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Introduction

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1 BASIC INFORMATION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Research Title The Theory and Practice of the Scriptural Exegesis in Augustine

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FY 2011	¥ 1,700,000	¥ 510,000	¥ 2,210,000
FY 2012	¥ 1,200,000	¥ 360,000	¥ 1,560,000
FY 2013	¥ 1,100,000	¥ 330,000	¥ 1,430,000
TOTAL	¥ 4,000,000	¥ 1,200,000	¥ 5,200,000

2 BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROJECT

After the end of World War II, an increasing number of patristic scholars turned their attention to an exploration of patristic exegesis as a distinctive field of historical research.¹ Their focus was on the tradition of early Christianity around the ancient Mediterranean world, which dates from the first century to the seventh in the Western Church or to the ninth century in the Eastern Church. Although, these initial studies were immediately followed by a series of collections of primary sources and critical studies, still in the first half of the 1950s, there was no attempt to publish a handbook or companion volume in the field of patristic exegesis. This might be because of the impossibility of providing a balanced and consistent assessment of a copious growth of relevant studies. It must also be admitted that a critical agreement about the ancient interpretation of the scriptures was not reached among scholars who themselves were inclined to reflect the negative attitude in contemporary scholarship. However, it is remarkable to note that during the second and third decade after World War II, paying considerably more attention to the continuity between the classical and the post-classical world, some scholars focused on the heritage of late antiquity from economic, social, religious, cultural, and artistic aspects.² The study of patristic exegesis became the privileged mode of exploring the cultural and intellectual unity and uniqueness of antiquity. Hence, through scholarly achievements of over fifty years, together with analysing relevant sources, a comprehensive survey of patristic interpretation of the scriptures would respond to the demand of a handbook.³ This is the same case with

¹ For the surveys of patristic studies in the second half of the twentieth century, see, B. de Margerie, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse*, 3 vols. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1980–1983); C. Kannengiesser, 'Fifty Years of Patristics', *Theological Studies* 50 (1989) 633–656; E. A. Clark, 'From Patristics to Early Christian Studies', in S. A. Harvey and D. G. Hunter (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) 7–41.

² P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971). See also G. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar (eds.), *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1999); S. Johnson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

³ See C. Kannengiesser et al., *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004). For the significance and limits of Kannengiesser's achievement, see also J. van Oort, 'Biblical Interpretation in the Patristic Era, a "Handbook of Patristic Exegesis" and Some Other Recent Books and Related Projects', *Vigiliae Christianae* 60 (2006) 80–103.

the studies of Augustine of Hippo (354–430), who has been regarded as one of the most influential of the ancient Christian interpreters of the scriptures. Not only did he enhance the intensity of his understanding of scriptural messages, along with the life-long spiritual quest for wisdom, but expressed a genuine enthusiasm about learning the necessary procedures for its interpretation from his predecessors. As with many other topics in his thought, Augustine's appropriation of the scriptures is tagged with both the profound dynamics of the discourse and practice and the creative process to the synthesis of late-antique culture with the heritage within the church. Therefore, to provide an exhaustive and valuable survey of Augustinian studies centred on biblical exegesis must be considered as a tour de force.⁴

In Augustinian scholarship during the last century, the nature and consequences of his conversion (386) have received much scholarly attention, as it deserves: in particular, his earliest dialogues (386–387) have been studied and interpreted from philosophical, theological, and historical perspectives. Some discrepancies between the conversion narratives in the *Confessions* and those depicted in both his philosophical dialogues of Cassiciacum and some other writings in dialogue form were crucial for our understanding of his early thought and the investigations in question.⁵ Thus, in order to do justice to the problematics of the development of his thought, scholars of Augustine were required to be involved in the discussions that led to the consideration of another transition from his early thought. In the chapter of his biography of Augustine entitled 'The Lost Future', Peter Brown has claimed a fundamental dis-

⁴ Although highly selective for a comprehensive overview of Augustinian exegesis, the followings are some useful references: I. Bochet, « *Le Firmament de l'Écriture* » : *L'herméneutique augustiniennne* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2004); M. Cameron, *Christ Meets Me Everywhere: Augustine's Early Figurative Exegesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); M. Fiedrowicz, *Psalmus vox totius Christi: Studien zu Augustins Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Freiburg: Herder, 1997); G. Partoen, 'Augustin als Prediger', in V. H. Drecoll (ed.), *Augustin Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 242–247; and, for individual topics, we should consult both *ATA* and *AL*. See also the latest companion books, both of which include a valuable survey of this topic: M. Vessey (ed.), *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2012); C. C. Pecknold and T. Toom (eds.), *The T & T Clark Companion to Augustine and Modern Theology* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

