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# Abstracts

ASE 16/2 1999

**Stefano Tampellini**, *Aspetti di polemica anti giudaica nell'opera di Esichio di Gerusalemme (con particolare attenzione al Commentario al Levitico)* (pp.353-358)

The aspects of anti-Jewish polemic in the work of Hesychius of Jerusalem, in particular in his Commentary on Leviticus, are presented (a) to give us a picture of the Jews and Judaism in Hesychius, and (b) to seek out elements to help us reconstruct the historical background that provided the context for the polemic, thus allowing us to glimpse an ecclesiastical reality where room could be found for a literal interpretation of the Law and the observance of some of its precepts (e.g. food laws, and those relating to childbirth and contact with corpses).

**Cristiana Facchini**, *Il Vindex sanguinis di Isaac Viva (Amsterdam 1681). Di una polemica sull'accusa di omicidio rituale* (pp.359-378)

The essay analyzes a short treatise attributed to a Padua rabbi called Isaac Chaiim Cantarini, of the second half of the seventeenth century. It is perhaps one of the first Judaic works aiming to reject the charge of ritual murder levelled at the Jews. Through use of the scriptures, and Maimonides, the author shows how absurd the allegation of the existence of the crime, or even echoes of it, really is. He also raises other issues, not the least important being an invitation to intellectuals to utilize (as historical sources) documents emanating from public authorities, with the idea of improving our ability to evaluate particular phenomena. Finally, in a work which demonstrates a varied knowledge of both classical and ancient and modern Christian sources, he praises the tolerance of the Venetian Republic, and reveals a lively, cultured Jewish world, ready to defend itself from an accusation that often threatened the political status of European Jewish communities.

**Mauro Pesce**, *Cassiodoro e gli ebrei: provvedimenti politici e riflessione teologica. Dalle Variae al Commento ai Salmi* (pp.379-401)

Mauro Pesce reconstructs the historical context of two theological statements of Aurelius Cassiodorus ("religionem imperare non possumus quia nemo cogitur ut credat invitus" and "cum divinitas patitur diversas religiones esse, nos unam non audemus imponere"). Roman Law and traditional theory on the essential freedom in each act of belief and religious practice seem to be in conflict with the attitude of Christianity, which declares itself to be the only legitimate religion. Cassiodorus tries, however, to find also in the Bible a theoretical foundation for religious liberty.

**Mauro Perani**, *Un'accusa di omicidio rituale contro gli ebrei di Ragusa-Dubrovnik nel 1622: il Ma'aseh Yeshurùn di Aharon ben David ha-Kohen, Venezia 1657* (pp.403-434)

This article deals with the accusation of ritual murder brought against the Jews of Ragusa-Dubrovnik in 1622. The events are reported in Ma'aseh Yeshurùn, a short story composed by the rabbi Aharon ben David ha Kohen from Ragusa (who had been eye witness) and posthumously published in Zeqan Aharon (Venice 1657). The narration points to a theological interpretation, but contemporary archive documents confirm the substantial truthfulness of the account.

**Francesca Sofia**, *Cittadinanza e nazionalità all'alba della seconda emancipazione, Francesco Gambini e la questione ebraica* (pp.435-457)

The lawyer Francesco Gambini is a rare example of secular anti-Semitism in the first half of the nineteenth century, in the Piedmont where he lived and worked. In a context in which theological expressions of anti-Semitism were much more common, and at a time when the earliest voices were being heard in favour of Jewish emancipation, his writings seem to look forward to the aggressive discourse of twentieth century nationalism. Yet this article tries on the other hand to demonstrate that Gambini's ideas were closely linked to the process of nation building under way in Piedmont with the reformism of the Thirties: a process that in this respect will be reversed by the new generation of 1848.

**Gianfranco Bonola**, *Un no e un sì al "paragrafo ariano" nella chiesa (I Gutachten di Marburg ed Eriangen)* (pp.459-483)

Two doctrinal documents basic to our understanding of the conflict that developed within the German Protestant Church immediately after the Nazi seizure of power are here translated unabridged into Italian for the first time. In 1933 the theological Faculties of Marburg and Erlangen, within a few days of each other, expressed opposite opinions on the question of whether the exclusion of non-Aryans from every position of public responsibility, decreed by the Third Reich, should be extended to the churches, so that pastors of Jewish origin would be deprived of their livings. The two opinions, backed up by arguments from Scripture, law and history, show in just a few pages the capacity (or incapacity) of theology to stand up to the impact of violent political and ideological pressure. An introductory note explains some of the details of the complex historical and cultural situation which are useful for a fuller understanding of the texts.

**Christopher Begg**, *The Death of King Saul According to Josephus* (pp.485-505)

2 Samuel 31//1 Chronicles 10 tells the dramatic story of the death of Saul and his sons in the battle with the Philistines and the rescue of their remains by the men of Jabesh-gilead. This article provides a detailed comparison of Josephus' version, in Antiquities 16.368-378, of these episodes with the Biblical accounts (as represented by MT, LXX, and the Targums). Among its findings: Josephus' reworks the Biblical presentations of the circumstances of Saul's death so as to harmonize these with what is told in 2 Samuel I and highlights the battlefield heroism of Saul and his sons. His version likewise evidences noteworthy points of contact both with the Targum on 2Chr 10,13.14 and with the story of Saul's demise found in Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities, chap. 65.

**Giacomo Raspanti**, *Aspetti formali dell'esegesi paolina dell'Ambrosiaster* (pp.507-536)

The article describes the main formal characteristics of the Ambrosiaster's Commentary on Paul and explains it in relation to the exegetical theory of the author. The anonymous exegesis is found to be objective, narrative, and historicizing, with certain tendencies towards preaching, paraenesis, and polemic. Many of the characteristics of the commentary can be explained by the presbyter status of the Ambrosiaster, considered probable by many scholars as well as the author himself.

**Michelangelo Tábet**, *El diálogo judeo-cristiano en el Scrutinium Scripturarum de Pablo de Santa Maria* (pp.537-560)

In the first part of Scrutinium Scripturarum an imaginary dialogue is developed between a Jew and a Christian (Paul himself before and after his conversion), in which each party brings forth arguments based on a common belief: faith in Scripture and a great respect for the authorities of the Jewish exegetical tradition. In our day the work of Paul has much to teach us. Its value lies not in that which is transitory in it - a type of exegesis rooted in categories which today have been partly superseded but rather in the way in which it brings about an inter-religious dialogue, which ultimately is nothing other than a dialogue with one's own conscience. For the Christian, certainly, the work of the Bishop of Burgos is a call to give full value to the Jewish tradition, to which he must feel himself to be profoundly tied and to which he is indebted for a certain understanding of the sacred text.

**Elia Boccara**, *Il peso della memoria dieci anni dopo. Risposta alle Considerazioni di Mauro Pesce* (pp.561-574)

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**ASE 17/1 2000**

**Jean Noël Guinot**, *Eschatologie et Écriture en milieu antiochien à partir du IIe siècle* (pp. 9-46)

Fino al IV secolo, è difficile da apprezzare l'importanza della riflessione sull'eschaton, in ambiente antiocheno, a causa della scarsità delle nostre fonti. Quanto si può dedurre dagli insegnamenti della Didaché, delle Lettere di Ignazio di Antiochia o degli scritti di Teofilo è modesto rispetto al posto accordato a questo tema da Giustino. In seguito, una documentazione abbondante permette di approfondire meglio le concezioni

escatologiche degli antiocheni e di metterne in evidenza le fonti scritturistiche, soprattutto neotestamentarie. La ricerca, che concede uno spazio non trascurabile a Teodoro di Mopsuestia e a Teodoreto di Cirro, si fonda principalmente sull' opera omiletica di Giovanni Crisostomo. Egli è certamente quello, fra gli antiocheni, che affronta più frequentemente, nella sua predicazione, le differenti questioni relative ai fini ultimi.

**Cristiana Facchini**, *"...e la rugiada non scende più in benedizione". Immagini di salvezza nella Mišnah* (pp. 47-72)

L'articolo presenta una analisi dei passi di tipo escatologico contenuti nella Mišnah. A differenza di testi religiosi giudaici di altro tipo, nella Mišnah appare molto ridimensionato il mito del messia, anche se sono rinvenibili, sparsi nei vari trattati, diversi riferimenti ispirati al mondo futuro redento, contrapposto al presente, o indicate prassi e comportamenti che conducono verso l'età redenta. A questi passi è accompagnata un'analisi di alcune delle preghiere più importanti, codificate nello stesso periodo. E possibile così notare come nelle preghiere si siano invece mantenuti i riferimenti alla venuta del messia, al ripristino del tempio a Gerusalemme, e al ritorno di tutti i dispersi in Terra d'Israele.

**Paolo Siniscalco**, *L' Escatologia di Tertulliano: tra Rivelazione scritturale e dati razionali, "psicologici", naturali* (pp. 73-89)

L'articolo studia la genesi e lo sviluppo del pensiero escatologico tertulliano. L'autore perviene a quattro conclusioni: a) Tertulliano presenta un'organica visione sulla linea di Ireneo ma con notevoli diversità; b) la Sacra Scrittura è usata abbondantemente secondo precisi criteri ermeneutici; c) viene smentita la persistente convinzione che vede Tertulliano contrario alla ragione; d) esiste un rapporto unitario tra antropologia, soteriologia ed escatologia nel quale sembra quest'ultima ad ispirare e condurre le linee della prima e della seconda.

**Emanuela Prinzivalli**, *L'incidenza della problematica escatologica nella controversia origenista fra III e IV secolo* (pp. 91-107)

Nell'articolo vengono presi in esame notizie ed indizi sparsi nelle fonti che conducono alla convinzione che le dottrine escatologiche di Origene ebbero un molo importante nella formazione della controversia intorno alla sua eredità ad Alessandria e fuori di essa. In particolare vengono studiate la situazione interna al didaskaleion alessandrino e le tensioni insorte in Egitto all'epoca della persecuzione diocleziana.

**Alessandra Pollastri**, *Escatologia e Scrittura nell'Ambrosiaster* (pp. 109-132)

Le opere attribuite all'Ambrosiaster documentano la presenza di un'attesa escatologica di matrice millenaristica nell'Occidente della seconda metà del IV secolo. L'Ambrosiaster intende in senso millenarista, oltre ad Ap 20, i testi di 1Cor 15,52; Rm 8,19.21; 1Ts 4,15-16. Egli non distingue chiaramente tra la seconda venuta di Cristo, che inaugura il regno millenario, e la sua vittoria definitiva con il giudizio, ad essa successiva. La sua visione dipende dalla tradizione millenaristica precedente, ma è attenta al contesto storico-religioso in egli cui vive e opera.

**Maria Pia Ciccarese**, *La nascita del purgatorio* (pp. 133-150)

Quando e come ha preso forma la concezione cristiana del purgatorio? Prendendo le distanze dalla tesi nominalista di Le Goff, l'A. pone la nascita del purgatorio alla confluenza di due filoni di matrice diversa e originariamente indipendenti: l'elaborazione dottrinale del dato scritturistico e la pratica tradizionale dei suffragi per i defunti. L'analisi di alcuni testi in particolare dalla "Passio Perpetuae" e dai "Dialogi" gregoriani - permette di cogliere l'evoluzione della credenza nell'efficacia dell'intercessione attraverso la rappresentazione dello stato delle anime nell'aldilà al momento della liberazione dalla pena. Un rapido sguardo alla successiva letteratura delle visioni mostra come la minaccia del purgatorio diverrà progressivamente strumento per influenzare il comportamento dei vivi.

**Gianfrancesco Lusini**, *Riflessi etiopici dell'escatologia di Afraate* (pp. 151-159)

L'autore studia il Romanzo di Alessandro etiopico ascrivibile al periodo 1314-1344. Quest'opera tiene ben presente le "Demonstrationes" di Afraate, in particolare il trattato "Sulla vivificazione dei morti", redatto attorno al 336. Così, un frammento delle Esposizioni di Afraate, tornava di attualità come strumento di una nuova polemica intorno alla resurrezione dei corpi, in un contesto geograficamente e culturalmente del tutto nuovo, ma tipologicamente affine a quello originario.

**Luigi F. Pizzolato**, *L'antitipo: un concetto tra esegesi e mistagogia* (pp. 16-202)

Un'analisi sistematica delle ricorrenze del termine "antitipo" mostra che nessuna testimonianza antica - pagana o cristiana - assegna al termine il significato che la critica esegetica tende ad attribuirgli, cioè quello di ripresa perfetta del "tipo". Anzi il significato costante del termine pare quello di "copia" sensibile di un modello. Esso non raggiunge la pregnanza di senso del modello, anzi, non di rado, lo depotenzia. Diverso invece sembra il suo significato nella letteratura sacramentale mistagogica, dove il termine pare avere un significato "tecnico", ma di natura diversa da quello esegetico e in attesa di un lessico meglio rispondente.

**Tobias Nicklas**, *Das Mißverständnis des Nikodemus (Joh 3,3f) in syrischer Überlieferung* (pp. 203-216)

Le antiche traduzioni del Nuovo Testamento meritano un'accurata ricerca non solo come testimonianza di secondo grado per il testo originale, ma anche come fondamento delle tradizioni ecclesiastiche. Già l'esame dei primi versetti del terzo capitolo del Vangelo di Giovanni mostra per le più importanti tradizioni testuali siriane che i traduttori devono essere considerati come se nel difficile processo di traslazione del Nuovo Testamento in un altro mondo linguistico introdussero proprie accentuazioni. D'altra parte la ricerca può offrire nuova luce a problemi del testo greco. Come mostrano le versioni siriane, il fraintendimento di Nicodemo può dipendere non solo dal doppio significato del greco Ἰϋδῆαι. Infatti, sia la caratterizzazione di Nicodemo sia l'uso di differenti mondi linguistici segnalano al lettore che i due partners si muovono a due diversi livelli di discorso.

**Alessandro Pardini**, *Gv 4,29: una precisazione grammaticale* (pp. 217-219)

Contro un articolo di Elizabeth Danna, l'autore sostiene che la proposizione interrogativa di Gv 4,29b non è un'interrogativa retorica. La domanda è invece una reale dubitativa come quella delle folle in Mt 12,23. Non una piena professione di fede, dunque, ma in ogni caso la dimostrazione che le affermazioni di Gesù in 4,26 non hanno lasciato indifferente la Samaritana.

**Rassegne Agustí Borrell**, *Esegesi catalana recente del Nuovo Testamento* (pp. 223-238)

L'articolo inizia con un breve sguardo alla ricca storia delle traduzioni bibliche in catalano a partire dal secolo XIII e fino ad oggi. In seguito, ricorda sommariamente il lavoro biblico svolto in Catalogna nel secolo XX. Infine, si incentra specificamente sull'esegesi del Nuovo Testamento degli ultimi. In questo ambito, ripercorre le istituzioni più attive (centri accademici, riviste, gruppi di lavoro) e ricorda gli autori e le produzioni più notevoli. Questa piccola rassegna intende mostrare come l'esegesi neotestamentaria in Catalogna è una realtà viva e dinamica, che spesso rimane sconosciuta a livello internazionale.

**Franco Gori**, *Rassegna di studi sul "Praedestinatus" di Arnobio il Giovane* (pp. 239-252)

Il Praedestinatus, che dopo la scoperta aveva suscitato un certo interesse a metà del XVII secolo nell'ambito della disputa giansenista, a partire dagli inizi di questo secolo è stato oggetto di esame critico che ne ha chiarito l'enigmatica struttura e l'autenticità delle sue componenti. In tempi recenti, grazie anche agli studi filologici che hanno ormai fruttato l'edizione critica di tutti gli scritti di Arnobio e hanno fugato ogni residua incertezza sulla loro autenticità, si è fatta luce sulle motivazioni e sugli intenti di quest'opera e si è capito che il valore della documentazione storica che contiene va vagliato attentamente caso per caso. L'opuscolo è sicuramente testimone di vicende che hanno segnato l'età successiva e anche l'età moderna e, nonostante che il suo autore non sia stato acuto osservatore né sereno narratore, cela nelle sue pieghe utili informazioni che i più recenti studi hanno cominciato a svelare.

**Silvia Cantelli Berarducci**, *La tradizione dei Padri nell'Europa del primo millennio. Ricerca, didattica e gestione automatizzata dell'informazione* (pp. 253-263)

L'articolo presenta progetti e risultati di tre gruppi di lavoro. Il primo si propone di redigere un "Repertorium patristicum medii aevi" che raggiunge la fine del secolo XI. Il secondo cataloga tutti i manoscritti reperibili relativi al medesimo oggetto. Il terzo ha come scopo la redazione di un "apparatus fontium" per ogni scritto che si presenta in forma di catena.

**Maria-Cristina Pitassi**, *John Locke lecteur de Saint Paul ou l'histoire d'une rencontre presque oubliée: un siècle d'études* (pp. 265-273)

L'articolo è una presentazione della storiografia del Novecento relativa alla produzione biblica di John Locke; ne mostra il carattere ancora limitato (se paragonato alla sterminata bibliografia in relazione all'epistemologia, alla pedagogia e alla teoria politica lockiana) ma anche l'interesse crescente che tale riflessione ha suscitato negli ultimi vent'anni, grazie certamente ad una migliore accessibilità delle fonti resa possibile dalla

pubblicazione di ottime edizioni e traduzioni. La rassegna permette di evidenziare la difficoltà interpretativa delle parafrasi e dei commenti paolini di Locke che necessitano di una lettura che prenda in considerazione sia la traduzione esegetica che il metodo filosofico elaborato da Locke.

**Comunicazioni** *L'occidente nel III secolo. Settimo Seminario di specializzazione in "Storia dell'esegesi cristiana antica"* (Trani, 12-16 aprile 1998) (pp. 277-284)

**Recensioni** (pp. 285-300)

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## ASE 17/2 2000

**Adriana Destro**, *L'ebraismo nei musei. Riflessioni sulle modalità e sui progetti delle esposizioni* (pp. 325-339)  
Museums confer visibility on cultural evidence in a place and time that are not those in which the exhibited material was originally produced. This is one of the characteristic problems concerning the possibility of representing a culture. A Jewish museum, however, is in a different situation. First of all, it has to represent the dichotomy between the Jewish communities and the complex surrounding societies in which they have found themselves. Secondly, it often originates as an expression of local Jewish communities. On the other hand, Jewish museums also have to represent Jewish culture in a way that answers to the requirements of contemporary advanced societies.

**Lucio Troiani**, *Il giudaismo negli autori greci e latini dei primi secoli d.C.* (pp. 341- 353)

The study traces the various stages of the evolving attitude of the classical world of Latin and Greek culture towards the Jews: an attitude addressed more to the peculiarities of the Judaic religion than to everyday life within Judaism. The study draws on several different kinds of evidence, the sources including literary, philosophical and doctrinal texts.

**Mauro Pesce**, *I Giudei, i Romani e la tolleranza religiosa. La rappresentazione di Flavio Giuseppe* (pp. 355-382)

The context in which Jewish ideals of respect for the decision of the individual in religious matters are formed, as well as those of coexistence between a plurality of religions, consists of two key elements: a) the pluralism of the first century Jewish religious movements; b) the necessity of the Jews to coexist both in the Land of Israel, and in the Diaspora with peoples practicing other religions. For Flavius Josephus, one thing is common to all religions: the seeking for justice, and its practice. In this, Josephus is in part influenced by the Roman attitude of religious tolerance, which will also influence some Christian thinkers (Tertullianus, Cassiodorus and Thomas More).

**Roberta Mazza**, *Documenti dall'Egitto relativi agli ebrei (sec. V-VII)* (pp. 383-394)

The article deals with some papyrus scrolls of the fifth and sixth centuries from Oxyrhynchus, in Middle Egypt, in which Jews appear. In P. Oxy. XLIV, 3203 a Jew rents some rooms in a house of two nuns who are sisters; in the accounts of a great landed estate there are payments from Jews, in particular for the rent of the synagogue; in addition, we have papyrus scrolls using Hebrew letters. The texts show that in late ancient Oxyrhynchus there was an organized Jewish community, which had many daily contacts with the rest of the population, but at the same time maintained a certain degree of separation from the other inhabitants of the city.

**Valentina Colombo**, *Rappresentazioni dell'ebraismo nella letteratura eresiografica musulmana: Nasvi' al-Akbar, Ibn Hazm e Svahrastanî* (pp. 395-416)

If there is evidence of the presence of Jews in the Arab Peninsula from pre-Islamic times, and if several studies have been devoted to the relationships between Moslems and Jews, the representation of Judaism in Islamic literature on heresy has received less attention. In the present article this latter aspect is analyzed starting from the work of three heresiographers: Nasvi' al-Akbar, Sahrastani and Ibn Hazm. Nasvi' al-Akbar is important

because he is one of the first Moslem heresiographers, Sahrastani because he is the main representative of the genre, and Ibn H.azm of Cordoba because he had direct contact with the Jews of Spain. It is primarily the latter who has provided us with the most vivid picture of Judaism and the Jews in his Epistle against the Jew Ibn Naghrila, an epistle striking for its vehemence as well as for its final redemption of the Jews, in that they were a People of the Book.

**Raffaele Savigni**, *L'immagine dell'ebreo e dell'ebraismo in Agobardo di Lione e nella cultura carolingia* (pp. 417-461)

The Carolingian kings were tolerant towards the Jews, an attitude not shared by the archbishops of Lyons, Agobard and Amolone. Unlike other authors, the latter recall the example of Ambrose of Milan and repeatedly stress the "carnal nature" and impurity of the Jews, considering them worse than heretics. In addition, they insist on the need to avoid convivial, commercial and social relations of any kind with them, in that their proselytism threatens the identity of the Christian community. Paschasius develops a new Eucharistic theology, but charges of profanation of the Eucharist, and of ritual murder, do not yet make their appearance.

**Mauro Perani**, *Ebraismo e sessualità fra filosofia e Qabbalah. La Iggeret ha-Qodesh* (Lettera sulla santità) (pp. 463-485)

This article deals with the mystical view of sexual intercourse as illustrated in the *Letter on Holiness*, a cabalistic work attributed for centuries to Nachmanides, but written in fact by the Castilian cabalist Yosef Gikatilla at the end of the 13th century. After a short examination of the attitudes towards sexuality in the Hebrew Bible and in Judaism, compared with Christian attitudes, the author examines the mystical interpretation of the sexual intercourse between men and women as described in this treatise, the only one expressly devoted to the sexual aspects of marriage in Judaism. The Letter radically criticizes the Aristotelian philosophy taken over by Maimonides, with its contempt of the human body and sexuality, considered as an exclusively animal and shameful dimension in man. On the contrary, the sexual union between man and woman represents and realizes the union respectively of sefirah Chokmah-Wisdom and sefirah Binah-Understanding, from whose union emanates the sefirah Deat-Knowledge. The latter is situated vertically in the emanation sefirotic tree, and from it the divine energy descends from the heavens down to the earth below. Sexual knowledge is a theurgical act, part of the emanation process of the divine sefirot. If realized in holiness, in the correct holy time of Shabbat, and after eating suitably clean food, it attracts the divine presence or Shekinah upon the united married couple, which will procreate holy children.

**Guido Bartolucci**, *La teocrazia ebraica di Carlo Sigonio* (pp. 487-502)

Carlo Sigonio's *De republica Hebraeorum*, published in Bologna in 1582, was a new departure in the historiographical context of the sixteenth century. Sigonio constructed a model of the ancient world that belonged to Aristotelian categories of aristocracy and monarchy, instead of showing it as a theocracy, according to the path traced by Flavius Josephus in *Contra Apionem*.

**Bruno di Porto**, *La rappresentazione ebraica dell'emancipazione* (pp. 503-525)

The essay surveys the stages of the so-called second Jewish emancipation, in the Italian context of the years following 1848, and within the European debate on this phenomenon, caught between Restoration and liberalism. The perspective complies with the cultural coordinates of the "Rivista Israelitica" and with the dialectic of nation, "religious nation" and nationalism.

**Sara Pesce**, *Blowing up the Jewish Mother. Philip Roth's Portnoy's Complaint and Woody Allen's Oedipus Wrecks* (pp. 527-535)

Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint* and Woody Allen's *Oedipus Wrecks* are autobiographical works that dramatize the painfulness of self-representation through a stereotyped mother. They show the interplay between self-inflation and fears of castration. The Jewish mother in the text is the vociferous instrument for the author's self-assertion as Jew and artist. Reflexive narrative strategies make her into the scapegoat for the author's self-exposure to the American public.

**Tobias Nicklas - Thomas J. Kraus**, *Joh 5,3b-4. Ein längst erledigtes textkritisches Problem?* (pp. 537-556)

Contemporary exegesis on John's Gospel does not generally subject verses 5:3b-4 to a careful analysis of the textual criticism kind. They are often understood as a gloss, and neglected. This article discusses the question of the originality of 5:3b-4 in a new way. Careful study reveals that the textual form of these verses in the

Church Fathers is often better than is normally thought. Secondly, studies of the "Wirkungsgeschichte" of 5:3b-4 bring out a series of persuasive internal reasons in favor of the originality of the passage.

**Salvatore Taranto**, *Tra filosofia e fede: una proposta per una ermeneutica dell'escatologia di Gregorio Niseno* (pp. 557-582)

This study aims to clarify some aspects of the 'eschatological' vision of Gregory of Nyssa. It tries to show the role that liberty plays in the determination of man as lord of his own destiny, without however ignoring the efficacy of the intervention of God. There follows an analysis of some texts that aims to formulate a new hypothesis of consistent interpretation of the "eschatology" of Gregory, reconcilable with his "hermeneutics" of the Bible.

**Michele Grazia**, *La Regula di Columba. Pro-memoria per eremiti o statuto comunitario?* (pp. 583-623)

The "Regula", traditionally attributed to Columba of Iona, is a monastic study of Irish origin and uncertain date (the end of the fifth century to the second half of the eighth), composed of 29 simple paragraphs of varying length. Written in ancient Irish, it is a real "vademeum" for those monks, who, either from choice or force of circumstances, had withdrawn into the life of the hermitage. Through it, and because of its numerous connections with other contemporary texts of rules and penitence that also draw upon it, we can gain insight into the regime of holiness and poverty in which the Celtic anchorites passed their lives.

**Pier Cesare Bori** (a cura di), *Fede e sapere: la polemica Talbi-Redisi sull'interpretazione del Corano* (pp. 625-642)

## Rassegne

**Alberto Gallas**, *Un protagonista discriminato. Rassegna di studi su Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486-1541)* (pp. 645-661)

The note retraces the development of the studies on Carlostadio, distinguishing three stages: the traditional historiography, immanent historiography, and the present phase, in which research into the influence of Carlostadio on later writers concentrates on mystical categories such as that of "Gelassenheit". The note suggests that we should also think of the follow-up as the mark of a "conversionist" line, that finds in Carlostadio one of its most important representatives.

**Recensioni** (pp. 663-673)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp. 675-677)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp. 679-687)

**Libri ricevuti o segnalati** (pp. 689-690)

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**Adriana Destro**, *Il dispositivo sacrificale. Strumento della morte e della vita* (pp.9-46)

An anthropological theory of sacrifice first of all requires a theory of ritual. Secondly, the rituals can be understood only within cultures in which they exercise their own social functions. In weak societies a fixed organization of sacrificial arrangements may be absent. It is rare that a specific function is entrusted only to sacrifice. In strong societies, on the contrary, sacrifice is strongly structured and its function clearly defined. The main characteristic of the sacrificial ritual is that it consists in bringing death to a victim who by definition is innocent. This means that sacrifices are rituals through which cultures try to construct the means to dominate or assume control over life and death. To bring death, and control life, is in the power of supernatural forces. Sacrifice enables people to place themselves in relation to the supernatural forces that have this power.

**Cristiano Grottanelli**, *Aspetti del sacrificio nella Bibbia ebraica* (pp.47-60)

The study reviews the types of sacrifice present in the Hebrew Bible as a "sacrificial system" and construction of a phenomenology linked in its turn to the idea of nourishment of the divinity, of reparation for sin, and of expiation, within a historical treatment and description, as they evolved, of the Judaic sacrificial ideologies.



**Gilles Dorival**, *Le sacrifice dans la traduction grecque de la Septante* (pp.61-79)

L'étude du sacrifice de Caïn et Abel (Gen 4, 1-8) fait apparaître que l'originalité de la LXX par rapport au TM réside principalement dans le rite de partage qu'elle est seule à mentionner. L'étude de l'ensemble du Pentateuque montre que la LXX utilise certains termes caractéristiques du lexique grec, mais qu'elle en évite d'autres. D'autre part, elle crée des sens nouveaux et des néologismes. Ce faisant, elle marque à la fois ce qui rapproche et ce qui différencie le sacrifice païen et le sacrifice biblique. Les targumismes qu'elle introduit apportent des éclaircissements utiles. Par le choix de mots comme θυσία ou χάρπωμα, elle a su dégager, mieux que ne le fait le TM, certaines dimensions du sacrifice biblique.

**Maria Luisa Porzio Gernia**, *Il rito sacrificale nelle Tavole Iguvine (T.I. VI a,b; VII a)* (pp.81-99)

In the Iguvine Tables, the ancient city of Gubbio has preserved a ritual tradition going back to remote times. In particular, alternating cletic and prescriptive parts, Tables VI and VII describe a grandiose and complex liturgical ceremony, dedicated to the purification of the entire Iguvine community, that includes at least thirty sacrifices. Through linguistic investigation the main ritual structures will be analysed, forming a sacrificial universe in which each ritual has meaning in itself, and at the same time within the liturgical complex. It will therefore be possible to bring out which conceptions of the holy, and which laws, regulating the relation between the divine and the human, are concretely reflected in this liturgical construction, shown to be a perfect representation of a particular religious ideology.

**Francesca Calabi**, *I sacrifici e la loro funzione conoscitiva in Filone di Alessandria* (pp.101-127)

For Philo, the language of sacrifices is one that can be interpreted and clarified through an allegorical reading. A philosophical and cognitive role is attributed to the cult, whether it is sacrificial, prayer, or study. There is no opposition between the various cult forms as they appear side by side, without rejecting that there is no opposition between sacrifice as a concrete cultic act and sacrifice in its symbolic meaning. Closely connected to the previous subject is the connection of the Temple of Jerusalem to practical necessities and functions of unity and cohesion, and the relation between the Temple of Jerusalem and a cosmic temple.

**Mauro Pesce**, *Gesù e il sacrificio ebraico* (pp.129-168)

In Matt. 6,12 God's forgiveness is obtained through a trilateral relationship between the sinner, the 'debtor', and God, without any expiatory sacrificial act, without any kind of bodily humiliation, or bodily decontamination, and without Jesus having any function. Jesus did not, however, reject the sacrificial rituals of the temple, which did not serve to expiate voluntary sins. This is shown by an analysis of Mark 1,40-44.45 (// Matt. 8,1-4; Luke 5,12-14.15; PEger 2) and Matt. 5,23-24;9,13;12,7.

