecclesiastical testimony: Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Theodoret, and the unknown ecclesiastical interpolator(s) responsible for certain entries in Hesychius' lexicon. The conclusion reached is that, if one is to understand the appearance of *Iao* in the LXX's history, one must look beyond merely the textual issue. Rather this Qumran ms. is evidence of the fact that there was contention within ancient Judaism on the matter of the use and disuse of God's name. Not all Jews of the second temple period were eager to discontinue their employment of the divine name. Some likely motives for their persistent use of *Iao* and the historical situation that may have influenced their usage of the name are explored. A chronology of the use of the divine name in various sources during the late centuries B.C.E. and the first few centuries C.E. is sketched, and an attempt is made to document when the name most likely moved from being a non-mystical usage to the more commonly known one associated with Gnostics, magical papyri, and other charms and amulets. Three areas need further investigation and elaboration. First, not all second temple period Greek-speaking Jews referred to God as κύριος or θεός. Some employed *Iao* (*onomastica*, Qumran ms., classical sources), some 'Heaven' (1, 2 Maccabees, Matthew, Prodigal Son parable in Luke), others 'Father' (most NT writers), others 'the Unseen One' (*onomastica*, Hebrews 11), others Greek philosophical terms (Philo, Acts 17, Josephus) while at times some Jews used δεσπότης instead of the more standard κύριος (two LXX translators, Josephus); all this, combined with scribal practices at Qumran, seems to show that there was considerable choice among ancient Jews and early Christians regarding how

to refer to God. No one appears to have yet studied these individual preferences, and the likely reasons for them, in detail. Secondly, it becomes apparent when one works extendedly with the two critical editions of ancient *onomastica* that these lists have much to offer those interested both in Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity. Thirdly, though modern academics are far too often eager to state in principle that antique Judaism was quite diverse, yet they are frequently reluctant to apply this dictum to specific practices and beliefs among ancient Jews. There exists a real gap between this now nearly universally accepted general abstraction and the utilization of the notion in areas where it can help us understand the dynamics behind individual issues. See also the article by the same author summarized at 20569. (DTR; based on summary supplied by the author)

20292. J. L. SICRE DÍAZ, 'Las tradiciones de Jacob: búsqueda y rechazo de la propia identidad,' *Estudios Bíblicos* 60 (2002) 443–478, esp. 465–469.

Although Philo's treatise dedicated to patriarch Jacob is lost, the author attempts to reconstruct it in outline by means of evidence in extant works. The author distinguishes and opposes two traditions of ancient Jewish literature on Jacob: one rejects him as a cheater because he has supplanted his brother; the other elevates him as model of the Jewish people. Philo belongs to this second tradition, together with *Jubilees*, the Targum Neofiti and others. Philo sees in Jacob a prototype of the wise person, model of asceticism and virtue. (JPM)

20293. J. Martin SOSKICE, 'Philo and Negative Theology,' *Archivio di Filosofia* 70 (2002) 491–514.

The author argues that Philo's treatment of the divine names cannot be accused of wrenching God from the Sinai and forcing Him into the Acropolis. In Philo (and the Christian writers who followed him) naming and knowing God presents itself as a problem because of the testimony, not of philosophy, but of Jewish scripture (p. 498): above all the texts about Moses meeting God and asking his name in Exod 3, 20 and 33. After a discussion of Philo's (exegetical) thought on the subject, notably in *Mut.*, the author concludes (p. 504) that for Philo, resolutely metaphysical as his treatment is, God nevertheless is not an object of 'adequation': we name Him 'by grace' and 'relatively'. (HMK)

20294. O. SKARSAUNE, *In the Shadow of the Temple: Jewish Influences on Early Christianity* (Downers Grove IL 2002), esp. 73–75.

In Chapter two, devoted to the Jews in Israel and in the Diaspora, Skarsaune briefly records Philo's view on Jerusalem, quoting *Legat.* 281–283. For Philo, Jerusalem was his real native city, the religious centre on which he was focused, and to which he made a pilgrimage. This position makes him representative of most Diaspora Jews. The reference to *Allegorical Interpretation* 281 on p. 73 is incorrect. It should be *Legat.* 278, 281. (ACG)

20295. G. THEISSEN, 'Zum Freiheitsverständnis bei Paulus und Philo. Paradoxe und kommunitäre Freiheit,' in H.-J. REUTER, H. BEDFORD-STROM, H. KUHLMANN and K.-H. LÜTCKE (edd.), *Freiheit verantworten. Festschrift für W. Huber zum 60. Geburtstag* (Gütersloh 2002) 357–368.

In this article Theissen makes an interesting comparison between Paul and Philo and gives some noteworthy parallels. He claims to find a synthesis between the Hellenistic autonomous ethic (with freedom from all passions) and the biblical love which human beings are commanded to exercise towards their fellows. Paul and Philo both focus on exemplary communities. The author maintains that this synthesis is systematically set out in Philo's treatise on Freedom (*Prob.*). He focuses on three levels of freedom: freedom as self-determination which is well-founded in God; freedom as competence in law; freedom as competence in conflicts. But both authors have their own particular insights too. It is Philo's firm conviction that a society is able to abandon slavery. He idealizes Jewish community life and the social-cultural expression of the way of life of the Therapeutae or Essenes. In his view a life in obedience to the law is possible for all people. Paul introduces in Galatians the term freedom as a counter-term to social and religious pressure (Gal 2:3; cf. 5:1, 13 f.). For Paul freedom could and sometimes must mean resistance to the (Jewish) law. (GS)

20296. A. TRIPOLITIS, *Religions of the Hellenistic-Roman Age* (Grand Rapids 2002), esp. 77–84.

Besides an introduction and conclusion, the book is divided into five parts. Part I, 'The Hellenistic-Roman World', surveys historical background, mystery cults, and religious philosophies. Part II covers Mithraism; Part III, Hellenistic Judaism; Part IV, Christianity; part V, Gnosticism. In her treatment of Hellenistic Judaism, the author considers the history and Hellenization of the Jewish Diaspora and addresses the development of the synagogue. She also devotes a section to Philo (pp. 77–84), whom she singles out as the most important representative of this kind of Judaism. After briefly describing Aristobulus as the first to interpret the Pentateuch allegorically, Tripolitis discusses Philo's ideas about God, the Logos, the universe, the human soul, and the individual's quest for God. She notes that although Philo was an observant, committed Jew, he was 'rejected by Palestinian Jewish theologians' (p. 84); instead his thought influenced later pagan philosophers and Christian thinkers. (EB)

20297. M. S. VENIT, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: the Theater of the Dead* (New York–Cambridge 2002), esp. 20–21.

Little archaeological evidence remains of such great Alexandrian edifices as the Pharos lighthouse, the Library, or the Museum. Over the last century, however, excavations of underground tombs (hypogea) have provided a key to the long and complex social history of the ancient city, where so many

different groups lived side by side. With some 170 photographs and sketches, this impressive volume details the results of these excavations and explains the distinctiveness of the monumental tombs—which combine Greek and Egyptian elements—from the Ptolemaic through to the Roman period. The author also discusses the influence of the Alexandrian style in tombs outside the city, whether in Egypt or beyond. Very few Jewish tombs can be identified with certainty. Features that suggest a Jewish identification include lamps showing a seven-branched candelabrum or a palm tree, epitaphs with biblical or Jewish names like Miriam or Joseph, and the absence of ornaments and paintings. Jews were buried in all parts of the city in the same cemeteries as other groups. Philo is mentioned only in passing for evidence that Jews lived throughout the city (p. 20). Nonetheless Philo scholars may wish to consult this volume to learn more about the great cosmopolis—home to the most important Jewish Diaspora of its time—where Philo lived and wrote. (EB)

20298. J. WHITLOCK, *Schrift und Inspiration. Studien zur Vorstellung von inspirierter Schrift und inspirierter Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und in den paulinischen Schriften*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 98 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2002), esp. 74–75, 96–121.

This study is the author's 1999 Tübingen dissertation with some supplements, especially for the Qumran writings. Even if Philo's interest concerns mainly the Pentateuch and Moses as the most important inspired person, he knows much more about OT writings. Some texts like 1 Sam were cited as a ἱερός λόγος. When telling the story of the Septuagint translation miraculous aspects are given much more emphasis when compared to the narrative of the so-called *Letter of Aristeas*. Many terms of the Platonic doctrine of inspiration occur. Philo shows that he knows all four kinds of inspiration of the Greek tradition. He himself is presented as an inspired author. Nevertheless the biblical texts are his first source. The use of the term πνεῦμα comes nearer to the Jewish tradition than to the Greek background. Whitlock explains some traditional views on the question of inspiration and the Holy Scripture. Most of these he agrees with, but on some occasions he has reexamined the texts for his own purpose. In some cases, however, he is criticizing interpretations such as that of H. Leisegang which goes back to the beginning of the 20th century. Interaction with recent interpretations of Philo is rare. (GS)

20299. W. T. WILSON, 'Sin as Sex and Sex with Sin: the Anthropology of James 1:12–15,' *Harvard Theological Review* 95 (2002) 147–168, esp. 149–157.

Philo's use of sexual metaphors to illumine the human predicament helps clarify the Book of James' utilization of the same at Jas 1:12–15. (KAF)

202100. D. WINSTON, 'Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon on Creation, Revelation, and Providence: the High-Water of Jewish Hellenistic Fusion,' in J. L. KUGEL (ed.), *Shem in the Tents of Japheth: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 74 (Leiden 2002) 109–130.

Winston commences his beautifully crafted paper with some general remarks on his understanding of the main thrust of Philo's thought. In his commentaries the reader is 'deftly beguiled into discovering Greek philosophical doctrine beneath the literal shell of the scriptural narrative' (p. 109). The aim of the paper is to examine several themes in Philo's thought that resist an easy blending of their Jewish and Greek elements. In each case Winston prefaces his treatment with a brief description of the theme in the Wisdom of Solomon, whose author was probably Philo's near contemporary. The first theme is creation. Various texts are cited in order to establish and confirm that Philo espouses the doctrine of eternal creation, i.e. God is always creating the universe in a process that had no beginning. The largest part of the article treats the theme of revelation, particularly in relation to the role of Moses as author of scripture and Philo's theory of three types of prophecy. Winston restates his position and compares it with other interpretations by Burkhardt, Levison and Amir. The paper ends with a brief discussion of the theme of providence. The cyclical 'dance' of the Logos (*Deus* 176) can be reconciled with Philo's belief in the eventual advent of the Messianic age if it is assumed that the rotation equality of the present cosmic era will be replaced by a steady state form of equality, in which there will be no dislocations of the divine economy. (DTR)

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20301. F. ALESSE, 'Il tema dell'emanazione (*aporrhōia*) nella letteratura astrologica e non astrologica tra I sec. a.C. e II d.C.' *MHNH (Revista Internacional de Investigación sobre Magia y Astrología Antiguas)* 3 (2003) 117–134.

The concept of ἀπόρροια (emanation) enjoyed a wide distribution in the first century of the Imperial era, especially in eschatological and astrological texts. It generally indicates the emanation or effusion of the divine substance, while sometimes the human soul is regarded as a direct effect of such emanation. Among the authors who apply the term in this sense is Philo, who in *Migr.* 70–71 and *Congr.* 33 undertakes an interpretation of logos as speech, the emanation of thought, and thought as the origin of emanation. (RR)

20302. M. ALESSO, 'Cosmopolitismo alejandrino en la obra de Filón,' *Revista de Historia Universal* 13 (2003) 17–30.

The article applies to Philo's works the concepts of *utopia* and *uchronia* (i.e. not locating a story in a particular time). The positive aspects of Judaism are not located in their historical setting, e.g. the period of biblical monarchies. Instead the ideal Jewish communities are represented by two groups which worship God: the Essenes (*Prob.* 75–91) and the Therapeutae (*Contempl.*). In order to develop these concepts, Philo established an *uchronia* based on the philosophical tradition of Hellenism. (JPM)

20303. M. ALESSO, 'No es bueno que el hombre esté solo,' *Circe* 8 (2003) 17–30.

Explaining the term 'alone' of Gen 2:18 at the beginning of *Leg.* 2, Philo confirms that monotheism is the theological axis of his thought. His interpretation does not respond completely to the 'creationistic' pattern of Plato's *Timaeus*, because the One—unchanging and eternal—only becomes related to the material order through the Logos, the creative agent conceived as the mediator Word. The human intellect is related to the body like the divine Logos to the cosmos. The *nous* needs the mediation of powers (δυνάμεις) which, activated, connect it with the world through the senses. (JPM)

20304. W. AMELING, '„Market-place“ und Gewalt. Die Juden in Alexandria,' *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 27 (2003) 71–123.

The theme of this article focuses on the background of the anti-Jewish Pogrom of 38 C.E. in Alexandria. All important texts are discussed (especially Philo's *Flacc.*), the essential literature is worked through, and in particular the

role of the masses is analyzed in relation to the key word 'market-place.' The author underlines Jewish pluralism. Judaism is not a uniform block; different groups have different interests. He shows that exchange of religious ideas occurs not only in the intellectual upper class of Alexandria. On the other hand it is argued that, in contrast to the situation in Asia Minor, the political background fosters the outbreak of the riots. The social order had been disturbed from the beginning of the Roman era, allowing the 'market-place' to become a theatre of war. (GS)

20305. H. AMIRAV, *Rhetoric and Tradition: John Chrysostom on Noah and the Flood*, *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 12 (Leuven 2003), *passim*.

In the analysis of John Chrysostom's homilies on Noah and the flood (nos. 22–24), the author makes frequent brief references to Philo's exegesis. (ACG)

20306. J. A. ARIETI and P. A. WILSON, *The Scientific and the Divine: Conflict and Reconciliation from Ancient Greece to the Present* (Lanham Md. 2003).

In their preface, the authors identify several approaches to the relationship between science and religion: denying the divine, denying science, understanding the divine as compatible with science, viewing science and religion as completely distinct spheres, and declaring the ways of God to be unknowable. Part One has chapters on the problem posed by science and religion, the nature of human reason, ancient and modern science, the origin of scientific attempts to explain the world, and pagan philosophers' attempts to reconcile science and religion through their understanding of God. Part Two is devoted to attempts from antiquity (Plato) through the end of the 20th century to reconcile science and religion. In this section Philo earns a chapter of his own. With *Opif.* as their focus, the authors explain that Philo grounds ethics in physics when he claims that Mosaic Law derives from the creator of the whole universe, and he thus views Jewish law as having universal significance. The authors discuss how Philo interprets the biblical creation account in terms of Plato's *Timaeus*, and they observe that his notion of God goes beyond the realm of Platonic ideas. Philo's efforts 'to reconcile the best scientific theories of his era with revealed religion' were continued in the Middle Ages by Jewish, Christian, and Islamic philosophers who grappled with Aristotelian science (p. 151). (EB)

20307. A. E. ARTERBURY, 'Abraham's Hospitality among Jewish and Early Christian Writers: a Tradition History of Gen 18:1–16 and its Relevance for the Study of the New Testament,' *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 30 (2003) 359–376.

The story of Abraham's hospitality to the three visitors in Gen 18:1–16 was retold and interpreted by later exegetes to reflect their own interests, values, and

customs. The author examines how traditions connected with this passage developed in such Hellenistic Jewish sources as the Septuagint, *Jubilees*, Philo, Josephus, and the *Testament of Abraham*; Christian sources such as 1 Clement, Apocalypse of Paul, Origen, John Chrysostom, and Augustine; and rabbinic sources such as *The Fathers according to R. Nathan*, *Genesis Rabbah*, and *Sotah* (Babylonian Talmud). Most of these writings view Abraham as a paradigm of hospitality to be imitated. Common concerns in some works include identifying the three visitors as men, angels, or God; addressing how the visitors could be described as eating, since it was commonly assumed that angels do not eat; and viewing Isaac's birth as a reward for Abraham's hospitality. Philo saw Abraham as a living law, whose example of hospitality was to be emulated. Philo also contrasted Abraham's hospitality with the inhospitality of the Egyptians rather than that of the Sodomites, which the Bible and other interpreters emphasized. It is also shown how these various traditions can illuminate passages in the New Testament, especially Heb 13:2. (EB)

20308. D. E. AUNE, T. SELAND and J. H. ULRICHSEN, *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106 (Leiden 2003).

Festschrift in honour of the 75th birthday of the distinguished Norwegian New Testament and Philo scholar, Peder Borgen. It contains 18 scholarly contributions followed by a Select Bibliography of his writings in 1987–2001. The frontispiece of the volume shows the honorand wearing the presidential chain of The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters and the medal of a Knight of the Norwegian Royal Order of St. Olav. The Preface gives a brief account of his life and career (so far). Five of the contributions focus on aspects of Philo's thought and writings. They are separately summarized under the names of their authors. REVIEWS: *RB* 111 (2004) 291–292; W. Horbury, *JThS* 56 (2005) 603–604; K. W. Niebuhr, *ThLZ* 130 (2005) 919–920; T. H. Tobin, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 215–217. (DTR)

20309. S. BADILITA, 'La communauté des Thérapeutes: une Philonopolis?' *Adamantius* 9 (2003) 67–77.

The author, though not wishing to identify the Therapeutae with any group other than themselves and also not wishing to make 'utopian ascetics' out of them, makes a comparison of the Philonic description of this community with Plato's texts on the city, especially as they are presented in the *Republic*. In order to illustrate her reading of *Contempl.* seen as a replica of the Platonic model of the city, she has focused on the following themes: the location of the community, its regimen of food and clothing, the presence of women in the community, and the description of the banquet. (JR)

20310. R. BERGMEIER, 'Zum historischen Wert der Essenerberichte von Philo und Josephus,' in J. FREY and H. STEGEMANN (edd.), *Qum-*

rankontrovers. Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer, Einblicke. Ergebnisse—Berichte—Reflexionen aus Tagungen der Katholischen Akademie Schwerte 6 (Paderborn 2003) 11–22.

In this article Bergmeier summarizes his study from 1993, *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus* (on which see RRS 9309). He distinguishes between Josephus' own comments and those of his sources. The author argues that these comments are similar to those of Philo and Pliny. The differences between the accounts are explained through the dissimilarity of the three sources in the background: a Stoic-orientated one ('doxographische Drei-Schulen-Quelle'), a Hellenistic-Jewish Essene-Source (see *Prob.* 75–91 and *Hypoth.* 1–18) and a Pythagorean Essene-Source. There is no connection with the texts from Qumran. Nevertheless the traditional reports of the Essenes have historical value of their own. REVIEWS: M. Henze, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 304–306. (GS)

20311. K. BERTHELOT, *Philanthropia judaica: le débat autour de la 'misanthropie' des lois juives dans l'antiquité*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 76 (Leiden 2003).

This significant study in the context of Philonic and Jewish studies consists of three parts. In the first part, entitled 'The discourses of ancient authors on Jewish misanthropy,' there is a first chapter which traces the history of the word φιλάνθρωπος and its derivatives in Greek literature. A second chapter is devoted to the history of the accusation of μισάνθρωπία brought against the Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the second part entitled 'Reactions and responses,' the third chapter sets out 'the first echoes' which are found in the Hellenistic-Jewish literature, especially from Alexandria, in response to these accusations. The next chapter is particularly important because it brings together the texts in Philo of Alexandria in defence of Jewish φιλάνθρωπία. After first setting out the 'context of the Philonic discourse,' the author examines how the φιλάνθρωπία of the Law is manifested in the case of the 'living laws,' i.e. the Patriarchs, and presents the example of Moses as well as the universal scope of the φιλάνθρωπία of the Law as set out in *Virt.* Finally she draws attention to the apology for Judaism which is developed in *Hypoth.* The third part, which is chapter five, is dedicated to Josephus, who in contrast to Philo almost never described the Law as 'humane.' He hesitates to use the term in relation to Judaism, but instead uses it in giving favourable descriptions of main political, military and religious figures, whether they are Jews or non-Jews. In *Contra Apionem*, however, he alters his general practice and speaks about the φιλάνθρωπία of Judaism, drawing his inspiration from Philo's *Hypoth.* REVIEWS: F. Avemarie, *ThLZ* 130 (2005) 924–926; P. Cordier, *Anabases* 2 (2005) 261–263; A. Paul, *RecSR* 94 (2006) 215–221. (JR)

20312. E. BIRNBAUM, 'Allegorical Interpretation and Jewish Identity among Alexandrian Jewish Writers,' in D. E. AUNE, T. SELAND and

J. H. ULRICHSEN (edd.), *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106 (Leiden 2003) 307–329.

According to D. Dawson, Alexandrian Jewish writers use allegorical interpretation to present the best of Greek culture as originally Jewish and thus to portray the Jews as more learned than the Greeks. Testing this claim in a study of the Letter of Aristeas, the fragments of Aristobulus, and the works of Philo, the author concludes that Dawson is only partially correct. The allegorical and non-allegorical parts of these works reflect a variety of stances: not all allegorizations that depict the Jews as superior—especially those in Aristeas and Philo—necessarily draw upon originally Greek meanings. Many allegorical interpretations—particularly those of Aristobulus and Philo—are simply neutral about the Jews, while the non-allegorical parts of these works may express Jewish superiority. By contrast, Philo sometimes uses allegorical interpretations to imply equality between Jews and all wise and virtuous peoples, regardless of ancestry. Such equality is suggested as well in non-allegorical parts of both Aristeas and Philo. Birnbaum also considers whether allegorical interpretations in Aristeas and Philo may reflect contemporary Alexandrian society, and she focuses on *Mos.* 1.65–70 and *Congr.* 118 as specific Philonic examples. While often suggestive, such correlations between exegesis and social reality must remain speculative. (EB)

20313. L. BOFF and J.-Y. LELOUP, *I terapeuti del deserto. Da Filone di Alessandria e Francesco d'Assisi a Graf Dürckheim* (Milan 2003).

Italian translation of the Portuguese original = 9862; also published in a Spanish version = 9909.(HMK)

20314. G. BOHAK, 'The Ibis and the Jewish Question: Ancient 'Anti-Semitism' in Historical Perspective,' in M. MOR and A. OPPENHEIMER (edd.), *Jewish-Gentile Relations in the Periods of the Second Temple, the Mishna and the Talmud* (Jerusalem 2003) 27–43.

This article argues for the desideratum of 'a comprehensive study of ethnic stereotypes in the ancient world' (p. 41); the lack of such research has fostered errant views and judgments of ancient 'anti-Semitism' due to insufficient contextualization within the range of Greek and Roman attitudes toward barbarian nations in general. The bulk of the discussion is devoted to a survey of a complex of Greco-Roman attitudes toward Egyptian culture and worship. Though there are few direct references to Philo's writings (pp. 34, 36, 39), the issue discussed is of immediate import to all students of Hellenistic Judaism. (DS)

20315. P. BORGES, 'The Gospel of John and Philo of Alexandria,' in J. H. CHARLESWORTH and M. A. DAISE (edd.), *Light in a Spotless Mir-*

ror: Reflections on Wisdom Traditions in Judaism and Early Christianity (Harrisburg Pa. 2003) 45–76.

In this study the author describes his task as to show how aspects of Philo's writings can illuminate aspects of the Gospel of John. His main thesis is that Philo not only can throw light upon several of the exegetical methods and exegetical traditions found in John, but that he also provides comparative material to the way exegesis of the laws of Moses was a factor in controversies both within the synagogue and between the synagogue and the emerging Christian community. He argues this thesis by drawing on several of his former studies, highlighting in this particular essay especially issues such as the use of Scripture, controversies over the Sabbath, dangers at the boundary, birth from above, the Temple, and ascent and descent. (TS)

20316. P. BORGES, 'Philo of Alexandria as Exegete,' in A. J. HAUSER and D. F. WATSON (edd.), *A History of Biblical Interpretation, Vol. 1: the Ancient Period* (Grand Rapids 2003) 114–143.

The chapter by Borges in this volume on Biblical Interpretation is a condensed presentation of Philo as an exegete. The author presents the various aspects of Philo's exegesis under the following main headings: Philo's expository writings, Hermeneutical presuppositions, Aspects of Philo's exegesis, Philo as an exegete in context, Some exegetical approaches and forms, and The Laws of Moses in the Alexandrian conflict. Each of these sections is divided into subsections providing characterizations and examples of the various exegetical procedures to be found in the works of Philo. He is on the one hand to be seen against the background of tendencies present in earlier literature preserved from Alexandrian Judaism; on the other hand, he in turn also influenced the theologians and exegetes of the early church, especially in making the connection between the biblical sources and philosophical ideas and categories. (TS)

20317. A. P. BOS, 'God as 'Father' and 'Maker' in Philo of Alexandria and its Background in Aristotelian Thought,' *Elenchos* 24 (2003) 311–332.

At the beginning of *Opif.* Philo criticizes those who consider the cosmos as ungenerated and imperishable and show more admiration for the cosmos than its maker. According to Bos Philo refers here to those philosophers who do not recognize any transcendent reality, whom he calls Chaldeans. They have a cosmic theology, whereas Philo supports a meta-cosmic theology. Bos argues that Philo is influenced by Aristotle, and especially by the Aristotelian work *De Mundo*, which Bos, in contrast to the *opinio communis*, regards as written by Aristotle himself. In the final part Bos deals with Aristotle's theory about the generation of living creatures, which he, according to Bos, also applies to the cosmos as the most perfect living creature. Three issues are

discussed: (a) the view that the Father is not the maker but only the first mover; (b) the proliferation of movement; (c) the movement in semen as the vehicle of logos. Aristotle's theory of a rational principle which is active in the physical world is the background of Philo's notion of an immanent Logos. (ACG)

20318. P. BOSMAN, *Conscience in Philo and Paul: a Conceptual History of the Synoida Word Group*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.166 (Tübingen 2003).

This impressive monograph is a revised version of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Pretoria in 1996 (see RRS 9619). In spite of the impression given by the title, the subject of the study is narrower than the broad concept of conscience. It studies the crucial terms related to the verb σύνοιδα, especially the nouns συνειδός and συνείδησις, the former being more common in Philo, the latter in Paul. The study falls into five main parts. In the first the interpretation of the word-group from Patristic times to modern scholarship is presented. The second part studies the lexical history of the word-group. The third part is more theoretical and attempts to reconstruct the terms' historical meaning through use of the stimulus-response scheme. But the main part of the book is formed by the two long sections on Philo and Paul. Philo's usage is thoroughly examined. Analysis of συνειδός should be separated from his use of ἔλεγχος, because the former usually has a negative role, i.e. it rebukes and chastises, whereas the latter can be positive in bringing about reconciliation and healing. Philo connects συνειδός with outspokenness (παρορησία) and places much emphasis on the role of rationality. To some degree Philo moderates the negative role of the term, because the ultimate aim is reconciliation with God. In the final part the study moves to Paul's writings. Here συνείδησις acts as a monitor which registers the inner states of the person, i.e. loses the negative force it has in Philo and virtually becomes part of the soul. Paul places greater emphasis on the sovereignty of God's judgement. See further **20609**. **REVIEWS:** R. Vicent, *Sales* 66 (2004) 569–570; F. G. Downing, *JSNT* 27 (2005) 101–102; D. T. Runia, *JSJ* 36 (2005) 90–93; G. E. Sterling, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 246–251; C. W. Stenschke, *NT* 48 (2006) 295–297; H. C. Kammler, *BZ* 51 (2007) 139–141. (DTR)

20319. J. BOWIN, 'Chrysippus' Puzzle about Identity,' *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 24 (2003) 239–251.

Further discussion of the Stoic argument on separate individuals recorded by Philo in *Aet.* 48, building on and partially improving the interpretation given by David Sedley in his article 'The Stoic Criterion of Identity' in *Phronesis* 27 (1982) 255–275. Chrysippus ironically convicts the Academic philosophers of the very absurdity that they claimed the Stoic doctrine of peculiarly qualified individuals implies. (DTR)

20320. D. BOYARIN, 'On the History of the Early Phallus,' in S. FARMER and C. BRAUN PASTERNAK (edd.), *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis 2003) 3–44.

Boyarin identifies two stances in ancient and modern discussions about gender and sex, both of which have negative implications for the female. According to one stance, sexual differences between men and women are transcended in an idealistic universal representation, which despite the transcendence of differences is expressed as male. A second stance emphasizes sexual differentiation, whereby the two sexes remain distinct and are defined by their biological roles. The first stance is reflected in the observation of Jacques Lacan that the Phallus is not the penis—i.e., the universal, male signifier is different from the physical male organ. Boyarin sees an ancient expression of the two stances in the different treatments by Philo and the Rabbis of the two stories of the creation of humanity. For Philo, the first story tells of the creation of an ideal human androgyne, referred to as male, while the second tells of the creation of a real, physical male from whom a physical female was produced. By contrast, the Rabbis see in the first story the creation of a real, physical human with both male and female genitals, and in the second story, the sexual separation of this human into two bodies. Boyarin traces the first stance in the myth of Isis, Osiris, and Typhon (which introduces the Phallic symbolism) and in Christian and philosophical writers; he also discusses various interpretations of Lacan's ideas, and explores implications of the two stances in both ancient thought and modern feminist discourse on the Phallus. (EB)

20321. M. BRINKSCHRÖDER, 'Die Karriere des Homosexualitätsverbots im Diasporajudentum: Ehebruch und Päderastie zwischen Heiligkeitsgesetz und Dekalog,' in B. HEININGER (ed.), *Geschlechterdifferenz in religiösen Symbolsystemen* (Münster 2003) 158–169.

This short study gives a general presentation of adultery and pederasty in essential texts of Hellenistic Judaism (*Sibylline Oracles*, Ps. Phocylides, Philo and Josephus). Philonic texts cited are *Hypoth.* 7.1. *Decal.* 51 and *Spec.* 3. The confrontation of the Jews in Alexandria with the city's Hellenistic milieu could explain the frequency of the subject of pederasty and must be seen as playing a role in the background. Philo's significance lies in his framing of the question within the exegesis of the sixth commandment. In this way the prohibition of homosexuality is diverted into the paraenetic sequences of the Decalogue as understood in Hellenistic Judaism. (GS)

20322. L. BROTTIER, 'Joseph le politique; de l'anonymat du héros dans le traité philonien «De Josepho» à sa mise en scène à l'époque moderne,' *Revue des Etudes Juives* 162 (2003) 43–68.

This study seeks to understand the paradox of Joseph's anonymity in *Ios*. It is striking that Philo avoids naming the chief personage of his treatise as much

as he possibly can. Instead he presents him as the type of the politician. This representation was set aside by the Church Fathers and medieval authors, who basically see in Joseph a prefiguration of Christ. From the Renaissance onwards Joseph again takes on the role of the political person, but the ambiguity which this role possessed for Philo is now lost. He becomes the type of the good politician, or indeed of the ideal prince. (JR)

20323. J. BYRON, *Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity: a Traditio-Historical and Exegetical Examination*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.162 (Tübingen 2003), esp. 33–35, 102–116.

This study, the published version of a Durham dissertation, examines the Jewish background to Paul's statements that he is a 'slave of Christ' and other uses of slave terminology and metaphor. In a preliminary discussion of terminology, Byron notes that slavery language is extremely common in Philo (more than 800 instances). There seems to be a preference for the term δούλος above that of θεράπων, but the term διάκονος is quite rare. Philo uses slavery language mainly in philosophical and exegetical contexts, and not with reference to historical situations as in Josephus. These insights are further developed in chapter 6 entitled 'Responses to Slavery in the Writings of Philo'. The author argues that participation in the Alexandrian Jewish diaspora community seems to have shaped Philo's views on slavery. The Jews could accept their situation because they had the freedom to worship God. Philo recasts Judaism in philosophical terms with its most important marker: 'his tenacious adherence to monolatry and the belief that God is sovereign over all creation' (p. 100). Both the themes of covenant and exile are largely absent in Philo's thought, allowing him to blur the outsider/insider ideology of enslavement to God found in other Jewish writers. Philo's approach to slavery is further investigated through an analysis of his writings in two stages: (a) *Prob.* illustrates his views from the philosophical (esp. Stoic) perspective; (b) his exegetical writings offer a more theological perspective. Slavery and freedom are most often interpreted in terms of the moral qualities of the soul. Esau is a prime example of the slave, because he is enslaved to his passions. His example shows that it can be beneficial to be physically enslaved. The last part of the discussion focuses on slavery to God. According to Philo God has sovereign control over creation and humanity's response should be one of obedience and loyalty, coupled with the rejection of self-rule. This is typified by the response of Abraham, whom the visitors (Gen 18) call a 'fellow slave' of God (*Abr.* 116). Philo's view is perhaps best summarized by his statement that 'of all things slavery to God is best' (*Somm.* 2.100). (DTR)

20324. A. CACCIARI, 'Philo and the Nazirite,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, *Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity* 1 (Boston 2003) 147–166.

In this article the author discusses several passages in which Philo deals with the vow of the Nazirite (Num 6:2). Important issues in Philo's presentation are: (1) the significance of the person of the Nazirite, whom Philo never calls by the calque from the Hebrew; (2) the comparison with the (High) priest: both abstain from wine and strong drink; (3) the notion of defilement within the contrast between 'purity' and 'impurity'; (4) the distinction between voluntary and involuntary sins. The main reason for involuntary failure is ignorance. Cacciari argues that Platonic and Stoic ideas play an important role in Philo's treatment of this theme. (ACG)

20325. F. CALABI, 'Il serpente e il cavaliere: piacere e "sophrosyne,"' *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 8 (2003) 199–215.

Depending on the differing biblical contexts, Philo gives the snake two meanings. It may represent alternatively pleasure or self-control. From the ethical perspective of controlling the passions, these meanings represent two contrasting poles. If, however, the discourse is concerned with the formation of knowledge, i.e. the apprehension of the sensible realm by the intellect, then pleasure, far from representing wicked cunning which is to be tamed or even eliminated, in fact constitutes the instrument of knowledge that guarantees the union of Adam and Eve, symbols of intellect and sensation. The ambivalence which characterizes the snake is the same as that which characterizes pleasure. It can bring on death, but in other situations it is the source of knowledge and procreation, and therefore of life, and also of ethical and historical determination for the human being who was uncertain and incapable of making a choice before meeting the snake. (RR)

20326. F. CALABI, *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria* (ed.), *Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity* 1 (Boston 2003).

The aim of this collection of essays is to give English-speaking scholars an impression of research on Philo carried out by Italian scholars. As the editor notes in her introduction, there has been a significant increase in Philonic scholarship in Italy during the past 10–15 years, but it has had less impact than it might have on account of the language in which it is written. Interest in Philo is growing and his work is being studied from different points of view and from different perspectives by scholars working in different disciplines. The present study contains nine separate articles which are written with various approaches: historical, linguistic, philological and philosophical. All nine articles are cited under their authors' names in the present bibliography. The study concludes with an index of Philonic passages and an index of modern scholars. REVIEWS: F. Alesse, *Elen* 26 (2005) 201–206; L. Baynes, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 229–235. (DTR)

20327. F. CALABI, 'La luce che abbaglia: una metafora sulla inconoscibilità di Dio in Filone di Alessandria,' in L. PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana*

Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 164 (Leuven 2003) 223–232.

Some of Origen's statements about the unknowability and unattainability of God are derived from the Platonic analogy between the Good and the sun in the image of the Cave. Taking as its starting point an article by John Dillon on Origen's use of the imagery of light in the *De principiis*, the paper attempts to discover whether any aspects of his reading can be traced back to Philo. The theme of the brightness of the Good which makes the objects of knowledge knowable and consequently dazzles whoever wishes to achieve the contemplation of the source of knowability is derived from the Platonist tradition which emphasizes the impossibility of obtaining knowledge of the first Principle. The interpretation of the sun analogy and the dimming of sight through the brightness of the incorporeal rays is present in Philo when he affirms that the 'One who is' is unknowable. From Him, like from the sun, blinding rays of light stream forth which make vision impossible. Just as He is ἄρρητος, ἀκατάληπτος and ἀπερινόητος, so he is also ἀόρατος. His essence cannot be known. He can only be seen 'from a distance' (cf. *Somn.* 1.67). But at the same time God is the creator of intelligible light which gives sensible objects their power of illumination. Unlike Plato Philo makes a distinction between the source of light and the rays that shine forth. The latter are equated with the divine Powers, but even they blind the viewer. Origen also accepts the distinction, but the rays are associated with the Son, who deprives himself of equality with the Father in order to show humankind the path of knowledge. (RR)

20328. F. CALABI, 'Theatrical Language in Philo's *In Flaccum*,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Boston 2003) 91–116.

Translation and elaboration of an article that originally appeared in Italian; see the above 20217. The present article includes a brief examination of theatrical metaphors in the *Legat.* This treatise, when compared with the *Flacc.*, stresses the moral reprobation of simulation, deceit and giving in to emotions. (HMK)

20329. A. CARRIKER, *The Library of Eusebius*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 67 (Leiden 2003), esp. 164–177.

Published version of the author's Columbia Ph.D. thesis (see above 9914). The passage specifically on Philo first discusses the catalogue of his works which Eusebius gives in *HE* 2.18. Further discussion is devoted to two works that are missing, *Opif.* and *Mos.* The former was definitely present in his library, the latter was most likely present as well. It is unclear why they are not mentioned. The section finishes with some general comments on Philo's presence in the library, namely that it is incomplete, that it contains quite a few works which Eusebius never cites, that it was organized in rolls (about which no clear conclusions can be reached), and that the books reached Caesarea via

Origen. The final chapter of the book gives a summary list of Eusebius' library. The Philonic works present are listed on pp. 303–304. (DTR)

20330. C. M. CONWAY, 'Gender and Divine Relativity in Philo of Alexandria,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 34 (2003) 471–491.

Philo has true deification in mind in his portrayal of Moses when the problem is considered from the perspective of ancient and Philonic conceptions of gender. When Moses is mapped against the integrally related but fluid, shifting, and relative categories of gender and divinity, his perfect masculinity becomes commensurate with his divinity. Philo shares with the Roman world the idea of a divine continuum. As Moses climbs up the gender hierarchy, he simultaneously draws nearer to divinity, relative to the asexual masculinity of God (*Mos.* 1.158). (KAF)

20331. N. DAX MORAES, 'Filon de Alexandria e a tradição filosófica,' *Metanoia. Primeiros escritos em filosofia* 5 (2003) 55–88.

This article corresponds to the first chapter of the thesis summarized below. After a biographical presentation of Philo, it deals with the problem of eclecticism in Philo's use of Greek philosophical traditions. The author proposes to read the Philonic text in terms of a 'relative decontextualization' (p. 59) of the philosophical material that is incorporated, in order to understand the function of *philosophoumena* as preparatory level for a superior understanding that occurs in wisdom. Finally, he decides to investigate one of the main questions on Philo, that of the Logos, in the terms proposed by H. A. Wolfson. (JPM)

20332. N. DAX MORAES, *O Logos em Filon de Alexandria: Principais Interpretações* (Master's thesis, Pontifical Catholic University, Rio de Janeiro 2003).

The author's thesis contains five chapters. The first contains a general presentation of Philo's life in its philosophical context, and an introduction to Logos philosophy (see above); the second compares the relation of Nous and Logos in Philo and the Stoics; the third studies the relation of the noetic cosmos with the Platonic theory of ideas (see also next item); the fourth studies the terminology of divine *δυνάμεις*, with additional reflections on its adoption by Christian thinkers; and the last deals with diverse aspects of language in relation to Philo's theory of Logos. (JPM)

20333. N. DAX MORAES, 'O Logos filoniano e o mundo platônico das Idéais,' *Anais de Filosofia. Revista de Pós-Graduação da Universidade Federal de São João del-Rei* 10 (2003) 169–190.

This is the printed version of the third chapter of the thesis summarized above (= 20332). On the basis of texts of Philo, taken mainly from the Allegorical

Commentary on the Law, and from previous studies by E. Bréhier and H. A. Wolfson, the author illustrates the double function of the Logos as image of God and paradigm of the cosmos. He concludes that there are three levels in the status of ideas according to Philo: (1) before creation, as infinite power of God; (2) as created ideas, immanent in the divine Mind, which form the intelligible world; (3) as emanated ideas, reflected in the sensible world. (JPM)

20334. B. DECHARNEUX, 'Entre le pouvoir et sacré: Philon d'Alexandrie, ambassadeur près du "divin" Caius,' *Problèmes d'Histoire des Religions* 13 (2003) 21–27.

The treatises *Flacc.* and *Legat.* are often typified as historical, but according to the author they are to be viewed as writings on political philosophy and not as works which attempt to establish some kind of 'historical truth.' As a participant in the events he records, Philo is too engaged a witness to be a reliable informant. *Legat.* 359 illustrates his philosophical point of view when he is confronted with the absolute power of Caligula. Philo's personages develop in the course of his political writings (*Ios.*, *Mos.*) like puppets which symbolize differing postures. They play the terrible game of sacral power, constantly mixing up their human identity with that of the gods. Flaccus is a pretender. Caligula is an imitator of the divine. In contrast, Philo's heroes—Joseph, Moses or even Agrippa—represent unity in the face of worldly diversity; rejecting power games, they take up the mission of being intermediaries in the bosom of a universe of which God is the sole monarch. (JR)

20335. D. S. DODSON, 'Philo's *De Somniis* in the Context of Ancient Dream Theories and Classifications,' *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 30 (2003) 299–312.

Dodson surveys Greco-Roman dream theories and classifications and considers Philo's discussion in *Somn.* within this context. Homer and Plato distinguish between dreams that come true and those that do not, but neither writer classifies dreams more formally. Other ancient thinkers who do classify dreams are Herophilus, Artemidorus, Macrobius and Posidonius. Questions behind the classifications of the first three thinkers pertain to whether or not a dream is predictive, and Artemidorus and Macrobius are also interested in whether a predictive dream requires interpretation or is straightforward. Underlying Posidonius' approach is the issue of how humans can, with divine help, gain knowledge of the future through their dreams. Philo shows familiarity with these contemporary ideas about dreams, and his dream classification in *Somn.* 'has a practical correlation with the dream theory of Artemidorus/Macrobius and a formal one with the dream classification of Posidonius' (p. 311). (EB)

20336. W. EISELE, *Ein unerschütterliches Reich. Die mittelplatonische Umformung des Parusiegedankens im Hebräerbrief*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 116 (Berlin 2003), esp. 160–240.

The author is above all interested in Philo's understanding of reality ('Wirklichkeitsverständnis'). Philo is regarded as a Middle Platonic source, parallel to Plutarch, Seneca or Alcinous, especially with regard to the themes of eschatology, protology and angelology (which also covers the questions of theodicy and the problem of evil). The relevant texts are cited in full, translated into German, analyzed with due awareness of the context, and discussed. He concludes that it is only possible to speak of eschatology in Philo to a limited extent; it is better to speak of human destiny in terms of aretology. Protology is intended only in a religious sense, i.e. in the acknowledgement of the transcendence of God, preventing the error of deifying the world. Philo's greater interest is in angelology, which connects transcendence and immanence and mediates between them (see the text *Somm.* 1.133–158). The angels are compared with demons or identified with God's δυνάμεις or his λόγοι. (GS)

20337. G. ELLIA, *La sensation chez Philon d'Alexandrie: spiritualité des sens* (DEA Université de Caen 2003).

In the first part of the study the author presents the divisions of the soul adopted by Philo and determines the place that sense-perception occupies in the soul. He then establishes the status which the Alexandrian gives sense-perception. It is regarded as the privileged locus of spirituality and of the spiritual quest. In the second part an examination is made of the different senses. It emerges that it is the confrontation between hearing and sight which reveals the importance of sense-perception in the spiritual life. (JR)

20338. J. E. ELLIS, 'Philo's View of Homosexuality,' *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 30 (2003) 313–323.

Philo speaks disapprovingly of homosexual activities between men and boys, in which the boys may or may not participate voluntarily, and homosexual activities between men and men, in which participation may or may not be voluntary. The basis of Philo's objection to male homosexual behavior is that it does not accord with nature because (1) it involves unnatural indulgence in pleasure; (2) its purpose is not to procreate, and procreation is the only acceptable reason for sexual relations; and (3) it places a male in a female role, which is not only unnatural for a man but also demeaning and debilitating. (EB)

20339. M. ENDO, *Creation and Christ*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.144 (Tübingen 2003), esp. 166–179.

A description of Philo's treatment of the idea of the Logos in Platonic or Middle Platonic creation accounts shows how dissimilar his ideas are from the development of biblical and early Jewish exegetical traditions used in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. (KAF)

20340. T. ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, 'Paraenesis Terminology in Philo,' in D. E. AUNE, T. SELAND and J. H. ULRICHSEN (edd.), *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106 (Leiden 2003) 371–392.

This study is part of a larger Scandinavian research project on *paraenesis* in antiquity, now published in a separate volume as J. Starr and T. Engberg-Pedersen (edd.), *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context* (Berlin 2004). The author's main thesis is that the common modern translation of the Greek terms *παραινεῖν* and *παραινεσις* as 'exhort' and 'exhortation' is wrong. *παραινεῖν* basically means 'advise' or 'enjoin' and *παραινεσις*, 'advice' or 'injunction.' 'Exhort' and 'exhortation' should be kept as translations for *παρακαλεῖν* and *παρακλήσις*, both of which may also be translated as 'appeal.' Finally, the author states, the third member of the relevant triad of terms, *προτρέπειν/προτρέπεσθαι* and *προτροπή*, should be translated as 'urge' or 'incite' and 'urging' and 'incitement' respectively. In the present study Engberg-Pedersen argues that these translations hold for Philo too. (TS)

20341. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Conversion to Judaism in Classical Antiquity,' *Hebrew Union College Annual* 74 (2003) 115–156.

This article investigates the evidence for the considerable increase in the number of Jews between 586 B.C.E and the first century C.E. Dealing with the question of how many Jews there were in the Hellenistic-Roman period, Feldman uses Josephus and Philo as sources. Although we do not know the exact number of the Jews, it was very large: Philo remarks that there are a million Jews in Egypt (*Flacc.* 43). The explanation for the increase in the number of Jews has to be found in voluntary conversion to Judaism. Judaism was not a missionary religion but the Jews were well disposed towards attracting converts. Philo shows a favorable attitude toward conversion of non-Jews to Judaism. He portrays, for instance, Tamar (Gen 38:6–30) as being converted from polytheism to the belief in one God (*Virt.* 220–225), even though there is no biblical basis for this event. People were attracted to the Jewish faith for various reasons, and especially for the economic advantages it might bring. (ACG)

20342. L. H. FELDMAN, 'The Command, according to Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus, to Annihilate the Seven Nations of Canaan,' *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 41 (2003) 13–29.

In Deut 7:1–2 Moses commands the Israelites to destroy utterly the seven Canaanite nations, apparently to prevent intermarriage between Israelites and

Canaanites, which would lead the Israelite partner to apostasy. This commandment is similar to others in the Bible that call for destruction of the Amalekites and the nations of the kings Sihon and Og. Philo does not mention any of these commandments. Instead he allegorizes Amalek as passion and a pleasure-hungry character. For Philo, the worst punishment, that of being killed, is reserved for apostates. Ps. Philo mentions in passing the commandment about the Amalekites, but without a rationale; he also omits the commandment about the seven nations and several details about the episodes related to Sihon and Og. A possible explanation is that this writer lived in the land of Israel and recognized that it was necessary to get along with its non-Jewish inhabitants. In the longest section of the article, devoted to Josephus, Feldman discusses Josephus' treatment of various biblical intermarriages and of the commandment to destroy Amalek and the seven nations. Josephus' explanation that such a commandment was 'necessary for the survival of the Israelites as a people, since the Canaanites would destroy the ancestral constitution' (p. 29) would have appealed to his Roman readers and displayed his loyalty before his Jewish readers. (EB)

20343. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Moses in Midian, according to Philo,' *Shofar* 21 (2003) 1–20.

The author reviews the account of the early career of Moses (Exod 2:11–4:31) as represented in the Philonic corpus, and principally *Mos.* 1.40–86, under the following topical rubrics: (1) Moses' escape from Egypt; (2) Moses in Midian; (3) the Burning Bush; (4) Moses' return to Egypt. Particular attention is given to those themes central to Philo's thought (e.g., Moses' lack of human eloquence), as well as to those elements which are the subject of special emphasis (or conspicuous silence). Feldman argues that departures from the order of the biblical narrative, expanded treatments of certain episodes and the curtailment (or omission) of others is most often the result of apologetic sensitivities; this is demonstrated in several cases through comparison with Josephus' account (esp. at *AJ* 2.254–280). Note that this journal is only published electronically. (DS)

20344. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo's Interpretation of Jethro,' *Australian Biblical Review* 51 (2003) 37–46.

In the exegetical tradition Jethro is a controversial figure. Philo, together with the Rabbis, belongs to those whose attitude towards him is divided. The article analyzes Philo's treatment in *Mos.* and elsewhere of the two main episodes in which Jethro occurs in the Bible, his treatment of Moses on arriving in Midian and his advice to Moses on improving his administration. It proves very difficult to explain the inconsistencies in Philo's attitude to Jethro. Feldman concludes that most likely his general attitude is negative, coming particularly to the fore when he is taken as a symbol of the preference of the human above the divine and the seemingly wise above the truly wise, but that he is willing to concede that Jethro was able to give Moses good technical advice. (DTR)

20345. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo's interpretation of Korah,' *Revue des Etudes Juives* 162 (2003) 1–15.

In *Mos.* Philo describes the rebellion of the Levite Korah against Moses, but he does not mention Korah's name (2.174–179, 275–287). In contrast to Josephus, Philo does not mention Korah's descent, wealth or ability as speaker. His main concern is theological: Korah resists the divine commands by which Moses was appointed as leader. It is a conflict between belief and disbelief. In the biblical account Dathan and Abiram are also mentioned as leaders in the revolt, but Philo omits their names. In contrast to the biblical narrative, Philo tells us that the Levites try to persuade the tribe of Reuben to join the revolt. (ACG)

20346. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo's Version of Balaam,' *Henoch* 25 (2003) 301–319.

The fascination that the figure of Balaam exercised on Philo may be seen from the sheer amount of space that he devotes to him, both because of his interest in the phenomenon of prophecy and because he sought to elevate the figure of Moses, the true prophet, through contrasting him with Balaam, the greatest of pagan prophets but actually a mere technician (μάγντις). Philo is consistent in disparaging him, notably in his most extended treatment of the Balaam episode, *Mos.* 1.263–299, where he does not even mention Balaam by name. He is careful in his treatment of Balaam's messianic-like prediction that a man will come forth from the Israelites who will rule over many nations (including the Edomites, from whom according to later tradition the Romans were descended). Philo reduces Balaam's prophetic claims to absurdity by stating that his donkey proved to have superior sight; he omits, however, to say that the donkey spoke, presumably because sophisticated readers would find this hard to believe. Finally, Philo, perhaps indirectly referring to what he saw in the Alexandrian Jewish community of his own days, adds that it is Balaam who suggests to Balak the means by which he may overcome the Israelites, namely by illicit sexual allurements coming from Moabite women. (HMK; based on the author's summary)

20347. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Questions about the Great Flood, as Viewed by Philo, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus, and the Rabbis,' *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 115 (2003) 401–422.

The author discusses several questions relating to the interpretation of Noah and the flood by Philo, Josephus, Ps. Philo, and the rabbis. On the question of the historicity of Noah and the flood, Philo has no doubts and does not regard the story as a myth. An important theological issue in his reading is that God is perfectly just and that people suffer because they deserve it. As a philosopher Philo is also concerned with the question why animals, who do not have free will, are also destroyed by God. Philo emphasizes the fact that God lengthened the lives of those living at the time of the flood in order that they may repent.

Noah is saved because of his justice. When dealing with Noah's drunkenness, Philo explains that he drank a portion of the wine rather than all of it. Noah cursed Canaan because he publicized Noah's shame. (ACG)

20348. E. FERGUSON, 'The Art of Praise: Philo and Philodemus on Music,' in J. T. FITZGERALD, T. H. OLBRICHT and L. H. WHITE (edd.), *Early Christianity and Classical Culture. Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 110 (Leiden 2003) 391–426.

Philo reflects solid awareness of the technical and practical discussions of music in Greek philosophical thought represented by the Pythagoreans, Platonists, Aristotelians, and Stoics. His frequent statements about instrumental and vocal music demonstrate his high regard for music. It positively results in harmony of soul and of whole person, while musical ratios and harmonies illustrate number symbolism and cosmic harmony. The principal function of music was for praising God. Philo provides the fullest and most informative account of the musical activities of the Jews in Alexandria and among the Therapeutae. The other tradition in Greek philosophy concerning music, that of the Sophists, Sceptics, and Epicureans, is also examined as it comes to expression in Philodemus, who attacks the philosophical tradition about music reflected in Philo. (KAF)

20349. F. FRAZIER, 'Les Anciens chez Philon d'Alexandrie. L'archéologie de Moïse et l'espérance d'Enos,' in B. BAKHOUCHE (ed.), *L'Ancienneté chez les Anciens, vol. II, Mythologie et religion* (Montpellier 2003) 385–410.

The author first explains the process of 'de-historicizing' the biblical narrative, which forms the basis of the allegorical interpretation of the first human beings. When analyzed in terms of genealogy and *bioi*, the historical part of the Pentateuch is read as an archaeology of the legislative part, but conversely the laws too are an 'archaeology,' i.e. a discourse which transcribes the virtues embodied by the biblical ancestors. One of these ancestors, Enos, embodies Hope, an essential component of Jewish piety which the Greek language conceptualizes through the single term ἐλπίς. It enables Philo to give a sketch of the contours of the virtue of Hope, unknown to the Greeks, through a remodelling of the Stoic system of the passions. (JR)

20350. J. FREY, 'Zur historischen Auswertung der antiken Essenerberichte. Ein Beitrag zum Gespräch mit Roland Bergmeier,' in J. FREY and H. STEGEMANN (edd.), *Qumrankontrovers. Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer*, Einblicke. Berichte—Reflexionen aus Tagungen der Katholischen Akademie Schwerte 6 (Paderborn 2003) 23–56.

This article responds to the views of Bergmeier (see above 20310). The first part is an outline of previous research and outlines the basic problems associated with the ancient descriptions of the Essenes. The second part in a more positive vein gives a subtle and critical interpretation of the Essene texts, as well as discussing the sources of the Qumran library. Frey rejects the classical paradigm of a monastic community and the opinion, still held by some, of a Pythagorean community of philosophers. He argues for an extremely conservative, halakhic community which is interested in the same questions of cultic pureness and eschatological interpretation of scripture which is also present in other places in Palestine at this time. This group by no means represents the main direction of contemporary Judaism, but at the same time they should not be characterized as a sect. REVIEWS: M. Henze, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 304–306. (GS)

20351. K. FUGLSETH, 'Common Words in the New Testament and Philo: Some Results from a Complete Vocabulary,' in D. E. AUNE, T. SELAND and J. H. ULRICHSEN (edd.), *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 106 (Leiden 2003) 393–414.

The author here summarizes the main ideas behind his monograph summarized below 20352. In the present essay the author also presents the results of a statistical enumeration and registration of common words in the New Testament and the writings of Philo and a comparison of the results with a similar analysis of the vocabulary relationship between Philo and Hebrews alone. Apart from presenting common themes of the two text corpora, the results, according to the author, strengthen theories that maintain that there are unique ties between some of the New Testament writings and Philo, and that the connection to the Letter to the Hebrews is particularly significant. (TS)

20352. K. FUGLSETH, *A Comparison of Words in Philo and the New Testament* (Lewiston N.Y. 2003).

This volume presents a complete computer-generated comparison of the Greek New Testament and the extant Greek writings of Philo of Alexandria. It is a statistical counting and registration of all common words in these writings, based upon the database gathered in connection with the Norwegian Philo Concordance Project, headed by Professor Peder Borgen. Its content comprises Foreword; Preface; Introduction; 1. All Common Words Sorted Alphabetically; 2. All Common Words Sorted by Frequency; 3. Philo and the Gospel of John; 4. Philo and the Letter to the Hebrews; and Bibliography. This list will be useful for all New Testament scholars interested in the Jewish and Greco-Roman background of the New Testament. REVIEWS: K.-W. Niebuhr, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 235–237. (TS)

20353. K. FUGLSETH, 'Satans synagoge?' Mogelege historiske og sosiologiske tolkingar av Op 2,9 og 3,9' [Norwegian: Satan's Synagogue? Possible Historical or Sociological Interpretations of Rev 2:9 and 3:9], *Tidsskrift for kirke, religion og samfunn* 2 (2003) 135–150.

This article explores possible historical and sociological interpretations of the unique expression συναγωγή τοῦ Σατανᾶ, to be found in Rev 2:9 and 3:9. There are three main historical solutions prevalent in recent research. The first is that the expression reflects a fictitious situation where the entire book was meant for internal encouragement. The second is that the expression refers to other Christians, since there are several other internal Christian conflicts reported in Revelation. The third one suggests that the expression refers to non-Christians. This is the solution that Fuglseth prefers, particularly since he finds traces of similar conflicts in Philo, which makes it more probable to see the Christian expression as part of an extra-mural conflict. The author also draws on theories about sects to understand the social issues at stake and suggests translations that avoid using words like 'Jew' and 'synagogue.' (TS)

20354. K. L. GACA, *The Making of Fornication: Eros, Ethics and Political Reform in Greek Philosophy and Early Christianity* (Berkeley 2003), esp. 190–217.

In this impressive and wide-ranging study the author investigates the origins of the restrictive code of sexual morality in Christianity. She rejects the view that it is in part based on views developed in the Greek philosophical ethics of the Platonic tradition and the Stoa. Instead she places at the centre of her study the concept of 'fornication' (πορνεία), which she takes to mean 'sexual behavior opposed to God's law.' The term has a biblical background and embodies an entire way of thinking that aims to regulate sexual behaviour for purposes of religious and social control. The study is structured in three parts: the first discusses the sexual reforms advocated by Greek philosophers; the second concentrates on the watershed period of the 1st century C.E., analyzing first the Septuagint, and then the crucial contributions of Philo and Paul; the third moves to the Patristic period, where Philonic and Pauline ideas are taken up and further developed by Tatian, Clement and Epiphanes. Chapter seven, entitled 'Philo's reproductive city of God,' focuses on Philo. The author argues that Philo wishes to establish a city of God based on a philosophical interpretation of the Law of Moses. His agenda in sexual matters is innovative in that he wishes to combine the restrictive laws of the Pentateuch and the ideology of fornication with the reformist and procreationist ideas of the Pythagorean philosophers. The key to his interpretation is his reading of the Tenth commandment of the Decalogue, in which he argues that sexual activity must be seen in religious terms and for that reason must be strictly controlled. Philo lays the ground for a paradigm shift in biblical sexual norms, but himself remains conservative and resists the conclusion that transgressing procreationism is tantamount to

apostasy. This was taken a decisive step further by Clement, who regards any deviation from God's procreationist law as rebellion. REVIEWS: V. Burrus, *J ECS* 12 (2004) 256–258; K. Drabinski, *JHSex* 13 (2004) 522–525; C. A. Frilingos, *JBL* 123 (2004) 756–759; D. Konstan, *RelStR* 30 (2004) 192–193; B. Nongbri, *Prudentia* 36 (2004) 52–55; C. Straw, *JEH* 55 (2004) 738–740; D. K. Buell, *AJP* 126 (2005) 138–142; F. Careau, *Phoenix* 59 (2005) 390–392; M. J. Edwards, *CR* 55 (2005) 294–296; A. Richlin, *BMCR* 2005.10.19; D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 237–243; K. Greschat, *JbAC* 48–49 (2005–2006) 186–189; K. Pietzner, *Sehepunkte* 7 (2007). (DTR)

20355. S. GAMBETTI, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 C.E. and their Implications for the Experience of the Jews of the Diaspora: a Historical Assessment* (diss. The University of California at Berkeley 2003).

In the summer of 38 C.E. the Jewish community of Alexandria in Egypt was brutally persecuted. An edict issued by the Roman prefect Flaccus, by declaring the Jews foreigners, cancelled their *πολίτευμα* containing all their privileges. The Alexandrian citizens, after having destroyed the Jews' homes, shops and synagogues, pushed them into a small part of the city. Punishment and torture were reserved to those who would try to cross the limits of that quarter. This event was the explosion of a situation which had existed in Alexandria for a very long time, and which had ripened over the last year. In 37 the emperor Gaius had endorsed the position of the Alexandrian citizens against the rights of residence of the Jews, and had adjudicated in that sense. In 38 Gaius sent Flaccus his mandate, also containing orders about the transformation of the previous adjudication into policy. By issuing the edict Flaccus executed imperial orders. The social situation of Alexandria proved to be the proper environment for the riots. The translation of old anti-Jewish Egyptian traditions into Greek first (making those stories available to a Hellenic audience), and, later, the advancement of a part of the Hellenized Egyptian population into the body politic, transformed the Alexandrian civic institutions, especially the gymnasium, into a hot-bed for anti-Jewish sentiments. In 37 these people were successful in turning their bias into a judicial case, which the emperor endorsed. An embassy to Gaius in 39 was not enough for the Jews to re-establish their privileges. The emperor did not withdraw from his decision taken two years earlier. Only Claudius in 41 would make some efforts to bring the life of the Alexandrian Jews back to an acceptable situation. In the analysis of these events constant use is made of source material provided by Philo. The study was published as a monograph under the title *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 C.E. and the Persecution of the Jews: a Historical Reconstruction* in Leiden in 2009. (DTR; summary provided by the author)

20356. J. GEBARA, *Le Dieu créateur, Histoire de la doctrine de la création. De Philon d'Alexandrie à Théophile d'Antioche* (diss. Sorbonne, Paris IV 2003).