⁵ For a helpful survey of his writings in dialogue form, see Th. Fuhrer, 'Frühschriften', in V. H. Drecoll (ed.), *Augustin Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 261–275; eadem, 'Conversationalist and Consultant: Augustine in Dialogue', in M. Vessey (ed.), *A Companion to Augustine* (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2012) 270–283.

continuity in the first decade of Augustine's early works.⁶ According to the splendid illustration, the young Augustine, Platonically inspired and having high hopes for attaining perfection in this life, was drastically changed into the older Augustine, expressing confidence in both human deficiency and the need for divine grace, with the latter being inspired primarily by the reading of Pauline epistles in the 390s. It seems quite probable that these are two different and independent persons: 'Augustine the new convert' and 'Augustine the new bishop'.⁷ More recently, against those who place a sharp distinction between the early and middle stages of his works, some scholars have argued convincingly that there is only one Augustine.⁸ They have challenged long-held assumptions about the development of his thought. Despite of their closely argued reading of his intellectual development until the mid-390s, there still remains the necessity of revisiting his investigations and understanding of Pauline theology.

This research project examines the factors involved in his exegetical treatises and commentaries in such a short period of time, that is, during the several years before Augustine started writing *On Christian Teaching* in 396. The project leader, Naoki Kamimura, has published articles already, on the topic of the continuity of Augustine's hermeneutical method in his earliest commentaries on Genesis: 'Augustine's First Exegesis and the Divisions of Spiritual Life', *Augustinian Studies* 36 (2005) 421–432; 'Augustine's Scriptural Exegesis in *De Genesi ad litteram liber unus imperfectus*', *Studia Patristica* 49 (2010) 229–234. The principal collaborator, Makiko Sato, has published several articles ('"os cordis" in Augustine's *De mendacio*', *Veritas: Kyodai Studies in Mediaeval Philosophy* 26 (2007) 62–73, and research reports issued from 21st Century Centres of Excellence Programme: 'Toward an Integrated Methodology for the Study of the Mind' organised by the Global COE Programme, Keio Uni-

⁶ P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, new edn. with an epilogue (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 139–150.

⁷ Cf. C. Harrison, *Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology: An Argument for Continuity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) vi.

⁸ On this See e.g. G. Madec, *La patrie et la voie: Le Christ dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustine* (Paris: Desclée, 1989); C. Harrison, *Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology*; B. Dobell, *Augustine's Intellectual Conversion: The Journey from Platonism to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); R. Topping, *Happiness and Wisdom: Augustine's Early Theology of Education* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2012). See also P. Brown, 'New Directions', in *Augustine of Hippo*, 489–490.

versity), in which she focussed upon the development of the language theory of Augustine in his early treatises and detected a significant correlation with his view of original sin in the commentaries on Pauline epistles.

3 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The overall objective is to attend to a crucial question fundamental to the contemporary scholarship of Augustine. How did Augustine interpret and explain the scriptures, particularly the Pauline epistles, during the period between his conversion in Milan (386) and his ordination as bishop in Hippo (396)? Hence, the proposed project aimed to explore the details of the scriptural exegesis in Augustine's early treatises (including his philosophical and theological tractates, exegetical commentaries, letters, and sermons) on both Genesis and the Pauline epistles. As mentioned above, what is still to be done in Augustinian scholarship is a more intensive assessment of his writings in this period. The project does not concentrate on what is often called 'Ancient Christian exegesis' in a broader currency: instead, the solid model for interpreting and preaching the scriptures in the context of contemporary philosophical, theological, and pastoral thinking of Augustine is chosen to indicate a much clearer spectrum of this project. Since the cooperative projects were undertaken by an effort to consider the problems of Augustinian exegesis and the language theory from complementary viewpoints, this project intends to advance the preceding research achievements, one of which, by Kamimura, has considered his earliest Genesis commentaries: *On Genesis, Against the Manicheans* and *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, an Unfinished Work*, thereby contributing a significant study to the question, and the other research, by Sato, has examined the early stage of his linguistic thought in *On Lying* and *On Christian Teaching*, and offered the possibility of an integrated approach between the language theory and the scriptural exegesis of Augustine.

4 RESEARCH APPROACH

During several years prior to his ordination as bishop, not only did Augustine engage in his anti-Manichaean works, such as *On the Catholic and the Manichean Ways of Life*, *On the Two Souls*, and *Debate with Fortunatus*,

a Manichean, but was forced to become much acquainted with the scriptures, thereby fulfilling the demanding role of bishop in one of Africa's major sees. Indeed, something of those pastoral responsibilities were reflected clearly in his works. Some scholars have shared the idea of a revolution in his thought in the mid-390s. This implies that these years of careful and thoughtful reading of Pauline epistles and the pursuit of a pastoral and monastic life concluded with his response *To Simplicianus* in 396. Hence, by reading some of his philosophical and theological tracts, exegetical commentaries, letters, and sermons around the 390s and examining the significance of this idea in the light of these works themselves, we identify diverse strategies employed by Augustine, in order to meet the obligation to perform his pastoral, charitable, and administrative duties, instead of expanding a planned series of treatises on liberal arts and defending against the Manichaean attack. In order to achieve the objectives the research undertaken attempts to resolve three key questions: (a) How did Augustine interpret the book of Genesis and the Pauline epistles?; (b) what was the evolution of his language theory in this period?; (c) what was the evolution of his anthropological reflection in this period?