**Claudio Gianotto**, *Il sacrificio nell'Epistola agli Ebrei* (pp.169-179)

After a brief presentation of the problematic of the new sacrificial cult established by the High Priest Jesus, especially as it appears in Heb 8-10, the relationships between the conception of sacrifice of Heb itself and that of the qumranic document 4QshirShab, are examined. Finally, two reactions to the conception of the sacrificial cult of Heb itself are analysed: one a Gnostic document, the treatise Melchisedek of Nag Hammadi (NHC IX,1), and the other a Jewish Christian document contained in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions I, 27-71.

**Alberto D'Anna**, *Sacrificio e Scrittura nell'Epistola di Barnaba* (pp.181-195)

The subject of the Judaic cult and its true meaning is fully dealt with in the Letter of Barnabas. The rules of the Law are mostly interpreted by utilizing materials drawn from the Judaic Scriptures themselves and grouped together in "testimonia". The interpretation of the scapegoat ritual is a significant exception. It would seem that, by 'Scripture', the author and his addressees do not just mean the Hebrew Bible, but also that actual Christian traditions can enjoy a similar authority, though not yet perceived as codified in a literary corpus.

**Marco Rizzi**, *Il sacrificio pagano nella polemica dell'apologetica cristiana del II secolo* (pp.197-209)

This study places the polemic of the Christian apologists of the second century against sacrifices within the context of a contemporary pagan religious structure of feeling: beside the criticisms of cultic excess and anthropomorphism, we find more advanced positions linking the persistence of traditional cults to a symbolic conception of sacrifice, in the context of the "tripertita thoelgia". The Christian criticism turns out to be extremely radical even when compared to these positions: the true cult is celebrated in the inner meeting with the Christian God, accessible to everyone without need of the mediation of the cult and external sacrifice. The

ethical form of the Christian gives external visibility to the inner adherence and knowledge of the one true God.

**Giovanni Filoramo**, *Il sacrificio nei testi gnostici* (pp.211-223)

The article reviews those Gnostic texts in which the subject of sacrifice arises, examining in the first part the texts that are not Valentinian and in the second part those which are Valentinian. The subject of sacrifice, in fact, occupies a by no means secondary role in the genesis itself of the Pleroma. The hypothesis examined here is that the events surrounding Sophia may be reinterpreted as an application to the last eon of the sacrificial scheme of Lev 16.

**Jacob Neusner**, *Sacrifice in Rabbinic Judaism: The Presentation of the Atonement-rite of Sacrifice in Tractate Zebahim, in the Mishnah, Tosefta, Bavli, and Yerushalmi* (pp.225-254)

In connection with animal offerings, the Halakhah of the Oral Torah gives four sets of rules, most of them addressing issues not taken up in Scripture but precipitated by Scripture's account of issues. Inline with the elaborate account of the Written Torah, the Oral Torah identifies its own concerns. It wants to know, specifically, about the role of intentionality in the cult of sacrifice, a question not explicitly addressed in the Written Torah's treatment of the subject but considered to be implicit in it. Further interest encompasses issues systematically addressed in the Oral Torah's examination of a broad variety of topics, e.g. of the mixing and confusion of categories, rules of precedence, and the like. Here too, the Written Torah supplies the hard facts that the Oral Torah systematizes, in which the Oral Torah finds indicative traits susceptible to ordering. Finally, while Scripture does not differentiate among the altar's locations, the Oral Torah systematizes information on the subject, and deals with the diverse rules governing sacrifices at the several locations where Israel made offerings prior to the building of the Temple.

**Jacob Neusner**, *Intersecting Realms of Sanctification: The Slaughter of Animals for Secular Purposes in the Context of Sanctification in Rabbinic Judaism. Tractate Hullin in the Mishnah, Tosefta, Yerushalmi, and Bavli* (pp.255-280)

Since the Halakhah, as far as sanctification is concerned, considers the altar and the table as a single entity, different only in that one is holier than the other, its task is to compare and then contrast the two realms of the holy when it comes to meat-preparation. That logical requirement (showing where and how two similar entities differ) accounts for the problematic of the Halakhah. Thus for example M. 5:2 sets up a grid: [1] unconsecrated versus consecrated beasts, [2] inside and outside the Temple courtyard, which yields a variety of results as the possible cases are systematically considered. Then, at M. 6:1, another distinction is introduced. The blood of a consecrated beast is to be tossed on to the altar, whereas that of a secular one is to be buried. So this difference, too, enters the complex. But the distinction underscores the main point of the Halakhah, which is to compare and contrast the two realms of sanctification in connection with the consumption of meat. The Halakhah's program falls into two parts, according to subject. First, what pertains to the preparation of meat, the covering up the blood, the prohibition of the sciatic nerve, the separation of meat from dairy products ("cooking meat in milk"), and the cultic uncleanness of food. Second, what involves gifts of meat or animal by-products to the priests. Letting the dam go from the nest when taking the young is placed at the end, because it has no bearing on the altar at all ("to unconsecrated birds but not to consecrated ones"). That general uncleanness should enter the picture is not surprising; the Halakhah takes for granted that Israelites will eat their meat not only in line with the requirements of the Written Torah, such as are specified, but also according to the rules of cultic cleanness that obtain, to begin with, in the Temple itself.

**E. Zocca**, *Sacrificio e martirio nella letteratura agiografica del II e III secolo* (pp.281-306)

The hagiographic literature of the second and third centuries does not seem to show any particular interest in sacrifice, at least in its usually understood sense. The presence of an explicit sacrificial language is in fact very unusual. When it does appear, it is generally to be found in contexts connected to the pagan cult, and is used in a negative sense, one of rejection. Only in two cases is it adopted fully: in the "Martyrium Polycarpi", and in the "Vita Cypriani". Here an explicit relation between sacrifice and martyrdom emerges; this relationship, however, cannot be read within the usual sacrificial schemes, requiring interpretation by reference to the complex Christian doctrine of sacrifice. It then becomes important to recall Paul's thinking, focusing especially on the idea of the "Iagiké latreia", and that of Ignatius of Antioch, above all as far as the relationship between the Eucharist and martyrdom is concerned.

**Fabio Ruggiero**, *La testimonianza di Tertulliano, Apologeticum 9,2-4 sul sacrificio dei bambini nell'ambito*

*del culto di Saturno* (pp.307-333)

The carefully detailed and sometimes artificial structure of Tertullian's argument is explored, bringing out the polemical and apologetic strength of the work, that is actually based on the subject of sacrifice and operates within the dialectic between Rome and emerging Christianity. In Tertullian's text, among the many arguments the apologist uses to absolve his own co-religionists, there is the refusal to carry out the sacrifice of children in the context of the cult of Saturn, which was the main cause unleashing the hostility of the authorities (as well as of ordinary people) towards Christians.

**Georges Folliet**, *"Iam filii Dei erant in memoriali Patris sui... conscripti". (De correptione et gratia IX, 20, 11)* (pp.335-344)

The word "memorial" in the passage: "Iam filii Dei erant in memoriali Patris sui (...) conscripti (De cor. et gra. IX, 20, 11), does not mean memoir or "thought" of Dieu, nor "book of reminders" or "memorial" of God, but evokes "God's providential plan" for his creatures, a plan that reveals the books of the Old and New Testament for our instruction, and our correction.

**Elisabetta Marchetti**, *Le prime traduzioni italiane delle teresiane Sclamazioni o Meditazioni dell'anima a Dio* (pp.345-372)

This study focuses of the first Italian translations of the "Sclamazioni o Meditazioni dell'anima a Dio" of the Carmelite Teresa of Jesus, published by Giulio Zanchini in 1599 in Florence, seventeen years after her death. As well as examining the formal aspects of the prayer or meditation, the enquiry aims to reveal the reception of the text in Italian religious circles and looks for signs of manipulation and censorship involved in the work of translation.

**Rassegne** (pp. 373)

**Emanuele D'Antonio**, *Alcuni aggiornamenti bibliografici sull'antisemitismo e su alcune figure laiche dell'ebraismo fra Otto e Novecento* (pp.375-379)

**Recensioni** (pp.381-386)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.387-392)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.393-397)

**Libri ricevuti o di recente pubblicazione** (pp.399-400)

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**Presentazione**, p. 407

**Jacob Neusner**, *Sin, Repentance, Atonement and Resurrection. The Perspective of Rabbinic Theology on the Views of James 1-2 and Paul in Romans 3-4*, (pp.409-431)

Paul finds his place on a continuum with the Temple and its rites of atonement, replacing the animal offerings with the sacrifice of Christ. The Rabbinic system and James's counterpart share a different world altogether - and a correspondingly other theory of atonement. From the matter of atonement, all else flows, for and aft: the definition of sin, the place of repentance, on the fore-side, and judgment and triumph over death, on the aft-side. And to allude to the matter of the Messiah, for Paul, Christ, not a Messiah, forms the actor, and the action is self-sacrifice on the Cross, yielding atonement for all humanity, here and now, which is the end-time. The Rabbinic system and its Christian counterpart in James's letter are so structured as to find such a formulation of matters unintelligible.

**Guido Bartolucci**, *Un dibattito storiografico sulle fonti ebraiche di Marsilio Ficino e le rappresentazioni dell'ebraismo nel De christiana religione*, (pp.433-445)

For the study of the relationship between Marsilio Ficino and the Jewish culture of his time, the "De Christiana Religione" is among the most interesting of texts. Umberto Cassuto and Cesare Vasoli have devoted two studies to this aspect of it, reaching different conclusions.

**Gianfranco Miletto**, *La rappresentazione dello Stato ideale negli Shilte ha-gibborin di Abraham ben David Portaleone*, (pp.447-463)

Shiltei ha-gibborim is an encyclopaedic work in Hebrew by Abraham ben Davici Portaleone (1542 - 1612). Included in the central theme of the description of Solomon's temple and the liturgical service are scientific and profane subjects. Related to the *theatra mundi*, the work originates in the meeting of Lullyian medieval mnemotechnical theories with Hermetic Cabbalistic thought. Solomon's temple acquires a metaphysical meaning: the *tempus sapientiae* takes the place of the *theatrum mundi*. Portaleone gives extensive treatment to the socio-political and military structure of the Ancient State of Israel. The general tone and structure of the exposition are typically those of the literature of the time. In the exemplary nature of the past (the classical, but also biblical past), Portaleone seeks the birth and the formation of perfect government. The citing of the Torah as supreme divine law, which even the authority of the sovereign has to bow before, is in harmony with contemporary political theories, as formulated mainly by the Jesuits. The Counter-Reformation tended to bring the running of the state and the power of the monarch within the boundaries of the moral principles of the Catholic tradition.

**Lucia Masotti**, *La condizione giuridica degli Ebrei nei ducati farnesiani*, (pp.465-489)

The activities of the Jews in the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza in the second half of the XVI century looks far more organised and certainly a good deal less passive than is normally thought. Despite Papal vetoes, the Jews continued to engage in quite a variety of activities which they did not even take the trouble to keep secret, with the open agreement of the Camera Ducale, sometimes with the seal of official approval and sometimes unofficially. Of course, a number of changes took place during the period: in their relationship with the city, in the composition and internal structure of the Jewish group, in its increasingly more exclusive relationship with central authority. The article studies the transformation of the juridical status of the Jews, and their position in the network of dynamic relationships between local and Duchy authorities.

**Giuseppe Veltri**, *Alcune considerazioni sul mito della Serenissima nel pensiero politico di Simone Luzzatto*, (pp.491-505)

In 1911, Werner Sombart, starting from (but also criticising Weber's categories, established that it was Judaism, rather than Puritanism, that contributed to the formation of modern capitalism. The reasoning involved in this goes back to "Natur der jüdischen Religion". Salo W. Baron seems to have been contaminated by this essentialist bug when he examines the destiny of the Jewish people in social and economic history: "The often sincere protagonists of 'ethical monotheism' saw themselves inescapably involved in some of the most nefarious practises of modern economic exploitation". Perhaps we should be taking Luzzatto seriously, when he suggests we see in the real economy a driving force in the life of society, and avoid seeing in the history of a people the essence of a nation, because these concepts bring in mind an applied historical Hegelianism that has had grim consequences for European and world history.

**Cristiana Facchini**, *"E scese una furia fortissima...". Il Purim di Buda: Rimembranza liturgica e narrazione storica*, (pp.507-532)

The essay explores the various forms of liturgical signification of the Purim, in particular the feast-day or anniversary known as the special Purim, set up to commemorate special events and occasions of a local or family kind. The starting point, and main object of analysis, is the relationship between the liturgical context of the Purim of Buda and the text of the *Pachad Yitzchaq* of Yitzchaq Chayyim Cohen Cantarini, redacted to recall the assault on the Padua ghetto in the summer of 1684. This particular case offers us the chance to read the subtle and complex relationships between memory and history in Italian Jewish culture, their connections and their varied language, in a new light.

**Elissa Bemporad**, *Da letteratura del popolo a storia del popolo: Simon Dubnov e l'origine della storiografia russo-ebraica*, (pp.533-557)

This study analyses the origin of Russian-Jewish historiography by focusing on the emergence of Simon Dubnov, its undisputed leader and founder, as a historian. It examines the transition from his early activity as a literary critic of Yiddish literature to his work as a historian of Russian Jewry. The common theme running through his literary criticism and his interpretation of history is his focus on the people, its language and its historical experience. Rejecting the more elitist approach of previous historiography, Dubnov originates a populist school of history based on the renewed conception of the people as the true protagonist of Jewish

history.

**Gianfranco Bonola**, *"Lo straniero nelle tue porte". Un confronto tra Gerhard Kittel e Martin Buber (1933)*, (pp.559-587) Between July and September 1933 there was a public controversy between M.Buber and G.Kittel over the situation of German Jews, and what the future held for them. Kittel, a member of the national socialist party and of the church movement of German Christians, argued in his pamphlet *Die Judenfrage* that the true root of the conflict with the Jews was of a religious nature, though he actually fell back on the dominant anti-Semitic stereotypes of his time and suggested the creation of separate juridical status for the Jews. The object of the theological confrontation thus became the biblical figure of the stranger who lives in the midst of the Jews, and the attitude towards him prescribed by the Old Testament. The texts of the dispute have been translated entire, with an introduction and notes.

**Peter Arzt-Grabner**, *The Case of Onesimos: An Interpretation of Paul's Letter to Philemon Based on Documentary Papyri and Ostraca*, (pp.589-614)

Paul asks Philemon to receive Onesimos "as myself". Paul wants Philemon to entrust his slave with a responsible task and even to make him a business partner. Although this may sound like something tremendous to our ears today, it was not within the vast and manifold field of ancient slavery. What is more extraordinary is the fact, that Philemon is asked to grant and transfer such rights and duties to a slave who does not seem to deserve such fundamental confidence, who - until recently - seemed to be "useless" and obviously once more is just about to return home from roaming around. At least the case of Epagathos suggests, that such a demand was not to be regarded as completely impossible or insane. Moreover, Paul does not refer merely to religious feelings or convictions, but also to everyday life as a whole. And, as the final verses of Philem. show, Paul was quite serious about his demand. To underline it he even offers to settle the costs eventually caused by Onesimos's comportment (v.18), and at the same time he insinuates that he will come and see himself what Philemon had chosen to do (v.22).

**F.Trisoglio**, *S.Ambrogio e l'esegesi di S.Massimo di Torino*, (pp.615-635)

The article studies Maximus of Turin's literary and theological relationships with Ambrose. His debt to the latter is undeniable. but should be explained by the profound devotion he felt towards Ambrose, and by the fact they shared the same opinions. Even in the cases of transcription, however, his dependence on Ambrose is never slavish, but gives rise to a real literary and theological reworking, in which his independent personality is very much in evidence.

**Guglielmo Forni Rosa**, *Études sur la "religion civile". J.-J. Rousseau contre C.-H. de Saint-Simon dans la formation d'É. Durkheim*, (pp.637-656)

Durkheim rejected the theory of the contract as an expression of English individualism and the naturalism of political economy. In Rousseau's social contract, society again appears as a 'mechanism', made up of single individuals, and not as a true 'organism', in the pre- or sovra-individual meaning that Durkheim had acquired from German sociology. On the other hand, in Rousseau Durkheim found a theory of the social order understood as something that did not derive from nature, but from efforts made in the direction of civilisation and morality.

**Rassegne**, (pp.657)

**Marco Rizzi**, *La ricerca sugli apologisti cristiani del II secolo: il problema dell'identità di un genere letterario e di una categoria storico-teologica*, (pp.659-665)

**Luigi Canetti**, *Mito, eresia, ortodossia. A proposito di un libro recente sul dualismo medievale*, (pp.667-677)

**Recensioni**, (pp.679-706)

**Libri ricevuti**, (pp.707-710)

**Indice delle fonti citate**, (pp.711-713)

**Indice degli autori**, (pp.713-720)

**Presentazione** (pp. 7-9)

**E. Lupieri**, *Apocalisse, sacerdozio e Yom Kippur* (pp. 11-21)

The article studies the influence on the Apocalypse of the Judaic conceptions of sacrificial blood in the ritual of Yom ha-kippurim. The idea that the blood of a sacrificial victim may constitute priestly unction, and together with the wearing of white vestments, which continue to be called 'white vestments' despite the spilling of blood, cancel people's sins, is deeply rooted in Biblical and Mishnah traditions. In the Apocalypse the two functions are present together, i.e. the purificatory one, and the one that both consecrates and contaminates. The ritual of the Day of Expiation also seems to have influenced the Apocalypse in two ways: a) the ideal division of an Israel of God from an Israel of Satan, and b) the opposition of the city with its temple, a place of blood, to the desert, place of sin.

**R. Mazza**, *"Vale più di tutti gli olocausti e i sacrifici". Considerazioni intorno a Mc 12,33* (pp.23-42)

The article tries to establish whether Mk 12,33 expresses an anti-sacrificial position on the part of the redactor of the Gospel of Mark and his community. There is an analysis of the verses and pericope of the double commandment (Mk 12, 28-34) in the light of both the Jewish and the Graeco-Roman literature of similar content. The study of the other passages of the Gospel in which the sacrificial theme is mentioned (Mk 1,40-45; Mk 7,9-13; Mk 12,41-44), finally, leads to the conclusion that Mark's Jesus and the good scribe do not argue for the suspension of sacrifices, but indicate the correct way to sacrifice and make offerings: the cult must be subordinated to the observance of the precepts of the Law. The inner attitude of the person making the offering determines God's approval.

**A. Monaci**, *Sacrificio e perdono dei peccati in Origene* (pp. 43-58)

From Origen's work a constant tension emerges between the idea, reiterated on several occasions, of the end of sacrifices after Christ's own, and the affirmation of the need for sacrifices to expiate sins also after his death. The article deals with three subjects in particular: the death of Christ; the death of the martyr, and the bloodless sacrifice carried out in the inner temple, and its relation to visible rituality. **A. Camplani - M. Zambon**, *Il sacrificio come problema in alcune correnti filosofiche di età imperiale* (pp.59-99)

Many philosophers of the imperial epoch were critical of sacrifices. Porphyry, who expressed a dual and in some ways contradictory project, is focused on in part one. He accepted the legitimacy of civil religion (and hence also sacrifices), linking it to a higher form of religion, the philosophical life. But he also stressed the peculiar value of philosophy as the only sacrifice God approves of. In part two, there is an analysis of hermeticism, Chaldean philosophy, and alchemy and magic. The study suggests that the hermetic passages in favour of blood sacrifice may be understood in the light of conceptions in Porphyry and in Iamblichus, i.e. the idea of a cult diversified according to the level of being and the value of the actions in the theurgical ritual.

**M. Simonetti**, *Eusebio sui sacrifici pagani e giudaici* (pp. 101-110)

Eusebius deals with the theme of sacrifice in his polemic against the pagans and the Jews. To the institution of blood sacrifices practised by pagans he opposes the testimony of some philosophers (above all Porphyry), who had condemned them with decision. The same custom is judged less negatively when applied to the cruel sacrifices practised by the Jews, in that it is considered to be temporary, limited in space (the Temple of Jerusalem), and in time (the Old Testament economy), and in some way anticipating the one sacrifice of expiation truly valid for the benefit of the whole of humanity, i.e. the one Christ carried out through the offering of himself.

**E. Prinzi**, *Il sacrificio in Girolamo* (pp.111-126)

The developments of the subject of sacrifice in Jerome's work depend on two factors: his discovery and endowing with considerable value of the Hebrew *veritas*, and his reworking of the Greek tradition, represented primarily by Origen, by the side of the Latin one. As a result Jerome alternates the allegorical interpretation of the biblical text, to bend it towards the spiritual signification of sacrifices, with analysis of the prophetic texts studied in the original Hebrew. In his opinion, it is precisely Hebrew, tampered with for defensive purposes by the LXX, that allows us to understand the prophets' polemic against sacrifices better.

**G. Lettieri**, *Sacrificium civitas est. Sacrifici pagani e sacrificio cristiano nel De Civitate Dei di Agostino* (pp. 127-166)

For Augustine, the sacrifice is the visible consecration to the invisible divine, applicable both to the idolatrous earthly *civitas*, as well as to the Christian *civitas Dei*, an inseparable connection between political theology and sacrifice. It is not resolved within the environment of the spiritual cult or the moral action, but assumes a decisive anthropological and historical - sociological relevance. The sacrifices and the pagan cultic acts are the socially unifying representation of the pagan system of values; the Eucharist, the mark of Christ's sacrifice, is the historical representation of the *civitas Dei*. A redundant or excess dimension of Christian sacrifice is, however, also given, - identified with the *civitas Dei* founded on and operated by grace.

**E. Mazza**, *Il tema del sacrificio nelle mistagogie della fine del quarto secolo* (pp. 167- 199)

In the Eucharistic anaphora of the patristic age there is a conception of the sacrificial quality of the Eucharist, but the sacrifice consists essentially in prayer. The relationship with the sacrifice of the cross begins from the anaphora of St. James. In the mystagogical homilies of the end of the fourth century, too, sacrifice is above all the oration. At the same time the idea of the Eucharist as sacrifice of Christ becomes more widespread. This is due to the method of *mystagogia*, that requires biblical references to illustrate the ritual, as can be seen in Theodore of Mopsuestia. But it is in the catechisms of Cyril of Jerusalem, which have a special relationship to the anaphora of James, that an exact doctrine of the Eucharist as sacrifice of Christ is worked out. It would seem that this is due to the influence of the Yom Kippur ritual. In the other authors examined the sacrificial conception of the Eucharist is not significant.

**E. Cavalcanti**, *Il linguaggio relativo al sacrificio nei Sermoni di Leone Magno* (pp. 201-223)

In the Sermons of Leo the Great the theme of the sacrifice of Christ frequently recurs and is organised in at least five typologies: a) the sacrifice of Christ as the definitive substitution of ancient sacrifices: He is the victim that abolishes the varied number of victims; his priesthood puts an end to that of Aaron's and is announced and prefigured by that of Melchizedek, eternal and superior, sanctioned by the divine oath; b) the sacrifice of Christ as reconciliation, redemption, the price paid with his blood; c) the sacrifice of Christ understood as assumption of the weakness of human nature that is then transformed, via the strength of the divine power; d) sacrifice as assimilation of the redeemed to Christ, both via baptism, and in the exercise of virtue and in the sacrifice of love for one's neighbour; e) sacrifice as a feature abhorred by the Manichaeans.

**M. Zerbini**, *Selvaggina e cereali: elementi del sacrificio romano* (pp. 225-235)

In the structure of the hunting entertainments of the Roman amphitheatre it is possible to trace the characteristics of the first-fruits offering that distinguishes the most archaic civilisations of hunters and gatherers. Yet Roman culture chose to base itself on agriculture and on the consumption of fruit and cereal, integrated with the consumption of meat coming from sacrificial ritual of domestic animals. Not even the legions are an exception to this when they push beyond known borders: the purely mythical values of a culture of nomadic hunters (or shepherds) can be made real again in Rome only via the closed space of the amphitheatre.

**A. Saggiaro**, *Il sacrificio pagano nella reazione al cristianesimo: Giuliano e Macrobio* (pp. 237-254)

This article focuses on the emperor Julian's attitude towards sacrifices. According to his plan to restore "pagan" cults, the emperor officiated sacrifices. Ancient sources, such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Libanius, describe him as *victimarius* and *mageiros*, insisting on his active and multifunctional role in this kind of rite. This way of doing left Julian's contemporaries astonished, both his detractors and his supporters, since the general attitude towards sacrificing was by that time deeply changed. In conclusion, the author analyses the works of Macrobius on the same topic and observes the same distance between the ideal plan of the author and the reality of his time.

**Cronache** (pp. 255-260)

**Rassegne** (pp. 261-277)

**Recensioni** (pp. 279-301)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp. 303-305)

**Indice dei passi citati** (pp. 307-320)

**Libri ricevuti o segnalati** (pp. 321-328)

**Franco Motta**, *Cercare i volti di un'identità plurale* (pp. 333-345)

*Anatomy of a religious body* is the title given to a roundtable held to respond to the need among several scholars to discuss on a common research theme: the Society of Jesus in the modern era. The question of the identity of the Jesuits has been assumed in particular as the key to the interpretation of the historical development of this major Counter Reformation institution, in order to ascertain to what extent this development may be considered to be representative of the more general confrontation between the Catholic Church and modernity. The question poses historians with an especially complex problem, most of all because the Society has constituted itself as an object of study by virtue of the tenacious work of construction of its own memory that it has carried out since its foundation. Because of this, ancient and modern sources of Jesuit history embody the paradox of being more numerous, varied and accessible than those of other orders, at the same time reflecting deliberate strategies of self-representation. It should also be noted that the Society of Jesus, due to its peculiar cultural versatility and ability to offer creative interpretations of several fundamental elements of the modern world (experimental science, non-European cultures, the Enlightenment) has aroused enormous interest for its contribution to sciences and arts, although its internal mechanisms of self-government, cohesion and crisis management have largely remained unstudied.

**Sabina Pavone**, *Anatomia di un corpo religioso. Identità della Compagnia di Gesù e identità della Chiesa* (pp. 347-355)

The considerable number of studies and frequency of scientific meetings on this subject (including those organised in Boston by the *Jesuit Historical Institute*) impose on the agenda the question of Jesuit identity, perceived as the essential element underpinning the diverse cultural activities of the Order which constitute the principle focus of current research. Notwithstanding, this need has been largely unaddressed until now, more often leaving the history of the Order to be interpreted through opposite prejudices as to its modernity or non-modernity. One area in particular need of investigation concerns the political activities of the Jesuits at European courts, a context that clearly highlights that ambivalence of character, poised half-way between contemplation and active life, which so disconcerted their contemporaries and afforded them their special place in the panorama of Catholic clergy.

**Flavio RURALE**, *Una identità forte? A proposito di tre studi recenti sulla Compagnia di Gesù* (pp. 357-367)

Studies over the last decade have lent greater interest and complexity to the history of the order founded by Ignatius Loyola. They have contributed to a less prejudiced vision of all aspects of Catholic culture from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. As well as remarking upon the original characteristics of the Order, attention is focused in particular on a highly contradictory and problematic aspect: the political role played by the members of the Society in Europe of the *ancien régime*. In this way, their strong earthly activism is underlined, in some way reminiscent of the Calvinistic idea of vocation.

**Paolo Bianchini**, *Tra fedeltà e innovazione: la costruzione dell'identità gesuitica* (pp. 369-383)

The study of the fate of the French Jesuits after the suppression of the "Compagnie" (1762-1814) constitutes a fertile terrain through which to investigate the ways in which the Jesuits have submitted to the revision of their Order's identity during the course of its long history. Examined during a phase of breakdown, like the one represented by the fifty-year period between the suppression of the Order and its restoration in France (1814), the perception of belonging to the Order reveals its character as being the result of more or less conscious choices and strategies, supplanting the mythic character of stability and immutability traditionally attributed to it.

**Alessandro Guerra**, *La Compagnia di Acquaviva: riflessioni su memoria e identità gesuitica* (pp. 385-399)

Accepting the question of Jesuit identity as an object of reflection involves recognising the mutations it has undergone in relation to the more general historical context during the course of the Society's history, as well as considering how its development was influenced by competition with other institutions of the Catholic church. In addition, the composition of this identity reflects the dynamics of the Order's leadership from its very outset: while with Loyola as general it was characterised by the strong sense of cohesion typical of a



restricted group dedicated to self-sacrifice, the rule of Acquaviva saw a reforging of several identity motifs, whose results were to have a fundamental impact on the subsequent history of the ancient "Compagnia". Among them, was a propensity towards the distribution of offices among different national groups, an acceleration of the process by which power became concentrated in the hands of the General through constant contact with the provinces, the restraining of tendencies towards contemplative spirituality in favour of a greater commitment to charitable activities, and the insistence on the perfecting value of popular missions.

**Silvia Mostaccio**, *"Gubernatio spiritualis". Claudio Acquaviva e le congregazioni provinciali italiane tra gestione del consenso e ridefinizione dell'"Institutum"* (pp. 401-406)

The "*proprium*" of the Acquaviva's rule, as evinced also from the numerous accusations against the *Institutum* launched in the last twenty years of the sixteenth century, probably consists of a strong vertical concentration of power imposed on the Order's inner life. The close ties with the provinces, however, point to the way in which Acquaviva encouraged areas of autonomy, which appear to be the result of a deliberate choice regarding consensus management. The duality of his method of rule underlies the versatility that is among the outstanding characteristics of the Society of Jesus.

**Michela Catto**, *Alcune riflessioni sui primi catechismi della Compagnia di Gesù* (pp. 407-416)

The teaching of Christian doctrine constitutes one of the most innovative aspects of Loyola's pastoral activities: based on a meticulous exposition of the Scripture and the employment of spiritual exercises, his method came to permeate the Order, profoundly shaping its catechesis, also through the drawing up of detailed instructions for the fathers working in the rural missions. Among the outstanding characteristics of the Jesuit catechisms were: the diversification of the offer to the faithful, as exemplified by the drafting of two different texts, one exhaustive and one more concise, by Pietro Canisio and Roberto Bellarmino; the insistence on penitential pastoral, centred upon the experience of contrition; and the tendency to sacralize the places where catechism was taught, in an attempt to transform the mission into permanent, stable settings devoted to religious instruction. In this sense, the practice of cases of conscience is the more sophisticated result of the unfolding of such tendencies.

**Antonio Trampus**, *Due opposti concetti di libertà: gli ex gesuiti e la polemica antikantiana tra Settecento e Ottocento* (pp. 417-436)

In studying the crucial moment in the Society's history that marks the transition from the modern to the contemporary age, it is necessary to take into account the tendency to favour internal interpretations, which deal with the question of the ex-Jesuits merely as a chapter in the wider framework of European religious history in the modern era, as well as facing the difficulty of retracing the eighteenth century beyond the Suppression of 1773. To overcome this rigidity of outlook, it may be useful to shift the focus of attention from the history of the religious institution to that of the wider context in which it operated, to interpret its functions and activities, not only in terms of the Order's internal structure, but also in terms of the strategies it adopted to conserve its identity. The question of the offensive against Kantian philosophy conducted by the ex-Jesuits in Austria, during the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century, provides an exemplary case, bringing into play the figures involved in the cultural project of Christianising the Enlightenment through direct participation in debates and activities of Masonic lodges.