The first part of the thesis includes two chapters devoted to Philo. The first describes Philo's life and presents his works and his theology. In his treatment of the latter, the author touches on the themes of the existence of God, his transcendence, the Powers and the Philonic Logos. He then studies the chief titles of God the Creator: Creator, Author/Founder, Demiurge, Father, Cause, Craftsman, Begetter. The second chapter is a Commentary on *Opif.* (JR)

20357. D. M. GOLDENBERG, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton 2003).

Goldenberg investigates how the so-called Curse of Ham, based on Gen 9:18–25, came to be understood as a justification for Black slavery. The book is organized into four parts: (1) a chronological study of early Jewish views of the Black African, (2) an examination of Jewish attitudes toward dark skin color, (3) a history of Black slavery, and (4) a study of the effect of the historical identification of Blacks with slavery upon Jewish, Christian, and Islamic biblical interpretation. While the Bible itself does not link Blacks with slavery, 'the increasing association of Black with slave in the Near East' and the incorrect but recognized etymology of Ham as 'dark, brown, or black' influenced later interpretation of the biblical passage (p. 197). Because Philo understands the blackness of the Ethiopians to represent evil, some writers considered him to be 'the only exception to a lack of racism and prejudice in the ancient Greek world' (p. 48). Goldenberg defends him against this charge, however, by noting that Philo was drawing upon commonly accepted color symbolism. (EB)

20358. L. GRABBE, 'Did all Jews Think Alike? "Covenant" in Philo and Josephus in the Context of Second Temple Judaic Religion,' in S. E. PORTER and J. C. R. DE ROO (edd.), *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 71 (Leiden 2003) 251–266.

Modern biblical scholars continue to debate how central the covenant is to the Hebrew Bible. Grabbe surveys Second Temple literature (both biblical and non-biblical) and concludes that while the notion is important in some sources, 'a significant number of writers and writings do not mention 'covenant' or show no interest in the concept' (p. 264). Philo and Josephus must be classified among this latter group. Without knowing Hebrew, Philo uses the term *διαθήκη*, the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew *brit*. His understanding is thus conditioned by the primary sense of the Greek word as a will or testament rather than of the Hebrew word as a mutual agreement between God and humans, and he emphasizes the covenant as a freely given divine gift. After discussing several Philonic passages which mention *διαθήκη*, Grabbe observes that Philo uses the word with a range of associations that include the wise man as God's heir, God's gift of grace, God's law, God's word, divine justice, the intelligible world,

and God's gift of himself. Josephus never uses 'covenant' in a theological sense, probably because the notion did not serve his aims in addressing his Greco-Roman readers. (EB)

20359. P. GRAFFIGNA, 'The Stability of Perfection: the Image of the Scales in Philo of Alexandria,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Boston 2003) 131–146.

A revised version of the article published by the author in Italian and summarized above 20246. The sections of the article are: The wavering of the scales and of the ship, Uncertainty: Lot, The King's way, Stability, Portrayal of lack of stability: Cain, Closing remarks. (DTR)

20360. L. GUSELLA, *Esperienze di comunità nel giudaismo antico: essemi, terapeuti, Qumran* (Florence 2003).

As part of an extended comparison between the three groups of Essenes, Therapeutae and the Qumran community, a long section is devoted to Philo's description of the Therapeutae (pp. 79–200), emphasizing the real nature of the locality, the composition of the community and, in particular, the role of women in it. REVIEWS: S. Castelli, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 223–224. (DTR; based on the book review by S. Castelli)

20361. M. HADAS-LEBEL, *Philon d'Alexandrie: un penseur en diaspora* (Paris 2003).

The author recognizes that Philo's silence about himself does not allow us to put together a biographical narrative. If we want to get to know him, it is necessary in her view to 'read his works tirelessly.' This is exactly what she has done, as the gripping spiritual portrait which she offers us bears witness. After a guided tour of Alexandria, the city where Philo was born and lived, she describes his cultural universe, which also includes a description of the terrible anti-Jewish riots which marked his final years. Chapters five to eight deal with Philo's view of Judaism, his biblical commentaries, his method of philosophizing, and his thought. A final chapter entitled 'Philo, Church Father *honoris causa*' (the phrase is taken from David Runia's study on the subject) rounds off this excellent introduction to the man whom Edouard Herriot called 'the glory of the Jewish school of Alexandria.' REVIEWS: C. Badilita, *Adamant* 10 (2004) 460–462; P. Lanfranchi, *NT* 46 (2004) 298; J. Riaud, *REJ* 163 (2004) 517–522; J. Riaud, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 281–286; L. Vissiere, *Historia* (2004) 88; C. Grappe, *RHPPhR* 85 (2005) 432–433; J. A. Straus, *AC* 74 (2005) 401–402. (JR)

20362. J. R. HARRISON, *Paul's Language of Grace in its Graeco-Roman Context*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.172 (Tübingen 2003), esp. 114–133.

This revision of a 1996 Ph.D. dissertation prepared at Macquarie University, Sydney, investigates the extent to which Paul interacts with the Greco-Roman benefaction ideology of χάρις. To explore how Greek-speaking Judaism was affected by Greco-Roman benefaction ideology, Philo and Josephus are examined. Harrison surveys modern scholarship on Philonic χάρις and concludes that scholars have abstracted the terminology of χάρις from its historical context. He then examines Philo's use of χάρις in contexts of divine benefaction to show that Philo's readers would have understood him against the backdrop of honorific inscriptions. Turning to the motif of reciprocity, Harrison shows that Philo's treatment distorts the focus of the Mosaic Law on God's redemptive love as incentive to generosity by substituting it with reciprocity. Finally, he examines *Cher.* 122–123 to show how Philo unabashedly criticizes the institution of beneficence. (KAF)

20363. D. M. HAY, 'Foins for the Therapeutae: References to Other Texts and Persons in Philo's *De vita contemplativa*,' in D. E. AUNE, T. SELAND and J. H. ULRICHSEN (edd.), *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106 (Leiden 2003) 330–348.

This study explores the literary structure and rhetorical devices of Philo's treatise *Contempl.* Primary attention is given to its references to Greek, Egyptian, and Jewish texts, groups such as the Essenes, and individuals other than the Therapeutae. The author discusses Philo's harsh criticism of Xenophon and Plato, and the descriptions of contemplative life, pagan worship, and banquets. All this raises the questions as to how Philo himself was connected with the Therapeutae and who the intended audiences of the treatise were. (KAF)

20364. A. HILHORST, 'Poésie hébraïque et métrique grecque. Les témoignages des Anciens, de Philon d'Alexandrie à Boniface de Mayence,' in D. ACCORINTI and P. CHUVIN (edd.), *Des Géants à Dionysos. Mélanges de mythologie et de poésie grecques offerts à Francis Vian* (Alessandria 2003) 305–329.

The article lists and analyzes all those passages in Greek and Latin texts which attribute metrical method and style to Hebrew poetry. Philo is the first author to be discussed (pp. 306–307). Only two passages are relevant. In *Mos.* 1.23 Moses is described as having mastered metrical theory, knowledge which he presumably made use of later. In *Contempl.* 80 the Therapeutae are said to chant metrical hymns. One might assume them to be in Greek, but Hebrew poems cannot be excluded. When Jerome cites Philo as a witness for metrical poetry on the part of the Hebrews he is probably thinking of this passage (p. 317, cf. p. 307). (DTR)

20365. P. W. VAN DER HORST, 'Common Prayer in Philo's *In Flaccum* 121–124,' in J. TABORY (ed), *Kenishta: Studies of the Synagogue World*, vol. 2 (Ramat-Gan 2003) 21–28 (English section).

The article presents a thumbnail analysis of *Flacc.* 121–124, Philo's account of the public prayer(s) of the Alexandrian Jewish community following the announcement of the arrest of Flaccus. Following his observation of a certain parallelism with the subsequent confession of Flaccus himself (§§ 170–175), the author discusses the oft-remarked tone of *Schadenfreude* in the prayers. With reference to biblical and Jewish liturgical sources, Van der Horst argues the character of the passage should be understood within the context of prayers of thanksgiving, acknowledging divine sovereignty and providence. (DS)

20366. W. HOUSTON, 'Towards an Integrated Reading of the Dietary Laws of Leviticus,' in R. RENDTORFF and R. A. KUGLER (edd.), *The Book of Leviticus*, *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* 93 (Leiden 2003) 142–161.

The author examines the interpretation of the dietary laws in Leviticus by Philo of Alexandria and the modern interpreters Jacob Milgrom and Mary Douglas. All three see the ritual and moral teaching of Leviticus as a unified whole. In *Spec.* Philo treats the particular laws under the heading of one of the Ten Commandments. The dietary laws fall under the tenth commandment, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. Houston briefly discusses Philo's reading of the precepts, and concludes that Philo regards them as teaching the important virtues of temperance, self-control, and humanity. In his general conclusion Houston states that 'in their broad contentions, Philo, Milgrom and Douglas may be accounted correct' (p. 161). Philo's interpretation teaches us to discipline our appetites and to moderate our desires in order to preserve the 'integrity of creation.' (ACG)

20367. S. HULTGREN, 'The Origin of Paul's Doctrine of the two Adams in 1 Corinthians 15:45–49,' *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 89 (2003) 343–370, esp. 344–357.

This study argues, by means of a careful analysis and summarization of Philo's interpretations of the creation of 'man' in Gen 1:26–27 and 2:7, that the closest parallels to Paul's doctrine of the two Adams in 1 Cor 15:45–49 are not to be found in Philo, a misreading of Philo, or Gnosticism, but in rabbinic literature. (KAF)

20368. S. INOWLOCKI, *La citation comme méthode apologétique: les auteurs juifs dans l'Apodexis d'Eusèbe de Césarée* (diss. Free University Brussels 2003).

This doctoral dissertation prepared at the Free University of Brussels forms the main body of research on which the author's monograph published by Brill in English in 2006 is based; see below 20643. The study deals with Eusebius of Caesarea's use of the Jewish authors' quotations in the *Praeparatio evangelica* (*PE*) and the *Demonstratio evangelica* (*DE*). These authors include Philo of Alexandria, Flavius Josephus, Aristobulus, and the so-called 'minor' Jewish authors (Eupolemus, Ezekiel the Tragedian, Artapanus etc.). The study aims to shed new light on the quotation process as exploited by the bishop of Caesarea through the particular case of the Jewish authors. Eusebius' treatment of Philo occupies an important part of this study because of the abundance of Philonic testimonies cited by Eusebius, especially in the *PE*. Each Jewish author is not treated separately. Instead, the viewpoint from which Eusebius sees them is adopted. In most cases, Philo is presented by the latter as a 'Hebrew.' The author argues that this appellation constitutes a crucial rhetorical device in order to appropriate Philo's texts. According to the author's analysis, Eusebius' insistence on Philo's 'Hebrew-ness' in the *PE* enables him to turn the philosopher into a most useful predecessor, the pre-Christian theologian *par excellence*. The passages in which he deals with the Logos are especially useful in this respect, since he identifies Philo's Logos as Christ. However, Eusebius' endeavour is not only a theological one, but also, and more importantly, an apologetic one: his re-interpretation of Philo enables him to demonstrate that Christianity is a unified theological system more ancient, hence better, than that of the Greeks. At the same time, the synthesis made by Philo between the Jewish Scripture and Greek philosophy enables Eusebius to compare Christian and Greek philosophy. Therefore, Philo becomes a most important link between Christianity and Hellenism. In the *DE*, on the other hand, Philo is mentioned only once, in a historical-apologetic context. It is argued that this passage accurately illustrates the manner in which Eusebius occasionally distorts quotations of Jewish authors for apologetic purposes in the *DE*. With regard to the text of Eusebius' citations in the *PE*, he generally proves to cite Philo faithfully, although certain differences between Philo's and Eusebius' manuscripts seem to indicate that Eusebius occasionally modified Philo's text in theologically significant passages. The author also argues that if Eusebius certainly knew Philo first hand, he may have collected excerpts in the form of *florilegia* for his own use. Finally, the author insists on Eusebius' originality in dealing with Philo: not only did he use theological and historical passages that were rarely quoted by the Church Fathers, but he also explicitly acknowledged, as it were, the debt of Christianity to Philo. Yet one should bear in mind that Eusebius' use of Philo in the *PE* and the *DE* was above all apologetic. (DTR; based on the author's summary)

20369. H. JACOBSON, 'φαραν or βαραδ in Philo's QG,' *Journal of Theological Studies* 54 (2003) 158–159.

In the Armenian translation of QG 3.36 Philo is reported as explaining the place name φαραν at Gen 16:14, but the actual biblical text in both the MT and the LXX reads βαραδ. In a brief note the author argues that it is very unlikely that this reflects a variation of readings in the LXX. Translation of the Armenian text,

if properly understood, indicates that Philo must have given two explanations of the name βαρσαδ. But at some stage this was corrupted into φαρσαν in the Armenian tradition. (DTR)

20370. P. JEFFERY, 'Philo's Impact on Christian Psalmody,' in H. W. ATTRIDGE and M. E. FASSLER (edd.), *Psalms in Community. Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions*, Society of Biblical Literature. Symposium Series 25 (Atlanta 2003) 147–187.

Although psalms were probably sung during the Jewish worship service in the Second Temple and in the synagogue, we do not have sufficient evidence to conclude that Jewish singing of psalms, or psalmody, in either of these locales had a direct influence on Christian psalmody. The group banquet, however, was a form of worship shared by both Jews and Christians, and it is likely that Philo's account of the singing at the banquet of the Therapeutae has a direct bearing upon psalm singing by later Christians. Philo's account in *Contempl.* displays a sophisticated understanding of music and reflects much in common with musical practices at Greek symposia. Early Christians such as Clement, Tertullian, Hippolytus and Eusebius describe similar kinds of singing after meals, and the last-named author refers to Philo's account explicitly. It is often thought that Philo's use of the word 'antiphon' denotes singing in alternation, but Jeffery argues that Philo is instead referring to 'two concurrent renditions [by men and women] an octave apart' (p. 171). Later Christians, however, were unaware of Philo's technical sense of the word and instead used 'antiphon' to refer to alternating choirs. (EB)

20371. F. KAYSER, 'Les Ambassades Alexandrines à Rome (I^{er}–II^e Siecle),' *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 105 (2003) 435–468.

A careful reading of accounts of embassies, of Philo's narrative in *Legat.*, of the *Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians* and the polemical literature known as the *Acts of the Alexandrian martyrs*, allows the author to sketch a rich tableau of diplomatic relations between Rome and Alexandria in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire. Precious information is furnished on the personalities of the ambassadors and the purpose of the embassies, on the organization of the Imperial cult, on protests relating to daily life and civic institutions, and on the adjudication between communities. The profound gulf that existed between the Greeks and Jews of Alexandria and the insolent behaviour of certain Alexandrian citizens sometimes led to the transformation of imperial audiences into veritable legal trials which resulted in the condemnation to death of a notable citizen of the city. (JR)

20372. H.-J. KLAUCK, *Religion und Gesellschaft im frühen Christentum. Neutestamentliche Studien*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 152 (Tübingen 2003), esp. 37–41.

For this collection of essays on the New Testament, the author has written a lengthy introductory chapter entitled ‘„Pantheisten, Polytheisten, Monotheisten“—ein Reflexion zur griechisch-römischen und biblischen Theologie,’ which has Philo’s statement at *Legat.* 118 that it is easier for a god to become human than a human to become god as its epigraph. In a section on Hellenistic Judaism Philo is closely linked with the Wisdom of Solomon. Brief remarks are devoted to the doctrine of the Logos, concluding with the assertion that ‘Philo has considerably increased the dynamism of the conception of God’ (p. 40). With respect to the relation between God and humanity, Philo has introduced movement in two directions, through personification and hypostatization of the divine powers and through the transformation of the charismatic person to a Logos-like status (the theory of Sellin). (DTR)

20373. K. KLUN, *The Decalogue in Jewish and Christian Philosophy* [Slovenian] (diss. Ljubljana 2003).

The thesis considers the main differences between Jewish and Christian understanding (‘philosophy’) of the Ten commandments. Its first section gives background on the origin and the role of the Decalogue with the entire Mosaic legal code. The main part of the thesis deals with Philo, whose treatment of the Decalogue can be viewed under three headings: as a summary of the Torah; as a collection of the most important legal and religious principles; and as the nucleus of the Sinaitic revelation. Through an extensive treatment of the Mosaic law in his Greek exegetical opus, Philo tries to show to a philosophical audience within the Greco-Roman world that the ten God-given principles (heads) embrace a complete legislation given in the Sinai desert. He even goes on to meet the expectations of his Greek contemporaries in Alexandria by an extended legal and moralistic analysis of each commandment, using a contemporary Greek philosophical and religious terminology. Philo’s opinion is in fact quite revolutionary when he argues that the state (πόλις) based on a divine law is not a Platonic idealistic illusion, but a historical fact, as proven in the Biblical ‘Mosaic Constitution,’ and by the Jewish homeland and the diaspora reality. The creation story in Genesis serves him as a preamble to the Constitution, and he also considers the Ten Commandments preambles to different groups of laws, as well as being a code of the principles of natural law, a popular term among first-century philosophers. Another important feature of Philo’s treatment is Neopythagorean approach to the number ten and to arithmology in general, as well as the allegorical method of the interpretation of the Bible in general, probably the most important contribution of Philo to the Western (Christian) method of reading the Old Testament. Philo is thus the first sage in the history of Greek philosophy to fuse the Biblical (Jewish) and Greek language, religion, morality and thought into a unique system of universal religious philosophy. For this reason he, though a Jew, was even given the title church father *honoris causa*. The final part of the thesis presents an analysis of some of the most important Early Christian documents on the Decalogue and on Jewish law (The New Testament, the Gnostic *Letter of Ptolemaeus to Flora*, the *Didascalia apostolorum*, Irenaeus of Lyon (*Adversus haereses*) and some other Church fathers). The

Decalogue is part of the Christian faith and morality, not because it is part of Mosaic law (Torah), but because it embraces the principles of (Stoic) natural law. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20374. K. KLUN, 'Filon Aleksandrijski med svetim pismom in filozofijo [Slovenian: Philo of Alexandria: Between the Bible and Philosophy]; *Phainomena (Ljubljana)* 43–44 (2003) 173–231.

The article is a modified version of the central chapter of the author's Ph.D. Dissertation. See the summary above 20373. (DTR)

20375. C. LEDUC, 'Ego et ses trois sœurs (germaine, utérine, consanguine): Athènes et Sparte, VIe s.-IVe s. av. J.-C.,' in M. GARRIDO-HORY and A. GONZALÈS (edd.), *Histoire, Espaces et Marges de l'Antiquité. Hommages à Monique Clavel-Lévêque*, Vol. 1 (Besançon 2003) 249–291.

The article makes reference to a Philonic text which refers to the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters from different marriage relationships (*Spec.* 3.22). If the Athenian ordinances allow marriage with a half-sister on the father's side and those in Sparta with a sister on the mother's side, this is because the two cities have regulated the question of the transmission of the paternal lineage in quite a different manner. (JR)

20376. J. LIEBART and J. BERNARD, 'Dieu et le Prochain dans le judaïsme ancien,' *Mélanges de Sciences Religieuses* 60 (2003) 7–21.

This article is devoted to the thesis of A. Nissen, *God und der Nächste im antiken Judentum* (Tübingen 1974) (= RR 7429). The authors note the important role that Philo plays in this study, but do not examine it in detail. (JR)

20377. J. W. MARTENS, *One God, One Law. Philo of Alexandria on the Mosaic and Greco-Roman Law*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity 2 (Boston 2003).

This monograph, based on a McMaster Ph.D. completed in 1991 (cf. RRS 9145), examines Philo's indebtedness to Greek philosophical notions of higher law and how Philo mapped the connection between the higher law and the Law of Moses. The Mosaic law is discussed only in terms of its external relationship to Greek notions of higher law. Martens sets out to explore whether Philo's use of three concepts of higher law—the law of nature, the unwritten law, and the living law—which Philo alone of all ancient writers discusses, renders the Mosaic law superfluous for some people. More than anyone else in antiquity, Philo attempts to make explicit the wide-ranging content of the law of nature. Martens gives a descriptive overview of four major strands of Greek thought on 'nature' as they come to expression in Philo: as the power of life and growth, as the inherent character of any thing or being, as the order of the cosmos,

and as God. For Philo there is a transcendent God who stands over nature and creation, and so nature can act as a bridge through which humanity can come to know God because it bears God's ethical imprint. Hence there is for Philo an intimate relationship between law and nature. Philo's distinctive contribution lies in his accounts of wise men who actually fulfilled the law of nature, his overlapping of the unwritten law with the law of nature, and in his assertion that certain people are themselves unwritten laws. REVIEWS: A. Yadin, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 295–297; C. Termini, *Adamant* 12 (2006) 545–550. (KAF)

20378. J. P. MARTÍN, 'De la Septuaginta a Bizancio: transiciones en la historia de una lengua,' *Circe* 8 (2003) 189–202, esp. 191–193, 197.

The article deals with different cultural and political roles which the Greek language has played during its long history. An assumption of the Library of Alexandria was that the Greek language could represent the universal culture. Within this historical framework the version of the Bible or Septuagint represented for Philo and other Alexandrian Jews the universal diffusion of a particular 'text': the Law of Moses. When the Greco-Roman culture converted to Christianity and wanted to spread this text as a part of its Christian faith, it found that some of the surrounding nations lacked a written language. The Greek alphabet and morphology, then, acted as a basis for producing new writing methods and linguistic developments. Philo's texts acquired a new role in this political context, especially in the Armenian language. (JPM)

20379. J. P. MARTÍN, 'Filone di Alessandria e la letteratura cristiana antica,' *Adamantius* 9 (2003) 188–192.

An exposition of and commentary on D. T. Runia's study, *Filone di Alessandria nella prima letteratura cristiana* (see above 9967), Italian version of the original English book (RRS 9373). The translation is complete and accurate. It contains in addition a useful Appendix which amplifies the original, namely the text and Italian translation of *Testimonia de Philone* from the first century to 1000 C.E. With respect to the original book, it suggests an addition to the contents, namely the text *In Sanctum Pascha* of Ps. Hippolytus. The article welcomes the translation, which will extend the reading circle of this fundamental work. (JPM)

20380. J. P. MARTÍN, 'Proyecto de una traducción al castellano de Filón de Alejandría,' *Revista Bíblica* 65 (2003) 235–239.

The article represents the first proposal for a Spanish translation of the Complete Works of Philo of Alexandria, a project which is now in course. The proposal was made by scholars from universities in Spain, Argentina, Chile and Mexico, and was accepted by the Madilene publishing house of Trotta. (JPM)

20381. J. P. MARTÍN, 'Ricerche sulla tradizione alessandrina in Argentina (1983–2000),' *Adamantius* 9 (2003) 230–250, esp. 234f.

In this bibliographical résumé of Argentinian studies on the Alexandrian tradition produced in the last 18 years of the 20th century, 15 titles are mentioned, all of them already summarized in R-R, RRS and this volume. Occasionally Philo is named in the remaining titles on the Jewish, Christian and Neoplatonic Alexandrian tradition. (JPM)

20382. M. MARTIN, 'Philo's Use of Synchrisis: an Examination of Philonic Composition in the Light of Progymnasmata,' *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 30 (2003) 271–297.

In contrast to earlier studies on Philo's use of rhetoric, which have generally referred to rhetorical handbooks for training in 'the more narrow art of [oral] declamation' (p. 271), Martin considers Philo in relation to προγυμνάσματα, preliminary exercises for training in written composition. Though only one of the four extant *progymnasmata* dates from the first century C.E., the later ones (third through fifth centuries C.E.) preserve traditional curricula and are thus relevant. Martin focuses specifically upon the technique of synchrisis, or comparison. The *progymnasmata* curricula address kinds of comparisons (good with good, bad with bad, good with bad), topics for comparison (goods of the mind, goods of the body, and external goods), representative and numerical comparisons (individual examples or a genus of exemplary members), and ways of organizing larger works (through separate or combined comparisons). Martin provides several Philonic examples of synchrisis to show that Philo, a master of rhetorical skill, reflects familiarity with the range of comparisons described in the *progymnasmata*, particularly in the curriculum represented by Pseudo-Hermogenes (third/fourth century C.E.). (EB)

20383. A. M. MAZZANTI, 'Il dialogo fra l'uomo e Dio in Filone di Alessandria: a proposito di *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* 3–33,' in L. PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 164 (Leuven 2003) 233–244.

Extended and heavily annotated reflections on *Her.* 3–33, concentrating on the anthropological themes of 'knowing oneself' (the Delphic oracle), human nothingness and the dialogic relationship with God. Frequent reference is made to other Philonic texts with similar themes, as well as to philosophical and Qumranic texts. The bond that links humans to God can only be expressed in terms of the soul or mind, yet the quest for human salvation through momentary or continual contact with God is not exclusively spiritual. Here lies the heart of the problematics of Philo's mysticism. (DTR)

20384. A. M. MAZZANTI, 'The "Mysteries" in Philo of Alexandria,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Boston 2003) 117–129.

The author deals with various Philonic passages in which a terminology typical of the mysteries is used. Scholars widely differ in their views, ranging from the claim that Jewish mysteries did exist in the Hellenistic world to the consideration of the use of certain terms only as literary formulae. Philo expresses a negative evaluation of pagan mysteries. The mysteries of God, on the other hand, acquire their value in that they lead to knowledge of the divine. An ethical perfection emerges, determined by the formation of a harmonious ordering of the components of human nature; the perspective is that of a happiness open to all those that seek it. A study of Philo's 'mystical' terminology thus turns out to touch upon fundamental theses of Philonic thought. (HMK; based in part on the editor's introductory summary)

20385. M. MERINO RODRIGUEZ, *Clemente de Alejandría: Stromata IV–V; Martirio cristiano e investigación sobre Dios. Introducción, traducción y notas*, Fuentes Patrísticas 15 (Madrid 2003).

This volume is a continuation of the bilingual edition of Clement of Alexandria (cf. RRS 9657 and above 9870). Taking into account the research of A. van den Hoek (RRS 8834), it mentions more than hundred Philonic passages as antecedents of Clement's text. The author emphasizes the influence of Philo in the description of the figure of Abraham in *Str.* 5.8. It is noteworthy that the author identifies Philo with the author whom Clement has in mind when he speaks about *hê barbaros philosophia*, in *Str.* 5.93.4, (p. 482), although Clement does not name Philo here nor anywhere else in the rest of this volume. It is also pointed out that it is common for Clement to present Philonic ideas as belonging to Plato, e.g. at *Str.* 5.73.3 (p. 447). (JPM)

20386. S. M. NADLER, 'Spinoza and Philo: the Alleged Mysticism in the *Ethics*,' in J. MILLER and B. INWOOD (edd.), *Hellenistic and Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge 2003) 232–250.

The author, who is Spinoza's biographer and a leading exponent of his thought, is strongly opposed to the view that the Dutch–Jewish philosopher's metaphysics can be seen as a mystically inclined pantheism (or pan-entheism) which was ultimately, if unconsciously, derived from the Kabbalah. One way of illustrating the issues involved is to make a comparison between Spinoza and his distant Jewish predecessor Philo. The main body of the article consists of insightful analyses of the main lines of theological thought espoused by the two thinkers. Philo is a mystic in Nadler's use of the term for three reasons. The human being requires either divine revelation or an act of divine grace to obtain a true knowledge of God's existence, but even so the full knowledge of God's essence simply remains beyond reach. Spinoza on the other hand sees the

intellectual love of God as central to the human quest for happiness, but unlike Philo he is supremely confident in the ability of the human being to achieve full understanding of God's nature without receiving any kind of divine aid. No other philosopher had such optimism in the cognitive powers of the human being. Thus the approaches that the two thinkers develop on the subject of human knowledge of God are diametrically opposed. (DTR)

20387. H. NAJMAN, 'Cain and Abel as Character Traits: a Study in the Allegorical Typology of Philo of Alexandria,' in G. P. LUTTIKHUIZEN (ed.), *Eve's Children. The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, Themes in Biblical Narrative 5 (Leiden 2003) 107–118.

Najman argues that Philo's interpretation of Cain and Abel is typological, with Cain representing the type of wickedness, and Abel exemplifying the type of holiness. They are the archetypes of good and evil and their conflict is the conflict between good and evil in every human soul. Cain is a self-lover. He becomes a farmer and is called a tiller of the soil because he refers all things to his own mind, not realising that the land belongs to God. Due to his self-love he does not bring an offer to God immediately. By way of contrast, Abel is a lover of God, as his name signifies (it means 'one who refers all things to God'). He becomes a shepherd, which is a good preparation for rulership. According to Najman 'the story of Cain and Abel is important because they exemplify the ways in which the archetypes of virtue and vice may come to leave their copies upon the human soul' (p. 117). (ACG)

20388. H. NAJMAN, *Seconding Sinai. The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 77 (Leiden 2003), esp. 70–107, 126–137.

In biblical and para-biblical texts of the Second Temple period, the significance of Moses expands as authoritative laws are amplified and attributed to him and as Moses himself is idealized as an authority figure with several roles. The Book of Deuteronomy is a model for these trends, which characterize what Najman terms 'Mosaic discourse.' Four features of this discourse are that the new text that reworks older traditions (1) claims for itself the authority of the earlier traditions; (2) portrays itself as having the status of Torah; (3) re-presents the Sinaitic revelation; and (4) claims a link to or authorship by Moses. Najman examines the Mosaic discourse in Deuteronomy, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, and Philo. The political situation in Alexandria requires Philo to authorize Jewish law for both Jews and non-Jews, which he does in several ways. He presents Mosaic law as superior to laws of all other peoples and claims that it is a copy of the law of nature. In associating Mosaic law with universal concepts like the law of nature, Philo achieves 'a strikingly original fusion' (p. 78), in which Mosaic law is not subordinate to the universal ideas. Mosaic law is also not reducible to a written code of rules, because the lives of the patriarchs and of Moses are

copies of the law of nature too (p. 99). Philo elevates Moses to a god-like but human figure. Two features that distinguish Philo's Mosaic discourse from that in other works are that the law of Moses becomes subordinate to the figure of Moses, instead of the other way around, and Philo distinguishes between Mosaic writings and his own interpretations, even though he attributes these interpretations to Moses. Exploring continuities between Second Temple and rabbinic literature, Najman finds, among other things, that it is 'misleading' to identify Philo's notion of 'unwritten law' with what came to be known as rabbinic oral law, or *Torah she-b'al peh* (p. 130). REVIEWS: A. A. Orlov, *SPhA* 18 (2006) 215–218. (EB)

20389. H. NAJMAN, 'A Written Copy of the Law of Nature: an Unthinkable Paradox?', in D. T. RUNIA, G. E. STERLING and H. NAJMAN (edd.), *Laws Stamped with the Seals of Nature. Law and Nature in Hellenistic Philosophy and Philo of Alexandria = The Studia Philonica Annual* 15, Brown Judaic Series 337 (Providence RI 2003) 54–63.

As with the early Stoics and Cicero, if the superior law of nature is unwritten and transcends the written law of any community, then to link it intimately with the written law revealed by God, as Philo does, can be seen as incoherent and paradoxical. An exploration of Philo's thinking does not entirely remove the paradox, but it does illuminate an inner logic. To begin, the law of nature and the Law of Moses have the same source and legislator, God. But more to the point both have a similar structure. Just as the law of nature is exemplified, not by a code of actions but by the rational disposition of the sage that enables the sage to act in accordance with the law of nature, so too, the written law of Moses, when read within the context of an interpretive community, is a reminder and expression of the lives of the patriarchs and Moses. (KAF)

20390. L. NASRALLAH, *An Ecstasy of Folly: Prophecy and Authority in Early Christianity*, Harvard Theological Studies 52 (Cambridge Mass. 2003), esp. 36–46.

The author examines a range of sources to show that discussions about prophecy and ecstasy are less concerned to understand these experiences in themselves than to set limits on who can have access to divine knowledge, to establish the authority of one's own group, and to define community identity. Although she focuses mainly on early Christian debates (especially as reflected in Paul, Tertullian, and Epiphanius), the author also considers Artemidorus, Plato, and Philo. The discussion of Philo (pp. 36–46) centres on his treatise *Her*. Using Dionysian cultic language and a fourfold taxonomy of ecstasy similar to Plato's, he highlights the abandonment of body, sense perception and logos to allow for 'the rising of the divine mind' (p. 44) during a state of 'ecstasy and inspired possession and madness' (*Her*. 264). In Philo's account, when one leaves behind the shallow, human realms of knowledge, one can receive the 'truly rich inheritance' of divine knowledge (p. 44). (EB)

20391. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'Circumcision as a Marker of Identity: Philo, Origen and Genesis Rabbah on Gen. 17:1–14,' *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 10 (2003) 89–123.

This article examines the nature of the considerable change in attitude among Jews toward circumcision from the time of Philo to the composition of *Genesis Rabbah*. Special attention is given to the questions whether and to what extent Christianity played a role and whether rabbinic exegetes knew ecclesiastical positions and responded to them. Tracing exegetical trajectories from Philo through Paul, Justin Martyr and Origen, to the rabbis shows that the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity was rather more prolonged and gradual. A detailed exegetical study of Philo's interpretation of Abraham's circumcision shows how Philo divorced circumcision from covenant, and yet did not disregard the practice altogether because the practice ultimately restores man's original virility and his Adamic likeness to the image of God. (KAF)

20392. J. N. NOVOA, 'The Appropriation of Jewish Thought by Christianity. The Cases of Philo of Alexandria and Leone Ebreo,' *Science et Esprit* 55 (2003) 285–296.

Philo and Leone Ebreo (ca. 1460–1530) are two examples of Jewish thinkers whose works were embraced primarily by Christians rather than Jews. Although both writers were committed Jews, they believed in 'the concept of allegory and the layered reading for sacred and profane texts' (p. 285), and they drew upon non-Jewish ways of thinking in order to make Judaism more intelligible to outsiders and, in Philo's case, to seek proselytes among them. Philo incorporated Neoplatonic and Stoic ideas, while Ebreo used Patristic thought and the writings of G. Boccaccio on pagan gods. Paradoxically, for this very reason, while not officially banned by their co-religionists these Jewish writers were 'consigned to irrelevance' by them (p. 288). Both writers were instead taken up by Christians who were more sympathetic to the outside elements in these Jewish works and who overlooked the original motivations behind these works. Philo was embraced by early Church Fathers and Ebreo by 'the courtly society of Renaissance Europe' (p. 285). It was centuries before Jews showed interest in either of these thinkers. (EB)

20393. J. S. O'LEARY, 'Logos and *Koinônia* in Philo's *De confusione linguarum*,' in L. PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 164 (Leuven 2003) 245–273.

The article starts with a discussion of the Logos philosophy existent in Philo's time and Philo's 'triple inflection' of it: Philo gives the Logos (the intermediary realm between God and his creatures) a personal quality; he inserts Logos-thinking in a context of grace; and he develops the social aspect of Logos, repre-

sented by the Law of Moses which enables people to practise *φιλανθρωπία* and its synonym *κοινωνία* towards one another. O'Leary then offers a profound and detailed analysis of Philo's *Conf.*, starting with the treatise's guiding concerns (the quest for authentic *κοινωνία* and the role of the *logos/Logos*, and the demonstration that Israel has realized this *κοινωνία* more fully than other groups), then exploring Philo's discussion with his allegorical predecessors regarding the meaning of the Babel story, and finally (the most extensive part of the article) giving an insightful presentation of the line of argument of the treatise. He concludes that, having confounded the false language of false *κοινωνία*, God creates a new *κοινωνία*. At the end of his paper the author poses the question 'Can the connection between *Logos* and *κοινωνία* in Philo be seen as a background to the Johannine writings?' His answer is that the differences between the Philonic and Johannine worlds make direct influence seem implausible; 'the tried and tested paths of Hellenistic reason, so familiar to Philo, seem unknown to John, whose writings are the utterances of a contemplative community bearing witness to an event of revelation, and contain no metaphysical discussion' (p. 270). (HMK)

20394. A. PADDLE, 'The *Logos* as the Food of Life in the Alexandrian Tradition,' in L. PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition*, *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* 164 (Leuven 2003) 195–200.

Although the idea of the *Logos* as a form of nourishment plays only a relatively minor role in Philo's thought (especially in the passage *Leg.* 3.162–178), it nevertheless appears to have had a great and long-lasting impact on the Christian theologians. The article traces this impact, commencing with Origen and ending with Cyril of Alexandria. (DTR)

20395. A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA, 'Upon Philo's Biblical Text and the Septuagint,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, *Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity* 1 (Boston 2003) 25–52.

The article gives a detailed survey of scholarly work done on Philo's use of scripture, and in particular on the text he uses when he quotes from scripture. Very few studies have been carried out in recent years and it is noted that a number of questions should be revisited, because there are now newer critical editions of the Septuagint available. The author is attracted to the view that scripture and commentary should not be rigorously separated because Philo regards them as intertwined. This view permits him to engage in a free rendering of the biblical text in the course of his commentaries. In an excursus at the end of the article a comparison is made between the Septuagint text in the Göttingen critical edition and the version quoted by Philo in *Leg.* 1 in the texts printed by Colson and the French edition. Some valuable textual observations are made and the following conclusion is reached (p. 52): 'The fact that the text chosen by

Philo largely conforms to the Septuagint leads us to reaffirm, even in a limited study like this, that Philo freely chose which biblical text to follow (either the Septuagint or the Hebrew).’ (DTR)

20396. Z. PAVIC, ‘„Die Archonten des Seins“: Gnostische Weltarchaeologie des „blinden Gottes“’ *Synthesis-Philosophica* 18 (2003) 33–62.

This paper investigates questions relating to the deprivation of God in the thought of Hans Jonas based on Gnostic writings, in particular on those of Philo Judaeus and those in Nag-Hammadi, and the nihilistic and existentialistic-philosophical implications of the same. In relation to Gnosticism Jonas points to humanity having conceived of itself in late ancient Gnostic teachings as a being based upon oneself, in relation to which God in the universe and in His own creation became excessive. Therefore, such Gnosticism opens the door to a nihilism, which, in its tyrannical reign, poses itself as its own ‘moral law,’ and which at the same time, abolishes any responsibility. Something similar is also valid of an existence that imposes itself and that, in this self-imposition, rejects all norms and responsibility. (DTR; based on author’s summary)

20397. B. A. PEARSON, ‘Cracking a Conundrum: Christian Origins in Egypt,’ *Studia Theologica* 57 (2003) 61–75.

Due to the silence of our sources on the origins of Christianity in Egypt until the early 2nd century, historians have been forced to argue backwards from 2nd century sources. The author, in addition to acknowledging this procedure and thus focusing on the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Teachings of Silvanus* in this article, also suggests that the first Christians of Egypt were members of the Jewish communities there. Hence he draws on Jewish sources in order to be able to say something on the kind of Jewish religiosity influencing the first Christians in Alexandria. For this purpose Philo is an important source. Accordingly, before commenting on the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Teachings of Silvanus*, Pearson sketches some issues of Alexandrian Judaism as evidenced in Philo’s works, especially his messianism. Philo is considered a proponent of ‘realized eschatology.’ Finally, when recognizing that we do not know what Philo thought about the Jesus-believing Jews he might have encountered, Pearson suggests that some of them may even have been his pupils. (TS)

20398. L. PERRONE, ‘The “Jewish Constitution”: Biblical Judaism as a Political Model in Origen’s ‘*Contra Celsum*,’ *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum—Journal of Ancient Christianity* 7 (2003) 310–328.

Origen is indebted to Hellenistic-Jewish apologetics, especially as found in Philo and Josephus, but this does not prevent him from presenting a new version of the traditional depiction of a ‘philosophical people,’ which defends the role of the legislator of the Jewish people and of the Jewish ‘constitution’ stemming from him. (DTR; based on author’s summary)

20399. M. PHILONENKO, 'L'échanson et le cratère,' *Comptes Rendus Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 2003 (1), 335–348.

Philo speaks in negative terms of the grand cup-bearer of Pharaoh, who 'partook of drunkenness' (*Somn.* 2.158). In opposition to this grand cup-bearer he places on three occasions (§§ 183, 190, 249) another cup-bearer, the 'cup-bearer of God' who, according to the author's analysis of three passages, is the archetype of Pharaoh's cup-bearer and, at an even higher level, a figure of the Logos. (JR)

203100. T. PORTERA, 'I giganti del Genesi nella lettura ebraica: dall'Apocalittica ad Abravanel,' *Pan* 21 (2003) 255–272, esp. 264–267.

The author focuses on the interpretation of the Giants in Gen 6:1–7 and makes reference to Philo's *Gig.*, and in particular to the theoretical and philosophical aspects of their allegorical interpretation. Philo does not divide the angels into categories (cf. p. 265) and so does not distinguish between fallen and undefiled angels, and so does also not postulate substantial differences between angels, demons and souls. He limits himself to interpreting the biblical passage in an allegorical sense by interpreting the giants as symbols of pleasure. According to Philo, those who carry the title of angels know the daughters of right reason (virtue) but go beyond it to the mortal descendants of human beings, i.e. pleasures. In a word, the Giants represent the hedonists, and for this reason there is not a single trace of superstition or mythology (referring to the myth of the Titans, p. 266) in the Bible. (RR)

203101. H. M. POST, *Metaforen van de Ziel. Vrouw en man in de Genesis-exegese van Philo Judaeus en Augustinus* (diss. University of Leiden 2003).

This study examines the interpretations of the creation account in Genesis by Philo and Augustine, who both assign a noteworthy role to the soul in creation. In dealing with Philo, Post offers first an introductory section about Philo's life, writings, and exegetical methods. In *Opif.* Philo interprets the creation of the world in Platonic terms: God first created the noetic world and afterwards the visible world. The noetic world is placed in God's Logos. Philo regards the creation of man and woman as the creation of νοῦς (mind) and αἴσθησις (sense-perception): Man is νοῦς, God's image, and woman is αἴσθησις, which belongs to the world of becoming. Sense-perception and mind need each other, the *nous* is made as a help for the mind. According to Post we find here Pythagoras' Table of opposites: *Nous*, i.e. man, belongs to the realm of the noetic, the good, and the divine. Woman, i.e. the senses, belongs to the earthly and changeable world. As the senses are subordinate to the mind, so woman is subordinate to man. According to Philo, the purpose in life is to become like God. Because God's image in man is his *nous* and the senses do not have part in God's image, woman is left out. Augustine follows Philo in his reading of the creation account. (ACG)

203102. R. RADICE, 'La figura del legislatore in Filone e i suoi precedenti filosofici,' in S. BARBAGLIA (ed.), *Deuteronismo e sapienza: la riscrittura dell'identità culturale e religiosa di Israele. Atti del XII Convegno di Studi Veterotestamentari (Napoli, 10–12 Settembre 2001)* [= *Ricerche Storico-bibliche* 15] (Bologna 2003) 153–162.

The figure of the lawgiver in Philo is studied here especially from the philosophical point of view, comparing it with the similar conceptions found in Plato (both in his 'idealistic' phase of the *Republic* and in his realistic phase in the *Laws*) and the Stoics. In Plato the idea that the author of the *Laws* is also the creator of the cosmos is missing, but it would seem to be implicit in the Stoic system (positive law is based on natural law and both depend on the Logos which creates, or rather structures, the cosmos). This correspondence becomes explicit and central in Philo, as indeed it is in Aristobulus. (RR)

203103. R. RADICE, 'The "Nameless Principle" from Philo to Plotinus: an Outline of Research,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity* 1 (Boston 2003) 167–182.

In this study the author offers a 'short sketch of one approach to linking Philo to Plotinus on the question of God's unnameableness, ineffability and unknowableness' (p. 167). It emerges that the theme of ineffability is rich in meaning. It is connected to two central questions, the (positive) infinity of the Principle and the value and representativeness of a 'name.' In relation to the former Philo marks the moment of change within Platonism, while Numenius represents an intermediate position. In relation to the latter Plotinus continues the Platonic tradition, whereas Philo and the Gnostics take a different route based on a strong conception of a name. (DTR)

203104. E. REINMUTH, 'Wunderbare Geburten. Allegorese biblischer Erzählinhalten bei Philon von Alexandrien,' in W. KRAUS and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie. Mit einem Anhang zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.162 (Tübingen 2003) 80–95.

The theme of the article is the connection between the biblical story and its allegorical interpretation and the hermeneutical presuppositions used to establish it, i.e. in general terms a discussion of how Scripture should be understood. Reinmuth starts with the examination of *Mut.* 130–147 (esp. 130–140), which contains an exegesis of Gen 17:6. The Philonic context is the presumed analogy between visible and invisible things, here the topos of the divine creation and miraculous births. Similar structures are found in his Logos-theology. Finally Reinmuth discusses Philo's views on the authorship of the biblical stories. On

the one hand Moses is regarded as author of these texts, on the other hand God himself is the one who reveals them all. This is all connected to the distinction between myth and history, not so much in relation to facts as to the meaning of what happens. Divine activity in history is thus constantly addressed. (GS)

203105. J. N. RHODES, 'Diet and Desire; the Logic of the Dietary Laws according to Philo,' *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 79 (2003) 122–133.

This article deals with Philo's reading of the dietary laws regarding clean and unclean creatures, and especially the exegetical techniques he uses (*Spec.* 4.100–118). The author compares Philo's explanation with the treatment in the *Letter of Aristeas*. For Philo the overall aim of the dietary prescriptions is the extinction of desire and other passions. The clean aquatic animals, for instance, symbolize freedom from passions, whereas the unclean animals represent a life of pleasure. It is forbidden to eat carnivores because they are wild and aggressive, and therefore not suitable for a gentle soul. (ACG)

203106. C. RITTER, *Rachels Klage im antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum: Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Studie*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 52 (Leiden 2003).

This study presents the developmental history (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) of the story of Rachel (Gen 29–35) and includes a section on Philo's contribution. Besides a summary of the relevant texts (especially *Congr.* 24–33 and *Ebr.* 54) the symbolic allegory of Rachel (ἁλθθησις) is discussed in an excursus. In addition the author reflects on the role and status of women in Philo's texts. (GS)

203107. L. H. RIVAS, 'La cristología de la Carta a los Hebreos,' *Revista Bíblica* 65 (2003) 81–114, esp. 89–98.

The author mentions more than thirty Philonic passages to illustrate the context of the Christology of Hebrews, without affirming literary dependency. His particular interest is to show affinities between the figure of Melchizedek in the Christian text and in *Leg.* 3.79 and *Fug.* 108–110. It is noted that both authors elevate the veneration of the Logos over that of the angels. (JPM)

203108. L. ROSSO UBIGLI, 'The Image of Israel in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria,' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Boston 2003) 53–73.

Translation and updated version of the article on Philo's historical and religious conception of Israel which was originally published in Italian in 1989; see the summary in RRS 8950. (HMK)

203109. D. T. RUNIA, 'The King, the Architect, and the Craftsman: a Philosophical Image in Philo of Alexandria,' in R. W. SHARPLES and A. SHEPPARD (edd.), *Ancient Approaches to Plato's Timaeus*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 78 (London 2003) 89–106.

There are two traditions on the founding of Alexandria, one that it was planned and built by Alexander himself, the other that he made use of the famous architect Dinocrates of Rhodes. This background is relevant to Philo's interpretation of the Genesis creation account, in which he makes extensive use of the commentary tradition of Plato's *Timaeus*, and in particular to the image that he uses at *Opif.* 17–18 to illustrate how God created the cosmos. The article gives a translation and detailed analysis of *Opif.* 15–24, discussing in sequence the interpretation of 'day one' in the Genesis account, the noetic cosmos, the role of the noetic cosmos in creation, the contents of 'day one' according to Moses, the location of the noetic cosmos, the image itself, the application of the image to the creation of the cosmos, the general interpretation of the passage, and finally a brief treatment of some other related themes. It is argued that Philo in his image tries to have it both ways. In the image the functions of king, architect and builder are kept separate, in its application the persons involved are coalesced, the reason being that Philo refuses to accept a split-level theology in the manner of Middle Platonism. The article concludes with some reflections on Philo's relation to the development of the Platonist tradition up to his time, and a brief epilogue on the use of Philo's image in later Christian tradition and by Rabbi Hoshai'a of Caesarea, the friend of Origen (who was no doubt his source). (DTR)

203110. D. T. RUNIA, 'Philo of Alexandria, *Legatio ad Gaium* 1–7,' in D. E. AUNE, T. SELAND and J. H. ULRICHSEN (edd.), *Neotestamentica et Philonica: Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 106 (Leiden 2003) 349–370.

The prologue of Philo's *Legat.* is a remarkable passage which has given rise to a number of interpretative difficulties. The article first outlines various scholarly discussions that have been held about the passage, including whether there is a lacuna between it and the rest of the treatise. The author advocates a contextual reading, in which an attempt is made to relate the theological contents of the passage to the historical/apologetic contents of the rest of the work. This contextual reading takes up the largest part of the paper. It is concluded (p. 369) that the contents of the passage are closely related to the subject matter of the whole work, with as its chief theme the role of divine providence. The theological section §§ 4–7 has a triple purpose: to explain the special relationship between God and Israel; to locate the role of providence within the divine nature; to anticipate the theme of the purported rivalry between God and the megalomaniac emperor Gaius. The text is difficult because Philo does not make all the connections in his train of thought clear, but it is not necessary to conclude that it is incomplete. (DTR)

203111. D. T. RUNIA, 'Plato's *Timaeus*, First Principle(s) and Creation in Philo and Early Christian Thought,' in G. REYDAMS-SCHILS (ed.), *Plato's Timaeus as Cultural Icon* (Notre Dame 2003) 133–151.

The aim of the article is to examine the role that Plato's *Timaeus* and the tradition of its interpretation played in the questions of first principles and the relation between God and creation in Philo and early Christian thought. First background issues are sketched, including a summary of schemes of first principles in Platonist thought, based on the research of Matthias Baltes. The article then first analyzes a number of Philonic texts, notably *Opif.* 8, *Prov.* 1.20–22, 2.50–51. Philo's thought is continued by Justin and Clement. Characteristic of their views is that matter is not really regarded as a principle in the full sense. God is the sole creator and first principle of reality, but for a philosophical account of created reality something beside God is required. The author uses the term 'monarchic dualism' to represent this position. Next the thought of Tatian, Theophilus and Irenaeus is discussed. In their case too there can be no question that matter is not a principle beside God. In their view matter is created by God, i.e. the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*, but it is difficult for them to avoid the derivationist language of Platonism when they try to explain how this occurs. The final part of the article gives a brief survey of later treatment of the same question in Origen, Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine. It concludes with a question: is it a coincidence that both Platonism and Christian thought give up the basic creational model of the *Timaeus* involving multiple principles at the same time? (DTR)

203112. D. T. RUNIA, 'Theodicy in Philo of Alexandria,' in A. LAATO and J. C. DE MOOR (edd.), *Theodicy in the World of the Bible* (Leiden 2003) 576–604.

The chapter forms part of a substantial volume devoted to the theme of theodicy in ancient Near Eastern, biblical and Jewish texts (Greek philosophical texts are conspicuous by their absence). The first part of the article gives background material on Philo and the main features of his Judaism, followed by similar material on theodicy in the Greek philosophical tradition. In the main body of the article texts on the theme in Philo's writings are analyzed, beginning with his two books on Providence, which focus heavily on the theme and are strongly indebted to Greek philosophical models, followed by passages from the exegetical works (esp. *Opif.* 21–23, 72–75, *Abr.* 143, *Praem.* 32–34, *Det.* 47–49, *Post.* 8–9, *QG* 1.76). The final section treats the theme in relation to the contemporary situation of the Jews, as depicted especially in *Flacc.* and *Legat.* The author concludes that Philo uses four main strategies in confronting the theological problem of God's responsibility for evil. Firstly God is consistently dissociated from the causation of any kind of evil. Secondly Philo argues that apparent evils contribute to the good of the whole. Thirdly he is convinced that God in his concern for the world always has positive intentions. Fourthly, when all else fails, he resorts to the argument that God's ways are inscrutable and only known to Himself. Of these it is the third that

has his preference. The emphasis on the pedagogic nature of God's providential concern for the world was to have a bright future in the Patristic period. (DTR)

203113. M. SALCEDO PARRONDO, 'Aplaneis asteres: las estrellas fijas en Filón de Alejandría,' *Magia y Astrología Antiguas* 3 (2003) 217–228.

This article focuses on one section of Plato's *Timaeus* (36c–d) and on Philo's description of the fixed stars. Its main point is to stress those features of the fixed and everlasting circle in Plato's account which are used and slightly modified in the Philonic conception of the fixed stars. (JPM)

203114. E. SALVANESCHI, 'Between Philo and Pindar: the Delos Quotation (*Aet.* 120–122),' in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Boston–Leiden 2003) 75–89.

This paper examines in detail one of the three Philonic quotations of Pindar: *Aet.* 120–122, quoting Pindar's fr. 33c Snell–Maehler, which is about the transformation of Delos from a wandering to a steady island. After a survey of the Pindaric and extra-Pindaric sources of the myth and a discussion of Philo's peculiar interpretation of the fragment, the author investigates the Philonic occurrences of the verb αἰνίττεσθαι (and cognate words): they appear to be a key to an interpretative theory of textual meaning, in which Gentile poetical tradition and biblical authority sometimes merge. (HMK, partly based on the editor's introductory summary)

203115. T. SELAND, '(Re)Presentations of Violence in Philo,' in *SBL Seminar Papers*, vol. 42 (Atlanta 2003) 117–140.

After some introductory comments on models and perspectives for understanding violence, and a brief presentation of Philo, this essay deals with Philo's representations of violence under the following headings: 'Philo as a witness/victim of anti-Jewish violence' (pp. 123–125), and 'Philo as a witness of intra-Jewish violence,' the latter including his presentations of 'some cases of violence in the Hebrew Bible,' and possible 'cases of establishment violence' in his expositions of *Spec.* (pp. 126–140). (TS)

203116. R. SGARBI, 'Contributi dalla versione armena al testo filoneo *Peri biou theoretikou*,' *Aevum* 77 (2003) 131–136.

The high degree of faithfulness of the Armenian translation of *Contempl.* to the original Greek text allows the author to reconstruct three passages of the treatise (46.1–8; 46.11–47.5; 47.16–18 C–W), both correcting and consolidating the editions of Conybeare, Cohn and Colson. (RR)

203117. F. SIEGERT, *Register zur „Einführung in die Septuaginta“: Mit einem Kapitel zur Wirkungsgeschichte*, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 13 (Münster 2003).

This volume forms a supplement to the author's Introduction to the Septuagint (on which see 20167). He first corrects some mistakes and makes some additions to the previous volume. A new chapter deals with the reception of the Septuagint. Philo is one of the first witnesses for the circulation and central role of the Septuagint in Hellenistic Judaism. His knowledge of the Hebrew language is limited to the use of onomastica. It is well known that the Greek Torah, i.e. the *Nomos*, is at the centre of his exegesis with 1120 citations (against 41 of other Septuagint texts). Siegert notes that Philo's exegesis of the Psalms tends to a psychological approach. Moreover there are also some first indications of fixed sequences of citations. Philo is characterized as teacher of the laws (cf. 4 Macc 5:4, Matt 22:35). REVIEWS: J. R. Royse, *SPhA* 15 (2003) 165–169. (GS)

203118. F. SIEGERT, '„Und er hob seine Augen auf, und siehe“: Abrahams Gottesvision (Gen 18) im hellenistischen Judentum,' in R. G. KRATZ and T. NAGEL (edd.), *Abraham, unser Vater* (Göttingen 2003) 67–85.

Philo marks the end of genealogical thinking (see *Abr.* 31, *Congr.* 44). His portrait of Abraham reveals him as a symbol of faith. He is the symbol of obedience to the law, indeed he is typified as a 'living law' (*Abr.* 5). Ultimately he is the symbol of knowledge of God ('Gotteserkenntnis'). The fragments of the treatise *De Deo* show this through the exegesis of the vision of God in Gen 18 (especially in §§9, 12). It is emphasized that Philo's Logos-doctrine is the pre-eminent background of Christian Logos-theology (see *QE* 2.62). All this has value as a good common basis for Christian-Jewish dialogue. (GS)

203119. D. SMITH, *From Symposium to Eucharist: the Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis 2003).

The author's explicit hypothesis in this work is that in order to understand any individual instance of formalized meals in the Greco-Roman world, one must first understand the larger phenomenon of the banquet as a social institution. The banquet was namely, according to the author, a social institution that cut across ethnic, religious, and social lines. The study thus intends to define the banquet as a social institution and thereby provide a common model that can be utilized for the study of all data on formal meals from the Greco-Roman world. Having thus defined the banquet, Smith proceeds by investigating and describing the Greco-Roman banquet; the philosophical banquet; the club banquet; the Jewish banquet; the banquet in the churches of Paul; the banquet in the Gospels; and the Banquet and Christian theology. In the chapter on The

Jewish Banquet (pp. 133–172), Smith deals with the Therapeutae on pp. 158–159, providing a quote and some rephrasing comments on the gatherings of the Therapeutae. (TS)

203120. G. E. STERLING, ‘“Philo has not been used half enough”: the Significance of Philo of Alexandria for the Study of the New Testament,’ *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 30 (2003) 251–269.

The title of this article is a quotation from a letter by Samuel Coleridge about the relevance of Philo for understanding the New Testament. The author agrees with Coleridge, affirming that ‘the Philonic corpus is the single most important body of material from Second Temple Judaism for our understanding of the development of Christianity in the first and second centuries’ (p. 252). Following an overview of Philo’s life and works, Sterling argues that Philo was part of ‘a long-standing exegetical tradition’ (p. 263)—as attested by Philo’s own awareness of Jewish exegetical predecessors and by awareness of his works shown in Jewish, pagan, and Christian sources. Sterling then provides specific examples of how Philo can inform understanding of the New Testament: he proposes that Philonic works can shed light on the tension between ontology and eschatology as reflected in 1 Cor 15:44–49 and Heb 8:1–5 and 10:1, on the concept of repentance as discussed in Acts 26:20, and on various aspects of the prologue to the Gospel of John. (EB)

203121. G. E. STERLING, ‘Universalizing the Particular: Natural Law in Second Temple Jewish Ethics,’ in D. T. RUNIA, G. E. STERLING and H. NAJMAN (edd.), *Laws Stamped with the Seals of Nature. Law and Nature in Hellenistic Philosophy and Philo of Alexandria*, = *The Studia Philonica Annual* 15, Brown Judaic Series 337 (Providence RI 2003) 64–80.

The clusters of common ethical laws in Philo’s *Hypoth.* §7, Josephus’ *C. Ap.* 2, and Pseudo-Phocylides point to a common ethical tradition among Diaspora Jews of the Second Temple period. Most likely, the ethical instruction was oral and associated with instruction in the synagogue. As representative of Second Temple Jews, Philo, Josephus and Pseudo-Phocylides knew how to make the hermeneutical move that identified the immutable law of Moses with the immutable law of nature, a move that may have led Philo and Josephus to increase in severity the penalties for violation of the Mosaic law and to use natural law to prohibit homosexual relations. This hermeneutical move gave Jews the opportunity to counter charges of misanthropy and particularism levelled against them. Jews did not practice ridiculous and vulgar customs but the law of God. (KAF)

203122. J. E. TAYLOR, *Jewish Women Philosophers of First-Century Alexandria. Philo’s ‘Therapeutae’ Reconsidered* (Oxford 2003).