FY 2011

For the purpose of analysing and understanding the nature of the texts of Augustine, with its chronological matters, especially of the letters and sermons, Kamimura and Sato prepared an electronic database of patristic texts and surveyed the relevant secondary literature. In May 2011, the principal investigator, Kamimura presented a paper on how, in his earliest commentaries and related writings, Augustine made sense of difficult passages from Genesis, at the annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies [11]. In August, a paper on the consultation of sacred books [12], read at the International Conference on Patristic Studies and submitted to Peeters Publishers for publication in *Studia Patristica* [7], dealt with the significance of the conversion narratives in the tradition of ancient astrological predictions, thereby preparing for the further investigation of his conversion. In September, the Principal Collaborator, Sato, published a peer-reviewed paper based on her preceding research programme, in which she pointed out the indispensable correlation between the concept of 'lying', conditions of human fallenness, and the Christol-

ogy of Augustine [3]. In November, Sato proceeded to the analysis of Augustine's interpretation of the Gospel of John in the *Confessions* and presented a paper on the interdependence of the language theory and the problem of creation in the early writings, via his understanding of Christology [13]. In March 2011, the Principal investigator attended the annual meeting of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, held at the Brisbane campus of Australian Catholic University, and, with the Overseas investigator, Pauline Allen, discussed the current state of the research project [14].

FY 2012

An analysis of the texts of Augustine based on the articles and presented papers in year one continued. In May, Kamimura presented a paper on the problem of Augustine's reading of Pauline epistles in the 390s at the meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies. Towards the end of his priesthood, how did Augustine work to show his readers the schematic layout of human perfection? Kamimura focussed on the spiritual sensitivity of Augustine and considered one of the graded frameworks of his reading—the ages of human history and the stages of human spiritual development—which would answer the key question whether he still expressed the hope and confidence of wholeness and fulfilment in this life. In July, the 7th conference of Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society, a regional meeting for scholars of the early Christian and late-antique studies in the Asia-Pacific area was held in Seoul, where both researchers delivered their papers and discussed with the overseas investigator and shared questions and issues that arose in the process of undertaking the research in year two. Kamimura presented a paper concerning the scope and significance of Augustine's reading of Pauline passages depicted in the conversion narratives in his early writings [17]. Sato presented a paper on the soteriology of Augustine, which was formulated by his language theory, thereby showing the importance of the Johannine word [16]. At the end of year two, the principal investigator have created a website for this research project, and the principal collaborator published a paper on Augustine's *Commentary on the Letter to the Galatians* in the Journal of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies [6].

FY 2013

An analysis of the texts of Augustine, especially of his interpretation of the Pauline epistles and relevant early writings, based on the articles and presented papers in year two continued. In May, at the annual meeting of North American Patristics Society, Kamimura presented a paper concerning the form of literary dialogues and the dramatic settings in his early works and reconsidered the programme of education directed towards his friends and students [18]. In June, at the annual meeting of Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, Kamimura presented a paper on the problem of the soul, immortality, and the beings in his early writing and suggested that a solution of the serious problem for the mature Augustine was already offered in a fragmentary tractate [19]. These papers sought to demonstrate that there existed a consistency and continuity in Augustine's early thought regardless of his commitment to the diverse and multifaceted activities in the ecclesial community. In October, both researchers attended the 1st conference of Early Christian Centuries, held at the Melbourne campus of Australian Catholic University, and delivered their papers. Sato concentrated again on Augustine's interpretation of Genesis, from the soteriological point of view, in his early commentaries [20]. Kamimura examined again on the conversion narratives in the *Confessions*, thereby considering his encounter with some of the monastic literature and the importance of the problem of human perfection [21]. In the latter part of year three, both researchers engaged in the publication of the research report. In March 2014, the principal investigator participated in the annual meeting of Centre for Early Christian Studies, held in Brisbane, read a paper on the research findings [22], and shared the future research potential with the overseas collaborator.

5 PUBLICATIONS

Books

- [1] KAMIMURA, N. (trans.), S. A. Cooper, *Augustine for Armchair Theologians*, Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox, 2002 (Tokyo: Kyobunkwan, 2012).
- [2] KAMIMURA, N. (ed.), *Research Report Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) 23520098: The Theory and Practice of the Scriptural Exegesis in Augustine* (Tokyo, 2014).