**Antonella Romano**, *I gesuiti e le scienze in età moderna: fonti, storia, storiografia* (pp. 437-449)

The current state of study on the Society of Jesus presents several characteristics which define its uniqueness with respect to other sectors of religious history and cultural history: in first place, the emergence of a tendency to 'de-historicize' the subject of research, in isolating particular aspects and moments of the Order's history from the surrounding social context; then, the frequent recourse to the heuristic possibilities offered by an institution that is present throughout the greatly diversified realities of the modern world; finally, the greater attention for a dialectics of centre-periphery, as opposed to the traditionally monolithic vision of the Order. As far as the history of science is concerned, an investigation of the contribution made by the Jesuits has allowed a cross-referencing of the interrogatives central to the analysis of early modernity, an element that explains the increase of research over recent years. Among the latest tendencies in this sector, of particular interest is the work focusing on the intersection between scientific practice and missionary activity, which has played such an important role in defining the Order's identity profile.

**Pierre-Antoine Fabre**, *L'histoire des jésuites hors les murs. L'état de la recherche en France* (pp. 451-464)

French research on the history of the Society of Jesus centres upon two main study areas. The first is linked to the history of scientific knowledge and institutions in the modern era, the second to the history of European expansion and evangelisation, with the intersections between the two currently becoming increasingly numerous. Interest in these themes has been reinforced in France thanks to the work of the research Group on the modern Iberian missions, set up in 1995 by the School for Higher Studies in Social Science. Two aspects seem to characterise these analyses, in relation to the general area of 'Jesuit studies': the first marks the passage from a history of missions as such - history of the discourse and practices of evangelisation, the organisation of the migration of religious personnel, the forms of settlement and displacement, etc. - to a history of the institution in general, and to a general history of modern Europe in the context of its world expansion. The second aspect is an effect that I perceive as one of the outstanding traits of the work currently under way, which foregrounds the crucial importance of the history of the missions in areas which, up to that time, appeared as being largely foreign.

**Rassegne** (pp. 465-497)

**Recensioni** (pp. 499-512)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp. 513-519)

**Indice dei passi citati** (pp. 521-522)

**Libri ricevuti** (pp. 523-525)

#### **ASE 20/1 2003 La costruzione dell'identità Cristiana (I-VII secolo)**

**Giovanni Filoramo**, *Aspetti dell'identità religiosa* (pp.9-23)

The paper is divided in two parts. In the first, after some methodological reflections on the concept of identity and the contribution of socio-anthropological sciences, the author considers several aspects of religious identity in the light of the current crisis arising from processes of globalization. The second part proposes a systematic interpretative grid, based on the category of religion of salvation and the specific type of community that characterizes it. By way of example, the work goes on to examine the mechanisms of entry into and, above all, of expulsion from this type of community as a factor of identity. The essay concludes with some observations on identity, ethnicity and pluralism.

**Halvor Moxnes**, *The formation of Christian identity: a Northern perspective* (pp.25-38)

The essay presents a Norwegian project on "Homo Christianus: Construction of New Identity in Antiquity" and compares it to the Italian project "La costruzione dell'identità cristiana tra Oriente e Occidente (I-VII secolo)." The main focus of the Norwegian project was on the role of body and place, methodologically the project emphasized that there were multiple identities, resulting from conscious constructions. The Italian project has a better opportunity to combine a perspective from above, based on studies of texts, with perspectives from below, based on studies of archaeology, art and religious practices. The great challenge is to present early Christian identities in such a way that they become relevant for the modern discussions of European identities. It is suggested that early Christianity was characterized not just by conflict and confrontation with the "other," but also by encounters and contacts.

**Mauro Pesce**, *Quando nasce il cristianesimo? Aspetti dell'attuale dibattito storiografico e uso delle fonti* (pp.39-56)

From what date, and in which places, can we identify the existence of groups that may be defined as Christian? The necessity to pose this question arises from all awareness of Jesus' Judaic identity, and of the differences between early Christianity and the Hellenized and Romanized churches of later centuries. Thus, the question of the time of Christianity's birth could also be formulated in different terms: when did the groups of Jesus' disciples cease to be part of Judaism to become members of another religion that was separate and distinct from Judaism? The author maintains that there was an intermediate phase in which the groups of Jesus' followers were no longer Jewish, but were not yet Christian. The article also ponders Jesus' function in the formation of Christian identity, reflecting upon the *Letters of Paul*, the *Letter of James*, and the *Didachè*, all of which make use of Jesus' words, without, however, explicitly stating that they are his actual words. Finally, the article, briefly outlines the most urgent tasks necessary to reach a history of

Christianity in the first two centuries: the use of all early Christian writings, not only the canonical texts; the collocation of each text among the many early Christian groups; interdisciplinary collaboration.

**Edmondo Lupieri**, *La fuga di sabato. Il mondo giudaico di Matteo, seguace di Gesù* (pp.57-73)

The author analyses Mt 24,20. After advancing some criticism of the habitual interpretation of the said passage (Matthew's community observes the Sabbath to the point of fearing to break it in a moment of crisis), he examines other passages in *Matthew* relating to the Sabbath (27,62-28,1 and 12,1-14). In conclusion, he proposes that the extract does not regard the observance of the Sabbath, but is instead an invitation to pray that the *parousia* may come to pass before the natural end of time (cosmic winter and Sabbath). A brief glance at patristic exegesis shows how this interpretation was already present in early Christianity.

**Osvalda Andrei**, *Aspetti del costruirsi della (e di una) identità cristiana: l'Anticristo di Ippolito* (pp.75-110)

The process for which any identity requires also imaginative spaces and adequate subjects for its affirmation is exemplified by the subject of the "Antichrist", as treated by the Oriental Hippolytus, in two works that are close in time but different in context: the *Antichrist* and the *Comment to Daniel*. In the *Antichrist*, under pressure from a particularly critical historical context, he constructs the eschatological enemy as a political leader with strong contemporary characteristics, but also and in parallel, as a Christian counter-identity (cf. Judeophilism). In the *Comment to Daniel*, the same construct, with its identifying connotation and its stigmatization of the "other", is used (against those proclaiming that the time of the End had already arrived, and that the Antichrist was Septimius Severus) to give concrete form to an important vehicle of the construction of Christian identity: the Christianization of universal time. To this, Oriental Hippolytus contributes by setting down in writing the cosmic hexaemeron in the repartition and typology that, from that time on, would become normative (5500 + 500).

**Alberto D'Anna**, *La pseudepigrapha Corrispondenza tra Paolo e i Corinzi: il suo contesto e la sua funzione nella costruzione di un'identità dottrinale cristiana*. (pp.111-137)

The article provides a pragmatic analysis of the *Correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians*, a pseudo-epigraphic work. By examining certain aspects of the text (presentation of Paul's opponents, tradition of Mary mother of Jesus, information on the ecclesiastic framework, identity of the adversaries), the author attempts to establish the context in which the *Correspondence* took place, and the role it was to assume from the doctrinal viewpoint. The result is that, in the process of formation of Christian identity, the *Correspondence* (whose composition was likely to have taken place in Syria) occupies a phase characterized, on the one hand, by a doctrinal pluralism that could not be accommodated within a unitary system, and on the other, by the lack of those instruments created to limit what could or could not be called "Christian".

**Giorgio Otranto «et alii»**, *Identità cristiana e territorio. Il caso di Napoli e della Campania* (pp.139-164)

The Christian religion made a very early arrival in Campania, dating to the sojourn of the apostle Paul in Pozzuoli. While fitting into the Western and Roman framework, Campanian Christianity was also subject to Oriental and African influences, which are evident in its hagiography, funerary practices, artistic culture and liturgy. It is known that in some centers it attained a high level of cultural development (cf. legations of bishops and participation in councils). The monastic experience appears decidedly innovative, as exemplified by the role of Paulinus of Nola and Eugippius. The phenomenon of pilgrimage was particularly developed: emblematic cases can be found in the cults of St. Januarius in Naples and St. Felix in Nola.

**Alessandro Saggiaro**, *Rapporti e conflitti tra paganesimo e cristianesimo nel Codice Teodosiano* (pp.165-181)

In studies on the legislation of the Christian empire between the fourth and fifth centuries, considerable space is occupied by the interpretative difficulties concerning the Theodosian Code. As the earliest official formulation of a unitary codification of imperial laws, it describes the social and religious experiences of the empire in the phase of transformation from paganism to Christianity. Its contents and interpretation are crucial to the study of the historic-religious dynamics of confrontation, meeting and contraposition between religious realities, in the context of the institutional definition of Christian identity according to traditional cultural mechanisms and instruments.

**Interventi**

**Michele Grazia**, *I tre canoni irlandesi di Worcester, un tardo esempio di diritto penitenziale in un antico manoscritto inglese: tra fattispecie sostanziali celtiche e norme processuali anglosassoni* (pp.185-227)

Written around the year 1000, the Bateson Canons represent an authentic revival of Celtic penitential law, notwithstanding the hard line of the official Church which, two centuries earlier, at the Council of Châlon-sur-Saône, had already attempted its definitive elimination. Contained in manuscript 265 of the Parker Library of "Corpus Christi College" in Cambridge, representing a concrete instrument of administration of ecclesiastic justice, they document the daily jurisdictional practices in the Saxon dioceses of Worcester.

#### **Cronache**

**Stefano Franchini**, *Teologie politiche dei monoteismi. Rappresentazioni del divino e dinamiche del potere. Colloquio Internazionale, Piacenza, 31 ottobre - 2 novembre 2002* (pp.231-242)

**Jacob Neusner**, *Karl -Johan Illman, afriend of the Jewish People* (pp.243-244)

#### **Recensioni** (pp.245-260)

A. Carfora, *Morte e presente nelle meditazioni di Marco Aurelio e negli Atti dei martiri contemporanei* (E. Zocca);

Pseudo-Giustino, *Sulla resurrezione. Discorso cristiano del II secolo, a c. di A. D'Anna* (A. Cacciari);

D. Mendels, *The Media Revolution of Early Christianity. An Essay on Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History* (A. Monaci Castagni);

D. Boyarin, *Dying for God. Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (E. Zocca);

L. A. Hoffman, *The Journey Home. Discovering the Deep Spiritual Wisdom of the Jewish Tradition* (J. Neusner);

J. Montesinos — C. Solís (eds.), *Largo campo di filosofare - Eurosymposium Galileo 2001* (A. Del Prete).

#### **Libri ricevuti** (pp.261-262)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.263-269)

**Indice** (pp.271-274)

### **ASE 20/2 2003**

**Giancarlo Gaeta**, *All'inizio della tradizione evangelica: genesi e struttura di Marco* (pp.279-320)

The essay starts with a reconstruction of the history of twentieth-century research on the genesis of Mark, the Gospel now universally recognized as the most ancient. It therefore devotes special attention to the passage from the oral tradition on the acts and sayings of Jesus to the literary composition of a narrative of his earthly life, advancing an explanation of the intentions of the evangelist and the literary features of his work. In writing his Gospel, Mark set out to historicize the figure of Jesus, thus avoiding the primitive messianic conception, which affirmed the continuity of the presence of the resurrected Christ in the preaching of the itinerant missionaries, and the imminence of the kingdom of God on Earth. In Mark, the Kingdom of God no longer has to do with the restoration of Israel; it is an interior kingdom identified with the community of believers exempt from the judgment incumbent on the world. The last part of the essay provides a detailed analysis of the narrative structure of the Gospel, conceived by the author as a historic drama in five acts, centering on the experiences of Jesus the Messiah, and marked by the incomprehension of those, whether adversaries of disciples, who enter the sphere of his actions.

**Carlo Lorenzo Rossetti**, *«Se Cristo è in voi...». Ricerca storico-esegetica su Rm 8,10* (pp.321 -335)

The study focuses primarily on the understanding of the double *dià* in Rm 8,10. The most widespread editions of the Bible give an univocal translation: "because of sin ... because of justice/justification". However, contemporary exegesis presents discordant views. The customary translation that renders a causative meaning corresponds in fact to the "anthropological-hamartiological" exegetic approach that characterizes the western tradition. The other version ("related to") - favoured also by illustrious contemporary exegetists - finds abundant documentation among authors in the Greek language from Origen on. It interprets the Pauline phrase within a positive, Christological, pneumatological and baptismal perspective. The conclusion highlights reasons for opting for this second interpretation.

**Gabriella Aragione**, *L'episodio di "Eracle al bivio" nella Seconda Apologia di Giustino* (pp.337-367)

The theme of “Hercules at the meeting of three ways” enjoyed widespread popularity throughout antiquity among writers, philosophers and rhetoricians. It was also taken up by Christian writers, such as Clement, Basil and Ambrose. The first Christian author to use it was Justin. In the Second Apology he reproduces the myth, modifying and adapting it to his apologist discourse. A comparison with the source cited by Justin, Xenophon, and with other texts referring to the myth offers clarification of the reasons behind the variants introduced by our author. The story of “Hercules at the meeting of three ways” contains an anti-Cynic polemic. Justin’s aim is to expose the false virtue of the cynics in order to evidence true virtue, represented by the Christian martyrs,

**Fabrizio Vecoli**, *Verso il conflitto tra pagani e cristiani nell’alto Egitto tra IVe Vsecolo* (pp.369-382)

The notion of conflict is rarely studied with reference to antique monachism, in spite of its considerable relevance to this historical context. The author attempts such enquiry through the analysis of a specific, yet significant case of Copt monachism in the area of Siene (Upper Egypt, 4<sup>th</sup> century), noted for its persistent attachment to paganism: it was the frontier of Egyptian Christianity. The essay sets out to demonstrate how monachism played a major role in legitimizing a radical conflict with local cults; it also aims to study the monks’ radical conception of the conflict, which was linked to the theory of the struggle against demons.

**Federico Fatti**, *«Eretico, condanna Origene !»*. *Conflitti di potere ad Alessandria nella tarda antichità* (pp.383-435)

Much of the (ill) fame surrounding on Teophilus of Alexandria since the time when he lived owed to the highly ambiguous attitude adopted during the Origenistic controversy. The sources attribute the bishop’s unfortunate decision to support Origen’s enemies to a rather obscure episode, whose protagonist was the presbyter Isidore, *xenodokhos* of the Alexandrine church. A man closely linked to the local ecclesiastical leadership, Isidore entered into conflict with Teophilus when the former too independently disposed of a sum of money donated to him by a rich benefactress. However, this apparently unimportant incident may have concealed more serious responsibilities: the serenity of the metropolis was shaken by suspicions of a conspiracy.

#### **Interventi**

**Giancarlo Giardina**, *Un contributo per l’esegesi di tre passi dei Vangeli (Mc 2,23ss. e 10,29. 12,29)* (pp.439-441)

**David L. Balch**, *Rich Pompeiian «Domus», Shops for Rent, and the huge «Insula» in Herculaneum. A Response to Prof. Michele George* (pp.443-452)

#### **Rassegne**

**Marcello del Verme**, *Aggiornamento bibliografico per lo studio della Didaché nel contesto del ‘Giudaismo cristiano’* (pp. 455-544)

#### **Cronache**

Il “Centro Italiano dell’Année Philologique” (CIAPh) (pp.547-552)

#### **Necrologi**

In ricordo di Umberto Mattioli (pp.555-559)

In ricordo di Paolo Serra Zanetti (pp.561-563)

#### **Recensioni** (pp.565-573)

Ada Campione, *La Basilicata paleocristiana. Diocesi e culti*, Bari, Edipuglia, 2000 (F. Ruggiero); Tertulliano. *Polemica con i giudei*. Introduzione, traduzione e note a cura di Immacolata Aulisa, Roma, Città Nuova, 1998 (F. Ruggiero); Mosè Maimonide, *La guida dei perplessi*, a cura di Mario Zonta, Torino, Utet, 2003 (S.J. Sierra).

#### **Libri ricevuti** (pp.575-576)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.577-584)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.585-587)

## ASE 21/1 2004 – La pluralità delle identità cristiane antiche

**François Vouga**, *La construction apostolique de l'identité chrétienne comme invention de la conscience individuelle* (pp.13-31)

The study of the form that the conception of identity assumes in St. Paul rests upon the operative distinction of J.-P. Vernant, which is in turn based on the reflection of M. Foucault - articulated in “subject”, individual” and “myself”. Having drawn this distinction, the author analyses the change which occurred in the personal experience of Paul, involving three concepts: the truth of the gospel, the revelation of the cross and the new creation. These constitute crucial passages of this experience, implying the discovery of the subject’s interior, and preparing the ground for the Confessions of Augustine, in which the full consciousness of this interior sphere, the “myself”, is revealed in its totality.

**Rinaldo Fabris**, *La Lettera di Giacomo* (pp.33-46)

The Letter of James is presented as a discourse of exhortation addressed to Christians to encourage them when experiencing trials, as well as inculcate a project of a coherent and persevering life style. The project embraces the discourse on the “(perfect) law of freedom”, which coincides with “the word of truth”, through which God has generated believers, with “the implanted word, which is able to save your souls” and the “royal law” (the law of the kingdom of God), whose content is love for one’s fellow man, the Godly criterion of final judgment. The discourse of James on “faith and works” in relation to justification is not in polemic either with Paul or Paulinism, but is based on the biblical and Jewish tradition of the figure of Abraham, faithful when put to the test and the “friend of God”. The author of the Letter of James draws on the prophetic-apocalyptic tradition (judgment of God) and on the evangelical tradition close to Marthew’s Sermon on the Mount. In other words, on the one hand, the Christian experience is rooted in the biblical and Jewish tradition of the first century, while on the other drawing upon the Hellenistic-Roman cultural environment to define Christian identity and outline an ethical project founded on values of the biblical tradition in the context of the faith in Jesus Christ the Lord.

**Claudio Gianotto**, *L'identità religiosa tra gli gnostici: i gruppi “sethiani”* (pp. 47-58)

Of all the Gnostic writings belonging to the so-called Sethian group, the Apocalypse of Adam is the one that outlines a twofold way of defining the identity of the group it addresses with greatest originality. The first consists of the explicit construction of a new identity through the manipulation and rewriting of the Genesis myth of the origins. The new identity model is based on the awareness of belonging to a particular genealogical line, the only one going back to Seth, son of Adam and Eve and incarnation of the celestial Seth. The characteristics of this new race include the descent from a celestial ancestor, the possession of the true knowledge and the non-submission to the archontic powers that govern the world. Because of this special origin, the Sethian race, unlike the descendants of Noah, faithful servants of a demiurge creator, has been excluded from the allocation of a particular region of the earth in which to settle; it is therefore forced to live among other men and, precisely for this reason, is exposed to repeated assaults by archontic powers, who wish to subjugate it; this account reflects the condition of frustration experienced by Gnostic who try to live in this world, felt to be foreign and hostile. The second way concerns ritual practices. The reference to a baptismal rite employing water broadens the perspective of the identifying discourse to the field of behavior and social practices, introducing the theme of the rejection of lust and impure and violent behaviors, which are characteristics of peoples who are without the true knowledge.

**Aldo Magris**, *La filosofia greca e la formazione dell'identità cristiana* (pp.59-107)

The constructive employment of Greek philosophy, sponsored by Justin and Clement (while other Apologists condemned it as a product of Paganism), grounded on the assumption that the philosophical — mainly Platonic — doctrines were consistent with the basic tasks of Christian religion. This concordance was envisaged in some major issues: the stressing on human free will and commitment to virtue, God’s rational nature and providence; the rules for arguing and debating opinions, and the criticism of mythology. Since the divine revelation and the Church tradition from the Christian viewpoint are in any case the overriding principle, philosophy could be but a simply material to be exploited for the sake of faith; nevertheless, it got a key role in the formation of Christian identity, because the Aristotelian logic and ontology (transmitted by Middle-Platonic manuals) shaped the frame of thought within which Christianity is explaining the structure of the world, and the problems of human experience (e.g. the cause of evil).

**Elena Zocca**, *L'identità cristiana nel dibattito fra cattolici e donatisti* (pp. 109-130)

The intense debate engaging Catholics and Donatists was none other than a dispute over a contended identity. As documents reveal, both parties made claim to the title of "Catholic", and did so because this term, regardless of the respective technical specifications, served to qualify each of them as the sole, authentic Christians and, by the same token, as the sole, authentic Church. In a continuous confrontation, lasting over a century, Catholics and Donatists therefore elaborated two opposing identities that were in many respects similar: they were based on a common tradition, and the range of scriptural reference was singularly alike. However, while the Catholics were able to gradually adapt their self-representation to changing circumstances, the Donatists remained rigidly anchored to a self-definition that could not withstand the pressures of a continually mutating society. This determined the survival of the former and the slow decline of the latter.

**Eric Rebillard**, *Sépulture et construction de l'identité chrétienne aux II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles* (pp.131-146)

The study analyses early-Christian burial practices in order to understand their role in the formation of a distinct Christian identity. The cases examined, drawn from both archaeological and literary sources, do not allow the assertion of a Christian specificity in such practices. At most, it can be said that burial, perceived as a duty by the early Christians, was set at the service of a sentiment of identity in certain particular historical cases intense difficulties in the lives of Christians.

**Alberto Camplani**, *L'autorappresentazione dell'episcopato di Alessandria tra IV e V secolo: questioni di metodo* (pp.147-185)

Spanning the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries, the Episcopate of Alexandria created a history of the Episcopal See which has been passed down in fragmented form by a plurality of sources. Today we can attempt its reconstruction along general lines, more effectively than in the past. It consists of a series of documents, both ancient and recent, linked by historical-narrative texts and Episcopal lists of various types. Confronted with this body of sources, the modern historian must conduct an analysis on two levels: the first concerns the meaning of the single documents in their specific historical context; the second centers upon the ideology governing the selection of the documents, the linking narrative texts, which post-date the documents themselves, and the modern and ancient symbols of identity. The period of Theophilus was most probably the one responsible for the final redaction of the whole. Through this form of historiography, the Church of Alexandria presents its identity and its aspiration to leading position within the Eastern Roman Empire. The requisites for this leadership, which the episcopate of Alexandria claimed to possess, are: the antiquity of its foundation; the theme of martyrdom persecution; continuity of orthodoxy (in contraposition to Antioch and Constantinople); the privileged relationship with the political sphere of the Eastern Roman Empire.

**Giorgio Otranto**, *L'identità cristiana nella Campania e a Napoli: Introduzione ai contributi di R. Giordani, P. De Santis - A.E. Felle, G. Colantuono* (p.187)

**Roberto Giordani**, *La Bibbia nel repertorio figurativo di Nola- Cimitile* (pp.189-197)

The article deals with the early Christian paintings on biblical subjects that adorn two burial sites lying south of the Pauline sanctuary of St. Felix, and partially underlying the Medieval basilica of the Holy Martyrs, at Cimitile. The central chamber (n.13) retains the decoration of the lunettes of two «arcosolia» showing the themes of Jonah and the fall of Adam and Eve, figuratively represented by the lack of the tree (and serpent) between the two protagonists. The paintings that decorated area 14, next door to the east, have by now almost completely disappeared, G. Chierici, who discovered them, along with two scenes of the Jonah cycle, identified them as parts of figures, both stationary and in movement, which he believed referred to mythological episodes or to scenes from real life. Regarding their chronology, the paintings in both chambers were long considered contemporary and assigned to the late second century, or to various times of the third. More recently, Korol placed the decorative work of chamber 13 to the second half of the third century, while attributing the construction of area 14 to the fourth century, and its decoration (whose themes he identifies as being drawn from the Old Testament) to the early decades of the fifth century. He concluded that it was Built by order of members of the cultured and wealthy milieu that gravitated around Paulinus, while their content was likely to have been influenced by the specific themes and ideologies that permeated Pauline circles.

**P. De Santis — A.E. Felle**, *Impianti monumentali e produzione epigrafica nel complesso di s. Felice a Nola. Aspetti dell'identità cristiana* (pp.199-235)

The sanctuary of St. Felix at Cimitile (Nola) presents an exceptional convergence of archaeological and textual data; comparative analysis of these two elements throws light upon aspects that are in some ways 'unique' to the settlement. Studies have been performed on the monumental inscription relating to the complex of Cimitile (5th-6th century). Among them, it has been possible to distinguish the groups of epigraphs composed by Paulinus for the various parts of the complex, of which no material testimony remains, with the exception of some inscriptions in the «transennae» using biblical quotations, and the group of inscriptions dating to the construction of monuments in the post-Paulinus phase. Their examination has highlighted the peculiarities of the epigraphic documentation relating to this settlement, pointing to, on the one hand, the existence of a veritable 'epigraphic' project on the part of Paulinus of Nola, and on the other, the absolutely exceptional character of some of its epigraphic texts (for example, those containing Biblical quotations). Such elements attribute to the sanctuary of St. Felix a significant role in the process of formation of the Christian identity in Campania.

**Gaetano Colantuono**, *Note per una ricostruzione dell'identità cristiana di Napoli al tempo di Gregorio Magno* (pp.237-256)

The history of the Neapolitan church from the sixth to the mid-seventh century is approached in such a way as to highlight useful elements for understanding the processes of construction of the Christian identity in the local community. A privileged source is the epistolary of Gregory the Great (590-604), alongside other literary sources and liturgical, hagiographic, epigraphic and archaeological documents. The Christian identity of high-Medieval Naples, although marked by Roman affiliations, is found to be autonomous from Rome in several respects, and widely influenced by elements deriving from the East and the Byzantine world: proof can be found in the city's heterogeneous ethnic composition and the bilingual character of its church.

**Lorenzo Perrone**, *Discorso sulla preghiera e costruzione dell'identità nel cristianesimo antico (I-III sec.)* (pp.257-287)

Prayer, a significant expression of religious life, has also contributed to the construction of Christian identity. However, it is not easy to assess its role in this process during the course of the first three centuries. More than from the sparse direct testimonies of the practice of prayer, we can reconstruct the ways in which discourse on prayer, from the earliest texts up to the first eucharistical tracts, reflect the issues involved in processes of identity construction. An effort in this direction already emerges in early Christian writings, initially above all in relation to the Jewish tradition and subsequently to the pagan sphere. Tertullian insisted on the novelty of Christian prayer, his views partly shared by Cyprian, while in the Alexandrian tradition of Clement and Origen, the term of comparison is rather the simple Christian, with respect to whom the higher model of "spiritual prayer" is elaborated.

**Tessa Canella**, *Gli Actus Silvestri: l'invenzione di un'identità statale cristiana* (pp.289-302)

The anonymous hagiographic text that goes by the name of Actus Silvestri remains the subject of discussion, concerning its textual structure and its cultural, geographic and chronological collocation. The legend tells of a Constantine, persecutor and leper, who converts to Christianity and is baptized by Pope Sylvester, in contrast with the historic version of Arian baptism. It clearly re-elaborates the past, adjusting the Emperor's image according to the parameters of the time in which it was composed. The present work advances an hypothesis as to the date of composition and cultural context of the text, starting with the consideration of certain data present within it: particular attention is focused on the policy of religious tolerance adopted in the legend of Constantine towards the pagan resistance. On the basis of certain important parallels in the religious policy adopted in Italy by the Ostrogoth kings, starting with Theoderic, and the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, the author attempts to collocate the composition of the text within circles close the Church of Rome in a period spanning the late fifth to early sixth century AD.

**Rosa Maria Parrinello**, *Il rapporto con l'Altro nel monachesimo palestinese. Alcune considerazioni sul rapporto tra identità monastica e identità laicale da Isaia a Doroteo di Gaza* (pp.303-313)

The author examines the attitude towards laymen in three monastic sources pertaining to the geographical context of Gaza between the fifth and sixth centuries: the *Asketicon* of Isaiah of Gaza, the Epistolary of Barsanuphius and John, and the works of Dorotheus of Gaza. While the first work views the external world represented by laymen in a negative manner, projecting a conception of self-referential monasticism; in the



others, the conception of laymen is instead a positive one: they, like the monks, can participate in the struggle of Christian life and virtue.

**Chiara Spuntarelli**, *«In nome della morte di Cristo»: la costruzione dell'identità cristiana nella formula battesimale eunomiana* (pp.315-330)

The speculation of Eunomius reconnects with previous debates on language and should be collocated within a cultural background whose roots were embedded in the origin of the theology of the logos. This lends justification to the accusations launched by disciples of Philo against Eunomius of Nyssa. His baptismal formula, «in the name of the death of Christ» (Rm 6,3), an element of identification and distinction of the Eunomian group, is therefore essential to the understanding of Eunomius' eschatological and soteriological message, representing the dissolution of the language given as a result of attaining the Truth. It is precisely on this point that the thought of Eunomius enters into agreement with that of Philo and Origen.

**Laurence Vianès-Abou Samra**, *L'eschatologie d'Apollinaire de Laodicée à travers les Fragments sur les Psaumes* (pp.331-371)

Study of the exegetic fragments of Apollinaris of Laodicea reveals that he conceived, for the second *parousia*, a level of earthly retribution and another celestial level. It is not the millenarianist scheme as generally envisioned, but rather these levels are simultaneous: men of mediocre virtue remain on earth at the resurrection. Among them, the Jews have a dominant status. Judaism, while being inferior to Christianity, continues to provide access to certain divine promises, such as the gift of the Holy Land: that is why a Jewish State will be re-established. Elijah will reconstruct the Temple in order to fulfill national aspirations. Apollinaris' eschatology is seen as informed by Asiatic millenarianism, but as founded above all upon a scrupulously literal interpretation of the Bible.

**Roberta Mazza**, *Per un commentario al Nuovo Testamento sulla base dei papiri documentari* (pp.373-378)

The article presents the project "Papyrologische Kommentare anni Neuen Testament" (PKNT), set up by a group of Austrian exegetists and papyrologists of the Institut für Alt- und Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft of Salzburg, in collaboration with the publisher Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, following its decision to issue a series of works to complement the *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*. The project, which also involves the universities of Athens and Bologna, aims to study the relationship between the New Testament and documentary papyri. As part of the series, the author will be contributing the commentary on the Gospel of Mark, scheduled for publication in 2008.

**Federica Bucchi**, *Edizione critica dei commenti di Girolamo alle epistole paoline a Tito e a Filemone* (pp.379-385)

The article aims to present the main lines of research in text criticism that led the author to the publication, in the series «Corpus Christianorum», of a new critical edition of Jerome's Comment on Titus and Comment on Philemon, for which recourse has been made so far to J.P. Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. An analysis of all the known codices leads to a division of the manuscript tradition from the outset into two main branches, designated *a* and *p*. Of the two branches, branch *p* has turned out to be of particular value in the reconstruction of the critical text, as it includes the rare testimonies that are later in date and originate from the Italian geographical area.