Recognizing the 'highly rhetorical' nature of Philo's idealized presentation of the Therapeutae, Taylor nonetheless believes that he wrote about a real rather than a fictive group, and she aims to establish what can be known about them. In the first part of the book, she explores the historical context of *Contempl.* (Philo's primary intended audience, according to her, was the Emperor Claudius and other officials in Rome), the term 'Therapeutae', the Essenes, the geographic and social locations of the group (including maps and photographs of Lake Mareotis and environs), the philosophy of Judaism adhered to by this group, the group's allegorical and ascetic practices (she identifies the community as extreme allegorizers), and the solar calendar most likely followed by this group. The second part of the book focuses on women and gender in *Contempl.* Here Taylor considers paradigms of other women philosophers in antiquity (and includes photographs of artistic representations of these figures); Philo's presentation of the female Therapeutae, or Therapeutrides; his descriptions of communal, personal, and sacred space (with illustrations); and his account of the group's 'spiritual and musical/mystical enterprise' (p. 339). Throughout the book Taylor draws upon other relevant evidence in order to place Philo's discussions in a larger social, political, and philosophical context. REVIEWS: D. M. Hay, *SPhA* 16 (2004) 290–294; P. W. van der Horst, *Gnomon* 76 (2004) 634–635; P. W. van der Horst, *NTT* 58 (2004) 351–352; M. Niehoff, *SCI* 23 (2004) 305–309; J. J. Collins, *DSD* 12 (2005) 220–223; P. Graffigna, *Adamant* 11 (2005) 511–514; A. Kamesar, *CR* 55 (2005) 596–597; A. Loades, *Feminist Theory* 6 (2005) 347–354; J. Økland, *JBL* 124 (2005) 378–381; P. Richardson, *JSJ* 36 (2005) 373–376; K. R. Atkinson, *QC* 14 (2006) 91–98; A. van den Hoek, *JR* 86 (2006) 146–149; S. Pearce, *JJS* 57 (2006) 179–180. (EB)

203123. J. W. THOMPSON, 'Creation, Shame and Nature in 1 Cor 11:2–16: the Background and Coherence of Paul's Argument,' in J. T. FITZGERALD, T. H. OLBRICHT and L. H. WHITE (edd.), *Early Christianity and Classical Culture. Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 110 (Leiden 2003) 237–257.

This study explores how Paul's argument in 1 Cor 11:2–16 would have been persuasive in its Hellenistic-Jewish context, particularly as it sought to combine appeals to Scripture, shame, and nature. Philo's perspective offers helpful comparisons to how Paul argues. Both appeal to the created order and its hierarchy of being as the basis for conduct. An examination of Philo's use of ἀρχή shows how it signifies both source and sovereignty in a hierarchical relationship that is grounded in creation. (KAF)

203124. H. G. THÜMMEL, 'Philon und Origenes,' in L. PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition*, *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* 164 (Leuven 2003) 275–286.

In a brief article the author compares the two Alexandrian scholars and attempts to distinguish their interpretation of the scripture. This is illustrated by their understanding of creation. Philo emphasizes that the cosmos is created by God and that the human beings that live in it can tend to either good or evil. Their life is regulated by the Torah. For Origen creation results in the fall of humanity. Redemption is a 'returning' to the vision of God and the relationship with Him. Origen is focused on mission, whereas Philo is focused on tradition and the conviction that God guides his people. (GS)

203125. H. TIROSH-SAMUELSON, *Happiness in Premodern Judaism: Virtue, Knowledge, and Well-Being*, Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 29 (Cincinnati 2003), esp. 81–99.

The author commences this extensive monograph on happiness in pre-modern Judaism by arguing that it is wrong to think that the question of happiness is not relevant to Jewish religion. She believes that through the ages Jews have been deeply convinced that their tradition was the best path to a happy life and thus secured their happiness. There is thus no irreconcilable conflict between Judaism and the tradition of Aristotelian ethics in which happiness plays such a crucial role. The absorption of Aristotelian ethics by the Jewish tradition in fact begins with Philo. She begins her section on Philo by citing with approval Wolfson's claim that medieval Jewish philosophy is a continuation of Philonic thought. Philo agrees with the Greek philosophers that only a life lived in accordance with reason will lead to human happiness. She then delineates Philo's views by first examining his views on God, the Logos and the nature of the human being. God is the origin of human happiness. Humans have been created in such a way that in order to attain the ultimate end of human life they must devote themselves to virtue. A long section follows on Philo's views on the virtues, which departs from the views of his Greek teachers in placing a strong emphasis on religious and social virtues. The Laws instituted by Moses are an aid to human beings because he could use audio-visual aids to convey his conceptual message. But the main task of the educated reader is to penetrate to the deeper meaning of the Law through allegorical interpretation. The final part of the section discusses the goal of happiness for Philo as 'being loved by God,' which is a relational concept. The zenith of happiness is thus reached in an individual, ecstatic, unmediated coming to know the transcendent God. It is not clear, however, whether such a mystical state can be attained in this life. Certainly, however, the Therapeutae are the people who in Philo's view are able to attain the happiest way of life. (DTR)

203126. P. J. TOMSON, 'When Paul met Philo: Factual Observations about a Fictional Conversation in Alexandria,' *Analecta Bruxellensia* 8 (2003) 179–192.

In his introduction the author offers some information about North African Jews in the New Testament. It appears that the New Testament is mostly interested in Jews from Cyrenaica. Tomson also briefly deals with Philo's influence on

Christian interpretation of the Bible. Thereafter the author presents a fictional dialogue between Philo and Paul in Alexandria, in which they speak about Jesus' message and his crucifixion. Philo regards the view that Jesus is the embodiment of the divine Logos as foolish. (ACG)

203127. S. TORALLAS TOVAR, 'Philo of Alexandria on Sleep,' in T. WIEDEMANN and K. DOWDEN (edd.), *Sleep*, Nottingham Classical Studies 8 (Bari 2003) 41–52.

The author seeks to find the text in Genesis that Philo commented on in the lost treatise of *Somn*. In a well documented analysis she proposes to consider Gen 26:24 as the object of the commentary of the lost treatise. In this, first of the original trilogy on dreams, the Patriarch Isaac would represent the figure of a man wise by nature, who attains the *vita contemplativa*. Isaac needs neither learning nor exercise, the particular traits of Abraham and Jacob (= extant *Somn*. 1). He also does not belong to the sensible world of the politician as Joseph does (= extant *Somn*. 2). The author acknowledges a possible objection for this thesis: Gen 26:24 is not a dream. But for Philo ἐξοτασις, i.e. direct encounter with God, belongs to the typology of dreams. (JPM)

203128. K. J. TORJESEN, 'The Alexandrian Tradition of the Inspired Interpreter,' in L. PERRONE (ed.), *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 164 (Leuven 2003) 287–299.

The author focuses on the cultural identity and role of the interpreter in the Alexandrian tradition, and aims to demonstrate that the Alexandrian notion of the interpreter unites the roles of prophet, teacher and exegete. Speaking about Philo she discusses *Mos*. 2.188–191 where he distinguishes three types of oracles to be found in the Holy Scriptures: the three types regard different levels of inspiration of the prophet (who as the recipient of revelation can be passive or active to various degrees). In her discussion Torjesen refers to the solutions of Esther Starobinski-Safran, John Levison and David Winston for the difficulties raised by Philo's view on prophecy and inspiration. She concludes that in the case of Philo the accent falls on the interpreter as prophet: there is a parallel (noted by Levison) between the way Philo presents Moses as prophetic interpreter of the divine will and the way Philo sees himself as prophetic exegete of the Mosaic Law. Origen too sees the interpreter functioning as a prophet, but he identifies prophesying with correct biblical exegesis, so that in his case the accent falls on the interpreter as teacher. (HMK)

203129. L. TROIANI, 'Il greco degli autori giudeo-ellenisti,' *Materia Giudaica* 8 (2003) 27–33.

Greek is the given language of Hellenistic-Jewish authors, but there were in fact contacts between the Greek-speaking and Hebrew-speaking cultures, even

if these have been largely obscured by historians. But this background does not enable us to understand the figure of Philo, who appears to be quite isolated and without roots, like ‘an absolutely anomalous phenomenon.’ At the end of the article the author also devotes some lines to *Flacc.* and *Legat.* in order to emphasize their links with the genre of classical oratory. (RR)

203130. L. TROIANI, ‘Philo of Alexandria and Christianity at its Origins,’ in F. CALABI (ed.), *Italian Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, Studies in Philo of Alexandria and Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Boston 2003) 9–24.

Translation of an article that originally appeared in Italian; see above **20182**. (HMK)

203131. J. R. VAN CLEAVE, *Plato and Jesus (Philo of Alexandria)* (diss. Claremont Graduate School 2003).

This thesis examines the theology of the New Testament Gospels, especially that inherent within the parables of Jesus, in light of the soul-based theology of Plato and his followers. It is shown that Jesus’ notion of the Kingdom of God is consistent with Greek philosophy, and is not incompatible with an allegorical notion of Jewish salvation history. The theology of Plato is reconstructed and followed through the Middle Platonic Jewish scholars in Alexandria; in particular, to Philo, and on to Hellenistic Jews in Galilee. The gospel as preached by Jesus can be interpreted using Platonic, as modified by Philonic, theology to understand the Kingdom of God. The interpretation of the New Testament Kingdom of God as being the kingdom of the lovers of wisdom, the philosophers, who emphasize the nourishment of individual human souls by the practice of virtue and the seeking of divine knowledge, is shown to be valid. An exegesis of the Kingdom parables using Hellenistic philosophical doctrine is included. (DTR; based on DAI-A 64–03, p. 944)

203132. G. VELTRI, Art. ‘Philon,’ in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Auflage, Band 6 (Tübingen 2003) 1286–1288.

In this newly written article in the recently revised German encyclopedia the author declares Philo as the ‘well-known and influential philosopher and exegete of Judaism.’ His treatises are distinguished in three groups: the historic-apologetical works (*Legat.* and *Flacc.*, the fragments of *Hypoth.*, but not *Contempl.*); the large number of biblical-exegetical treatises, and finally the philosophical books (*Prov.* 1–2, *Prob.*, *Aet.*, *Anim.*). His philosophical influence on Christian thought is emphasized. Especially his views on εὐδαιμονία and the use of the allegoric method are extensively taken over. Philo is declared to be a representative of a successful synthesis of biblical revelation and philosophical tradition. (GS)

203133. H. WEISS, *A Day of Gladness: the Sabbath among Jews and Christians in Antiquity* (Columbia SC 2003), esp. 32–51.

The monograph surveys the ways in which Jews and Christians in antiquity viewed the Sabbath, focusing especially on the religious concerns of the texts which he examines. After discussing the Sabbath in Second Temple synagogue practice and in Qumran, the author turns to Philo. The presentation is essentially the same as the contribution published in the Hilgert Festschrift in 1991 (see summary at RRS 9191). Weiss concludes (p. 51): ‘Philo does not argue the Sabbath. On the basis of the Sabbath he argues for the Jew’s love of wisdom, peace, revelation, prophecy, etc. Philo’s elaboration of the nature of the number seven makes clear that he thinks comprehension is not dependent on ecstatic experience but is within the realm of reason. Thus, while in essence it belongs to the uncreated world, as part of the created world the Sabbath makes possible the contemplative life and fosters peace, freedom, equality, faith, and hope.’ (DTR)

203134. J. WHITLARK, ‘Enabling Charis: Transformation of the Convention of Reciprocity by Philo and in Ephesians,’ *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 30 (2003) 325–357.

With an interest in how the first-century audience of the letter to the Ephesians would have understood χάρις, Whitlark surveys understandings of the term in classical Greek literature and religion, Greco-Roman benefaction, Philo, and Ephesians itself. Classical Greek literature and Greco-Roman benefaction are marked by the convention of reciprocity among humans and—in Greek literature and religion—between humans and gods. Bestowal of χάρις, which was often merited, led to indebtedness, and the recipient’s gratitude would eventually bring about some kind of reciprocation; lack of reciprocity would incur retribution and dissolve relationships. Augustus was ‘the chief patron and benefactor of the Roman Empire’ and his reign was largely supported through the system of benefaction or patronage (p. 340). Covenantal nomism and a synergistic semi-Pelagianism are two salvational systems based on reciprocity between God and humans. In contrast to all these understandings, Philo’s notion of χάρις is not based on reciprocity. According to him, God freely gives the universe to all people and virtues to only some; God further enables these latter individuals to maintain a life of virtue. Similarly in Ephesians χάρις is not based upon reciprocity between God and the saints. Instead God gives them χάρις ‘both ‘to get in’ and ‘to stay in’ the eschatologically saved community’ (p. 346). (EB)

203135. J. M. ZAMORA CALVO, ‘La prudencia en el tratado *Sobre José de Filón de Alejandría*,’ *Revista Agustiniiana* 44 (2003) 623–642.

The author analyzes the Philonic treatise *Ios.*, especially its last part, and displays considerations about its relative chronology. It studies the figure of politician as oneirocritic, and analyzes the concept of φρόνησις as the politician’s virtue—with Aristotelian and Stoic resonances—in opposition to σοφία that corresponds at a superior level. (JPM)

203136. D. ZELLER, 'Gott bei Philo von Alexandrien,' in U. BUSSE (ed.), *Der Gott Israels im Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments*, Quaestiones Disputatae 201 (Freiburg–Basel–Wien 2003) 32–57.

The starting point for this thematic study is the history of philosophy. Philo depends on Aristotle and the Stoa. In his view the theological vision of God is possible for everyone. To this extent the monotheistic faith of the Jews is a possibility for the non-Jews too (*Virt.* 65). This means that the idea of God is sown in all people, but some special persons such as Moses can look at God in their own light (see *Leg.* 1.37, *Det.* 83–90). The proper knowledge of God comes through abstraction. But Philo needs to transform the literal sense in terms of the fundamental sense, e.g. in the themes of God's regret or anger in *Deus* 21–32, 52–69. At first sight Philo's approach seems to bypass the historical role of Israel. But in other texts (especially in the treatises on the Pentateuch) the importance of Israel and the role of the covenant is emphasized. The Jewish people are in this sense the first fruits of the whole of humanity offered to God (see *Spec.* 4.180). Finally some modern theological questions are raised. (GS)

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20401. F. ALESSE, 'Il luogo del nous: alcuni aspetti dell'antropologia di Filone di Alessandria,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29-30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 105-122.

Only the intellect in the human being carries the divine stamp, and for this reason, even though it is imprisoned in the body it is not a victim of the fall that afflicts the soul. This fact determines the consistent novelty with which Philo conceives the human being in a tripartite form (and not bipartite as the Greek philosophy teaches, even if he does not abandon this position entirely), i.e. body, soul, intellect. For the last-mentioned component the term *nous* is used, but sometimes also the term πνεῦμα. This tripartite anthropology is also present in the philosophy of the 1st and 2nd century C.E., and especially in Plutarch, for whom the analogies with *Gig.* 12 in the author's view are particularly evident. A specifically Philonic treatment of the role and place of the *nous* is found in *Leg.* 1.39 ff., of which the psychological doctrine finds a projection in narrative form in the figures of Moses, Aaron and Pharaoh. Certainly the identification of Aaron with the irrational soul is coloured by the notion of the λόγος προφορικῶς (cf. *Migr.* 78, *Det.* 39), a kind of subordinate logos, which can also be the source of deception (as in *Ebr.* 70), even if it is linked to the διάνοια. (RR)

20402. M. ALESSO, 'La alegoría de la serpiente en Filón de Alejandría: *Legum Allegoriae* II, 71-105,' *Nova Tellus* 22 (2004) 97-119.

The paper discusses *Leg.* 2.71-105 where Philo analyses four episodes in the Pentateuch: the snake that tempts Eve in Eden (Gen 3), Moses' stick which turned into a snake (Exod 3:4), the death of Israelites in the route to the Red Sea and the recovery of some of them through the bronze snake (Num 21:4-9) and, finally, Jacob's last words to his sons, 'Dan shall be a serpent by the way' (Gen 49:17). (JPM)

20403. M. ALESSO, 'La génesis del tiempo en Filón de Alejandría,' *Circe* 9 (2004) 16-30.

The philosophical thought of Philo conflates the notion of time as unlimited and eternal (the Greek way of thinking about time) and the doctrine of revelation (Hebrew thinking). He is indubitably in debt to Plato's *Timaeus* when the philosopher affirms that time was created in order for the world to be the mobile image of eternity, but also to the broad tradition on the 'hebdomad' when expounding the biblical seven days of the creation of the world. (JPM)

20404. J. A. ANTÓN-PACHECO, 'El universalismo judeo-helenístico en Filón de Alejandría y Pablo de Tarso,' *Convivium* 17 (2004) 167–177.

Philo of Alexandria and Paul of Tarsus are the two most outstanding representatives of Hellenistic-Judaic universalism. This universalism can be enclosed in the wider frame of the *koiné*, whose central characteristic is ecumenism. Two trends work together for the development of Philo's and Paul's universalism: the Hellenic contribution (essentially Stoicism) and the Hebrew one (particularly that coming from the sapiential tradition). In the centre of his thought Philo places the idea inherited from sapiential Judaism according to which the Torah is Law of nature, without however abandoning the concept of observance. In Paul's case what impels his universalism is his interpretation of Christianity. (JPM)

20405. F. AVEMARIE, 'Juden vor den Richterstühlen Roms. In Flaccum und die Apostelgeschichte im Vergleich,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 107–126.

The New Testament scholar Avemarie compares Philo's *Flacc.* with Luke's Acts (see also the companion article by Van der Horst). Local conflicts between Jewish Christians, non-Christian Jews and the Roman representatives are mentioned in Cyprus (Acts 13:6–12), Philippi (ch. 16), Thessalonica (ch. 17), Corinth (ch. 18), Ephesus (ch. 19), Jerusalem (ch. 21) and Caesarea (Acts 23:33–24:27). It is interesting to observe that the term used, Ἰουδαῖος, characterizes rather different persons and positions. Occasionally Acts shows a kind of anti-Judaism but with many fewer consequences than in the anti-Judaic conflicts in Alexandria. In contrast to Philo Luke pictures the representatives of the Roman power rather realistically, one could say as involved in quite 'mundane' everyday occurrences. This is connected with a reduced emphasis on their religious positions and their administration. All in all Luke grants the Roman officials only a supporting role. (GS)

20406. C. BATSCH, 'Le «pacifisme des Esséniens», un mythe historiographique,' *Revue de Qumran* 21 (2004) 457–468.

The author observes that it has long been scholarly practice to link up virtually automatically the terms 'Essenes' and 'pacifists' and that even after the publication of the Qumran manuscripts scholars defend a pacifism that is an essential feature of the Essenes. Recent research on Qumran has started to distance itself from this theory of 'Essene pacifism', but this rejection is taking place without debate or critical argument. In this historiographical study the author analyses the ancient sources on which the theory is based: Philo (*Prob.* 75–91; *Contempl.*) and Flavius Josephus. From this analysis it emerges

that the thesis is based on successive assimilations of the Essenes to the Therapeutae, and then to the Pythagoreans. (JR)

20407. M. A. BEAVIS, 'Philo's Therapeutae: Philosopher's Dream or Utopian Construction,' *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 14 (2004) 30–42.

Contrary to the argument in Engberg-Pedersen's 1999 article (see above 9922) that Philo's *Contempl.* is a fictional account of the ideal society, Philo's presentation points to the historical reality of the Egyptian-Jewish contemplatives. This article shows how Philo's description of the Therapeutae resembles Hellenistic utopian conventions, particularly Iambulus' account of the Islands of the Sun (Diodorus Siculus 2.55–59). The differences between the Heliopolitans and the Therapeutae are due to realization that the latter are an actual community of ascetics known to Philo (*Contempl.* 1). (KAF)

20408. R. BEES, *Die Oikeisislehre der Stoa. I Rekonstruktion ihres Inhalts*, Epistemata: Würzburger Wissenschaftliche Schriften 258 (Würzburg 2004), esp. 77–84.

In this monograph on the doctrine of οἰκείωσις in the Stoa, the author examines as a source Philo's *Anim.*, in which Philo investigates the question whether animals have reason or not. The German scholar Karl Reinhardt had claimed that the passage, in which it is argued with Stoic arguments that animals do not have reason, is heavily influenced by Posidonius. This view is refuted by Bees, who concludes that the work cannot be regarded as having been influenced by Posidonius. (ACG)

20409. K. BERTHELOT, *L'«humanité de l'autre homme» dans la pensée juive ancienne*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 87 (Leiden 2004), esp. 107–151, 231–239.

The study analyzes how humanism was conceived of in different philosophical schools during the Hellenistic and early Roman period, and how these ideas were debated in ancient Jewish thought. The term humanism ('l'humanité') refers to the idea that every person has duties towards his/her fellow human beings, for the sole reason that they all share a common nature or are bound by a form of kinship. The book also tries to determine to what extent Gen 1:26–27 (creation of human beings in God's image) and Lev 19:18 (the commandment to love one's neighbour, who is like oneself) could be interpreted in a humanistic way by ancient Jewish writers. Two sections of the book are specifically devoted to Philo's thought on the question. It is too simple to say that Philo explicates Jewish ethical ideas by means of Greek philosophical language. Often he subverts these concepts and gives them an entirely different connotation. In particular the author examines the concepts of κοινωνία, οἰκείωσις, συγγένεια and ὁμοίωσις, with particular emphasis on the exegesis of

crucial texts such as Gen 1:26–27, 2:7, 9:6. The analysis includes a discussion of Philo's attitude to slavery, esp. in the light of his encomium of the Essenes. It emerges that his views are marked by a strong loyalty to Scripture, which even leads him to subvert his own views. The intimate connection between obedience to the Law and moral excellence (ἀρετή) has as a consequence that humanism as understood by Philo cannot include solidarity with the wicked. The universalism of Philo's ideas remains very limited, esp. since his understanding of the creation of the human being 'according to the image' is interpreted above all in terms of the relation between human beings and God (and not so much in terms of inter-human relations). REVIEWS: J. Riaud, *SPhA* 19 (2007) 206–209. (DTR)

20410. E. BIRNBAUM, 'Portrayals of the Wise and Virtuous in Alexandrian Jewish Works: Jews' Perceptions of Themselves and Others,' in W. V. HARRIS and G. RUFFINI (edd.), *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 26 (Leiden 2004) 125–160.

Through their portrayals of wise and virtuous people, the *Letter of Aristeas*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and the writings of Philo reflect Jews' perceptions of themselves and others. The *Letter of Aristeas* takes a dual stance in sometimes viewing Jews and non-Jews as equally wise and virtuous and sometimes seeing Jews as superior to non-Jews. Based on the latter stance, Birnbaum suggests that the work may be 'a Jewish Diaspora fantasy' intended chiefly to bolster Jews' confidence but perhaps also to impress non-Jews (p. 137). In the *Wisdom of Solomon* (whose provenance is debated), the wise and virtuous are identified completely with the Jews and their ancestors, non-Jews are ignorant of God, and relations between the two groups are only hostile. Recognizing wise and virtuous people among both Jews and non-Jews, Philo sometimes appears to view Jews and non-Jews as equals. At other times, however, he sees Jewish wise and virtuous figures as superior to non-Jewish ones and sometimes claims that the entire Jewish nation surpasses all others. Despite such claims, Philo also distinguishes among different kinds of Jews, such as literal and allegorical biblical exegetes. Philo never includes his Alexandrian contemporaries among the non-Jewish wise and virtuous, who instead seem to be ideal figures of long ago and/or far away. The author suggests that while Philo could ideally accept the equality of Jews and non-Jews, the turbulence of current events may have led him to present the Jews as superior to everyone else. (EB)

20411. E. BIRNBAUM, 'A Leader with Vision in the Ancient Jewish Diaspora: Philo of Alexandria,' in J. WERTHEIMER (ed.), *Jewish Religious Leadership: Image and Reality* (New York 2004) 1.57–90.

Philo's role as a leader is often overlooked even though he was an important figure in the Alexandrian Jewish community, as shown by his participation in a delegation to the Roman Emperor Caligula. To illuminate this role, Birnbaum

reviews the political situation in 1st century Alexandria and discusses Philo's life, character, works, intended audiences, and ideas. Philo's ideas about God, virtue, and the Jews constitute the vision which informed his teachings. Central to the imagining of Philo as a leader is an understanding of his different intended audiences because these audiences may indicate whom he influenced or wished to influence. The section entitled 'Philo's Messages to Different Groups' presents Philonic teachings that might have been directed toward a mixed group of Jews and non-Jews, Jews alone, the Alexandrian Jewish community specifically, and Philo's own inner circle of like-minded Jews. In discussing Moses, Joseph, and Pharaoh, Philo reflects the leadership qualities that he did and did not value. Although he wished to reach a broad audience, Philo was probably most influential with the philosophically sophisticated Jews in his own circle, and his works were neglected by later Jews for centuries. Nonetheless his writings reveal his pride in and commitment to the entire Jewish nation. (EB)

20412. M. BÖHM, 'Abraham und die Erzväter bei Philo: Hermeneutische Überlegungen zur Konzeption der Arbeit am CJHNT,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 377–395.

The article presents central reflections from the author's Habilitation thesis *Rezeption und Funktion der Vätererzählungen bei Philo von Alexandria* (Berlin 2005), summarized below as 20511. The study forms part of the larger German research project Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti in Jena. The figure of Moses is an example for Philo's exegeses of the patriarchs and matriarchs of Israel in his writings. The author shows that Philo is an independent writer, but she also underlines the independence of the three exegetical parts of his writings (Exposition of the Law, Allegorical Commentary and the *Quaestiones*). She includes in her analysis direct exegesis of the texts but also the more paraphrased thematic characterizations of the patriarchs (esp. *Abr.* 90–98). These passages show a clear orientation towards interested non-Jewish outsiders: only vague ideas about the contents of Scripture are taken for granted. (GS)

20413. D. BOYARIN, 'By Way of Apology: Dawson, Edwards, Origen,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16 (2004) 188–217, esp. 196–202, 208–211.

Philo's understanding of the theoretical epistemological problem posed by Gorgias, that truth is contingent on speakers, hearers and situations, and his proposed solution are seen to be an important model for Origen. (KAF)

20414. D. BRADSHAW, *Aristotle East and West: Metaphysics and the Division of Christendom* (Cambridge 2004), esp. 59–64.

The study's title does not make very clear that its main subject is the development of the Aristotelian concept of ἐνέργεια in western and eastern Christian theology. A brief but instructive section is devoted to Philo's contribution. It is surprising to learn (p. 60) that the 'quaint interpretation of Adam's love for Eve' in *Leg.* 2.40 is 'the first appearance since the Lyceum of the characteristic Aristotelian contrast between *energeia* and *dunamis*.' Philo's chief contribution is to interpret the ἐνέργεια of God in terms of his activity and not his actuality (as in Aristotle). He only makes the distinction between God's *ousia* and his *energeia* in one passage, but in a larger sense this contrast runs throughout his statements on human knowledge of God. Bradshaw concludes (p. 64): 'what we find in Philo ... is not a direct anticipation of later developments, but a suggestive and highly original mélange of ideas, many of which will find a home in other contexts.' (DTR)

20415. M. H. BURER, *The Historical and Cultural Background of Divine Sabbath Work and its Relationship to Key Controversy Passages in the Gospels* (diss. Dallas Theological Seminary 2004).

The question that the dissertation aims to answer is: 'what background evidence is there for God's working on the Sabbath, and how does that background help the interpreter understand Jesus' actions on the Sabbath throughout the Gospels?' In the third chapter a detailed listing and discussion is given of relevant passages in contemporary literature, including the LXX and Philo. (DTR; based on author's summary in DAI-A 65–02, p. 556)

20416. A. CACCIARI, 'Presenze filoniane nelle Omelie su Numeri di Origene,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verucchio 2004) 217–230.

In the search for Origen's sources, identifying in not too generic terms how much the Christian exegete was in Philo's debt is definitely not an easy thing to do. The disagreements emerging in the evaluation of any points of contact are a warning that we should try out different methodological approaches, in order to reduce to a minimum the risk of overvaluing or playing down Philonic influences that may be encountered in Origen's writings. Attempts to identify a systematic thought process in the two authors, starting out from the identification of lines of dependency, do not always seem to give convincing results or be solidly grounded. The investigative approach that seems to be most convincing consists in giving priority to the biblical texts that both authors comment on, and using these texts as a concrete guideline for a series of

parallel findings in the corpus of the two Alexandrian authors. Origen's *Homilies on Numbers* offer numerous interesting possibilities for this kind of research, highlighting analogies and points of contact, above all in the field of *interpretatio nominum*, arithmological exegesis and literary forms. (HMK; based on author's summary)

20417. F. CALABI, 'Les sacrifices et leur signification symbolique chez Philon d'Alexandrie,' in E. BONS (ed.), «*Car c'est l'amour qui me plaît, non le sacrifice ...*» *Recherches sur Osée 6:6 et son interprétation juive et chrétienne*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 88 (Leiden 2004) 97–117.

The paper gives a general presentation of how Philo treats sacrifices. On the one hand he emphasizes their importance in literal terms as elements of cultic observance in accordance with Levitical norms. On the other he interprets them allegorically as symbols. They are endowed with meaning which exceeds the simple acts involved: they have reference to the monad, to the cosmos, to the excellence of moderation. Sacrifices can thus refer to divine greatness, to the perfection of his creation, and to excellence which human beings should acquire. They thus constitute signs, messages and linguistic elements, expressing a reality in a non-verbal language and concealing a meaning that is different to what appears on the surface. Allegorical interpretation of sacrifices enables them to be seen as tools both for understanding truth and for obtaining knowledge of reality. (DTR)

20418. F. CALABI, 'Ordine delle città e ordine del mondo nel *De Decalogo* di Filone alessandrino,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 139–158.

This article, concentrating on the treatise *Decal.*, maintains that for Philo the Decalogue is not so much a set of ethical rules, but rather an ontological and political foundation, as well as a self-revelation of God. The individual is set in a broader context which transcends his individuality. Obviously, the commandments are formulated in the second person singular in order that each person should feel directly and personally involved, but the message is directed at the people as a whole: the transmission of the law makes sense in the sphere of interaction between human beings, between human beings and God, and between human law and natural law. It is no coincidence that this communication was made by God directly to all the people together and that it happened in the desert far away from the city, in the midst of miracles. The revelation of the law thus appears to be much more a self-revelation of God and a political foundation than the construction of a set of individual ethics,

an element which is practically absent. The attention given to the self-revelatory aspects of God present in the Decalogue is almost inextricably interwoven with its being natural law. However, this does not lessen the importance of compliance with the special laws for which the ten commandments provide the basic and more general principles. (HMK; based on the author's summary)

20419. F. CALABI, 'Tra Platone e la bibbia: ontologia e teologia in Filone d'Alessandria,' *Oltrecorrente* No. 9, October (2004) 47–59.

The article discusses Philo's thinking, characterized by his grafting Platonist-Aristotelian thought on the biblical tradition, as a decisive moment in the transformation of classical ontology into theology. Philo deals with the themes of causality of the first principle and the Ideas as thoughts of God, hence with the problems of unity and plurality of the first principle, transcendence and immanence, and the modes of action, knowability, describability and nameability of God. Calabi's hypothesis is that Philo tries to overcome the philosophical difficulties by introducing a distinction between points of view; she observes a continuous oscillation in Philo's work between, on the one hand, the presentation of the Powers and the Logos as modes of action of God or even as autonomous entities, and on the other hand, their presentation as human forms of knowledge, modes of approaching the first principle. Philo realizes a sort of doubling effect by distinguishing between Ideas within the mind (Logos) of God and Ideas which thanks to their creation have obtained an existence outside it. Do we have here two separate levels of being, or rather two different ways of looking at the same thing? The author opts for the latter vision, with reference to and discussion of many Philonic passages (e.g. from *Opif.* and *Mut.*). (HMK)

20420. F. CALABI, 'Ruoli e figure di mediazione in Filone di Alessandria,' *Adamantius* 10 (2004) 89–99.

The author discusses the question of a demonology in Philo: whether in Philo there are mediating beings between God and man. Her answer is that rather than speak of mediators, one may speak of roles of mediation in Philo, performed by created beings, viz. angels, who are souls (living in the air) charged with specific functions. The central text is *Gig.* 6–8. Calabi holds that for Philo, souls, demons and angels are different names for the same beings, depending on the different choices made by them. The mediating role of angels is in answer to a need of mankind for help, consolation, revelation, and punishment. Calabi also discusses *Opif.* 72–75, interpretation of the plural 'let us make human beings' in Gen 1:26. Philo here ascribes a specific role in the work of creation to angels, viz. the creation of the human being's imperfect part (open for evil), as distinct from the general role in the work of creation, ascribed to the Powers, viz. the creation of the (imperfect) world as a whole. (HMK)

20421. N. CALVERT-KOYZIS, *Paul, Monotheism and the People of God. The Significance of Abraham Traditions for Early Judaism and Christianity*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series 273 (London 2004), esp. 19–40.

This monograph is a revised version of the author's dissertation (Sheffield 1993; see RRS 9313). Its thesis is that the traditions of Abraham's rejection of idolatry and embracing of monotheistic faith are very significant for an understanding of Paul's argument in his letters to the Galatians and the Romans, and the debates in the communities to which he writes. Excluding the rabbinic texts, Calvert-Koyzis focuses on *Jubilees*, the works of Philo, the Ps. Philonic LAB, Josephus' *Antiquities*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Then she turns to the Letter to the Galatians and the Letter to the Romans. Concerning Philo, after having sketched the main tenets of his life and work, the author deals with the interpretation of Abraham in the works of Philo. Abraham is here found to stand for those things that made the Jews distinctive from their Gentile neighbours: monotheistic faith and obedience to the Mosaic Law. Abraham's role is to represent the foundational monotheist. (TS)

20422. M. CARDEN, *Sodomy: a History of a Christian Biblical Myth* (London–Oakville 2004), esp. 61–70.

Philo plays an important role in this monograph devoted to the reception of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen 19 (together with the outrage at Gibeah in Judg 19–21) in Jewish and Christian traditions up to the Reformation. Philo is the exception to the general trend of Jewish exegesis to read the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in terms of injustice, lawlessness and hostility to outsiders. The author in fact considers 'Philo to be the inventor of the homophobic reading of Genesis 19' (p. 61). This conclusion is based on an examination of Philonic texts, particularly *Abr.*, which provide a theological grounding not only for homophobia but also for genocide. Examination of Philo's allegories, however, show that his interpretation of male and female roles leads to contradictions. Attention is also given to the interpretation of Lot and his family in QG. Carden notes that Origen appears to know Philo's reading of the Sodom story (p. 133). But he does not explain how it happened that Philo's homophobic interpretation is continued in the Christian tradition. (DTR)

20423. J. CARLETON PAGET, 'Jews and Christians in Ancient Alexandria from the Ptolemies to Caracalla,' in A. HIRST and M. SILK (edd.), *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, The Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London, Publications 5 (Aldershot 2004) 143–166.

After discussing the limitations of our sources, the author turns to how Jews and Christians responded to their Alexandrian environment. Although some Jews like the author of the *Letter of Aristeeas* and Philo appear to have felt quite at home in the city, it was also important to them to maintain a distinctive

identity, central to which was the Greek translation of the Bible. Both writers emphasize the openness of Jewish culture to the outside world and the compatibility of Jewish and Greek intellectual traditions. Jewish sources sometimes reflect the influence of contemporary Greek philosophers and exegetes, but we have little evidence of who these figures were. Despite signs that Jews felt at home in Alexandria, Philo also reveals a sense of alienation from the culture, especially when he discusses proselytes, aspects of Alexandrian life, and the violent uprising against the Jews. Other Jewish works too suggest that not all Jews felt at home in Alexandria and some pagan writers express hostility toward the Jews. Alexandrian Christians maintained continuities with earlier Jews through their shared Greek Bible, biblical exegesis, and interactions with Greek intellectual tradition. Nonetheless Christians rejected Jewish practices and focused on a broader range of biblical books. Despite impressions of cultural interaction and openness, both Jewish and Christian sources convey a sense of hostility in Alexandria between Jews and pagans, Christians and pagans, and later Jews and Christians. (EB)

20424. N. G. COHEN, 'The Mystery Terminology in Philo,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 173–187.

The article gives a preliminary analysis of Philo's mystery terminology, concentrating primarily on the term *μυστήριον* and related words. First a number of unspecific usages are examined, including those which refer to the knowledge of God and the Torah as 'mysteries.' Then a larger group of passages are analyzed in which 'mystery terminology' is used in the context of philosophical allegorization of the biblical text, including those in which reference is made to the process of (attempting) to gain knowledge of God. The author concludes that there can be no question of any kind of 'mystery religion.' Philo uses this kind of terminology metaphorically. He does not have in mind any kind of secret esoteric lore, but he is keen to avoid criticism from fundamentalist–literalists. For him the 'Great Jewish Mysteries' are God's absolute unity and incorporeality, combining Judaism and Platonism. The article concludes with some remarks on what can be said about Philo's 'mystical experience.' (DTR)

20425. F. CONTI BIZZARRO, 'Nell'officina di Polluce,' in G. ABBA-MONTE, F. CONTI BIZZARRO and L. SPINA (edd.), *L'ultima parola: l'analisi dei testi: teorie e pratiche nell'antichità greca e latina: atti del terzo colloquio italo-francese coordinato da Luigi Spina e Laurent Pernot, Napoli 13–15 marzo 2003* (Naples 2004) 75–83.

Analysis of two paragraphs (1.40–41) from the *Onomasticon* of Pollux (2nd century C.E.), which list terms of praise suitable to be used with reference to a

sovereign, i.e., in a *logos basilikos*. Conti Bizzarro quotes passages from Philo containing these same terms: notably *Decal.* 42, which has εὐπρόσωτος and εὐέντευκτος, the latter term prior to Pollux being found only in Philo (but it may have been inserted in the *Onomasticon* by a later epitomator rather than by Pollux himself). (HMK)

20426. C. P. COSAERT, ‘The Use of “agios” for the Sanctuary in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Philo, and Josephus,’ *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 42 (2004) 91–103.

Scholars disagree about whether the background of Heb 6:19–20 should be understood as the high priest’s entry into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement or as part of the inauguration of the entire sanctuary. The dispute rests upon whether τὰ ἅγια in Heb 6:19 refers to the Most Holy Place of the sanctuary or to the sanctuary in general. To illuminate the Hebrews usage, Cosaert examines how ἅγιος is used in extra-biblical Greek Jewish literature—namely, the *Sibylline Oracles*, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Psalms of Solomon*, Philo, and Josephus. He concludes that when used alone, τὰ ἅγια in this literature refers only to the entire sanctuary and never just to the Holy of Holies. The background of the Hebrews passage would therefore seem to be the inauguration of the whole sanctuary. The evidence of Philo supports Cosaert’s conclusion: to refer to the Most Holy Place in the sanctuary Philo uses ἐν ἀδύτοις or τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων. (EB)

20427. N. DAX MORAES, ‘Tradição e transformação: a Torah como fundamento do mundo em Fílon de Alexandria,’ *Metanoia. Primeiros escritos em filosofia (online)* 6 (2004) 7–30.

This contribution studies the senses of the term λόγος in Philo, with references to its antecedents and their influence. The result of the combination of hellenistic and Biblical traditions is not without originality. One of the most creative ideas is the convergences of the divine Logos, the foundation of creation, and the writings of Moses. Through the path of the Torah one can obtain knowledge of the world and the Logos, and then reach true knowledge of God, which is always dependent on the grace and self-revelation of the same God. (JPM)

20428. N. DAX MORAES, ‘Logos eterno e Logos perpétuo em Fílon de Alexandria,’ *Idéias. Revista do Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas da Universidade Estadual de Campinas* 11.2.2 (2004) 25–38.

The author briefly discusses texts and scholarly interpretations of the idea of the divine logos according to Philo. It contains elements of Platonic and Stoic traditions in addition to the Biblical perspective of the word as creative power. The logos is the mediator between the eternity of God the creator and the perpetuity of his creative work, an idea which reappears in Christian and Neoplatonist philosophers. (JPM)

20429. R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR, *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 172 (Tübingen 2004).

The book records the proceedings of the first conference held in Germany to be devoted largely to the thought of Philo. It was organized as the First International Symposium of the Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti project under the leadership of the two editors of the volume. In a valuable introductory section entitled 'Philo und das Neue Testament—Das Neue Testament und Philo. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen,' the editors outline the aims of the project and the conference, and also give a valuable overview of Philo's importance for the Christian tradition, including interesting remarks on Luther's knowledge of Philo and on the extensive use of Philo made by Hugo Grotius. The programme of the actual conference as represented in its proceedings falls into four parts: (a) three papers surveying the field of Philo and the New Testament; (b) twelve articles presented in six pairs, with a Philonist and a New Testament scholar looking at a common theme from the viewpoint of their own specialization; (c) two further articles on separate subjects; and (d) three detailed readings of Philonic texts, the results of workshops held at the conference. Every effort was made to ensure that the scholarly conversation was reciprocal and bi-directional in its approach. The papers are summarized under the heading of their authors in the present bibliography. REVIEWS: L. Doering, *JSNT* 27 (2005) 133; C. Grappe, *RHPPh* 85 (2005) 431–432; T. Nicklas, *Expository Times* 116 (2005) 387; D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 141–152 (= 20562); A. C. Geljon, *JSJ* 37 (2006) 107–110; M. Niehoff, *ThLZ* 132 (2007) 644–647; R. Penna, *Adamant* 12 (2006) 544–545; M. R. Niehoff, *ThLZ* 132 (2007) 644–647; R. Schwindt, *TTZ* 116 (2007) 89–90. (DTR)

20430. P. DEMING, *Paul on Marriage and Celibacy: the Hellenistic Background of 1 Corinthians 7*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids 2004), esp. 87–93.

In this revised second edition of his 1991 Chicago dissertation the author argues against the view that Paul should be seen as the founding father of Christian asceticism. Rather the discussion between him and the Corinthians should be seen against the background of the Stoic–Cynic debate about the advantages and disadvantages of marriage. In the lengthy second chapter Deming gives a detailed account of this debate as it emerges in a rich array of sources. One of these is Philo. In a brief survey those texts are emphasized in which the influence of Stoic marriage discussions can be discerned. However, there are also texts which reveal Cynic motifs, for example in his depictions of the model philosophers, the Essenes and the Therapeutae. Philo is thus able to accommodate a number of differing points of view. But in his various pronouncements on the desirability of contributing to the civic obligations of the community and trying to escape them, he verges on inconsistency. (DTR)

20431. J. M. DINES, *The Septuagint, Understanding the Bible and its World* (London–New York 2004).

This compact but detailed introduction addresses the complex issue of what the Septuagint (LXX) comprises, and includes chapters on descriptions of its origins in the Letter of Aristeas and Aristobulus; questions about its dating, location, and purpose; accounts of the Septuagint in Philo, Josephus, rabbinic sources, and various Christian sources; later Jewish and Christian texts of the Greek Bible; language and style of the LXX; interpretive uses of the LXX in Jewish and Christian sources, including a brief comparison of the LXX and the Masoretic text; and modern scholarly approaches to the LXX. Philo is discussed for his account of the origins of the LXX (pp. 64–70) and his interpretive use of it (pp. 140–141). With his suggestion that the translators were divinely possessed and his claim that they each separately arrived at the identical translation, Philo is the first to emphasize the miraculous and supernatural character of the LXX. He also offers ‘the first sustained interpretation of the LXX’ (p. 141) and considers the Greek Pentateuch (and probably the rest of the Greek Bible) to have equal authority to the Hebrew original. REVIEWS: E. S. Gruen, *SPhA* 18 (2006) 205–215. (EB)

20432. G. DORIVAL, ‘Polysémie et contrariété de sens chez Philon d’Alexandrie: le cas de *kairos* et de *logos*,’ in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la traditione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 289–294.

The author commences by setting out the basic meaning of *καιρός*, the fixed moment, the given or the right time, and of *λόγος*, the word or reason. The meanings are found in Philo, but there are also new significations which find their point of departure in ancient usage. He examines the meaning which *καιρός* assumes in *Spec.* 1.56–64, *Post.* 122–123, *Mut.* 265 and *QG* 1.100. For *λόγος* he limits his enquiry to the passages where the Alexandrian exegete comments on the book of Numbers: *Cher.* 14–17, *Leg.* 3.148–150, 242, *Somn.* 2.170–171, *Conf.* 56, *Ebr.* 72–75, *Mut.* 107–109, *Post.* 182–184, *Spec.* 1.9–31, *Sacr.* 66–67, *Leg.* 3.102–103. (JR)

20433. L. H. FELDMAN, “Remember Amalek!” *Vengeance, Zealotry, and Group Destruction in the Bible, according to Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus*, Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 31 (Cincinnati 2004).

This study deals with the question of how the total elimination of the Amalekites (Deut 25:29, 1 Sam 15:3) is interpreted by Philo, Ps. Philo and Josephus. The exegesis of the elimination of other groups—with or without God’s command—is also discussed: the perishing of all animals and human beings in the flood

(Gen 6), the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18:20–19:29), the murder of the Egyptian first-born (Exod 12:29), the extermination of the seven nations of Canaan (Deut 7:1–5), the revenge taken by Simeon and Levi for the rape of Dinah (Gen 34), the annihilation of the nations of Sihon and Og (Num 21:20–35), the complete destruction of the people in Jericho (Josh 6:21), the extermination of the priests of Nob (1 Sam 21:1–7), and Phinehas' zealotry (Num 25:6–15). These stories raise questions of divine morality. Philo finds solutions in allegorical exegesis, regarding the struggle between the Israelites and the Amalekites as one between passion and mind. The revenge on the Hivites by Simeon and Levi is also interpreted allegorically. In other cases he argues that wicked people deserve punishment (the Flood, Sodom, the Egyptian first-born). Philo nowhere refers to God's command to exterminate the nation of Canaan or the extermination of the priests of Nob. He also does not deal with the episode of the destruction of Jericho. He deals extensively with the story of Phinehas, and although Phinehas committed an illegal action, he is praised overwhelmingly by Philo. Comparing Philo, Ps. Philo and Josephus, Feldman concludes that Philo 'adamantly defends the principle that the innocent should not suffer for the sins of the guilty. He is likewise concerned with maintaining good relations with the non-Jews, and so he must answer those who charge the Jews with hating non-Jews' (p. 224). He has also to be careful to justify the actions of God and of the Israelites. REVIEWS: M. Barker, *JSOT* 29 (2005) 188–189; S. Bowman, *AJSR* 29 (2005) 363–364; B. N. Fisk, *JJS* 51 (2006) 412–415; L. L. Grabbe, *CBQ* 68 (2006) 730–731; E. S. Gruen, *IJCT* 12 (2006) 614–616; W. L. Lyons, *JThS* 58 (2007) 168–171. (ACG)

20434. L. H. FELDMAN, 'Philo, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus and Theodotus on the Rape of Dinah,' *Jewish Quarterly Review* 94 (2004) 253–277, esp. 255–261.

In his treatment of the story of the revenge meted out by Simeon and Levi for the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen 34), Philo offers an allegorical exegesis, explaining Shechem as a symbol of toil and Dinah as a symbol of justice (*Migr.* 223–225, *Mut.* 193–200). In this way he avoids the issue of Simeon and Levi's deceit and guilt. He denigrates Shechem and praises Simeon and Levi. Philo favours conversion of Gentiles to Judaism and he knows about frictions between Jews and non-Jews in Alexandria. Therefore, he 'would surely have found it impolitic to recall the details of an incident in which Jews demanded conversion and then were guilty of perfidy once it had been agreed to' (p. 261). (ACG)

20435. E. FILLER [אלעד פילון], 'הערות לתפיסת האשה והנישואין אצל פילון', [*Hebrew: Notes on the Concept of Woman and Marriage in Philo*], *Iyyun* 53 (2004) 395–408

This short article contains rich material contesting Daniel Boyarin's conclusion that Philo was a misogynist, rejecting women both as a symbol of the senses and as partners in marriage. Filler argues that passages such as *Cher.* 60 show

that Philo regarded the mind without the senses as incomplete and that *Opif.* 151 ff. and *Gig.* 29 suggest the importance of partnership between husband and wife as well as Philo's general acceptance of sexuality. Filler stresses that Philo did not recommend abstinence and was thus closer to the rabbis than to certain Greek thinkers. Moreover, the Therapeutae are identified as a group of elderly philosophers, who abstained from marital life only towards the end of their lives, after establishing a family. Finally, Filler explains Philo's famous insistence on the separate place of women in the house as an expression of his concern that homosexuality may spread if the essential difference between man and woman is not upheld. (MRN)

20436. F. FRAZIER, 'Une «biographie allégorique» chez Philon?: sur l'emploi de l'interprétation allégorique dans le «De Josepho», in B. PÉREZ-JEAN and P. EICHEL-LOJKINE (edd.), *L'allégorie de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur la Renaissance 43 (Paris 2004) 255–286.

In the *Ios.* Philo associates the allegorical method with a certain kind of biography, a method which has unusual features. The author compares *Abr.* and *Ios.*, which are not straightforward accounts of biographical events, but both constitute a *bios*. These 'allegorical biographies' are based on a first kind of basic allegory which extracts from the biblical account a symbolic figure and reconstructs it through a rewriting of the narrative. To this basic task a 'second allegorization' is added, involving detail, which is attached to each episode and varies its function from the one treatise to the other. A comparison of the treatises' structure allows the tensions inherent in *Ios.* to be observed: the tension between the ideal figure of the politician drawn in the narrative and inspired in particular by Hellenistic theories on good government, and the allegorical commentaries, which emphasize the difficulties and the relative worth of the political world, a tension which also arises between the figure-symbol and the biblical patriarch whose destiny is part of God's purpose. (JR)

20437. L. E. GALLOWAY, *Freedom in the Gospel. Paul's Exemplum in 1 Cor 9 in Conversation with the Discourses of Epictetus and Philo*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 38 (Leuven 2004), esp. 103–148.

In this monograph based on a 2001 Emory dissertation (on which see 20122) the author includes a chapter on 'Freedom in the Works of Philo'. Philo is seen as continuously engaging the Cynic–Stoic tradition by means of his allegorical method. Against the background of the philosophical discussion, the theocentric character of freedom is emphasized. The mind, after being liberated from the tyranny of passion and wrongdoings, has God for its master. Regarding wealth Philo does not value the Cynic's call to a life of renunciation. Although *Prob.* reflects strong agreement with Stoic teachings, it also reflects Philo's overarching concern that the vision of God must be the goal of the person who is free.

Such a person is no longer called God's slave, but rather his friend. The chapter ends with observations on the realization of such freedom in community life, notably in the communities of the Therapeutae and the Essenes. Philo's views draw heavily on his own social location as a wealthy male of some eminence in a patriarchal society. (DTR; partly based on a summary provided by D. Zeller)

20438. R. GOLDENBERG, 'Religious Formation in Ancient Judaism,' in J. VAN ENGEN (ed.), *Educating People of Faith* (Grand Rapids 2004) 29–47.

In a book devoted to understanding the education of people of faith, Goldenberg considers Philo, the Qumran community, and early rabbinic texts in order to discern their ultimate goals of religious education, ways the goals were achieved, the role of others in helping to achieve the goals, and implied ideas about the sources themselves based on their notions of these goals. Philo's ultimate goal was the ecstatic state of 'sober intoxication,' attained through observance and deep philosophical understanding of the Mosaic laws. Training for this goal involved Greek and Jewish education. Although Philo felt strong social obligations, he did not indicate the basis of these obligations. 'The driving force' of his life would seem to involve educating disciples through writing or personal example. Nevertheless for him the religious quest was essentially solitary. The ultimate goal of the Qumran community was to belong to this community, a goal seen not as an achievement but a divine gift. People joined after they were already educated but membership involved 'a lifetime of disciplined perfection' (p. 37). In contrast to the relative isolation of Philo and the Qumran community, the rabbis sought maximum involvement in the community. Their ultimate goal was twofold: for the rabbis themselves, it was to immerse themselves in and transmit learning of Torah; for the community, it was to live in accordance with rabbinic teaching. All three sources reflect elite classes, address literate adults, and virtually ignore the training of children. (EB)

20439. P. GRAFFIGNA, 'Modelli di vita felice. Felicità e stabilità in Filone d'Alessandria,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantium 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 193–215.

The question of a good life was amongst the most seriously debated issues in the Greco-Roman period. This article aims to analyze the theme of a good life and happiness in Philo's works. What emerges is that happiness, whether termed εὐδαιμονία or μακαριότης, is, for Philo, the goal towards which the life of every wise and virtuous human being must aspire. The lives of Abraham, Moses, and the Therapeutae are examples of good lives. The philosophical background here is Stoicism, but also Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. Happiness occupies pride of place in Philo's ethics, in which God enjoys a perfectly happy and contented life and human beings should strive to be like Him, restore the

connection of kinship with Him and stand before Him in the same condition of immobility in which He himself lives. Happiness thus finds a corresponding element in stability (εὐστάθεια), an important virtue, the model for which is God and which is accurately reflected by the Patriarchs in their lives. The lives of the Patriarchs and the Therapeutae are the true paradigms of a happy life, because in each of them *θεραπεύειν*, *θεωρεῖν* and *εὐδαιμονεῖν* are equivalents, in both the Platonic and Aristotelian sense: the genuine *θεραπεία*, the one directed towards God, leads to the stability of contemplation which, in its turn, brings contentment in life. For Philo, however, unlike Plato and Aristotle, this is all part and parcel of the practice of the highest virtue, *εὐσέβεια*. Stability (εὐστάθεια) thus has a central role in Philo's ethics and is determined by *ἀπάθεια*, *γαλήνη*, *εἰρήνη*, *εὐδαιμονία*: it defines man's ideal state, the original perfection which he must strive to attain, and which consists in recognizing one's own ontological 'being for God': for this reason, those who succeed in being *εὐσταθής* are necessarily also *εὐδαίμων* and *εὐσεβής*. (HMK; based on the author's summary)

20440. J. HAMMERSTAEDT, 'Textkritische und exegetische Anmerkungen zu Philo, De Specialibus Legibus II 39–70,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 359–373.

These annotations focus on a text which was chosen by the organizers as a passage for a joint reading: the section on the 'seventh day' in the *Spec.* Four subjects are dealt with: the question of the seven as cube and square in §40 (see also *Opif.* 91–94); the festive character of every day in §42, referring to Num 28:3; the relationship between vices and virtues, §42; and the behaviour of those 'who practise wisdom' (§§43–45). The article explores philological and theological problems, and puts various instruments of research in modern Philonic scholarship to a practical test. (GS)

20441. W. V. HARRIS and G. RUFFINI, *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 26 (Leiden 2004).

While only one essay in this collection mentions Philo directly (see the listing of 'Portrayals of the Wise and Virtuous' by E. Birnbaum = above **20410**), this book contains several essays on Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt that will interest scholars of Philo. (EB)

20442. G. HASAN-ROKEM, 'Genre Dynamics in Historical Context: the Rabbis as Greco-Roman Jewish Authors,' *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 7 (2004) 152–161.

In this response to A. Kovelman's article (see below 20460) the author argues against his claim that Alexandrian exegesis was a missing link in the evolution from biblical epic to rabbinic *spoudogeloion*, or serio-comical literature. Questioning this characterization of the evolution altogether, the author maintains that 'the admission of humor' into the rabbinic corpus reflected an internal change in Jewish literature—but not a change in genre—and that this change came about 'in dialogue and community with the Greco-Roman' literatures (p. 155). To counter Kovelman's argument that the Rabbis were influenced by Philo's treatment, she also discusses rabbinic interpretations of Eve's creation and rabbinic use of the androgynous human creation myth. (EB)

20443. D. M. HAY, 'Philo's Anthropology, the Spiritual Regimen of the Therapeutae, and a possible Connection with Corinth,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 127–142.

The paper argues that an examination of the spirituality of the Therapeutae can shed significant light on Philo's rather abstruse exegesis of Gen 1 and 2 in terms of a double creation of humanity. The life of the soul that this community practises can be read as a kind of nearly realized eschatology. Although no direct historical link can be established, there are clear parallels between Paul's affirmations in 1 Cor 15:44–49 and Philo's double creation of humanity, just as there are between the Corinthians whom Paul addresses and Philo's Therapeutae. In both cases praxis and theory shed light on each other. Reading Philo's treatises helps us understand the kind of spiritual problems that Paul was attempting to address. (DTR)

20444. B. HEININGER, 'Paulus und Philo als Mystiker? Himmelsreisen im Vergleich (2 Kor 12,2–4; SpecLeg III 1–6),' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 189–204.

Heininger compares the Pauline narrative in 2 Corinthians with Philo's mystic descriptions in *Spec. 3*. He also takes into account contemporary texts such as Apuleius of Madaura (*De deo Socratis*). The heavenly journey proves to be valuable like a traditional linguistic game ('Sprachspiel') that was often used from Plato onwards. One can see, however, that Paul and Philo describe their 'extraordinary experiences' in quite a different way. This is not surprising on account of their divergent historical and cultural settings. (GS)

20445. J. HERZER, 'Die Inspiration der Schrift nach 2 Tim 3,16 und bei Philo von Alexandrien,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 223–240.

In this study the author offers a short sketch of the doctrine of scriptural inspiration as seen in the exegesis of 2 Tim 3:16. Two questions are central: the relationship between the New Testament texts and the writings of Philo on the one hand, and the consequences on the other. Herzer rejects the traditional interpretation of H. Burkhardt that the texts provide evidence for the doctrine of infallibility (esp. *Praem.* 55). In reality the characterization of Moses as ἐρμηνεύς shows the concept of a twofold hermeneutics: the prophet Moses as interpreter of the divine word and the hermeneutics of the exegete who is interpreting (allegorically) the scriptural evidence under the powerful influence of the divine spirit. The author concludes that the common view of the theme of 'Holy Spirit in scriptural inspiration' as having been taken by the author of the Pastoral epistle from Hellenistic Judaism is unverifiable. It is more likely that 2 Tim has developed his own idea in controversy with his opponents. (GS)

20446. I. HIMBAZA, *Le Décalogue et l'histoire du text. Études des formes textuelles du Décalogue et leurs implications dans l'histoire du texte de l'Ancient Testament*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 207 (Fribourg–Tübingen 2004), esp. 98, 167–171.

When Philo lists the ten commandments, he does not cite the actual text of their contents. In *Decal.* 36, however, we find a direct quotation of the 6th to 8th commandments. With regard to the two versions of the Decalogue, the question is raised whether Philo follows Exodus or Deuteronomy. The fact that he does not cite the Decalogue literally allows the conclusion that the prohibition of its citation was already part of Rabbinic texts which were current in the 1st century C.E. (JR)

20447. A. HIRST and M. SILK, *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, The Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London Publications 5 (Aldershot 2004).

Only a limited number of essays in this volume deal with Philo directly (see the listing of articles by J. Carleton Paget, J. Rowlandson and A. Harker, and M. B. Trapp), but this book contains various essays on ancient Alexandria that will interest Philo scholars. (EB)

20448. R. HOPPE, 'Gerechtigkeit bei Matthäus und Philo,' in R. KAMPLING (ed.), „Dies ist das Buch ...“: *Das Matthäusevangelium. Interpretation—Rezeption—Rezeptionsgeschichte. FS Frankemölle* (Paderborn 2004) 141–155.

The New Testament scholar Hoppe analyses the term δικαιοσύνη against the philosophical horizon of ancient ethical teachings. Already in Plato δικαιοσύνη reflects more than the natural order: ultimately it is established in an anthropological/theological sense. Due to a number of texts dealing with God's δικαιοσύνη the subject is fundamental in the writings of Philo, who emphasizes that it has its origin in God. It is seen as a gift of God to humanity and is connected with the order of the creation and the Torah. It plays an important part in the virtues which are incorporated from the Greek tradition and encourages human beings to be self-sufficient and free of acquisitiveness. This liberates them from the troubles of the world and empowers judgment. The true wise man represents himself as a doer of justice in his practical experience. Although Matthew and Philo are not directly connected, both show in their use of the term δικαιοσύνη the close relationship between the milieus of Judaism in Palestine, Hellenistic Judaism and the world of the first Christians. (GS)

20449. P. W. VAN DER HORST, 'Philo's *In Flaccum* and the Book of Acts,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 172 (Tübingen 2004) 95–105.

The Jewish puppet king Agrippa I plays a role in both the book of Acts and in *Flacc.*, the major difference being that in the work of Luke this king is a θεομάχος, a persecutor of the earliest Christian community, while in Philo's work he is the opposite: he intervenes on behalf of the persecuted Jews in Alexandria. It is as if Luke had read *Flacc.* and reverses the roles. Parallels between Acts and *Flacc.* further include the matter of names of synagogues (Acts 6:9; *Flacc.* 53); the details of the sea voyages of Agrippa and Flaccus (*Flacc.* 26, 152–156) and the one by the apostle Paul (Acts 27–28); the location of synagogues in the vicinity of water (*Flacc.* 122; Acts 16:13) etc. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20450. P. W. VAN DER HORST, 'Philo and the Rabbis on Genesis: Similar Questions, Different Answers,' in A. VOLGERS and C. ZAMAGNI (edd.), *Eratapokriseis. Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context*, *Biblical Exegesis and Theology* 37 (Leuven 2004) 55–70.