Articles

- [3] SATO, M., 'The Understanding of Self-Deception in Augustine's *Confessiones*' (in Japanese), *Studies in Medieval Thought* 53 (Japanese Society of Medieval Philosophy, 2011) 59–75.
- [4] KAMIMURA, N., 'Friendship and Shared Reading Experiences in Augustine', *Patristica*, supplementary volume 3 (Japanese Society for Patristics Studies, 2011) 69–83.
- [5] KAMIMURA, N., 'La exégesis bíblica de Agustín en "De Genesi ad litteram liber unus imperfectus"', revista *AVGVSTINVS* 57 (Madrid: Editorial Augustinus, 2012) 137–142.
- [6] SATO, M., 'Truth and Man in Augustine's *Commentary on Galatians*' (in Japanese), *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* 44 (Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Keio University, 2013) 87–103.
- [7] KAMIMURA, N., 'The Consultation of Sacred Books and the Mediator: the *Sortes* in Augustine', in J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards, and M. Vinzent (eds.), *Studia Patristica* 70 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013) 305–315.

Reviews

- [8] SATO, M., Review of Phillip Cary, *Outword Signs: The Powerlessness of External Things in Augustine's Thought* (Oxford, 2008); (in Japanese), *Studies in Medieval Thought* 53 (Japanese Society of Medieval Philosophy, 2011) 197–200.
- [9] KAMIMURA, N., 'On the Japanese Society for Patristic Studies and the *Patristica*', *Patristica*, supplementary volume 3 (Japanese Society for Patristics Studies, 2011) 85–89.
- [10] KAMIMURA, N., Review of Brian Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue: The Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2010); (in Japanese), *Studies in Medieval Thought* 55 (Japanese Society of Medieval Philosophy, 2013) 134–138.

Presented Papers

- [11] KAMIMURA, N., 'The Exegesis of Genesis in the Early Works of Augustine', Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, St. Thomas University, Fredericton, Canada, on 31 May 2011.

- [12] KAMIMURA, N., 'The Significance of the *Sortes* in Augustine', 16th International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, on 9 August 2011.
- [13] SATO, M., 'The Word and Salvation: Augustine's Understanding of Christ' (in Japanese), Japanese Society of Medieval Philosophy 60th Conference, Seinan Gakuin University, Fukuoka, Japan, on 5 November 2011.
- [14] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Early Commentaries on the Pauline's Epistles: Outline of the 2011–2013 Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research Project', Annual Meeting of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane, Australia, on 2 March 2012.
- [15] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Evolving Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles', Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Canada, on 29 May 2012.
- [16] SATO, M., 'The Word and Our Words: Augustine's Understanding of Christ as Divine Word', Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society 7th Conference, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, South Korea, on 6 July 2012.
- [17] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Interpretation of a Passage from Romans in His Early Works', Asia-Pacific Early Christian Studies Society 7th Conference, Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, Seoul, South Korea, on 6 July 2012.
- [18] KAMIMURA, N., 'What Augustine Suggested: The *dramatis personae* of the *Cassiciacum Dialogues*', North American Patristics Society 22nd Annual Meeting, Holiday Inn Chicago Mart Plaza, Chicago, USA, on 24 May 2013.
- [19] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Understanding of the Soul, the Immortality, and the Being in *De immortalitate animae*', Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies, University of Victoria, Victoria, Canada, on 5 June 2013.
- [20] SATO, M., 'The Role of Eve in Salvation in Augustine's Interpretation of Genesis Chapter 3', Early Christian Centuries 1: Men and Women in Early Christianity, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia, on 3 October 2013.
- [21] KAMIMURA, N., 'Augustine's Quest for Perfection and the Encounter with *Vita Antonii*', Early Christian Centuries 1: Men and Women in

Early Christianity, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, Australia, on 4 October 2013.

- [22] KAMIMURA, N., 'Funded Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (*Kakenhi*) Project: Scriptural Exegesis in Augustine', Annual Meeting of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane, Australia, on 7 March 2014.

6 ARRANGEMENT OF THE REPORT

The papers included in this volume are revised and enlarged from the original ones presented by the authors at international and regional conferences referred to above in the list of '5 Publications'.

In Chapters 2–3, the authors discuss issues pertaining to the commentaries on Genesis, first Augustine's reading of Genesis 1:26–27 in his early works, and second the interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 3. In Augustine's exegesis of John 1:3, Sato investigates the concept of the Word in Creation and explains the sustained reading of the scriptural passage in Chapter 4. In Augustine's encounter with a hagiographical text, Kamimura considers the question of the conversion narratives and describes Augustine's continuous concern for the spiritual quest for perfection in Chapter 5. In Chapters 6–7, Kamimura turns his attention to the interpretation of the Pauline epistles in his early works and examines the issues in question.