### **Recensioni**

Cristina Ricci, *Mysterium dispensationis. Tracce di una teologia della storia in Gregorio Magno (S. Pricoco)*; Pier Cesare Bori, *Universalismo come pluralità delle vie* (M. Pesce)(pp.387-392)

**Libri ricevuti**(pp.393-394)

**Indici degli articoli di Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi** (1984-2003), a cura di Alfredo Damanti (pp.395-416)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.417-426)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.427-433)

**Mauro Pesce**, *Introduzione* (pp.443-447)

The current situation of studies on Ancient Christianity is characterized by a radical revision in the ways of envisaging the birth of Christianity. It is a renewal that concerns sources, methods and themes. The most important among the questions faced in the historical reconstruction of the birth of Christianity are the following: a) from which point in time may we speak of Christianity? b) which are the different phases leading from Jesus to Christianity: how many of them are there, how long do they last, which are the appropriate sources for the reconstruction of each, and what were the characteristics of each of them? c) which factors contributed to the transformation of Jesus' initial position into subsequent forms of primitive Christianity? d) how many branches of primitive Christianity existed, e) which sources should be used in reconstructing the historical process of the birth of Christianity?

**Simon C. Mimouni**, *Les 'origines' du mouvement chrétien entre 30 et 135: Des réflexions et des remarques* (pp.449-467)

Christianity is one of the few religions whose origins have been sought by theologians by delving into its founding traditions and confronting the risk of attempting its de-construction. Taking a positive view, such research reveals a certain spiritual maturity, since the Christian faith thus acknowledges the slow cumulative process that has led to the open expression of its content. On the negative side, it at times betrays a fear of misconstruing or misunderstanding those "origins" — especially when the term "origins" is used to refer to intellectual perception. The perception of the origins is always problematic, whatever stance is taken. The history of the development of the traditions at the origin of the Christian movement is both manifold and ambiguous, since it is ultimately the history of the reception of the mainly oral, complex and parallel traditions, which generated a body of scriptures. Of these, some have reached us in good condition, while others are in bad condition or have not been preserved at all; and this is dependent on the simple fact that some were declared Canonical and others apocryphal. Put differently, there is no one Christian history, but different Christian histories resting upon diverse traditions, which have produced a certain number of writings, some of which have been passed down, while others have more or less disappeared.

**Santiago Guijarro Oporto — Esther Miquel Pericàs**, *Il cristianesimo nascente: delimitazione cronologica, fonti e metodologia*. (pp.469-496)

The aim of the article is to address some methodological issues implied in the so-called "New quest of Christian origins". First of all, such a quest should establish the chronological framework of the formative period of Christianity. Then, the relevant sources should be identified, dated and located. And finally, appropriate models for the interpretation of these sources should be proposed. The authors provide an answer to the first question by identifying different historical processes that point to the end of the second century as the conclusion of this formative period. Then they identify some of the problems implied in the use of early Christian writings (the vast majority of extant sources) as historical sources. Finally, they suggest that the Sociology of Knowledge and Symbolic Interactionism is an appropriate theoretical framework for the interpretation of these sources and for the study of Earliest Christianity.

**Wolfgang Stegemann**, *The Emergence of God's New People. The Beginnings of Christianity Reconsidered* (pp.497-513)

The article deals with the problem of the Christian beginnings. Unlike many other scholars the author does not defend the traditional metaphor which compares Judaism and Christianity to the relationship of mother and daughter. He also does not take for granted that ancient Judaism and Christianity can be viewed as religions: the category 'religion' is a modern concept and therefore does not meet the ancient discourse. The thesis is that the emergence of Christianity could be better understood in terms of 'ethnicity'.

**Rafael Aguirre**, *Dal movimento di Gesù alla chiesa Cristiana*. (pp.515-527)

The article starts from the relationship between the communities of believers in Jesus the Messiah and the house, which was the basic structure of Greco-Roman society, to trace the evolution of the Pagan-Christian line, which assumed increasing importance in later history. The author adopts an interdisciplinary methodology that combines literary, archaeological and sociological evidence. In antiquity, religion was not an autonomous phenomenon, but was interwoven with politics and economics. There were, therefore, a political religion and a domestic religion: Jesus and his announcement of the Kingdom of God are the clear expression of a political religion, carried forward by the first groups of Jews who believed in Jesus the Messiah, and who perceived this message as a reference to Israel. Very soon, however, the believers in Jesus

of Greco-Roman society began to meet in houses, thus founding a domestic religion. The domestic codes of Col., Eph. and Didachè, with their implicit legitimization of the existing social order based on the house, originated from this context. 1 Peter already contains explicit mention of the political consequences of the domestic religion. The domestic behavioral codes are transformed into status codes, when the communities grow and begin to mould themselves on the patriarchal model. Architecturally it is possible to distinguish between the «domus ecclesia», the «domus ecclesiae», and the basilica. Finally, some sociological hypotheses were advanced to link the characteristics of the places with those of the community and of its specific relationship with society.

**Adriana Destro - Mauro Pesce**, *Come è nato il cristianesimo*. (pp.529-556)

The article distinguishes three historical periods in the formation of Christianity. a) In the first period, the followers of Jesus initially lived within Judaism and then, more or less gradually, in different ways and in response to different events, broke away from the institutions, practices, ideas and modes of building (or entering) communities that can be defined as Judaic. b) The second period stretches from around year 70 to the early decades of the second century. The Jesus groups were no longer Judean groups, but did not yet constitute Christianity. c) The third period dates from the early decades to the second half of the second century. It is in this third period that Christianity began to develop as a normative religion valid for the majority of Jesus groups.

**Claudio Gianotto**, *Il problema delle origini del cristianesimo in F. Vouga e F. Blanchetière* (pp.557-568)

The article discusses the presentation of the origins of Christianity in two recently published books: E Vouga, *Les premiers pas du christianisme. Les écrits, les acteurs et les débats*, Geneva, 1997 and F. Blanchetière, *Enquête sur les racines juives du mouvement chrétien* (30-135), Paris, 2001. The first problem addressed is one of terminology: is it correct to speak of Christians and Christianity in the first century? Should not a different terminology be adopted, so as to take into account, on the one hand, the continued adherence of the groups of Jesus' followers to the multiform and variegated Judaism at the second temple, and, on the other, at the sometimes profoundly different ways of relating to Jesus of the early groups? The author then returns to the theme of the starting point of Christianity. It is universally agreed that the Jesus movement was born within Judaism, as a group with its own characteristics alongside many other groups, who contributed to composing the polyphony that was Judaism at the first century CE. But what was the point of departure of the Jesus movement? In what special way did the movement relate to the figure of Jesus? Were the departure point and type of relationship one or many? The third problem regards the corpus of sources utilized for the reconstruction of the Christian origins, a corpus that cannot be limited to the New Testament alone. Finally, in the light of the interpretations of Vouga and Blanchetière and of those put forward in other recent studies, two particular cases are discussed: that of the so-called Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) and that at Eucharistic celebration.

**Giovanni Battista Bazzana — Remo Cacitti**, *Fonti e interpretazione delle fonti. A proposito di alcuni testi recenti sulla nascita del cristianesimo* (pp.569-579)

The first part of the discussion underlines the radically different views emerging from the two books under consideration: J.D. Crossan, *Birth of Christianity. What Happened Immediately After the Execution of Jesus*, and E. Nodet — J. Taylor, *Essai sur les origines du christianisme. Une secte éclatée*. Crossan revives the image of an illiterate and socially marginalized Jesus, who becomes the spokesman of rural protest, indissolubly both religious and social, against the “globalization” imposed by the Roman system and its «clientes» in the Land of Israel. Nodet and Taylor, in keeping with the subtitle of their work («une secte éclatée»), describe a Christianity which, from its “sectarian” origins, was followed in its development thanks to advantages offered by the modification of baptismal and Eucharistic rites. The two works analyzed in the second part (Gerd Theissen, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches. Creating a Symbolic World*, Maurice Sachot, *L'invention du Christ. Genèse d'une religion*), although in very different ways, both attempt to reconstruct the formation of Christianity from a purely religious viewpoint. They also have in common a systematic approach. Theissen's book sets out to construct a “semiotic cathedral”, housing a single system of signs that is valid for all early churches, which is often contrived in its effort to explain all aspects in terms of three elements (narrative, myth, ethics). Sachot's work proposes an interesting perspective which sees Christianity of the origins as a development of the actualizing hermeneutics of the Jewish homilists of Jesus' time.

**Fabio Ruggiero**, *Rodney Stark e la nascita del cristianesimo* (pp.581-590)

The examination of R. Stark's thesis concerning the success of Christianity in the first centuries starts with a brief outline of the intellectual development of the American sociologist, noted for his studies on religious movements of the Christian area. Stark counters the doctrine of secularization with the model of so-called «religious economy», which interprets variations in religiosity on the basis of the ideas and notions drawn from economics and marketing. *The Rise of Christianity, A Sociologist Reconsiders History*, fruit of a decade-long dialogue with historians of early Christianity, was published in 1996, with the declared goal of explaining the “success” of the Christian movement, which in just three hundred years went from being an «obscure and marginal movement» to become the «dominant religious force of the West». Stark's analysis starts from an assertion to arrive at a question: given the numerous analogies between the arguments used by critics of the early Christian movement and those used against present-day sects and cults, why not see what happens when the methodologies adopted to analyze the religious movements of today are applied to Christianity of the early period? In doing this, Stark envisages stimulating diachronic relationships. They are extremely apt to awaken among historians an interest in the social sciences and the input they can provide to historical research. Nonetheless, Stark's seems mainly interested in showing how historical data and his theoretical interpretative model reciprocally confirm each other. Here and there, one even has the impression that he is unable to develop fully the models adopted in his analysis, which remains on the margins of historical research, which is instead centered on sources, events, great periodizations, and on the areas of diffusion of the Christian movement. His contribution to the knowledge on early Christianity can therefore be understood only by bearing in mind the confines within which his enquiry explicitly unfolds.

**John Dominic Crossan**, *Reflections on Adriano Destro and Mauro Pesce, Come nasce una religione; Antropologia ed esegesi del Vangelo di Giovanni*. (pp.591-595)

The Gospel of John is, despite its present canonical location, a very different visionary program for Christianity than the one which would eventually become normative for that religion's future. In these reflections J.D. Crossan raises three points for discussion, one concerns the newness of “Johannism” as a separate religion, the second concerns possible redactional layers in John's Gospel, the third concerns the content of that new religion.

**Wolfgang Stegemann**, *Is Christianity a Universalized Judaism? Some Questions Concerning Gerd Theissen's 'Theory of Primitive Christianity'* (pp.597-615)

The article departs from the new awakened interest in the beginnings of Christianity. It concentrates on the Gerd Theissen's outstanding contribution to the discourse and asks some critical questions. For example about the traditional metaphor which compares Judaism to Christianity like mother and daughter or particularly about Theissen's main thesis that makes Christianity a ‘universalized’ Judaism.

**Daniele Menozzi**, *Le interpretazioni di Gesù nell'età della Rivoluzione francese* (pp.617-643)

The interpretations of the figure of Jesus that circulated during the French Revolution did not lead to any real scientific development in exegetic or historical knowledge on the Christian origins. Rather, according to the cultural environment from which they originate, the said works convey either polemical or apologetic intentions, while some of them are the result of pure fantasy. However, it is worth noting the large number of writings that claim the political element to be the salient and fundamental factor of the teachings and works of the Nazarene. Such works, while generally resting on two main representative pillars — the image of the “obedient Jesus” elaborated by the Gallican church of the ancíen régime and that of “the revolutionary Jesus” proposed by J.-J. Rousseau since 1769 - are expanded and multiplied in the course of the revolutionary age, assuming a great variety of forms: from “Jesus the patriot” of 1789, which gradually transformed into the “Jesus the sans-culotte”, destined to become imprinted in the collective memory at the emblematic expression of the Terror. Such representations, elaborated by different groups and factions, certainly meet the need of providing religious legitimization to the political agendas that each intended to impose. However, they did not only serve the requirements of propaganda. With the French Revolution, the documentary patrimony inherited from the study of Christian origins, in particular the Scriptures, entered a new hermeneutic phase marked, on the one hand, by the guarantee of the right to freedom of expression of its respective evaluations and, on the other, by the strong focus on politics, which tends to subordinate to itself all aspect of human life, including the religious dimension. In this way, the revolutionary re-casting of the figure of Jesus in a political key, albeit naive and simplistic, contributed to refining the critical assessment of

Christian origins, by making scholars aware that it may be conditioned by the political orientation of the interpreter, particularly by his membership of a specific social group.

**Francesca Sofia**, *Gerusalemme tra Roma e Parigi: Joseph Salvador e le origini del cristianesimo* (pp.645-662)

Although Joseph Salvador's *Jésus-Christ et sa doctrine* (3838) was undoubtedly the first scientific book on the origins of Christianity to appear in France, his contribution is now all but forgotten by specialists. The book's extraneousness to the philological positivism which was to gain ground a few years later, the resonance of subsequent studies by Ernest Renan (in several respects his debtor), as well as the author's Jewish origins, were factors that condemned him to early oblivion, already in the second half of the nineteenth century. The work of Salvador, which traces the progressive genesis of Jesus' doctrine from Judaism, caused something of a sensation at the time. This was not only because his study broke with the then dominant apologetic approach, but also because it set out to use the criticism of sources as a challenge to an ideology in the course of formation: that of the possibility of a "humanitarian Christianity". Re-read today, the work constitutes a useful source for understanding the political myths circulating in Paris between the Restoration and the July Monarchy. Countering Mosaism to Christianity as the only true political religion of the future, Salvador shows how, at the dawn of the Romantic Age, the search for a new sacred foundation of society could lead to diverse forms of syncretism, and the extent to which the model of the Hebrew Republic conditioned the political thought of the time.

**Recensioni** (pp.663-674)

Gregorio di Nissa, *Contro il fato, Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento di Michele Bandini* (A. Siclari); Jacob Neusner, *The Perfect Torah* (R. Bernasconi); Eznik Petrosyan - Armen Ter-Step'anyan, *S. Grk'i hayeren meknut'yunneri matenagitut'yun [Biblicografia dei commentari armeni della Sacra Scrittura]* (R. Pane); Michelangelo Tabet, *Le trattazioni teologiche sulla Bibbia. Un approccio alla storia dell'esegesi* (R. Wielockx); Francesco Beretta (ed.), *Galilée en procès, Galilée réhabilitée?* (A. Damanti).

**Libri ricevuti** (p. 675)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp. 677-683)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp. 685-687)

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**Elena Cavalcanti**, *interiorità e identità personale nel commento a Giobbe (Moralia) di Gregorio Magno* (pp.11-35)

At the end of his Comment on Job, Gregory highlights (*Moralia*, XXXV, 8) God's terms of judgment «Job spoke in my presence what is right» (Job 42,7), pointing out that «in my presence» is the same as saying «intus»: thus indicating the inner ways of man before God, in contrast with externalism which generates hypocrisy. Taking this as a starting point, the author sets out to reveal how, in the *Moralia* in Job, the protagonist, besides being a pre-figuration of Christ and the Church, represents the model of human inner life with its constant decision-making before God. This itinerary would appear to be decisive in the formulation of the idea of "conscience", in the sense of the human inner activity, which alone defines the moral quality of being and conduct, and through which the highest levels of freedom and dignity are exercised.

**Giovanni Filoramo**, *Fondamento "mistico" dell'autorità e costruzione della comunità monastica: il caso pacomiano ...* (pp.37-55)

The author interprets the Bohairic Life of Pachomius as a self-representation of monastic groups. On the basis of this reading, the historical and sociological conceptions of communities are discussed, reaching the conclusion that the modern meanings of community involve a risk of overlooking the specificity of its conception in Antiquity: the most suitable model of community to which to refer is the Pauline one, where individuals are integrated within a common project involving shared responsibilities. He then uses some sociological concepts (Weber's models of authority and power and the definition of a sect) to characterize the Pachomian cenobitical communities as sectarian communities under an authority legitimated by the charismatic power of the leader.

**Osvalda Andrei**, *L'emergere di una cronografia cristiana come fattore di costruzione identitaria* (pp.57-97)  
The construction of a past and of a collective memory was all historically significant moment in the foundation of Christian identity: this process also involved the Christianization of knowledge (biblical, but also Greco-Roman) and the development of means of communication that were coherent with such self-definition and its meanings. A suitable (and little known) example of this is Christian chronography. It was no accident that Christians discovered and developed it in a period (160-270 c. AD.) which saw the investigation on timing and its written forms as being of common interest also to Judaic and "pagan" spheres. From the *Chronographiae* of Julius Africanus (221 c. AD.) to the Paschal computation of 222 AD. and the so-called Synagogue of Hippolytus of 235 AD., the phases of the organization and textualisation of a Christian time sequence present all the typical characteristics of "identity moulding".

**Giorgio Otranto**, *Caratteri identitari del pellegrinaggio dei cristiani nel rapporto con i "santuari"* (pp. 99-117)

The concept of sanctuary has always been closely linked to that of pilgrimage, intended as a single or collective journey to a sacred place, undertaken for a special reason of piety: it is a ritual and devotional form that characterizes many religious traditions, especially those with universalistic leanings, such as Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. After tracing the semantic evolution of both terms, the author analyses the four types of Christian sanctuary. With regard to the practice of pilgrimage, he conducts a study of its motivations starting from the original ones of prayer and the visitation of holy places, which were gradually enriched and modified, through their associations with other aspects of antique Christianity, such as monasticism and the cult of saints. Also dealt with are Christianity's internal cultural polemic surrounding the practice of pilgrimage, from Gregory of Nyssa to the leaders of the Reform, the forms and facilities for accommodating pilgrims, the organization of pilgrimages, and the events of the first Jubilee (1300). The article highlights the plurality of motivations and aspects linked to the practice of pilgrimage and holy places.

**Immacolata Aulisa - Laura Carnevale**, *Il pellegrinaggio rurale alla tomba di s. Felice a Nola* (pp.119-144)

The paper explores the customs and sacrificial rites practiced by pilgrims visiting the sanctuary of St. Felix at Cimitile/Nola from the rural areas of southern Italy in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The analysis takes the form of an historical reconnaissance of verses from the «corpus» of Paulinus of Nola. The discussion is extended and confirmed by a comparison with archaeological evidence and other late-Antique sources. The elements gathered allow the delineation of specific aspects of the Christian rural pilgrimage to Cimitile/Nola.

**Paola De Santis**, *Denominazione dei "santuari": lessico, strutture, significati. Osservazioni sul πρόπαιον di Gaio* (Eusebio, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II 25, 5-7)(pp. 145- 160)

A reflection on the testimony of Gaius, a figure active in Rome during the reign of Pope Zephyrinus (198-217), is part of a broader research on the expressive forms used to define the monumental complexes now referred to with the term "sanctuary". The comparative analysis of this written document with monumental data provides insight on the historical and cultural context in which the birth of the first sacred areas took place in Rome between the mid-second and early third centuries.

**Marianna Cerno**, *Per una diversa lettura di alcuni testi martiriali di ambito aquileiese* (pp.161-175)

The article discusses the martyrial literature on saints of the antique Church of Aquileia (Friuli and Istrian areas). While a critical edition is indispensable, the present study aims to propose a different method of historical-literary enquiry, which takes account of the historical fortunes of hagiographic works. The proposed criterion is to approach martyrial texts not as literal documents, but rather as a jumbled body of historical evidence relative to the era of hagiographic redaction. The preliminary results obtained include, for example, the recognition of known hagiographic models within the texts, and the observation, made possible also thanks to the use of digital tools, of interesting links and lexical concordances, in terms of both form and content, between the Aquileian production and that of other geographical areas.

**Alessandro Saggiaro**, *Cristianesimo e giudaismo nel Codice Teodosiano: una disgregazione dell'identità?* (pp. 77-201)

The Codex Theodosianus provides documentation of the formation of Christian identity as well as the transformation of Christianity in terms of a disintegration of identity. With its collection of imperial constitutions from Constantine to Theodosius II, it mirrors a highly multifaceted epoch. Over this long time span, Christian values come up against the institutional rules of the Roman Empire, passing from the end of the dramatic era of persecution to that of «religio licita», up to the affirmation of Christianity as the official religion of the «res publica». The imperial code provides evidence of the relationship between Christianity and Judaism, with a number of laws that ended up by limiting, for religious reasons, the statute of « religio licita » of the Judaic community within the Roman order.

**Tobias Nicklas**, *Der lebendige Text des Neuen Testaments: Der Judasbrief in P<sup>72</sup> (P.Bodmer VII)* (pp.203-222)

Starting from the suggestion of D.C. Parkers, who urges that the interpretation of New Testament texts should also take account of the concrete forms in which they were passed down, the article offers an exposition of the Letter of Judas from the manuscript P.Bodmer VII. The author examines the entire codex, of which P.Bodmer VII constitutes only a brief portion, and the relationship between P.Bodmer VII and another part of the same codex, P.Bodmer VIII, witness to the two Letters of Peter. In this way, he shows how the same copyist treats the two texts differently, which allows speculation that he may have considered the Letter of Judas as canonic. There follows a detailed interpretation of the text of the Letter of Judas in the version of P.Bodmer VII.

**Francesca Tasca**, *La pia disobbedienza. L'esegesi di Atti 5,29 dalla patristica latina ai libelli de lite* (pp.223-254)

The article reviews the uses of Acts 5,29 in various types of text (biblical commentaries, exegeses, martyrial hagiographies, papal epistles, legislative sources, controversial texts) over a time span of about ten centuries (from Latin Patristic until well into the twelfth century). This analysis throws light upon certain important elements in the development of the concepts of «auctoritas» and «potestas», as well as the possibility of pious disobedience in middle-Latin «Christianitas».

**Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.255-262)

I. Andorlini - A. Marcone, *Medicina, medico e società nel mondo antico* (R. Mazza); M. Simonetti, *Origene esegeta e la sua tradizione* (A. Villani); SCI. Mimouni, *Les chrétiens d'origine juive dans l'antiquité* (R. Bernasconi); A. Couture - F. Vouga, *La présence du royaume. Une nouvelle lecture de l'évangile de Marc* (R. Mazza).

**Libri ricevuti** (p.263)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.265-271)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.273-276)

## ASE 22/2 2005 – I testi del primo cristianesimo

**Simon Claude Mimouni**, *Questions sur les sources du christianisme des origines. Introduction* (pp.281-290)

**Simon Claude Mimouni**, *Les Judéens et les Grecs chez Paul de Tarse à partir d'une lecture de Giorgio Agamben. A la recherche de "l'homme messianique"* (pp.291-303)

Starting from the ideas expressed by G. Agamben, the author shows how the so-called universalism in Paul, deriving from a messianic faith in Jesus, should not be interpreted in traditional terms, but as the result of a "division of division" of the Law, which renders it inoperative. The "remainder" obtained from such divisions becomes an interpretative tool for Rm 11,1-26, where it finds meaning not in eschatological time, but in the present of Paul, which the apostle conceives as messianic time.

**Santiago Guijarro**, *El relato pre-marcano de la pasión como fuente para el estudio de la generación apostólica* (pp.305-335)

Literary sources for the study of the apostolic generation (30-70 CE) are scarce. Most of them were produced in Pauline circles and have a peculiar vision of other early Jesus groups. This article studies the pre-Markan

passion narrative as a source for the life and theology of one of these early Jesus groups. It starts with a redactional analysis of the Markan passion narrative, allowing a reconstruction of the traditional narrative behind it. Some traits of this reconstructed passion narrative suggest that it was composed in Jerusalem during the leadership of James, the brother of the Lord. This means that it can be a valuable source for the study of the Jerusalem church during the apostolic generation.

**Adriana Destro - Mauro Pesce**, *Constellations of Texts in Early Christianity. The Gospel of the Savior and Johannist Writings* (pp.337-353)

How can we locate the numerous texts produced by early Christianity within the different groups of early Jesus followers? How should we deal with these writings so as to gain knowledge of the different earliest forms of Christianity, from Jesus to around the end of the second century? A. Destro and M. Pesce suggest that all the texts presenting wide-ranging 'connections' of the same questions, performances, conflicts and literary similarities should belong to the same constellation and therefore to the same group of Jesus' followers. Aim of the article is to identify the Johannist constellation of texts of early Christianity through all analysis of the Ascension of Isaiah, the Gospel of John, P. Oxy 840, the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of the Savior.

**Edmondo Lupieri**, *Dodici, sette, undici, ventiquattro: numeri, chiese e fine del mondo* (pp.355-369)

The author examines some texts by Luke (Gospel and Acts) and Matthew, which appear to contain arithmological speculations. In particular, the numbers connected with the age of Anne, the two genealogies of Jesus, the age of Jesus, and the number of the disciples and other figures in early Christianity, indicate that Luke, unlike Matthew, has a preference for the number 12 in ways that bring him close to the Apocalypse. The author posits that the acceptance or rejection of this number is linked to the different conceptions of the function of Israel and of the Jewish tradition in the ecclesiology and eschatology of the authors studied.

**Bernard Pouderon**, *La première apologétique chrétienne comme source historique "polymorphe"* (pp.371-395)

The Greek Apologies — "polymorphous" writings redacted ὑπὲρ τῶν χριστιανῶν throughout the course of the second century, from Aristide (125 circa) to Theophile (after 180) — constitute rich and varied historical sources. They provide precise information both on the environment in which early Christianity developed (political, factual, social, juridical, intellectual and artistic, religious contexts), and on the Christian movement itself, along with many aspects of its process of self-definition, after which the movement of Jesus' disciples asserted itself as a movement distinct from Judaism. However, since these documents originate from only one of the three parties in dispute, even if they sometimes claim to present the viewpoint of the pagan or Jewish adversaries, and since they were written for a polemical or protreptic purpose, the information they contain turns out to be of mediocre quality, offering a biased view of the situation. Nonetheless, the historian cannot neglect or disdain it; he must develop an appropriate method with which to evaluate it, one that allows the extraction of data that cannot be found anywhere else.

**Claudio Gianotto**, *L'apport des textes de Nag Hammadi à la connaissance des origines chrétiennes* (pp.397-407)

The «corpus» of writings discovered at Nag Hammadi has long been the focus of attention of scholars attempting to reconstruct the Christian origins. The most outstanding case is that of the Gospel according to Thomas, which has been passed down only through the Nag Hammadi Codex II. It is well known that this gospel plays a highly important role in the reconstruction of the annunciation of Jesus within the so-called "third quest" for the historical Jesus. But other texts can also be utilized in exploring the Christian origins, in particular the Apocryphal letter of James (NHC 1,2) and the Dialogue of the Saviour (NHC 111,5). The work assesses their characteristics and specific contribution to the said area of study.

**Folkert Siegert**, *La Bible des premiers chrétiens* (pp.409-419)

The Bible that the early Christians had at their disposal was the Jewish Bible (later on referred to as the «Old Testament», as translated into Greek by translators that all were Jewish. This latter Bible, later on called the «Septuagint», was abandoned by the Rabbis and only transmitted by Christians, thus becoming the Christian Bible, before there was a "New" Testament.



**Philippe Bobichon**, *Le thème du «Verus Israel». Est-il constitutif de la controverse entre christianisme et judaïsme?*(pp.421-444)

The theme of the «Verus Israel» finds its most ancient explicit formulation in the Dialogue with Tryphon of Justin Martyr. It gives rise, in the last part of the text, to a long series of developments supported by a rich argumentation. With the associated motifs (permanence or transitoriness of the Law; identity of Messiah), the True Israel question was apparently central to the history of the separation of Christianity and Judaism. However, does the importance accorded to it by Justin actually represent the view of the Christians themselves, and does the question continue to be relevant beyond the second century? The enquiry reported in the article leads to a negative conclusion: in the Christian tradition - including the controversial writings the theme of the True Israel that persists up to the Middle Ages is referred to in an increasingly punctual, summary and conventional form. The «leitmotiv», of the rejection of Israel is certainly recurrent, but there is increasing hesitation in explicitly reiterating Justin's claim that the Christian people were the «Verus Israel». The Jewish literature that appeared and developed from the tenth century on in response to the Christian expansion, confirms this impression, since, unlike all the other polemical motifs, that of the «Verus Israel» is entirely absent.

**Hélène Cillières**, *L'utilisation des sources canoniques et apocryphes dans les études féministes chrétiennes. Lecture de l'œuvre d'Elisabeth SchüsslerFiorenza* (pp.445-454)

One of the major problems confronting the authors of Christian feminist studies arises from their being part of a religious institution whose bases they criticize. The dilemma seems deep and at the same time inevitable: is it not indeed contradictory for Christian feminists to belong to the Church, heir of a tradition which they condemn as "misogynist and androcentric"? Consequently, they question the concept of canonicity, considered the result of a process of "masculinisation" of the biblical corpus. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza presents an ultimate alternative in her two-volume work, *Searching the Scriptures*: within the framework of feminist research, she aims to take into account also the Christian apocryphal literature, which had not been «corrupted» by canonization, and which can therefore shed light on the reality of women's lives in ancient Christianity.

**Folker Siegert**, *L'Antiquité a-t-elle connu la notion de vérité historique? Quelques extraits de Polybe* (pp.455-464)

The article deals with the twelfth book of Polybius and his method of verifying statements concerning the past: the identification of possible eye-witness errors (his rival Ephorus committed some), and those deriving from the ideological implications of metaphysical language. Much "post-modern" gossip on history as a "construction" becomes meaningless when compared to this classic of historical thinking, showing that Polybius was very aware of the difference between historical inquiry and the literary production of a historian.

**Raül González Salinero**, *Exégesis antiarriana y polémica antijudía en Potamio de Lisboa* (pp.465-477)

The anti-Arian polemic of Potamius of Lisbon, a mid-fourth century Church Father who returned to the orthodoxy after a short lapse of time in the ranks of heresy, was mainly based on the Biblical exegesis that aimed to demonstrate falsely the existence of the term «substantia» in the Sacred Scriptures. At the same time, the doctrinal discredit of Arianism was reinforced by the fraudulent association of Arian heretics with Judaism, linking the anti-Arian with the anti-Jewish polemics.

**Christopher T. Begg**, *Ahithophel versus Hushai according to Josephus* (pp.479-500)

The segment 2Sam 16,15-17,23 relates the oratorical contest between Absalom's two advisors, Ahithophel and Hushai, concerning the treatment of the fugitive David, and the immediate sequels to that contest. The article focuses on Josephus' retelling of the biblical episode in his Ant. 7.211-229. In particular, the article addresses three overarching questions: (1) Which text-form(s) of 2Sam 16,15-17,23 did Josephus utilize in composing his version? (2) What rewriting techniques did he apply to the data of his «Vorlage(n)», and what is distinctive about his rendition as a result of their application? Finally, (3) how does Josephus' treatment of the incident compare with its handling elsewhere in the Jewish tradition?