This paper was delivered as part of a Colloquium on early Christian use of Question-and-answer literature held in Utrecht, The Netherlands, in October

2003. Van der Horst first makes some remarks on the use of the *Quaestiones* genre in the Jewish–Hellenistic tradition. Philo's only extant predecessor is Demetrius the Chronographer, who uses the genre to deal with problems in the biblical text. There may have been others, but if so, they have been lost. He then asks whether it is meaningful to compare Philo with the rabbis. The answer is no and yes. There is no rabbinic literature which specifically deals with the biblical text in the manner of Philo's *Quaestiones*. But the rabbis did deal with implicit problems in scripture, to which they gave answers, and in this sense it makes sense to compare Philo and the rabbis. Moreover, they share common assumptions in their attitude to the biblical text. Van der Horst explains these by drawing on the work of Kugel in his book *Traditions of the Bible* (see 9858). The most important is the assumption of the cryptic nature and hidden meanings of the sacred text. In the final part of the paper five examples of common problems tackled by both Philo and the rabbis are analyzed. The Philonic texts dealt with are QG 1.16, 35, 45, 75–76, 86. In spite of the profound differences in the solutions proposed by Philo and the rabbis, they do have common ground through the fact that they wrestled with the same problems posed by the biblical text. One of the most striking differences is Philo's use of Greek philosophical themes (e.g. the immortality of the soul). But such divergence, the author concludes, is less weighty than the striking convergence in the nature of the questions asked. (DTR)

20451. L. W. HURTADO, 'Does Philo Help Explain Christianity?', in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 73–92.

In the first part of his paper Hurtado deals with the relationship between Philo and New Testament authors and reaches the conclusion that no direct relationship is possible. In the second part, referring to recent scholars, especially Peder Borgen and John Barclay, Hurtado shows how Philo is important for obtaining knowledge of Judaism in the Diaspora, the context in which Christianity has emerged. He emphasizes that Philo has to be understood in his own cultural and religious setting. The final part is devoted to two features of early Christianity that are distinctive in comparison with the Roman-era Jewish setting: the programmatic conversion of Gentiles without requiring Torah-observance, and the devotion to Jesus as divine. Hurtado concludes that in Philo there is no impetus for these features. Philo can explain early Christianity because he tells so much about Graeco-Roman Judaism. Philo displays a commitment to the religious beliefs of his ancestors and is also engaged in his cultural environment. He is in some respects comparable to Paul, but cannot be used to explain the distinctive features of early Christianity. (ACG)

20452. S. INOWLOCKI, 'The Reception of Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium* in Eusebius of Caesarea's works,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16 (2004) 30–49.

The author examines Eusebius' use of Philo's *Legat.* in the *Demonstratio evangelica* and in the *Historia ecclesiastica*. In these works Eusebius refers to Philo's treatise in three passages: *DE* 8.2 403aff., *HE* 2.5.7 and *HE* 2.6.2. In the first passage Eusebius narrates the sacrilege committed by Pilate, referring to both Philo and Josephus. Inowlocki discusses some problems arising from this passage, especially the discrepancies between the versions of Philo, Josephus, and Eusebius. Although the bishop's account does not correspond to Philo's wording in *Legat.*, he does refer to the treatise. Because of his apologetic purpose Eusebius reshapes Philo's words. In *HE* 2.5.7, where Eusebius refers to Philo's account of Sejanus' hate for the Jews and Pilate's misdeeds against them, he paraphrases Philo's words because the report was too sympathetic to the Jews. In *HE* 2.6.2 Eusebius cites *Legat.* 346 literally. Inowlocki concludes that Eusebius, by employing several techniques (paraphrasing, summarizing, citing carefully), uses Philo for his own apologetic purposes, and makes the information that the Jewish writer offers subservient to his theological views. (ACG)

20453. S. INOWLOCKI, 'Eusebius of Caesarea's *Interpretatio Christiana* of Philo's *De vita contemplativa*,' *Harvard Theological Review* 97 (2004) 305–328.

This article deals with Eusebius' interpretation of the description of the Therapeutae that Philo gives in *Contempl.* Making use of Philo's report, Eusebius wants to demonstrate that the Therapeutae are the first Christians in Egypt. In his exploitation of Philo's account he makes use of several techniques; he paraphrases, summarizes and quotes it. This variation is due to his apologetic aim. Eusebius has a high esteem for Philo, who is presented as nearly converted to Christianity. He also reports about a meeting between Philo and Peter in Rome. By demonstrating that the Therapeutae are Christians, Eusebius validates the apostolic authority of the Alexandrian see. At the same time with the aid of Philo he legitimates the catechetical schools in Alexandria and Caesarea, which he implicitly traces back to Peter and Mark. (ACG)

20454. H. JACOBSON, 'A Philonic Rejection of Plato,' *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004) 488.

This article points out a rare case where Philo disagrees with Plato. In *Somm.* 1.232–233 Philo in discussing God's immutability notes the old story that the divinity toured the cities in order to examine human wickedness. This is an allusion to Homer *Od.* 17.485, which Plato firmly rejects in his passage on true theology at *Rep.* 380d–381d. For Philo, however, it is educationally beneficial and should be exploited. (DTR)

20455. H. JACOBSON, 'Philo, Lucretius, and Anima,' *Classical Quarterly* 54 (2004) 635–636.

Points out that Philo's description of the *nous* as the 'soul of the soul' in *Opif.* 66 is paralleled in Lucretius *DRN* 3.275, where the *animus* is called the *anima animae*. It should not be concluded that Philo drew on the Latin poet. It is more likely that both are dependent on an earlier Greek source of Epicurean provenance. (DTR)

20456. A. KAMESAR, 'The *Logos Endiathetos* and the *Logos Prophorikos* in Allegorical Interpretation: Philo and the D-Scholia to the *Iliad*,' *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004) 163–181.

Philo offers the earliest extensive evidence of the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, or 'internal logos,' and the λόγος προφορικός, or 'uttered logos.' Most often symbolized in his thought by the brothers Moses (as λόγος ἐνδιάθετος) and Aaron (as λόγος προφορικός), this doctrine of the two *logoi* is generally attributed to the Stoics. Kamesar argues that Philo was influenced not only by the doctrine itself but also by an allegorization found in the D-scholia to the *Iliad*, Greek sources that explain Homeric phrases and myths but also contain later, more developed exegetical material. In the Homeric interpretation, the two *logoi* are symbolized by two brothers, Otus and Ephialtes, known as the Aloadae, and one brother is associated with learning, the other with nature. These associations may possibly reflect the widely attested pairing of (or conflict between) rhetoric and philosophy. The D-scholia additionally include an interpretation of the brothers, or λόγοι, as restraining anger, Ares, who is later freed by Hermes, λόγος or reason. Kamesar believes that the interpretation of the Aloadae in the D-scholia may be traced to the Stoa of Diogenes of Babylon and his immediate successors or like-minded circles. (EB)

20457. C. KANNENGIESSER, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, 2 vols., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis* 1 (Leiden 2004), esp.1. 176–183.

In this comprehensive survey of the entire field of Patristic literature a brief section is devoted to Philo in the chapter on Patristic hermeneutics. Perhaps surprisingly it focuses on Philo's views on the literal interpretation of the scriptural text. The author cites the view of the editors and translators on the French translation series that 'the literal value of Torah was of such importance for Philo that it induced him to rethink the very notion of allegory' (p. 176). Kannengiesser illustrates Philo's combination of literal and non-literal exegesis with various texts mainly drawn from the *Quaestiones*. In the case of *QE* he argues that there is a difference between those texts where he uses the distinction *ad litteram* and *ad mentem*, which make use of allegory, and those where he advances beyond the literal by linking it with the contemplation of the cosmos or with ethical evaluations. In these texts he speaks primarily about 'symbols'. (DTR)

20458. E. KESSLER, *Bound by the Bible: Jews, Christians and the Sacrifice of Isaac* (Cambridge 2004) *passim*.

The study examines the various interpretative traditions of the 'Aqedah (sacrifice of Isaac) in both Jewish and Christian texts from the perspective of a two-way encounter between the traditions. The method followed is text-based rather than author-based, so Philo's views, which are regularly cited, occur throughout the study; see the list of references on pp. 215 and 219. (DTR)

20459. G. KORTING, *Das Vaterunser und die Unheilabwehr. Ein Beitrag zur ἐπιούσιον-Debatte (Mt 6,11/Lk 11,3)*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen NF 48 (Münster 2004), esp. 248–256, 637–694.

This comprehensive investigation (790 pages) aims to investigate the understanding of the otherwise not attested Greek word ἐπιούσιον of the Lord's prayer and to suggest a new conjecture. The first section is a presentation of the various previous efforts of understanding this term, drawing especially on the literature published in the years 1970–2000, demonstrating that no single understanding has received support from a majority of scholars. In the second section the author sets forth a new hypothesis, suggesting that ἐπιούσιον should be read as ἐπὶ ῥύσιον, probably to be translated as 'das Brot als Sühnmittel, als Mittel der Unheilsabwehr oder der Befreiung.' In the third and last section, the author investigates the use of ῥύσιον in works from Homer to the Byzantine period. Included in Section Two (pp. 248–256) is an investigation of the term ῥύσιον in the works of Philo (*Sommn.* 1.95, 97, 114, *Ios.* 185, *Spec.* 3.204, *Virt.* 89), in which Korting suggests that Philo's use of Manna as 'unheilsabwehrender' Logos might have influenced the early church through Hellenistic Judaism on its way to understanding Jesus as the liberating Bread. In the last section, Philo is dealt with on pp. 637–694, a section that is mainly concerned with an exposition of *Sommn.* 1.95, 97, 114. (TS)

20460. A. KOVELMAN, 'A Clarification of the Hypothesis,' *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 7 (2004) 162–168.

Kovelman responds to two commentators on his article 'Continuity and Change in Hellenistic Jewish Exegesis and in Early Rabbinic Literature' (see 20461, 20488 and 20422). Here he clarifies his understanding of *spoudogeloion*, or serio-comical literature, as a combination of academic and farcical elements, defends the use of 'epic' to describe Scripture, and continues to argue that certain rabbinic interpretations of the androgynous creation myth in relation to the biblical creation stories came from Alexandria. Rejecting the literal meaning of aspects of the biblical creation stories, Philo presented his philosophical understanding. The rabbis, however, accepting the literal meaning, 'went so far as to use it for parody and travesty' (p. 165). The rabbis 'rejected the seriousness and didactic tone of the Second Temple literature (Rewritten Bible, Alexandrian exegesis), changed the style, while standing on the shoulders of this literature' (p. 167). Kovelman emphasizes that to understand the developments in Jewish

culture specifically, one must understand general developments in the larger context regarding 'the style of exposition from one period to another' (p. 168). (EB)

20461. A. KOVELMAN, 'Continuity and Change in Hellenistic Jewish Exegesis and in Early Rabbinic Literature,' *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 7 (2004) 123–145.

The transition from biblical to rabbinic literature coincided with the emergence of the Greco-Roman novel, a literary revolution that gave rise to 'serio-comical genres.' In contrast to epics, these genres lack distance between the past and contemporary reality and they often have their origins in folklore. Rabbinic literature reflects the serio-comical genre and contributes to it. In the rise of this genre, Alexandrian exegesis played a crucial role. Both the Letter of Aristeas and Philo emphasize the solemnity of Mosaic Law, especially through their allegorizations, and criticize writers that render the Law frivolous. Kovelman suggests that Philo's allegorization of Eve's creation (*Leg.* 2.19) and the creation of man (*Opif.* 76, 134) expresses criticism not of the literal meaning of the Bible but rather of the Platonic myth of the androgyne, which the rabbis embraced. He notes that 'in shattering the naiveté of the epic, Alexandrians paved the way for irony and laughter,' found in rabbinic literature (p. 135). The two literatures address similar problems such as the separation of the Jews from other peoples. Unlike Pseudo-Aristeas and Philo, however, who had to grapple seriously with the Stoic idea of the freedom and equality of all humanity, the rabbis did not have to reconcile Jewish Law with philosophy; for them, God's will behind the separation was sufficient explanation. See also the summary of G. Hasan-Rokem's and M. R. Niehoff's responses to this article, 20442 and 20488. (EB)

20462. R. S. KRAEMER (ed.), *Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World: a Sourcebook* (New York 2004).

A substantially expanded and completely revised edition of the source-book published in 1988 and originally called *Maenads Martyrs Matrons Monastics*. See further RRS 8840. (DTR)

20463. C. KRAUS REGGIANI, 'La presenza di Dio nella storia secondo Filone di Alessandria,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 9–13.

The introductory part of *Legat.* contains a section (§§ 3–7) which introduces a number of themes which are fundamental to Philo's ethical-theological philosophy and continually recur in his other works, including the allegorical treatises.

These themes are examined in the order that they occur: (1) the existence of divine providence; (2) the meaning of the name Israel; (3) the transcendence of God; (4) the theory of the divine Powers. Although these themes appear to have no visible link with the work for which they provide a premise, in fact their presence justifies the classification of the *Legat.* (and *Flacc.*) as historical-philosophical works. Philo inserts into his ethical religious perspective a negative event which he himself had witnessed, the pogrom in Alexandria in 38 C.E., and makes use of it in order to deduce the continuous and providential presence of God in human affairs. (RR; based on author's summary).

20464. C. KRAUS REGGIANI, 'Linebriamento spirituale in Filone di Alessandria,' in M. PERANI (ed.), *Una manna buona per Mantova—Man Tov le-Man Tovah: Studi in onore di Vittore Colorni per il suo 92* (Florence 2004) 41–47.

'Among the many themes treated by Philo, there is perhaps no other more useful for understanding the manifold directions of Philo's thought than that related to the vineyard, the vine, wine, its use and abuse, and drunkenness.' (p. 42) This article, focusing on *Plant.* 140 ff., shows how the concept of 'sober drunkenness' exemplifies Philo's thought, its basic anthropologic concepts (humanity's aim is God), and its originality as compared to Greek philosophical thought (for Philo, human intellect needs the grace of God). Sober drunkenness is the spiritual joy or agitation of the human mind elevated towards God, as represented by Isaac ('laughter', *Leg.* 1.82–84) or Hannah ('grace', *Ebr.* 145–149) respectively. (HMK)

20465. S. KRAUTER, *Bürgerrecht und Kultteilnahme. Politische und kulturelle Rechte und Pflichten in griechischen Poleis, Rom und antikem Judentum*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 127 (Berlin 2004).

This study deals with the relation between civic rights and participation in the (local) cults in the Greek cities, in Rome and in ancient Judaism: to what extent did a stranger have the rights and obligations to participate in the local cults? How are the ancient religions to be perceived concerning exclusivity and compulsiveness? The author presents a very competent and penetrating analysis of his sources, providing an interesting study of the issues that are relevant for students of Judaism as well as of early Christianity. Diaspora Judaism is dealt with on pp. 265–279 and focuses on the Greek cities, while pp. 369–386 looks at the organization of Jewish Diaspora communities. Then pp. 403–418 deals with *πατρις* and *μητρόπολις* in the works of Philo. Discussing the political theory of Philo as well as his teaching of nature and his messianology, he also presents interpretations of *Mos.* 1.34–36, *Legat.* 156 f., *Flacc.* 45 f. and *Legat.* 281. The main thesis of this work is that the admission to local cults was not in general associated with membership in a particular ethnic group. In addition Judaism practised a relative openness towards non-Jews. Hence Judaism was a 'ganz normale' religion at that time. (TS)

20466. G. LACERENZA, 'Fra Roma e Gerusalemme: l'immagine di Puteoli e dei Campi Flegrei in Filone Alessandrino e in Flavio Giuseppe,' in L. CIRILLO and G. RINALDI (edd.), *Roma, la Campania e l'Oriente cristiano antico. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Napoli 9-11 ottobre 2000* (Naples 2004) 97-128.

A discussion of the passages in Philo and Josephus where reference is made to the town of Puteoli (also named Dikaiarcheia) or the adjoining area (the Campi Phlaegrei): Josephus *BJ* 2.103-104, *Ant.* 17.328-329, 18.159-161 (a passage speaking about Philo's brother Alexander, alabarch of Alexandria and father of Tiberius Julius Alexander), 18.248-249, 19.5-6, *Vita* 3.13-16; Philo *Flacc.* 26-27, *Legat.* 185-186 and *Legat.* 14. The information about a Jewish community in Puteoli (cf. Acts 28:13), mainly to be derived from Josephus, is not very substantial nor very certain. In any case, at least four persons of importance in Jewish history of the Hellenistic epoch made their way through Puteoli: King Agrippa I, Herod Antipas, Philo himself, and Josephus. (HMK)

20467. R. A. LAYTON, *Didymus the Blind and his Circle in Late-Antique Alexandria* (Urbana, Il. 2004), esp. 144-151.

Didymus' reading of Abraham's migration (Gen 12) is based on Philo's interpretation. For both exegetes Abraham's journey is a model of the road leading to perfection. Didymus also considers Abraham as an example of the ascent of the soul which is narrated in the Psalms. Although Didymus bases himself on Philo, he does alter the conception of perfection. For Philo, to become perfect is to become wise and to acquire the virtues of the cultured sage. In Didymus the migration aims at the perfection of the Christian ascetic involved in spiritual combat. The Christian exegete uses Philo's material in ways that are appropriate to his own circle. In addition to Philo, Didymus is also inspired by *Jubilees* and Origen in his exegesis of Abraham. (ACG)

20468. J. LEONHARDT-BALZER, 'Creation, the Logos and the Foundation of a City: a Few Comments on *Opif.* 15-25,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 172 (Tübingen 2004) 323-344.

The article presents the results of a workshop on Philo's exegesis of 'Day one' of creation in *Opif.* 15-25. After a brief introduction, the passage is divided into five sections and a text, translation and commentary are presented. The translation is systematically compared with those of Whitaker (LCL) and Runia (PACS). The final part is devoted to interpretation. Philo's use of the metaphor of the seal and the imagery of the founding of a city give rise to a number of problems. The passage in its entirety is unique in Philo's *œuvre*. It is noted that §§ 21-23

differ from what precedes and follows, which suggests it might be an insert. Philo's methods of exegesis conform to the scientific standards of his time. His inclusive reading of the text transforms both Platonic and biblical ideas, but it is the biblical texts that always take precedence. (DTR)

20469. J. LEONHARDT-BALZER, 'Der Logos und die Schöpfung: Streiflichter bei Philo (Opif. 20–25) und im Johannesprolog (Joh 1,1–18),' in J. FREY and U. SCHNELLE (edd.), *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 175* (Tübingen 2004) 295–315.

This article discusses some similarities between the conceptions of the Logos in the writings of Philo and in the Prologue of John. In spite of the different approaches to the idea, both authors refer to the very same text in Gen 1. Both offer a comparable vision of divine revelation and communication in the beginning of Creation. Both show that the function of the Logos is the true explanation: in Philo the explanation of creation, in John the explanation of the Divine creator. Both unite the deep conviction that the Logos always depends on his Father. Both use the concept of the Logos in the manner of the Wisdom literature. Nevertheless there are strong differences: for example, Philo would never refer to a Logos who becomes flesh. Many more differences emerge in the discussion of points of detail. It could be argued, however, that in the 1st century a prevalent tradition concerning the exegesis of Gen 1 exists which makes use of the notion of the Logos in the exegesis of the story of the creation. Greek philosophy, Jewish Wisdom literature and biblical exegesis combine together in the notion of the Logos in a creative way. It allows historical events to be framed by their universal importance. (GS)

20470. C. LÉVY, '«Mais que faisait donc Philon en Égypte?» À propos de l'identité diasporique de Philon,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 295–312.

The author replies to the question posed in the paper's title by surveying the evidence in the Philonic corpus. Philo lived in Egypt because this was the country chosen by his ancestors as their domicile, where the Law had been translated into Greek so that it could become known to the whole of humanity. According to the author Philo does not espouse any idea of a mystical association with the land of Israel which creates an obligation to reside there. He lives in Egypt not because of error but because of flight, for the point of departure is the reality of Egyptian life and the bridge that is sought is the activity of the divine Logos, of which the Law is the concrete expression. (JR)

20471. J. LIERMAN, *The New Testament Moses*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.173 (Tübingen 2004).

This study examines the ways in which the New Testament characterizes the relationship of Moses to Israel and to the Jewish people. Besides the NT, the author uses other sources, among whom is Philo, whose views on Moses are briefly presented throughout the study. In *Mos.* Moses is portrayed as king, philosopher, lawgiver, high priest, and prophet. His role as prophet was the foundation of Moses' leadership of Israel. Inspired by God, he was also the author of the Law. Philo avoids the impression that Moses was divine, but at the same time he presents Moses as being of a different order than other mortals. The saying that Moses is as 'god' (Exod 7:1) has to be qualified. Moses' death is described as a pilgrimage from earth to heaven. (ACG)

20472. W. LOADER, *The Septuagint, Sexuality and the New Testament. Case studies on the Impact of the LXX on Philo and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids 2004).

Philo plays a prominent role in this compact but well-researched monograph. Loader's method is based on the close examination of texts, in the first instance comparing the LXX with its Hebrew original, then analyzing Greek texts in the New Testament, Philo and other Second Temple authors to see how they treat the scriptural text. The case studies examined deal with the areas of male-female relations and sexuality. They are the Decalogue, the creation account in Gen 1-3 (with 5:1-3 added), and the injunctions on divorce in Deut 24. In each case Philonic texts are discussed. His interpretation of the Decalogue and esp. the tenth commandment reflects influences from Plato and the Stoics, but it is clear that the LXX is the basis for his exposition. Philo's use of Gen 1-3 is extensive. Loader focuses on those texts that relate to his understanding of sexuality. He follows the LXX in highlighting the hierarchy that exists between male and female. Women are seen as a curse not so much in relation to 3:16, but through their creation in 2:21-25 and ultimately 1:26. 'Philo necessarily portrays human beings, but especially women, as flawed by nature, particularly because of their sexuality (p. 69).' As for Deut 24, Philo's reading shows a shift of focus away from pollution to morality. REVIEWS: S. A. Brayford, *CBQ* 67 (2005) 354-355; T. E. Klutz, *JSNT* 27 (2005) 29; M. Rösel, *ZATW* 117 (2005) 462; A. C. Thiselton, *JThS* 56 (2005) 596-598; J. T. Williams, *JSOT* 29 (2005) 54-55; E. Reinmuth, *ThLZ* 131 (2006) 171-172; K. de Troyer, *JSJ* 37 (2006) 129-131; J. M. Dines, *VT* 57 (2007) 131-132; W. Pilgrim, *CurrThM* 34 (2007) 218-219; L. A. Jervis, *SPhA* 20 (2008) 234-236. (DTR)

20473. J. LUST, *Messianism and the Septuagint: Collected Essays*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 178 (Leuven 2004), esp. 81-86.

In this volume of collected essays which have as a common theme the subject of messianism in the Septuagint, mention should be made of a discussion of Philo's citation of the messianic text Num 24:7 and 17 in *Mos.* 1.290 and *Praem.* 95 in an article entitled 'The Greek Version of Balaam's Third and Fourth Oracles. The ἄνθρωπος in Num 24:7 and 17: Messianism and Lexicography' first published in 1995. In both cases Philo cites the verses with the term ἄνθρωπος, i.e. 'there shall come forth a man ...' This is perhaps evidence that the original LXX text contained the term, yet early Christian quotes do not contain it, so it is also possible that later Christian authors inserted it on the basis of Philo, who may have included it in his own rewording of the text. (DTR)

20474. M. F. MACH, 'Choices for Changing Frontiers? The Apologetics of Philo of Alexandria,' in Y. SCHWARTZ and V. KRECH (edd.), *Religious Apologetics—Philosophical Argumentation*, Religion in Philosophy and Theology 10 (Tübingen 2004) 319–333.

The author calls for a new appreciation of the inconsistencies in Philo's writings, which cannot be harmonized, but need to be appreciated in light of the changing circumstances in Alexandria. While Philo before the riots was a 'humanistic,' cosmopolitan philosopher, he was later forced to withdraw to the Jewish community and to defend his tradition vis-à-vis outsiders. While the author does not offer a chronological analysis of all Philonic writings, he suggests that the Allegorical Commentary must be seen as the clearest expression of his state of mind prior to the riots. *Somn.*, on the other hand, reflects the tension in the city. (MRN)

20475. L. M. MACIA, 'Messianic Figures according to the Judeo-Hellenistic Historiographers Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus,' *Sefarad* 64 (2004) 363–395.

In this paper the author analyses the image of the Messiah as depicted by the Jewish-Hellenistic writers Philo and Josephus. Philo's image is basically of an eschatological nature which clearly is at least partly dependent on Hellenistic philosophical concepts. In the works of Josephus, however, several types can be distinguished, all having in common the human nature of the Messiah and his influence on historical events. (DS; based on author's summary)

20476. S. MANCINI LOMBARDI, 'La versione armena del *Legum Allegoriae*: osservazioni su alcune particolarità lessicali,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 253–265.

After a brief discussion of the problems of dating in relation to the so-called Hellenizing school of Armenian translations, the article examines the Armenian translation of the *Leg.* from the linguistic point of view. Particular attention is paid to the transposition into Armenian of some key terms in Philo's exegesis. This involves three different translation processes: usually the translator has a fixed correspondence between a Greek term and its Armenian equivalent; sometimes, however, he uses the same Armenian word to render two different Greek words which need to be distinguished, e.g. ἰδέα and εἶδος; but on other occasions he analyses the Greek term and uses more than one Armenian word to render it. It is particularly the last method that makes the Armenian version of Philo's text so distinctive. (RR; based on author's summary)

20477. S. MANCINI LOMBARDI, 'La traduzione dei composti greci nella versione armena del *Legum allegoriae* di Filone Alessandrino,' in V. CALZOLARI, A. SIRINIAN and B. L. ZEKIYAN (edd.), *Dall'Italia e dall'Armenia. Studi in onore di Gabriella Uluhogian* (Bologna 2004) 285–295.

The language used in the Armenian translation of *Leg.* should not be considered exclusively in terms of the parameters of the so-called Hellenizing school. The linguistic traits that are present in the translation reveal a dialectical relation consisting of similarities and differences with the classical language. The Armenian version of *Leg.* has to be viewed in the linguistic framework formed by the other Armenian translations of Philo. Elements of contrast between these versions and those attributed to the initial phase of the school of Hellenizing translation which is typified as 'pre-Hellenizing' allow some questions to be asked about the relative dating of certain Hellenizing writings. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20478. J. P. MARTÍN, *Teófilo de Antioquía, A Autólico. Introducción, texto griego, traducción y notas*, Fuentes Patrísticas 16 (Madrid 2004) *passim*.

This bilingual edition of *Ad Autolyicum* considers Philo to be an important antecedent of the Antiochian theological school to which its author Theophilus belongs. More than 300 Philonic passages are mentioned in order to elucidate the text of the Christian author. Lexical and ideological continuity stand out in subjects like *creatio ex nihilo* (p. 69), the theological meaning of μωναρχία (p. 115), the allegorical use of the term τριάς (p. 115), the relation of human beings and animals before the change to sin and salvation (p. 141), the concept of eternal life (pp. 169, 189), a non-eschatological conception of μετάνοια (p. 139), the correlation between νόμος φύσεως and Torah (p. 139), and many others. (JPM)

20479. A. M. MAZZANTI, 'Creazione dell'omo e rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione*

in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la traditione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003), Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 75–103.

The author focuses on one of the fundamental problems of Philo's theological thought. If the work of creation is a manifestation of the divine nature, how can one explain the origin of evil in the world and in history? She does not pose the problem in this explicit way, but this *aporia* is undoubtedly present in the exegesis of the various figures of the ἄνθρωπος that emerge in the creation of the human being (the human being fashioned, made according to the image, 'inbreathed' by the divine πνεῦμα). In the view of the author these figures lead to a basic opposition between the celestial and the terrestrial human being. This original duality explains the negativity of history, in which it should be understood that 'the genesis of historical reality is marked by a prevailing negativity' (p. 98). This viewpoint is also present in the Qumran writings and in Hermetic thought. However, the author asks, what is the relation between the negativity of history and the absolute positivity of God? Is it because God revealed himself to humanity that it has become wicked? It is suggested that the meaning of history—above all for Philo in the historical treatises—should be considered in a salvific and eschatological perspective. (RR)

20480. A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI, *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la traditione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004).

This volume contains the papers of the seventh conference of the Italian group of scholars carrying out research on Origen and the Alexandrian tradition (led by Lorenzo Perrone; see esp. its impressive journal *Adamantius*). This conference, held in Bologna in September 2003, was the first to be exclusively devoted to the thought of Philo. It contains 19 papers, almost all of which focus on Philo and are summarized in this bibliography. English summaries of the articles are provided on pp. 313–326. REVIEWS: J. P. Martín, *Adamant* 13 (2007) 276–281. (DTR)

20481. A. H. MERRILLS, 'Monks, Monsters, and Barbarians: Re-defining the African Periphery in Late Antiquity,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12 (2004) 217–244.

The description of desert monastics by ecclesiastical historians of the 4th, 5th, and even 6th centuries—e.g. Eusebius, Rufinus, Sozomen, and Evagrius Scholasticus—stands in a long tradition of writings about others on the periphery. Though this tradition can be traced as far back as the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and includes the Bible, Herodotus' account of northern peoples, and Tacitus' account

of the Germani, a more direct influence is Philo's description of the Therapeutae. A common aim of these pre-Christian writers is to use their depictions of people on the periphery to critique practices and norms of the centre. Philo, for example, contrasts the simplicity of the Therapeutae in dress, diet, sex, and living quarters with the excesses of people in Greece, Rome, and Egypt. Later Christian writers use the same genre of writings about people on the periphery and their social, dietary, sexual, communicational, and physical peculiarities, but with different goals. These goals include presenting ascetic monastic communities as ideals, criticizing heretics through presentation of the orthodox monastic ascetics, and showing how widely the new Christian faith had spread—even into the peripheral desert. (EB)

20482. I. MILLER, 'Idolatry and the Polemics of World-Formation from Philo to Augustine,' *Journal of Religious History* 28 (2004) 126–145.

Taking its cue from Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum* (1620) the paper examines the association of idolatry with erroneous ideas about the natural world in the writings of late-antique Jewish and Christian authors. It focuses on two polemical genres. The first of these is the hexaemeral commentaries composed by Philo, Basil of Caesarea and Augustine. These thinkers used their commentaries and expositions of the six days of creation in order to revise or refute philosophical errors in natural philosophy, making use of various critiques of idolatry in so doing. In discussing *Opif.* Miller notes in particular those passages which contain polemic against wrong ways of thinking (notably §§ 7, 13, 45). The second genre is heresiology, initiated by Irenaeus and adapted by Augustine to refute Gnostic and Manichaean cosmological myths and disregard for the creation account in Genesis. (DTR)

20483. L. MIRALLES MACIA, 'La figura del mesías según los historiadores judeohelenísticos Filón de Alejandría y Flavio Josefo,' *Sefarad* 64 (2004) 363–395.

The article analyzes some messianic texts in Philo, Josephus and others. It observes that in Philo only *Praem.* 95–97 alludes to an individual figure of the Messiah, and compares it with related passages of the LXX, the Masoretic text, Qumran and NT. The author concludes that Philo uses elements of the messianic tradition testified by Daniel 7, but without proposing a person with messianic characteristics. The author thinks (see p. 369 n. 20) that in the bibliography on this subject not much has not been said after Schürer and that his observations on an implicit messianism in Philo still command respect. (JPM)

20484. B. MOTTA, *La mediazione estrema. L'antropologia di Nemesio di Emesa fra platonismo e aristotelismo* (Padua 2004), esp. 87–99.

In discussing Nemesius' doctrine of the human being as a borderline figure (*μεθόρους*), the author states that it is important to take into account the Philonic

background, which is the decisive source for the conception. She includes in the discussion earlier treatments of this theme by Jaeger and Skard, as well as the more recent study of Runia. Nemesius does not take over the ontological dualism of Philo, but only welcomes a radical dualism in the ethical sphere. Some comments are also made on the relation between Philo and Gregory of Nyssa, as it affects our view of Nemesius' sources (cf. p. 104). (DTR)

20485. H. NAJMAN, 'Early Non-Rabbinic Interpretation,' in A. BERLIN and M. ZVI BRETTLER (edd.), *The Jewish Study Bible* (New York 2004) 1835–1844.

Biblical interpretive works that preceded and differed from rabbinic writings range from 'self-effacing' retellings, translations, and commentaries to the self-conscious, highly individualistic works of Philo and Josephus. Retellings like *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* address legal and literary issues raised implicitly by the Bible. Translations like the Targums, which may date back to Ezra's time, also include interpretations that address implicit difficulties. A commentary like *Pesher Habakkuk* distinguishes between Bible and interpretation and claims divine authority for both. Unlike these texts addressed to Jews alone, Philo had to authorize Mosaic Law and Judaism itself for both Jews and non-Jews in the recently established Roman Empire. He did so by attributing universal significance to creation, the patriarchal narratives, and Mosaic Laws, especially with the help of allegorical interpretation, Plato's *Timaeus*, and the concept of the unwritten law of nature. Philo wrote self-consciously in the first person but also recognized other sources of authority, including Moses, behind his interpretations. Though Josephus claimed to convey the details of Scripture alone, his writings abound with interpretations that often present Jewish tradition in a morally favorable light. He too wrote in his own voice but also presented himself as a divine messenger. (EB)

20486. M. NEHER, *Wesen und Wirken der Weisheit in der Sapientia Salomonis*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 333 (Berlin 2004), esp. 155–163.

The problem this author tries to solve in this monograph (based on his 2003 Marburg dissertation) is the question of whether in the *Sapientia Salomonis* there is already an understanding of Wisdom as a hypostasis, or if its personalized descriptions of Wisdom are primarily to be understood as poetic metaphors. On pp. 155–163 he focuses on 'Das Vermittlungsproblem bei Philo'. Here he deals with the intermediate figures in Philo, that is especially the Logos, but also the 'powers' (δυνάμεις), which in fact are manifestations in the world of the Logos. In trying to describe these more precisely, however, he finds in Philo primarily the use of metaphorical language. On the other hand, Philo also uses language of hypostasis. Hence Philo's solution of the problem demonstrates that the wisdom in the *Wisdom of Solomon* is to be understood as a 'Zwischenstufe' on the road to a full hypostasis understanding, a road on which Prov 8

represents a beginning and which reaches its goal in the Jewish-Alexandrian theology of Philo. Hence Wisdom is to be dated before Philo (p. 162). (TS)

20487. G. W. E. NICKELSBURG, 'Philo among Greeks, Jews and Christians,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 172 (Tübingen 2004) 53–72.

The article presents a general introduction to Philo and his writings. Part I describes Philo's life, his writings, his education, and the manner of his scriptural interpretation. Nickelsburg emphasizes that Philo is a man of two worlds: he studies and interprets the Jewish Bible, but at the same time he is educated as a Greek, and participates in Greek culture. In Part II the author touches briefly on some elements that Philo has in common with other contemporary Jews, and also on some ways in which he is unique, such as his attitude towards Scripture, and his use of allegory. Part III is devoted to Philo's influence on early Christianity. (ACG)

20488. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'Response to Arkady Kovelman,' *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 7 (2004) 146–151.

The author responds to and critiques the article of A. Kovelman summarized above at 20461. In contrast to scholars who either ignore Alexandrian Jewish exegesis or try to harmonize Philo with Palestinian rabbinic exegesis, Kovelman carries on the tradition of J. Freudenthal who contends that Alexandrian Judaism must be appreciated on its own terms. Niehoff questions, however, Kovelman's broad association of Bible with epic and rabbinic literature with comic novel. She also believes that he has not fully explained how Pseudo-Aristeas and Philo, 'the very exegetes who most distanced themselves from everything comic ... became the harbingers of a more comic approach to Scripture' (p. 149). Philo's allusions to frivolous writers imply that other Alexandrian exegetes had quite different approaches. Niehoff suggests that these other exegetes may themselves have been 'the crucial bridge between biblical epic and Talmudic farce' (*ibid.*). Philo's objections were not in fact to the frivolity of the literature but rather to the diminishing of divine power implied in the literal understanding of the Bible. In general Kovelman has introduced stimulating ideas that need stronger supporting evidence and analysis. (EB)

20489. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'Mother and Maiden, Sister and Spouse: Sarah in Philonic Midrash,' *Harvard Theological Review* 97 (2004) 413–444.

Whereas Josephus minimizes Sarah's importance in his reconstruction of the biblical account, Philo stresses her significance, sympathetically defends her rationality and virtue, appreciates and praises her achievements, and idealizes

her as an exemplary wife and competent Jewish woman, albeit in a patriarchal framework. In his literal treatment three episodes in the life of Sarah are examined: her sojourn in Pharaoh's house (Gen 12), her decision to offer Hagar to Abraham (Gen 16), and the visit of the messengers at Mamre (Gen 18:1–15). In his allegorical treatment, Philo draws freely on existing exegetical and Pythagorean Athena traditions (*Ebr.* 60–61, *Mut.* 141–143, *Mos.* 2.210). (KAF)

20490. C. NOACK, 'Haben oder Empfangen: antithetische Charakterisierungen von Torheit und Weisheit bei Philo und Paulus,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 283–307.

Both Philo and Paul are witnesses to the impressive creativity of Hellenistic Judaism. The author tries to show that the two contemporaries are comparable with common approaches to problems ('Problembezügen') and similar situations ('Problemlagen'), even though they are living in quite different sociological circumstances. The paper's starting point is a Philonic text at *Congr.* 130, where Philo distinguishes between souls who boast in 'having,' as compared with those who place value on 'receiving.' This is compared with three Pauline texts: 1 Cor 1–4; Phil 3; 2 Cor 2:14–7:4. Paul and Philo interact with both the exegesis of holy texts and their readers. The common element is how they can guide the readers and hearers to a spiritual and sober lifestyle (compare the stylistic device of the Diatribe). The author restricts himself especially to the problem of the antithetical characterization of foolishness and wisdom which is connected to human experience and ethical behaviour and is unfolded in lists of evil deeds and virtues ('Laster- und Tugendkataloge'). (GS)

20491. K.-H. OSTMEYER, 'Das Verständnis des Leidens bei Philo und im ersten Petrusbrief,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 265–281.

While there are some similarities concerning the views of suffering in the works of Philo and 1 Peter, the differences are more obvious and even more important. First, concerning Philo: while to Philo suffering can be described as a general condition of being human, there are also two other forms of sufferings; suffering as punishment, and undeserved suffering. These do not come from God; indeed, suffering comes never directly from God. The other suffering is to be fought against: 'mannhafter Kampf im Leiden ist das Ideal' (p. 270). In 1 Peter, however, there are similar views, but the differences are first

and foremost evident concerning the undeserved suffering. The community of 1 Peter is suffering: how is this to be understood? One of the differences of view is that the suffering of the Christians according to 1 Peter may be described as coming from God, or at least in accordance with the will of God. Suffering becomes one of the ways of communicating with God, and a mark of belonging to God. This kind of suffering is not, according to the author, to be found in Philo. (TS)

20492. A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA, 'Alessandria e la Torah,' *Richerche Storico Bibliche* 16 (2004) 177–218.

Survey article on Alexandrian Jewish literature from the LXX to Philo, paying particular attention to the conception of the Torah and its practical application as expressed in this literature. Alongside Philo, an important source text for this article is the *Letter of Aristeas*. In Alexandria for the first time the Bible, especially the Torah, is approached as a literary text (canon defined, translated, interpreted, all as in the philological tradition of the Alexandrian Museum and Library). The author touches on the context of the origin of the LXX: the synagogue, Alexandria, the Ptolemies, the close contacts between the diaspora/Alexandria and Jerusalem, the translators coming from Jerusalem, and the work in progress in this period of establishing an official Hebrew text of the Scriptures. She discusses the implications of 'Torah' translated as νόμος, the central place of the Scriptures in Jewish-Hellenistic literature (translations, re-elaborations), the Torah seen not only as Jewish but rather as universal law, the problems in establishing the place and time of origin of many Jewish-Hellenistic works, and the adaptation of the LXX translation to the Alexandrian environment, so that the LXX can be seen as an interpretation of the biblical text (e.g. through the lexical choices, and the titles given to the Biblical books). The author then focuses on the interpretation of the second commandment (regarding idolatry) in Alexandrian Judaism, among others in Philo. As a conclusion, faithfulness to the Torah turns out to be a leading characteristic of Alexandrian Jewish literature. As for the daily practice in the Egyptian diaspora (for which papyri are a good source), Jews appear to be recognizable as such only by their adherence to the Torah (not e.g. by dress or names). In Alexandrian Jewish literature, the Torah functions as a model for life and a source of a living, re-interpretable (not static) tradition. (HMK)

20493. P. PAVONE, 'Τὸ παηθτόν, materia preesistente o intero creato?' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la traditione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 123–136.

According to the author the doctrine of creation is the 'coping stone' for the entire edifice of Philo's thought. In it the 'logical and ontological' relation

between God the creator and his creation are central. Restricting the scope of his enquiry, Pavone concentrates his analysis on the term τὸ παθητόν in *Opif.* 8–9, where the order of the universe is reduced to the two factors of the active and the passive cause. The term itself can be taken in two different ways: either as ‘pre-existent passive’ or as ‘non-pre-existent’. In the second meaning the account of creation in *Opif.* would not be incompatible with a form of *creatio ex nihilo*. The doctrine of the simultaneity of the divine creative process also presses in this direction, as well as that of its unicity, in which the παθητόν would fulfil a double role: it would indicate the potentiality for divine creation, and at the same time it would prefigure ‘the final result of the divine activity’, i.e. the cosmos (p. 137). These two realities, potential and actual, do not contradict each other, but are ‘the two sides of the same medallion’ (*ibid.*). (RR)

20494. S. PEARCE, ‘Jerusalem as ‘Mother-city’ in the Writings of Philo of Alexandria,’ in J. M. G. BARCLAY (ed.), *Negotiating Diaspora. Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire*, Library of Second Temple Studies 45 (London 2004) 19–36.

This essay explores what Philo intended by applying the language of μητρόπολις (‘mother-city’) and ἀποικία (‘colony’) to the relationship between Jerusalem and Jews. Pearce rejects the assertion, made by Kasher (RR 8527) and Niehoff (see 20150), that Diaspora Jews saw Jerusalem as their true homeland and the place to which they owed greatest allegiance. While devotion to the Jerusalem temple was central to Philo, an exegesis of *Flacc.* 46 and *Legat.* 281–284 against the broader contours of Philo’s thought shows that Philo did not claim the centrality of Jerusalem over other homelands and Alexandria in particular. Rather, Philo’s language is influenced by the Greek Bible and his Pentateuch-centric piety. (KAF)

20495. S. PEARCE, ‘King Moses: Notes on Philo’s Portrait of Moses as an Ideal Leader in the *Life of Moses*,’ in E. GANNAGÉ *et al.* (edd.), *The Greek Strand in Islamic Political Thought: Proceedings of the Conference held at the Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, 16–27 June 2003*, Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph Beirut 57 (Beirut 2004) 37–74.

The theme of conference for which this contribution was prepared was the Greek and Christian roots of the Islamic tradition of the ideal and virtuous ruler. The paper focuses on the work that was perhaps the most important influence on early Christian models of ideal rule, Philo’s *Mos*. It commences with some general considerations on how Philo presents Moses, followed by some comments on the work itself and its place in the Philonic corpus. It is argued that the work was most likely originally independent of the Exposition of the Law, but that there is a clear association with the latter series, as indicated by internal cross-references. The remainder of the article consists of a fairly literal translation followed by extensive comments on the following passages: *Mos.* 1.1–2, 8, 20–24, 25–29, 32, 48, 148–162, 243, 249, 2.1–20. (DTR)

20496. S. PESSIN, 'Loss, Presence, and Gabirol's Desire: Medieval Jewish Philosophy and the Possibility of a Feminist Ground,' in *Women and Gender in Jewish Philosophy* (Indianapolis 2004) 27–50.

As far back as the Pythagorean 'Table of Opposites,' the feminine principle is seen as the negative counterpart of the masculine. One finds what Pessin calls 'the feminine-as-loss dynamic' in such philosophers as Plato, Aristotle, Philo, and Maimonides as well as in kabbalistic writings. In contrast to these thinkers, Solomon Ibn Gabirol (d. 1056) provides grounds for evaluating the feminine in a positive way. Unlike his philosophical predecessors he offers a positive evaluation of matter, usually associated with the feminine, links matter to the divine, and sees the passive stance as the positive erotic desire to be completed, in implicit contrast to the masculine erotic desire for power. To illustrate the subordination of female to male in Philo's thought, Pessin focuses especially on his allegorization of Adam and Eve in *Leg. 2* and observes that 'it is not merely subordination or suppression, but the demise of the feminine other that marks the Adamic vitality' (p. 37). (EB)

20497. R. M. PICCIONE, 'De Vita Mosis I 60–62: Philon und die griechische παιδεία,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 345–357.

The author aims to show by means of a concrete example the extent to which Philo blends background material from Greek literature with Jewish theological motifs in a synthesis full of allusions. The example is found in the life of Moses, where he speaks about the role of the shepherd practised by Jethro in Midian. Philo is aware that in his description he has to reach out to a wide readership. For this reason he does not use the famous biblical shepherd David as an example, but brings into play the classical background of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and its tradition. The role of shepherd was treated with disdain by many people in the ancient world, notably in Egypt (cf. *Agr.* 51), although it was favoured in the Platonic tradition. It certainly contrasts with the conception of the divine king such as we find in Hellenistic-Roman ideology, so we may conclude that Philo was clever in exploiting the theme of *paideia* as it had developed in the Xenophontic tradition. (DTR)

20498. P. PONTANI, 'Incontro di lingue e culture: le vicende di alcuni lessemi greci nelle traduzioni armena da Filone,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.) *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 267–287.

The study aims to investigate how the Armenian translation can contribute to our knowledge of the reception of Philo's thought and writings. It focuses on a group of terms belonging to the semantic field of the 'law' (νόμος, θεέμις, θεεμοί and their compounds and derivatives), confining the investigation to those treatises where both original Greek and the Armenian version are available. The various renderings of the Greek terms are listed and compared with those in earlier and contemporary Armenian translations, with the aim of determining which factors influenced the translators' choices. Although they often reflect a practice that developed over time, i.e. a conventional system of correspondences, the choices appear to be less mechanical than is often thought. In general the translators seem to be aware of the particular connotations intended by Philo. The choices made reflect a number of different factors, including the translator's personal linguistic and hermeneutical sensitivities, but also external influences, such as the contribution of the Greek exegetical tradition, earlier literature translated into Armenian, and the context. Many correspondences were found when comparing the translation of terms within the corpus, but also differences, which suggests that the Armenian translation of Philo's works was produced by more than one person. (RR; based on author's summary)

20499. U. POPLUTZ, *Athlet des Evangeliums. Eine motivgeschichtliche Studie zur Wettkampfmotaphorik bei Paulus*, Herders Biblische Studien 43 (Freiburg 2004), esp. 174–202.

The author examines Paul's use of a metaphor which was commonly used at the time of the Ancient Greeks (ἀγών, contest) and traces its development. 'Sport and games' played an exceptional role in the world of the Greeks, which is why the word ἀγών came to be used in a metaphorical way. It represents the battle of the wise against adversity and for virtue. In this study the main emphasis falls on Paul's use of this metaphor. But an entire section of the work is also devoted to its background both in Greek and Hellenistic–Jewish literature, including a fairly long section on Philo. The author first notes the difference between his approach, involving the allegorization of the lives of the Patriarchs and that of Greek sources. The role of the ἀγών can be quite precisely determined in Philo's schematic ontology in between irrationality and rationality on the one hand, and passion and virtue on the other. It is a struggle to attain piety and well-being (εὐδαιμονία) by means of moral effort. There follows a discussion of the specific prizes that the spiritual athlete gains, with discussions of the terms ἄθλον, βραβεῖον and στέφανος. Finally it is noted that Philo's metaphor is based on his own experience of sport in daily cultural life. (TS)

204100. R. RADICE, 'Considerazioni sulle origini greche dell'allegoria filoniana,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi*

del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003), Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verucchio 2004) 15–32.

The author traces the origins of Philo's allegorical method to the Stoic sphere, and more specifically to the distinction between allegory and allegoresis, i.e. between allegory as a practice and systematic allegory, in the form of a science, which in his view can be found in Chrysippus. However, although the early Stoics explained myth in terms of philosophical doctrine, they apparently did not bother to give full credibility to the poets as authors and disseminators of myth. This was the contribution of the Middle Stoa (and especially Posidonius), with their theory of the golden age of humanity and the perfect wisdom of the poets. The third part of the study focuses on the allegorists in both the Stoic and the Peripatetic sphere, and also other exponents who take on certain essential features of allegoresis, such as the systematic use of etymology, the specific aim of apologetics, the attention given to non-Hellenic material and the adoption of originally Stoic methods by non-Stoic philosophers. All these elements came together, in different degrees, in Alexandrian Judaism, which developed them in an original manner, particularly in the total identification of philosophy with allegoresis. Its distinctive feature is its systematic and comprehensive nature, including doctrines of creation and theology. Because of these features, Jewish-Alexandrian allegory pre-empts much of the exegesis produced by later Christian authors. (RR)

204101. I. RAMELLI, G. LUCCHETTA and R. RADICE, *Allegoria. Vol. 1, Letà classica, Temi metafisici e problemi del pensiero antico. Studi e testi* 98 (Milan 2004), esp. 40–45, 269–273.

The method of systematic allegory expressed by Chrysippus in *SVF* 2.1009 finds echoes in Philo, which demonstrates a line of continuity between the two authors. At the same time there are significant differences, which can be traced back to the fact that the Bible is conceived as an organic text of philosophical wisdom. This means that Philonic allegory can be more systematic and more complete, but less dependent on etymology. Above all it is able to be innovative from the philosophical viewpoint, which distinguishes it from classical Greek allegory that is limited to the confirmation of already existing doctrines. (RR)

204102. P. RICHARDSON, *Building Jewish in the East*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 92 (Waco Tex.–Leiden 2004), esp. 151–185.

A reprint and light revision of RRS 9369 as part of a collection of essays which focuses on bridging the gap between archaeological and literary evidence particularly in relation to buildings which have a religious function. (KAF)

204103. E. ROBERTS, *Philo, Paul, Stoic Paradox* (diss. Brown University 2004).

This thesis demonstrates that Philo of Alexandria and Paul of Tarsus make significant use of the Stoic paradoxes, which are a set of ethical beliefs that go against common opinion (Cicero, *Para. Stoic.*). It shows that Philo employs the philosophy and philology of the paradoxes in his biblical exegesis and that Paul relies upon philosophical assumptions similar to those of the paradoxes. Although the Stoic focus on the singular good of virtue does not find linguistic expression in Paul, his focus on the singular good of a life in Christ points toward a similar structure of thought. Four aspects of the thesis are of particular interest to Philonic studies: (1) the identification of eleven instances where Philo replicates the Stoic formula 'virtue is the only good,' (2) a comparison between the discussions of the paradox 'the sage alone is free' in Philo, *Prob.*, and Cicero, *Parad. Stoic.*, (3) an evaluation of current debates on Philo's view of wealth (Mealand R-R 7833, Schmidt R-R 8365, Phillips above 20151) with attention to Philo's use of the paradox 'the sage alone is rich,' (4) a discussion of Philo's application of the paradox 'the sage alone is king' to the figures of Moses, Abraham, and Adam. (DTR; based on a summary supplied by the author)

204104. G. ROSKAM, 'An Unknown Light Enlightened: on an Enigmatic Passage in Philo of Alexandria (QG 3.18),' *Rheinisches Museum* 147 (2004) 428–430.

The third of the allegorical explanations given by Philo at QG 3.18 in order to explain why Sarah did not bear children to Abraham is rather obscure. The author suggests that the text may be better understood if it is seen to refer to the Stoic doctrine of the σοφὸς διαλεληθῶς, i.e. when the sage instantaneously changes from wickedness to virtue even though he is at first unconscious of the change. Suggestions are made on how the Armenian may have obscured the meaning. (DTR)

204105. J. R. ROYSE, 'Jeremiah Markland's Contribution to the Textual Criticism of Philo,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16 (2004) 50–60.

Jeremiah Markland's name occurs frequently in the textual apparatus to C-W. This essay explores who the reclusive Markland was and how his emendations and conjectures came to be included in Mangey's edition. Quite a few of the notes attributed to him in the C-W edition of *Opif.* stem not from Mangey's edition but from his handwritten notes in his personal copy of Mangey. Eighteen passages where a reading is attributed to Markland in the C-W edition of *Opif.* are examined to show that sometimes he was the source of the emendation, and contrary to Cohn's assumption, sometimes Mangey was. (KAF)

204106. D. T. RUNIA, 'Philo of Alexandria,' in G. R. EVANS (ed.), *The First Christian Theologians: an Introduction to Theology in the Early Church*, The Great Theologians (Malden Mass. 2004) 77–84.

A chapter is devoted to Philo in this volume on Patristic theology as part of the section entitled Rival Traditions: Christian Theology and Judaism. It is not inappropriate to call Philo 'the first theologian' (Bousset). His thought is more theocentric than what we find in Greek philosophy. Moreover the Alexandrian Hellenistic Judaism that Philo represents tends to approach religious faith in a dogmatizing frame of mind, as illustrated by the 'creed' found at the end of *Opif.* The article proceeds to outline the main themes of Philo's thought on the nature and activity of God. It ends with a brief discussion of the critique of Philo's theology by the fifth-century monk Isidore of Pelusium. (DTR)

204107. D. T. RUNIA, 'Clement of Alexandria and the Philonic Doctrine of the Divine Power(s),' *Vigiliae Christianae* 58 (2004) 256–276.

The paper, written as a contribution to the Festschrift for the Australian Patristic scholar Eric Osborn, offers a comprehensive examination of how Clement appropriates the Philonic doctrine of the divine powers. It first examines the biblical basis of the doctrine, in which Pauline influence is superimposed on Genesis. It then successively treats the subject in the areas of theology, cosmology and the doctrine of creation, including the creation of humanity. For Clement experience of the divine power (usually in the singular) leads to knowledge of God (to the extent possible) and intimacy with Him through the Son. Clement's Philonic heritage has enabled him to develop a positive and above all a dynamic theology. (DTR)

204108. D. T. RUNIA, 'Etymology as an Exegetical Technique in Philo of Alexandria,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16 (2004) 101–121.

This paper was presented at the 2003 SBL conference in Atlanta as part of a seminar on Etymology and Allegory organized by the Hellenistic Moral Philosophy and Early Christianity Program Unit. The paper aims to give an overview of how Philo makes use of etymology as an allegorical technique in his exegesis of scripture. It commences by pointing out the excellent research done by Lester Grabbe on Philo's Hebrew etymologies in his 1988 monograph (RRS 8829). After some remarks on the distribution of etymologies in Philo's three main exegetical works, it outlines the method in its essentials and demonstrates that an etymological allegorical interpretation consists of four component parts which can be presented in any order: the Hebrew word, its translation into Greek, its symbolism represented by the translation, and a justification of the symbolism. This use of etymology is based on a consistently held general theory of language. Brief comments are then made on the nine cases where Philo gives Greek etymologies of Hebrew names. Next there is a discussion on how Philo makes use of etymologies in his exegesis, particularly in his allegories. It is suggested that it would be useful to have a complete list of all the names, their usage and

symbolism and the texts where they are used. The final two sections discuss the source of Philo's etymologies (he is certainly dependent on earlier exegetical traditions) and the relation of his practice to Greek allegorical allegorizing. There are some parallels to what Philo was doing, but they lack the systematic coherence of his achievement. (DTR)

204109. H. SAVON, 'Remploi et transformation de thèmes philoniens dans la première lettre d'Ambroise à Just,' in B. GAIN, P. JAY and G. NAUROY (edd.), «*Chartae caritatis*»: *Études de patristique et d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Yves-Marie Duval* (Paris 2004) 83–95.

A dozen of Ambrose's letters can be regarded as Christian reformulations of Philonic treatises. The author concentrates on a letter addressed to a certain Justus (*Ep.* 7) who had asked Ambrose about the half drachma which the Hebrews had to pay *pro redemptione animae suae*. The first part of the letter at least emerges as a revision and Christianization of *Her.* 133–160. (JR)

204110. B. SCHALLER, 'Adam und Christus bei Paulus. Oder: Über Brauch und Fehlbrauch von Philo in der neutestamentlichen Forschung,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172* (Tübingen 2004) 143–153.

The prevailing attempt to interpret the Pauline Adam-Christ typology in 1 Cor 15:44–49 from a Philonic background, particularly the text in *Leg.* 1.31, and to present it as a Christian adaptation is in the opinion of the author a good example of New Testament scholars' misuse of parallels. Many of them argue that the ontological motifs of Philo were reshaped into a temporal structure and received an eschatological orientation. But in the view of the author the two thinkers deal quite differently with the twofold report of the creation of man in Gen 1:26 ff. and Gen 2:7. There are two main differences. Paul sees no distinction between the two human beings created in Gen 1:26 and Gen 2:7, whereas Philo does. More importantly the pneumatic human being is never identified with the first human being, but the latter is linked with the 'earthly Adam' of Gen 2:7. The author concludes that a crucial piece of evidence for regarding Paul as the earliest date of a knowledge of Philo and his ideas in contemporary Jewish circles of Diaspora is invalidated. (GS)

204111. G. SCHÖLLGEN (ed.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Band XX (Stuttgart 2004).

H. Ohme, art. Kanon I (Begriff), 1–28, esp. 7–8 (Canon I, as concept); K. S. Frank, art. Klausur, 1233–1257, esp. 1239 (seclusion). (DTR)

204112. D. R. SCHWARTZ, 'Did the Jews Practice Infant Exposure and Infanticide in Antiquity?', *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16 (2004) 61–95.

This article takes as its starting point a critical examination on recent scholarship on the question of whether infant exposure and infanticide were practiced and approved among Jews in antiquity. Claims put forward by Adele Reinhartz (RRS 9267) have been uncritically taken over by the scholars T. Ilan, C. Hezser, and M. R. Niehoff (see above 20146). The author proceeds to review the literary and archaeological sources. Concerning Philo, he shows that Niehoff's treatment does not support the latter's claim that Philo approved of child sacrifice or condoned infant exposure. (KAF)

204113. A. F. SEGAL, *Life after Death: a History of the Afterlife in Western Religion* (New York 2004), esp. 368–375.

The chapter entitled Sectarian life in New Testament times describes how the two different views on the afterlife in Jewish society—resurrection of the body and immortality of the soul—begin to be blended together. A section of this chapter is devoted to Philo. In his beliefs on life after death Philo can perhaps be considered representative of the new Jewish intellectual class, who are well attuned to Greek philosophical traditions and able to understand the Bible and Judaism in the light of Greek philosophy. Philo was strongly indebted to Platonic ideas on the immortality of the soul. It is he in fact who crafted the notion of the immortal soul which is so familiar in Western tradition, building on the Platonic heritage. There are some passages in Philo which hint at the more native Jewish tradition of bodily resurrection, but these are not developed and he avoids the standard vocabulary for this view. Most often he regards death as the soul's liberation from the prison of the body. The discussion concludes (p. 375): 'Philo ... was able to harmonize Judaism with Greek philosophy. For him, both said the same, when each is seen in its finest light.' (DTR)

204114. T. SELAND, 'The Moderate Life of the Christian *paroikoi*: a Philonic Reading of 1 Pet 2:11,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003), *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 172 (Tübingen 2004) 241–264.

Postulating a Philonic reader well versed in the works of Philo, this study asks how such a reader would possibly read 1 Pet 2:11, and especially its anthropological part (11b). Such a reader would have recognized several important terms as common to Philo and the Petrine passage. Furthermore there is close to nothing in 1 Pet 2:11 that would problematize the understanding inherent in a reader's Philonic symbolic universe of thought. However, such a reader would certainly find various interpretations in recent research on 1 Pet 2:11 strange or strained. (TS)

204115. T. SELAND, *Paulus i Polis. Paulus' sosiale verden som forståelsesbakgrunn for hans liv og forkynnelse* [Norwegian: *Paul in Polis: Paul's Social World as Background for Understanding his Life and Teaching*], *Kyrkjefag Profil 4* (Tapir 2004), esp. 204–210.

A thoroughly revised version of the preliminary edition of a textbook published in 1998; see 9891. Philo and Josephus are presented on pp. 204–210, but the author also draws on Philo's works in describing several aspects of the Diaspora at the time of Paul. (TS)

204116. G. SELLIN, 'Einflüsse philonischer Logos-Theologie in Korinth: Weisheit und Apostelparteien (1 Kor 1–4),' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172* (Tübingen 2004) 165–172.

In a brief article the author responds to the criticism made of some of his studies on the background of the opponents of Paul in Corinth as portrayed in 1 Cor 1–4 (see RRS a8694, 9279, 9681; also the articles of Seland and Zeller in the same volume summarized in this bibliography). The author clarifies and develops his arguments for the religious and historical background in the exegesis of 1 Cor 1–4. Two related questions are put forward: is it possible that actual human persons could fulfil the role and function of the Logos? If so, how can such an identity with the Logos be understood? The author continues to answer the first question in the affirmative and endeavours to underline and to strengthen his theses. (GS)

204117. J. SFARMENI GASPARRO, 'Mosè e Balaam, propheteia e mantiké. Modalità e segni della rivelazione nel *De vita Mosis*,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, *Biblioteca di Adamantius 2* (Villa Verruchio 2004) 33–75.