**Isabelle Ullern-Weit  **, *Les "relectures de Paul" et la question du contemporain. Questionnements    partir d'un s  minaire ...* (pp.501-509)

Starting from a cognitive perspective of religious history, the author examines some recent readings of Paul of Tarsus, those of P.P. Pasolini, M.-F. Baslez and A. Badiou. Her aim is to draw attention to ambiguities in the approaches underpinning such readings, in order to bring the figure of Paul and his philosophical interpretations back within an historical context that is extraneous to both «a priori» emblematic syncretism and “trans-historic” reconstructions.

#### **Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.511-542)

Walter T. Wilson, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (Tobias Nicklas); Yves Simoens, *Entrare nell'Alleanza. Un'introduzione al Nuovo Testamento* (Renzo Infante); Remano Penna, *Lettera ai Romani I, Rm 1-5, Introduzione, versione, commento* (Luigi Walt); Ernesto Borghi, *Giustizia e amore nelle Lettere di Paolo. Dall'esegesi alla cultura contemporanea* (Filippo Manini); Clay Alan Ham, *The Coming King and the Rejected Shepherd: Matthew's Reading of Zechariah's Messianic Hope* (Tobias Nicklas); Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Thomas I. Kraus); Maria Grazia Mara, *Il vangelo di Pietro. Introduzione, versione, commento* (Thomas J. Kraus); *Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, a cura di Anna Lenzuni (Tobias Nicklas); C.-B. Amphoux — J.K. Elliott (eds.), *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity. Le texte du Nouveau Testament au début du christianisme* (Tobias Nicklas); Jacob Neusner, *Making God's Word Work. A Guide to the Mishnah* (Michael Tilly); Johannes Van Oort - Gilles Quispel, *De Keulse Mani-Codex* (Tobias Nicklas); G. Dahan - 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* (Andrea Villani); Afasin Nikitin, *Viaggio in tre mari* (Francesca Sbardella); Sabina Pavone, *I gesuiti dalle origini alla soppressione* (Franco Motta); Friedrich D.E. Schleiermacher, *Dialettica. Appunti dell'Autore (1822) e Nachschrift Kropatscheck (corso 1822). In Appendice gli appunti autografi della Dialettica (1814/15) e Introduzione alla Dialettica (1832/33)* (Hagar Spano); Gian Paola Brizzi (a cura di), *Studenti per la democrazia. La rivolta dei giovani contro il nazifascismo* (Irene Di Jorio).

#### **Libri ricevuti** (pp.543-544)

#### **Indice degli autori citati** (pp.545-550)

#### **Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.551-557)

### **ASE 23/1 2006 – Dal II al VI secolo. Sviluppi e trasformazioni del cristianesimo**

#### **Mauro Pesce**, Presentazione (pp.9-11)

**Simon C. Mimouni**, *Les aspects prophétiques des développements mariologiques au II<sup>e</sup> siècle et leurs trajectoires au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Quelques remarques et réflexions* (pp.13-26)

The study investigates numerous elements, generally badly or insufficiently utilized, which might allow a better comprehension of the gradual emergence of Marian beliefs, whose coherence becomes evident if they are considered as a function of their multiple contexts.

**Tobias Nicklas**, *Christliche Apokryphen als Spiegel der Vielfalt frühchristlichen Lebens: Schlaglichter, Beispiele und methodische Probleme* (pp.27-44)

The historical value of the Christian apocrypha is not limited to what they can tell us of the historic Jesus, the apostles and the development of the early churches. Far more important in many cases is what the texts reveal in pragmatic terms: for which early Christian groups and in what situations were they meaningful? To what extent can they be intended as sequels to and developments of biblical texts, motifs and traditions within new historic and social contexts? Three examples (the “Unknown” Gospel in P. Egerton 2, the Apocalypse of Peter and the Acts of Paul) illustrate how the Christian apocrypha can be interpreted as a mirror of the historic and theological plurality of early Christianity.

**Adele Monaci Castagno**, *Le trasformazioni del discorso agiografico da Eusebio a Atanasio* (pp.45-65)

The first part of the research investigates the contribution of Eusebius of Caesarea in Christian biography, taking into consideration the following texts: the biography of Origen in book VI of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*; the biographical profiles present in *The Martyrs of Palestine*, and *The Life of Constantine*. In all of the texts, Eusebius' hagiographic discourse is coherent in placing emphasis on paideia, asceticism and

martyrdom, and in its conscious rejection of the Graeco-Roman model of the “divine man”. The second part deals with the Life of Anthony of Athanasius, who instead makes thaumaturgy the pivotal element of his hagiographic presentation. It is hypothesized that this change of direction is linked to the form taken by Athanasius’ anti-Arian polemic, in view of both its doctrine of incarnation, and its specific anthropology. Athanasius foregrounds the visible erga of Christ — with miracles in first place — in his defense of the divinity and efficacy of the redeeming message. Anthony is presented as being totally receptive to the divine nature, that is of Christ. The miracles performed by Christ through Anthony are an extension of the pedagogical approach toward humanity, which commenced with the Logos during the incarnation: they are the demonstration of the divinity of the risen Christ.

**Alberto Camplani**, *Le trasformazioni del cristianesimo orientale: monoepiscopato e sinodi (II-IV secolo)* (pp.67-114)

The earliest synodal activity among the Christian communities of the eastern Mediterranean region is reported by Eusebius of Caesarea: only rarely are we able to refer to documents other than his Ecclesiastical History. The central methodological problem concerning the East lies in the assessment of Eusebius’ reports and the enclosed texts. During scholarly history these elements have been judged in different ways: on the one hand, there is the acritical defense of Eusebius’ account, on the other, the suspicion that he systematically distorted the events and documents of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century, to fit the synodal customs of his contemporary environment. The hypothesis that the synodal praxis of the origins assumed a variety of forms that were different from later ones, accompanied by the evaluation of certain phenomena of ecclesiastical development, allow a clearer view of Eusebius’ narrative and a more objective assessment of it. The affirmation of the monoepiscopate and monarchic episcopate (as described in the *Didascalia of the Apostles*) in some areas of the East, the pre-eminence assumed by some Christian communities over others, and the increasingly close link between Christian communities and civil society are all factors that contributed to a rich and varied synodal praxis. When one or other of these elements was missing, as in Persia, synodal activity got off to a late start and, then, as an imported phenomenon. Furthermore, both the final phase of the Antiochean synod of 268/9, and the Persian synods of the early fifth century attest to the propensity of some sectors of Christian communities to make recourse the non-Christian civil powers to resolve their questions of internal discipline, a tendency that would lead in the Constantinian era to a passive acceptance of the Emperor’s intervention in synodal life. The present enquiry analyses the few data available on the formal evolution of synods, highlighting some of the characteristics of the most ancient ones. A strong correlation emerges between the monoepiscopate and synodal activity.

**Mario Girardi**, *Tormento ed estasi: sedici domande di Basilio di Cesarea sull’identità cristiana (Reg. mor. 80,22)* (pp.115-128)

The Moral rules of Basil, a search within the NT for precepts that ‘define and make’ the Christian, conclude with Rule 80 on «how the Word desires Christians to be, as disciples of Christ, modeled only on what they see in Him or hear from Him». The final § 22 constitutes the key to the entire work: the biblical lexis builds up to a climax of identity and value-affirming statements in 16 questions (and answers), which probe the Pauline (rather than evangelical) universe. «What are the proper characteristics of a Christian?» is repeated seven times, introducing progressive stages of analysis and biblical self-awareness. All 16 questions open with the phrase «the proper characteristics», a primary cognitive category that characterizes and defines Christian being and conduct, that is the loving relationship with one’s brothers with the purpose of realizing one’s life in Christ, generated by the Spirit through baptism. Christian identity is no longer an otherness counterpoised to «the outsiders»; it is relation, opening, pathway, meeting with the God revealed, with the secure and full faith that derives therefrom (πληροφορία), with the total man, who the Lord saves every day, by entering into history. The quest for foundations unfolds in a crescendo of scriptural echoes (50 vv., 35 Pauline), in which the foregrounded phrase is the key-word (and commitment) that bears upon the subsequent phase of search and question: a verbal and semantic concatenation corresponding to steps leading up to the «visio Dei» projected towards the *eschaton*, the dimension of the Christian (and the Church), which relativises even the most perfect realization of the faith while watching and waiting the return of the Lord and the establishment of his justice.

**Tessa Canella**, *Il modello di imperatore cristiano. La trasformazione dell’immagine di Costantino da Oriente a Occidente negli Actus Silvestri* (pp.129-142)

The historic-philological analysis of the *Actus Silvestri* leads to several hypotheses concerning the chronological and geographical collocation of the text. The author believes that greater accent should be placed on the distinction between the oldest written versions in our possession and the original nucleus of the legend, which probably arose in the Syrio-Palestinian area between the late 4<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The thesis is supported by the identification of important analogies with certain apocrypha circulating in the Middle East around the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, such as the Doctrine of Addai, the Acts of Judas Cyriacus, and the Acts of Peter and Simon. Seen against this original setting, the early written versions of the text testify to a subsequent re-elaboration (second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century), which is likely to have taken place in proximity to the Roman environment.

**Emanuele Castelli**, *La trasformazione del rapporto tra cristianesimo e impero nei primi decenni del III secolo a Roma: nuove prospettive sull'autore del Peri pantos* (pp.143-163)

In the light of the changed historiographic picture of Hippolytus of Rome, the author sets out to reconsider the meaning of some of the writings engraved on the sides of the so-called "statue of St. Hippolytus", previously attributed to the said figure. In particular, attention is focus on the Paschal cycle on the side of the throne and the writing *Peri pantos*, whose title is mentioned on the right back column. The investigation points to a mainly cultural transformation of Christianity in Rome in the early decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, with the author of *Peri pantos* as its main protagonist.

**Rosa Maria Parrinello**, *Prima e dopo Giustiniano. Le trasformazioni del monachesimo di Gaza* (pp.165-193)

The essay sets out to verify whether and to what extent Justinian's legislation on monasteries was received in the monastery of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza, considered a bastion of Chalcedonism. Examples are used to intercompare the Emperor's decrees on pagans, Jews and heretics and the advices of the two Elders on the way in which their spiritual children should behave towards these groups.

**Gaetano Colantuono**, *Trasformazioni della vita familiare e concubinato nelle comunità cristiane* (pp.195-216)

As an observation point from which to view the transformations in the history of the family in late antiquity, sources are examined concerning extra-matrimonial relations that go by the name of concubinage. Juridical (jurisprudential and legislative) documentation and Christian sources (treatises, homilies and episcopal letters, conciliary canons) are reviewed to re-examine the presence of a widespread social phenomenon, concubinage, which did not disappear with the consolidation of Christianity in late-antique society, nor died out within Christian communities themselves. Along with an exploration of normative and prescriptive aspects, the present work sets out to assess the "living" reality («vécu», daily life) of the phenomenon of concubinage in Christian communities.

**Paola Marone**, *L'esegesi biblica di Ottato di Milevi come veicolo della trasformazione della teologia africana* (pp.217-224)

Although a polemical treatise, Optatus' *Adversus donatistas* contains a large number of biblical quotations. It is precisely through the Bible's authority that Optatus argues against the baptismal doctrine that the Donatists inherited from Cyprian. The present article describes the exegetic character of the *Adversus donatistas* and shows how the bishop of Milevum, with his original interpretation of the Scripture, played a major role in the transformation of African theology.

**Laura Carnevale**, *Il caso di Giobbe tra persistenze bibliche e trasformazioni: il ruolo del Testamentum Iobi* (pp.225-256)

The article aims to show how the interpretation of the figure and role of Job in antique pre-Constantinian Christian communities is not linked solely to the biblical book of the same name. It instead reveals important contacts with a pseudo-epigraphic text, the *Testamentum Iobi*. In the investigation, conducted following all interdisciplinary approach, the Testamentum is analyzed in the light of the biblical reading; in addition, the author develops a study of the pre-Constantinian exegetic tradition and an analysis of iconographic (pictorial and monumental) evidence present especially in the Roman environment.

**Giancarlo Pani**, *Le modificazioni dell'identità cristiana tra Medioevo ed Età moderna in rapporto all'epistolario paolino* (pp.257-282)

In the transition from the medieval to the modern age, Christian identity underwent certain modifications with respect to previous centuries. They derived from the modern world, from the greater consciousness of man and the individual, from the rediscovery of the Christian conscience and freedom. These fruits of Humanism and the Renaissance came with a consequence: modern man witnessed the collapse of his certainties and began to seek new reference points. This gave rise to a renewed interest in the Bible and particularly the epistles of Paul, as witnessed by the great number of editions of the Letters (over seven hundred in the course of the sixteenth century). Such interest led to a reformulation of Christian identity: in the «*Devotio moderna*» is represented by the «*imitatio Christi*», in Ficino by the “Platonic philosophy”, in Lefèvre by the «*christiformitas*», in Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin, by the belonging to Christ. Above all, the reformers rediscovered Christian identity in the Letters of the apostle and the theology of the cross, which they used in their polemic against the Church of Rome, betrayer of the truth of the Gospel. The Peace of Augsburg instead will express the mortification of Christian identity and freedom.

**Thomas J. Kraus**, «*Knowing letters*» and (il)literacy in the *Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla* (*Mir. Thcl. 45*) (pp.283-308)

Miracle 45 of the *Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla* tells of an illiterate woman, Xenarchis, who receives a ‘Gospel book’ as a gift, and is suddenly able to read. At an expression of their surprise, the other women standing by quote John 7,15b. Thus, the overall purpose of the essay is to trace what is generally told about literacy in the days of Thecla’s miracles (and the author’s interaction with the saint) and in the days of the composition of *Mir. Thcl. 45*. In detail the aims pursued are as follows: First, *Mir. Thcl. 45* will be discussed on the basis of its Greek text, for the first time completely translated into English; second, several questions are tackled - In what way can the results of research on (il)literacy in (late) antiquity be applied to *Mir. Thcl. 45* and shed light on this miracle story and its context? How is John 7, 5b adopted by and integrated into this specific miracle narrative? What might the book Xenarchis received as a gift have looked like? What role does reading and, thus, literacy play here, and what can be deduced from such a literary text at all?

**Giorgio Scrofani**, «*Non diventate come loro!*»: la preghiera dei non ebrei in Mt 6,7-8 e il Padre nostro (pp.309-330)

In the catechetical instruction in which Matthew’s gospel is included, the *Pater noster* is compared to the prayer of the ἔθνηκοί (Mt 6,7-8). The teaching attributes to the “other” par excellence, the non-Jew, all attitude considered unacceptable to the followers of Jesus (the πολυλογία) and, through the verb βατταλογέω (“mutter”), characterizes his way of praying as a linguistic negation of what is presupposed by the *Pater noster*.

**Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.331-340)

Michael Tilly, *Einführung in die Septuaginta* (E. Eynikel); Christoph Schlupe, *Der Ort des Christus. Soteriologische Metaphern bei Paulus als Lebensregeln* (T. Nicklas); Peter J. Williams, *Early Syriac Translation Technique and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Gospels* (T. Nicklas); Theresia Heither — Christiana Reemts, *Abraham* (T. Nicklas); Judith L. Kovacs, *I Corinthians: interpreted by Early Christian Commentators* (T. Nicklas); Andrew Gregory — Christopher Tuckett, eds., *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (T. Nicklas); Jacob Neusner — Noam M.M. Neusner, *The Price of Excellence. Universities in Conflict during the Cold War Era* (M. Tilly).

**Libri ricevuti** (pp.341-342)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.343-352)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.353-357)

## ASE 23/2 2006 – Pluralità e conflitti religiosi: Città e periferie

**Mauro Pesce**, *Presentazione* (pp.365-366)

**Maria Grazia Mara**, *Ricordo di Elena Cavalcanti* (pp.367-373)

**Claudio Gianotto**, *Le origini del cristianesimo ad Antiochia: alcuni studi recenti* (pp.375-387)

The article examines three recent books on the origins of Christianity at Antioch. After a first section providing a comparative analysis of the structure and composition of the three studies, the author discusses in depth one of them. M. Zetterholm's *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch* (London, 2003) and critically evaluates the author's proposal to explain the formation of Christianity at Antioch. While presenting many interesting points, the volume presents several critical elements. First of all, the range of sources utilized is too limited. The documentary basis is found to be the same as that of JP. Meier's study, which dates back a good twenty years. Many other writings have been made available by current research for use in the reconstruction of the origins of Christianity at Antioch. A further observation concerns the author's scheme of development from Judaism to Christianity, which is too rigid and based on a strictly sequential argumentation, so that disagreement with only one ring in the chain calls into question the entire edifice of the reconstruction. The situation in Antioch was probably far more complex than that presented by Zetterholm. In particular, it is likely that the group of Jesus' followers of gentile origins was not as united as he supposes.

**Alberto Camplani**, *Chiesa urbana e "periferie" cristiane di Alessandria nella tarda antichità: premesse per una ricerca* (pp.389-413)

The essay analyses the periphery in reference to Christian Alexandria in antiquity. Three meanings of periphery are considered: strictly urban areas, areas of economic significance, and regions that were administratively dependent on the city. With regard to the first, the author discusses the locations of places of worship, noting, from the fourth century on, the increasing visibility of Christianity in the centre of the city, but also, in parallel, a colonization of abandoned or destroyed peripheral areas. Focusing on the second meaning, it emerges that the Alexandrian episcopate created around the city (the coast and Lake Mareotis) areas in which there was no competition with the power of the bishop, avoiding the presence of other forms of ecclesiastical power; yet it was precisely in these areas that, from the fifth century on, numerous monastic groups arose, who strongly influenced the ecclesiastical policy of the patriarch. Concerning the third meaning of periphery, after remarking upon the monolithic and centralized character of Egyptian ecclesiastical organizations, the essay analyses the main features of the Christian communities of Cyrenaica and Fayyum, two very diverse regions in terms of geography and social conformation. It is hypothesized that such differences left some traces also in the forms of management of ecclesiastical power. Finally, a linguistic question emerges in relation to Fayyum: the tolerance in the great ecumenical councils, from the mid-fifth century on, of the languages of the peripheries, Copt and Syriac, in contrast to the case of civil organizations, where a combination of Latin and Greek was dominant.

**Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony**, *Monastic Leadership and Municipal Tensions in Fifth-Sixth Century Palestine: The Cases of the Judean Desert and Gaza* (pp.415-431)

This article deals with the tendency of recent studies to abandon Max Weber's well-known secular-religious model of authority and his stark dichotomy of charisma versus institution, suggesting a substitution of a new interpretive model of three kinds of authority: pragmatic, spiritual and ascetic. The author argues here that in Palestinian monastic society of the fifth and sixth centuries we witness at times the merging of models of authority. Judging from the dynamic of intervention of the Judean desert monastic leaders and those of Gaza in municipal and ecclesiastical affairs, not only is the differentiation of "spiritual" from "ascetic" authority in many instances blurred, but the boundaries between civic and ecclesiastical office seem also to have been permeable.

**Aryeh Kofsky**, *Observations on Christian-Jewish Coexistence in Late Antique Palestine (Fifth to Seventh Centuries)* (pp.433-446)

The eruption of violence in Christian-Jewish relations toward the end of Byzantine rule in Palestine has often been construed as the culmination of a long process of worsening imperial and ecclesiastical policy toward the Jews of the empire, whose consequence was a growing Jewish animosity and an increasing segregation of the Jewish communities. Yet a growing revisionist view of this topic modifies considerably this assessment. Much of the Jewish population of late antique Palestine lived outside of the Jewish region in Upper Galilee and hence in areas of mixed population not entirely different from other parts of the empire. It is primarily regarding these communities that we may talk of a real — albeit ambivalent, complex and fragile — Christian-Jewish coexistence in various spheres of life. Despite the pessimistic assessment of the literary sources, this article endeavors to insert some pebbles of the evidence into the largely incomplete mosaic of

Christian-Jewish coexistence in late antique Palestine from the fifth to seventh centuries, adding to the general revisionist overview of this topic.

**Mario Girardi**, *Identità come totalità in trasformazione: Basilio di Cesarea su cristianesimo, giudaismo, paganesimo* (pp.447-462)

Basil defines Christianity as faith working through Christ's love (Gal 5,6) for one's brothers, and even one's enemies. In contrast to the polytheists, with their competitiveness for power, selfish accumulation of material goods and ambitions, or the Jews «whose Law requires partial conformity, while the gospel demands it to be whole for each good work», the Christians would be more comprehensive, exceeding normative fragmentation thanks to the maximum expansion of the agapic dimension. A radical and progressive mutation starting with baptism and the Eucharist, leads up to the eschatological transformation of the resurrection or to angelic inalterability. Basil aims at an "internal" discourse for a definition of pastoral care. He is tied to the traditional clichés, but confers a greater breadth of meaning on the scriptural (and theological) register. The scarce presence and/or vitality of local Jewish and polytheistic communities exempts him from religious and/or social models of marginalization. Indeed, in the wake of violence and destruction against the polytheists (rather than the Jews) of Caesarea, the charisma and fairness of the great bishop and the widespread sympathy for his social actions, culminating in the charitable citadel of Basiliad, plausibly contributed to a climate of mutual respect and tolerance.

**Giovanni Nigro**, *Musica e canto come fattori d'identità: giudei, pagani e cristiani nell'Antiochia di Giovanni Crisostomo* (pp.463-480)

The article investigates the role of music as a component of identity in Antioch at the end of the fourth century CE. Analysis of several of Chrysostome's homilies reveals an acknowledgement of the importance of music for recreational and pedagogical purposes, a rejection of melodies that excite the hearers' souls, and a distinction between Jewish and Christian hymns. In spite of the violent anti-Jewish polemic and the affirmation of all autonomous Christian identity, Chrysostome recommends the singing of the Psalms in daily life. The singing of Psalms is found to have played a crucial role in the Christianization of all Antiochean society that was still strongly conditioned by polytheist and Jewish influences.

**Immacolata Aulisa**, *Motivi iconoclastici e presunta presenza islamica in un episodio della polemica antiebraica nel Mediterraneo orientale (VII-VIII secolo)*(pp.481-497)

From the seventh century onwards, there arose a proliferation of explicitly anti-Judaic Christian polemical texts, mostly anonymous or pseudo-epigraphic, in some cases by authors of whom no other works are preserved. However, the anti-Judaic polemic in the seventh and eighth centuries reflects the impact of changing religious and socio-political conditions, at times assuming new forms, as in the case of the iconoclastic question, which often led to a conception among Christians of new forms of assimilation between Jews and polytheists and between Jews and Muslims. In fact, the value or novelty of many of these texts lies not so much in the quality of the exegesis, as in the fact that they reflect debates linked to the iconoclastic controversies, even in the absence of deep theological enquiry. Of particular interest in this regard is the Dialogue of Papiscus and Philo, an anonymous dialogue between a Christian monk and two Jews, Papiscus and Philo. In the context of the dispute over images the Jew, in view of the well known opposition to representations, appears as a model of iconoclast. The observation that the question of images arose in disputes between Jews and Christians can substantiate the widespread claim that the reaction against images in the Eastern provinces was also due to the influences of Judaism and Islam. However, sources suggest that, above all in the seventh century, some aspects of the polemic between Jews and Christians must have extended also to the Muslims

**Alberto D'Anna - Emanuele Castelli**, *Considerazioni o margine del libro di P. Lampe, From Paul to Valentinus. Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* (pp.499-525)

Alberto D'Anna: The English edition of Peter Lampe's book: From Paul to Valentinus. Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries, of 2003, re-proposed, with few modifications, the famous study on the origins of Christian Rome. It is a veritable mine of information. A multidisciplinary approach is adopted to analyze the (sparse) sources of the period. Albeit within the perspective of social history, there is no lack of detailed reconstructions of a more traditional ecclesiastic-historic character, especially those regarding the transition from the presbyterial to monoepiscopal structure of government taking place during the second century. The

scarcity of documentation at times leads Lampe to 'deviate' from a linear chronological and geographical order.

Emanuele Castelli: The historiographic picture of Christian Rome of the early centuries has profoundly changed over recent decades as a result of three important acquisitions: the original female identity of the statue first identified as Saint Hippolytus, the consequent new historic-literary personality of this figure, and the calling into question of *Traditio Apostolica* as a work of Roman ambience. Starting with an examination of the updated English edition of P. Lampe's book on Christian Rome, to assess whether and how the scholar takes account of these crucial discoveries, some reflections are advanced concerning one of the most important literary sources of the period: the *Elenchos*. In particular, the use of the term ἐπίσκοπος in the *Elenchos* is studied, as well as the historic reliability of the βίος of Callis contained in the work (*El. IX 12*).

**Caterina Moro**, *La Bibbia ebraica tra contesto orientale ed esegesi antica: un bilancio didattico e metodologico* (pp.527-534)

Using some examples from Genesis, the article discusses the methodological problems raised by the teachings of the Hebrew Bible from the historical and religious-historical viewpoint. Particular attention is paid to the relationship between the text and its antique interpretations, on methods of comparison between the Bible and Eastern cultures, and on the problem of the Bible as a source for pre-Exilic cultural realities.

### **Cronache**

*La riunione annuale della "Association pour l'Étude de la Littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne" (AELAC), Dole, 29 giugno - 1 luglio 2006* (Elisabetta De Luca) (pp.537-546)

*Tesi di dottorato in studi religiosi in Italia (2003-2007) Università di Torino, Roma, Bologna, Bari a cura di R.M. Parrinello, E. Prinziavalli, M. Pesce, G. Colantuono* (pp.547-561)

**Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.563-573)

Kutlu Aslihan Yener (ed.), *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects, Vol. I. Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995-2002* (F. Calzolaio); Karl Matthäus Woschitz, *Parabiblica: Studien zur jüdischen Literatur in der hellenistisch-römischen Epoche. Tradierung — Vermittlung — Wandlung* (T. Nicklas); Francesca Calabi, *Filone di Alessandria, De Decalogo* (A.M. Mazzanti); American University of Armenia, *Hay dasakan matenagrut\_iwn [Classical Armenian Literature]* e Jos Weitenberg (ed.), *Leiden Armenian Lexical Textbase* (R. Pane); Natale Spineto, *Mircea Eliade storico delle religioni. Con la corrispondenza inedita Mircea Eliade - Kàroly Kerényi* (R. Bernadini).

**Libri ricevuti** (pp.575-578)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.579-585)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.587-589)

## **ASE 24/1 2007 – Early Christian Identities – Identità cristiane in formazione**

**Edmondo Lupieri - Mauro Pesce**, Presentazione (pp.9-11)

Parte I

**François Bovon**, *The Emergence of Christianity* (pp.13-29)

Jesus created a movement of faith, a company of disciples called to become the Christian Church. The «Evangelium Christi» became after Easter the «Evangelium de Christo». If, historically speaking, the resurrection of Jesus is beyond control, the transformation of the disciples is certain. Contrary to the Lukan harmonizing perspective however one must account for a plurality of early Christian groups. What came first was not an institution but a common faith, not a centralized church organization, but a plurality of small congregations. Despite the rigor of their faith and commitment, these communities were not opposed to



human communication and to culture as it is exemplified by the numerous travels to Rome of early Christians in the first and the second century.

**John G. Gager**, *Where Does Luke's Anti-Judaism Come From?* (pp.31-35)

The two-volume work known as Luke-Acts in the New Testament is recognized by its pervasive anti-Judaism. The old covenant, along with the Temple, Torah and people (Israel), has been replaced by a new covenant and a new people (Christians). Lloyd Gaston has been a strong representative of this view. He explains the anti-Judaism of Luke as a response to criticisms directed at Christians by a local Jewish community. My argument holds, making use of the sociology of conflict, that it makes far more sense to see these criticisms as emanating from within the Christian circle, specifically, from early 'Jewish-Christians' who vociferously repudiated the anti-Judaism of the emerging, main-stream Christianity represented by Luke-Acts.

**Adriana Destro - Mauro Pesce**, *Continuity or Discontinuity Between Jesus and Groups of His Followers Practices of Contact with the Supernatural*. (pp.37-58)

The results of the enquiry on the baptism, the temptations in the desert, and the transfiguration suggest that — leaving aside the transformation undergone in the gospel narratives — they were part of a nucleus of practices of contact with the supernatural, for which a high level of historical probability can be hypothesized. Such experiences were absolutely fundamental to the experience of Jesus and to the formation of his identity. It is also probable that, in different ways, Jesus introduced some of his disciples to some of these experiences. In other cases, Jesus experienced such phenomena in total solitude. Such experiences may have been the subject of his own narratives. In these cases, the historic disciples found in Jesus himself the origin of those practices, which later became widespread among many early Christian communities.

**Richard S. Ascough**, *Defining Community-Ethos in Light of the 'Other': Recruitment Rhetoric Among Greco-Roman Associations*. (pp.59-75)

Greco-Roman associations established their community's ethos through contrast with other groups. Exchanges with 'others' (real or imagined) provided the group with a self-identity and helped them gain and retain members. When the rhetoric of Jewish and Christian groups is placed within this larger cultural matrix it can be seen to have a similar function. Their 'rhetoric of recruitment' is not a matter of competition but reflects the language of self-definition aimed at attracting and maintaining members.

**Claudia Setzer**, *Resurrection and the Symbolic Construction of Community*. (pp.77-85)

Because earliest Christians did not belong to a single ethnic group and did not share a common culture, they had to construct their sense of peoplehood. Faith statements provided a tool for carving out an identity in the diverse Greco-Roman culture. Looking at Justin and Athenagoras, and using the theories of sociologist Anthony Cohen on symbols, we see how belief in resurrection of the body provided an effective way of drawing the boundaries of the new community. The belief carried with it an assertion of God's power, justice, the totality of body and soul, and identified the authentic Christian who correctly interpreted Scripture.

**Denise Kimber Buell**, *Constructing Early Christian Identities Using Ethnic Reasoning* (pp.87-101)

Despite ongoing scholarly tendencies to define "Christian" in contrast to racial or ethnic belonging, this article suggests that many texts we study as "early Christian" articulate Christian self-definition as simultaneously religious, ethnic, and racial. This article uses the writings of Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr to demonstrate some ways early Christian writers employed language of peoplehood constructively to define the content of Christian belonging and polemically to contrast preferred self-definitions of Christianity with rival ones.

**Bruce J. Malina**, *Who Are We? Who Are They? Who Am I? Who Are You (Sing.)? Explaining Identity, Social and Individual*. (pp.103-109)

This essay contends that the significance of a person's identity (whether Jesus or Paul, for example) depends to a great extent on the social system in which a person has been enculturated. The dimensions of identity, cross-culturally, include three aspects. First there is social identity, the group with which a person identifies. Social identity is rooted in group belonging experienced in terms of cognitive, affective and evaluative dimensions as well as in the awareness of non-belonging to other groups. Second there is self-identity

deriving from one's enculturation in collectivistic (group concerns come first) or individualistic (self-realization comes first). Finally, an individual's identity has outgroup (public), private (individual) and ingroup dimensions, of varying degrees of significance, depending on the social system in which one has been enculturated.