Philo's wish in the *Mos.* is to trace out a 'true' image of Moses, basing it on the one hand on the 'autobiographical' scriptures of the Lawgiver himself and on the other hand on the ancient oral traditions. The aim of this article is to cast some light on the question of revelation and prophecy as related, by analogy and by contrast, to the phenomenon of divination, the latter meant as a set of techniques for pursuing the knowledge of phenomena and events which lie beyond the normal, rational means of investigation and which also reveal the action of superhuman powers. On analyzing *Mos.* and parallel Philonic texts, we can detect a masterly construction built by the author in order to bring out the true prophet as the interpreter of premonitory signs of the future, a

mouthpiece for the revelation of the one God, in contrast with the μάντις-γόης (Balaam) operating on the contemporary religious scene. In the prophet, the gift of direct inspiration, guaranteeing the truth of the message, and the exercise of his rational faculties in the comprehension of the same message are combined in a close symbiosis. This makes the prophet a sage, with a set of ethical and religious prerogatives. The prophetic event in Philo's perspective has the characteristics of an ecstatic and at the same time invasive experience, as the human intellect stands back before the manifestation of the divine Spirit, which uses its 'interpreter' as a tool. Nevertheless, its significance is of a rational nature, because of the very basis of Moses' revelation, the divine Logos, of which the Judaic law is the expression. This law has a universal value because it is essentially identical to the natural law which regulates the whole of cosmic life. (HMK)

204118. F. SIEGERT, 'Die Inspiration der Heiligen Schriften: ein philonisches Votum zu 2 Tim 3,16', in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 205–222.

The focus of this article concerns not the question of whether 2 Tim 3:16 in some way is dependent on similar thoughts from Philo, but rather the question of what we can find in the works of Philo concerning the doctrine of Inspiration. In considering 'what was Holy Scripture in 1st century Israel?' the author deals with the terms γραφή and γραφαί. For Philo this is primarily the Nomos. He then investigates Philo's reception of the Aristeas legend and his expansion of the same. In a fourth section he deals in more detail with the specific theory of Inspiration in Philo, concluding that he in fact cherishes both a kind of 'Personalinspiration' and an inspiration of the written texts of the Scriptures. In the last section the author surmises that we might even find a kind of 'Inspiration of the reader' evidenced in the works of Philo. (TS)

204119. F. SIEGERT, 'Der Logos, «älterer Sohn» des Schöpfers und «zweiter Gott». Ein Erinnerung an Philon,' in J. FREY and U. SCHELLE (edd.), *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 175 (Tübingen 2004) 277–294.

This rich and highly compressed article argues that the track associated with the Hellenistic-Jewish concept of the Logos leads us closer to the centre of Johannine Christology than others connected with speculations on angels, high priests and so on. Ideas such as we find in Philo would have been orally communicated; texts are only a secondary witness. The article proceeds to discuss a number of theological themes which link Hellenistic Judaism of the Philonic type to the Gospel of John. Among these are the relation between σοφία and λόγος, the various kinds of divine triads (God and the two powers,

God–Logos–cosmos), rules that regulate the language used of God, the use of θεός with and without the article, the true centre of Johannine Christianity which lies in the pronouncement of the incarnation, and the disappearance of logos-speculation in Judaism. Siegert makes numerous striking observations and claims, including the one that Philo's Judaism is more spiritualized than Christianity, that 'Christianity is nothing else than Hellenistic Judaism which has been reorganized around the pronouncement of the incarnation' (p. 288), and that there is only one such pronouncement in the Philonic corpus, namely at QG 2.4, where the ark is the embodiment of the intelligible cosmos. (DTR)

204120. F. SIEGERT, 'Sara als vollkommene Frau bei Philon,' in R. KAMPLING (ed.), *Sara lacht . . . Eine Erzmutter und ihre Geschichte. Zur Interpretation und Rezeption der Sara-Erzählung* (Paderborn 2004) 109–129.

Although the article has as its chosen theme the figure of Sarah in Philo's works, it focuses mainly on preliminary issues relating to Philo's exegetical method. In relation to the question of the inspiration of scripture Siegert first discusses the growth of the ancient legend of the Letter of Aristeas. He then discusses the inspiration of Moses, but also that of the Major Prophets. In scripture Sarah is presented as the ideal woman. Finally, Siegert poses the question of the inspiration of the readers. (GS)

204121. H. J. SPIERENBURG, 'Philo Judaeus over filosofie, wijsheid en intelligentie' [Dutch: Philo Judaeus on Philosophy, Wisdom and Intelligence], *Prana: Tijdschrift voor spiritualiteit en randgebieden der wetenschappen* 142 (2004) 82–85.

In this final contribution on Philo's thought published not long before his untimely death the author focuses on the doctrine of God, the stream of wisdom that emanates from Him, and the relationship between that wisdom and human intelligence. The article ends with a quote from *Agr.* 65: 'the house of wisdom is the true home of the wise person.' (DTR)

204122. G. E. STERLING, 'The Place of Philo of Alexandria in the Study of Christian Origins,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 172 (Tübingen 2004) 21–52.

The author's task was to set the scene for the conference on the relation between Philo and the New Testament. His approach is positive and optimistic. Although he is convinced that there are no direct connections between Philo and the New Testament, he nevertheless argues that there are many traditions which they share. Philo is not as isolated within Judaism as we might think. At least two

Jewish authors are demonstrably dependent on him: Josephus and the author of *2 Enoch*. Others share traditions with him. Philo was also known to a number of pagan intellectuals. As for New Testament writers, Sterling focuses on four texts where he detects the use of Platonizing traditions reminiscent of what we find in Philo: the Corinthian correspondence, Hebrews, Luke–Acts and the Gospel of John. He is particularly intrigued by the correspondences between Philo's exegesis of Gen 1:1–5 and the use made of the same passage by the Evangelist in John 1:1–5. Is it not likely that they shared the same Platonizing tradition? In his view this hypothesis has to be worked out in more detail. In short, Sterling argues that Philo's treatises fill some of the gaps in our knowledge left by the New Testament documents. The extent to which this can happen depends on how we see Philo's place in Judaism. (DTR)

204123. G. E. STERLING, 'Was there a Common Ethic in Second Temple Judaism?,' in J. J. COLLINS, G. E. STERLING and R. A. CLEMENTS (edd.), *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 20–22 May 2001* (Leiden 2004) 171–194.

Citing Philo's description of synagogues as schools of ethical instruction (*Mos.* 2.216), Sterling asks whether such instruction was typical in the Second Temple period, whether it was uniform, and, if so, to what extent and whether instruction in the Diaspora was similar to or different from that in Israel. A comparison of Philo's *Hypoth.*, Josephus's *Contra Apionem*, and Ps. Phocylides reveals significant similarities in the selection of laws, particularly in the way these are clustered in each text. Sterling identifies nine clusters pertaining to 'sexuality, violations of others, a household code, disregard of others, concern for others, burial practices, reproductive practices, scales and measurements, and ... laws that protect animals' (pp. 176, 180). He suggests that behind the three sources lay a shared body of oral teachings and that the synagogue was the most likely place for this instruction. Sterling then compares the Diaspora sources with the Damascus Document, Temple Scroll, and Halakhic Letter (4QMMT). Despite differences regarding openness to the outside world and focus on the concept of holiness, he finds similarities between the two sets of sources in their selection of laws based on Lev 19–20 and Deut 22, and in laws, such as kinds of forbidden marital intercourse, based on common exegetical traditions. He therefore concludes that while the evidence does not support the existence of a common written code, Israel and the Diaspora shared significant ethical teachings. (EB)

204124. G. A. G. STROUMSA, 'Christ's Laughter: Docetic Origins Reconsidered,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 12 (2004) 267–288.

According to the early Docetic theologians, Jesus did not really die on the cross but only appeared to do so. For first-century Jews Isaac was an example of one who had almost been sacrificed but not quite. For the Church fathers Isaac

became a τύπος of Christ. Some traditions describe Christ as laughing in heaven, while Simon of Cyrene is crucified in Christ's place. The author argues that the laughter of Christ is a reference to the Philonic etymology of Isaac as 'laughter'. It is noted that Philo too claims that Isaac is a son of God, not of Abraham, and that his mother Sarah was a virgin when she conceived him. (ACG)

204125. K. P. SULLIVAN, *Wrestling with Angels: a Study of the Relationship between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament*, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 55 (Leiden 2004), esp. 216–219.

Philo's allegorical treatment of Gen 6:1–4 at *Gig.* 1–18, 58–61 and QG 1.92 is examined in the context of a broader investigation of the relationship between humans and angels in the literature of the late Second Temple and early Christian period. (KAF)

204126. J. TAYLOR, *Pythagoreans and Essenes: Structural Parallels*, *Collection de la Revue des Etudes Juives* 32 (Paris 2004), esp. 89–91.

Taylor investigates the question whether Pythagorean communities and their way of life were an important source of Essene and Christian practices. In discussing the Essene practice, Justin Taylor (not to be confused with his namesake Joan Taylor) uses Philo's *Prob.*, Josephus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls as sources. The author also refers to Philo's description of the Therapeutae in *Contempl.* and notes some common points and differences between on the one hand Philo's Therapeutae and Therapeutrides and on the other Pythagorean and Essene traditions. Philo, for instance, never mentions the theme of purity. The author concludes that the parallels between the Pythagorean and the Essene ways of life can be explained by the influence of the former on the latter. (ACG)

204127. J. E. TAYLOR, 'The Women "Priests" of Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa*. Reconstructing the Therapeutae,' in J. SCHABERG, A. BACH and E. FUCHS (edd.), *On the Cutting Edge. The Study of Women in Biblical Worlds. Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza* (London 2004) 102–122.

Philo's highly rhetorical presentation of the Therapeutae and Therapeutrides is characterized by what E. Schüssler Fiorenza has called 'slippages', or 'small kernels of reality indicating the real-life struggle of women that are embedded in an androcentric text' (p. 102). The presence of women among the Therapeutae was a problem for Philo's overall purpose to depict the Jewish group as superior to comparable groups in the Greco-Roman world, among whom women philosophers were sometimes ridiculed or were expected to be wives and mothers as well as philosophers. Philo deals with the problem by omitting mention of the Therapeutrides in some contexts and by portraying these women as 'mostly elderly virgins', who sat separately from the men, were modest, and were celi-

bate by choice. The last description suggests an implicit contrast with Greco-Roman cultic figures who were required to be celibate. Through 'slippages' in Philo's account, however, one can view the senior Therapeutrides as equal to the men; they were 'mothers', or honored figures in the group, who participated equally with the men in cultic and ecstatic song and the partaking of food, which associated them with the priests at the temple service. This association is especially striking because in the temple service in Jerusalem not only could women not be priests but they could only observe the service from a special area. (EB)

204128. C. TERMINI, 'Dal Sinai alla creazione: il rapporto tra legge naturale e legge rivelata in Filone di Alessandria,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la traditione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 159–191.

Rashi's *Commentary on Genesis* opens with a question: if the Law is the culmination of God's revelation to Israel, why does the Torah start with Genesis and not for example with Exod 12:2, which is the first command of God on the celebration of the Pascha? This question is implicitly posed and answered by Philo, who affirms that the Patriarchs too, well before Moses, lived in perfect conformity with the Law. In this sense the laws of nature embodied in the Patriarchs have an archetypal value, of which the Torah is a copy, albeit a perfect one. In his thought Philo has three objectives: (1) to lay a philosophical foundation for the Mosaic laws; (2) to give them the aspect of universality; (3) to show their value for the political and cultural world in which he lived. For these purposes he uses a fairly vague terminology (νόμος φύσεως, νόμος ἔμπυρchos, ἄγραφος νόμος, θεσμός), which allows frequent interaction with various spheres (ethical, political, scientific) along the lines of Cicero's *De legibus*. Contrary to Cicero, however, Philo does not allow for a conception of law that has the possibility of error in the transition from rational principle to written text. Instead he traces a direct relationship between the natural law and the Law of Moses, because God is the author of both. Philo thus endows the Mosaic Torah with a universal value and the patriarchs play a central role in the argument. They achieve a rational knowledge of the natural laws, whereas the process of revelation is reserved for Moses, enabling the transition from rational law engraved in the soul to written text to be protected. (RR)

204129. C. TERMINI, 'Taxonomy of Biblical Laws and φιλοτεχνία in Philo of Alexandria: a Comparison with Josephus and Cicero,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16 (2004) 1–29.

The Decalogue stands out because it is a direct revelation from God and has a double function. Each precept describes a specific law (νόμος) and becomes a rule (κεφάλαιον) by which to classify a series of analogous, particular laws,

according to a principle of genera and species. The Decalogue thus becomes the basis for cataloging all of the Torah's precepts and the foundation of Philo's reorganizing and reworking of the legal material of the Pentateuch in *Decal.* and *Spec.* Philo's taxonomic method is compared with Josephus and Philo's taxonomic categories are shown to demonstrate affinities to Cicero. Philo can be considered the first author in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic-Roman age who gave preeminence to the Decalogue. (KAF)

204130. F. THOME, *Historia contra Mythos. Die Schriftauslegung Diodors von Tarsus und Theodors von Mopsuestia im Widerstreit zu Kaiser Julians und Salustius' allegorischem Mythenverständnis*, Hereditas. Studien zur Alten Kirchengeschichte 24 (Bonn 2004), esp. 142–148.

This study examines the question of whether the allegorical interpretations of emperor Julian exerted a negative influence on the anti-allegorical exegesis of the Antiochene exegetes Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. A translation is given of Theodore's preface to Ps 118. This preface is directed against allegorical interpreters and is partly devoted to Philo and Origen. Theodore claims that Philo was the first to use the pagan method of allegorical reading in the interpretation of scripture. Thome concludes that the allegorical interpretation of Julian probably encounters resistance in Diodore and encourages him to emphasize the historical meaning in his exegesis of scripture. Theodore follows his master Diodore. (ACG)

204131. M. A. TOLBERT, 'Philo and Paul: the Circumcision Debates in Early Judaism,' in F. CRÜSEMANN (ed.), *Dem Tod nicht glauben. Sozialgeschichte der Bibel. Festschrift für Luise Schottroff zum 70. Geburtstag* (Gütersloh 2004) 394–407.

After having briefly sketched the origins of the Jewish circumcision practice, Tolbert deals with Philo and Paul. Drawing primarily on *QG* 3.47–50 and *Migr.* 89–93, she presents the various arguments of Philo for the observance of circumcision (to prevent disease, to increase fertility, and the function of excision of the pleasures). But as circumcision is only for men, Philo maintains its importance as a gender boundary, and furthermore, that its symbolic and literal meanings should not be played out against each other. Paul, on the other hand, unlike Philo, makes no attempt to keep the spiritual and the literal together, but sees the two as being at war with each other. Furthermore, the symbolic view espoused by Paul not only eliminates the insider/outsider boundary functions of circumcision but also eliminates the gender boundary Philo preserves. Finally, Tolbert has some suggestions as to how and where Paul arrived at his view, namely among the Jews of Damascus. (TS)

204132. L. TROIANI, 'Natura e storia politica in Filone d'Alessandria,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di*

Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la traditione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003), Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 1–8.

Political history in Philo is, on the one hand, dependent upon the particular angle from which the public life of the city was observed and the status of the same: in his time Alexandria was one of the largest metropolitan cities of the Roman empire, and, thanks to the papyri and literary texts, it is well known how turbulent and unstable the political situation was. On the other hand, his philosophical conception assigned to politics a role that is brought out very effectively by the beginning of *Legat.* and theorized in the treatise *Ios*. Since politics is a direct emanation of the sensible world subject to the Tyche, and precariousness and inconstancy are inherent to politics, history consists in a succession of misunderstandings and failures to comprehend. Philo's interest in political history serves to probe the question of Nature as opposed to Tyche and thereby reach a greater understanding of the same. (HMK; based on author's summary)

204133. H. TRONIER, 'Markusevangeliet Jesus som biografiseret erkendelsesfigur [Danish: The Jesus of Mark's Gospel as a Cognitive Figure Turned into a Figure of Biography]', in T. L. THOMPSON and H. TRONIER (edd.), *Frelsens biografisering* [Danish: Salvation Biographized] (Copenhagen 2004) 237–271.

In this article the author attempts to demonstrate his view that the Gospel of Mark is to be read as an allegorical work, written according to the same allegorical principles as Philo uses, for example, when he interprets the biblical narratives on Abraham and Moses. It is the author's hypothesis that Mark applied an allegorical strategy and way of constructing narratives in order to write into the story of Jesus a Pauline theology. The procedure, according to Tronier, is comparable to the way in which Philo writes into his biblical and ethnic stories a philosophical terminology in order to make them 'philosophical.' Mark thus makes Paul's ideology 'Jesuanic' in a similar way as Philo made the philosophy of his time Jewish/biblical through using the allegorical method. (TS)

204134. G. ULUHOGIAN, 'Un inedito testo medievale armeno su Filone,' in A. M. MAZZANTI and F. CALABI (edd.), *La rivelazione in Filone di Alessandria: natura, legge, storia. Atti del VII convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la traditione alessandrina (Bologna 29–30 settembre 2003)*, Biblioteca di Adamantius 2 (Villa Verruchio 2004) 249–253.

The medieval Armenian *Book of Causes*, which is still largely unpublished, is a collection of writings on the occasions or 'causes' of the composition of

the main works of ancient Christian and secular culture. The author and editor Grigor Vardapet (13th century) intended it as a kind of manual of the history of literature. The author of the writings relating to Philo is Dawit' K'obayrec'i, an important personage in the Armenian church between 1150 and 1220. The article presents an Italian version of his unpublished introduction to the biography and works of Philo known in the Armenian environment. (RR; based on author's summary)

204135. D. VIGNE, 'Origene et l'exégèse juive: l'Homélie II sur la Genèse,' *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 105 (2004) 105–146.

The author finds in this homily direct and personal reminiscences of Philonic exegesis. Origen cites in particular QG 2 in relation to the plan of the Ark, its tripartite structure which is an image of the human body, and its window compared to the faculty of sight which opens up the first path to philosophy. Also mentioned are the texts concerning Noah the righteous man, whom Philo presents as 'heir of the divine essence' and as the 'true and faithful covenant,' and texts which deal with the difference between the order of entry into the ark and departure in terms of the difference between separation of the sexes and mixing, i.e. the obligation of continence and that of procreation. (JR)

204136. J. A. WADDELL, 'Will the Real Judaism Please Stand up? Ritual Self-definition as Ideological Discourse from Qumran to Jerusalem,' *Henoch* 26 (2004) 3–23.

The Essenes at Qumran (the *yahad*) had a practice of facing the sun in daily prayer at sunrise. Waddell addresses whether this practice should be understood as part of a wider Hellenistic worship of the sun (as Morton Smith claims) or as something more specific to the *yahad*. To support his argument that the *yahad* did not pray to the sun itself, as one might understand from Josephus (*BJ* 2.128), Waddell considers Philo's description of the Therapeutae (*Contempl.* 89), who also faced the sun at dawn. Examining such texts as *Jubilees*, 4QMMT, and *Habakkuk Peshet*, Waddell underscores the importance of calendar disputes between the Essenes as a whole and the Jerusalem priesthood. Taking into account the Groningen Hypothesis, he believes that the *yahad* at Qumran separated from the parent Essene movement because the latter continued to send votive offerings to the Jerusalem temple. The practice of facing the sun in prayer at sunrise would position the worshippers with their backs to the moon and also to Jerusalem. This practice should therefore be understood not as reflective of a wider Hellenistic worship but instead as an expression of the commitment of the *yahad* to the solar-sabbatical calendar rather than the lunar calendar followed by the Jerusalem priesthood and as opposition to the Jerusalem priesthood itself. (EB)

204137. S.-K. WAN, 'Abraham and the Promise of Spirit: Points of Convergence between Philo and Paul,' in E. G. CHAZON, D. SATRAN and

R. A. CLEMENTS (edd.), *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (Leiden 2004) 209–224.

An analysis of Philo's treatment of mystical Abraham as a proto-proselyte suggests points of contact with Paul's eschatological use of Abraham in Gal 3:1–14, even if the portraits are painted on entirely different canvases, Philo's schema being based on the Hellenistic model of contemplation, whereas Paul's perspective is eschatological. (KAF)

204138. K. L. WATERS, 'Saved through Childbearing: Virtues as Children in 1 Timothy 2:11–15,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123 (2004) 703–735.

In this study the author interprets 1 Tim 2:11–15 as an allegory in which the virtues faith, love, holiness, and temperance are portrayed as the children of those women in Ephesus who will be saved. On pp. 716–719, he attempts to substantiate this highly allegorical interpretation by drawing on the allegorical interpretations of Philo. He here finds similar interpretations of virtues as being described as children in *Leg.* 3.180–181, 2.82, 3.68, *Congr.* 13–23, *Her.* 50 and others. He argues that Philo demonstrates that the idea of virtues and vices as children particularly of the soul occurred in the context of the Genesis narrative, and was in currency at the time of Timothy's author and earlier. (TS)

204139. F. WATSON, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London 2004), esp. 236–252.

Central to this monograph is the observation that Paul and his fellow Jews read the same scriptural texts, the Torah and the Prophets. As a Jew, Paul is thus a reader of scripture alongside others, and his theology is inter-textual in form. The author deals with Philo in several sections, but especially with his interpretations of Abraham on pp. 236–252. This represents a part of a larger section that discusses the picture of Abraham in *Jubilees*, in Philo, Paul, and the Genesis texts, thus investigating just this three-sided conversation between scripture, Pauline texts and non-Christian Jewish texts that is so central to the methodology of this study. (TS)

204140. C. WERMAN, 'God's House: Temple and Universe,' in R. DEINES and K.-W. NIEBUHR (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaico-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 172 (Tübingen 2004) 309–320.

In Second Temple Judaism there are two main streams of thought in relation to the temple. The one tends to view the universe as God's temple and mainly

negates the earthly temple and sacrifices, the other affirms these. At the same time the positive view towards the concept of temple is accompanied by denunciation of the Second temple. Against this background Philo's views on the temple are examined. The author comes to the unexpected conclusion that Philo stands closer to a text such as 4QFlorilegium from the land of Israel (her formulation) than those of the Hellenistic-Jewish Diaspora which take a negative view of the Jerusalem temple (such as Stephen's speech in Acts 7). Both affirm temple and sacrifices, the difference between them lying in what they identify as the superior temple, in Philo's case the universe, for the Qumran document the future earthly temple. (DTR)

204141. D. WINSTON, 'Un secolo di ricerca sul libro della Sapienza,' in G. BELLIA and A. PASSARO (edd.), *Il Libro della Sapienza: tradizione, redazione, teologi* (Rome 2004) 13–31.

Italian version of a survey article on a century of research on the book of Wisdom which was subsequently published in English. See the summary at 20582. (DTR)

204142. J. WYRICK, *The Ascension of Authorship: Attribution and Canon Formation in Jewish, Hellenistic, and Christian Traditions*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature 49 (Cambridge Mass. 2004), esp. 82–83, 257–259, 266–267.

To understand the modern Western notion of authorship, Wyrick examines narratives about the history of texts in Jewish, Greek, and Christian traditions and considers implications of these views for the development of canons. He focuses especially on Second Temple and rabbinic sources, Alexandrian scholarship, and early Christian writers, particularly Augustine. Among these writers, Josephus is a key figure because he expressed the differences between Jewish and Greek perspectives, criticized the Greek approach, and influenced later Christian ideas of authorship. Philo is discussed briefly for his treatment of human vs. divine authorship of the Pentateuch, his position on valid and invalid oracles (based on *Leg.* 3.119), and his account of the miraculous translation of the Septuagint. (EB)

204143. A. YARBRO COLLINS, 'The Charge of Blasphemy in Mark 14:64,' *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 26 (2004) 379–401.

At Mark 14:64 Jesus is charged with committing blasphemy, even though he does not utter the Divine Name (v. 62). In exploring understandings of blasphemy in the cultural context of Mark, *mSanh.* 7.5, Josephus, and the Community Rule of Qumran say one is not guilty of blasphemy unless one pronounces the Name. However, Philo is important because, like the Sadducees, he shows a broader understanding of blasphemy. Philo's exegesis of Lev 24:10–23 in *Legat.* 26, 44–46, *Somn.* 2.18, *Mos.* 2.37–38 shows that a

human can commit blasphemy by claiming a divine status or greater degree of authority and power than one has the right to do. (KAF)

204144. M. Ytterbrink, *The Third Gospel for the First Time. Luke within the Context of Ancient Biography* (diss. Lund University 2004), esp. 94–103.

The author's dissertation from Lund University, Sweden, was supervised by Prof. Birger Olsson. It is a kind of narrative analysis of the Gospel of Luke. The reader is invited to accompany the first readers or hearers of the gospel and to experience the narrative alongside them. It utilizes W. Iser's theory about reading and readers and focuses on gaps and vacancies in the texts. It is also suggested that the readers would probably have been acquainted with comparable stories, and this is where Philo comes into focus. Ytterbrink presents aspects of biographical works of Isocrates, Xenophon, Plutarch, Philo and some others. Of Philo's biographies she presents *Mos.*, *Abr.* and *Ios.* (pp. 94–103). It is probably too much to say that Philo's works are prominent in the rest of this study, but some further comparative remarks occur. Commenting on the Narrator, the author suggests that, when compared to Philo, Isocrates, Xenophon, and many others, the author of the Third Gospel takes a much more obtrusive role, more like that of an editor than of a real author. It was most probably possible for the contemporary audience to apprehend the differences (p. 229). (TS)

204145. D. Zeller, 'Philonische Logos-Theologie im Hintergrund des Konflikts von 1 Kor 1–4?', in R. Deines and K.-W. Niebuhr (edd.), *Philo und das Neue Testament: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. 1. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti (Eisenach/Jena, Mai 2003)*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 172 (Tübingen 2004) 155–164.

As one of the papers presented at a Symposium in Jena in 2003, this article is for the most part a discussion with G. Sellin and some of his views concerning 1 Corinthians. Sellin replies to some of this criticism in the same volume (pp. 165–172, see above **204116**). Zeller's criticism is especially directed at the understanding of the various groups in Corinth as influenced by Alexandrian Judaism. This has especially been the case with the Apollos group, but Sellin tries to understand also the Christ party in light of the same background. Zeller criticizes his view of Apollos as one who understands himself as a mediator between God and the Christians, comparable to the role of Logos in the works of Philo. Zeller finds this view untenable, and tries to substantiate this by dealing with Sellin's interpretation of Philo, focusing especially on issues like ἀνθρώπος θεοῦ as a type, Logos as God's ἀνθρώπος, on 'Idiomenkommunikation' between the perfect ones and Logos, and the Logos as 'place'. (TS)

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20501. J. ÁLVAREZ MAESTRO, 'San Agustín y el pensamiento hebreo,' *Augustinus* 50 (2005) 11–27.

The author affirms with confidence that Augustine read both the Septuagint and Philo as important sources for the history of salvation and the history of the Jewish people. (JPM)

20502. M. AMERISE, 'Costantino il «Nuovo Mosè»,' *Salesianum* 67 (2005) 671–700.

In this well-documented study, the author elaborates the many correspondences that can be found between Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* and Philo's *Mos*. Constantine—just like Moses—is presented by Eusebius as king, priest, legislator, liberator, and as excelling in virtue, faith, study of the Scriptures and prayer. The *Life of Constantine* clearly has hagiographic characteristics, just as Philo's *Mos*. has been recognized as one of the example texts for Christian hagiography. (HMK)

20503. J. A. ARIETI, *Philosophy in the Ancient World. An Introduction* (Lanham Md. 2005), esp. 299–310.

In this introduction to ancient philosophy a chapter is devoted to Philo, characterizing his thought as a biblical–Platonic mix. The author mainly discusses Philo's view on the Sabbath. He also shows how Philo interprets the creation account in Genesis along Platonic lines of thought. (ACG)

20504. I. ARNAOUTOGLU, 'Collegia in the Province of Egypt in the First Century C.E.,' *Ancient Society* 35 (2005) 197–216.

It has been argued that the Roman restrictive attitude towards the Collegia, introduced by a Lex Iulia somewhere between 49 and 44 B.C.E. was also introduced in Egypt. The author of this article argues, however, that the evidence adduced for this suggestion does not really support such a view. The evidence from Philo in his *Flacc.* on the dissolution of the *hetaireiai* and *synodoi* does not support such a conclusion, but is rather to be understood as a temporary response by the Prefect to rising tensions in Alexandria. The other source used as evidence, the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* § 108, is too fragmentary and might only reflect the prohibition by Flaccus the Prefect. Hence, according to the author, the Collegia in Egypt did not suffer from any general prohibition of law. The case of Collegia in Egypt is in fact evidence for the view that the Romans were not suspicious of the collegia as long as they did not challenge the *pax Romana*. (TS)

20505. H. ATTRIDGE, 'Philo and John: Two Riffs on One Logos,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 103–117.

This comprehensive comparison of the Logos theologies in the Gospel of John and Philo's Allegorical Commentaries avoids atomistic comparison as is fashionable in commentaries on the Gospel and shows a profound connection between the two. A brief summary of the contours of Philo's treatment of the Logos in *Opif.* is followed by a review of major texts in the Allegorical Commentary against the backdrop of Philo's rhetorical schemes. The Logos as a universal principle of rationality looms large throughout. The rhetorical and conceptual structure of Philo's Logos Theology is precisely that of the Gospel of John. (KAF)

20506. R. D. AUS, *Imagery of Triumph and Rebellion in 2 Corinthians 2:14–17 and Elsewhere in the Epistle: an Example of the Combination of Greco-Roman and Judaic Tradition in the Apostle Paul*, Studies in Judaism (Lanham Md. 2005).

The author contends that the imagery of 2 Cor 2:14–17 must be understood against the dual background of Greco-Roman triumph and Jewish portrayals of rebellion. Particularly relevant are the three-day triumphal procession of the Roman consul and general Paulus following his victory over Macedonia in 168 B.C.E. and Jewish interpretations of Korah's rebellion in Num 17:6–15. Philo (57–58) is among the Jewish sources surveyed, which also include the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, the Wisdom of Solomon 18:20–25, 4 Macc. 7:11, Targums, and rabbinic writings. Philo's allegorical interpretations of the Numbers passage in *Her.* 201–202 and *Somn.* 2.234–236 shed light upon Paul's metaphorical uses of life and death imagery in 2 Cor 2:15–16. (EB)

20507. C. BAKHOS (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 95 (Leiden 2005).

This volume of papers presented at a conference held in the UCLA center for Jewish Studies contains a number of papers relevant to the study of Philo and Hellenistic Judaism. See separate entries under the names of J. J. Collins, M. Himmelfarb and G. E. Sterling. (DTR)

20508. C. BATSCH, *La guerre et les rites de guerre dans le judaïsme du deuxième Temple* (Leiden 2005), esp. 151–160, 296–301, 390–393.

The author presents in succession Philonic texts that relate to the 'zeal' of Phineas, the prohibition of combat during the Sabbath and the ties between blood and the soul. (JR)

20509. N. BELAYCHE, 'Hypsistos'. Une voie de l'exaltation des dieux dans le polythéisme gréco-romain,' *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 7 (2005) 34–56.

The significance of the adjective ὑψιστος when it qualifies a divinity is debated. Does it imply that there was an evolution towards monotheism in the Greco-Roman world, maybe under the influence of Judaism, since the Septuagint translates *Elyon* by *Hypsistos*, a divine name used by Philo as well? Through the analysis of votive inscriptions, the author shows that the use of ὑψιστος by pagan worshippers is to be understood as a way to exalt the god, which is not exclusivistic and does not imply monotheism. Not only are several gods called ὑψιστος, but the god *Hypsistos* is sometimes mentioned together with other gods whom the devotee wishes to worship as well. True, in the majority of cases, the god *Hypsistos* is the only one to be invoked, but simply because in this specific religious context the devotion is directed towards this god in particular. Moreover, archaeological data show that gods which were called ὑψιστοι were worshipped in the same way and through the same rituals as the other gods. Finally, the adjective ὑψιστος, which emphasizes the god's greatness and might, represents a reflection on the essence of the divinity rather than on its unicity. (DTR; based on a summary supplied by Katell Berthelot)

20510. K. BERTHELOT, 'Ils jettent au feu leurs fils et leurs filles pour leurs dieux': une justification humaniste du massacre des Cananéens dans les textes juifs anciens?, *Revue Biblique* 112 (2005) 161–191.

Just as is the case for many modern commentators, ancient authors, whether Jews or Christians, felt uncomfortable about the eradication of the Canaanite population during the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. The author discusses one of the ways in which Jewish authors in antiquity, and in particular Philo, justified these massacres. In *Spec.* 2.167 ff. the Alexandrian defends both divine justice and the Israelites who were its agent. He presents the Canaanites as monstrous beings who sacrificed their children to their gods. He also defends the Jewish people against accusations of misanthropy brought against them by Greeks and Egyptians. He turns the tables by accusing them of behaving like the Canaanites when they participate in the Dionysiac cults which accompany human sacrifice or when they expose their newly-born children. These arguments show a certain sensitivity towards humanistic objections against the biblical accounts, even if they do not imply true adherence to humanism on the part of Jewish authors. (JR)

20511. M. BÖHM, *Rezeption und Funktion der Vätererzählungen bei Philo von Alexandria. Zum Zusammenhang von Kontext, Hermeneutik und Exegese im frühen Judentum*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 128 (Berlin 2005).

This Leipzig *Habilitationschrift* distinguishes between three fundamental parts of the corpus Philonicum: the Exposition of the Law, the Allegorical Commentary on the book Genesis and the *Quaestiones*. The author focuses on the narratives of Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, Ishmael, Isaac, Lot, Rebecca, Laban, Esau

and Jacob especially in the treatises *Abr.*, *Spec.*, *Praem.* and *Mos.* Böhm views the Exposition of the Law as an introduction for interested non-Jews in Alexandria. The 'difficult texts' are skipped, discussions between Jews are not mentioned, Philo seems to decline to work directly with the text of LXX and the biblical text is only paraphrased. The narratives have an ethical orientation and an important focus lies on the dualism of virtue and vice, which originate in God's creation and providence. The second part of Philo's *œuvre* is a real commentary. The readers are supposed to be familiar with the LXX and they are introduced to a universal meaning of the text. The third part, the *Quaestiones*, is interpreted as an early work of Philo. The main audience for this work also seems to be Jews, to whom a kind of study-book (*Studienbuch*) is offered. In this way the author relates the narratives of the Patriarchs to the different hermeneutical orientations of Philo's writings. This is the reason for the different perspectives, varieties and jumps in content, which are normally attributed to Philo as inconsistencies. But in this hermeneutic Philo is underlined as a contextual theologian and narrator. All in all, the writings of Philo are evaluated as different theological approaches adapted for the task of dealing with the tensions between Egypt, Greek and Jewish inhabitants at an intellectual level. See also the article by the author in the conference volume of Deines and Niebuhr, summarized above 20412. REVIEWS: L. L. Grabbe, *JSOT* 30 (2006) 162–163; D. M. Hay, *CBQ* 68 (2006) 534–536; M. Niehoff, *JSJ* 37 (2006) 416–418; D. Lanzinger, *BZ* 53 (2009) 296–297. (GS)

20512. A. P. BOS, 'Philo van Alexandrië en de Griekse filosofie,' in R. W. MUNK (ed.), *Filosofie, Jodendom, Joodse filosofie* (Budel, The Netherlands 2005) 9–22.

The author briefly discusses some aspects of Philo's thought, among which we mention God's transcendence, the Logos and the divine powers. He pays also attention to Philo's allegorical exegesis of the figure of Abraham, and the doctrine of the divine pneuma, which, in his view, can be partly labeled as Aristotelian. According to the author, Philo is an exegete who interprets the Bible in service of his Greek philosophical presuppositions. In an appendix Bos offers a Dutch translation of *Her.* 55–57 and 96–99. (ACG)

20513. L. BRISSON, *Introduction à la philosophie du mythe* (Paris 2005), esp. 86–89.

Brief discussion of *Prov.* 2.40–42 in the context of a discussion of the interpretation of the traditional Greek myths in the Platonist and Neopythagorean tradition. (DTR)

20514. M. L. COLISH, *Ambrose's Patriarchs: Ethics for the Common Man* (Notre Dame Ind. 2005).

The exegetical works of Philo are a constant point of reference in this first monographic study of the four treatises that Ambrose devoted to the Old

Testament patriarchs, *De Abraham, De Isaac, De Jacob* and *De Joseph*. See the list of references in the index on p. 189 (but there is no index of passages). The author argues that in these treatises Ambrose develops 'an ethics for the common man' (p. 153). (DTR)

20515. J. J. COLLINS, *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture: Essays on the Jewish Encounter with Hellenism and Roman Rule*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 100 (Leiden 2005).

This important collection of essays focuses little on Philo specifically, but refers to him frequently as a point of comparison for minor Hellenistic-Jewish authors, particularly in relation to the question of human immortality (Ps. Phocylides pp. 134–135, Wisdom pp. 174–175). For the essay examining whether one should speak of anti-semitism in Alexandria (pp. 181–201) see below **20516**. There is also a brief discussion on Philo's eschatology at 155–156. (DTR)

20516. J. J. COLLINS, 'Anti-Semitism in Antiquity? The Case of Alexandria,' in C. BAKHOS (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 95 (Leiden 2005) 181–201.

Before the essay examines the main question posed in its title, it discusses the events of 38 C.E. in Alexandria and related incidents, naturally making extensive use of Philo's evidence. There are obvious problems with the use of the term 'anti-semitism'. The central question is whether hostility towards the Jews in antiquity was unique in its own context. The author tends to answer this question in the negative, but he does conclude that their endeavour to maintain a distinct identity and resist assimilation was an essential ingredient in ethnic conflict. The article has been republished in the author's set of collected essays published in the same year (see above **20515**). (DTR)

20517. J. J. COLLINS, 'Anti-Semitism in Antiquity? the Case of Alexandria,' *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 7 (2005) 86–101.

See the summary above **20516** of another version of the same article. (DTR)

20518. R. R. COX, *By the Same Word: the Intersection of Cosmology and Soteriology in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and 'Gnosticism' in the Light of Middle Platonic Intermediary Doctrine* (diss. University of Notre Dame 2005).

The dissertation written under the supervision of G. E. Sterling examines the role of the theological intermediary as developed in Middle Platonism and the influence it exerted on theologies founded on a biblical basis. Middle Platonism espoused an intellectual system that would explain how a transcendent supreme principle could relate to the material universe. The central aspect of

this system was an intermediary, modeled after the Stoic active principle, which mediated the supreme principle's influence to the material world while preserving its transcendence. Having similar concerns as Middle Platonism, three religious traditions from the turn of the era (Hellenistic Jewish sapientialism, Early Christianity, and 'Gnosticism') appropriated Middle Platonic intermediary doctrine as a means for understanding their relationship to the Deity, to the cosmos, and to themselves. However, each of these traditions varies in their adaptation of this doctrine as a result of their distinctive understanding of creation and humanity's place therein. In particular Hellenistic Jewish sapientialism (Philo of Alexandria and Wisdom of Solomon) espouses a holistic ontology, combining a Platonic appreciation for noetic reality with an ultimately positive view of creation and its place in human fulfillment. Early Christians (those who speak in 1 Cor 8:6, Col 1:15–20, Heb 1:2–3, and the Johannine prologue) provide an eschatological twist on this ontology when the intermediary figure finds its final expression in the human Jesus Christ. On the other hand, *Poimandres* (CH 1) and the *Apocryphon of John*, both associated with the traditional rubric 'Gnosticism,' draw from Platonism to describe how creation is antithetical to human nature and its transcendent source. The dissertation was published as a monograph in 2007 under the title *By the Same Word: Creation and Salvation in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Berlin). (DTR; based on DAI-A 66–04, p. 1386)

20519. S. DENNINGMANN, *Die astrologische Lehre der Doryphorie: eine soziomorphe Metapher in der antiken Planetenastrologie*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 214 (Munich–Leipzig 2005), esp. 123–146.

The Münster dissertation examines the metaphor of the 'spear-bearers' (δορυφόροι) who accompany the king in ancient astrological literature. There are also two philosophical treatises in which the image is used in relation to the sun and the planets, the one in Philo, the other in Proclus. After first setting out the different ancient views on the order of the planets, the author introduces the Philonic text, *Her.* 221–223, in which the sun and the planets as its *doryphoroi* are compared with the Menorah. Noteworthy in this text is Philo's use of the Posidonian order of the planets. Next other Philonic uses of the metaphor are examined: the senses as δορυφόροι of the mind (cf. *Leg.* 3.115) and God surrounded by his Powers as δορυφόροι (cf. *Abr.* 121–122). The origin of this use of the metaphor is to be found in Plato *Tim.* 70b, but has been mediated through the Hellenistic philosophical tradition. The author then returns to the presentation of the planets as δορυφόροι of the sun. The image does not just convey the status of the planets. There is a complex use of analogy involved, which is lucidly set out in a table on p. 143. The monarchic conception of king, assistants and people has been given a theological, cosmological, psychological and an epistemological application. The essential role of the δορυφόροι in the metaphor is that of mediators. The author suspects that the philosopher Posidonius may have played an important role in developing the metaphor, but this cannot be proven because there is no direct textual evidence. (DTR)

20520. J. DILLON, 'Cosmic Gods and Primordial Chaos in Hellenistic and Roman Philosophy: the Context of Philo's Interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* and the Book of Genesis,' in G. H. VAN KOOTEN (ed.), *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretations of Genesis 1 in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics*, Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 8 (Leiden 2005) 97–108.

The article briefly introduces the controversy generated by Plato's creation account in the *Timaeus*. Dillon is firmly of the view that it should not be taken literally as advocated by Aristotle: there never was a pre-cosmic stage in the cosmos' creation. Rather it reflects a degree of distortion in its material substratum which gives rise to imperfection. After noting some interpretative stages in the Hellenistic period, he then moves on to Philo, who does not follow Stoic ideas, but rather a Pythagoreanized view perhaps mediated by Eudorus. An interpretation in terms of a creation out of nothing is not an option. Philo of course would not openly abandon the conception that God the creator brought the cosmos into existence. Nevertheless his words at *Opif.* 26–29 come close to the original defence of Plato made by Speusippus and Xenocrates. (DTR)

20521. A. C. DINAN, *Fragments in Context: Clement of Alexandria's Use of Quotations from Heraclitus (Philo of Alexandria, Plutarch, Greece)* (diss. Catholic University of Washington 2005).

This dissertation provides the results of an investigation into Clement of Alexandria's use of the pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus. The principal means for this investigation is a comparison of those passages in Clement, Plutarch, and Philo of Alexandria which are thought to contain citations of the same Heraclitean fragments. Few conclusions are drawn respecting the source of Clement's Heraclitean citations. Instead the thesis concentrates on Clement's art of citation, his reading of Heraclitus, and the extent to which these had precedent in Philo or Plutarch. The research confirms the lofty esteem in which Clement held Heraclitus, and clarifies the unique way in which Clement invoked the Ephesian philosopher as a prophetic voice within Greek culture. It is also demonstrated that despite Clement's reputation for providing accurate citations, he was not averse to modifying the text of the Heraclitean fragments and even to subverting a standard interpretation. The dissertation contributes to the understanding of the appropriation of Heraclitus in Hellenistic philosophy, adds to our understanding of Clement's penchant for citation, and confers insight into Clement's thought and working methods. (DTR; based on DAI-A 65–11, p. 4184)

20522. J.-J. DUHOT, 'Métamorphoses du logos. Du stoïcisme au Nouveau Testament,' in G. ROMEYER DHERBEY and J.-B. GOURINAT (edd.), *Les Stoïciens*, Bibliothèque d'Histoire de la Philosophie (Paris 2005) 453–466.

The author in examining how the transition from the Stoic to the Christian Logos took place emphasizes the role played by Philo. Two important texts are the exegesis of the creation account in *Opif.* and the depiction of the role of the Logos in *Her.* 130 ff. The Logos is the agent through which God orders the universe, a conception which brings us quite close to the Stoa. There remains, however, an important difference: the Logos is the agent, but not God himself. But even if there is no conjunction of the two, as in the Stoa, there does remain an oscillation, just as in the case of the Stoic God, between the two conceptions, i.e. sometimes he is the agent of the divine power, at other times a personified deity. The major problem is the status of the logos as both created and creative. The logos is the first-born of God, the Word which he emits and which effectuates creation, but in achieving this the Word in fact takes on the function of God himself. The Logos is thus both Son of God and in his function God himself inasmuch as he creates, orders and maintains the universe. (JR)

20523. C. A. EVANS, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies: a Guide to the Background Literature* (Peabody Mass. 2005), esp. 167–173.

This is an introduction to various bodies of literature that pertain to biblical—and especially New Testament—scholarship. After an Introduction, chapters are devoted to Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, versions of the OT, Philo and Josephus, Targums, rabbinic literature, NT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, early Church Fathers, Gnostic Writings, other writings (e.g., Greco-Roman, Samaritan), and examples of NT exegesis. The section on Philo (pp. 167–173) lists his treatises in the Loeb edition, highlights aspects of his work particularly relevant to NT studies—such as his allegorical approach, relationship to rabbinic writings, and concepts of the Logos, perfect man, and shadow and substance—, and provides bibliographic information for each subsection as well as a general bibliography. (EB)

20524. R. B. FINAZZI and P. PONTANI, 'Il lessico delle antiche traduzioni armene di testi greci e un nuovo strumento di lavoro,' in R. B. FINAZZI (ed.), *Del tradurre: da Occidente verso Oriente come incontro di lingue e culture. Atti della giornata di studio su Traduzioni orientali e testi classici: lo stato della ricerca; Brescia, 8 ottobre 2004* (Milan 2005) 79–173.

Sample (limited to words initiating with alpha) of a comparative Greek–Armenian lexicon based on the Armenian translations of nine Greek texts, included among which are Philo's *Abr.*, *Spec.* Books 1 and 3 (as well as Plato's *Apologia*, *Minos*, *Laws*, Aristotle's *Categoriae*, Theon's *Progygmasmata*, and

Athanasius' *Epistula ad Epictetum*). The lexicon is printed in ten columns, the first column listing the Greek words and the remaining columns presenting the Armenian renderings—if any—in each of the nine texts (but, in line with the provisory and limited scope of the article, without text references or numbers of occurrences). Introductory observations (pp. 79–99) relate to the methods of translation (on a lexical level) used by the Armenian translators. (HMK)

20525. K. FUGLSETH, *Johannine Sectarianism in Perspective: a Sociological, Historical, and Comparative Analysis of Temple and Social Relationships in the Gospel of John, Philo, and Qumran*, *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 119 (Leiden 2005).

This is a lightly revised version of Fuglseth's doctoral dissertation (Trondheim, Norway) completed in 2002, on which see above 20241. The study is an investigation of the alleged community behind the Gospel of John, the so-called 'Johannine community'. The Gospel is analysed by means of social-scientific methods (mainly Stark and Bainbridge), and compared to texts from two other Jewish milieus, the Jewish community in Alexandria as reflected in the works of Philo and the community of Qumran as reflected in some of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Two issues are primarily focused on as basis for the sociological analysis and comparison: (1) the relationship to the Jerusalem Temple—dealing with John and the Temple (pp. 117–185), the Temple in Philo and Qumran (pp. 187–249), and Temple-related festivals in John (pp. 251–284); (2) social relationships to 'others' and 'outsiders' as found in these writings—Social Relationships in John (pp. 285–319) and Social relationships in Philo and Qumran (pp. 321–351). Philo is explicitly dealt with in an introductory section (pp. 86–105), in which the author discusses the question: 'was there a Philo community?'. His qualified answer to this question is that we should only use the notion of a 'Philo community' or 'Philo group' in a general way, referring to Jews in Alexandria like Philo. Nevertheless, a general Philonic audience is plausible. In pp. 189–219 he discusses 'the Temple in Philo's writings'. On the basis of how Philo deals with aspects related to the Temple, Fuglseth characterizes Philo, in spite of his criticism of animal sacrifices and rejection of temples of stone, as a Jerusalem adherent. Philo never supported an abrogation of the Temple, but criticized those who did. Finally, in Chapter 8 (pp. 321–334), social relationships in Philo's writings are described. Although it is hard to find a Philo community depicted in his writings in the same way as in the Gospel of John and in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo nevertheless deals with the relationships to non-Jews. According to Fuglseth, there is a universalizing outlook on the relationships to Gentiles. This relationship is described as depending on Israel and her special relationship to God. Hence particularism and universalism are not contradictory concepts in Philo's case. *REVIEWS*: M. Barker, *JThS* 58 (2007) 226–227; E. W. Klink III, *JETS* 50 (188–190). (TS)

20526. A. C. GELJON, 'Divine Infinity in Gregory of Nyssa and Philo of Alexandria,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 59 (2005) 152–178.

First, the author deals with the notion of divine infinity in Gregory of Nyssa, and criticizes the thesis of E. Mühlenberg that Gregory was the first to ascribe infinity to God. In the second part Philo's view is discussed. The opinion of Henri Guyot that Philo was the first to introduce divine infinity has to be qualified: there are starting points for the notion of divine infinity in Philo, but Philo never calls God infinite. Philo describes God's blessings and gifts as everlasting and without circumscription, which implies being infinite. God's gifts are too great for human beings to receive fully and they have to be adapted to the capacity of man. In addition, human beings are unable to understand God fully, so the quest of the soul for God is unending. Gregory, who also presents the search for God as without end, was able to connect up with this notion. (ACG)

20527. R. GOULET, 'Allégorisme et anti-allégorisme chez Philon d'Alexandrie,' in G. DAHAN and R. GOULET (edd.), *Allégorie des poètes allégorie des philosophes: études sur la poétique et l'herméneutique de l'allégorie de l'Antiquité à la Réforme* (Paris 2005) 59–87.

Philo is often regarded as the father and example par excellence of Jewish-Christian allegoresis. But it should not be forgotten that he can sometimes express strong hostility towards certain allegories which he reports. An allegory that is too radical in totally and systematically rejecting the literal sense of the text and which denies the historicity of the persons and the incidents recorded in the Bible cannot be accepted by the loyal Jew Philo, who himself adopted a moderate form of allegorization, to be regarded as a pietistic reaction to a far more audacious kind of allegorical enterprise. In his research the author has found traces of this allegorical enterprise in Philo's commentaries. Three valuable appendices presenting the treatises of the Philonic corpus, the structure of the Allegorical Commentary, and a list of etymologies and symbolisms round off the article. REVIEWS: J. Riaud, *SPhA* 18 (2006) 209–212 (of the collection in which the article is found). (JR)

20528. S. GRINDHEIM, *The Crux of Election: Paul's Critique of the Jewish Confidence in the Election of Israel*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.202 (Tübingen 2005), esp. 69–75.

Preliminary to an evaluation of Paul's critique of Jewish confidence in the election of Israel, a review of the motif of election in the literature of Second Temple Judaism is undertaken. The election of Israel does not play a prominent role in the writings of Philo. Even though Israel is a spiritual entity and does not refer to an ethnic group, the concept, which is an honorary title depicting an elite group that attains to seeing God by means of grace, has not been universalized to include Gentiles in Israel as seers of God. (KAF)

20529. C. T. R. HAYWARD, *Interpretations of the Name Israel in Ancient Judaism and Some Early Christian Writings: from Victorious Athlete to Heavenly Champion* (Oxford 2005), esp. 156–219.

This survey demonstrates that Jewish exegetes' interpretations of the name 'Israel' reflected their contemporary concerns about what was centrally important to Jewish identity and that some Christians adapted (or may have adapted) Jewish interpretations to suit their own purposes. Chapters cover the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, Ben Sira, *Jubilees*, Philo, the *Prayer of Joseph*, Josephus, Rabbinic texts, the New Testament, and Patristic passages. Philo most consistently understands 'Israel' through the etymology 'one who sees God.' Even though he never uses the LXX to support this understanding, his discussions reflect several LXX themes in relation to Israel such as Jacob's struggle, a link between Jacob's experience at Bethel in Gen 28 and his change of name in Gen 32, prophecy and prophetic inspiration, and Israel as a boundary figure between heaven and earth, sometimes turned toward God, sometimes toward the world. This last theme calls to mind the symbol of the high priest, who represents the Jewish people as a whole, though Philo may also have included non-Jews among those who can see God. The Temple is a place where God might be seen, and Israel, 'the one who sees God,' is also the 'suppliant race' that has the Levitical role to serve God. Combining this kind of contemplation and service, the Therapeutae exemplify what it means to be 'Israel.' Hayward further discusses Philo's understanding of 'Israel' in relation to the *Prayer of Joseph*. Both sources, which have important differences but also similarities, probably drew upon earlier Jewish tradition. (EB)

20530. A. HILHORST, 'And Moses Was Instructed in All the Wisdom of the Egyptians' (Acts 7:22), in A. HILHORST and G. H. VAN KOOTEN (edd.), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen*, *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* 59 (Leiden 2005) 153–176.

Hilhorst deals with the words of Stephen in Acts 7:21–22 that Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. First, he asks what can be meant by wisdom and what image the author may have had of Egypt. Secondly, he discusses what Hellenistic Jews had to say about Moses' education. It is Philo who gives the most extensive picture of Moses' education (*Mos.* 1.21–24). Moses learns not only subjects belonging to the Greek encyclical education, but also Egyptian hieroglyphs. Because in Acts Moses is only educated in the Egyptian wisdom, but in Philo he also learns typical Greek subjects from Greek teachers, the view that the author of Acts summarizes Philo's portrayal cannot be correct. Finally, Hilhorst refers to patristic readings of Acts 7:22, including Clement's summary of Philo's account on Moses' education at *Str.* 1.153.2–3. (ACG)

20531. M. HIMMELFARB, 'The Torah between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Difference in Antiquity,' in C. BAKHOS (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in*

its Hellenistic Context, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 95 (Leiden 2005) 113–129.

Despite other assessments of the challenge to the Jews posed by Hellenization, Himmelfarb, following Elias Bickerman, believes that the Jews were unusually successful in maintaining their distinctness. Whereas Bickerman emphasizes their monotheism, Himmelfarb attributes their success to the Torah, first available in Hebrew and later in Greek. Deuteronomy, with its emphasis on itself as a book but also as oral teaching before a real audience, was especially important for several reasons. As for the role of Torah in the Jews' encounter with Hellenism, Himmelfarb notes that like Greek readers of Homer, Philo allegorized when the Torah presented problems, but he upheld the importance of literal observance. Chaeremon's depiction of priests resembles Philo's portrayal of the Therapeutae but—unlike Chaeremon, whose portrait probably held 'only a rather tenuous connection to reality' (p. 124)—Philo was constricted by a written text and thus could not characterize the priests of Jerusalem as philosophers. Similarly, Josephus too was constrained by the text of the Torah, in contrast to Philo of Byblos, who also presented a history of his people. Even though Philo and Josephus used Greek ideas and values to understand the Torah, the distinctly Jewish text anchored their efforts and was central in preserving the distinctiveness of the Jews themselves. (EB)

20532. R. HIRSCH-LUIPOLD, 'Der eine Gott bei Philon von Alexandrien und Plutarch,' in R. HIRSCH-LUIPOLD (ed.), *Gott und die Götter bei Plutarch. Götterbilder—Gottesbilder—Weltbilder*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 54 (Berlin 2005) 141–168.

The article forms the central paper of a conference volume recording the proceedings of a post-graduate seminar in Göttingen on Plutarch's theology as it relates both to philosophy and to traditional religion. Although there are significant differences between the Delphic priest on the one hand and the exegetically orientated Jew on the other, it also cannot be denied that there are clear convergences between them. The article undertakes to examine them in three specific areas. (1) Both thinkers anchor their philosophy in their respective religious traditions which they fully espouse in their own lives, claiming that their religion gives access to divine truth and then using philosophy to give expression to their reflection on that truth. (2) Both share the hermeneutics of allegory and symbolism in order to interpret their respective religious traditions in terms of a Platonic philosophy. Paradoxically, however, in Philo the God of history is transcendentalized, whereas in Plutarch the transcendent God of Academic tradition is personalized and historicised. (3) When the content of their theology is examined, it emerges that they have much in common, not only the shared view that God is immaterial and transcendent, but also that he is one and has a personal relation to human beings. In the final section of the article it is argued that the links between the religious philosophy of two thinkers can be explained through their Alexandrian connection, in Philo's case because he lived there all his life, in Plutarch's case through his teacher Ammonius and the

pythagoreanizing Platonism that goes back to Eudorus, and also through the attraction that Egyptian myths and rites held for him. REVIEWS: D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 19 (2007) 212–215 (of the collection in which the article is found). (DTR)

20533. S. HYLEN, *Allusion and Meaning in John 6*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 137 (Berlin 2005), esp. 102–117.

In John 6 allusions are found to the story of the manna in the wilderness (Exod 16:14–15), and Jesus says ‘I am the bread of life’. These words are often seen as forming a contrast with the manna story. Hysten poses the question: ‘what if the characters and actions of John 6 were read as interpreting the story of the Exodus instead of as a departure from this story?’ (p. 2). Within this framework the author examines allusions to Exodus in ancient Jewish writings, focusing on Ezekiel, *Jubilees*, Wisdom and Philo. Philo identifies manna with heavenly wisdom, which is associated with learning that comes without labour. It is food for the soul. The manna is also equated with God’s Logos. Philo uses details from the manna story to describe the Logos. Hysten suggests that John’s interpretation of Exodus may be shaped by other readings. The study is a reworked version of an Emory University dissertation completed in 2004. (ACG)

20534. S. INOWLOCKI, ‘Quelques pistes de réflexion au sujet de la mystique de Philon d’Alexandrie,’ in A. DIERKENS and B. BEYER DE RYKE (edd.), *Mystique: la passion de l’Un, de l’Antiquité à nos jours*, Problèmes d’histoire des religions 15 (Brussels 2005) 49–59.

The author presents a valuable and well-documented overview of scholarly views on the subject of Philo’s mysticism. She begins with an outline of the main views (esp. Goodenough, Winston) and the main issues. Next, the role of the biblical characters Abraham and Moses and the relevance of the Therapeutae are discussed. A third section focuses on whether Philo was a practising mystic. Finally some brief words are devoted to the *Nachleben* of Philo’s views. Inowlocki concludes that Philo deserves to be ranked among the mystics of antiquity, even if certain nuances remain indispensable. (DTR)

20535. A. KERKESLAGER, ‘The Absence of Dionysios, Lampo, and Isidoros from the Violence in Alexandria in 38 C.E.,’ *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 49–94.

In this article the author argues against the generally accepted view that three members of the Alexandrian Greek elite known as Dionysios, Lampo and Isidoros were involved in the violence in Alexandria in 38 C.E. In the first section, entitled ‘What Philo does and does not say,’ the author argues that Philo’s texts about the violence do not support the view that the three persons were involved. Kerkeslager bases this position on four arguments. (1) Philo never says that these three persons played a role in plotting the violence. When he

mentions their names, he uses them to refer to three categories of people. (2) They are completely absent from Philo's major reports of the riot against the Jews. (3) When their activities as individuals are narrated (*Flacc.* 125–147), they are portrayed not as enemies of the Jews but as hostile towards Flaccus. (4) In *Legat.* Philo pictures Isidoros as anti-Jewish but this passage refers to events which happened in Rome after the summer of 38. The second section deals with the death of Dionysios. Our Dionysios can be identified with the Dionysios that is mentioned in *P. Oxy.* 8.1089, in which the central theme is a conflict between Dionysios and Flaccus. Isidoros, who was exiled in c. 33–35, also appears in the papyrus. Kerkeslager suggests that Dionysios was executed by Flaccus as early as 33 and almost certainly before 36. In the third section it is argued that Lampo was not present in Alexandria in 38, because none of his activities in the city can be dated to 38. Highly probably, he was in Rome in 38 because of personal interests. The last section is devoted to Isidoros, and the author claims that his departure from Alexandria described in *Flacc.* 135–145 has to be dated to before 38. Isidoros went away from Alexandria into voluntary exile to Rome, where he remained for the entirety of 38. Because of his crimes it was too risky for him to play a leading role in the troubles in Alexandria. In his conclusion Kerkeslager formulates three major implications of his view: (1) Because of the absence of known Greeks from the elite in the violence, it is less probable that civic rights were an issue. (2) Philo's attribution of blame to the Roman authorities must be taken more seriously. (3) More attention has to be paid to the possibility that Flaccus was acting in accordance with Roman policies. For the response of P. W. van der Horst to some of Kerkeslager's arguments see below 20642. (ACG)

20536. G. N. KHAIRALLAH, 'L'herméneutique dans la pensée de Philon d'Alexandrie,' in R. G. KHOURY and J. HALFWASSEN (edd.), *Platonismus im Orient und Okzident* (Heidelberg 2005) 41–48.

In Philo's day two schools were well known in philosophical circles in Alexandria, Aristotelianism and Platonism. At this time a significant event occurred in the history of philosophy, the meeting of hellenized philosophy and oriental thought, particularly in the form of Jewish religious thought which had moved to Alexandria. This is the context for the emergence and development of Philo's thought, a meeting point of philosophy and religion. Philo's allegorical hermeneutic can be seen as a syncretistic attempt to mediate between Greek, Jewish, and—later—Christian thought. (JR)

20537. J. KIEFER, *Exil und Diaspora: Begrifflichkeiten und Deutungen im antiken Judentum und in der hebräischen Bibel*, *Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte* 19 (Leipzig 2005), esp. 399–412.