**Wolfgang Stegemann**, *The Emergence of Early Christianity as a Collective Identity: Pleading for a Shift in the Frame*. (pp.111-123)

The first chapter of the article deals with the problematic although common supposition that the beginning of Christianity is to be understood in terms of religion. The second chapter defines as an alternative model of interpretation a concept of collective identity. The third chapter tries to define the collective identity of early Christianity and the end the article gives a very rough impression about the development of early Christianity's collective identity.

**Philip F. Esler**, *Prototypes, Antitypes and Social Identity in First Clement: Outlining a New Interpretative Model* (pp.125-146)

First Clement is a text replete with references to great figures from the past, either characters from Israelite tradition or heroes of the Christ-movement such as Peter and Paul. Yet it also includes reference to villains, such as Cain. This is a phenomenon going to the heart of this important text and therefore demanding an explanation. The social identity approach pioneered by social psychologist Henri Tajfel offers rich resources in this regard. It postulates "prototypes" as expressing group identity and "antitypes" as expressing the opposite of such identity. The former offer models to be imitated by Christ-followers in the acquisition and interiorization of group identity, while the latter represent models to be shunned. The former tell whom they should be and the latter whom they should not be. This paper explores such an approach to First Clement and shows that it produces significant interpretative gains.

## Parte II

**Thomas J. Kraus**, *Zur näheren Bedeutung der "Götzen(bilder)" in der Apokalypse des Petrus*. (pp.147-176)

One of the two Greek manuscript witnesses to the Apocalypse of Peter, the one and a half folia of the parchment miniature codex Bodl. *MS Gr. th. f.* 4 [P] + P. Vindob. G 39756 from the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, refers to «those deceitful idols» [τούτων τῶν πλανῶν εἰδώλων] and «those who are mad after idols» (τῶν εἰδωλομανῶν). In addition, the other Greek manuscript preserving the main body of text, P.Cair. 10759 (= the Akhmîm-Codex), has ζόανα, i.e., another lexeme for "idols". It is obvious that in the Apocalypse of Peter idolatry is in irreconcilable opposition to the "way of God". This study intends to provide insights into the meaning and usage of different lexemes used for "idols" in (late) antiquity and offers an application of that to the mysterious early Christian text under discussion. In this view both traditions, the Greek and the Ethiopian versions of the Apocalypse of Peter preserved, form the indispensable background against which an overall conception of the sin of idolatry on the one side and "the way of God", the only way that leads to salvation on the other, can emerge.

**Bernard Pouderon**, *Aux origines du Roman clémentin: lecture critique de récents travaux et évaluation des enjeux*. (pp.177-206)

The author does not aim here to draw a balance of his own works on the Clementine romance, but rather to present as an intellectual progression (which is primarily his own) the main studies on the constitution and genesis of this work, starting from Cotelier up to the most recent publications. His intent is to provide the readers with the necessary information with which to trace their own path through reputedly impenetrable thickets in order to form their own judgment. With reference to the many "histories of research" on the Clementine romance already published (in particular that of F. Stanley Jones of some twenty years ago), the work concentrates mainly on the ideas still under discussion, neglecting those that have since become obsolete. This "critical presentation" is far from neutral, as it reflects in some way the author's own dialectic development, which rests upon previous, often entirely opposed theses, leading to new insights through a more global (though far from exhaustive approach) to the issue.

**Christopher T. Begg**, *Balaam's Talking Ass (Num 22,21-35): Three Retellings of Her Story Compared*. (pp. 207-228)

The story of Balaam and his talking ass told in Num 2,21-35 ranks among the most curious passages of the entire Bible. This essay provides a detailed comparative study of the retelling of the story by three first-century C.E. authors, i.e. Pseudo-Philo, Philo and Josephus. Of the three, Pseudo-Philo, e.g., goes furthest in his abbreviation of the biblical episode; Philo uses it as a vehicle for his on-going polemic against Balaam, while Josephus introduces allusions to Balaam's emotional state during the course of the incident and, alone among the three, includes a version of the exchange between master and beast. The study also offers some discussion of the handling of the story in the wider early Jewish and Christian tradition as represented, e.g., by Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Numbers Rabbah and Origen.

**Marie-Pierre Bussières**, *Le public des Questions sur l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament de l'Ambrosiaster*. (pp.229-247)

Working on a new and complete edition of Ambrosiaster's two versions of Questions on the Old and New Testament raises a wide range of problems, themselves both old and new, which call for further examination conducted with a fresh look. The ill-assorted composition of the corpus containing 127 questions shows a lack of outline that could not be other than disconcerting for anyone attempting to read it in the order in which the chapters came, whereas the essentially exegetical collection of 150 questions proposes a homogeneity more likely to satisfy the curious reader of scriptural issues. The paper examines the difference in the composition of the two collections, but mainly the organization of the version containing 127 chapters, with a view to understanding for whom such a corpus was intended.

**Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.249-254)

Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (F. Calzolaio); A. Benvenuti, S. Boesch Gajano, S. Ditchfield, R. Rusconi, F. Scorza Barcellona, G. Zarri, *Storia della Santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (E. Zocca)

**Libri ricevuti** (pp.255-256)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.257-262)

## ASE 24/2 2007 – Ancient Christianity and “Magic”- Il cristianesimo antico e la “magia”.

**Tobias Nicklas und Thomas J. Kraus**, *Antikes Christentum und “Magie”: Verhältnisbestimmungen* (pp.221-228)

**David E. Aune**, *“Magic” in Early Christianity and Its Ancient Mediterranean Context: A Survey of Some Recent Scholarship* (pp.229-294)

After more than 25 years, Aune turns again to the Magic in Early Christianity and poses the question about the developments and trends in the analysis of the relation between magic and ancient Christianity in its Hellenistic-Roman environment. In doing so, he particularly focuses on the relation between “magic” and “religion” and the problem of the definition of these two concepts (and, respectively, whether they are definable at all). In this context the author tries to differentiate methodologically between the diverse levels of the discourse: the data of the concrete source texts (like, e.g., the magical papyri), the descriptions, definitions and classifications of the people who have been precisely involved in the corresponding cultic practice, and the academic discussion of our time with its different methodological approaches. Aune depicts the most diverse developments: the increasing problematization of the term “religion”, ancient and modern theories of the term “magic”, the question concerning the social construction of “magic” (in contrast to absolute definitions) or the discussion about the relation of magic and ritual.

**István Czachesz**, *Magic and Mind: Toward a Cognitive Theory of Magic, with Special Attention to the Canonical and Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (pp.295-321)

In this article, the author attempts to make steps towards a cognitive theory of the phenomenon magic and thereby particularly consults examples from the canonical Acts of the Apostles and the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. He also begins with a survey of the attempts to differentiate between magic and religion and develops different perspectives for “magic”: magic as self-definition, as an intra- and intercultural term. He

is especially concerned with the differentiation between the narration of stories and the actual performance of magical practices. The narratives intended to attest magical capacity: Czachesz notices that a lot of ancient narratives about miracles and magical incidents contain elements against intuition, in which universal ontological expectations are infringed. An ideal (as minimal as possible) number of such elements would be important for the success of a specific narration. In addition to narratives about miracles and magic, a concrete performance of magical practices may be attested as well.

**Marco Frenschkowski**, *Zauberworte. Linguistische und sprachpsychologische Beobachtungen zur spätantiken griechischen und römischen Magie* (pp.323-366)

This article presents linguistic and language psychological observations of late ancient Greek and Roman magic working out some desiderata, which can serve at the same time as pre-considerations for a future monographic essay on the issue. The author depicts significant linguistic phenomena in ancient magic words and successions of magic words, which can no longer be reclusively described with the help of the repertoire of the methods of the classical philology. In this context he asks the devised question about the internal perspective, how ancient magicians themselves have interpreted their spells, and looks for analogies in observable phenomena of the magic words, which can be found in artificial languages, sound poetical utterances, ecstatic languages and in linguistic taboo subjects. Moreover, he is concerned with the aspect of the function of the magic words in the face of the imaginative accomplishment of late ancient magic. In doing so, he advances to the thesis that the pragmatics of spells lies within the creation of “otherness”. Spells have created a counter world to the everyday world, «by tracing the language back to where it does not denote external ‘matters’, but the interior states of the spirit».

**Riemer Roukema**, *Early Christianity and Magic* (pp.367-378)

Christian leaders of the first centuries CE generally rejected pagan magic since in their view it was inspired by demons. Yet Christian views of the Eucharist, baptism, amulets, and anointment with oil certainly had a magic ring, although the Christians themselves would not characterize these practices as magic. Special attention is paid to Origen, who acknowledges the correspondence between pagan magic and the Christian usage of names and words, although he also sharply distinguishes between paganism and the Christian religion.

**Roy Kotansky**, *The Star of the Magi: Lore and Science in Ancient Zoroastrianism, the Greek Magical Papyri, and St. Matthew’s Gospel* (pp.379-421)

The article deals with Matt 2,1-12 and argues that in Matthew 2 the core constituents of a historical narrative tradition are preserved, which is based for its part on the actual appearance of the Halley’s comet in the year 12 AD. That year is probably Jesus’ year of birth. Some parts of the narration have been extended, however, and embellished with traditional ideas, which in turn originate from statements and views about comets and their effects in the Greek magical papyri and certain apocryphal Gospels. For this reason, the authors examines early Zoroastrian and Iranian sources of prophetic character, which refer to an initial belief in a “shooting star”, i.e., in an “expiring star”, which itself announces the beginning of a new apocalyptic era.

**Thomas J. Kraus**, *Amulette als wichtige Zeugnisse für das frühe Christentum — einige grundsätzliche Anmerkungen* (pp.423-435)

In this essay the author tackles the issue of the historical meaning of amulets for the understanding of ancient Christianity. With the help of concrete examples - P.Princ. II 107 = Suppl.Mag. I 29, an amulet against temperature, P.Yale I 3, P.Oxy. XXXIV 2684, P.Ant. II 54 and P.Rain.Cent. 26— he points out, in how far amulets can give an insight into the theological world of ideas of the person who produced or used it, which significance passages of the New Testament on amulets can have for textual criticism, and finally how problematic the arrangement of concrete witnesses as amulets can be. From these observations he draws further conclusions in which he criticizes a too thoughtless usage of the denomination “amulet” as a rashly applied category.

**Roberta Mazza**, *P.Oxy. XI, 1384. Medicina, rituali di guarigione e cristianesimi nell’Egitto tardoantico* (pp.437-462)

This article presents a highly interesting text witness for the ancient connection of magic, miracle and medicine, the so far hardly considered P.Oxy. XI, 1384, a papyrus collecting medical recipes and two Christian texts, which can be dated back to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. The author offers a completely new

edition of the papyrus (edited for the first time by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt in 1915). By interpreting the papyrus in the context of late ancient Christianity of Southern Egypt, she sheds new light on Christian healing practices in Egypt.

**Andreas Merkt**, *Augustinus, die Magie und die «magi ex oriente»* (pp.463-483)

In the past years several surveys engaged with the relationship between Augustine and magic. The present essay shows new dimensions in what had already been said. It systematically examines the sermo Dolbeau 23 (= Mainz 59), a sermon of Augustine about Matthew 2,1-12 recently discovered by F. Dolbeau. This analysis, applied to a text which has been hardly paid attention to so far, is fructified showing the tension between ancient Christianity and magic.

**Tobias Nicklas**, *Zaubertränke, sprechende Statuen und eine Gefangenenbefreiung: Magie und Wunder in den Akten des Andreas und Matthias* (pp.485-500)

Spectacular miracles play a decisive role in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, a fact that certainly has to do with the genre of these texts. Needless to say that a lot of these texts at the same time become a reflection of a possible ancient Christian correlation between miracle and magic. While in the past years the “Big Five” among the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles - the Acts of Paul, Peter, Andrew, John and Thomas - have been investigated into with emphasis on this aspect, Tobias Nicklas turns to a less known text of the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century, the Acts of Andrew and Matthew, in which some passages broach the issue of miracles, but also magical practices. At first an impression dependent on the interpreting group of people-group crops up: A “miracle” is what Jesus and his supporters compass, “magic” is what his antagonists do. The presentation displays a further fundamental discrepancy: Jesus’ disciples perform their miracles according to Jesus’ will, who guides them in a mysterious, sometimes even incomprehensible way, whereas the cannibals are the instruments of the devil, who abuses them to disavow God’s salvation. Nevertheless, this text does not include the reproach of magic as an instrument of social incapacity; apparently no concrete adversaries are fought there; the main aspect is rather the Christians’ own expectation and self-awareness to be able to overcome the most abysmal racketeering of Evil in belief in Jesus Christ.

**Korinna Zamfir**, *The Quest for the “Eternal Feminine” : An Essay on the Effective History of Gen 1-3 with Respect to the Woman* (pp.501-522)

The paper starts from the main ideas of Genesis 1-3 with respect to the woman, attempting an analysis of these texts’ effective history in the Bible, in patristic writings and in Thomas Aquinas. Gen 2-3 has hardly any influence on the OT. Protocanonical books do not mention Eve’s sin, but there is one possible reference to Adam’s transgression. Deuterocanonical books have slight references to the creation narratives, and a single text (Sir 25,25) underscores the consequence of the woman’s fall. In the NT, except once, Paul usually refers to Adam’s, and not Eve’s sin. Moreover, Adam and Eve are types, of humankind and of the Christian community, respectively, and not representations of the male or female nature. Paul refers to both creation accounts, but in a somewhat one-sided reading (I Cor 11). The pseudoepigraphic 1Tim 2 distorts Gen 2-3, assigning the entire responsibility for the fall to the woman. In patristic and medieval exegesis Gen 2-3 have the most significant effective history, following the misogynistic reading of 1Tim 2. Eve is the type of the seduced and of the seductress, and this image will become the embodiment of what will be thought to be the woman.

## **Discussioni e cronache**

*Die ersten neutestamentlichen Bände der “Blackwell Bible Commentaries”* (John, Revelation):  
*Rezeptionsgeschichte und Exegese. Blackwell Bible Commentaries* (Panel Diskussion in Washington, D.C.)  
(T. Nicklas) (pp.525-534)

*Arbeitstagung des Novum Testamentum Patristicum (NTP) vom 26.-27. Januar 2007 in Göttingen* (T. Nicklas) (pp.535-536)

**Libri ricevuti** (pp.537-538)

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## ASE 25/1 2008 – Letters on Monotheism – Lettere sui monoteismi

**Mauro Pesce**, *Presentazione*. (p.5)

**Pier Cesare Bori**, *Introduzione* (pp.7-8)

**Pier Cesare Bori**, *Lettre sur les monothéismes*. (pp. 9-17)

**Mohamed Arkoun**, *Le religioni monoteiste nel 2008. Alla ricerca di un senso dell'avvenire*. (pp.19-49)

**Jan Assmann**, *Letter to Pier Cesare Bori*. (pp.51-57)

**Tiziano Bonazzi**, *Lettera a Pier Cesare Bori* (pp.59-72)

**Adriana Destro - Mauro Pesce**, *A proposito dei monoteismi*. (pp.73-78)

**Giovanni Filoramo**, «*Etsi deus non daretur*». *Per un monoteismo senza dio*. (pp.79-84)

**Guglielmo Forni Rosa**, *Lettre à Pier Cesare Bori à propos de l'Épître aux Romains de saint Paul*. (pp.85-89)

**Mohamed Fladdad**, *Combattre par le savoir et la sagesse. Brèves remarques sur la Risalat de Pier Cesare Bori*. (pp.91-97)

**Stefano Levi Della Torre**, *Differenze*. (pp.99-103)

**Mauro Pesce**, *I monoteismi e quello che le donne e gli uomini decidono di farne*. (pp.105-158)

**Hamadi Redissi**, *Lettre à Pier Cesare Bori sur les religions, l'esprit de fronde et la lecture*. (pp.159-165)

**Guy Stroumsa**, *Lettre à Pier Cesare Bori*. (pp. 167-170)

### **Discussioni e cronache**

**Gianmaria Zamagni**, *La Risaia sui monoteismi. Cronaca di una giornata di studio*(pp.173-178)

Ancora sui monoteismi

**Pier Cesare Bori**, *immagini di Dio, immagini dell'umano. Letture di Gen 1,26-28 tra Pico e Locke*. (pp.181-201)

**Gianluigi Pasquale**, *L'Islam e la convivenza con le tradizioni religiose: la dottrina di Ibn al- 'Arabi sulla diversità religiosa* (pp.203-241)

**Marcelo González**, *Cuestiones emergentes en torno al monoteísmo, Analisis de dos obras de referencia y de algunos hitos posteriores*. (pp.243-277)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.279-284)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.285-286)

## ASE 25/2 2008 – Redescribing Christian Origins? – Riscrivere le origini cristiane?

Discussione dei libro *Redescribing Christian Origins* con una risposta di Ron Cameron . (pp.7-53)

**Mauro Pesce**, *Presentazione*.

**François Bovon**, *Response to Redescribing Christian Origins*

**Adriana Destro**, *Redescribing Early Christianity in Anthropological Terms*

**John S. Kloppenborg**, *Beyond Tinkering and Apologetics*

**Ron Cameron**, *Redescribing Christian Origins*

Saggi

**Luigi Walt**, *A Non-Canonical Jesus in Paul? 1Corinthians 1-4 as a Test Case* (pp.55-74)

One of the most debated issues in the study of the early Christian tradition is the presence of explicit or implicit quotations from Jesus in Paul's writings. This paper — presented during a session of the SBL Annual Meeting in San Diego (2007) — discusses a series of exegetic proposals formulated by J.M. Robinson, H. Koester and S. Patterson, about the different claims to the Jesus tradition among Paul and his opponents in 1Cor 1-4. The Corinthian debate was surely based both on a different perception of the central Christian message, and on a different interpretation of Jesus' historical and eschatological role: Jesus' image, in fact, was submitted to a process of "relativization" in favour of Wisdom. Paul, in this sense, can be placed in the same trajectory that will lead to the Synoptic Gospels, insisting on the primary importance of the Cross and the Resurrection, as well as insisting on the need for imitating Jesus. Corinthian opponents, on the other hand, are placed on the same trajectory that will lead to the Gospel of Thomas, considering the possession of a "hidden Wisdom" as the fulfillment of the faith.

**Daniele Tripaldi**, *Per una definizione del genere letterario dell'Apocalisse di Giovanni: appunti sul testo*. (pp. 75-116)

As a result of recent exegetic debates, it has become clear that the attribution of John's Revelation to the episolar genre depends on the literary coherence between the septenary of letters (Rev. 4 - 22) and the following visions (Rev. 4- 22). This article analyses each of letters and investigates their references to the visions. The attempt will be made to demonstrate that a mutual dialectic between them exists and involves a process of reality-construction. This shift will allow us to see the whole of Revelation as letter in itself which faces the concrete issues raised by the seven addressed churches, enabling new ways of reading historical situations and of interpreting John's visions.

**Brent Landau**, *The Unknown Apostle: A Pauline Agraphon in Clement of Alexandria's Stromateis*. (pp.117-127)

The sixth book of the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria contains a purported quotation of the Apostle Paul not found in any other extant source. This fragment claims that two pagan oracles — the Sibylline Oracles and the Oracle of I-lystaspes — have predicted events in the life of Christ. This paper has four aims: 1) to review the limited amount of previous scholarship on this fragment; 2) to offer an exegesis of the fragment, including an analysis of the oracular sources mentioned; 3) to situate the fragment in an ancient Christian theological context where supposed pagan validations of Christian truth claims were especially prized; 4) to render a verdict on whether the fragment actually derives from the Apostle Paul. The paper concludes that while the fragment does cohere with some thoughts attributed to Paul, it was not composed by him. It may have originated in a pseudo-epigraphic Pauline letter, but its fragmentary nature does not allow any degree of certainty about this.

**Luca Arcari**, *Simbolizzazioni collettive e autodefinizione di gruppo nell'Apocalisse di Giovanni*. (pp.129-153)

The article attempts to read the collective symbols of Revelation as a self-definition instrumentation for the group which produced the text. Starting from the sociological interactionist methodology, the author suggests that the collective symbolic representations are literary transfigurations of the members of the prophetic community directed by John the seer. Revelation is a symbolic transformation of the life of the group: it is a symbolic microcosm where the group put its sociological dynamics. The seer can be represented as a symbolic transformation of the leader or of his characteristics. In spite of cosmic symbolism, which seems to suggest universalistic meanings, the author thinks that the function of collective symbols in Revelation is to lay the basis for whatever course of action it exhorts. If this perspective is correct, Revelation involves a

specific ethos: the symbolic transfiguration of the life of the group supposes the fact that the text was read with authority behind the same group; His obvious enough that the manner of revelation is designed to lend supernatural authority to the message (the divinity is not always directly invoked).

**Elisabeth Mégier**, “Manifest prophecies” in *Latin Commentaries on Isaiah, from St. Jerome to the Middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century* . (pp.155-168)

The term «manifesta prophetia», used by St. Jerome in his commentary on Isaiah. Reappears almost 700 years later in the commentaries of Bruno of Segni and Rupert of Deutz, but its acceptance has changed in the meantime. It designates no more a formal quality of the text - its clarity, its quality as direct, not metaphorical speech - but the doubtless evidence of the Christian - Christological, ecclesiastical - meaning found in it by the interpreter. This change is already initiated in the first medieval commentary on Isaiah, written in the Carolingian period by Haimo of Auxerre.

**Karim Schelkens**, *Exegesis in the Wake of Vatican II Lucien Cerfaux and the Origins of Dei Verbum*. (pp.169-201)

In the present contribution, the Author has studied the redaction history of Vatican II's schema *De fontibus revelationis*. This schema is presented as an important step in the contemporary history of catholic exegesis, since it constitutes a transition from early 20th century intransigent opinions to Vatican II's openness towards biblical criticism. Within this framework this article will focus in particular on the role played by the Louvain exegete Lucien Cerfaux, and the influence he exerted on the preconciliar subcommission on the sources of revelation.

**Elisabetta De Luca - Mara Rescio - Eliana Stori - Daniele Tripaldi - Luigi Walt**, *La trasmissione delle parole di Gesù. Scandalo e prova, perseveranza e salvezza: appunti di una ricerca in corso*. (pp. 203-213)

**Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.215-221)

E. Miquel, *Amigos de esclavos, prostitutas y pecadores. El significado sociocultural del marginado moral en las éticas de Jesús y de los filósofos cínicos, epicúreos y estoicos. Estudio desde la Sociología del Conocimiento*, Estella, 2007 (M. Rescio); Y. Simoens, *Apocalypse de Jean. Apocalypse de Jésus Christ*, 2 voll., Paris, 2008 (D. Tripaldi); L. Pedrolì, *Dal fidanzamento alla nuzialità escatologica. La dimensione antropologica del rapporto tra Cristo e la Chiesa nell'Apocalisse*, Assisi, 2007 (D. Tripaldi); R.A. Arthur, *Pseudo-Dionysius as Polemicist. The Development and Purpose of the Angelic Hierarchy in Sixth Century Syria*, Ashgate, 2008 (E. Fiori); C.M. Piastra - F. Santi (eds.), *Maria, l'Apocalisse e il Medioevo*, Firenze, 2006 (D. Tripaldi).

**Libri ricevuti**. (pp.223-224)

**Indice degli autori citati**. (pp.225-231)

## **ASE 26/1 2009 – Conflicts and religious pluralities in the cities – Conflitti e pluralità religiosa nelle città**

**Lellia Cracco Ruggini**, *Milano capitale: gruppi religiosi e conflitti fra IV e V secolo*. (pp.7-22)

L'Autrice mette in rilievo come negli ultimi decenni del IV secolo, in Italia e in particolare a Roma (antica capitale) e a Milano (ormai non solo residenza imperiale, ma vera e propria capitale sotto l'episcopato di Aurelio Ambrogio, ex clarissimo romano ed ex governatore dell'Emilia e Liguria), avessero luogo contingenti alleanze e vivaci discussioni fra pagani, ebrei, ariani da una parte e cristiani niceni dall'altra, in un clima larga misura ancora pluralistico e secondo variegate strategie di sopravvivenza. Sin dai primi decenni del V secolo, invece, questo complesso intreccio fra cultura, religione e politica venne meno rapidamente, di pari passo con il prevalere di un'intolleranza nicena sia verbale sia di fatto.

**Emanuela Prinzi**, *La Prima Lettera di Clemente: le ambiguità di un conflitto*. (pp.23-46)

La cosiddetta Prima Lettera di Clemente ai Corinzi è il primo scritto proto-cristiano di cui si cura origine romana. Il suo contesto storico va individuato nella crisi sul finire del I secolo, quando la prima generazione



apostolica è ormai scomparsa: a Roma e a Corinto, infatti, la guida delle comunità è nelle mani di alcune figure chiamate «presbiteri». Da qui, la nascita, a Corinto, di un problema di ri-legittimazione. Il presente contributo si propone di esaminare il «modus operandi» della Chiesa di Roma in questo frangente, attraverso un'attenta lettura del linguaggio retorico della Lettera.

**Mario Girardi**, *Pluralità, convivenze e conflitti religiosi nell'ep. 258 di Basilio di Cesarea ad Epifanio di Salamina*. (pp. 47-63)

Due lettere (perdute) di Epifanio, scritte nella seconda metà del 376 chiedevano conto (e lumi) a Basilio su più di un problema, dai rapporti interecclesiali, tra Gerusalemme, Antiochia, Alessandria, Cesarea di Cappadocia, fino alla individuazione e definizione di etnie allogene nei confini dell'impero (i Magusei), non riconducibili, anzi refrattarie a «clichés» antropologici di matrice cristiana. Nell'unica risposta pervenuta dei Cappadoce (ep. 258), pluralità convivenze e conflitti religiosi mettono in scena una umanità varia, con il prevedibile carico di istanze e interessi che si incrociano e ostacolano senza quasi mai sintonizzarsi. Il divario Basilio-Epifanio non è diverso da quello Basilio-Atanasio in merito alla valutazione delle scisma di Antiochia e, più a monte, al giudizio su Apollinare di Laodicea. E dimostra, ancora una volta, come il fronte dell'ortodossia nicena in Oriente fosse frammentato al punto che gli esiti dei confronto anche con realtà culturali e religiose diverse, come i Magusei persiani di Asia Minore, appaiano in ultima analisi influenzati (negativamente) da un'ottica conflittuale e, dunque, deformante.

**Sergio Zincone**, *Religione e società, città e campagna nell'ambiente antiocheno di Giovanni Crisostomo*. (pp.65-79)

Si è parlato di una frattura netta fra città e campagna nella maggior parte dell'impero del secolo, come attesta anche il fatto che in molte zone i contadini continuavano a parlare le loro antiche lingue. Una situazione di questo genere è testimoniata da Giovanni Crisostomo che, all'inizio del suo ministero presbiterale, all'età di circa 37-38 anni, si trovò ad affrontare non solo conflitti interni alla sua città, a motivo della presenza di giudei, giudaizzanti e anomei, ma anche tensioni fra l'ambiente cittadino, che si avvertono nelle sue omelie sulle statue, pronunciate nel 387. Gli anni 386-87 furono infatti cruciali e assai impegnativi. Non appena consacrato presbitero, il Crisostomo si trovò ad affrontare questioni e situazioni diverse, tutte caratterizzate da notevoli tensioni e conflittualità: la polemica anti giudaica, in particolare contro i cristiani giudaizzanti, la lotta nei confronti dell'anomeismo, e infine i disordini scoppiati ad Antiochia a causa dell'inasprimento fiscale, che portarono all'abbattimento delle statue imperiali.

**Giovanni Nigro**, *Antiochia nella seconda metà dei IV secolo: Giovanni Crisostomo fra cristiani, pagani ed eretici* (pp.81-98)

L'articolo considera l'attività svolta da Giovanni Crisostomo ad Antiochia a favore della costruzione di un'identità cristiana. La locale comunità, numericamente maggioritaria ma divisa al suo interno, appare esposta a influssi di varia natura (ebraici, non cristiani ed eterodossi): l'appartenenza religiosa non è vissuta in maniera esclusiva. Nella predicazione, Giovanni pone l'accento sulla conoscenza delle Scritture e sull'importanza di una vita vissuta secondo il Vangelo, per ricondurre a unità i gruppi cristiani e attrarre neofiti. L'invito alla carità reciproca ha lo scopo di smorzare le tensioni sociali, affermando al contempo la propria identità religiosa. Clero e laici sono richiamati alle proprie responsabilità; è condannata la violenza nei confronti degli eretici a vantaggio di un'azione di recupero, che condanni l'errore e persuada attraverso le opere.

**Giancarlo Rinaldi**, *«Rectores aliqui». Note prosopografiche per lo studio dei rapporti tra impero romano e comunità cristiane*. (pp.99-164)

I rapporti tra cristianesimo e impero furono prioritariamente rapporti tra cristiani di varia appartenenza e le autorità che in loco, rappresentavano l'impero. I magistrati locali si avvalevano di un ampio margine di discrezionalità anche in relazione al fenomeno cristiano. La ricerca offre al lettore un elenco di governatori delle province d'Asia, Africa ed Egitto per i quali il rapporto con la realtà cristiana è attestato o congetturabile. Si tratta di uno studio prevalentemente prosopografico mirante a evidenziare, per quanto possibile, le convinzioni di tipo religioso e l'atteggiamento 'culturale' di ogni singolo personaggio. Questa prospettiva supera quella oramai obsoleta che si limita allo studio dei rapporti tra 'Chiesa' e 'Impero' / imperatori e mira a fornire una trama di relazioni, anche personali, più fitta ed articolata. Il più significativo modello di questo approccio è già nella rievocazione lucana della missione di Paolo di Tarso, laddove il suo diversificato rapporto con esponenti del governo romano fa da filigrana e da significante tanto della prima

predicazione cristiana quanto dello sviluppo delle più antiche comunità. Per questo, anche Tertulliano ed altri con lui si preoccuparono di rivolgere le loro perorazioni a governatori di provincia. Rectores aliqui tenta di ricostruire il volto e l'atteggiamento di questi personaggi.

#### Interventi

**Caterina Moro**, *Mosè nell'Egitto greco-romano: tradizioni in conflitto*. (pp.165-170)

La quasi totalità delle fonti su Mosè testimonia un conflitto tra ebrei e ambiente circostante (il mondo ellenistico-romano, e in particolare l'Egitto), conflitto le cui facce contrapposte sono la polemica pagana, rappresentata da Manetone, Cheremone Lisimaco, Apione (e altri che prendono spunto da loro), e l'apologia ebraica, rappresentata da racconti in lingua greca (gli autori giudeo-ellenistici) e in lingua ebraica. Le storie di Mosè, tuttavia, non hanno valore solo come testimonianza di un conflitto, ma anche come specchio, più o meno deformante, di tradizioni narrative e religiose cui, per vari motivi, non possiamo più accedere. Fra queste tradizioni, ve ne sono sicuramente alcune che permettono di gettare uno sguardo sul pensiero del giudaismo egiziano, un giudaismo i cui tratti distintivi emergono di fatto nella ricerca di un proprio «diritto di cittadinanza» culturale.