In this broad-ranging investigation into the themes of exile and diaspora in ancient Judaism and the Hebrew Bible, a section is devoted to Philo. First Philo's use of the terms ἀποικία, παροικία and μετοικία is analysed. Only once does he affirm that the Diaspora of the Jews is a consequence of divine judgment.

Elsewhere he argues that it is motivated by the desire to ‘colonize’ or by the search for better living conditions. Various key texts such as *Flacc.* 45–46, *Legat.* 214–216, 276 ff., *Mos.* 2.225–232, *Praem.* 165, and *Spec.* 2.162 ff. are cited and analysed. It remains difficult to determine whether the tension between the hope of the return of the exiles and the positive view of the Diaspora represents a contradiction that is real, i.e. psychological or biographical–chronological, or whether it only appears to be such. But elsewhere the juxtaposition of acceptance of the diaspora situation and adherence to eschatological expectation is quite common. REVIEWS: U. Becker, *ZATW* 119 (2007) 462. (DTR)

20538. G. H. VAN KOOTEN, ‘The ‘True Light which Enlightens Everyone’ (John 1:9): John, Genesis, the Platonic Notion of the ‘True, Noetic Light,’ and the Allegory of the Cave in Plato’s *Republic*,’ in G. H. VAN KOOTEN (ed.), *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretations of Genesis 1 in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics*, Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 8 (Leiden 2005) 149–194, esp. 153–155.

The paper argues at considerable length that the notion of ‘true’ or ‘genuine’ light in the Prologue to John’s Gospel has a Greek–philosophical background particularly in the Platonic tradition. Philo provides valuable evidence, notably in his connection of intelligible light with the divine Logos. Both Philo and John assume the Platonic differentiation between the intellectual and the visible realms. The idea was not strange because the LXX already offered the basis for this interpretation in its phrasing of Gen 1:2a, ‘but the earth was invisible and unformed.’ The author also notes the favourable view that Philo has of Plato (p. 169). (DTR)

20539. E. KOSKENNIEMI, *The Old Testament Miracle-Workers in Early Judaism*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.206 (Tübingen 2005), esp. 108–159.

This study investigates the way in which the biblical miracles by the Old Testament figures, such as Moses, Joshua and Elijah, are retold in early Judaism. The following authors and works are discussed: the Wisdom of Ben Sira, *Jubilees*, Ezekiel the Tragedian, Artapanus, Philo, the *Lives of the Prophets*, *LAB*, and Josephus. In *Mos.* Philo retells the miracles that occurred in Egypt and during the Exodus of the people of Israel. He remains faithful to the biblical narrative. But he does add and underline what he regards as important. Philo also interprets the miracles allegorically. A very important theme in his interpretation is the emigration of the soul out of the body and its struggle against desire and pleasure. The Exodus out of Egypt is the symbol of the spiritual emigration. Philo can offer a natural explanation for a miracle, but this is no reason to assume that he explains the miracles rationally. He presents Moses as both a prophet and a miracle-worker, and sometimes ascribes violent miracles to Moses. (ACG)

20540. A. KOVELMAN, *Between Alexandria and Jerusalem: the Dynamic of Jewish and Hellenistic Culture*, The Brill Reference Library of Judaism 21 (Leiden 2005).

This book seeks to understand the interplay of changes in Jewish and Greco-Roman cultures within the context of various political, social, and economic developments in the larger society. Kovelman sees 'Jewish cultures of the Second Temple and Talmudic periods as stylistic systems,' and key to stylistic changes was 'the collapse of an old literature and the creation of a new one' (p. xii). In Ch. 1, the author uses Greek papyri from Roman and Byzantine Egypt to understand the transition from the *Mishnah* to *Genesis Rabbah* in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. In the second chapter, he argues that differences between late biblical and early rabbinic literatures reflect 'a general literary revolution ... in the Roman Empire during the first and second centuries C.E.' (p. xiii). In Ch. 3, he turns to the relationship between Alexandrian exegesis and Rabbinic Midrash. Ch. 4 focuses on the *Letter of Aristeas* from the perspective of Aggadic Midrash and early Christian literature. In Ch. 5, Kovelman examines the connections between popular mentality and changing literary styles in the early centuries C.E. A discussion of the Philonic evidence is located primarily in Ch. 3, and is based on the author's earlier papers, 'Continuity and Change in Hellenistic Jewish Exegesis and in Early Rabbinic Literature' and 'A Clarification of the Hypothesis' (see 20460 and 20461). REVIEWS: M. R. Niehoff, *SPhA* 18 (2006) 225–228. (EB)

20541. R. A. KRAFT, 'Philo's Bible Revisited: the 'Aberrant Texts' and their Quotations of Moses,' in F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and M. VERVENNE (edd.), *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovanisensium 192 (Leuven 2005) 237–253.

This article deals with the so-called 'aberrant' texts in Philo, deviations from the standard LXX text which some manuscripts display. The point of departure is the study by D. Barthélemy (RR 6708), who argues that the 'aberrant' texts of biblical quotations are based on Aquila's version, and that the 'retoucher' was Jewish. Kraft focuses on those passages in which quotation formulae such as 'Moses said' appear in some manuscripts, while others display a more general identification such as 'the sacred word says'. There are ten passages in *Somn.* 1 that show this difference. Because suppression of the formula 'Moses said' is not evidenced in other infected treatises apart from *Somn.* 1, Kraft concludes that the changes go back to a time when *Somn.* 1 circulated by itself. The changes, made in the 2nd and 3rd century C.E., were probably done by a rabbinically minded Jew, because rabbinic Judaism avoids explicit attributions to Moses. Appendix 1 offers an overview of references in Philo to Moses as scripture-speaker, Appendix 2 to 'lawgiver' as scripture-speaker, while Appendix 3 lists the 'sacred word' references. (ACG)

20543. C. LÉVY, 'Deux problèmes doxographiques chez Philon d'Alexandrie: Posidonius et Enésidème,' in A. BRANCACCI (ed.), *Philosophy and Doxography in the Imperial Age*, Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere «La Colombaria» Studi 228 (Florence 2005) 79–102.

Without doubt Philo is a major source of the study of philosophical doxography, but little use has been made of his evidence, partly because historians of philosophy have shown little interest in him, partly because his writings are rather inaccessible. The author does not wish to focus on *Aet.*, because it cannot be considered characteristic of the problems posed by the study of doxography in Philo (and its authenticity is still not wholly beyond dispute). Instead he prefers to analyse two other examples. The first concerns the passions of the soul and focuses on the texts *Leg.* 2.99, *Agr.* 14, *Congr.* 81 and *Leg.* 3.116. These texts reveal that Philo does not consider the various passions to be on an equal footing, but regards pleasure as the foundation for the other three. There would appear to be a connection with Posidonius, but it would be wrong to claim that Philo's view of Stoicism was wholly determined by that thinker. Philo respects Stoicism for the way it gives expression to ethical perfection, but is critical of its doctrine of immanence. The second example discussed at greater length relates to the sceptical tropes in *Ebr.* 167–202. Much has been written on this passage, and in particular on its relation to the other sources Sextus Empiricus and Diogenes Laertius. Lévy points out that differences between them could be not just a matter of style or the use of a different source. It is also possible that they point to the incompatibility of the sceptical arguments with Philo's philosophical and religious convictions. He points to at least two interventions on the part of Philo, the omission of the argument that human beings are not truly superior to animals, and the omission of the example of mythology. It is also noted that in Philo's day the tropes may not have had the same fixed form and number that they later acquired. Lévy determines that in Philo only eight of the ten tropes found in Sextus can be identified. He concludes the article by arguing that Philo's evidence in doxographical matters shows that he is 'infinitely better informed about the history and current state of philosophy' than has often been thought (p. 102). He is also interesting because he is not a professional and so gives evidence of the movement of doctrines from the philosophical schools to the cultured public. (DTR)

20544. R. LIONG-SENG PHUA, *Idolatry and Authority. A Study of 1 Corinthians 8.1–11.1 in the Light of the Jewish Diaspora*, Library of New Testament Studies 299 (London 2005), esp. 57–68.

In this study on idolatry in 1 Cor 8:1–11:1, the author discusses the issue of idolatry in some Diaspora Jewish works in Chapter 3. Works and authors discussed are: Wisdom of Solomon 11–13; Philo; Josephus, Joseph and Asenath; and the *Sibylline Oracles* (pp. 50–89). More specifically in his section on Philo (pp. 57–68), he deals with the issue of idolatry in texts such as *Opif.* 170–172; *Decal.* 52–81; *Spec.* 1.12–31; *Contempl.* 3–8 and some aspects of *Legat.* The

author suggests that Philo sees idolatry as having different grades of seriousness, from worship of the elements, of demigods, of actual idols of wood and stones, to the worst: Egyptian animal worship. He finds some similarities between Philo and Wisdom of Solomon, but not enough to suggest a common tradition. In the rest of this study, the texts of Philo play no central role in the author's discussions of 1 Corinthians. (TS)

20545. M. F. MACH, 'Lerntraditionen im hellenistischen Judentum unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Philons von Alexandrien,' in B. EGO and H. MERKEL (edd.), *Religiöses Lernen in der biblischen, frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Überlieferung*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 180 (Tübingen 2005) 117–139.

The article investigates whether exegetical traditions in Ancient Judaism can be institutionally identified. The author offers a detailed introduction discussing the problems of studying Hellenistic Judaism in comparison to Palestinian Judaism, stressing that many sources have been lost and many of those extant cannot be located with any degree of certainty. Concerning Philo, the author argues hesitantly against the current consensus that assumes organised Torah study in Alexandria with which Philo was familiar. Following Dillon, the author rather stresses Philo's individual synthesis of Greek traditions with the Biblical text. (MRN)

20546. S. MANCINI LOMBARDI, 'L'antica versione armena del *Legum Allegoriae* di Filone Alessandrino: riflessioni sulle modalità di traduzione,' in R. B. FINAZZI (ed.), *Del tradurre: da Occidente verso Oriente come incontro di lingue e culture: atti della giornata di studio su Traduzioni orientali e testi classici: lo stato della ricerca, Brescia, 8 ottobre 2004* (Milan 2005) 175–187.

The Armenian translation of *Leg.*, attributed to the 'Hellenizing school of translation' (5th or 6th century), is characterized by a strong textual correspondence between the Greek source text and its Armenian rendering. Starting with a few concrete examples, the author proceeds with analytical reflections on the process of translation in general. The article concludes with the observation that the 'Hellenizing school' and the translation of Philo's works have contributed to both the lexical and the syntactical development of the Armenian language. (HMK)

20547. M. MARIN, 'La forza di persuasione della logica aristotelica: Filone di Alessandria e l'eternità del mondo,' *Salesianum* 67 (2005) 213–232.

Philo, notwithstanding his biblical belief in a Creator God, in *Aet.* defends the Aristotelian thesis of the eternity of the world as ungenerated and

incorruptible. The article first reviews the ‘crisis of the Platonists and Stoics’ (who saw the material world as generated and possibly perishable) as an effect of Aristotle’s arguments. It then discusses how Philo in *Aet.* dismantles objections against the corruptibility of the world, and how he presents arguments in favour of this thesis (the most important: Providence has willed the world to be unperishable). There follows a discussion of the ‘riddle’ represented by the end of *Aet.* (the reference to a counter-argumentation in a lost second part). The article concludes with the allegorical solution regarding the eternity of creation exposed by Philo in his exegetical treatises, where he attributes incorruptibility to the intelligible world (in the logos) as distinct from the material world. (HMK)

20548. J. P. MARTÍN, ‘Teoría, técnica y práctica de la hermenéutica en Filón,’ in A. J. LEVORATTI (ed.), *Comentario Bíblico Latinoamericano, Antiguo Testamento I* (Estella 2005) 95–104.

The article considers a hermeneutic theory, in which the biblical text and the organization of the world and its history correspond to the same creative Logos, with human beings having an intermediate place that allows them to understand these languages and to be comprehended by them. The article also presents a hermeneutic technique according to which the whole text of the Pentateuch has a finished coherence for the communication of truth if it is read through the norms of Greek exegesis. Finally, it presents a hermeneutic praxis in the sense that the Pentateuch is the crucial factor for the ethical and political formation of the Jewish community, especially in the Diaspora. (JPM)

20549. J. P. MARTÍN, ‘Corrientes hermenéuticas de la época patristica,’ in A. J. LEVORATTI (ed.), *Comentario Bíblico Latinoamericano, Antiguo Testamento I* (Estella 2005) 105–127.

This article presents the development of primitive Christianity as a progressive interpretation of texts, first of the writings with Hebrew origins, later also of the properly Christian books. For this hermeneutical core Philo had made some important preparations, like the concept of ‘typos’ applied to Adam and a double dimension of the sense of the Torah, comparable to the relation between body and soul. (JPM)

20550. E. F. MASON, *The Concept of the Priestly Messiah in Hebrews and Second Temple Judaism* (diss. University of Notre Dame 2005).

The dissertation examines whether prior traditions have influenced the presentation of Jesus as messianic high priest in Hebrews. The evidence from Qumran has dealt a blow to the theory that the letter’s author may have been indebted to the Middle Platonism of Philo of Alexandria. A revised version of the study was published as a monograph in 2008, ‘*You are a Priest Forever: Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Leiden). (DTR; based on author’s summary in DAI-A 66–02, p. 630)

20551. M. MERINO RODRIGUEZ, *Clemente de Alejandría: Stromata VI–VIII, Vida intelectual y religiosa del cristianismo. Introducción, traducción y notas*, Fuentes Patristicas 17 (Madrid 2005).

Merino edits and translates the last three books of Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*. He quotes nearly a hundred passages of the corpus Philonicum, following in general the previous study of A. van den Hoek (RRS 8834). Merino emphasizes Philo's role as predecessor especially in the treatment of arithmology in *Str.* 6.84–86 and in the presentation of the Decalogue in *Str.* 6.139–145. The use of 18 verses of Solon on the topic of the ages of man, *Str.* 6.144, coincides completely with the text of Philo, *Opif.* 104. (JPM)

20552. L. MIRALLES MACIÁ, 'Thíasoi y syssítia esenios: la perspectiva helenística de Filón de Alejandría acerca de la organización esenia,' *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 54, Sección de Hebreo (2005) 27–42.

This article considers the two terms, θίασος and συσσίτιον, which Philo uses to describe the Essenes as brotherhoods and affiliations, cf. *Hypoth.* 11.5. Although Philo does not explain the meaning of these terms, they must have been understandable for his readership. They probably refer to small communities that held table and house in common. This agrees with the information we have about Qumran. (JPM)

20553. G. W. E. NICKELSBURG, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: a Historical and Literary Introduction*. 2nd ed. (Minneapolis 2005), esp. 212–221.

For this new edition of the classic introduction to the literature of Second Temple Judaism (first edition published in 1981) the author has broadened his approach and so has added sections on Philo and Josephus missing previously. The section on Philo is located in the chapter entitled 'Israel in Egypt' and is, as the author indicates in n. 108, an abridged version of his paper in the Philo and the New Testament volume published in 2004 (see above 20487). Philo is regarded as an important and significant figure among Hellenistic Jews around the turn of the era, but in Nickelsburg's view he was not unique. His works do, however, furnish a unique window into the world of Hellenistic Judaism. Without his corpus, our knowledge of this phenomenon would be greatly impoverished and our view of the Judaism of this period would be less balanced. REVIEWS: R. D. Chesnutt, *SPhA* 20 (2008) 211–213. (DTR)

20554. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'Response to Daniel S. Schwartz,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 99–101.

The author gives a brief response to Daniel S. Schwartz's article 'Did the Jews Practice Infant Exposure and Infanticide in Antiquity?' (see above 204112), arguing that some of the arguments relating to child sacrifice in her monograph *Philo and Jewish Identity and Culture* (see above 20146) which Schwartz attacked were misunderstood and misrepresented. (DTR)

20555. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'New Garments for Biblical Joseph,' in C. HELMER and T. G. PETREY (edd.), *Biblical Interpretation. History, Context, and Reality*, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 26 (Atlanta 2005) 33–56.

The author compares Philo's and Josephus' interpretations of the biblical figure of Joseph, asking whether the personality or historical situation of the interpreter is reflected in his exegesis. Both interpreters are shown to offer topical interpretations. The figure of Joseph enables Philo to reflect on the issue of Jewish existence in Egypt, showing in the literal interpretation how an ideal leader maintains his Jewish identity in mental separation from the environment, while the allegory takes into account the reality of Jewish assimilation to Egypt which Philo frowned upon. (MRN)

20556. E. F. OSBORN, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge 2005), esp. 81–105.

In his final monograph the author returns one more time to the subject of Clement's debt to Philo in a chapter full of rich insight entitled 'Philo and Clement: from Divine Oracle to True Philosophy.' A rational reconstruction of the thought of the two writers reveals common ground in their essential monotheism. Philo moves from divine oracle to true philosophy with a central focus on Moses and the Law. Clement makes the same move with a central focus on Jesus and the Gospel. The decisive difference between them lies in the relation of the Logos to God. For Philo the powers under God unite in the Logos. For Clement there is reciprocity of God and Logos, Father and Son. In addition Clement's view of the role of the Jewish people differs from Philo's. It is more complex and also more abstract, because he did not have direct contact with Jews. The chapter proceeds to examine the main passages where Clement makes use of Philo, first the four short sequences, then the four longer passages. Some reflections are appended on literary issues and the problem of why Clement gives so little acknowledgement of his debt to Philo. Osborn concludes that Philo anticipates parts of Clement's 'true dialectic,' but lacks his redefinition in terms of prophecy and economy. Both Philo and Clement are audacious in their thought, but Philo lacks Clement's gift for argument. Clement did not see Philo as a rival, but as one of the many predecessors who had said something well. The concluding words are worth quoting: 'Clement found in Philo the wonder of the elusive God and the richness of the history of Moses. Wonder was for Clement the beginning of knowledge and, time and again, Philo pointed to the wonder of scripture.' (p. 105) (DTR)

20557. M. PESTHY, ‘‘Mulier est instrumentum diaboli’: Women and the Desert Fathers,’ in A. HILHORST and G. H. VAN KOOTEN (edd.), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen*, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 59 (Leiden 2005) 351–362, esp. 357–359.

In this article focusing on the ideas of the Egyptian Desert Fathers about women, a few pages are devoted to Philo who is said to display ‘misogynous tendencies.’ It is noted that in his reading of Gen 3 Philo interprets women as sense-perception, which caused the fall of man/intellect. Pesthy quotes from *Opif.* 165–166 and *Hypoth.* 11.14–15, 17. (ACG)

20558. F. PHILIP, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology: the Eschatological Bestowal of the Spirit upon Gentiles in Judaism and the Early Development of Paul’s Theology*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.194 (Tübingen 2005), esp. 100–119.

The concept of πνεῦμα has an extensive range of meaning in Philo. Philo’s lack of interest in prophetic eschatology indicates that for him divine Spirit is not something to be anticipated in the future. As the principle of life and reason Philo does not think divine Spirit has been withdrawn from Israel. The Spirit and gift of prophecy are presently available to all, depending on one’s moral status and not limited to a few good wise men within Judaism. The Spirit is the source of charismatic revelation, wisdom, and knowledge, as well as skills and abilities. Abraham’s experience of the Spirit at *Virt.* 212–219 is a model for all proselytes to be open to the indwelling of the Spirit. (KAF)

20559. M. PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil, 116/117 CE: Ancient Sources and Modern Insights*, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 6 (Leuven 2005).

A collection of texts related to the revolt in 116–117 C.E., followed by a series of analytic chapters on the revolt, with special attention to chronology and regional developments in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Judaea. The author presents several compelling arguments to demonstrate that the beginning of the revolt can no longer be dated to 115 C.E. Philo’s *Flacc.* is cited in a discussion of the mime tradition in Egypt (p. 140). While the transmission of Philo’s works is not addressed in the book, its argument that the revolt brought ‘the very end of the Jewish presence’ in Egypt (p. 264) will need to be addressed in future research on this issue. Although Philo is mentioned only once, Philonic scholars may be interested in this important sourcebook on and analysis of this crucial event in Alexandrian Jewish history. (EB; adapted from a summary supplied by A. Kerkeslager)

20560. R. RADICE, 'La funzione teologica del *logos* nel giudaismo alessandrino e i suoi possibili sviluppi: una linea di ricerca,' *Humanitas (Brescia)* N.S. 60 (2005) 844–858.

There is no other concept in Philo's thought as complex (and seemingly confused) as that of the λόγος. It is argued in this article that the reason for this lies in the fact that for Philo the same doctrine can be expressed both in philosophical and in biblical terms (and in Philo's eyes the latter option is the better of the two). Philo represents an important step in Jewish Hellenistic thought: from a physical conception of God's workings (Aristobulus: *dynamis*) to a metaphysical one, for which Philo (maybe surprisingly so) makes use of the Stoic concept of *logos* as well as of the Demiurge in Plato's *Timaeus*. The influence of Philo's *logos* theory was not limited to Jewish Hellenistic thought, but reached Middle Platonism, Gnosticism, the Prologue of the Gospel of John, and Plotinus. (HMK)

20561. G. ROSKAM, *On the Path to Virtue: the Stoic Doctrine of Moral Progress and its Reception in (Middle-)Platonism* (Leuven 2005), esp. 146–219.

This monograph deals with the problem of moral progress in ancient Stoicism. In Part II the views of Philo and Plutarch are discussed. In Philo's philosophical interpretation of Scripture the theme of moral progress takes an important place. In Scripture he finds several examples of προκόπτοντες (Aaron, Noah) and various symbols of προκοπή. On the road to virtue the προκόπτων is somewhere between total wickedness and perfection, the former represented by a totally bad person such as Cain, the latter by the few people able to attain wisdom and to become σοφός like Abraham. Roskam concludes that Philo is acquainted with the Stoic doctrine of moral progress but the Stoic view is not his basic frame. He does not, as the Stoics do, regard the προκόπτων as fundamentally bad. Rather, he is inclined to the Peripatetic-Platonic view in which progress is seen as a separate third phase different from both virtue and vice. Although Philo uses several Stoic notions, he is not a Stoic philosopher. (ACG)

20562. D. T. RUNIA, 'A Conference on Philo in Germany,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 141–152.

The review article focuses on the collection of papers edited by R. Deines and K.-W. Niebuhr, *Philo und das Neue Testament*, published in 2004 (see above 20429). Philonic studies owe an enormous amount to German scholarship, but since the Second World War the scholarly output has declined. It was thus an event of great significance that in 2003 a conference was held in Eisenach and Jena which was largely devoted to Philo, organized by the Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti project. The aim was not only to see what New Testament studies could learn from Philo, but also the reverse, what Philonic

studies could learn from New Testament scholarship. The volume under review is based on the papers of the conference, which divide into four parts: three survey articles, twelve articles in six pairs by a Philonist and a New Testament specialist looking at the same theme, two further articles on separate themes, and three detailed readings of Philonic texts (*Opif.* 15–25, *Mos.* 1.60–62, *Spec.* 2.39–48). The article summarizes all the contributions and concludes that the volume is ‘warmly to be recommended to all scholars interested in the relation between Philo and . . . the New Testament’ (p. 151). (DTR)

20563. K.-G. SANDELIN, ‘Philo and Paul on Alien Religion: a Comparison,’ in A. MUSTAKALLIO (ed.), *Lux Humana, Lux Aeterna. Essays on Biblical and Related Themes in Honour of Lars Aejmelaeus*, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 89 (Helsinki–Göttingen 2005) 213–246.

After a sketch of the social situations of Philo and Paul, the author discusses their treatment of various aspects of alien religion under headings such as ‘The Evaluation of alien Gods,’ ‘Participation in alien religious activities,’ ‘Arguments from the Bible,’ ‘Conversion and apostasy,’ and ‘The rescue from polytheism and idolatry.’ The main text of Paul investigated here is 1 Cor 8:1–11:1. From Philo he draws on a wider set of texts. He emphasizes that Philo considers polytheism a strong evil force, and he may attribute it both to ignorance and to an evil aim in the minds of those who have introduced polytheism. Furthermore, Philo apparently considers club-meetings as a dangerous arena of polytheism, and he uses the episode of the golden calf in the desert as a warning example. Finally, in Philo’s view the rejection of polytheism cannot be achieved by human beings through their own powers, but they are in need of God’s help. The author’s main conclusion is that the way Paul handles what he sees as idolatry demonstrates that he is an heir of the same Jewish tradition which Philo represents. (TS)

20564. K. SCHENCK, *A Brief Guide to Philo* (Louisville Ky. 2005).

This book serves as a helpful introduction to Philo and his writings. Ch. 1 summarizes scholarly portraits of Philo and discusses Philo as a biblical interpreter, philosopher, and mystic. Ch. 2 provides an overview of scholarly consensus on Philo’s family, education, and political involvement, and of how scholars categorize Philo’s writings. Ch. 3 traces the fine line Philo walked between loyalty to Judaism and love of Hellenism. Ch. 4 presents Philo’s relationship to Jewish interpretive traditions in Alexandria and to Greek philosophical traditions. Philo’s views of God, the Logos, creation, humanity, truth, ethics, society, and women are summarized. Ch. 5 sketches a common Jewish Hellenistic milieu in which Philo and certain New Testament writers moved. Many similarities between Philo’s writings and the Book of Hebrews and the Letters of Paul (1 Cor 15:39–49; Col 1:15–20) suggest the authors lived in a similar linguistic universe. John’s use of Logos at John 1:1–14 is compared with Philo. Ch. 6 provides a brief summary of each Philonic treatise. The book concludes with

Ch. 7, which presents a useful topical index to the Philonic corpus. REVIEWS: J. W. Thompson, *SPhA* 19 (2007) 205–206; J. Griffiths, *ExpTim* 119 (2008) 460–461; E. R. Montgomery and B. Daniel, *BSac* 164 (2007) 497. (KAF)

20565. C. SCHLUND, ‘*Kein Knochen soll gebrochen werden*’: *Studien zu Bedeutung und Funktion des Pesachfests in Texten des frühen Judentums und im Johannesevangelium*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 107 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 2005).

In the lightly revised edition of her dissertation (Humboldt University, Berlin 2004) the research assistant of the German Septuaginta translation project deals with the meaning and function of Passover in Early Judaism and the Gospel of John. Philo has a particular importance for Hellenistic Judaism. Methodically, Schlund operates with the classification developed from the research of P. Borgen and F. Siegert. Two themes should be distinguished from each other in the interpretation of Passover. On the one hand there is the allegorical explanation: the estrangement of the soul from the passions (= Egypt) and the acceptance of the pure wisdom and truth (= Land of Canaan); this explanation (διάβασις) is unique to Philo's works. On the other hand Philo stresses the importance of the (high)-priestly intervention on behalf of the entire (Jewish) people. In this way Passover is first and foremost a feast of thanks and enjoyment through the deliverance from slavery in Egypt, uniting all the people in a congregation of worship (συναγωγή). The slaughter of the sacrificial animal without any participation of cultic staff reminds thereof. Except for the sacrifice by all the Israelites, the Passover animal and its blood does not play any part. It is striking that neither in the historical nor in the allegorical interpretation is there any mention of the protection or sparing of the Israelites by God. It seems that this aspect (especially of the LXX) does not carry any weight for Philo, although his texts do pick up specific Septuagintal terminology rather frequently. (GS)

20566. T. SELAND, *Strangers in the Light: Philonic Perspectives on Christian Identity in 1 Peter*, Biblical Interpretation Series 76 (Leiden 2005).

This is a collection of five articles, three of which have been previously published. The first chapter is entitled ‘The Making of 1 Peter in Light of Ancient Graeco-Roman Letter Writing and Distribution’ (p. 9–37), and argues *inter alia* that Silvanus (1 Pet 5:12) probably is to be understood as the writer/secretary of the letter, not the carrier. The next chapter, entitled ‘Paroikos kai parepidemos: Proselyte Characterizations in 1 Peter?’ (pp. 39–78), was published in 2001 (see above 20163). The third, on ‘The ‘Common Priesthood’ of Philo and 1 Peter’ (pp. 79–115), published in 1995 (RRS 9573), is a ‘Philonic reading’ of 1 Pet 2:5 and 9. The two last chapters deal with 1 Pet 2:11–12, both drawing on Philo's work in the interpretation of these verses. Chapter four, ‘The Moderate Life of the Christian paroikoi: a Philonic Reading of 1 Pet 2:11’ (pp. 117–145) was published in 2004 (see above 204114). The last chapter (pp. 147–189), dealing

with assimilation and acculturation in 1 Peter, is published here for the first time. REVIEWS: D. Horrell, *JSNT* 28 (2006) 110; K. L. Schenck, *SPhA* 20 (2008) 230–233. (TS)

20567. P. SERRA ZANETTI, 'Note su Tertulliano e Filone d'Alessandria,' in A. CACCIARI, F. CITTI, C. NERI and L. PERRONE (edd.), *P. Serra Zanetti, Imitatori di Gesù Cristo. Scritti classici e cristiani* (Bologna 2005) 37–61, esp. 48–61.

Review of R. Cadiou (ed.), *Philon d'Alexandrie: la migration d'Abraham. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, SC 47 (Paris 1957) = R-R 1551. After a survey of Cadiou's introduction, with some critical observations, Serra Zanetti critically discusses Cadiou's text constitution and/or translation regarding the following sections of *Migr.*: 26, 41, 42, 47, 67, 68, 76, 77, 80, 82, 83, 98, 104, 120, 122, 126, 131, 138, 145, 146, 149, 150, 157, 158, 160, 174, 180, 192, 195, 211, 216, 218, 225. The article was originally published in *Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna, Classe di scienze morali* s. 5 VII (1957–1959) [1960]. (HMK)

20568. R. SGARBI, 'Acquisizioni filologico-linguistiche in margine all'esperienza traduttiva armena della «Scuola ellenistica», in R. B. FINAZZI (ed.), *Del tradurre: da Occidente verso Oriente come incontro di lingue e culture: atti della giornata di studio su Traduzioni orientali e testi classici: lo stato della ricerca: Brescia, 8 ottobre 2004* (Milano 2005) 211–218.

This article presents two passages from Philo, *Spec.* 1.304, and *Contempl.* 61 (as well as passages from Porphyrius and Dionysius Thrax) in Greek and Armenian (both versions with Italian renderings). On the basis of the Armenian translations observations are made on probable readings of the Greek original. (HMK)

20569. F. SHAW, 'The Emperor Gaius' Employment of the Divine Name,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 33–48.

The article focuses on Philo's account of the words of the Emperor Gaius to the Embassy of Alexandrian Jews (of which Philo himself was the leader) in *Legat.* 353. Two main problems are discussed. First, how are Gaius' words to be interpreted? Shaw discusses the two different understandings of the words (i.e. the adjective ἀκατόνομαστος refers to God or to the Emperor himself) and concludes that Philo might have wished to convey both interpretations that have been made by modern scholars. The second question is the divine name that Gaius most likely uttered. It is argued that it would have been a Greek name and that it was most likely Ιαω. In an Appendix Shaw discusses evidence for the knowledge of a Hebrew divine name among Romans. A brief response to the article was published by P. W. van der Horst; see below 20642. (DTR)

20570. G. E. STERLING, ‘‘The Jewish Philosophy’: the Presence of Hellenistic Philosophy in Jewish Exegesis in the Second Temple Period,’ in C. BAKHOS (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 95 (Leiden 2005) 131–153.

The author deals with the question of the extent to which Hellenistic philosophy was popular among Second Temple Jews. To examine this issue Sterling discusses three areas in which both Hellenistic philosophy and Jewish thought are interested: theology, creation, and ethics. In this discussion frequent references are made to Philo. His conception of the transcendent God, for instance, is influenced by Hellenistic thought. He offers a Platonizing exegesis of the creation account in Genesis. Concerning ethics, Jewish writers identify Mosaic legislation with natural law. Sterling concludes that there were exegetical traditions influenced by Hellenistic philosophy that enjoyed wide circulation. As a consequence we should take the influence of Hellenistic philosophy on Greek-speaking Judaism seriously. (ACG)

20571. G. E. STERLING, ‘‘Day One’: Platonizing Exegetical Traditions of Genesis 1:1–5 in John and Jewish Authors,’ *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 118–140.

The author first affirms that the Prologue of the Gospel of John is based on Gen 1:1–5, and then argues that there are points of contact between the Prologue and the Platonist tradition. Four Platonizing features are discussed: (1) the world of being versus the world of becoming; (2) the Logos; (3) prepositional metaphysics (4) light versus darkness. Other Platonizing exegetical traditions of Gen 1:1–5 can be found in Philo and in 2 Enoch. In his discussion about Philo’s creation account in *Opif.* Sterling deals with the same Platonizing topics found in John. Regarding the treatment of Gen 1:1–5 in John, Philo and 2 Enoch the author concludes that all three texts identify ‘day one’ with the eternal, intelligible, or invisible world. The differences suggest that they made independent use of a common tradition. The tradition was transmitted to later Christians (Clement, Origen, Eusebius) largely, although not exclusively, through the works of Philo. (ACG)

20572. C. TERMINI, ‘Tipologías de filiación en Filón de Alejandría,’ in J. J. AYÁN CALVO, P. de NAVASCUÉS BENLLOCH and M. AROZTEGUI ESNAOLA (edd.), *Filiación: Cultura pagana, religión de Israel, orígenes del cristianismo. Actas de las I y II Jornadas de Estudio «La filiación en los inicios de la reflexión cristiana»*, Colección Estructuras y Procesos: Serie Religión (Madrid 2005) 73–88.

The article presents a philological and ideological study of terms in Philo that mean paternity, filiation, adoption and related terms. It first analyses the natural relation of parents and children, treated specially in *Decal.* 106–120 and *Spec.* 2.223–248. In the author’s view this relation has the following characteristics:

it is hierarchic, asymmetric—because the children will not be able to repay the received gifts—, contains reciprocity and affection, and includes a promise of immortality by the fact of having children. The semantics of filiation extends to other hermeneutical fields: the filiation of the world in respect to God and the Logos as first-born. Considering specially *Conf.* 144–146 the article analyses the distinction of degrees in the filiation of those who have a human being, the Logos, or God as father. Philo develops the Greek idea of virtue caused by divine seed but denies that this topic has any mythological implications. The mother of God's son is not Rachel but Leah, not a woman but a virgin. The author credits the Greek sources that Philo uses, especially those with a Platonic background, but she argues that Philo uses these sources to give original readings of biblical texts. The result is not far from a New Testament idea, namely that true sonship does not occur by ties of blood but derives from a gift of God. (JPM)

20573. L. TROIANI, 'Ambascerie e ambasciatori nella «Legatio ad Gaïum» di Filone Alessandrino,' in E. T. PAGOLA and J. S. YANGUAS (edd.), *Diplomacia y autorrepresentación en la Roma antigua*, Serie Acta 6 (Vitoria 2005) 77–85.

In the context of a discussion about practices and procedures of the embassies coming from the entire Empire to the court of Rome during the Julio-Claudian Dynasty, the author presents a report based on *Legat.* 178–193 and related passages to describe two embassies that came to Rome about the year 40 C.E., one headed by Apion representing the Egyptians, the other headed by Philo and representing the Jews, in response to the anti-Jewish disturbances of the year 38 C.E. (JPM)

20574. O. S. VARDAZARYAN, 'P'ilon Alek'sandrac'u erkeri hayeren lucmunk'nerə' [Armenian: The Armenian Scholia to the Works by Philo of Alexandria], *Patma-Banasirakan Handes [The Historical-Philological Journal (Yerevan)]* 168.1 (2005) 185–206.

The paper contains a bibliography of the Armenian medieval scholia (12th–13th century) to the Armenian translations of several genuine and non-genuine works by Philo of Alexandria. The sigla used in the present description, although referring to the scholia which are found in the manuscripts preserved in Mate-nadaran ('Mashtots' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, Armenia), may be applied to the more precise and compact introduction of the same material preserved in foreign collections of Armenian manuscripts. The failure of attributions of these scholia, offered by G. Grigoryan, is demonstrated: they cannot be taken as two different compositions by Hovhannes Sarkavag and Hovhannes Yerznkatsi Pluz respectively. The above-mentioned scholar was misled by the identical preambles, which could adhere to the different scholia on the same work by Philo. Full texts of these preambles are published in the appendix to the description of the scholia. It is proposed that two recensions of the scholion

‘Preface to Philo’ originated in the school of Vardapet Vanakan; in addition the series of scholia in the codex of Yerevan Matenadaran No. 1672 may be ascribed to the school of Mxit’ar Gosh. (DTR; based on the author’s summary)

20575. O. S. VARDAZARIAN, ‘Patčark’ groc’ P’iloni. Usumnasirut’yun ew bnagir’ [Armenian: The ‘Introductions’ to the Writings by Philo. Texts and Studies], *Proceedings of the ‘V. Brusov’ Yerevan State University of Linguistics. Social studies* 3 (2005) 185–233.

The *Patčark’*, introductory summaries (Gr. ὑποθέσεις, Lat. *argumenta, causae*, Syr. *elta*) of the class-readings of authors included in the school curriculum, represents the most interesting part of the medieval Armenian commentaries on the ‘Armenian Philo’. They display the notions about Philo and his literary heritage which circulated in Armenian monastic schools in the 12th–13th centuries. The commentators have used the scheme of the εἰσαγωγή, with a biographical chapter of encomiastic character at the beginning. Four compositions of this genre are preserved in Armenian manuscripts: Anonymous A, Anonymous B, the argument by David Kobayrec’i and—related to the latter—‘Introduction to Philo’. The critical edition of these texts is accompanied by a brief introduction, which contains the description of the manuscript tradition and the comparative dating within the group, and also by notes which mainly focus on the sources of the concepts used by the Armenian scholiasts or give literary parallels for their phraseology. (DTR; based on the author’s summary)

20576. C. VASANTHARAO, ‘The Right to Life in Human Discourse: Emphasis on Animal Life,’ *Religion and Society* 50 (2005) 13–30.

For guidance about the role of humans in relation to animals and to God, the author considers the law of not boiling a kid in its mother’s milk, especially in Deut 14:21b. Philo and others view this law, whose significance is obscure, as relating partly to the pain that the suckling mother would feel if she could not express milk to her young. The law must also, however, be seen in the larger context of the mother-offspring bond. Here too, Philo—followed by later Jewish and Christian exegetes—provides evidence that this and other biblical laws regarding animal mothers and offspring were meant to show kindness to animals. Another possible explanation, found in *Virt.* 143, is the separation of the forces of life (represented by the mother’s milk) and death (represented by cooking), a theme also found elsewhere in biblical laws pertaining to animals. This explanation and others aid Vasantharao in understanding why the rabbis greatly developed the prohibition of boiling a kid in its mother’s milk to extend to the separation between milk and meat products and utensils. (EB)

20577. J. P. WARE, *The Mission of the Church in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians in the Context of Ancient Judaism*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 120 (Leiden 2005), esp. 131–143.

This volume represents an extensive study of the role Paul's churches played in his view of mission commitment, asking: what role did Paul envision his churches having in the advancement of the Gospel? Concerning the background of the missionary consciousness of Paul, Ware rejects the possibility of relevant figures in Hellenistic philosophy or religion as models, and focuses instead on Paul's Jewish background. Chapter One deals with 'The Problem of Jewish Mission' (pp. 23–55). Did the missionary consciousness of the early Christians have its origins in Judaism? And if so, in what ways? Ware here deals with the much discussed questions of Jewish missionaries, the number of converts, and the nature of the 'God-fearers.' His conclusions are that there is little evidence that converts were actively sought by Jews, and that there is no evidence of missionaries and/or missionary preaching to Gentiles. Chapter Three deals with 'Conversion of Gentiles and Interpretation of Isaiah in Second Temple Judaism' (pp. 93–155). The main question here is: 'to what extent were Jewish attitudes toward Gentiles in the second temple period related to the Old Testament, especially the book of Isaiah?' Ware here deals with the relevant texts from Isaiah in the LXX version, with Targum Isaiah, *Sibylline Oracles*, Wisdom of Solomon, the parables of *Enoch*, Philo of Alexandria, Rom 2:17–29, as well as the *Testament of Levi* and some related Qumran texts. In his analysis of Philo (esp. *Virt.* 175–186, *Spec.* 2.162–167, *Mos.* 1.149 and 2.43–44, *Abr.* 98), he finds that Philo did understand the Jewish people to have a priestly and mediatorial role for the Gentiles, but there is no concern for a mission for their conversion. He welcomed present-day proselytes as a foreshadowing of the future eschatological coming. Summarizing the results of his investigation of these Jewish texts, Ware finds that there existed a widespread interest in an eschatological conversion of Gentiles, but not all shared the same interest in the present conversion of Gentiles, and there is no evidence to be found of a concern for mission. (TS)

20578. E. WASSERMAN, *The Death of the Soul in Romans 7: Sin, Death, and the Law in Light of Hellenistic Moral Psychology* (diss. Yale University 2005).

This dissertation argues that Rom 7:7–25 should be understood as a dramatic depiction of the death of the soul, a moral-psychological condition ascribed to extremely immoral persons. In Chapter 2 the author discusses Hellenistic discussions of extreme immorality and focuses on Philo of Alexandria who often uses death analogies to describe the mind which has been completely overwhelmed by the passions. It is argued that Paul represents such an extreme type of wickedness in Rom 7:7–25 and that he similarly uses death and dying as moral-psychological metaphors to describe the mind's total domination by passions and vices. The study was published under the same title as a monograph in 2008 (Tübingen). (DTR; based on author's summary in DAI-A 66/11, p. 4056)

20579. S. WEITZMAN, *Surviving Sacrilege: Cultural Persistence in Jewish Antiquity* (Cambridge Mass. 2005), esp. 58–75.

Weitzman studies the tactics that Jews used to preserve their culture, particularly in times when the Temple and/or Jewish ritual were endangered. He thus considers the Babylonian destruction of the First Temple, the threat against Jewish religious practices by Antiochus IV in the time of the Maccabees, Caligula's attempt to install a statue of himself in the Temple, and the Roman destruction of the Second Temple. Philo is discussed most prominently in the chapter on the crisis with Caligula, based on Philo's account of the Embassy (pp. 55–78). Weitzman focuses on Agrippa's approach to the Emperor and analyzes it in terms of notions that were nearly contemporary with Philo about friendship and flattery. Recognizing that Philo's account of Agrippa and his letter to Caligula is a rhetorical device, Weitzman then considers Philo's own tactics and concludes that he presents Jewish culture and imperial rule as having an important affinity, but one that is not quite complete because of the Jews' commitment to preserving their ancestral beliefs and practices. After Caligula's assassination, Claudius acted favorably to the Jews because of the friendship that he had with Agrippa and Herod and the friendship that the Jews had shown to the Romans. In relation to the Caligula episode and its immediate aftermath, therefore, the Jews managed to preserve their culture by having 'Friends in High Places' (which is the title of this chapter). REVIEWS: J. J. Collins, *SPhA* 17 (2005) 243–246. (EB)

20580. W. T. WILSON, 'Pious Soldiers, Gender Deviants, and the Ideology of Actium: Courage and Warfare in Philo's *De Fortitudine*,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 17 (2005) 1–32.

Plato's understanding of courage (*ἀνδρεία*) in the *Republic* provides a gateway to a thoroughgoing comparison of Cicero and Philo with respect to their philosophical understandings of courage, as understood in relation to other virtues deemed essential for personal, civic, and military life. Both Cicero and Philo work out their treatments in the context of participating in public life. A systematic commentary on Philo's treatment of courage, found in *De fortitudine* (= *Virt.* 1–50), presupposes realities specific to Philo's situation in Roman Egypt and his political desire to construct an image of Judaism congenial to the ideology of the Roman ruling classes, as reflected in the propaganda of the Augustan principate. (KAF)

20581. K. S. WINSLOW, *Early Jewish and Christian Memories of Moses' Wives: Exogamist Marriage and Ethnic Identity*, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 66 (Lewiston N.Y. 2005), esp. chapters 5 and 6.

The accounts of Moses' Midianite wife, Zipporah, in Exod 2:4, and 18 and his unnamed Cushite wife in Num 12 give rise to several exegetical motifs that include Moses' exogamous marriage(s), Zipporah's act of circumcision, and Moses' later celibacy. Winslow examines how these accounts and motifs are treated in the Hebrew Bible, later Jewish sources—including the LXX, Artapanus, Demetrius, Ezekiel the Tragedian, *Jubilees*, Philo, Josephus, Targums, and Rabbinic literature—and Christian sources—including Origen, Tertullian,

Aphrahat, Ephrem the Syrian, Jerome, and Gregory of Nyssa. Philo does not appear to be bothered by Moses' marriage to a Gentile, but he does not refer to Zipporah's act of circumcision in any of his writings. This omission may reflect Philo's general tendency to avoid portraying women as taking initiative or having the ability to influence Israel's history. In *Mos.* 2, Philo mentions Moses' marriage and children (from Exodus) without referring to Zipporah by name. She is named, however, in *Mut.*, *Post.*, and *Cher.*, in which she is allegorized, as is Moses' Ethiopian wife (from Num 12) in *Leg.* 2. Both wives represent qualities that advance Moses' character development. Philo is the first Jew we know of to claim that Moses renounced sex in order to be prepared to hear God's words (*Mos.* 2.68–69). This claim appears to be influenced not by exegetical concerns, as in some other sources, but by 'Philo's fundamental assumptions about the incompatibility of the 'female' with the attainment to knowledge of the divine' (p. 272). (EB)

20582. D. WINSTON, 'A Century of Research on the Book of Wisdom,' in A. PASSARO and G. BELLIA (edd.), *The Book of Wisdom in Modern Research*, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook (Berlin 2005) 1–18.

As the title promises, this article surveys scholarship on the Book of Wisdom over the past century. A central, puzzling issue is the Book's combination of an apocalyptic outlook and philosophical sophistication. Winston discusses examples of the conjoining of wisdom and apocalyptic in other literature and mentions Philo in passing to illustrate the theme that unmediated understanding given by God is superior to mediated learning acquired through a teacher. In Wisdom, wisdom is understood as 'immanent divine causality' (p. 10), which is not explicitly identified with Torah. Relevant in this context is Philo's understanding of natural law and of the patriarchs as its living embodiments. One can also discern similar tensions between apocalyptic and philosophy in Philo, whose 'quasi-apocalyptic messianic vision' (p. 14), restricted to only a few passages, seems to conflict with his notion of divine providence. Winston suggests that both sources were written during the period of severe persecution of the Jews in Alexandria and that both authors were motivated 'by the need to fuse Jewish tradition with Greek philosophy in an attempt to defend its integrity both in the face of persecution and the intellectual changes of pagan culture' (pp. 15–16). Biblical exegesis, therefore, is only secondary to this aim. For the Italian version of this article published earlier see above 204141. (EB)

20583. J. WOYKE, *Götter, 'Götzen,' Götterbilder. Aspekte einer paulinischen 'Theologie der Religionen,'* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 132 (Berlin 2005).

Discussions on aspects of Philo's theology occur at various points in this Tübingen dissertation. On pp. 90–94 there is an extensive excursus on the

terminology used for foreign gods, in which Philo's use of the terms εἶδωλα, θεοπλάστεῖν and θεοί is also investigated. It is only against the background of a Platonic world-view that the term εἶδωλον can have the double signification of 'a divine image' and 'phantom'. The designation of the stars as θεοὶ αἰσθητοί, however, is conventional and does not imply veneration. On pp. 123–126 Philo's concept of faith is outlined: it comprises knowledge of God, trust in God, and conversion as well. On pp. 133–138 F. Siegert's thesis that *QE* 2.2 betrays the existence of polytheistic sympathizers of the Hellenistic synagogue is contested. Jethro, however, could be the symbol of such an exterior circle of adherents. Further references to Philo's doctrine of monotheism are found on pp. 174–176 and 397–401. The author observes a tendency to abstract from God's activity in history; in contrast to Stoicism, Philo confines the knowledge of a Creator's existence to the intellectual inference of philosophers. (GS)

20584. A. T. WRIGHT, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: the Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.198 (Tübingen 2005), esp. 191–219.

The monograph is a revision of the author's 2004 dissertation submitted to the faculty at the University of Durham. In order to understand Philo's place in Early Judaism and his approach to Gen 6:1–4, Philo's role as an exegete, his audience, and his view of the soul, and in particular its immortality, are discussed. Philo's interpretation of the text offers an alternative approach to the responsibility for human suffering to the tradition set forth in *1 Enoch* 1–36. The Watcher tradition describes the 'angels of God' as rebellious angels who entered the human realm to fornicate with women. Philo interprets them as 'souls' that descend to earth to take on a human body. For Philo, the giants are neither physical nor spiritual entities. They are irrational vices born as a result of being drawn into the torrents of the flesh. Despite differences, the giants of the Watcher tradition and the giants of *Gig.* threaten the survival of humanity, although one is external and the other internal to the person. Philo may have been writing a corrective to Watcher tradition and its view that evil spirits are the cause of human sufferings. (KAF)

20585. A. T. WRIGHT, 'Some Observations on Philo's *De Gigantibus* and Evil Spirits in Second Temple Judaism,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 36 (2005) 471–488.

This article is taken almost *verbatim* from the monograph summarized above at 20584. (KAF)

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20601. S. AHBEL-RAPPE, 'Plato's Influence on Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Philosophy,' in H. H. BENSON (ed.), *A Companion to Plato* (Oxford 2006) 434–451, esp. 435–437.

Philo begins the story of the influence of Plato on the formation of Jewish, Christian and Islamic philosophy. A number of pages are devoted to his thought under the heading 'Middle Platonisms', focusing on his interpretation of creation in *Opif.* and his mystical reading of the Pentateuch as an allegory of the flight of the soul from the lower material realm to divine knowledge. (DTR)

20602. Manuel ALEXANDRE JR, 'O feminino na alegorese filoniana,' *Euphrosyne* N.S. 34 (2006) 259–268.

Discusses the figures of women in some Philonic treatises. In *Leg.* the woman Eve symbolizes sensitivity in front of Adam, the intellect, and receives a subordinate but necessary place in the anthropological vision of Philo. In other treatises of the Allegorical Commentary the figures of Sarah and Hagar have subordinate functions in the acquisition of wisdom, which is proper to Abraham. In *Contempl.* Jewish women, called the Therapeutrides, accompany the male Therapeutai. They reach the state of *eudaimonia* by leaving the female characteristics and acquiring virtues of a man. In general it is concluded that Philo has a positive view of women, but always in a role that is subordinate and complementary in relation to the man striving for perfection. It is only through identification with the male that the woman can embody virtue. (JPM)

20603. J. E. ATKINSON, 'Ethnic Cleansing in Roman Alexandria in 38,' *Acta Classica (South Africa)* 49 (2006) 31–54.

The riots against the Jews in Alexandria in 38 C.E. were caused by a deep-seated anti-Semitism which had a long history. The visit of King Agrippa I worked like a catalyst and was the immediate cause of the pogrom, as can be seen from Philo's attempt to exculpate him. Philo emphasizes that it was not Agrippa's plan to visit the city. In addition, political circumstances played a role because Gaius was more prepared to promote a ruler cult than Tiberius had been. There were also tensions between Alexandrian Greeks and Egyptians. (ACG)

20604. J. M. G. BARCLAY, 'By the Grace of God I am what I am': Grace and Agency in Philo and Paul,' in J. M. G. BARCLAY and S. GATHERCOLE (edd.), *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and his Cultural Environment* (Edinburgh 2006) 140–157.

The place of grace in the works of Philo is discussed under the main heading given as: 'Philo on divine grace and human virtue', with subheadings as 'Grace in creation and causation'; 'Virtue as a gift', and 'The ascent of the soul'. In his comparisons the author finds that both Philo and Paul emphasize the priority of divine grace, as the originating cause of salvation, including human virtue, but that there is a substantial difference in the theological framework in which they place this grace. For Philo grace is the creative energy of God; for Paul it is revealed and enacted in the Christ-event, and as such is an eschatological event of a new creation. (TS)

20605. A. BIRKAN-SHEAR, 'Does a Serpent Give Life?' Understanding the Brazen Serpent according to Philo and Early Rabbinic Literature,' in I. H. HENDERSON and G. S. OEGEMA (edd.), *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and Other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity* (= *FS Charlesworth*), Studien zu den jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 2 (Gütersloh 2006) 416–426.

The paper discusses interpretations of Num 21:4–9 given by Jewish writers in the first centuries C.E. (Philo, Mishnah, Mekilta of Rabbi Yishmael, Targumim). In Philo's reading, the serpents that bite the Israelites represent pleasure: the people wish to go back to Egypt, the incorporeal mass, and they die in a spiritual sense. Beholding the bronze serpent of Moses heals them. In Philo's view, looking to the serpent means that they observe God Himself. The author concludes that most sources deviate from the literal interpretation of Num 21:4–9. (ACG)

20606. E. BIRNBAUM, 'Two Millennia Later: General Resources and Particular Perspectives on Philo the Jew,' *Currents in Biblical Research* 4 (2006) 241–276.

This bibliographic essay, which focuses more or less on the past two decades, begins with a brief survey of general resources on Philo, including bibliographies, journals, series, monographs, and internet sites. After a consideration of some research trends, the discussion turns to studies of Philo as a Jew. In contrast to the mid-twentieth century, when the center of scholarly concern was whether Philo was more fundamentally a Jew or a Greek, the more recent studies approach him from several different perspectives. These include describing Philo's Judaism ('the descriptive approach'); studying how he balances Jewish and universal elements ('the thematic approach'); comparing his writings with other traditions ('the comparative approach'); observing how he shapes his presentations of Jews and Judaism to impress his readers ('the presentational approach'); and considering Philo's attitudes toward others and examining the relationship between his exegetical and historical writings ('the socio-political approach'). The essay concludes with a discussion of studies of Philo within broader historical contexts, a summary of current trends, and suggestions for future directions. (EB)

20607. P. BORGES, 'Crucified for His Own Sins—Crucified for Our Sins: Observations on a Pauline Perspective,' in J. FOTOPOULOS (ed.), *The New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune*, Novum Testamentum Supplements 122 (Leiden 2006) 17–36.

In this article Borgen focuses on Rom 1:18–32 and 7:7–8:3 in order to show that it was part of the aim of Paul to document that although Jesus Christ was executed as a criminal, he did not die for his own crimes, but for ours. Both Rom 1:22–23 and Rev 18:4–8 are seen as a crime-and-punishment list, comparable to Philo's *Flacc.* 170–175. Rom 7:7–8:4 is another way of reporting on crime and punishment in the form of a story. Thus this passage is studied in light of Sophocles' *Antigone*, Philo's *Flacc.*, Joseph and Asenath and Gen 2–3. Borgen argues that both Rom 1:18–32 and 7:7–8:3 reveal how Paul transforms traditional Jewish understanding of the relationship between Jews and non-Jews: Jesus Christ did not die for his own sins but for 'our sins'. The passages thus expound the crime story of humankind in texts having the form of crime-and-punishment reports about Jesus Christ. (TS)

20608. P. BORGES, 'Some Crime-and-Punishment Reports,' in J. NEUSNER, A. J. AVERY PECK, A. LAATO, R. NURMELA and K.-G. SANDELIN (edd.), *Ancient Israel, Judaism, and Christianity in Contemporary Perspective: Essays in Memory of Karl-Johan Illman* (Lanham Md. 2006) 67–80.

In setting out to analyse some crime-and-punishment reports, the author chooses to discuss first the Philonic example *Flacc.* 171–175; then further examples follow in Josephus *War* 7.437–453, 2 Macc 7:7–9:29, and Acts 12:1–24. His main points of focus are on what is seen as the basic principles for evaluating the crimes committed: is the perspective extra-mural, concerning the relations between Jews and non-Jews? Or are there intra-mural aspects present? Based upon his findings he suggests that there are reasons to ask whether the form of crime-and-punishment reports should be classified as a genre of its own, distinct from biographies. Furthermore, if so, one might ask whether the Gospel of John as well as the Gospel of Mark follows the structure of crime-and-punishment reports. (TS)

20609. P. R. BOSMAN, 'Conscience and Free Speech in Philo,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 18 (2006) 33–47.

The word συνειδός (conscience), which occurs 32 times in Philo's writings, has a predominantly negative connotation: having a 'conscience' means having a 'guilty awareness'. The conscience, which is a component of the soul, can be regarded as the inner court of law and acts as a prosecutor and admonisher. Philo combines 'conscience' with 'free speech' (παρρησία). It is only possible to speak freely if one has a clear conscience. Both a pure conscience and freedom of speech result from living virtuously. (ACG)

20610. D. BRAKKE, 'Origins and Authenticity: Studying the Reception of Greek and Roman Spiritual Traditions in Early Christian Monasticism,' in D. BRAKKE, A.-C. JACOBSEN and J. ULRICH (edd.), *Beyond Reception. Mutual Influences between Antique Religion, Judaism, and Early Christianity*, Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity (Bern 2006) 175–189.

In asking 'how did early Christian monasticism receive the ascetic and spiritual traditions of Judaism and their wider Greco-Roman world,' the author deals with Philo's Therapeutae as portrayed in *Contempl.* on pp. 176–178. He himself is of the opinion that the Therapeutae did not actually exist; hence there is no possibility of a continuous ascetic or monastic tradition in Egypt from the 1st to the 4th century. He is also skeptical about any influence of Philo's literary portrait of the Therapeutae on early Christian monasticism. (TS)

20611. M. BRÄNDLE, *Der Agon bei Paulus. Herkunft und Profil paulinischer Agonmetaphorik*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.222 (Tübingen 2006), esp. 85–115, 133–137.

Philo is the main source for technical terms in the whole ancient Greek literature. His writings feature the largest collection of ἀγών metaphors of all Greek authors. Indeed, many metaphors are so detailed and precise that they provide a detailed reconstruction of the rules and practices of the competitions. On the presumption that he and his family did indeed hold full civil rights, Philo would have passed through the ephebe education himself, which in turn fits the description in *Spec.* 2.230. In this way he could address his writings to both Jews and non-Jews, for he hoped that the non-Jewish would follow the superior laws of Israel in the future (see *Mos.* 2.43f.). Philo picks up Cynic motifs and integrates them with Stoic elements in a worldview which is marked by Platonic ideas. This is the way that Philo presents his 'conquest' of Hellenistic culture, which is regarded as being based on Jewish writings and is counted as its heritage. This is the reason that the Israelite 'athletes of virtue' are able to accomplish typical Greek ideals. On the other hand, the theocentric worldview which shows the ἀγών εὐσεβείας as the service for God links Philo to Stoic conceptions. He acknowledges the idea that humans depend on God's grace (see *Deus* 75). Making reference to Plato, Philo differs from Paul's use of the metaphor of the crown and the prize of victory (ἄφθαρτος/φθαρτὸς στέφανος, 1 Cor 9:25). (GS)

20612. M. BRINKSCHRÖDER, *Sodom als Sympton. Gleichgeschlechtliche Sexualität im christlichen Imaginären—eine religionsgeschichtliche Anamnese*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 55 (Berlin 2006), esp. 334–388.

Following on from his earlier article (see above 20321), the author gives a survey of the Philonic verdict on pederasty. In addition he surveys the Philonic

system of gender, the reproaches of pederasty as a feminization and annihilation of the sperm, and the symbols of psychic androgyny, namely virtue, wisdom and virginity. Fictive sexuality is an important point of reference in the relationship between man and God, corresponding to sensuous and physical love in asceticism. Nevertheless this asceticism opposes the principle of so-called procreationism. Sexual reproduction becomes compulsory and provides a kind of residuum for lust and desire. Here the author sees the essential roots of future Christian ideas of sexuality. (GS)

20613. M. BROZE, 'Les Enseignements de Sylvanos et la parole tranchante. Jeux de mots et assonances plurilinguistiques,' *Apocrypha* 17 (2006) 79–86.

The author argues that the Philonic concept of the λόγος τομεύς was also found in pagan Egyptian circles and that this encouraged the author of the *Teachings of Sylvanus* to exploit the same theme. (DTR)

20614. R. BRUCKER, 'Observations of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Septuagint Psalms in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity,' in W. KRAUS and R. G. WOODEN (edd.), *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 53 (Leiden 2006) 355–369, esp. 358–360.

To study the *Wirkungsgeschichte* (reception history) of LXX Psalms in Jewish and Christian sources, the author devotes sections to 1 Maccabees, Philo (pp. 358–360), Josephus, Greco-Roman writings (in an excursus), Gospels, Paul, other NT writings, Apostolic Fathers, Apologists, and Greek Fathers. The focus is on quotations and indirect allusions to Psalms and questions of author, genre, and canonicity. Philo includes several Psalm quotations as well as references to other biblical songs. For the authors of Psalms Philo speaks of associates of Moses, employs locutions like 'the divine man' or 'a prophetic man,' and uses the passive voice, as in 'it is said.' Because of the traditional ascription of Psalmic authorship to David, of which Philo is aware (*Conf.* 149), it is striking that he associates the Psalter with associates of Moses instead of with David. This association can be understood when one recalls that Moses is Philo's hero. (EB)

20615. S. Y. CHAN, *1 Timothy 2:13–15 in the Light of Views concerning Eve and Childbirth in Early Judaism* (diss. Dallas Theological Seminary 2006).

The study is primarily a monograph on Jewish views concerning Eve and childbirth as they relate to 1 Tim 2:13–15. Chapter three examines selected passages from a wide range of Jewish sources, including the writings of Philo. (DTR; based on author's summary in DA)

20616. N. G. COHEN, 'La dimensión judía del judaísmo de Filón. Una elucidación de *De Spec. Leg.* IV 132–150,' *Revista Bíblica* 68 (2006) 215–240.

Spanish translation of an article first published in English; see RRS 8722. (JPM)

20617. N. G. COHEN, 'Philo's *Cher.* 40–52, *Zohar* III 31a, and BT *Hag.* 16a 1, 2,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 57 (2006) 191–209.

The author argues that Philo's exceptional reference to the book of Jeremiah in *Cher.* 49 can be explained on the assumption that he used an esoteric commentary by 'Jeremiah.' This commentary is said to have been composed in Greek, as reflected in LXX Jer 3:4, and also influenced passages in the medieval book of Jewish mysticism, the *Zohar*, and the Babylonian Talmud, which show, in her view, a general resemblance to Philo's interpretation. In this way the author hopes to give further support to the earlier thesis of Samuel Belkin that there are direct connections between Philo and the *Zohar*. (MRN)

20618. N. G. COHEN, 'The Prophetic Books in Alexandria: the Evidence from Philo Judaeus,' in M. H. FLOYD and R. D. HAAK (edd.), *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (London–New York 2006) 166–193.

Assuming that the prophetic books were widely available in Greek by the time of Philo, the author addresses the problem of why they are so sparsely quoted in Philo's works. She argues that his references echo the liturgical use of the prophets as *Haftarah* in Alexandria. This argument is supported by three separate considerations: (1) reviewing material already published in 1997 (see above 9711), Cohen lists all the prophetic quotations as well as possible allusions to them and compares them to the *Haftarot* read between 17 of Tamuz and Yom Kippur, which are attested much later in sources from the Land of Israel; (2) on the basis of a close reading of *Conf.* 128–130 she argues for Philo's use of a Hebrew lexical concordance written in Greek; (3) she suggests that Philo's references to 'the friends of Moses' and the school of Moses can be identified as a group of contemporary Alexandrian Jews, who were allegorists and favoured non-Pentateuchal passages. It is from these circles, Cohen suggests, that he received exegesis of passages not included in the Pentateuch. (MRN)

20619. I. COLEMAN, 'Antiphony: another Look at Philo's *On the Contemplative Life*,' *Studia Liturgica* 36 (2006) 212–230.

Philo's *Contempl.* presents 'the earliest liturgical use of the term *antiphōnos*' (p. 212). One author maintains that Philo's understanding of this term reflects responses to a soloist rather than the alternation of choirs responding to each

other; the latter sense combines ancient meanings of the term as ‘reply’ and ‘octave.’ Coleman believes, however, that in the context in which Philo uses ἀντίφωνος—namely, the antiphonal singing of the male and female choirs in imitation of male and female singing at the Red Sea in Exod 15—the term indeed carries the sense of choirs singing in response to each other. In this learned consideration of Philo’s treatise, Coleman suggests that in equating the male and female choirs, the Therapeutae displayed a unique interpretation of Exod 15, that the Therapeutic musical practices were based on the choral singing in Greek drama, and that Philo’s account of Therapeutic liturgical practices influenced later Christian ones. Coleman also argues that the group was probably real rather than imaginary, because it is otherwise difficult to understand Philo’s motivation in presenting such a detailed account, the equality of men and women is not characteristic of Philo, and the common Egyptian provenience of the Therapeutae and later Christian monastics may explain the influence of the Therapeutae on later Christian practices. (EB)

20620. C. DEUTSCH, ‘The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience,’ in A. D. DECONICK (ed.), *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 11 (Atlanta 2006) 287–311.

Philo may have intended his treatise *Contempl.* to serve different apologetic functions for Jewish and non-Jewish readers and it may have provided him with an opportunity ‘to reflect on his own experience as philosopher and text worker’ (p. 287). Central to the life of the Therapeutic community is ‘text work,’ which includes interpretation of Scripture and composition of hymns and relates to both ritual and mystical experience. Using language evocative of priests and Levites on one hand, and ascent, vision, and ecstasy on the other, Philo highlights the community’s ritual and mystical aspects. His discussion of space—which moves from the inhabited world through regional and local sites toward the interior of the individual members’ dwellings—suggests the interiority of the allegorical meaning of the text as studied by individuals and community alike. Philo’s description of the community’s simple lifestyle and religious gatherings, in which text study is a focus, similarly emphasizes the ritual and mystical aspects of the group. Although parallels exist between the Therapeutic community and Greek philosophers, mystery religion devotees, and practitioners of Egyptian temple religion, Philo presents the ways of the Therapeutic community as superior. (EB)

20621. S. DI MATTEI, ‘Moses’ *Physiologia* and the Meaning and Use of *Physikôs* in Philo of Alexandria’s Exegetical Method,’ *The Studia Philonica Annual* 18 (2006) 3–32.

In Philo’s exegetical method, φύσις occupies a significant place. The author rejects the view that in Philo φυσιολογία is synonymous with ‘allegorical interpretation.’ As a philosophical term the adverb φυσικῶς refers to a manner of

reasoning that is proper to the study of physics. In Jewish exegetes, φυσικῶς indicates the philosophical rationale behind Moses' words. The scope of physics has expanded and also incorporates metaphysics. In the Greek philosophical tradition, φυσιολογία refers to the examination of the phenomena in heaven and the genesis of the universe. This same meaning is found in Philo, for whom the study of the cosmos leads ultimately to knowledge of God the creator. (ACG)

20622. S. DI MATTEI, 'Paul's Allegory of Two Covenants (Gal. 4.21–31) in Light of First-Century Hellenistic Rhetoric and Jewish Hermeneutic,' *New Testament Studies* 52 (2006) 102–122.

Philo's works and views play a relatively minor role in this study. The author considers Philo's allegories to be apologetic rather than expository, and that Paul's usage thus does not square with Philo's apologetic (p. 105). On the other hand, the term ἀλληγορέω is predominately used by both authors in the sense 'to speak allegorically.' In the rest of the study the author argues that Paul's allegory is more reflective of Jewish practices which sought to eschatologize the Torah by reading Gen 16:1 through its *haftarah*, Isa 54:1. (TS)

20623. L. DI PAOLO JR, '*The Appropriated God: Hellenistic Thought and the New Testament Christ Hymns* (diss. Loyola University 2006).

This study investigates the three main images of Christ in the material normally designated as hymnic in the New Testament (Phil 2:6–11, 1 Cor 8:6, Col 1:15–20, John 1:1–18, Heb 1:3–4, 1 Tim 3:16), specifically the images of Christ the pre-existent divinity, Christ the Creator and Christ the Incarnate god. The author concludes that the closest literary antecedents for the first two images can be found in the literary world of Hellenistic Jewish wisdom speculation, specifically that subset of Hellenistic Jewish wisdom speculation influenced by Middle Platonic thought and exemplified by the works of Philo of Alexandria. The third image, that of Christ the Incarnate god, finds its most compelling literary antecedents in works of Greco-Roman religious thought and philosophy, specifically those myths which deal with gods taking human form and serving as slaves. The image of the god as flesh, a subset of those images which deal with Christ as an incarnate god, however, fails to be easily classified as deriving from either Hellenistic Jewish or Greco-Roman literary images. It is an image which had to have arisen from early Christian kerygma. (DTR; based on author's summary in DA)

20624. L. H. FELDMAN, *Judaism and Hellenism Reconsidered* (Leiden 2006).

Part three of this vast collection of reprinted essays is devoted to Philo, but it contains only two articles: 'Philo's Version of the 'Aqedah' (pp. 255–279, see above 20233) and 'Philo, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus and Theodotus on the Rape of

Dinah' (p. 281–309, see above 20434). It also contains the article 'Conversion to Judaism in Classical Antiquity', summarized above 20341. References to Philo in other essays are indexed on p. 922. (DTR)

20625. N. FERNANDEZ-MARCOS, 'Rewritten Bible or *Imitatio*? the Vestments of the High-Priest,' in P. W. FLINT, E. TOV and J. C. VANDERKAM (edd.), *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint presented to Eugene Ulrich*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 101 (Boston 2006) 321–336.

While the label 'rewritten Bible' may describe aspects of ancient Jewish literary activity, some Hellenistic Jewish works may also be understood in relation to the Greco-Roman literary practice of *imitatio*, based on the foremost model of Homer; for Jews, Moses' Pentateuch became such a model. Discussions of the high priestly vestments, based on Exod 28, reflect the imitation of *ekphrasis*, the vivid description of various phenomena including works of art, whose classic example is Homer's description of Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.477–617). Imitations of *ekphrasis* can be found in the *Letter of Aristeas* 96–99 and Ben Sira 45:6–13. Ben Sira 50:5–21 on the high priest Simon imitates the encomium. Philo provides examples of allegorical *ekphrasis* in *QE* 2.107–123, *Spec.* 1.84–97, and *Mos.* 2.109–135. Focusing on the last passage, Fernández-Marcos shows how Philo blends Platonic and Stoic thinking to portray the high priestly vestments as symbolic of the universe and the high priest himself as a small universe, or microcosm. In *BJ* 5.230–237 and *Ant.* 3.159–178, Josephus, who uses different terms for the vestments, shows variations on the symbolic *ekphrasis* found in Philo. All these examples suggest that Hellenistic Jewish writers were very interested in the theme of the high priestly vestments and that the tradition of interpretation of these vestments was fairly widespread. (EB)

20626. E. FILLER, *Dialectic in Philo* (diss. Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan 2006).

This dissertation seeks to examine whether, besides the known and extensive influence of such Platonic writings as the *Timaeus* on Philo's writings and thought, we can also detect traces of the dialectics of the later Platonic dialogues. The result is patently negative. Most of the dissertation is devoted to explaining the lack of such dialectical terminology. Initially, the possibility of Stoic influence is examined and dismissed. Subsequently, the author asks whether Philo may have been attached to a Sophistic movement in Alexandria and what his attitude to such a movement may precisely have been. Analyzing the occurrences of terms connected to 'sophists', the author highlights the wide span of their meanings as well as Philo's ambivalence. As comparative material from Alexandria is missing, it is not clear whether it is Philo's original contribution to contrast the Sophist in this broad way to the true philosopher. Moreover, the author argues that one of Philo's proofs for the harm engendered by sophistic teachings and

instruction is that their inner convictions contradict their spoken declarations. They befittingly preach on matters of ethics, but they fail to implement those very splendid concepts. Here Philo raises an idea which might be original. Authentic philosophy must foster full accord between thinking, will and deed. The contrast between speech and deed (λόγος-ἔργον) is common and acceptable within Greek literature, though the concept of will (βούλευσις, βουλεύματα) appears to be derived from the biblical idea of divine will and of human free will. In adopting philosophical concepts as ancillary to his exposition of the Torah, Philo is not prepared to accept the technical aspects of philosophy, mainly dialectic, since then one begins to appear as a recipient of a science through which truth becomes attainable, when in fact truth has been exclusively encapsulated within Mosaic Law. Be that as it may, logic has its place and can, within limits, even be to human advantage. It should be remembered that one can easily err within it, and mislead by using it, and it is capable of upsetting the understanding of nature, as it may impair the understanding of ethics. It is therefore preferable to avoid dialectic (except for argumentation with the Sophists). The work ends with a biographical hypothesis, according to which it is possible that Philo himself was harshly castigated in his youth in a debate with one of those very Sophists, or had witnessed the defeat of a person whom he respected. (MRN; based on author's summary)

20627. F. FRAZIER, 'Le principe d'égalité chez Philon d'Alexandrie,' *Ktêma* 31 (2006) 291–308.

The 74 occurrences of the term ἰσότης which one encounters in Philo's œuvre demonstrates the quantitative but also the qualitative importance that Philo accords to the principle of equality, which occupies a place at all the levels of reality. In order to evaluate the specific elements of his thought on the concept, the author examines in succession the Greek background which Philo inherited, the two passages in his writings that are directly focused on isotês (*Her.* 133–206, *Spec.* 4.231–238), his utilization of two concepts linked to equality, democracy and isonomia, and the practical problems associated with its application to society. From the viewpoint of the creator, equality is the principle of unity and balance. Within the cosmos it is associated with the democratic model. It enters not so much in political reflection as in the interpretation of the succession of empires, where it establishes an equilibrium throughout the ages, and also in reflection on social relations, where it recalls the original unity of humanity. This is the reason that the concept is dear to the Therapeutae and the Essenes, who are keen to live as closely as possible to the law of nature. (JR)

20628. K. FUGLSETH, 'The Reception of Aristotelian Features in Philo and the Authorship Problem of Philo's *De Aeternitate Mundi*,' in D. BRAKKE, A.-C. JACOBSEN and J. ULRICH (edd.), *Beyond Reception. Mutual Influences between Antique Religion, Judaism, and Early Christianity*, *Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity* 1 (Frankfurt 2006) 57–67.

Fuglseth's paper is in fact a response to a contribution by M. R. Niehoff in the same volume (see below 20666). Arguing that in the treatise *Aet.* preserved in the Philonic corpus there are many statements that are clearly non-Philonic, he wishes to review the question of authorship. According to him, 'substantial divergences between *Aet.* and other Philonic writings argue in favour of either a non-Philonic origin or that he is paraphrasing and/or quoting other authors.' In the main part of his article, he to a large extent presents and supports some of the main problems pertaining to a Philonic authorship as set forth in a Norwegian 1987 Ph.D. dissertation, written in Norwegian, by Roald Skarsten, who argued that Philo did not write *Aet.* (see RRS 8795). (TS)

20629. M. E. FULLER, *The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 138 (Berlin 2006), esp. 82–102.

This book examines, first, how early Jewish literature interprets Israel's exile and restoration and the fate of other nations at the time of this restoration and, second, how Luke-Acts uses or modifies these interpretations. Fuller discerns several patterns in early Jewish literature that include a literal understanding of Jewish return to the land of Israel; an inter-Jewish understanding, whereby a subset of Israel is given prominence among the wider Jewish community; an emphasis on the re-gathering of the twelve tribes; and a spiritualized interpretation, in which the literal meaning of restoration disappears or diminishes greatly. Differing emphases are placed upon divine intervention and the role of the messiah. The fate of the nations may be viewed locally with respect to the land or cosmically with respect to the eschaton; and some sources see a positive role for the nations. Drawing upon some of these motifs, Luke-Acts emphasizes Jesus as the Davidic messiah in Israel, later enthroned in heaven; the twelve Apostles as leaders of eschatological Israel; and incorporation of other nations and enemies who also remain bound to the land of Israel. Paul goes beyond the restoration of Israel to proclaim God's kingdom in the Roman Empire and ultimately in Paradise. Philo sees the role of the Jews in the Diaspora positively as colonizers rather than exiles. Based on the important distinction between his use of 'Israel' and 'Jews', Fuller claims that Philo understands restoration symbolically as a return of all virtuous people to wisdom or God and that the physical aspect is less important than the spiritual or allegorical one. (EB)

20630. G. GÄBEL, *Die Kulttheologie des Hebräerbriefes. Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Studie*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2.212 (Tübingen 2006), esp. 112–127.

Philo's understanding of the τύποι of the Holy tent and the tent itself revealed to Moses differs greatly from the one in Hebrews. This is the reason that the specific form of the archetype-image relation in Hebrews cannot be deduced from contemporary Greek thought, i.e. Middle Platonism. Philo only refers

once, in *Spec.* 3.205 ff., to the meaning of the cleansing of the sanctuary (Num 19). However, the discussion about cleansing water is found several times. Even if Philo is aware of such claims and rituals for the ordinary domestic sphere, his focus lies on the explanation of the sprinkling of cleansing water as a precondition for the admission to the temple and for participation in the cult. At the same time, extrinsic and inner cleansing—denoting ethical and spiritual purification—and forgiveness of sins are inextricably linked together. (GS)

20631. A. C. GELJON, 'Philo en de kerkvaders' [Dutch: Philo and the Church Fathers], *Schrift* no. 223 (2006) 26–30.

Short presentation of some examples of Philo's influence on the Church fathers Origen, Clement, and Gregory of Nyssa. Both Clement and Origen take over, for example, Philo's allegorical exegesis of Hagar and Sarah. Gregory of Nyssa stands in the same tradition of negative theology as Philo. This is evidenced by their common interpretation of the darkness in Exod 20:21 as referring to God's incomprehensibility. (ACG)

20632. A. C. GELJON, 'Philo of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa on Moses at the Burning Bush,' in G. H. VAN KOOTEN (ed.), *The Revelation of the Name YHWH to Moses*, Themes in Biblical Narrative 9 (Leiden 2006) 225–236.

The author discusses Philo's interpretation of God's appearance to Moses in the burning bush (Exod 3). God's words 'I am He-who-is' indicates that God's essence consists in being, and that his nature cannot be expressed in words. God is thus unnameable and incomprehensible. In his description of the burning bush Gregory of Nyssa makes use of Philo's narrative. According to his interpretation the words 'I am He-who-is' are spoken by God the Son. For him both God the Father and God's Logos, Christ, can be called $\acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\omega}\nu$. In this way he differs from Philo, who regards God's Logos as standing on a lower ontological level than God and as subordinated to God. (ACG)

20633. M. HADAS-LEBEL, פילון האלכסנדרוני. בין יהדות להלניזם [Hebrew: Philo of Alexandria. Between Judaism and Hellenism], translated by A. GILADI (Tel Aviv 2006).

This monograph is a Hebrew translation of *Philon d'Alexandrie: un penseur en diaspora* (Paris 2003); see above 20361. It follows the translation of H. A. Wolfson's *Philo. Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Jerusalem 1970) and marks an important event in Israeli scholarship. The translation of the term 'diaspora' in the title as 'Between Judaism and Hellenism' indicates a disposition to think in terms of unbridgeable dichotomies, which was not implied by the French author. Yet overall the translation is faithful to the original and offers a very useful introduction to Philo in highly readable

Hebrew. Israeli students have already greatly benefited from this book, which places Philo into the context of contemporary Hellenistic culture and clearly explains the different genres of his work. (MRN)

20634. H. F. HÄGG, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Apophaticism*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford 2006).

At several places the author discusses Philo as a predecessor of Clement's ideas on God. Clement's distinction between the unknowable God and his Son or dynamis who is knowable can be compared to Philo's distinction between God's unknowable essence and his powers by which he can be known (pp. 238–240). Philo's interpretation of the darkness in Exod 19 as relating to God's incomprehensibility can be found with some differences in Clement, Origen, and Gregory Nazianzus (pp. 256–258). REVIEWS: A. van den Hoek, *VChr* (2007) 360–367. (DTR)

20635. B. HAM, 'L'interprétation allégorique de l'arche de Noé chez Philon d'Alexandrie,' *Graphè* 15 (2006) 63–77.

The author examines the allegorical interpretation of the ark of Noah that Philo presents in *QG* 2.1–7. The key to all the themes that Philo develops is the identification of the ark with the human body. The article concludes with the quotation of *QG* 2.34, which helps the reader understand better the importance of physical allegory in facilitating the discovery of the higher truths as they relate both to the human microcosm and to the macrocosm. These truths bear witness to the existence and the wisdom of the true author, God the creator. (JR)

20636. G. HATA, *Nottoraretta Seisho* [Japanese: The Bible taken over by Christians] (Kyoto 2006), esp. 128–134.

Brief remarks on how Philo illustrates the use of the Greek Bible. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20637. P. HEGER, 'Sabbath Offerings according to the Damascus Document—Scholarly Opinions and a New Hypothesis,' *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 118 (2006) 62–81.

The author discusses Philo's explanation of the Sabbath offerings (*Spec.* 1.168–170), of the New Moon (§§ 177–180) and of the Passover offerings (§§ 181–185) in the context of the interpretation of the offerings of the Sabbath (Num 28–29) in the Damascus Document. According to Philo, the Sabbath offering is instead of the weekly *Tamid* offering. Heger concludes that according to the Damascus Document, the weekday offering should not be offered on Sabbath, being replaced by the particular Sabbath offerings. (ACG)

20638. J. L. HILTON, 'Apuleius, *Florida* 23 and Popular Moral Philosophy,' *Acta Classica (South Africa)* 49 (2006) 137–144.

Apuleius *Flor.* 23, Philo *Prov.* 2.22 and popular philosophical ideas in the work of Seneca *De Providentia* all use the metaphors of a rich man whose wealth matters little in comparison with his health, and a ship whose costly fittings are useless in a storm. Similar material is also to be found in *Flor.* 14, 22 and 23. It is suggested that these themes were drawn from a text which discussed the views of competing schools on such questions. (DTR)

20639. C. HOFFMANN and A. KAMESAR, 'Wilamowitz and Heinemann II: Three Letters from the 1920's,' *Illinois Classical Studies* 31–32 (2006–2007) 130–144, esp. 140–142.

In the second of the three letters written in 1927 by the great German classicist Ulrich von Wilamowitz to Isaac Heinemann, he makes some brief observations on Philo's Greek style and wonders whether his former pupil Moshe Schwabe, now teaching at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, would measure up to the difficult task of translating him. No doubt this relates to the German translation of Philo, which Heinemann was editing. (DTR)

20640. P. W. VAN DER HORST, *Jews and Christians in their Graeco-Roman Context. Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 196 (Tübingen 2006).

This volume, marking the author's sixtieth birthday, reprints three articles: 'Philo's *In Flaccum* and the Book of Acts' (pp. 98–107, see above 20449); 'Common Prayer in Philo's *In Flaccum* 121–124' (pp. 108–113, see above 20365); 'Philo and the Rabbis on Genesis: Similar Questions, Different Answers' (pp. 114–127, see above 20450). The fourth article on Philo is translated from the Dutch original and appears here in English for the first time; see below 20641. (DTR)

20641. P. W. VAN DER HORST, 'Philo of Alexandria on the Wrath of God,' in IDEM (ed.), *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context. Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 196 (Tübingen 2006) 128–133.

English translation of an article originally published in Dutch in 1993 and summarized in RRS 9344. It is included in the collection cited above, 20640. (DTR)

20642. P. W. VAN DER HORST, 'Two Short Notes on Philo,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 18 (2006) 49–55.

In this brief article the author responds to two articles in the 2005 volume of *The Studia Philonica Annual*. In the first section he points out that Frank Shaw in his article on Caligula's use of the name of the God of the Jews (see above 20569) could have strengthened his conclusion by observing the grammatical structure of the key sentence in *Legat.* 353. In the second section he focuses on Alan Kerkeslager's article (see above 20535) which argues that the three Greeks, Dionysius, Lampo and Isidorus, were not involved in the events of 38 C.E. in Alexandria because they were absent from the city. He agrees that Kerkeslager makes a good case that they were not directly involved. Nevertheless the argument has various weaknesses that should be pointed out. For example, even though they may have been physically absent, their influence was most likely still very strong. (DTR)

20643. S. INOWLOCKI, *Eusebius and the Jewish Authors: his Citation Technique in an Apologetic Context*, *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* 64 (Leiden 2006).

Slightly revised English translation of the author's dissertation, submitted to the University of Brussels in 2003 and summarized above 20368. It represents a landmark study of the way the Church father and apologist Eusebius made use of Jewish writings in his writings, examining his methods from both a philosophical/theological and a philological point of view. It revises the traditional perception of Eusebius as above all a compiler and faithful citer of earlier sources. His method of citing Philonic texts is studied in great detail, esp. in chapter five, with particular attention devoted to the way he extracts the cited passages from their contexts and sometimes modifies the actual text. REVIEWS: J. Ulrich, *ThLZ* 132 (2007) 440–442; E. C. Penland, *RBL* 2008.02; A. Whealey, *JThS* 59 (2008) 359–362; D. T. Runia, *SPhA* 22 (2010) 307–312. (DTR)

20644. A. P. JOHNSON, 'Philonic Allusions in Eusebius, *PE* 7.7–8,' *CQ* N.S. 56 (2006) 239–248.

Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica* has been extensively studied for its wealth of material quoted from earlier, especially Middle Platonic, authors. Its literary allusions, however, have gone largely unnoticed. The article focuses on Book 7 in which the lives of the ancient Hebrews are studied. Here Philo of Alexandria's *Abr.*, although never named by Eusebius, provided a model for §§ 7–8. The author discusses various allusions and notes two divergences between Eusebius and his model: his emphasis is historical rather than allegorical, and he manipulates the narrative to separate his own position, together with that of the ancient Hebrews, from the Jews and Judaism. (DTR)

20645. H. M. KEIZER, 'Philo en het Nieuwe Testament,' *Schrift* no. 223 (2006) 21–25.

Article in Dutch for a non-specialist public on the possible relationship between Philo and the New Testament, in particular sketching similarities and differences between Philo (*Opif.* 134, 146. *Leg.* 1.31, 39) and Paul (1 Cor 15:44–49), Philo (*Leg.* 3.96, 102) and the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb 1:2–3, 8:5–6), and Philo (*Opif.* 24–25, 31, *Deus* 31–32) and the Prologue of John (John 1:1–4, 14). (HMK)

20646. A. KERKESLAGER, 'Agrippa and the Mourning Rites for Drusilla in Alexandria,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 37 (2006) 367–400.

The author reconstructs the chronology of the events in 38 C.E. in Alexandria and concludes that Agrippa's visit to the city took place during the mourning rites for Drusilla, the sister of the Roman emperor Gaius. During these rites the Jews resist the installation of images (most probably images of Drusilla) in the synagogues. This was seen as treasonable impiety and as an implicit denial of the legitimacy of rule by the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The edict issued by Flaccus was an appropriate response from the standpoint of Roman policy and the violence to which it led was meant to be punitive. The entire sequence of events was fully in harmony with normal Roman legal and administrative policies. (ACG)

20647. A. KERKESLAGER, 'Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica 66–c. 235 CE,' in S. T. KATZ (ed.), *Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume 4: the Late Roman Period* (Cambridge 2006) 53–68.

Philo is cited as evidence of the period before the revolt in Egypt in 116–117 C.E. The topic of most significance for Philonic studies is the argument that neither Jews in Egypt nor their Gentile Christian sympathizers could have survived the revolt to pass on the works and ideas of Philo to the later Christian communities in Egypt. From this and various sources dating to after the revolt in 116–117 it is argued that the copies of Philo's works and related Philonic ideas that circulated in Egypt after the revolt were most likely introduced by Christians who imported them from other regions in which Philo's works already had been circulating before the revolt. There are no direct continuities between Philonic Jewish groups in Egypt before the revolt and the later Philonizing Christian groups in Egypt after the revolt. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20648. H. C. KIM, 'A Marriage in the Qumran community,' in *IDEM, Nuzi, Women's Rights, and Hurrian Ethnicity, and Other Academic Essays*, Hermit Kingdom Studies in Identity and Society 1 (Cheltenham Pa. 2006).

Based primarily on the presentation of 'On the Life of Moses' in *The Essential Philo* (ed. Nahum Glatzer), Kim describes Philo's portrayal of Moses' four roles

as philosopher-king, legislator, priest, and prophet. Philo emphasizes Moses' virtues and goes so far as to attribute divine qualities to him. Some questions considered and debated by scholars include Philo's audience for the treatise on Moses, Philo's claim about the influence of Moses on Greek culture, Philo's own borrowing from Greek culture in his portrayal of Moses and Mosaic Law, Philo's fashioning of Moses for his own purposes, the human or divine origin of Moses' powers, and Philo's understanding of prophecy. (EB)

20649. J. KLAWANS, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford 2006).

Contemporary religious and cultural biases have led modern scholars to misconstrue or misrepresent ancient Israelite, Jewish, and Christian stances toward the Temple cult. These scholars have separated the study of purity and sacrifice, which belong together, and have understood purity but not sacrifice to have a spiritualized significance for the ancient practitioners. Scholars have also understood sacrifice as a primitive form of worship later replaced by better, more acceptable forms. To point out and counter these scholarly understandings, Klawans examines purity and sacrifice in biblical Israel (Part I) and approaches to the Temple cult in Second Temple literature, rabbinic literature, and the New Testament (Part II). Ancient Israelites viewed sacrifice as an act of *imitatio Dei* aimed at bringing God's presence into the sanctuary. Philo 'may well present the first truly integrated interpretation of the entire sacrificial process, beginning with ritual and moral purification' (p. 117). His approach to this process—what Klawans terms 'the most sustained and sophisticated analysis of purity and sacrifice in ancient Jewish literature' (p. 123)—is sympathetic and combines symbolic and practical discussions. Some of Philo's views may be unique to him but they also show continuities with earlier views, particularly 'that the temple represents the cosmos and the priests serve as its angelic caretakers' (p. 123). (EB)

20650. D. KONSTAN, 'Philo's *De virtutibus* in the Perspective of Classical Greek Philosophy,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 18 (2006) 59–72.

The article discusses various themes relating to Philo's analysis of the virtues in *Virt.*, with special emphasis on his treatment of two principal virtues, courage (*ἀνδρεία*) and humanity (*φιλανθρωπία*). Humanity is a newcomer to the classical list of virtues. Philo gives it a special place in *Virt.*, showing that Moses extends this virtue, which is closely related to gentleness and mildness, not only to human beings but also to animals. Like Plato, Philo defines courage as a kind of knowledge, and following Aristotle he regards it as the middle way between rashness and cowardice. Practisers of wisdom, who are full of proud thoughts, are said to exercise true courage. This kind of connection between wisdom and courage does not occur in Greek philosophy. The same applies to the view that confidence in God's aid as a result of piety can simply be identified with courage. (ACG)

20651. E. KOSKENNIEMI, 'Philo and Classical Drama,' in J. NEUSNER, A. J. AVERY PECK, A. LAATO, R. NURMELA and K.-G. SANDELIN (edd.), *Ancient Israel, Judaism, and Christianity in Contemporary Perspective: Essays in Memory of Karl-Johan Illman* (Lanham Md. 2006) 137–151.

The author presents and briefly discusses Philo's references to persons in classical drama. He finds that Philo mentions several dramas, and although he seldom names the plays or the author, almost all of his references can be identified as belonging to dramas from which we have at least fragments. Philo mentions Sophocles once (*Prob.* 19); quotes Ion once (*Prob.* 143); mentions Aeschylus twice (*Prob.* 143, *Aet.* 49); and Euripides often. Menander is quoted, but not mentioned by name. In addition, Philo several times also reveals his knowledge about theatres. Koskenniemi's conclusion is that Philo was deeply committed to the world of the theatre, that he quoted from memory, and that he often used the dramatists to underscore points in his expositions of the Torah. (TS)

20652. A. LE BOULLUEC, *Alexandrie antique et chrétienne. Clément et Origène*, Collections des Études Augustiniennes Série Antiquité 178 (Paris 2006).

Frequent references to Philo, indexed on p. 465, in this important collection of studies by the distinguished French scholar on early Christianity in Alexandria, with particular emphasis on the writings and intellectual milieu of Clement and Origen. (DTR)

20653. J. R. LEVISON, 'Philo's Personal Experience and the Persistence of Prophecy,' in M. H. FLOYD and R. D. HAAK (edd.), *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (London 2006) 194–209.

Despite a recent consensus that Jews in antiquity believed that prophecy had ceased with the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, several Jewish texts from the Second Temple period suggest that such a belief was not universal. While some modern writers try to distinguish between biblical prophecy and later prophetic experiences, Philo's autobiographical accounts of his own experience of inspiration when he is interpreting Scripture are quite similar to his accounts of prophetic inspiration and even of Moses' prophetic experience. Similarities between Philo's description of prophetic experience and of his own experience include sudden inspiration, loss of awareness of one's surroundings, and extraordinary insight. Similarities between Philo's description of Moses' experience as a prophet and of Philo's own experiences as an exegete include two forms of inspiration, through divine possession and an inner prompting of the soul. In contrast to the earlier consensus, then, Philo is an invaluable witness to the notion 'that prophecy has not ceased, that the divine spirit has not withdrawn from Israel' (p. 209). (EB)

20654. C. LÉVY, 'Philon et les passions,' in L. CICCOLINI (ed.), *Receptions antiques: Etudes de littérature ancienne* (Paris 2006) 27–41.

Having shown that many contradictory points of view have been stated on the subject of the passions in Philo, the author focuses on four points: the different Philonic conceptions of the soul; the typologies and representations of passion; the problem of therapy; and finally what appears to be the Philonic paradox *par excellence*, passion transcended by folly. It appears that Philo expresses himself sometimes in Platonic terms, sometimes in Stoic terms, depending on the text on which he is commenting, but also depending on convictions that never coincide, so to speak, with specific philosophical doctrines. (JR)

20655. A. LIEBER, 'Jewish and Christian Heavenly Meal Traditions,' in A. D. DECONICK (ed.), *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 11 (Atlanta 2006) 313–339.

Cultic sacrificial meals and eschatological or heavenly banquets reflect both community boundaries and divine–human boundaries. The author considers various representations of these meals in Philo, Epistle to the Hebrews, Luke, John, and rabbinic literature. According to Philo's interpretations of Exod 24:11—especially in *QE*—Moses, Aaron, and the 70 elders ascend to an immortal, divine place; the food is spiritual rather than physical; and the vision of the divine unifies Israel, a nation that also partakes of the spiritual food of manna. Philo similarly assigns spiritual meaning to sacrificial practices, in which seeing God becomes 'the culminating moment of the rite' (p. 321). Even while the Temple is standing Philo turns sacrifice into an internal, spiritual rite and thereby legitimates a pious life away from this Temple. In NT sources, accounts of Jesus and meal symbolism point to 'a collapsing of the boundaries that had formerly structured humanity's relationship to the divine; and [by contrast] in rabbinic sources, the eschatological meal provides a model for the divine-human encounter that necessitates the maintenance of the very boundaries that are challenged in the emergent Christian tradition' (p. 339). (EB)

20656. J. N. LIGHTSTONE, *The Commerce of the Sacred: Mediation of the Divine among Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 2nd edition (New York 2006).

This republished edition of the author's earlier book (published in 1984; see RRS a8465) includes a new foreword by Willi Braun and an updated bibliography by H. W. Basser. Generally speaking, Lightstone takes issue with scholarly categories used to describe Judaism in the Greco-Roman period and scholarly use of the past 'to validate or invalidate present preferences'. As in the first edition, the Appendix is devoted to questioning Goodenough's interpretation of Philo as the proponent of an actual mystery religion and to arguing that Philo

should not be held as representative of Hellenistic Judaism but rather as 'a particular type of Jewish Holy Man in the Greco-Roman world' (p. 129). (EB)

20657. P. J. LINDQVIST, *Sin at Sinai: Early Judaism Encounters Exodus 32* (diss. Åbo Akademi 2006).

The study focuses on the early Jewish history of reception of one of the narrative climaxes of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, the story of the worship of the golden calf image described in Exod 32. Because of the controversial nature of the story, it played an interesting role in religious debates in the early centuries of our era, which can be followed in some detail. Several textual corpora are studied, the most important of which are firstly the Hellenistic-Jewish authors Philo and Josephus and the pseudepigraphic Pseudo-Philo, all of them from the 1st century C.E., secondly the Aramaic translations of the Pentateuch (targums) and thirdly the vast rabbinic corpus from Mishna until the final redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, including the numerous midrashic works. The study may thus be categorized as a contribution to the field of the study of midrash, broadly speaking, and secondarily as a study in the religious confrontation of the early centuries. (DTR; based on author's abstract)

20658. P. LINDQUIST, 'Sin at Sinai: Three First Century Versions,' in J. NEUSNER, A. J. AVERY PECK, A. LAATO, R. NURMELA and K.-G. SANDELIN (edd.), *Ancient Israel, Judaism, and Christianity in Contemporary Perspective: Essays in Memory of Karl-Johan Illman* (Lanham Md. 2006) 225–246.

Lindquist here discusses three different authors' versions of the so-called 'golden calf episode.' The authors dealt with are Philo, Josephus and Ps. Philo (LAB). According to Lindquist these authors represent two different perspectives: Philo and Josephus deal with Judaism in contact and conflict with foreign cults, culture and civilization; Pseudo-Philo represents a kind of introverted Judaism, without traces of intercultural encounters. He then deals extensively with the more literal exposition in Philo's *Mos.* 2.159–173, but comments rather briefly on the more allegorical treatments of *Ebr.* 66–70, 95–105, *Post.* 162–169, *Sacr.* 128–130 and *Fug.* 90–102. He finds that Philo presents Moses in line with the aretologies of Hellenistic literature, and that his noble character, as well as the exemplary victory of the Levites over the wrong, are the focal points of this episode. (TS)

20659. P. LUISIER, 'De Philon d'Alexandrie à la Proténnoia trimorphe: variations sur un thème de grammaire grecque,' in L. PAINCHAUD and P.-H. POIRIER (edd.), *Coptica—gnostica—manichaica* (Quebec–Paris 2006) 535–555.

In his discussion of the Coptic treatise of Nag Hammadi, *Prôténnoia trimorphê*, which is a translation of a Greek original, the author investigates a number

of Greek terms which are concealed behind Coptic expressions, namely ἡχώ, φωνή and λόγος. In attempting to determine how this triad could be used in the context of the history of salvation, the author states that it is necessary to find an author who explains how one can move from the literal to the figurative sense of the words. This leads one to an author who gladly makes use of allegory, such as Philo. A reading of Philo's allegorical treatises makes clear that the triad sound–voice–speech, which has its origin in Stoic grammatical analysis, has been utilized by the Alexandrian for the purposes of his exegesis. (JR)

20660. F. MANNS, 'Il matrimonio nel giudaismo antico,' in *Dizionario di Spiritualità Biblico-Patristica*, vol. 42 *Il matrimonio nella Bibbia* (Rome 2006), esp. 144–145.

This volume on marriage in the Bible (OT and NT) and in Judaism devotes a brief section to Philo, listing Philonic views and statements on sexual morality, virginity (male as well as female), with 27 references to Philonic treatises. (HMK)

20661. A. M. MAZZANTI, 'Il lessico dei «misteri» in Filone di Alessandria. Un'analisi semantica,' in A. M. MAZZANTI (ed.), *Il volto mistero. Mistero e rivelazione nella cultura religiosa tardoantica* (Castel Bolognese 2006) 21–34.

The article offers an analysis of Philo's use and interpretation of terms related to the mystery cults, notably μυστήριον, ὄργια and τελετή, starting with a brief survey of the *status quaestionis*. While Philo's judgement of the mysteries as idolatrous and immoral rituals based on mythical fictions and falsehoods is nothing but negative, this does not preclude his using mystery terms with reference to the Judaic religion. While Judaism for Philo represented the only authentic religion, with rites of universalistic significance, this study argues that the mysteries, inasmuch as their aim was divine illumination, in the eyes of Philo allowed for a positive interpretation in philosophical terms, i.e. symbolizing initiation of the soul into the noetic realm. (HMK)

20662. M. MCDOWELL, *Prayers of Jewish Women. Studies of Patterns of Prayer in the Second Temple Period*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.211 (Tübingen 2006), esp. 139–153.

This study examines how women at prayer are presented in the literature of the Second Temple period. A section is devoted to Philo's writings in which several prayers spoken by women alone are analysed, namely the prayers of Rachel, Sarah, Rebecca, Hagar, Miriam and the women's choir, the Therapeutae, and women offering prayers at the Temple. The author concludes that these prayers in Philo show patterns similar to prayers in other writings. Although the theology of Philo's works is different from the other documents, the prayers demonstrate similar patterns in content, form, and social location. (ACG)

20663. B. C. MCGING, 'Philo's Adaptation of the Bible in his "Life of Moses",' in B. C. MCGING and J. MOSSMAN (edd.), *The Limits of Ancient Biography* (Swansea 2006) 117–140.

This article examines some aspects of the composition of Philo's *Mos.*, especially the way in which Philo deals with his main source, the Septuagint. The author discerns several techniques, the most important of which is his adaptation of the biblical text. Philo rewrites the text in words that are an echo of the biblical verses. In most circumstances Philo elaborates on what he finds in the Bible. On a few occasions, however, he makes an abridgment of the biblical narrative. Although allegory does not fit very well into a retelling of Moses' life, occasionally Philo offers an allegorical interpretation. A strange feature is that Philo avoids the use of proper names with the exception of Moses himself. An appendix presents an overview of the structure of the treatise. (ACG)

20664. S. MORLET, 'L'Écriture, image des vertus: la transformation d'un thème philonien dans l'apologétique d'Eusèbe de Césarée,' in F. YOUNG, M. J. EDWARDS and P. PARVIS (edd.), *Studia Patristica: Papers presented to the Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2003*, 5 vols. (Leuven 2006) 42.187–192.

The author discerns Philo's influence in Eusebius' notion of the patriarchs as images of virtue and models for a virtuous life. But in contrast to Philo the Church father does not explain their lives allegorically. The lives are just illustrations of virtue and Eusebius' reading remains on a literal level. Furthermore the term εἰκὼν has also the connotation of 'example', which is absent in Philo. (ACG)

20665. N. NEUMANN, 'Wenn Lukas liest . . . : Ansätze hellenistischer Allegorese im dritten Evangelium,' *Biblische Zeitschrift* N.F. 50 (2006) 161–173.

Besides Aristobulus and Aristeas, Philo is mentioned as an example of Jewish-Hellenistic interpretation of the Bible, esp. *Opif.*, *Leg.* and *Mos.* The common ground of the method of allegorical interpretation is that a hidden meaning exists below the surface of the text, which can be extracted through extensive investigation. In this sense Philo, for example, interprets the two trees in the Garden of Eden (Gen 2) in an ethical way (*Opif.* 154). In addition, linguistic parallels in the technique of queries and interpretation exist, as well as the notion that both Homer and Moses allude to various philosophical ideas (see Luke 20:17). In this way the author gives support to his thesis that Luke uses the technical terminology of Hellenistic allegoresis in interpreting his Bible (see Luke 20:37). This shows that he is in accordance with the tradition represented in particular by Philo. (GS)

20666. M. R. NIEHOFF, 'Philo's Contribution to Contemporary Alexandrian Metaphysics,' in D. BRAKKE, A.-C. JACOBSEN and J. ULRICH (edd.), *Beyond Reception. Mutual Influences between Antique Religion, Judaism, and Early Christianity*, Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity 1 (Frankfurt 2006) 35–55.

The author argues that in *Aet.* Philo made a significant contribution to the contemporary Alexandrian discourse by stressing the literal meaning of Plato's *Timaeus*, which had since Aristotle predominantly been understood metaphorically. For this purpose Philo adduced Aristotle's witness in *De Caelo* and quoted some other, probably Alexandrian interpretations of the *Timaeus*. His position in *Aet.* significantly correlates with his exegesis in *Opif.* For a response to this paper see the paper of K. Fuglseth summarized above at 20628. (MRN)

20667. C. O'BRIEN, 'Platonism and the Tools of God,' *Trinity College Dublin Journal of Postgraduate Research* 6 (2006) 60–72.

Although Philo's name is not mentioned in the title, most of the article focuses on his thoughts on the instrumental role of the divine Logos in the process of creating and structuring the cosmos. The analogy is with tools used by a craftsman or an architect. The main theme examined is the 'Logos-cutter' in *Her.*, which, it is concluded, is a distinctively Philonic concept effectively combining elements from Platonist and Judaic sources. There are also some remarks on the agricultural imagery applied to the cosmos in *Plant.* In Neoplatonism the ideas of divine tools were replaced by the notion of procession. In Gnostic thought, too, divine hypostases are not generally regarded as instruments, but rather as aspects of God. (DTR)

20668. J. PELÁEZ, 'El judaísmo helenístico, en especial el alejandrino,' in A. PIÑERO (ed.), *Biblia y Helenismo. El pensamiento griego y la formación del cristianismo* (Córdoba 2006) 103–127.

This extensive and well documented study examines Christianity from the perspective of its origins, with the history of the encounter between Hellenism and Bible forming the central perspective. Within this context the author presents a brief description of the thought and development of the Jewish community in Alexandria with special reference to Philo. (JPM)

20669. L. PERNOT, 'La vie exceptionnelle de Joseph d'après Philon d'Alexandrie, *De Iosepho*,' in M. FARTZOFF, É. GENY and É. SMADJA (edd.), *Signes et destins d'élection dans l'Antiquité* (Besançon 2006) 147–165.

After briefly recalling the exceptional traits of Joseph as presented in Gen 37–50, the author argues that Philo's Joseph is not a monolithic figure fixed in his biblical perfection and the subject of unvarying general admiration. On the

contrary, he is a figure who is adapted, explicated, discussed and transmitted. In his treatise *Ios.*, Philo makes use of and adapts literary language. He applies a certain number of literary forms which were current in the Greek world of his time: biography, encomium, the novel. He also wants to interpret his life. His interpretation takes the form of an exegetical explication on two levels, the literal and the allegorical. Through various manipulations, the personage of Joseph is transformed in order to serve as an expression of contemporary political ideals. (JR)

20670. P. K. POHJALA, *Similarities of Redaction of the Gospel according to Matthew with Texts of Philo Alexandrinus* (Liskeard, Cornwall 2006).

This monograph-length study argues that several texts and details in the Gospel of Matthew closely resemble discussions in the writings of Philo. On the basis of detailed examination of texts it is concluded that Matthew was acquainted with Philo's writings when redactionally formulating 5:13–16, 6:19–24 and 12:43–45, and also when writing his own material 20:1–16. In order to focus the study, the examination is restricted to these four texts. The first chapter introduces the topic, discusses secondary literature and explains the method used, which is described (p. 18) as 'explicit empiristic reading of extant material'. The second chapter looks at the historical background. The extensive Hellenization of Palestine and lively cultural connections with Alexandria meant that it is quite plausible that the Gospel author should have knowledge of Philo's writings. Ch. 3 examines Matt 5:13–16. It is argued that its redaction is grounded in a specific tradition of prayers of thanksgiving listing individual parts of creation such as are found in Philo, particularly in *Spec.* 1. Ch. 4 presents *Sacr.* 11–49 as the clear Philonic parallel for Matt 20:1–16 and in particular its main theme of reward for labour. Various aspects of this text are discussed, including Matthew's use of numerals. Ch. 5 turns to 12:43–45 and its theme of the entry of vice in the place vacated by good, for which an astonishing number of Philonic parallels can be given. Chapter six examines Philonic parallels for Matt 6:19–24 and in particular the use of the Greek term ὀξύς for the keenness of vision and the mind. The final two chapters present the conclusions of the study and a full-length summary. There is no general bibliography, but extensive lists of literature are presented at the end of each chapter. (DTR)

20671. J. POLLARD and H. REID, *The Rise and Fall of Alexandria: Birthplace of the Modern Mind* (New York 2006), esp. 192–200.

Although Athens and Rome were the leading cities in the classical world, Alexandria, a city with 'a unique soul' (p. xv) greatly deserves recognition for its impressive contributions, preserved in writing, to many fields of knowledge. Declaring Alexandria to be 'the greatest mental crucible the world has ever known' (p. xix), the authors bring the ancient city to life in their vivid account of people, events, and ideas from the founding of the city in 331 B.C.E. to the Muslim conquest in 646 C.E. Philo's writings offer a flavor of the city and its political turbulence under Rome. Philo himself was devoted to

comparing Jewish and Greek tradition, and he saw Moses as 'the original perceiver of divine wisdom' (p. 194), whose teachings underlay Greek philosophy. Philo's efforts, and especially his concept of the Logos, inadvertently provided the philosophical foundation of Christianity; and the Essenes and Therapeutae, whom he described, may have been models for early Christian monastic groups. While one should appreciate the authors' great enthusiasm for their subject, readers may notice that the section on Philo contains mistaken references and some assertions that should have been stated more tentatively. (EB)

20672. B. POUDERON, 'Pharos et Cumes: deux lieux de pèlerinage judéo-hellénistiques à l'époque de Constantin? enquête sur le témoignage de la «Cohortatio ad Graecos» restituée à Marcel d'Ancyre,' in B. CASEAU, J.-C. CHEYNET and V. DÉROCHE (edd.), *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen âge: mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval* (Paris 2006) 395–415.

Analysis of the twin descriptions of Pharos made by the author of the *Cohortatio* attributed to Justin, a definite Jewish 'place of memory' and of the cave of the Sibyl at Cumae, of which the religious links are more problematic. Connections are made with the *Letter of Aristeeas* and Philo for the former site, and with the *Theosophy of Tübingen*, the *Sybilline Oracles* and a scholion on Plato *Phdr.* 244b for the latter. (DTR; based on a summary in *APh*)

20673. R. RADICE, 'A proposito del rapporto fra Filone e gli stoici,' *Fortunatae* 17 (2006) 127–149.

This study on the relationship between Philo and the Stoics leads to the conclusion that Philo cannot be considered a 'neutral' source for Stoic thought, given the fact that the texts on which he draws undergo both an exegetical and a philosophical adaptation: exegetical inasmuch as Philo is bound to take into consideration the biblical narrative; philosophical inasmuch as Philo's perspective is of a transcendent, Platonic nature. Once aware of this 'deformation', and having made the necessary corrections of perspective, we can conclude, however, that in none of the examined passages (*Opif.* 8, *Sacr.* 68, *Leg.* 2.22, *Opif.* 26, *Migr.* 180, *Opif.* 66f., *Conf.* 156, *Spec.* 1.32) does Philo violate the Stoic substance of his sources. This is because the foundation of Philo's allegorical method is essentially Stoic (e.g. the unity and 'many ways of being' of God, cf. the theory of the powers). (HMK; based on the author's summary)

20674. J. RIAUD, 'Pâque et sabbat dans les fragments I et V d'Aristobule,' in C. GRAPPE and J.-C. INGELAERE (edd.), *Le Temps et les temps dans les littératures juives et chrétiennes au tournant de notre ère* (Leiden 2006), esp. 112–113, 118–120.

In the treatment of the fragment treating the date of Passover, the Philonic texts on the subject are faithfully summarized. Like Aristobulus, Philo uses the term τὰ διαβατήρια in order to designate the crossing of the borders of Egypt by Israel. In commenting on the fragment on the Sabbath the author mentions various Philonic texts which are close to the thought of Aristobulus. (JR)

20675. D. G. ROBERTSON, 'Mind and Language in Philo,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67 (2006) 423–442.

Wide-ranging article which analyses and problematizes Philo's pronouncements on mind and language against the background of contemporary Platonist and Stoic doctrine. Particular emphasis is placed on the interplay of immateriality and materiality in Philo's concept of the human logos. The two kinds of logos in human beings are paralleled by a distinction in the cosmic realm, in which there is a higher, divine logos and also logos as cosmic principle. Robertson is struck by a new emphasis on divine speech in Philo which has biblical roots. Turning to the theme of essence and nature of mind, he notes the stubborn tendency shown by Philo to view the connection of thought and language in terms of a contrast between the physical and the immaterial, the logos being seen as an intermediary between the two. The difficulty then arises of the interface between the two, for example in how corporeal speech carries incorporeal meaning. In this view spoken language comes to be regarded as inferior, but Philo likes the idea that the inferior part of something can be joined together with the superior part, i.e. audible word and intelligible thought. The background of these ideas might be thought to be Stoic (esp. the doctrine of 'sayables'), but there are several points at which Philo introduces Platonist ideas, and he appears to anticipate the later Neoplatonic distinction between discursive and non-discursive thought. (DTR)

20676. J. R. ROYSE, 'The Text of Philo's *De virtutibus*,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 18 (2006) 73–101.

As part of a seminar on the treatise *Virt.*, Royse examines the textual basis of the work as presented in the critical edition of C-W, building on earlier work done by Hilgert (RRS 1406) and Runia (RRS 9171). The treatise is clearly a kind of appendix to the four books of *Spec.*, but it seems that Philo himself did not make the organization of the various sub-treatises very clear and this is reflected in their transmission. A discussion follows on the original title of the work and the arrangement of its various parts. Fortunately the order as found in the Seldenianus manuscript (S) is confirmed by the early evidence of Clement of Alexandria. Another problem raised by our evidence is whether there may have been a lost section of the work entitled Περί εὐσεβείας (*De pietate*). Royse offers arguments that we should take the evidence of the *Sacra parallela* seriously on this point. In addition there is some intriguing evidence about this postulated lost work in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, which is discussed at some length. Royse then turns to some of the fascinating deviant readings furnished by ms. S which

can be explained by various kinds of scribal intervention. Recently a further witness for the text has been discovered in the form of a Vienna papyrus, but its evidence is very limited. Finally brief remarks are devoted to the question of whether Philo's works were revised by a Jewish-Rabbinic scribe. Roysse briefly discusses the biblical text quoted at *Virt.* 184 and concludes that there is little doubt that the text here is influenced by Aquila's translation of the Hebrew Bible. (DTR)

20677. D. T. RUNIA, 'Philo—een introductie,' *Schrift* no. 223 (2006) 3–11.

A lightly revised reprinting of the introductory article in Dutch on Philo first published in 1989 (RRS 8953) and also published in an English version (RRS 9059). It focuses on Philo's attitude to the problems of acculturation in the predominantly Hellenic cultural milieu of Alexandria. (DTR)

20678. K. O. SANDNES, 'Markus: en allegorisk biografi?' [Danish: Mark: an Allegorical Biographer?], *Dansk teologisk tidsskrift* 69 (2006) 275–297.

H. Tronier recently addressed the question of genre in Mark's Gospel (see above 204133). He claimed that Mark was written in a way similar to how Philo interpreted the biblical narratives about the lives and journeys of Moses and Abraham, arguing that Philo's biographies are allegorical presentations of the identity of the Jewish people, and that Mark is an allegory of a similar kind. The present article questions Tronier's interpretation of Philo, e.g. by urging a distinction between the biography of Moses and those of Abraham. Furthermore, the author argues that Mark's Gospel is narrative and not expository like Philo's *Abr.* and *Migr.* (TS)

20679. G. SCHIMANOWSKI, *Juden und Nichtjuden in Alexandrien: Koexistenz und Konflikte bis zum Pogrom unter Trajan (117 n. Chr.)*, *Münsteraner Judaistische Studien* 18 (Berlin 2006), esp. 117–139.

In this survey of religious, cultural and ethnic conflicts in Ancient Alexandria, Philo is used throughout as a source for much information about the city. In addition, an entire chapter deals with Philo as a Jew, Alexandrian and Roman; this chapter has already been published in a different form elsewhere (see above 20288). In addition the two 'historical' books *Flacc.* and *Legat.* play an important role in the chapter about the first pogroms against Jews in the city. The same also pertains to the outline of the intellectual and religious co-existence of Jews and non-Jews mentioned occasionally in his exegetical writings as well (*Mos.* 1.278, *Ios.* 255). Apart from his well-known negative attitudes towards Egypt, more benign views are put forward, for example in *Ios.* (GS)

20680. B. SCHLIESSER, *Abraham's Faith in Romans 4: Genesis 15:6 and its History of Reception in Second Temple Judaism and Paul. A Contribution to the Pauline Concept of Faith* (diss. Fuller Theological Seminary 2006).

Philo is one of the Jewish intertestamental sources examined for the reception history of Abraham's faith described in Gen 15:6. Just like Paul in Romans, these texts are witness to the hermeneutical effort to adapt an authoritative text to the present time and its needs. The study has now been published in 2007 under the title *Abraham's Faith in Romans 4* (Tübingen). (DTR; based on author's abstract)

20681. G. SCHÖLLGEN (ed.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Band XXI (Stuttgart 2006).

H. O. Maier, Art. Kleidung II (Bedeutung), 1–60, esp. 29–30 (Clothing II, meaning); A. Faivre, Art. Kleros (κληρος), 65–96, esp. 75–76 (lot, inheritance); M. Becker, art. Klugheit, 98–175, esp. 140–144 (cleverness, practical intelligence); A. Lumpe, Art. Königsweg, 217–222, esp. 218–219 (Royal highway); L. Fladerer and D. Börner-Klein, Art. Kommentar, 274–329, esp. 300–302 (Commentary; section on Philo by D.B.-K.); A. Lumpe, Art. Kontemplation, 485–498, esp. 490–492 (Contemplation; includes section on Therapeutae); W. Speyer, Art. Kopf, 509–535, esp. 524–525 (Head); D. Wyrwa, Art. Kosmos, 614–761, esp. 652–661 (Cosmos). (DTR)

20682. T. SELAND, 'Philo, Magic and Balaam: Neglected Aspects of Philo's Exposition of the Balaam Story,' in J. FOTOPOULOS (ed.), *The New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune*, Novum Testamentum Supplements 122 (Leiden 2006) 333–346.

After presenting a brief review of much discussed issues relating to magic, religion and society, the author makes a comparison of the Philonic and Septuagintal vocabulary of magic. Then he deals more explicitly with Philo's picture of Balaam as a magician. He finds that Philo's picture of Balaam is complex. On the one hand, Philo has to cope with the biblical and related traditions about the great prophecies of Balaam. On the other hand, once he is released from his prophetic possession, Balaam is and remains for Philo a magical diviner. (TS)

20683. P. D. STEIGER, *Theological Anthropology in the Commentary "On Genesis" by Didymus the Blind (Egypt)* (diss. The Catholic University of America 2006).

This dissertation places Didymus' Commentary *On Genesis* in the context of fourth century Alexandria. Didymus' exegetical method shows him to be an heir of Philo, Clement and Origen, but his theological anthropology bears the impress of Antony and Athanasius. The first chapter places Didymus in his

theological context by tracing the development of Christianity in Egypt and the Alexandrian Catechetical School. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20684. G. E. STERLING, 'The Queen of the Virtues': Piety in Philo of Alexandria,' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 18 (2006) 103–123.

In Philo's thought piety (εὐσέβεια) holds a prominent place. In *Virt.* it receives separate treatment. It has become the cardinal virtue and he calls it 'the queen of virtues' and the 'leading' and 'greatest virtue'. It refers to the human response to and perception of God. Piety has an intellectual component and Philo uses it in the context of the human understanding of God. Unlike Hellenistic philosophers who subordinate piety to justice (δικαιοσύνη) or another virtue, Philo regards piety as a source for all other virtues. The reason for this prominent place can be found in Philo's theism. Just as God is the supreme source of all that exists, so is piety the source of the virtues. Philo is led to this understanding by his attempt to view his ancestral religion as a form of philosophy. (ACG)

20685. G. J. STEYN, 'Torah Quotations Common to Philo, Hebrews, Clemens Romanus and Justin Martyr: what is the Common Denominator?,' in C. BREYTENBACH, J. C. THOM and J. PUNT (edd.), *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Lategan*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 124 (Leiden 2006) 135–151.

Certain Torah quotations are common to Philo, to the unknown author of Hebrews and to some of the early Church Fathers. These quotations represent a similar reading in the different groups of literature, which in some instances jointly differ from the reading in the LXX. One is thus confronted with the question: what is the common denominator? The possibilities explored in this paper include (a) the common Hellenistic milieu, (b) literary interdependence upon each other, (c) independent use of a 'testimony book', (d) sharing the same oral tradition, (e) independent use of a common *Vorlage* in the literary tradition, (f) the role of a Christian editorial hand, and (g) geographical proximity of the authors. It is argued that the answer to this question is probably to be found not in any single possibility, but rather in a combination of some of these. With regard to the Torah quotations it is suggested that the author of Hebrews wrote from Alexandria to Christians in Rome and, being familiar with the works of Philo, made use of Philo's Torah tradition. Clement of Rome and Justin Martyr both wrote later from Rome and, being familiar with the work of Hebrews, made use of his tradition in turn. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20686. T. TAGO, 'On *kosmos noetos* in *De Opificio Mundi* of Philo of Alexandria' [Japanese], *Patristica: Proceedings of the Colloquia of the Japanese Society for Patristic Studies (Tokyo)* 10 (2006) 29–44.

The purpose of the article is to examine the meaning of the κόσμος νοητός (the intelligible world) in *Opif.* In Philo's exegesis of the Creation, a scheme of the

intelligible world as model and the sensible world as its copy plays an important part. He places the intelligible world in the divine Logos as the creative power of God, and by regarding the intelligible world as contents of God's thought he gives it an ontologically lower status than God. This seems a result of Philo's reading of *Timaieus* from his own point of view. Although his interpretation of the creation of human beings is not coherent, Philo makes clear that their status derives from being the image of God on account of the human intellect and suggests the possibility of ascending from the sensible world to the intelligible world and ultimately to God. (DTR; based on the author's summary)

20687. J. E. TAYLOR, 'Pontius Pilate and the Imperial Cult in Roman Judaea,' *New Testament Studies* 52 (2006) 555–582.

While Pontius Pilate is often seen as agnostic, in modern terms, the material evidence of his coinage and the Pilate inscription from Caesarea indicate a prefect determined to promote a form of Roman religion in Judaea. Unlike his predecessors, in the coinage Pilate used peculiarly Roman iconographic elements appropriate to the imperial cult. In the inscription Pilate was evidently responsible for dedicating a Tiberieum to the Dis Augustis. This material evidence may be placed alongside the report in Philo *Legat.* 299–305 where Pilate sets up shields, an action that is likewise associated with the Roman imperial cult honouring Tiberius in Jerusalem. (DTR; based on author's summary)

20688. C. TERMINI, 'The Historical Part of the Pentateuch according to Philo of Alexandria: Biography, Genealogy, and the Philosophical Meaning of the Patriarchal Lives,' in N. CALDUCH-BENAGES and J. LIESEN (edd.), *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook* (Berlin 2006) 265–297.