**Marianna Cerno**, *Immagini topiche dell'agiografia martiriale: un repertorio dei testi circolanti in Italia nell'alto Medioevo*. (pp. 171-176)

L'articolo presenta un repertorio di testi martiriali che raccoglie circa 200 narrazioni agiografiche relative a martiri (Acta o Passiones), redatte in prosa e in lingua latina, che circolavano in Italia nell'alto Medioevo (VI-X) secolo. Lo scopo dello studio di questi testi non è tanto quello di individuare dei modelli, quanto piuttosto di constatare la presenza o meno, nei componimenti che hanno segnato la nascita del genere letterario, di quei motivi agiografici divenuti poi topici, e anche di mettere a fuoco il patrimonio culturale ed espressivo condiviso dai latinofoni d'Occidente-fossero essi cristiani, pagani o eretici-nei vari secoli dell'alto Medioevo. Nel lavoro si registrano le citazioni (o anche solo gli echi), derivanti dal testo biblico e dagli scritti apocrifi, che si possono riscontrare più di frequente nelle Passioni esaminate.

**Recensioni e segnalazioni**. (pp.177-184).

Robert A. Kitchen - Maartien F.G. Parmentier (eds.), *The Book of Steps. The Syriac Liber Graduum*, Kalamazoo, 2004 (E.. Stori); Simcha Fishbane, *Deviancy in Early Rabbinic Literature: A Collection of Socio-Anthropological Essays*, Leiden, 2007 (M. Tavoloni); Luigi Canetti, *Il passero spennato. Riti, agiografia e memoria dal Tardoantico al Medioevo*, Spoleto, 2007 (M. Salvioli).

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**Indici delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.195-196)

### **ASE 26/2 2009 – Christianity and the Conflict in the Modern and Contemporary Ages – Cristianesimo e conflitto in età moderna e contemporanea**

**Umberto Mazzone**, *Introduzione* (pp.9-24)

*L'età moderna / The modern age*

**Roberto Osculati**, *Francisco de Ribera (1537-1591) e la profezia biblica* (pp.25-45)

The Spanish Jesuit, Francisco de Ribera (1537-1591), teacher of Holy Scripture at the University of Salamanca, published in autumn 1587 a vast commentary on the twelve minor prophets. In examining prophetic language, he sought to distinguish among the literal, allegorical, tropological and moral meanings. The events considered by Jewish prophecy always allude to a reality that would eventually come to pass in the history of Israel and humanity. Above all, however, the prophecies indicated the character of messianic times, fidelity to the gospel, the life of the Church and of the individual soul. Prophetic words have an immediate meaning, but also converge towards the central event of the gospel and its spiritual presence in any time. This type of interpretation was taught by Jesus himself, and by Paul and John. Most importantly,

the Christian exegetes of Antiquity understood the dynamic, practical and universal character of Jewish prophecy. Among them excelled Jerome and, with regard to the moral meaning, Gregory the Great. Prophecy always reveals the passage from the past to present and future, from the external to interiority, from history to mysticism, from ritual to personal devotion, from worldliness to the body of Christ and the apocalyptic expectation. It is a continual and constant admonition to an often corrupt Christianity, which always needs to re-embark, internally, on the path towards individual and collective conversion proposed in the scriptures.

**Vincenzo Lavenia**, *Non arma tractare sed animas. Cappellani cattolici, soldati e catechesi di guerra in età moderna* (pp.47-100)

The author outlines the development of religious care for soldiers during the modern age, from Charles V up to Pius IX, tracing the rise of centrally-controlled military chaplainships. The investigation is underpinned by the analysis of the vast literature on wartime religious instruction, which has been studied only marginally up to now. In the foreground is the work of the Jesuits, from Antonio Possevino to Emond Auger. The Jesuitical method, applied in the context of major armed forces, turned out to be particularly efficient in the preaching to soldiers. The strengthening of fledgling modern European states led to the development of stable chaplainships, which had nonetheless appeared in late sixteenth-century Flanders under Hapsburg rule. Progress in the military arts during the Enlightenment brought in its wake an improvement in spiritual assistance, the Christian soldier becoming the first to respect the rights of peoples. In conclusion, however, the work of Christian religious personnel did nothing to diminish the brutality of war.

**Paola Vismara**, *A proposito del prestito a interesse. Conflitti teologici e divergenze pastorali nel Settecento italiano* (pp.101-113)

Issues arising from the use of money and the legitimacy of interest-paying loans gained in urgency during the modern era. The development of economic-financial activities therefore exerted considerable influence. Moreover, the underlying themes were of a doctrinal character and regarded the very conception of man, perceived in highly divergent ways. Within the Counter Reformation Church, only apparently monolithic, the consequences of the resulting theological conflicts reverberated also at the pastoral level, albeit to a lesser degree, thus generating serious difficulties and conflicts of conscience. With the end of the rigorist phase, the problems abated, without, however, finding a univocal solution.

**Jay Goodale**, *Confessional Struggles in Electoral Saxony, 1574 -92* (pp.115-135)

Although Calvinism was attractive to many German princes and high-ranking theologians in the second half of the sixteenth century, it was an abomination for other elites, as the visitor to Wildenhain put it, particularly in Electoral Saxony between 1574-86 and the years immediately following 1591. Both Calvinist and Lutheran elites felt compelled to impose their creed on their subjects for a variety of motives, and experienced various levels of success. But the laity, far from passive, was also an agent in this dynamic, endorsing or rejecting the efforts of the elites in numerous ways. Both parties sought to derive advantage from the process by which certain doctrines and liturgical practices were once again introduced. The conflicts of the Reformation were not confined to abstract theology, but permeated all of village life.

**Alexander Schunka**, *Interconfessional Conflicts and Religious Migration* (pp.137-152)

The article connects the attempts at confessional and political homogenization and centralization in early modern Europe with the phenomenon of religious migration from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Most of the large emigrations in the early modern era derived from Habsburg counter-reformation policies. After an overview of the local political strategies and the emigrations from Habsburg territories, the article addresses the shaping of an immigrant community comprising Habsburg exiles with different cultural and social backgrounds and religious beliefs. It argues that the idea of the Habsburg authorities was to create a largely homogeneous Catholic population. However the emigrations contributed to the failures of this policy as well as to the creation of exile communities under the shared experiences of emigration. Traditions of exile, constancy, and faith led to the shaping of integrative common identities abroad which the Habsburg authorities had failed to achieve at home.

**Franco Motta**, *Il breve meriggio degli sconfitti. Programmi di superamento del conflitto confessionale nello scacchiere della politica europea, 1606-1617* (pp.153-177)

For some fifteen years, during the early seventeenth century, in the period that opened with the «war of the Interdiction» between Venice and Rome, and closed with the Habsburg re-conquest of Bohemia, the

possibility of reconciliation between confessional forces appeared a feasible project, at least in the eyes of a minority of European intellectuals. Theologians, philosophers, jurists, and scholars, including Grotius, Bacon, Sarpi, Kepler, Casaubon, De Dominis and Lukaris, all in dose correspondence, shamed a common ideal of religious reconciliation, founded on a denial of the primacy of dogma over civil cohabitation (which was instead being bolstered, not only by the catholic Church, but also by the more rigid factions of Protestantism) and on the adoption of the basic doctrinal traits of Christianity. Faith, science and politics were interwoven within a genuinely Irenist ideology, which envisaged as the cohesive element an integration of political sovereignty, the rejection of Aristotelian philosophical paradigm and, at the same time, of the supremacy of scholastic theology: the years coinciding with the early reign of James I of England seemed to herald a golden age of peace, all too soon belied by the outbreak of the Thirty Year War.

**Jane E. Calvert**, *Quaker Constitutionalism. An Overview of the Origins of American Civil Disobedience* (pp.179-193)

The Quakers are more generally seen as “withdrawers” from American politics, and thus unworthy of attention. Because of perceptions such as these, although their actions in the public sphere have been well documented, the Quaker contribution to the ideas, institutions, and processes of the American polity has remained unarticulated. This essay gives a brief overview of the seventeenth-century origins of the Quaker theologico-political thought and civic engagement and touches briefly on their considerable significance for American sociopolitical reform movements since then. The most tangible political legacy of Quakerism is the theory and practice of civil disobedience, With their understanding of a constitution that was both sacred and amendable through peaceful means, Quakers originated a process of dissent that limited government while at the same time demonstrating a strong sense of political obligation to the structures and principles that bound the polity together.

*L'età contemporanea / The contemporary age*

**Maria Lupi**, *Chiesa e dissenso religioso: vecchi cattolici a Roma* (pp.195-220)

The work investigates an important episode of Italian catholic dissidence relating to the declaration of papal infallibility, eventually converging on the Old catholic Church. It focuses on the Rome-based groups linked to Enrico di Campelio, who left the catholic Church in 1881. With the aid of new documents discovered in the Archive of the Sant'Uffizio, the study sets out to throw light on the interest that the old catholic movements aroused in Italy, on their diffusion, links, influences and mutual exchanges among various groups, and among them and different Christian confessions, also examining the sympathies raised in public opinion and among Italian political leaders, who favored the creation of catholic religious movements removed from Roman intransigence. Above all, however, the experiences of this group can help to understand more generally the reasons of dissent in a clergy dissatisfied with the situation of State and Church, who yearned for some vague form of religious reform, and the reactions of the ecclesiastical authorities, in particular the Sant'Uffizio, to manifestations of dissent. The study therefore provides elucidation on relations between religion and politics, and among different religious experiences, in a complex socio-political climate of deep conflict: between the intransigent clericalism which then dominated the clergy and lay members of catholic associations, on the one hand, and the sometimes heated anticlericalism, on the other, which emphasized, even in the press, religious issues in contrast with the Roman line.

**Alberto Siclari**, *Cristianesimo e cristianità in Kierkegaard. Il conflitto fra spiritualità pietista e ordine stabilito* (pp.221-249)

In a section of the *Exercise of Christianity*, Kierkegaard delineates the recurring conflict between the spiritual man, who holds himself responsible before God for every moment of his own life, and the religious establishment, which attempts to prevail as the term of reference for each believer. This conflict results in a paradigmatic contraposition of Christ, considered to be the teacher of spirituality, to the Scribes and Pharisees, and is characterized as the contrast between pietist spirituality and the established order. Within this perspective, Kierkegaard also interprets his own attachment to the Danish Church, accused of preventing, through its own sacralization, an effective development of Christian religiosity.

**Umberto Mazzone**, *A Religious War? Suggestions from the First World War* (pp.251-277)

This essay tries to go back over some of the issues that seem to be common to all of the European Christian churches during the First World War, and presents some examples of data extrapolated from the Austro-Hungarian situation. These are issues that would be destined to be rooted in the life of the churches for many years to come. Going beyond the war years an effort should be made to reconstruct how, during the First World War, a process was started which led to the construction of the theological-political-historical framework that allowed for the construction of a religion of the homeland as a path for that nationalization of the masses that then took on a totalitarian face. It is undeniable that the First World War provided a fundamental contribution, through the projection of the theme of nation by way of religious values and the consolidation of a self-understanding of the war as a religious war, outlining in more robust terms the sacralization of politics that would represent one of the dominant notes of the Right-wing regimes and movements in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose development cannot be separated from the War experience itself. In this sense, it seems as though the Great War has been endowed with a precise as well as decisive genetic function vis-à-vis the manifestation of the immediately ensuing totalitarianism regimes. Hence, if we assume a scenario of the sacralization of politics and the Fatherland, we can conclude that even if the concept of war of religion can only be partially assumed and limited to just some areas, the concept of religious war instead appears to be fully applicable to what has hitherto been examined.

**Bruna Bocchini Camaiani**, *Obbedienza e conflitti nella esperienza religiosa ed ecclesiale e nella riflessione di Ernesto Balducci* (pp.279-300)

The experiences and ideas on the subject of obedience of father Ernesto Balducci, member of the Scolopi foundation (1912-1992), from the 1940s to the end of the 1970s, throw light upon a special period in the history of the Italian Church and religious life. They exemplify the frequent tensions arising among the various spiritual, ecclesial and political currents, which characterized the ecclesiastical community, the diverse interpretations of the Church-society relationship, and the repercussions generated by such situations within ecclesiastical institutions. Balducci's religious and cultural ideas expressed the quest for renewal that shared many common themes with the avant-garde intellectual groups present in theological circles, as well as among Italian and European intellectual circles in general, all of whom regularly clashed with the approach of the ecclesiastical establishment and with the directives of the hierarchy, in particular, the Italian one. His reflection and experience had much in common with major clerical and lay figures of Italian Catholicism in the '40s and '50s, such as Mazzolari, Turollo, La Pira and Arturo Paoli. Like them, he underwent frequent censure and disciplinary actions or "silencing orders". His acceptance of them fell within a logic of obedience, while he continued to defend his opinions with a high degree of autonomy. The reflection of the Vatican Council led him to reformulate new perspectives, also on the theme of obedience: it became a duty of «responsibility to God» not «endorse by silence» procedures that did not respect freedom of conscience and the «primacy of the common good». In the post-council period, Balducci was both witness to and lead player in the crises and complex dynamics that characterized the Italian Church and society.

**Steve Bruce**, *Religion in the Northern Ireland Conflict* (pp.301-323)

This essay gives a brief account of the Northern Ireland 'Troubles' (1970-1994) and considers the part that religious ideas and organizations have played in that conflict. It argues that religion has been an important element in ethnic identity and, because Irish constitutional politics have been largely based on ethnic rivalry, religion has been important in maintaining political divisions. However, religious leaders have generally worked hard to maintain a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate expressions of political preference. This is true even for Jan Paisley, the clergyman with the greatest impact on Ulster politics. While religion is implicated in political goals, it has had a civilizing effect on political means.

**John D. Carlson**, *Just War, Just Revolution: Self-evident Truths, Biblical Roots, and the Revolutionary Origins of American Exceptionalism* (pp.325-341)

The United States has relied heavily upon "just war" thought to justify morally and politically its wars of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Today, however, competing understandings of the "presumption against violence" and the resort to force threaten the internal coherence of this tradition. Interestingly, these different contemporary approaches to just war have analogues in the moral deliberation about the US War of Independence. Justifications for the American Revolution drew, on the other hand, from republican political theories about self-governance, human equality, and inalienable rights and, on the other hand, from biblical roots emphasizing early Americans' religious sense of calling and their belief in God's providential working in history. The Revolution served as a defining moment in which these two strands converged to form what

became known as American civil religion. Since that time, just war thought has been unable to bridge its own universal and particularistic elements in ways it successfully was able to do through just a revolution. This essay argues that both strands must be re-appropriated and sustained if just war thinking is to overcome its current internal divisions and cohere as a moral-political theory to which the United States can lay exemplary claim.

**Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.343-354)

Sergio La Porta, *The Armenian Scholia on Dionysius the Areopagite. Studies on their Literary and Philological Tradition* (E. Fiori); Renzo Infante, *I cammini dell'angelo nella Daunia tardoantica e medievale* (C.C. Berardi); M. Bellomo, *Quaestiones in iure civili disputatae. Didattica e prassi colta nel sistema del diritto comune fra Duecento e Trecento* (F. Roversi Monaco); *Alessandro I Dhû l-Qarnayn, in viaggio tra i due mari, a cura di Carlo Saccone* (F. Benozzo); Fondazione Pasquale Valerio per la Storia delle Donne, *Archivio per la storia delle donne, 6 voll.* (S. Cabibbo).

**Libri ricevuti** (pp. 355-357)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp. 359-371)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche** (pp.373-374)

**ASE 27/1 2010 – Conflicts and Community in Ancient Christianity – Conflitti e comunità nel cristianesimo antico.**

**Mauro Pesce**, *Presentazione*. (p.9)

I. Conflicts

**Simon C. Mimouni**, *Qu'est-ce qu'un "chrétien" aux I<sup>er</sup> et II<sup>e</sup> siècles? Identité ou conscience?* (pp.11-34)

Based on the well documented case of the Antioch community, the author seeks to demonstrate here that being Christian applies to a group movement in the lap of a multifaceted Judaism of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, in which not only members of ethnic Judaeo origin are encountered but also members of other ethnic origins. This is why in the earliest Christian communities, the extent of culturally-related doctrinal diversity has no limits despite tendencies toward "orthodox" hegemony established by the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries and which later in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries will give birth to what is called Christianity. In short, he attempts to prove that there is no Christian identity in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, but rather a prevailing Christian consciousness.

**Emanuele Castelli**, *La cattedra della Chiesa e il trono dei vescovo tra II e III sec. a Roma: ricerche sul contesto storico della "statua d'ippolito"*. (pp.35-50)

With Margherita Guarducci's revolutionary uncovering of the original female identity of the "statue of Hyppolitus", the problem arises of the identity ascribed to the statue in the Christian environment between the late-second and early-third century. A study of the available sources, in particular the Shepherd of Hermas. allows an identification of the sculpture with the representation of the teaching Church. In the light of this result, the author reconstructs the situation of the Roman church on the eve of the third century, when Callixtus was elected the new bishop of Rome (217-222), and, from his "throne of the episcopate", excommunicated the so-called author of the Refutatio. In this context, the statue was employed by the author of the Refutatio for polemical purposes.

**Emanuela Colombi**, *Piuralità di versioni e conflitti tra sedi episcopali: le cronache veneziane antiche*. (pp.51-76)

The article focuses on the different versions of the birth of the patriarchate of Grado recounted in ancient Venetian chronicles. In the *Historia Langobardorum*, Paolo Diacono had announced the news of patriarch Paul's flight to Grado after the Longobard invasion of Aquileia. Between the tenth and eleventh century, the Venetian chroniclers manipulated this information, embellishing it with the removal to Grado of the relics of the Aquileian saint. However, the relics differ from one chronicle to another: the comparison with

contemporary hagiographic texts, investigating the discrepancies among the examined chronicles, allows scholars to trace developments in the political-religious relations between Aquileia, Grado and Venice.

**Chiara Spuntarelli**, *Didascalia e potere episcopale ad Antiochia nell'ideologia dei panegirici di Giovanni Crisostomo*. (pp. 77-100)

Products of the Antiochean milieu, John Chrysostom's eulogies dedicated to Ignatius, Eustasius and Meletius are seen as part of an overall project aiming at the reconstruction of the Antiochean community and a redefinition of it that would erase the divisions created by the schism, with the purpose of legitimating Meletius and Flavian. Within this perspective, adopting a strategy later borrowed by Theodoret, Chrysostom establishes a continuity that runs from the teachings of Peter to those of Flavian. The legacy was configured as a new foundation of the city of the Spirit. At the same time, on the external front, it was viewed as an "ideological" and political operation, whose goal was to forge a bridge between Rome and Antioch. In this sense, Chrysostom seems to resume Basil's earlier attempt, and the action of Cappadocia in response to the schism. Seen from inside, Chrysostom's operation was perceived as complementary to the urban policy regarding «martyria» followed by Meletius and Flavian.

**Gaetano Lettieri**, *Centri in conflitto e parole di potenza. Normalizzazione e subordinazione dell'agostinismo al primato romano nel V secolo* (pp.101-170)

What is the centre, what the periphery? Who the limbs, and who the «caput»? Is it the «princeps», heir of Christ, the «persona» of Peter living in the Pope, or the sublime brain of western patriarchy, who represents the very «Vultus» of God as the Almighty Spirit revealed by the Scriptures? Was it Rome, the theological-political centre that defeated the empire, or was it the powerful, chosen African province, irreducible enemy of Roman «libido dominandi»? Was it the absolute «potentia» of the apostolic see, the hierarchical core of the institution and of the redeeming «oboedienda lex», able to metabolize whatever powerful, "fanatical" theological claims to absolute truth, or was it the charismatic church constituted anywhere by an event of grace, which inevitably defeats the former and elects the latter, transforming all forms of human greatness into decadent periphery? The article sets out to examine the inexorable coherence of Rome's hegemonic theological-political strategy in addressing the central theological question of grace, which was radically reformulated by the neo-Pauline, yet far from traditionally Catholic, reflection of Augustine. The Roman strategy had as priority the monarchic definition of a systematic geo-political-ecclesiastical relationship between centre (Rome) and periphery (Africa, Provence, all the West, the entire Christian world). However, with the arrival of the West's greatest and most profound theologian, the Roman church was forced to reassess its own interpretation of Christianity — as a universal redeeming law and public religious governance, guaranteed by the institutionalized charisma of the papal «caput»— in the face of the overwhelmingly superior claim of the African Augustine, who identified the core of revelation with the announcement of an event of almighty grace, beyond human control, and also beyond all form of «lex», «praxis» and ecclesiastical mediation, through which, however, it operates.

**Giorgia Grandi**, *Pluralità e conflitti religiosi nelle città. Deserto, città e conflitti ecclesiastici nelle Vite di Gerolamo*. (pp.171-180)

The purpose of the article is to study the relationship between city and desert in IV century and to analyze how this relationship is seen through the eye, often influenced by moods and ideologies, of an author who lived his whole life between East and West; Jerome from Stridon. In the three Hermits' Lives, written by the saint in the space of often years, is mirrored the opposition — but also the possible integration — between conflicting worlds such as city and desert (respectively seen as symbols of corruption and purity), classical and pagan culture, ecclesiastical organization and monachism.

**Marianna Cerno**, *Riflessi di conflitti politici e teologici in alcuni esempi di letteratura martiriale di area aquileiese*. (pp.181-188)

Historical and social circumstances, the needs of the public, and catechetical requirements all lead redactors to revise hagiographic texts. Two examples from the Aquileian area are investigated: the Passione di Donato, patron of Cividale and the Passione di Domnio di Salona, patron of Split. The former, possibly a tenth-century redaction, is similar in style and content to the Passio Pollionis, an ancient text that is reformulated particularly in the doctrinal sections, but also updated in keeping to the different sensibilities of a public that no longer feels close to the age of persecution. By contrast, the Passione di Doinnio, based on historical events dating back to the seventh century, is characterized by the protagonist's duality, comprising elements

of Domnius, an early martyr of the Trajan age, and Domnio (-onis), an early bishop who died under Diocletian. The contents of the *Passione* are examined, alongside analogies with important hagiographic texts of the Adriatic area, with special reference to the apostolic origin of the Churches of Salona, Ravenna and Aquileia, and their respective theological-political experiences.

**Cristiana Facchini**, *Le metamorfosi di un'ostilità antica. Antisemitismo e cultura cattolica nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento.* (pp.189-232)

The article sets out to analyse the complex relationship between modern anti-Semitism, emerging during the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, and Catholic culture, in an attempt to propose a new interpretation of a far from a merely “nominalistic” issue, i.e. the dichotomy between anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. After reconstructing the geography of anti-Semitism of Christian matrix in the second half of the nineteenth century, the author analyses some interpretations of intellectuals of the time (A. Leroy-Beaulieu, H. Dagan, B. Lazare), partly originating from a French Catholic context, who were the first to attempt an analysis of a phenomenon that was at once new and ancient. The analysis uncovers some issues of great interest, for example, the merging of anti-Semitic ideologies, nationalism and Christian states.

## II. Communitarian forms

**Adriana Destro - Mauro Pesce**, *Gesù, le città e i villaggi. Le città guardate dalla periferia* (pp.233-254)

No one can escape the cultural influence of a globalizing society, but this will not prevent some from attempting to react against it and also to fight it as far as possible. Jesus appears distant in style and behaviour from the Roman world. In itself, the fact is hardly surprising. The urge to non-integration is generally stronger when an innovative response arises within local and peripheral social structures. Jesus' reactions to the central system and urban world basically intended to be set in villages and rural areas, where he thought it was still possible to combat integration and resist Romanization. Jesus operated within a territory that was rather remote from the world of the time, the Land of Israel, and he asked the people of the villages to maintain their roots there. There is no migration, no territorial expansion, no attempt to conquer.

**Simon C. Mimouni**, *Les imposteurs dans les communautés chrétiennes des I-II siècles.* (pp.255-266)

Prophets or magicians, false in the former case and true in the second, are categories used for the purpose of de-legitimation: both evoke the Judaism of the Second Temple, where they were used to demonize adversaries. Christians were not therefore the first to adopt such concepts, which had already been encountered in both Greek and Jewish milieus. The question of impostors is fundamental for understanding Christianity in the first two centuries. After all, it was nomadic thinkers, not sedentary ones, who permitted the expansion of the movement and the diffusion of its sometime contradictory and often divergent ideas. This phenomenon, broadly outlined here, was a central fact of antique society during the time of the Roman empire (particularly, in the first and second centuries). It is encountered in all marginal religious forms marked by esotericism and mysticism. The Christian movement did not escape these two characteristics. However, from the fourth century on, they were to varying degrees dissimulated for the future. The institution did not suffer because of such marginality — these two original traits — even if it had to make recourse to the origins for its own legitimation.

**Roberto Alciati - Mariachiara Giorda**, *Famiglia cristiana e pratica monastica (IV- VII secolo)* (pp.267-292)

In summing up the fundamental characteristics of Christian monastic-ascetic life, two tangible signs of rupture with society are evident: the abandonment of family and rejection of all wealth. Although clearly a generalization, it is one that finds widespread confirmation in the literary production of Antiquity. The authors present an in-depth exploration of this generalization. The result of two separate lines of research, one on Egyptian (M. Giorda), the other on Gallic monasticism (R. Alciati), show a surprising convergence among documents produced in monastic circles, in the centrality of the family — in both the literal and symbolic sense — and of wealth. Dismissing the hypothesis of chance, the authors decided to embark on a common research project aimed at reconstructing the diverse outcomes of what seems to be an inextricable bond, that between the Christian family and monastic poverty.

## III. Miscellaneous



**Roberto Tadiello**, *Salvezza e altri corollari nel Deutero-Isaia* (pp.293-308)

The article does not attempt a systematic and comprehensive discussion of the Deutero Isaiah and his words (Is 40 — 55), but traces the development of some of the exiled prophet's ideas/intuitions, starting from his basic message. Such ideas and intuitions are the cause of dismay to the prophet himself, who is reduced almost to a stammer by their «revolutionary» implications, set against his solidly traditional ideological mindset, albeit belied by events. On the one hand, they express the tragedy of exile, while on the other, they are full of hope for what the God of Israel is about to achieve through a non-Davidic king.

**Daniele Ruini**, *La tradizione latina del Protovangelo di Giacomo e la Conception Nostre Dame di Wace*. (pp.309-324)

The work explores the relationship between Wace's Conception Nostre Dame, a 12th-century poem in oil narrating the life of the Virgin, and one of its sources, the Proto-gospel of James, written in Greek in the 2nd century. The analysis of the Latin tradition of the Proto-gospel highlights a strong affinity between the Conception and a homily composed at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Postulatis Filiae Jerusalem*. Such similarity suggests that both Wace and the homily's author independently drew upon the same Latin translation of the Proto-gospel of James.

**Emiliano B. Fiori**, *Elementi evagriani nella traduzione siriana di Dionigi l'Areopagita: la strategia di Sergio di Reš'aynā* (pp.325-334)

The paper seeks to explain a case of divergence between the Greek text of the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite and its Syriac translation undertaken by Sergio di Reš'aynā in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century. The latter makes a terminological distinction between human and angelic intellects, and introduces the language of inter-mixing. It suggests a deliberate attempt to bring the Dionysian language closer to that of Evagrius. This strategy underlines with greater emphasis the polemic already implicit in the Greek original, against the more radical developments in Evagrian mysticism and eschatology in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, in particular those introduced by Stefano bar Sudaili.

**Emanuela Colombi**, *Le edizioni delle Passiones aquileiesi e istriane* (pp.335-358)

The Udine research unit has been engaged for years on the production of critical editions of Passions originating in the Aquileian and istrian area, written in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The author sums up the results relating to the Passions published in the first volume of the series. Although dealing with texts composed sometimes at very long intervals from each other, some common characteristics are found that identify the model of holiness characterizing the local religious community.

Cronache

*I Colloquio Biblico Bolognese. La trasmissione delle parole di Gesù nei primi tre secoli* (Università di Bologna, 12-14 Maggio 2008) (Luigi Walt) (pp.359-362)

**Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.363-388)

Akira Satake, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Göttingen 2008 (D. Tripaldi); April D. DeConick (ed.), *The Codex Judas Papers - Proceedings of the international Congress on the Tchacos Codex held at Rice University March 13-16, 2008*, Leiden - Boston 2009 (M. Grosso); Luca Arcari, «Una donna avvolta nel sole...» (*Apoc* /2,1). *Le raffigurazioni femminili nella Apocalisse di Giovanni alla luce della letteratura apocalittica giudaica*, Padova 2008 (D. Tripaldi); Ada Campione, *Il culto di san Michele in Campania. Antonino e Cateilo*, Bari 2007 (R. Infante); Innocenzo Gargano — Lorenzo Saraceno (a cura di), *La «Grammatica di Cristo» di Pier Damiani. Un maestro per il nostro tempo*, San Pietro in Cariano 2009 (G.M. Cantarella); Gottlob Christian Storr — Johann Friedrich Flatt, *Etica e fede. Teologi leggono Kant*, a cura di Enrico Colombo, Milano 2008 (H. Spano); Susan Ashbrook Harvey — David G. Hunter (edd.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, Oxford 2008 (C. Gianotto); *Porfirio, Contro i cristiani, nella raccolta di Adolf von Harnack con tutti i nuovi frammenti in appendice*, a cura di Giuseppe Muscolini, Milano 2009 (A. Magris); Carmen Bernabè — Carlo s Cil (edd.), *Reimaginando los orígenes del cristianismo. Relevancia social y eclesial de los estudios sobre los orígenes del cristianismo*, Estella 2008 (M. Rescio); Sergio Cingoiani, *Dizionario di critica testuale del Nuovo Testamento. Storia, canone, apocrifi, paleografia*, Cinisello Balsamo 2008 (L. Walt); Boris Ulianich (ed.), *La Croce. Iconografia e interpretazione* (secoli 1—

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**ASE 27/2 2010 Jesus' Followers and Their Identities. A News Letter on the Historical Jesus – Le identità dei seguaci di Gesù. Il dibattito sul Gesù Storico.**

**Mauro Pesce**, *Presentazione*. (pp.9-10)

**James C. Miller**, *Communal Identity in Philippians*. (pp.11-23)

This article traces the processes of identity formation and the contours of the identity constructed in Paul's letter to the Philippians. After an overview of the central tenets of collective identity, the paper examines the argument of the letter through the lens provided by these key factors. Collective identity involves a perception of similarity and difference from other groups, maintains a sense of continuity through time via communal narratives and behavioral norms, and is formed through a process of social interaction. In Philippians, Paul embeds his auditors within the story of God's gospel. Within that story, embodying the mindset (σφρόνησις) of Christ forms the behavioral norm that distinguishes insiders from outsiders. The article concludes with a synopsis of the "theologic" structuring the narrative world depicted in the letter.