According to Philo, the historical parts of the Pentateuch (in particular Genesis) constitute a kind of Jewish ἀρχαιολογία. From the literary point of view, this ancient history belongs to the genre of βίος and γενεαλογικὴ ἱστορία, including models of virtue and iniquity set in a retributive framework (*Praem.* 1–3, *Mos.* 2.46–47). But from a deeper, synchronic point of view, this ancient history must be considered an integral part of the Mosaic law. The creation account serves as the beginning (ἀρχή) of the law, indicating the consonance between the latter and the cosmic order (*Opif.* 1–3). The patriarchs, then, are 'living laws,' archetypes who by following nature have fulfilled the Mosaic legislation even before its formulation in writing (*Abr.* 3–6). The point of intersection between the law of nature and the Mosaic precepts is formed by the virtues. Piety (εὐσέβεια) and justice (δικαιοσύνη) are at the basis of Abraham's biography (*Abr.* 60–207, 208–261), and they parallel the two tables of the Decalogue, which in turn provide the taxonomy for the special laws. Thus Philo extends the validity of the Torah from Sinai back to creation, a tendency present in writings from Middle Judaism. By his original reformulation of Biblical ancient history in light of the philosophical concept of natural law

(νόμος φύσεως), Philo accomplished for the Hellenistic Jewish world a project comparable with Cicero's achievement in *De legibus*. (HMK; based on author's conclusion)

20689. H. P. THYSSEN, 'Philosophical Christology in the New Testament,' *Numen International Review for the History of Religions* 53 (2006) 133–176.

The idea of this article is to determine the sense of the Logos in the Prologue of John's Gospel by making use of the subsequent Christian doctrinal tradition. As an introduction, the general influence of Hellenistic Judaism on early Christian speculative theology and exegesis is illustrated by examples from Philo and Justin. Further, it is argued that Justin's scriptural argument shows that the traditional derivation of the Logos of the Prologue from the word of creation of Gen 1 did not exist at that early stage, since if it did, that derivation ought to have appeared in Justin. Since no other derivation of a Logos in the cosmological sense from the Bible is possible, the presence of this idea in John can only be explained as the result of influence from the eclectic philosophy of Jewish Hellenism as witnessed by Philo. (TS; based on author's abstract)

20690. E. C. TIBBS, '*Now concerning Spiritism: Communication with the Spirit World as Religious Experience in First Corinthians 12 and 14*' (diss. The Catholic University of America 2006).

In this investigation of the religious experience portrayed by Paul in 1 Cor 12 and 14 texts from Plutarch, Josephus, Philo, and Pseudo-Philo serve as historical witnesses contemporary with Paul to the activities of good spirits possessing persons and speaking through them by use of the vocal chords. The study has now been published in a revised version as a monograph in 2007 under the title *Religious Experience of the Pneuma: Communication with the Spirit World in 1 Corinthians 12 and 14* (Tübingen). (DTR; based on author's summary)

20691. J. L. TINKLENBERG DE VEGA, '*A Man Who Feels God: Constructions of Masculinity in Hellenistic Jewish Interpretations of the Story of Joseph*' (diss. Florida State University 2006).

Hellenistic Jewish interpreters of the Bible often restructured and modified biblical texts in an effort to further their own ideological perspectives. Among the many adaptations they made, these exegetes often sought to transform the familiar stories to better fit or express their own constructs of gender identity. The study attempts to uncover the ideologies of masculinity in the depiction of Joseph in three first century Hellenistic Jewish texts: *The Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus, Philo's *Somn.*, and the anonymous *Joseph and Aseneth*. The texts are studied by means of a close reading of each author's rhetorical structures, particularly noting the ways terminology and literary structures describing maleness are held in opposition to femaleness, on the assumption

that gender was a culturally constructed (rather than innate or essential) category. In the course of the study a variety of constructions are confirmed: masculinity as dominance over the self (Josephus), as sexual propriety and non-violence (*Joseph and Aseneth*), and as avoidance of eunuchism, feminine company, and violating establish hierarchies (Philo). (DTR; based on author's summary)

20692. T. H. TOBIN, 'The World of Thought in the Philippians Hymn (Philippians 2:6–11),' in J. FOTOPOULOS (ed.), *The New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context. Studies in Honor of David E. Aune*, *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 122 (Leiden 2006) 91–104.

Compared with other hymns in the New Testament which recognize three states of existence of Christ (John 1:1–18, Col 1:1–15, Heb 1:3 f.), Phil 2:6–11 is different because the text does not ascribe a cosmological role to the preexistent one, even though he is represented as a figure who thinks and makes decisions. In giving to him personal or human-like characteristics the author may be influenced by the figure of the Heavenly Man in Philo. Even if the hymn writer may not have been familiar with Philo's writings, it is likely that he was aware of theological speculation similar to what is found there. It should be noted that Tobin presupposes his own analysis of Philo's interpretation of the creation narrative which distinguishes different stages in which the Logos was only gradually assimilated to the Heavenly Man. (DTR)

20693. H. TRONIER, 'Markus: en allegorisk komposition om Jesu vej: Replik til Karl Olav Sandnes,' *Dansk teologisk tidsskrift* 69 (2006) 298–306.

This article is a response to Karl Olav Sandnes' critical response to the author's study on biographical aspects in the Gospel of Mark in the light of Philo's biographies; see above 20678. According to Tronier, Mark does not belong to the conventional genre of biography: it is an allegorical composition about Jesus' way, led by the heavenly spirit, not about his whole life. (TS)

20694. O. S. VARDAZARIAN, *Filon Aleksandrijskij v vosprijatii armjanskogo srednevekovja. K voprosu ob istokakh tradicii* [Russian: *Philo of Alexandria in the Perception of the Armenian Middle Ages. On the Source of Tradition*] (Yerevan 2006).

This study, written in Russian, opens up a new and hitherto virtually unknown area of Philonic studies. For this reason we give a more detailed summary than usual.

Introduction (pp. 3–8). The monograph is devoted to probable cultural channels through which the unique collection of Philonic and pseudo-Philonic works

has been transmitted to the Armenian milieu. Circumstantial characteristics of these channels can be found in the scholia (12th–14th centuries) to the Armenian corpus Philonicum, especially in the scholiasts' view of Philo's biography and in the categories which Armenian interpreters applied to the exegetical method used by the Alexandrian. The analysis of these concepts, while extending beyond the Armenian context, presents an ideal opportunity for the reconstruction in general outline of an intellectual atmosphere which enabled Philo's works to be adopted by early Christian tradition and later transferred to Armenian soil.

Chapter 1: 'Armenian version of the legend about Philo: literary sources and historical implications' (pp. 9–28). The Armenian Church doctors' notions concerning Philo's biography were mostly formed on the basis of the well-known sources, such as Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and *Chronicle* and the apocryphal *Vita Ioannis*, and in this regard are nothing more than secondary literary fictions. However, the most original details of the narratives about Philo, namely the line connecting him with Jacob the Just and messianic movements in Palestine about the time of the Jewish War may conceal the remnants of the most ancient variant of the legend, which presented Philo as a Christian author. Nevertheless, judging from medieval Armenian practice, the body of Philo's works has been included in school curricula not because of the legend, but rather the latter served as a justification of its inclusion.

Chapter 2: 'Philo's exegetical method in interpretation by Armenian hermeneutists: formulating the problem' (pp. 29–54). The Armenian scholiasts perceived the Armenian corpus Philonicum not as a set of casual translations, but as a well-structured whole, connected together by the ideas of virtue and spiritual perfection. The complementary use of both these characteristics, as well as the general conviction of the Armenian monastic doctors about the spirituality of Philo's exegesis, seems to be at variance with utterances concerning Philo's method by Photius and especially by Ambrose. The latter made use of Philo's 'merely moral', as he claims, interpretation for constructing his own spiritual exegesis of Gen 2:15. The evidence for the particularity of the exegetical position of Armenian medieval teachers can be seen also in their tendency to identify Philo's allegorical method with exegetical methods used by the apostle Paul and described in his term ἀλληγορούμενα (Gal 4:24).

Chapter 3: 'Terms of contemplative exegesis in their application to Philo's method' (pp. 55–89). There is a set of kindred terms, by means of which Armenian commentators tried to define the exegetical method of the Alexandrian: 'intelligible', 'intellectual contemplation', 'new vision (or contemplation)', 'incorporeal', 'subtle contemplation'. In investigating the provenance of this terminology it emerges that it was used by Greek and Latin authors to characterize the 'spiritual' and 'anagogic' interpretations of the Bible.

Chapter 4: 'Philo as a 'spiritual' author in the Armenian commentators' view: on the source of tradition' (pp. 90–110). One can trace the essential concepts of spiritual exegesis in the Book of Wisdom, and especially in the encomium of *sophia* in 7:13–29. From the same tradition, probably, the notion on Philo as a spiritual author could arise, precisely because by conveying the philosophical sense of the Law, the Alexandrian gave the reader of the Holy Scripture the

opportunity to contemplate the Divine Wisdom directly in its activity. While reinterpreting the spiritual exegetical method, the early Christian authors began to attribute to the Bible a merely dogmatic meaning. The habit of ascribing explicit or concealed dogmatic views to Philo probably should be connected with this very metamorphosis. It seems that the gradually fading tradition of spiritual exegesis resulted in a loss of interest toward Philo's heritage as well. However, in the same epoch some works by Philo were translated into Armenian, and the Armenian scholiography of subsequent centuries diligently preserved the early Christian and possibly pre-Christian notions concerning Philo's exegesis as well.

Afterword (pp. 111–115). In order to form at least a rough idea of the source from which the described notions might have been borrowed, one should note the considerable number of famous catechists who demonstrate knowledge of Philo's works, especially of those included in the Armenian corpus. If the adoption of the Philonic heritage by Armenian scholars has happened due to the institution of catechization, the nearest point of transmission might be the Jerusalem Church, with which the Armenian Church always had very active relations. As the comparison of one of Cyril of Jerusalem's catechetical homilies with the respective passage of Eusebius' *Preparatio Evangelica* suggests, the collection might have been formed as a manual for the purpose of training future catechists, the spiritual preceptors of the church, or have been transmitted through some other, especially monastic, modifications of the catechetical rite.

Notes (pp. 116–152). Literature (pp. 153–170). Index of names (pp. 171–175).

Appendix 1: *Skizbn ew patčar ən'f'erc' uacin, i Yakobay asac'eal* [The beginning and 'introductory summary' of the (scriptural) readings, delivered by Yakob] (pp. 176–187). Publication of the text of the introductory summary by *vardapet* Yakob (probably the future katholikos Yakob Klayec' I, † 1286) dedicated to the Armenian Lectionary. The summary presents, mostly in a legendary way, the history of the Lectionary and discusses some controversial points concerning the calculation of some dates of the ecclesiastical year. From the Philonist point of view the most noteworthy aspect is the narration about the Christian community of Jerusalem, which was led by Jacob the Brother of the Lord, who, in the scholiast's view, compiled the skeleton of the Jerusalem Lectionary. Before the siege of Jerusalem the community had migrated to Egypt (especially to the Thebaid), where Philo became acquainted with them and gave the evidence about them in his treatise *Contempl.*

Appendix 2: *Eraneloy tearn Grigori Niwsacwoj episkoposi eghbawr Barsghi T'ult' yaghags Ergoj Ergoc'* [Beati episcopi Grigorii Nysseni Basilii fratris Epistula de Cantico Canticorum (Praefatio ad Olympiadem)] (pp. 188–210). Publication of the Armenian translation of Gregory of Nyssa's Preface to his Commentary on the *Song of Songs*, with Greek parallels to the passages, which may be interpreted as containing ideological shifts that aim to present Gregory's exegetical method not as Alexandrian, but as moderate Antiochean. The text is important as a probable source of the terminology used by Armenian scholiasts in their description of Philo's exegesis.

Summary in Armenian (pp. 211–225). Summary in English (pp. 226–243). (DTR; based on the author's summary)

20695. O. S. VARDAZARIAN, ‘Hovhan Orotneč’u Hawak’umn Yaytnabanut’ean i Philone Imastnoy, or ‘Yaghags Naxaxnamut’ean’ [in Armenian: The Epitome of the Explanation of the (Treatise) On Providence by Philo the Wise, (made) by Yovhannēs Orotneč’i], *Banber Matenadarani* [Journal of the Matenadaran, Yerevan] 17 (2006) 213–259.

The critical edition of the text of the epitome of the *Prov.*, made in the school of the famous medieval Armenian *vardapet* Yovhannēs Orotneč’i (1315–1386), was prepared on the basis of three manuscripts, which are all preserved in Yerevan. In the Introduction to the edition the problem of authorship of the epitome is first discussed. Judging from the title, there are two possible inferences: (a) Yovhannēs Orotneč’i could have composed it by using some scholia of previous authors; (b) the explanations given by the above-mentioned *vardapet* were recorded during class-readings and transformed in a rhetorical composition by one of his disciples. In the latter case the most probable candidate is Grigor Tathevatč’i († 1409), who was known as a recorder of some other lectures delivered by Orotneč’i and who was familiar with several specific phrases of the epitome. Although it is a concise paraphrase of the *Prov.*, the epitome differs from its source text in its general tendency and the proportions of its exposition. Contrary to Philo, who claims to discuss the theses stated by Alexander only in the most friendly manner, the author of the epitome is intent to make a *refutation* against all those who do not believe in Divine Providence. Such a shift in perception is very ancient; it can be noted already in citations from *Prov.* in Eusebius’ *PE* (see esp. τὰς τῶν ἀθέων ἀντιθέσεις in 8.13.7). There are some large gaps in the exposition, but they should not be interpreted as *lacunae*: the omissions can be explained as a desire to counterbalance the scope of the first and second books of *Prov.* and to avoid items unknown to the Armenian audience. In the ‘Notes’ the additional sources of several passages of the epitome are pointed out: these are Armenian translations of Ps.Aristotle’s *De Mundo* and Plato’s *Timaeus*. (DTR; based on the author’s summary)

20696. G. VELTRI, *Libraries, Translations, and ‘Canonic’ Texts: the Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 109 (Leiden 2006).

To understand the development of an authoritative, canonical body of texts, one must also consider how works that once held canonical status later lost this status. Veltri considers three examples: the canonization of the Septuagint in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian tradition and its decanonization in rabbinic literature; patristic and rabbinic use of Aquila’s Greek translation of the Bible and Babylonian rabbinic replacement of Aquila’s translation by Targum Onkelos; and the Book of Ben Sira from the perspective of its Greek prologue and of rabbinic literature. Contrary to accepted opinion, the rise and fall of books among rabbinic Jews and Christians does not have to do with their opponents’ use of these books, but rather with inner dynamics within each community such as change in the primary language used by the community and the disappearance

of the Alexandrian Jewish community. Among other sources, Philo is used to illuminate the process of canonization of the Greek Bible in Alexandria. (EB)

20697. U. VOLP, *Die Würde des Menschen. Ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie in der Alten Kirche*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 81 (Leiden 2006), esp. 77–81.

In this habilitation thesis of the Friedrich-Wilhelm University Bonn brief remarks are made on Philo's anthropology as part of the Jewish-Christian tradition until the 2nd century C.E. Philo particularly values the doctrine of the εἰκὼν θεοῦ. The human being in the likeness of God is on the borderline (μεθόριος) of the eternal and non-eternal nature, partaking in both in equal measure: the human body in the non-eternal, the human rationality in the divine nature (see *Opif.* 46). Philo's line of argument ends in his ethical call to be aware of oneself as an image of God. These Philonic themes can be observed in the anthropology of the early church fathers. (GS)

20698. A. WASSERSTEIN and D. J. WASSERSTEIN, *The Legend of the Septuagint From Classical Antiquity to Today* (Cambridge 2006), esp. 35–45.

This book traces how the legend about the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek evolved over two millennia and how Jews, Christians, Muslims, and pagans adapted this legend for their own purposes, most often to buttress the authority of the Greek text on which they relied. The section on Philo presents his account in *Mos.* 2.25–44 and carefully compares it with the *Letter of Aristeas*. Aspects of Philo's account that differ from the *Letter* include Philo's combination of the figures of high priest and king into one, emphasis on divine involvement, description of details related to the island, account of an annual celebration, omission of particulars related to the translation and the Library, added emphasis on the interest of the king, and, especially, 'the recognition that translation of Scripture needs a special vocabulary and that that special vocabulary is useful and valuable in direct proportion to its uniformity' (p. 45). (EB)

20699. R. VAN DE WATER, 'Michael or Yhwh? Toward Identifying Melchizedek in 11Q13,' *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 16 (2006) 75–86.

Scholars have debated whether Melchizedek in 11Q13 is an angel or Yhwh himself. A way of understanding this ambiguity is provided by the rabbinic doctrine of 'two powers in Heaven,' a concept similar to Philo's portrayal of the divine Logos and to beliefs ascribed to the 'Magharians,' a later name given to a first-century Jewish sect. The varied images for Melchizedek in 11Q13 as both Yhwh himself and his intermediary are also drawn from various biblical passages and can thus be seen as 'a natural development of their seminal overlapping in biblical tradition' (p. 86). (EB)

206100. M. WOLTER, 'Der Reichtum Gottes,' *Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie* 21 (2006) 145–160.

The semantic contours of the concept of the 'richness of God' as it occurs in about ten Philonic texts can be summarized as follows: (1) God is immeasurable and the quality of his richness marks his being God in clear differentiation from human beings and their richness. (2) God is not rich only for himself but also in order to do good things for others, because his richness has the intrinsic property to be transmitted to another in a universal sense. In this transmission God acts in caring for and preserving his whole creation. (3) Because God is God his richness is immeasurable and in this way his action towards his creation in the described manner is the reason for his being God. Many texts underline this Philonic background, which in turn illustrates the New Testament discourse on the 'richness of God' as a tradition shared between Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity. (GS)

206101. B. G. WRIGHT, 'Translation as Scripture: the Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo,' in W. KRAUS and R. G. WOODEN (edd.), *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 53 (Atlanta 2006) 47–61.

Based on ideas propounded by G. Toury, A. Pietersma has posited an interlinear model of the Septuagint according to which the Greek translation is understood as originally meant to have been used together with the Hebrew. In two accounts of the origins of the LXX—the *Letter of Aristeas* and Philo—however, the LXX stands independent of the original Hebrew. These accounts thus go beyond the interlinear model and reflect circumstances contemporary to the later authors. The *Letter of Aristeas* likely served as 'a foundational myth of origins for the Septuagint's transformed position/function as an independent, scriptural authority' (p. 54). Taking this position of the LXX as a given, Philo argues for the precision of the Greek translation in relation to the Hebrew, probably to underscore its divine origins and to justify Philo's own exegetical approach which relied so closely upon the translation's exact wording. (EB)

206102. Xuefu ZHANG, *Feiluo sixiang daolun I: liangxi wenming shiyezhong de youtai zhexue* [Chinese: *An Introduction to the Thought of Philo I: Jewish Philosophy in the Context of the Hebrew and Hellenistic Civilizations*] (Beijing 2006).

This is vol. 1 of a two-volume treatment of the thought of Philo in Chinese. Vol. 2 was published in 2008. According to the cover the aim is to study Philo from the perspective of Hellenistic Judaism. Vol. 1 consists of four chapters. The first places Philo in his Alexandrian and Jewish context. There then follows a chapter on Allegorical interpretation, asking whether it is based on free association or on structured hermeneutics and arguing for its cosmological

foundation and a link to ecstatic experience. Chapter three focuses on ontology, including discussions of the two worlds, God and the Logos. Chapter four is entitled Soul, Free Will, Virtue. Various lists and indices complete the volume. (DTR; based on a table of contents supplied by Sze-Kar Wan)

PART THREE

1987-1996
ADDITIONAL ITEMS
CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

A. ADDITIONAL ITEMS
1987–1996

For an explanation of the rationale of this section of the Bibliography see § 3 of the Introduction.

Part One

See above (Part One): **a1705, a1828, a1829.**

Part Two: Critical Studies

1987

a87107. W. BERGMANN and C. HOFFMANN, 'Kalkül oder „Massenwahn“? eine soziologische Interpretation der antijüdischen Unruhen in Alexandria 38 n. Chr.', in R. ERB and M. SCHMIDT (edd.), *Antisemitismus und jüdische Geschichte. Studien zu Ehren von Herbert A. Strauss* (Berlin 1987) 15–46.

The struggle between different ethnic groups in Alexandria was a major fact which led to the explosion of anti-Judaism in Alexandria in the summer of 38 C.E. Is the recognition of the political dimension of the conflict sufficient to explain all aspects of the quarrel? This is the view taken by the present article, in contrast to almost all other scholarship. Anti-semitism is taken to be only the effect and not the cause of these conflicts. Although the authors recognize that a distinction between politics and religion is artificial (p. 33), they choose to emphasize the rational and 'purposeful, organized political action' of that conflict. Anti-semitism is limited to the sphere of religion alone. Philo is declared to be not interested in an examination of the real causes and the real process, but only of religious interpretation and personal, individual responsibility. (GS)

1990

a9078. B. CENTRONE, *Pseudopythagorica ethica. I trattati morali di Archita, Metopo, Teage, Eurifamo* (Naples 1990), esp. 30–34.

The author indicates affinities between doctrines of Philo and those of various pseudo-Pythagorean treatises. With regard to ethical doctrine, a shared issue found in Euryphamas is man being free in his choice for good or evil (although Philo stresses more the role of divine grace in acts of virtue), and one found in (pseudo-)Archytas is the hierarchical scale of goods (although Philo has a more negative view of matter and the passions). With regard to cosmological and anthropological doctrine, points of contact are noted of Philo with Ecphantus and (in an extensive footnote) with many other pseudo-Pythagoreans. The author concludes, anyhow, that the relationship between Philo and the pseudo-Pythagorean writings is difficult to define. (HMK)

1991

a9198. L. PERRONE, 'Sulla preistoria delle «quaestiones» nella letteratura patristica: presupposti e sviluppi del genere letterario fino al IV sec.', *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 8 (1991) 485–505, esp. 492–500.

As an autonomous genre the biblical *Quaestiones* appear in patristic literature relatively late, i.e. in the 4th century (Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine). After briefly dealing with the characteristics and definition of the genre, the author discusses Philo. Acknowledging Philo's influence on the Church Fathers in general and on Eusebius in particular, the author argues that there is a profound difference between Philo's and Eusebius' *Quaestiones*. Where Philo's *Quaestiones* form a continuous verse to verse commentary of mainly exegetical character, Eusebius' *Quaestiones evangelicae* are selective comments on the biblical texts in which specific problems are discussed from an apologetic-controversialist point of view. Unlike Philo, Eusebius adheres to the classical model of ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις and the classical problem categories (cf. Aristotle *Poetica* 25). Also Eusebius' exegetical method, which is scarcely allegorical, differs from Philo's. Perrone concludes therefore that a direct or nearby dependence of the Christian *Quaestiones* genre on Philo cannot be demonstrated. In the final two sections of the article the author argues that an important part in the origin and development of the genre has been played by Tatian and above all by Origen. (HMK)

1992

a9293. E. F. OSBORN, 'Philo and Clement: Citation and Influence,' in N. EL-KHOURY, H. CROUZEL and R. REINHARDT (edd.), *Lebendige Überlieferung: Prozesse der Annäherung und Auslegung. Festschrift für Hermann-Jozef Vogt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Beirut–Ostfildern 1992) 228–243.

The point of departure for Osborn's article was the recent study of Annewies van den Hoek on Clement's use of Philo in the *Stromateis* (RRS 8834). Her analysis of the subject is excellent but the conclusion reached is somewhat ambivalent. When we look at the general subject of Clement's citations and Philo's influence there are several difficulties in our path. Certainly the number of citations is impressive (about 300), but on their own figures prove little. The background of ancient methods of citation needs to be taken into account, but also the methodology of modern scholarship. The main puzzles emerge. The first is the mass of Philonic material and the assertion by great scholars such as Mondésert and Chadwick that Philo's and Clement's interests were different. Osborn concludes on the basis of a brief analysis of the main passages identified by Van den Hoek that frequent citation does not have to indicate profound influence. In the so-called 'major sequences' Philonic material is used with small insertions by Clement, which redirect the nature of whole passages. In the 'minor sequences' a small amount of Philo is inserted in arguments which are important for Clement. Here Philo offers background and support, but the main direction of thought is supplied by Clement. The second puzzle is why Clement used Philo without acknowledgement. Partly the answer is that in his time unacknowledged citation was a very common practice, as we see in Athenaeus. A further explanation is the predominantly biblical content of Clement's citations of Philo. But Osborn also considers the possibility that Clement in some cases, i.e. where the citation is inexact, does not draw directly from Philo, but was dependent on an intermediary, possibly the 'Hebrew in Palestine' (cf. *Str.* 1.1.11). This suggestion allows a number of difficulties to be solved. (DTR)

1993

a9388. L. ALEXANDER, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1–4 and Acts 1.1*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 78 (Cambridge 1993), esp. 157–160.

Brief analysis of the prefaces of Philo's writings in the context of a detailed examination of the prefaces to Luke-Acts in their ancient literary and social context. Alexander notes that though Philo makes extensive use of summary and recapitulative sentences, personal prefaces are in fact quite rare. Brief comments are made on the prefaces to *Prob.* and *Mos.* (DTR)

a9389. V. W. RUTKOWSKI, *Die Gnadenlehre des Philon von Alexandria* (diss. University of Heidelberg 1993).

This dissertation, inspired by Klaus Berger and his method of investigating 'semantic fields' (*Wortfelduntersuchung*), pursues two aims. (1) Against Herbert Braun's denigration of the Philonic image of God (cf. R-R 7103), the author wishes to give a theological evaluation theologically Philo's doctrine of grace. (2) In investigating the background of this doctrine in the history of religion, special attention is paid to the Greco-Egyptian popular cult of Isis (pp. 29–33) and to the religious veneration of rulers (pp. 24–29). After a sketch of the history of research the sources of Philo's concept of grace are presented. Beside Greco-Roman influences, the language of the LXX is a main source, esp. for Philo's doctrine of election. The main part of the study establishes different specific connections of χάρις with other terms: (1) personification in the 'Graces'; (2) χάρις as ἀγαθότης (goodness) and ἀγαθόν; (3) as δωρεά (gift); (4) the relation of χάρις to God's powers (δυνάμεις); (5) χάρις as ἔλεος (mercy); (6) as εὐεργεσία (benefaction); (7) as the ἴλεως φύσις (conciliatory nature) of God; (8) as σωτηρία (salvation); (9) as ascent; (10) as election; (11) χάρις in the interpretation of biblical figures (Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac, Jacob and his family, Moses, Hannah); (12) the acknowledgment of human nothingness (οὐδένεια). Thus, compared with the thematic presentation of D. Zeller (RRS 9076), the author's approach is more terminological and has statistical results, but in chapters 9 to 12 it also becomes thematic, e.g. though 'nothingness' never is associated with χάρις, it marks the kernel of the relation between God and human beings (p. 189). Finally, in chapter 13, the author registers the intersections of vocabulary between Philo, the Greek and Latin pseudoepigrapha and Paul. The major result is that Paul's opposition of χάρις to works and the law is missing in Philo. The final part attempts a synthesis. Philo's anthropological assumptions are: the human being does not belong to himself; as a creature he is marked by weakness and sinfulness; the primary sin is arrogance. Philo's doctrine of grace, however, is founded upon his transcendent image of God. Therefore χάρις determines the timeless relationship of the Almighty to men—independent of the biblical salvation history. The concept denotes God's complete sovereignty over the world. (DZ)

1994

a9481. M. BALDASSARRI, 'La Difesa della Provvidenza nello scritto plutarcheo *De sera numinis vindicta*,' *The Ancient World* 25 (1994) 147–158, esp. 155–158.

The author reviews Plutarch's discussion of the question why the Divine Providence sometimes punishes with delay (*De sera numinis vindicta*), and compares Plutarch's argumentation with that of Philo in *Prov.*, noting among other things that Plutarch's treatise represents a religious approach, while Philo in *Prov.* presents a philosophical investigation. (HMK)

a9482. J. BELLEMORE, 'Gaius the Pantomime,' *Antichthon* 28 (1994) 65–79.

According to the sources the emperor Gaius was fascinated by the theatre. The author first examines the evidence on his interest in pantomime and then turns to the question of transvestism and its relation to his desire for deification. Philo's evidence in the *Legat.* shows inconsistencies and is clearly motivated by its propagandist aims. Bellemore concludes that the overall analysis by Philo of Gaius' deeds and motives, which is repeated in a derivative form in Dio Cassius, must be rejected in favour of the less extreme view found in Suetonius and Josephus, namely 'that Gaius only seriously contemplated divinity towards the end of his reign and that his earlier activities can best be understood in the light of his interest in pantomime' (p. 79). (DTR)

a9483. G. BISSOLI, *Il tempio nella letteratura giudaica e neotestamentaria. Studio sulla corrispondenza fra tempio celeste e tempio terrestre*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Analecta 37 (Jerusalem 1994), esp. 69–75.

A sketch of Philo's allegorical interpretations of the tabernacle/temple, in which the author highlights Philo's use of the Platonic concept of the intelligible, cosmic model and briefly confronts Philo's cosmic allegory of the temple with that of Josephus. (HMK)

a9484. D. BOYARIN, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley 1994), *passim*.

Boyarin treats Philo as background for reading Paul because he finds certain explicit themes in Philo useful for understanding inexplicit moments in Paul's texts. Similarities between Philo and Paul are seen as *prima facie* evidence for their sharing a common Hellenistic Jewish cultural *koine* rooted in eclectic Middle Platonism. Both Philo and Paul are motivated by the same set of problems and ideas generated by this common cultural situation. Their Platonic, allegorical reading practices are founded on a binary opposition in which meaning, as disembodied substance, exists prior to its incarnation in language. Language is the outer, physical shell and meaning the invisible, ideal, spiritual reality reached by allegory. For Philo and Paul, the human person has a hierarchical dual structure of outer body (the site of the particular) and inner spirit (the site of the universal). Theories of body and language coincide in Philo and Paul. (KAF)

a9485. M. DRAGONA-MONACHOU, 'Divine Providence in the Philosophy of the Empire,' in W. HAASE (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt Band 36, Teilband 7: Philosophie* (New York–Berlin 1994) 4417–4490, esp. 4456–4460.

Brief remarks on Philo's views on divine providence in the context of a broader examination of the theme in Imperial philosophy. On the question of metaphysical evil Philo's views are close to Platonism and Pythagoreanism. On questions of theodicy he takes over Stoic views, as can be seen very clearly in *Prov.* (DTR)

a9486. J. G. GAGER, 'Moses the Magician: Hero of an Ancient Counter-Culture?', *Helios* 21 (1994) 179–188.

The author looks at Exod 7:8–12, where Moses is clearly presented as a magician, and he poses the question whether this picture of the magical Moses has left traces in Philo and Josephus. He concludes that both writers try to play down the picture of Moses the magician, because the word μάγος has a negative image. Moses the magician is not compatible with Moses the philosopher, and therefore with the help of allegorical interpretation Philo eliminates the magical aspects of the story. (ACG)

a9487. M. F. MACH, 'Philo's 'Philosophical' turn to 'Religion,' in U. BIANCHI, F. M. MORA and F. BIANCHI (edd.), *The Notion of 'Religion' in Comparative Research. Selected Proceedings of the XVI IAHR Congress*, *Storia delle Religioni* 8 (Rome 1994) 403–413.

Philo is one of the most controversial figures in both the history of philosophy and the history of religion, and his use of Greek philosophical doctrines is one of the greatest difficulties for the modern interpreter of his thought. The question must be posed: why should Philo use elements of general Greek culture and of Greek philosophy to interpret the Jewish Bible? Philo's writings give the impression of a theological attempt at exegesis 'which does not yet crystallize into a clear terminology and suffers from the effort to verify it by re-finding it in biblical phrases' (p. 405). Greek philosophy helped Philo formulate his view of religion, firstly because the problem of cognition had long been disputed and secondly because the transcendence of the truly Existent was well and truly established, at least in Platonism. Philo, however, wants to go a step further and establish a personal relation with the divine which is more than an intellectual one. Here his 'religiosity overcomes Plato's more mechanical theology and it may be the reason for the ambivalent role of Greek philosophy in his thought' (p. 413). (DTR)

a9488. G. SCARPAT, 'Nota sulla λόγος αἰρεῖν,' *Paideia* 49 (1994) 17–20.

In determining the meaning of the phrase ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ, the evidence of Philo in *Cher.* 76, *Leg.* 3.156 and *Sacr.* 46 is highly valuable. The Alexandrian makes clear the Stoic overtones of the formula: it is concerned with reason 'which prescribes, chooses, dictates' (p. 19). (RR)

a9489. M. SHAPIRO, *The Jewish 100: a Ranking of the Most Influential Jews of All Time*, (New York 1994, also published London 1997), esp. 168–170.

Ranked 44 out of 100 of ‘the most influential Jews of all time,’ Philo earns this assessment for his presentation of ideas about ‘God, creation, history, nature, soul, knowledge, virtue, and government’ that influenced later Jewish, Christian, and Islamic thought until Spinoza’s time in the 17th century. Philo is especially noteworthy for being the first major thinker to use Greek metaphysics to understand the Bible and the first to claim—contrary to Plato and Aristotle—that God is unknowable. He is also significant for emphasizing the value of democracy and the notion that everyone is equal before the Law and for using the term *Logos* to describe the intelligible sphere. (EB)

a9490. H. THESLEFF, ‘Notes on Eros in Middle Platonism,’ *Actos* 28 (1994) 115–128.

In this paper, the author takes up the question of what happened within Platonism between Plato and Plotinus to the idea of Eros as a sublime, awe-inspiring, and ennobling force, the daimonic Eros, i.e. ‘Eros Ouranios’. More specifically, he asks: did a doctrinalization of the theory of Eros come about before Plotinus, and how did the notion of love (ἔρωσ/amor) of God arise? According to the findings of the author, Eros did not become ‘internalized’ into philosophy or doctrinalized until, possibly, Ammonius’ teaching in Alexandria opened new perspectives. The interpretation of Plotinus, furthermore, was proffered by an intensely personal experience of *unio mystica*. The author deals briefly with the works of Philo on pp. 119–120, and finds that Eros is not at all doctrinalized in these works, and that the object of Eros is never God. In *Abr.* 170, Eros is to be understood as a metaphor for ‘holy zeal’, and in *Somn.* 2.232, even if Eros has a ring of *unio mystica*, it is not God but τὰ θεῖα that is the object of Eros. It is taken from the Platonist tradition, but is not part of Philo’s own metaphysics. (TS)

a9491. S. WEITZMAN, ‘The Song of Abraham,’ *Hebrew Union College Annual* 65 (1994) 21–33.

The Apocalypse of Abraham, probably from first or second-century C.E. Palestine, records a long song uttered by the patriarch Abraham during his ascent to a heavenly vision, a vision based upon Gen 15. Later writings, both Jewish and Christian, refer to a song of Abraham, and rabbinic tradition may suggest an association between the song and specific biblical texts or episodes in Abraham’s life. In *Ebr.* 105–107, Philo records a song of Abraham based upon Gen 14:22. Although the biblical passage describes him taking an oath with upraised hand, interpreters of the Second Temple period and later disapproved of oath-taking and therefore may have understood Abraham’s gesture as an expression, or song, of thanksgiving or piety. Philo may provide the earliest evidence of this tradition, which may have resurfaced in the Apocalypse

of Abraham. If so, this connection would confirm a growing opinion that biblical interpretation played an important role in Jewish apocalyptic literature. (EB)

1996

a9697. G. H. BAUDRY, 'La responsabilité d'Ève dans la chute: analyse d'une tradition,' *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 53 (1996) 293–320, esp. 303–305.

A very widespread tradition sees Eve as having the primary responsibility for original sin and, at the same time, as the archetype of woman. The inquiry in this article proceeds from the interpretation of Genesis by Sirach 25:24, going through the intertestamental writings and Philo, and referring to some of the great names in Christian thought (Origen, Didymus, Tertullian, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas). The author concludes that the universally acknowledged presupposition that woman is by nature inferior to man has in our contemporary culture become obsolete, and that the exclusions justified by it will continue to disappear progressively. As for Philo's view, Adam before the creation of Eve was the perfect human being, i.e., androgynous. Due to its belonging to the world of becoming (and not because of an original sin as a free act), the androgynous monad was broken into a duality. Adam allegorically represents the intellect, Eve sense-perception (easily seduced by the Serpent, i.e., pleasure). Woman, according to Philo, is connected to matter, body, and sensation. Philo's misogynous ideology took its arguments primarily from Greek thought (Plato), and exerted a nefarious influence on Christian thinkers. (HMK)

a9698. R. T. BECKWITH, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian*, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 33 (Leiden 1996), esp. 13–16 and *passim*.

Philonic evidence is frequently referred to in this learned study of the role that the calendar and chronology play in Judaism and Christianity. A brief section is devoted to the traditions on the origin of the Sabbath as found in Aristobulus and Philo, which show a striking similarity, even if they are not exactly the same. (DTR)

a9699. R. H. BELL, 'Sin Offerings and Sinning with a High Hand,' *The Journal of Progressive Judaism* 4 (1996) 25–59.

This article considers the meaning of Num 15:30–31, which says there is no sin offering for a sin committed with a 'high hand'. After concluding that these verses pertain to sins committed deliberately rather than unwittingly, Bell surveys treatments of deliberate and unwitting sins in a wide range of Jewish and Christian sources, including the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus,

Qumran, Rabbinic literature, Letter to the Hebrews, and Paul. Only Paul believes in atonement for the deliberate sinner, namely, through the death of Jesus. Philo distinguishes between intentional and unintentional sins several times but not always in connection to the cult. In *Spec.* 1.226–238, he cites this distinction in discussing the sin offering, suggesting that this offering atones only for unintentional sins. Elsewhere, he portrays the deliberate sinner as provoking God and having to reckon with the divine rather than human tribunal. (EB)

a96100. O. BETZ, 'Die jüdischen Qumran-Essener als Modell für das griechische Gemeinschaftsideal,' in B. FUNCK (ed.), *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters: Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.–14. März 1994 in Berlin* (Tübingen 1996) 319–327.

Against the background of the discoveries at Qumran the author portrays the *interpretatio Graeca*, which Josephus, Pliny and Philo give of the Essenes. When he points out the freedom, equality and fraternity found in this community, Josephus has in mind the ideal state of Plato. Philo emphasizes to an even greater extent the exemplary function of the common life of the Essenes; he stresses their commitment to God, but also their concentration on ethics. More than in Josephus their freedom is conceived in Stoic terms. Though he recognizes the impact of Moses, this is not incompatible with his praise of the 'most holy Plato' (*Prob.* 13). (DZ)

a96101. R. VAN DEN BROEK, *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity*, Nag Hammadi Studies 39 (Leiden 1996), esp. 117–130 and 206–234.

Collection of fifteen articles, four of which are published here for the first time while two others appeared in relatively inaccessible collections. The two studies dealing with Philo, nos. 7 and 13, are reprints of R-R 8606 and R-R 7902 respectively. (HMK)

a96102. B. CHIESA, 'Dawud al-Muqammi e la sua opera,' *Henoah* 18 (1996) 121–155, esp. 131–137.

In this review of Sarah Stroumsa's *Dawud ibn Marwan al-Muqammi's Twenty Chapters* (1989), Chiesa discusses the possibility of Philo having been a source of al-Muqammi. About the latter, little more is known than what al-Qirqisani tells us in his *Kitab al-anwar* of 927 C.E., who brings him into relation with a certain Nana. There are valid arguments for identifying this Nana with Nonnus of Nisibi (9th century). Chiesa then develops the following argumentation (p. 132): (1) if al-Qirqisani had knowledge of the works of Philo, his most probable intermediary source was al-Muqammi; (2) that al-Muqammi may have known Philo is very likely given his relationship with Nonnus, who was active precisely in the environment where Philo's writings circulated—viz. in Armenia—; (3)

that al-Qirqisani knew Philo is certain. Chiesa presents in detail the parallels between a fragment identified as belonging to book VI of al-Qirqisani's *Kitab al-anwar*, and Philo's *Decal.* and *Spec.* (HMK)

a96103. W. FAUTH, 'Salutatio Solis Orientis. Zu einer Form der Heliolatrie bei Pythagoreern, Manichäern, Therapeuten und Essenern,' in H. CANCIK (ed.), *Geschichte, Tradition, Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag. Bd. II: Griechische und Römische Religion* (Tübingen 1996) 41–54, esp. 48–51.

This article deals with testimonia concerning sun worship in various more or less philosophical circles or communities. The author gives a brief survey of the various scholarly opinions concerning the community of the Therapeutae as pictured in Philo's *De vita contemplativa*. He notes that a neglected feature in the discussion is the sun worship of the Therapeutae, which according to him can be explained on the basis of (1) the Egyptian environment, (2) the sun as image for both intellectual and visionary 'illumination', and (3) the community's aspiration to moral and inner purity. The attitude of the Essenes (for which see Philo, *Prob.* 75 and Josephus, *BJ* 2.128) towards the rising and setting sun must be seen against the background of the dualism between (the sons of) light and darkness as expressed in Qumran texts. (HMK)

a96104. B. KOLLMANN, 'Das Schwurverbot Mt 5,33–37/Jak 5,12 im Spiegel antiker Eidkritik,' *Biblische Zeitschrift* 40 (1996) 179–193, esp. 184–188.

Since R. Hirzel's monograph on the oath in antiquity (1902), the view is generally accepted that *theologically motivated* rejection of swearing an oath is something genuinely Jewish (and Christian). This article argues, however, that theological (as distinct from ethical or anthropological) criticism of the oath is by no means something 'unGreek', but was fully present (from an early time) in the Greek world, notably in Pythagoreanism, and from there entered into the Jewish and Christian tradition. The author elaborates on Philo's theory and criticism of the oath, in which he sees influence of various Greek traditions. Where Philo (as well as Josephus) describes the Essene community and ascribes to it a total prohibition of the oath, he lends it pythagorean features (*Prob.* 84). (HMK)

a96105. J. MAIER, 'La Torah di purità nel Levitico e sua trattazione nella letteratura giudaica del periodo del Secondo Tempio e nei primi secoli cristiani,' *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 13 (1996) 39–66, esp. 44 and numerous text references in the *Appendice* (47–66).

This article presents a collection of texts concerning the laws on purity and impurity, for which see Lev 11–14. Four groups are considered: texts from

Qumran, the works of Philo, the works of Josephus, and Rabbinic texts. The author characterizes these sources in their approaches to the Pentateuch and to the oral law or tradition. The Appendix, constituting the largest part of the article, gives an extensive list of passages from the four groups of sources as they bear upon the successive verses of Lev 11–14, including numerous references to the writings of Philo. (HMK)

a96106. G. MESSADIÉ, *La fortune d'Alexandrie* (Paris 1996); also German translation, *Alexandria* (Munich 1997).

For lovers of historical novels we include this work of fiction, set in Alexandria in 38 C.E. The adventures of the Alexandrian hetaira Delia bring her into contact with the 'philosopher' Philo, 'who had always dreamt of fusing Hellenism and Judaism into one'. In some explanatory notes at the back of the book the author claims that Philo was in the first century the most famous philosopher in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. Other familiar figures to receive a mention are Flaccus and the Therapeutae of Lake Mareotis, who are presented as 'hemerobaptists', a group derived from the Essenes. (JR)

a96107. D. A. NIELSEN, 'La Misura divina: creazione e retribuzione nel libro della Sapienza e in Filone. Aspetti dell'incontro fra giudaismo ed ellenismo,' *Religioni e Società* 24 (1996) 9–21.

Taking his starting-point in Wis 11:20 ('But you have ordered all things with measure, number and weight'), Nielsen compares Wisdom with Philo on the following points: (1) the concept of 'measure, number and weight' and its meaning in the context of the history of philosophy; (2) the role of the law and of order in creation; (3) the meaning of number symbolism in creation; (4) the role of the Logos with regard to creation; and (5) the relation between these concepts and the theme of retribution-judgment-punishment. According to Nielsen, the points analysed bring to light that the philosophical dimension (Middle Platonist, Pythagorean, Stoic, Aristotelian, p. 12) for all its importance does not constitute the heart of Philo's thought, but must always be brought into relation to a 'Hebrew core'. More specifically, both Wisdom and the works of Philo can be understood as efforts to reinforce the Hebrew religion and culture by bringing them into rapport with the present situation (p. 19). (RR)

a96108. J. C. PAGET, 'Jewish Proselytism at the Time of Christian Origins: Chimera or Reality?,' *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 62 (1996) 65–103, esp. 71–72, 80–81, 85–86, 95–97.

Whereas previous studies on Jewish proselytism contend that a missionary consciousness was absent from Judaism at the time of Christian origins, this paper is an attempt to show that the evidence, though not abundant, exists in sufficient measure to argue for the existence of such consciousness among

some Jews. The author develops his points through a discussion of the way in which the evidence, including Philo, is used by various scholars. In response to M. Goodman's thesis that in the first century C.E. the term 'proselyte' was only *becoming* a technical one for a Gentile convert to Judaism, Philo's usage of the terms προσηλύτος and ἔπηλυς is investigated on pp. 95–97 (the latter term being preferred by Philo). (HMK)

a96109. A. PAWLACZYK, 'Division as the Fundamental Idea in the Treatise of Philo of Alexandria *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit*,' *Eos* 84 (1996) 75–85.

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyse the notion of logos and division in *Her*. Scholars have found that the passage on the Logos-cutter (λόγος τόμευς) does not fit so well in the context of the treatise; the author, by contrast, argues that the logos/division theme is the directive idea of *Her*. as a whole. She presents various aspects of the logos as discussed by Philo in the treatise, all of which concern the notion of division and equality/inequality. The real heir of divine things (cf. the title of the treatise) is he who knows to discern (make divisions) and to choose the right kind of life: the life of the wise. (HMK)

a96110. F. PETIT, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse: édition intégrale IV, chapitres 29 à 50*, Traditio Exegetica Graeca 4 (Louvain 1996).

The role of Philo in this final volume of the *Genesis catena* is much reduced because QG, which is the only Philonic work excerpted by the Catenist, stops at Gen 28. But see the list of references to his writings on p. 503, and for a review article on volumes 2–4 see 9969. (DTR)

a96111. F. PETIT, 'La chaîne grecque sur la Genèse, miroir de l'exégèse ancienne,' in G. SCHÖLLGEN and C. SCHOLTEN (edd.), *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum: Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 23* (Münster 1996) 243–253, esp. 245–247.

Brief remarks on Philo's place and influence in the tradition of biblical exegesis, in the context of an exposition centering on the *Catena on Genesis*. This anonymous commentary compiled from quotations of exegetes from the first five centuries of the Christian era and preserved in a good number of biblical manuscripts contains numerous quotations from Philo's QG. (HMK)

a96112. G. REALE, 'La dottrina dell'origine del mondo in Platone con particolare riguardo al «Timeo» e l'idea cristiana della creazione,' *Rivista di filosofia Neoscolastica* 88 (1996) 3–33.

The article corresponds to the paper presented and discussed by Reale at the conference on the *Timaeus* organized by the International Plato Society in Granada, Spain in September 1995. In the process of illustrating the Platonic creation account in the *Timaeus* and giving a precise philosophical and theological evaluation of it, Reale undertakes to speak about the Philonic conception of creation (pp. 28 ff.), which constitutes ‘the foundation that allows the birth of the complete construction of the theory of creation on which Christian thought is based’. Although Philo does make use of Platonic terms and formulas in this context, he nevertheless does advance well beyond Plato. Indeed Reale puts forward the hypothesis (based also on a valuable testimony of Seneca in *NQ* 1 *pref.* 16) that the Alexandrian thinker, albeit with much wavering, did attribute the creation of matter itself to God. It is further recognized that the Philonic doctrine of the Ideas as thoughts of God is a fundamental presupposition of the Christian *creatio ex nihilo*. (RR)

a96113. D. R. SCHWARTZ, ‘Temple or City: what did Hellenistic Jews See in Jerusalem?’, in M. POORTHUIS and C. SAFRAI (edd.), *The Centrality of Jerusalem: Historical Perspectives* (Kampen 1996) 114–127.

The article focuses on the question of the view that Jews in the Hellenistic Diaspora had of Jerusalem and the Temple. In general their attitude towards the city of Jerusalem was positive, but they were negative about the Temple. It was difficult for them, living outside Jerusalem in the Diaspora, to assume that God dwells in one particular place, i.e. the Temple in Jerusalem. In 2 and 3 Maccabees the view is expressed that God has his residence in heaven. As for Philo, on the one hand he defends the Temple when attacked by the Roman emperor Gaius Caligula and we know that he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he calls the ‘metropolis’, but on the other hand he argues that the Temple is wholly spiritual. (ACG)

a96114. U. SIM, *Das himmlische Jerusalem in Apk 21,1–22,5 im Kontext biblisch-jüdischer Tradition und antiken Städtebaus*, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 25 (Trier 1996), esp. 59–61.

This study compares the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in the book of Revelation with descriptions in ancient texts of real (Babylonian, Greek, Roman, Israelite) as well as ideal cities. Its conclusion is that the author of Revelation for his presentation of the new Jerusalem made use not only of Old Testament and Jewish traditions, but also of motifs of ancient city planning. As sources on the ideal city, Sim discusses Plato, Aristotle, Hippodamus of Milete, Vitruvius, Lucian of Samosata, Philo, and texts from Qumran. The three pages devoted to Philo (plus two pages of notes providing the text references) present Philo’s remarks on the foundation and organisation of cities (democracy as the best form of constitution), his views on the kosmos as God’s *polis*, and his interpretation of the life of the wise (soul) as a journey to the real home in heaven. (HMK)

a96115. D. I. SLY, 'Reflections on Philo, Plotinus and The Great Chain of Being,' in A. Sharma (ed.), *The Sum of Our Choices: Essays in Honour of Eric J. Sharpe*, McGill Studies in Religion 4 (Atlanta 1996) 120–145.

The author explores Philo's and Plotinus' placement of humans on the Great Chain of Being (cf. the work of A. Lovejoy under that title, exposing the Platonic conception of the universe as an infinite number of links ranging in hierarchical order from the meagerest up to the highest kind of being). She gives a sketch of the Alexandrian society in Philo's days (pp. 120–124), of Philo's own education (pp. 125–126), and of his views on male and female, free and slave, society, and education, all in relation to the Great Chain of Being (pp. 126–131). After describing Plotinus' views on the same topics, Sly concludes that Philo and Plotinus differ sharply only in respect to women: unlike Plotinus, Philo places them *under* the 'intellectual' line which separates humans operating on the level of the body from those operating on the level of mind. 'Without ceasing to admire them, one must recognize that the truth for Philo and Plotinus was in a significant way determined by who they were: two men of privilege in a society where the vast majority were forced to experience life quite differently'. (HMK)

a96116. S. STERN [יששכר שטרן], 'אמנות הדמות בהלכה בתקופת המשנה, והתלמוד' [Hebrew: Figurative Art and *Halakha* in the Mishnaic-Talmudic Period], *Zion* 61 (1996) 397–419.

Stern addresses anew the question of the widespread presence of figurative art in the mosaics and reliefs of ancient synagogues in Israel. Rejecting earlier theories (such as those of Goodenough and Urbach), he argues that the crucial distinction is that between 'worshipped and non-worshipped images.' The latter were not considered to be idolatrous and, therefore, did not become a central concern of rabbinic legislation until the end of the fourth century. In a brief appendix (p. 418), the author surveys the diverse treatments of the second commandment in the writings of Philo. He concludes that despite the appearance of a blanket condemnation of figurative art, Philo's censure is also concerned primarily with the question of idolatrous worship and not simply artistic representation. (DS)

a96117. G. STRECKER, U. SCHNELLE and G. SEELIG (edd.), *Neuer Wettstein: Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechentum und Hellenismus. Band II Texte zur Briefliteratur und zur Johannesapokalypse*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1996).

The project carried out at the University of Halle aims to present a new updated version of the famous collection of texts from Greco-Roman writings offering parallels to and contextual information for the New Testament, compiled by Jacob Johann Wettstein and published in Amsterdam in 1751–1752. The Greek and Latin source material which the collection offers explicitly includes Hellenistic-Jewish texts. These are in fact presented first for every New

Testament lemma. For the method used see further the Introduction by Seelig (p. IX–XXIII). The first part treats the contents of the New Testament from the Letters of Paul to Revelation. Remarkably no author is cited more often than Philo. The 284 passages from his works are listed on pp. 1806–1809. The texts are cited mainly in the German translation of Cohn–Heinemann–Theiler, but for important sections the Greek is added in brackets. A short note on the context of the passage precedes the citation, but the collection gives no commentary and also no indication of the *tertium comparationis* which underlies the citation. Presumably readers are meant to work this out for themselves. (DTR)

a96118. M. VOGEL, *Das Heil des Bundes. Bundestheologie im Frühjudentum und im frühen Christentum*, Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 18 (Tübingen–Basel 1996), esp. 210–219.

Under the heading ‘God gives Himself’ the book has a chapter on διαθήκη in Philo. It starts with the assertion that, although there is no theology of the covenant referring to the salvation of the collective entity ‘Israel’, Philo develops the OT concept of covenant in an original way, applying the aspect of community, implicit in this concept, to the soul and to the world. In his interpretation of διαθήκη as ‘last will’ Philo is interested in the act of donation. In correlation with χάρις this means direct participation of the self-taught character in God. When διαθήκη is connected with the Logos as cosmological principle of order, God communicates his own steadiness to the soul. (DZ)

B. CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA
1987–1996

The following list is largely indebted to the review of RRS by James R. Royse published in *SPhA* 14 (2002) 193–200. References to bibliographical items in RRS are given in bold figures and presented in the order they appear in the volume. Insignificant typographical errors in the summaries are not noted.

- p. xxi: read *Vigiliae Christianae*
2052: read 'Gottesbezeichnung'.
pp. 16–17, 382: read 'Portuguese'.
3215 (summary): read 'amplifies'.
3309 (summary): read 'titles'.
8702: read 'hellenistisch-römischen' and 'Baldermann'.
8722: add to the summary: 'See also the response by J. Martens, 9256.'
8743: Runia's review is reprinted in 9059.
8771: read 'judäisme'.
8815: read 'l'allégorie'.
8818: read 'Commenting' instead of 'Commentary' and 'pesharim'.
8842–8843: there should be a cross-reference to 9551.
8847: add cross-reference to 8938.
8854: add cross-reference to 8943.
8864: add cross-reference to 9464.
8911: read 'séquences' and 'évangéliques'.
8917a: there should be cross-references to 9013 and 9415.
8918–8919: the cross-reference should be to 9014.
8921: read 'besonderer'.
8922: read 'Southwestern' (also in 9661).
8923: the second cross-reference should be to 9329.
8928: read 'anniversaire'.
8934: read *Offenbarungsstimmen*.
8940: read 'judíos' and 'bibliografía'.
8943: the cross-reference should be to 8854.
8948: read 'Metafisica'. In l. 7 of the summary read 'by giving'.
8955: add cross-reference to 9059.
8959: read 'Rudolf Schnackenberg'. In the summary read 'debit' and 'Komparative'.
8964: read *ἑρμηνεία*.

- 9009: read 'Philon' and the name of the series should be 'Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte'.
- 9025: the second cross-reference should be to 9329.
- 9045: read 'Filón', 'Teófilo', and 'teología'.
- 9046: read 'Filón', 'historía', and 'diálogo'.
- 9057: read '*filosofía*'.
- 9058: read '*vom Alten Testament*'.
- 9060: add to the summary: 'See further the response by A. Hilhorst in 9242.'
- 9071 (summary): the cross-reference should be to 9032.
- 9121 (summary): read 'pesharim'; in addition add a cross-reference to 9329.
- 9126 (summary): read in l. 2 'important role'.
- 9137: add cross-reference to 9037.
- 9138: add cross-reference to 9551.
- 9158: the page reference should be 'esp. 235–254'. In l. 2 of the summary read 'Augustine'.
- 9175: add cross-reference to 8865.
- 9177: add cross-reference to 8963.
- 9187 (summary): read in l. 6 'could not'.
- 9207: read 'Europäische'.
- 9236: add cross-reference to 9336.
- 9256: add cross-reference to 9319.
- 9262: add cross-reference to 9362.
- 9281: read '*zur hellenistischen*'.
- 9310: add to the summary: See further the response by A. C. Geljon in 9333.
- 9332: read 'Filón'.
- 9346: read 'in Umbrien'; the series should be *Saecula Spiritalia* 25–26, with footnotes and bibliography in volume 2, i.e. *Saecula Spiritalia* 26.
- 9348: read '*Arméniennes*'.
- 9353: the series is AGJU, not ALGHJ.
- 9356 (summary): read 'He Who is'.
- 9358 (summary): read 'N. Umemoto'.
- 9368 (summary): read in l. 9 'biblical law'.
- 9382: add cross-reference to 9286.
- 9402: the title should read 'La théorie du 'penchant mauvais' et la doctrine du 'péché originel'', and the journal is the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*.
- 9406: add cross-reference to 9313.
- 9414 (summary): read in l. 1 'principal'.
- 9415: the second cross-reference should be to 9013.
- 9422: read '*Société*'.
- 9436: read '*Alte Welt*'.
- 9444: read 'Teología'.
- 9451: read 'Verständnis'.
- 9452: read '*Konzeptualisierungsprozess*' and '*messianischen*'.

- 9464: the cross-reference should have been made to 8864, where the work by Weinberger-Thomas is more correctly cited.
- 9473: to l. 4 add a cross-reference to 9687
- 9510 (summary): read in the final line 'vice'.
- 9517: the cross-reference should be to 9623.
- 9518 (summary): read in l. 15 'Cazeaux'.
- 9521: read '*Théologique*'.
- 9528 (summary): read in l. 8 'just' instead of 'must'.
- 9529: read 'passions à' and '*Théologiques*'.
- 9541: add Danish translation of the book title, *Judaisms and Hellenisms*.
- 9559: should include a cross-reference to the earlier citation of the original French study, 9154, which was published in 1991, not 1992.
- 9565: read 'l'allégorie', 'interprétation', and 'd'Alexandrie'.
- 9574: add cross-reference to 9159.
- 9595: read '*Eastern*'.
- 9602: add cross-reference to 9304.
- 9608: add cross-reference to 9205.
- 9624: read 'l'allégorie'.
- 9630: read 'von Nyssa'.
- 9656: read '*o come sfida*'.
- 9665: read '*Tratados filosóficos*'.
- 9670: read '*Théologique*'.
- 9681: read 'religionsgeschichtlichen'.
- a4208: read 'filosóficos'.
- a5316: read 'Berkeley'.
- a5526 (summary): read in l. 6 'prevailing'.
- a5528 (summary): read in l. 1 'Philo and'
- a5924: read 'ומיטיקה'.
- a6023 (summary): read in l. 5 'antedates'.
- a6124: read '*Théologie*'.
- a7245: read 'judaïsme'.
- a8139 (summary): read in l. 1 'pogrom'.
- a8550a: there should be a cross-reference to a5924.
- a8679 (summary): read in l. 5 '*Grundlagen*'.
- a8692: read 'die Weisheit'.
- 1820: read 'version' and 'interprétation'.

Note also the following corrections to the indices:

- p. 357: under Dewey, A. J. add 8917a.
- p. 364: read Szymański, M.
- p. 365: under Weinberger-Thomas, C. add 8864; the second and third items indexed under Whitman, J. should have been attributed to Whittaker, J.

- p. 386: delete entry 'Ezekiel'.
p. 387: to 'God, interpretation of Exod. 3:14-15' add a8675; in addition the entry 'Gregory of Nazianzen' should be deleted.
p. 390: change to 'John, Revelation of'.
p. 391: reference to 'Judaism, Hellenistic, and Palestinian, relation to' should be 8714 instead of 14.
p. 407: read 'utopian', and add 8917a, 9415.
p. 408: under 'Yom Kippur' add 8936, 9138.
p. 408: read ἀγάπη.
p. 409: under ἡσυχάζω add a8689.

INDICES

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1. INDEX OF AUTHORS

An asterisk indicates that the scholar concerned was not the author of the item of scholarship on Philo which has been listed and summarized, but editor or co-editor of the book in which that item was published.

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