**Lung-kwong Lo**, «Neither Jew nor Greek». *Galatians 3,28 Revisited*. (pp.25-33)

The famous Pauline phrase «Neither Jew nor Greeks» (Gal 3,28) had been interpreted not only as an important foundation for the unity of Christians in the West, the formation of one Catholic Church, it is also decisive in the understanding of mission in the various locations and among different ethnic groups in non-European world. The phrase was interpreted as the distinctiveness of Jew and Greek is erased in Christ, so the categories of ethnic group should also be erased. This interpretation of Gal 3,28 does not only mistaken to Paul and his contexts, it causes serious mistakes in the missionary movement in the 19th century. For Paul does not ask the Gentiles to live as Jews. A revisit to this famous phrase is important to understand the construction of Christian identities in the early Christianity and the world Christianity.

**Nina E. Livesey**, *Paul, the Philonic Jew (Philippians 3,5-21)*. (pp.35-44)

Paul is very often constructed as a Christian. This construct is not only anachronistic, because Christianity does not begin until sometime considerably later than Paul, but also false because Paul never claims to be anything other than a Jew. In Phil 3,5-21 Paul devalues his own Jewish identity in favour of one based in the Anointed, and it is often in reference to this self-analysis that students of Paul make the assumption that he left Judaism and became Christian. Yet in his articulation of his new and more highly prized identity with the Anointed, at that point where he seems most likely to have stepped from Judaism into Christianity, Paul's language reveals an abundance of parallels to the well-known Greco-Roman motif of self-mastery common to the writings of his Jewish contemporary Philo.

**Michael Allen Daise**, *Ritual Transference and Johannine Identity* (pp.45-51)

In *Come nasce una religione* (2000) Adriana Destro and Mauro Pesce noted that, in carving out its identity, the Johannine community conceived of its cult, not as the spatially circumscribed temple in Jerusalem, but as a Spirit mediated worship within each individual. In this essay I build on their observation by (1) noticing the phrase 'Father's house' in John 14,2 as a further Johannine metaphor for this Spirit mediated worship and (2) tracing the narrative dynamic that occurs between this use of the phrase and the earlier use of it for the Jerusalem temple in John 2,16.

**Lori Baron**, *Interpreting the Shema: Liturgy and Identity in the Fourth Gospel*. (pp.53-60)

The synoptic Gospels all cite a portion of the Shema, «Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one. And you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your might» (Deut 6,4-

5) The Shema, a prayer recited twice daily, was a focal point for Jewish monotheistic belief. While the Shema is not quoted directly in John, it will be argued here that its themes and theology, its key words and concepts, are woven throughout the narrative and help define both John's Christology and the shape of his community of believers in Jesus. In John, allusions to the Shema, e.g. "The Father and I are one" (John 10,30), take place at the height of bitter controversies surrounding Jesus' identity and the threat that claims about him posed to Jewish monotheism. John's use of the Shema is thus instrumental in developing the identities of two distinct groups: Jews who believe in Jesus and Jews who do not.

**Bas van Os**, *From the True Israel to True Christianity* (pp.61-67)

In this article, the author compares the attempts of both mainstream and Gnostic Christian authors to persuade their audiences not to cross identity boundaries with their sister-religion. Some mainstream Christians, like John Chrysostom, argue that their community is the True Israel and that its members should stop participating in Jewish rituals. Some Gnostic Christians turn this into an argument against mainstream Christianity- The authors of the Gospel of Philip and the Gospel of Judas see their communities as the True Christians and argue that mainstream Christian rituals are sacrifices to the Jewish God, who is not the True Father. The key to understanding the Gospel of Judas lies in the recognition that those Gnostic Christians who continue to participate in mainstream Christian rituals (Baptism and Eucharist) are not followers of Jesus, but of Judas.

**Alec J. Lucas**, *Unearthing an Intra -Jewish. Interpretive Debate?* (pp.69-91)

Building upon the work of N.T. Wright and Francis Watson, in which prominence is placed on Paul's allusion to the golden calf incident of Ps 106(105),20 in Rom 1,23 and his implicit dialogue with Wis 11-19 throughout Rom 1,18 - 2,4, this article proposes that Paul may have drawn upon a pre-existing intra-Jewish debate concerning identity-construction. On one side of the debate would have been apologetically-oriented Diaspora Jews subscribing to the emphases of Wis 11-19, including differentiation of Jews from idolatrous Gentiles and the idolatrous Egyptians. On the other side would have been Jews adhering to the biblical pattern of Sin, Exile, Repentance, and Restoration, especially as expressed in Pss 105(104) - 107(106). It is the striking parallels between Wis 11 - 19 and Pss 105(104) - 107(106), some synonymous, others antithetical, that allow for the possibility of this debate.

**William Gruen**, *Constructing Monastic Identities: Ethnicity in the Lives of the Anchoritic Monks.* (pp.93-108)

The late third and early fourth centuries saw the advent of anchoritic monasticism within the Christian context. Not long thereafter, hagiographies of these ascetics started to circulate, relating the words and deeds of these solitary monks. In addition to the miracles and sayings attributed to these figures, the authors of these texts also included information on the background and family history of the ascetics. One of the most persistent of these characteristics is ethnic identity. Should we imagine that these ethnic designations are an attempt to provide demographic information about the anchorites? Or might these ethnic identifications be offered by the authors for theological or political reasons? This paper seeks to understand the confluence of several markers of constructed identity within the context of ancient hagiography of anchoritic monasticism, focusing on the associations of particular ethnicities with religious identities, educational achievement, and socio economic status.

**Gisela Uzukwu**, *The Church Fathers' Interpretations and Modern Exegesis of Gal 3,28c. A Comparative Analysis.* (pp.109-131)

There are two key questions that form the scope of this article: How did the Church Fathers understand Gal 3,28c? Second, what are the contributions of the Church Fathers' perspective on Gal 3,28c to contemporary debates concerning the passage? By means of these questions, the present study investigates the history of interpretation of Gal 3,28c, focusing particularly on early Patristic and modern writings. We will present scholarly discussions of Gal 3,28c into four interpretive approaches, seeking to bring into dialogue the nuances of Patristic interpretations with contemporary thinking about Gal 3,28c. In our survey of the different approaches to Gal 3,28c we will offer a number of exegetical observations that open up the question of whether or not Paul's statement in Gal 3,28c has been correctly addressed, and how the meaning of Gal 3,28c could be hermeneutically appropriated.

**Juan Bautista García Bazán**, *La tiniebla y el seno del Padre: gnósticos y Clemente de Alejandría en Dionisio Areopagita*. (pp.133-156)

Thanks to the connection suggested by the French scholar Édouard des Places between the pair of words βυθός/βάθος of the Chaldean Oracles as easy to assimilate to the notion of γνόφος in Dionysius the Areopagite, the following work will attempt to think over this parallel, but now in the light of the Gnosticism and Clement of Alexandria. The exegesis John 1,18 about Christ being at the Father's womb or the feminine side of God will be the proposed interpretation that will enable connect these thoughts with those of the Dionysian darkness.

**Anthony Dupont**, *Prayer in Augustine's Anti-Pelagian Sermones ad Populum. Luke 18,9-14 as Case Study*. (pp.157-182)

This article evaluates how the theme of «gratia orationis» is present in Augustine's Sermones ad populum during the Pelagian controversy and the sermones with an Anti-Pelagian intent and compares this with its presence in the systematic writings engaged in the Pelagian controversy. The research question is: Does the difference in genre between the pastoral -exhortative sermones and the dogmatic-polemical Anti-Pelagian writings lead to a difference in content and/or treatment of the topic of prayer? Lk 18,9-14, a scriptural passage in which the meaning of authentic prayer is central, serves as a case study for this research. This study results in a twofold observation. First, the theme of «gratia orationis» is rarely if ever thematized in the sermons and the gift character of prayer is almost never thematized, contrary to treatment thereof in the Anti-Pelagian writings. A second observation is that Lk 18,9-14 seems to be a topos in the Anti-Pelagian preaching, but is rather absent in the Anti-Pelagian writings. These observations lead to the conclusion that other contexts and genres do not bring Augustine to fundamentally different insights regarding «gratia orationis», although they do exhibit differences in the representation and thematization of the same insights.

### **Gruppo italiano di ricerca sul Gesù storico, Newsletter n. 1 (31luglio 2010)**

1. Scopi del gruppo di ricerca p.183

2. Pubblicazioni p.185

3. Discussione e recensioni di alcuni libri recenti sul Gesù storico p.188

Pieter F. Craffert, *The Life of a Galilean Shaman. Jesus of Nazareth in Anthropological-Historical Perspective*, Eugene/OR, Cascade Books, 2008 (F. Adinolfi); Dale C. Allison Jr., *The Historical Christ and the Theological Jesus*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2009 (F. Adinolfi); José Antonio Pagola, *Jesús, Aproximación Histórica*, Madrid, PPC, 2007 (F.D. Troche); Jens Schröter, "Die aktuelle Diskussion über den historischen Jesus und ihre Bedeutung für die Christologie" e Markus Obier "Die Evangelien als Kontinuitätskonstrukte" in: Christian Danz — Michael Murrmann-Kahl (Hrsgg.), *Zwischen historischem Jesus und dogmatischen Christus*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2010 (D. Tripaldi); Giancarlo Gaeta, *Il Gesù moderno*, Torino, Einaudi, 2009 (F. Chiappetti; Mara Rescio — Luigi Walt); Adriana Destro — Mauro Pesce, *Il libro L'uomo Gesù: il primato della pratica di vita*.

4. Elenco di pubblicazioni sul Gesù storico apparse tra il 2007 e il 2010 (a cura di Federico Adinolfi) p.228

### **Cronache**

Terzo convegno internazionale sulla letteratura cristiana apocrifa - COLLAC 3 "La littérature apocryphe chrétienne et les Écritures juives" (Strasburgo, 14-16 gennaio 2010) (Cecilia Antonelli — Beatrice Cherubini) (pp.289-303)

International Symposium "Light from the East" - 15 Years "Papyrological Commentaries on the New Testament" (Salzburg, December 3-4, 2009) (Christina M. Kreinecker) (pp.305-310)

Simposio "Inquisitionen und Buchzensur im Zeitalter der Aufklärung" (Münster, 1-4 dicembre 2009) (Gian Luca D'Errico) (pp.311-319) Recensioni (pp.321-331)

**Recensioni** (pp.321-331)

Raúl González Salinero - María Teresa Ortega Monasterio (a cura di), *Fuentes clásicas en el judaísmo: de Sophìa a Hokinah*, Madrid, Signifer Libros, 2009 (Matteo Bianchi); Gerardo Gnou (ed.), *Il Manicheismo, vol. III, Il mito e la dottrina. Testi manichei dell'Asia centrale e della Cina*, Milano, Fondazione Lorenzo Valle - Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 2008 (Valentina Ragucci); Jane E. Calvert, *Quaker Constitutionialism and the Political Thought of John Dickinson*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009 (Tiziano Bonazzi); Sergio Luzzatto, *Padre Pio. Miracoli e politica nell'Italia dei Novecento*, Torino, Einaudi, 2007 (Cristiana Facchini); Afe U. Adogame, *Celestial Church of Christ. The Politics of Culture Identity in a West African Prophetic-Charismatic Movement*, Frankfurt, Lang, 1999 (Ida Vasta)

**Libri ricevuti** , (pp.333-336)

**Indice degli autori citati** (pp.337-348)

**Indice delle citazioni bibliche**(pp. 349-356)

## **ASE 28/1 2011 Christianities and Communities – Second Temple Halakhot and the Historical Jesus – Newsletter No.2 on the Historical Jesus.**

**Mauro Pesce**, *Presentazione. In memoria di Luigi Padovese*. (pp.11-14)

### I. Ancient Christianities and the Making of Communities

**Simon C. Mimouni**, *La communauté nazoréenne/chrétienne de Jérusalem aux I<sup>er</sup> - II<sup>e</sup> siècles. Quelques éléments de réflexion sur une recherche* (pp.17-35)

This article presents some contributions which are part of broader research on the Nazorean/Christian community of Nazareth in the I and II centuries. Unlike the received view of exegetes and historians, it argues that this community was founded by Jesus shortly, before his crucifixion and was then carried on, though with some hesitations, by his disciples, namely by some members of his family led by his brother James the Just. However, this does not imply that the Nazareth' community was the origin of the Christian church, whose foundation will take some centuries to establish.

**Adriana Destro — Mauro Pesce**, *Dal gruppo interstiziale di Gesù alla ekklesia: mutamenti nel ruolo delle donne* (pp.37-58)

The passage from Jesus Movement to the formation of the first churches of Jesus followers produces some crucial changes in the presence and functions of women. a) The active role of women in public spaces always becomes less significant; b) they tend to assume a subordinate role in the households; c) in the gospel narratives they are no longer considered as itinerant disciples of Jesus, but as helpers or persons that are at the service of Jesus and his male disciples. These changes stem from the fact that the rules et' daily life that are at the base of both the household and the public assembly now have a decisive role in the life of Jesus followers. In the place of the transforming presence of Jesus in the household comes into existence a social form that did not exist before: the ekklesia. The ekklesia cannot avoid assuming some fundamental institutional behaviors of the culture of its time: formal assemblies; fixed times, rules and rituals; cultic norms and structures; social hierarchies; public male honor. The household is no longer challenged by the revolutionary presence of an interstitial leadership and reassumes the eternal logic of domesticity in which hierarchical difference dominates.

**Matteo Grosso**, *Norme etiche e formazione comunitaria nel Vangelo secondo Tommaso: quali regole per quale comunità?* (pp.59-76)

Like other texts of Christian origins, the Gospel of Thomas shows attention to the topic of communitarian ethics and discipline. This article presents an analysis of its parts related to this topic — interpersonal relationships, relationship of Jesus' followers with their *oikoi*, communitarian religious practice, the economical milieu. Finally, on the basis of a recent hypothesis, it analyzes some problems related to the interpretation of these parts and its possible historical implementations.

**Daniele Tripaldi**, *Tra Alessandria e Roma: narrazione cosmogonica e forme comunitarie nell'Apocrifo di Giovanni* (pp.77-116)

This article explores the possibility of reconstructing from the Apocryphon of John the social setting, practices and ideology of the group behind the text. Without resorting to categories, both ancient and modern, such as Barbeliotes, Gnosticism, or Sethianism, it tries to illuminate the complex dynamics of Christian group formation in late II century AD Alexandria. The picture surfaces of a Johannine circle grounding its basic religious experiences on initiation, rebirth and direct contact with the supernatural world while at the same time living and interpreting the choice of following Jesus within Jewish-Hellenistic religious forms and world-view.

**Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli**, «*Quella ὁδός che essi chiamano αἴρεσις*» *Alle origini dell'autocomprendimento filosofica dei seguaci di Gesù* (pp.117-136)

Who first thought of the Gospels as philosophical texts and Jesus' followers as members of a philosophical sect? This article presents the hypothesis that this was Paul's disciple and the "canonical" evangelist Luke and attempts to show how it was technically possible. In so doing it will not neglect to highlight the limits of this hypothesis and the difference from the epistemologic reconfiguration of the Gospel elaborated by the theorists of the Christian philosophy in the following century, when Christian knowledge will be learnt > elaborated and transmitted according to the rules of the philosophic knowledge.

**Luca Arcari**, *L'Apocalisse di Giovanni nel quadro di alcune dinamiche gruppali proto-cristiane: elementi per una (ri-)contestualizzazione* (pp.137-183)

The article reinterprets John's Revelation within the context of proto-Christian group relationships. By avoiding a clear-cut separation between the septenary of the letters from the more properly visionary part of the work, the study shows that the conflicts represented in the letters to the Seven Churches are the background against which to contextualize the content of the visions of the following septenaries. On their turn, the latter cosmologically magnify and mythically establish the relationship of self-definition and stigmatization of Rev 2-3. Though Revelation addresses situations of communities not entirely identical to the ones described in other sources, proto-Christian documents of the I and the II centuries geographically close to those communities (1-2 Thessalonians, Didache, Ascension of Isaiah, Revelation of Elijah, Letters of Ignatius of Antioch) illuminate the socio-cultural relationships behind John's Revelation.

**Philippe Blauddau**, *La réfutation d'Eurychès conservée par les pièces 23-26 de la Collectio Casinensis: le résultat d'une initiative lancée par un cénacle aristocratique romain?* (pp.185-204)

Despite the persistent uncertainties that surround the collectio Casinensis, there is an independent part of it that illuminates the remarkable examination by a group of senatorial families of the Christological conflict raised by the convictions of Eutychius since 448. Indeed, due to its implications, this Orient-born controversy had soon concerned the highest elite of the Occidental Empire. Our original document, too, deems it as one of the elements which allow us to follow one of the best documented facts at the beginning of the following century: the attempts of a doctrinal reflection led by some Jay circles in a conflictual political context. This movement is of the highest importance, as is proven by its mention in the theological work of Boethius and by an ultimate attempt of its ambitious and memorable communitarian institutionalization; the «vivarium» conceived by Cassiodorus.

**Tessa Canella**, *Tolleranza o intolleranza religiosa? Principi di buon governo e convivenza civile nel dibattito culturale Cristiano tardo antico.* (pp.205-239)

The aim of this article is to evaluate the influence of the Christian philosophical-ideological debate on the origin and the development of the dynamics of life in common among different religious groups, in a tolerant or non-tolerant sense, starting from some of the most significant vestiges from the VI century, in particular *Variae* by Cassiodorus. From the analysis carried out, some important theological-political issues transpire (the spontaneity of the faith choice, the political authority's role in religious facts, the divine "patience") that every time must be contextualized. It emerges that what happened between the Romans and the Ostrogoths in Italy was the attempt to build, through a policy of mediation and tolerance introduced by Cassiodorus as a Christian theological-political product, a new community form, which resulted which consequently had fortune until the strength balance with the East was quite stable.

**Vittorio Berti**, *Il ruolo delle scuole nelle comunità cristiane siro-orientali dopo la conquista araba della Mesopotamia. Tre linee di indagine a partire da una ricerca recente.* (pp. 241-250)

The study of the social changes in the East-Syrian Church after the Islamic conquest can find a good observation point in the analysis of the discontinuities inside the Christian scholastic system developed since the end of V century in many centers of Mesopotamia. This scholastic network spread along the banks of Tigris during the late Sassanid age. We note that, with the new Arab society, the number of these schools increased for the direct interest of the episcopacy, often in contrast with the monastic environment. Their role became ever more important in providing an homogeneous communitarian representation for the Christian laity with an emphasis on sacred music and the attitude to reform and make uniform the scholastic liturgies. The teachers educated in these schools were engaged to confirm the orthodoxy of the church by means of a 'catechistic' use of the homiletics.

## II. Second Temple Halakhot and the Historical Jesus. Three Contributions toward a Discussion

**Alex P. Jassen**, *Tracing the Threads of Jewish Law: The Sabbath Carrying Prohibition from Jeremiah to the Rabbis.* (pp.253-278)

This study explores the development of the prohibition against carrying in ancient Judaism. The specific focus of this study is the issue of what items may not be carried on the Sabbath. This issue is examined in the book of Nehemiah, the book of Jubilees, three legal texts from among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the rabbinic Mishnah. Each of these texts updates and expands the limited restrictions regarding carrying on the Sabbath as articulated in Jer 17,19-27. This legal expansion is achieved through a variety of exegetical techniques, whereby the later text exegetically transforms the meaning and thus legal application of the scriptural source. Taken together, the texts treated in this study provide insight into the history of Jewish law and legal exegesis.

**Brian C. Dennert**, *Mark 11,16: A Status Quaestionis.* (pp.279-288)

This article examines the history of interpretation of the uniquely Markan comment that Jesus «would not permit anyone to carry a vessel through the temple» (Mark 11,16). Because of the historical preference for Matthew over Mark and contemporary attention on the actions of the historical Jesus, this verse has often been neglected or dismissed by scholars. Explanations of the Markan Jesus' demonstration as a purification of the temple, a messianic act, or a sign of destruction do not explain the details of this intriguing verse. While the question still remains why the Markan Jesus did not allow anyone to carry a vessel through the temple, the answer may have significant implications for understanding the historical Jesus and early Christianity.

**Edmondo Lupieri**, *Fragments of the Historical Jesus? A Reading of Mark 11,11-[26]* (pp.289-311)

This article is a new attempt at interpreting the so-called Cleansing of the Temple in the frame of first century Jewish halakhic teaching. The author uses the often neglected Mark 11,16 as the departing point for the analysis, and focuses on the possibility that the historical Jesus was interested in applying sabbatical rules of observance to the everyday life of the Sanctuary. This hypothesis constructs an unusual image of Jesus, explains why he was not immediately arrested, denies that the Crucifixion was a consequence of Jesus' action in the Temple, and could support John's chronology against the Synoptics.

## III. Miscellany

**Mark DelCogliano**, *Gregory the Great on Simon of Cyrene: A Critique of Tradition.* (pp.315-324)

This study traces patristic interpretations of the biblical figure of Simon of Cyrene through Gregory the Great. Prior to Gregory, two distinct trajectories of interest in Simon can be detected. The first seeks to resolve the apparent discrepancy between the Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John regarding Simon's carrying of the cross. The second focuses on positive symbolic meanings of Simon, who is seen either as a figure of the conversion of the Gentiles or as a model for Christian discipleship. Gregory the Great is not part of the first trajectory and is opposed to the second: he views Simon in a decidedly unfavorable light. While the first two trajectories persisted after Gregory, he must be considered the founder of a third trajectory that takes Simon as a negative example of the kind of Christian discipleship to be avoided. The Gregorian

critique of Simon of Cyrene was influential in the centuries after his death, though it appears to have always remained a minority position.

**Fabio Vivarelli**, *Tra fede e modernità. Il contributo di Leone Tondelli all'esegesi italiana (1893-1953)* (pp.325-349)

Leone Tondelli was a Catholic priest born in 1893 in Reggio Emilia (Italy), where he taught Hebrew and Bible exegesis from 1907 till his death (1953); He was involved in the modernist conflict. His bibliography consists of 210 essays (books, articles in journals and miscellanies). His books, about twenty, are mostly devoted to the figure of Jesus. He deemed that the objections to an orthodox reading of the Gospels should be refuted, not simply condemned by Church officials. Yet his lively aspiration to produce scientific contributions was heavily influenced by Leo XIII's paradigm, which deemed exegesis as subject to theology and functional to counter-reformed hermeneutics. This influence prompted him to attribute full historical content to the Gospels until almost the end of his career. However, he was later influenced by the new intellectual atmosphere in the Catholic Church, so much so that in a 1950 work about the Eucharist he used exegesis as a critical tool to clarify some abstruse counter-reformed theological statements, abandoning the Leonine paradigm.

**Taras Khomych**, *Luther's Assertio: Exploring the Origins of the Reformer's Biblical Hermeneutics* (pp.351-363)

There is growing scholarly interest today in the role of patristic in the sixteenth century Biblical exegesis and, in particular, Martin Luther's use of the Church Fathers in his interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. At the same time, however, only little analysis has been made of Luther's work *Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per Bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum* (1520-21), which masked a shift in his attitude towards the writings of the Church Fathers. This contribution addresses exactly this lacuna. It begins with some general observations concerning the broader context in which Luther wrote this work and his dual scholastic and humanistic heritage. The article then offers the analysis of the preface to the *Assertio*, focusing especially on Luther's reasoning about the place of patristic in Biblical exegesis. .

#### IV. Discussions of Some Recent Books .

Discussione su *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, a cura di Adam Kamesar (Cambridge - New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009), Interventi di Maren Niehoff, Manlio Simonetti e Katell Berthelot. (pp.367-390)

Discussione su *Per una storia dell'Italia tardoantica cristiana*, di Giorgio Otranto (Bari, Edipuglia, 2009). Interventi di Lellia Cracco Ruggini e Giovanni Filoramo. (pp.391-406)

Discussione su *Speculum naturale. Percorsi del pensiero medievale*, di Tullio Gregory (Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007). Interventi di Giovanni Filoramo, Mauro Pesce, Ovidio Capitani. (pp. 407-430)

#### V. Italian Research Group on the Historical Jesus. Newsletter No. 2

##### 1. Contributi sul Gesù storico

**Mauro Pesce**, *Per una ricerca storica su Gesù nei secoli XVI-XVIII: prima di H.S. Reimarus*. (pp.433-464)

##### 2. Discussione di alcuni libri recenti sul Gesù storico

**Giancarlo Gaeta**, *Discussione su «il Gesù moderno». Qualche risposta*. (pp.465-470)

3. Elenco di pubblicazioni sul Gesù storico apparse tra il 2010 e il 2011 (a cura di Federico Adinolfi). (pp.471-478)

4. Recensioni di libri sul Gesù storico. (pp. 479-491)



Maurizio Gronchi, *Trattato su Gesù Cristo Figlio di Dio Salvatore*, Brescia, 2008 (F. Adinolfi); James H. Charlesworth - Pets Pokorný (eds.), *Jesus Research. An International Perspective - The First Princeton-Prague Symposium on Jesus Research*, Grand Rapids, 2009 (F. Adinolfi); I.L.T. Oropeza — C.K. Robertson — D.C. Mohrmann (eclid.), *Jesus and Paul Global Perspectives in Honor of James DG. Dunn*, London, 2009 (F. Tubiana); T. Holmén — S.E. Porter (eds.), *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*, 4 volumes, Leiden, 2011 (M. Pesce).

#### **Recensioni e segnalazioni** (pp.493-535)

Karl Olav Sandnes, *The Challenge of Homer. School, Pagan Poets and Early Christianity*, London, 2009 (A. Villani); Diego Santos — Pablo Ubierna, *El Evangelio de Judas y otros textos gnósticos. Tradiciones culturales en et monacato primitivo egipcio dei siglo IV*, Buenos Aires, 2009 (LB. Garcia Bazán); Federico Fatti, *Giuliano a Cesarea. La politica ecclesiastica del principe apostata*, Roma, 2009 (R. Teja); Mariachiara Giorda, *Monachesimo e istituzioni ecclesiastiche in Egitto. Alcuni casi di interazione e integrazione*, Bologna, 2010 (F. Ruggiero); Elena Zocca (a cura di), *Possidio Vita di Agostino. Catalogo di tutti i libri sermoni e lettere dei vescovo Sant'Agostino*, Milano, 2009 (A. Pollastri); Vittorio Berti, *Vita e studi di Timoteo I, patriarca cristiano di Baghdad*, Paris, 2009 (E Fiori); Maria Pia Ciccicarese, *Animali simbolici. Alle origini dei bestiario cristiano*, 2 voll., Bologna, 2002 e 2007 (M. Giorda); Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition*, New Haven - London, 2009 (G.L. D'Errico); Luigi Guerrini, *Galileo e la polemica anticopernicana a Firenze*, Firenze, 2009 (A. Damanti); Arntonino Raspanti (a cura di), *Scrittura e Scritture in Giacomo Cusmano*, San Cataldo - Caltanissetta, 2010 (M. Nicolaci); Danièle Dehouve, *Essai sur la royauté sacrée en république mexicaine*, Paris, 2006 (G. Serafino).

#### **Libri ricevuti.** (pp.537-539)

#### **Indice degli autori citati.** (pp.541-552)

#### **Indice delle citazioni bibliche.**(pp.553-559)

### **ASE 28/2 2011**

**Mauro Pesce**, *Presentation* ..... 7-9

#### I. New Texts

##### **Daniele Tripaldi**, *Apocalisse di Gabriele:*

*introduzione e traduzione* ..... 11-21

Since its first edition in 2007, the so-called *Apocalypse of Gabriel* inscription has never ceased to raise the interest of scholars and media. Beyond any sensationalism and arbitrary interpretation, it might indeed give fresh insights on the complexity of the religious practice, ideology and literary production of Jewish groups at the turn of the Common Era. However, its authenticity is still to be definitely proved. This uncertainty prevents one from drawing solid and deep-ranging conclusions. An Italian translation of the text is presented.

##### **Claudio Gianotto**, *Il Vangelo del Salvatore copto:*

*introduzione e traduzione* ..... 23-37

The *Gospel of the Savior* is a recently published apochryphal text written in Coptic which enriches our knowledge of the multifaceted and complex reality of the first centuries of Christianity. This article presents a first Italian translation preceded by an introduction which illustrates the state of the research on this text.

#### II. The Construction of Christian Identities

##### **Hagit Amirav**, *The Christian Appropriation of the Jewish Scriptures:*

*Allegory, Pauline Exegesis, and the Negotiation of*

*Religious Identities* ..... 39-55

This paper outlines the main research questions and hypotheses which are the subjects of an ongoing European Research Council project (2008-2014), conducted by the author at VU University Amsterdam. The main question at issue is how the process of the appropriation of the Old Testament by early Christian exegetes contributed to the formation of distinctive Christian identities within the multicultural society of the late Roman principate and early Byzantine rule. In the author's view, the traditional understanding of the distinctions between the two ancient exegetical schools in Alexandria and Antioch needs to be broadened and corrected by a picture of the actual practice of their hermeneutics. The main hypothesis currently under investigation is related to the central role played by the letters of the apostle Paul in the Antiochene reaction against Alexandria.

**Brian C. Dennert**, *Constructing Righteousness:*

*The «Better Righteousness» of Matthew as Part of the Development of a Christian Identity* ..... 57-80

This study proposes that *Matthew's* discussion of a righteousness that «exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees» is an attempt to distinguish and separate his community from the Pharisees, a group that would include Jesus-followers. While scholars have often viewed the antagonism between Jesus and the Pharisees in *Matthew* as a polemic against rising Formative Judaism, the use of the Pharisees as the advocates of another righteousness may indicate the influence of Pharisees among the Jesus-following Jews of *Matthew's* community. *Matthew* points out the destructiveness of the teaching of the Pharisees and constructs a form of righteousness based on the person of Jesus as the true interpreter of the Law and the Prophets. In the process of dissociating his group from the Pharisees, *Matthew* develops a number of key ideas that would later become characteristic of “mainstream” Christianity, thus laying the foundation for the construction of a Christian identity distinct from Judaism.

**Teresa J. Calpino**, «*The Lord Opened Her Heart*»:

*Boundary Crossing in Acts 16,13-15* ..... 81-91

This paper focuses on the episode in Acts 16,13-15 that narrates Lydia's encounter with Paul. Paul does not approach the leading citizens of Philippi, nor even the leading Jews in the synagogue, instead he goes outside the boundaries of the city and speaks directly to a group of women comprised of God-worshippers (*sebomenē ton theon*). According to societal standards, Lydia may begin the narrative represented as the other, but she ends it as a baptized member of the Philippian community. This paper will examine the story and Lydia's identity from three angles: Lydia as ideal woman over against dominant societal standards, worshipper of God, and insider. Through her characterization and the virtues awarded to her, Lydia is portrayed as an ideal follower of the risen Christ. Lydia's characterization suggests that in most cases *Acts* constructs a female identity that is tangential to the ideal of wife and mother of the dominant culture.

**Gabriella Gelardini**, *The Contest for a Royal Title: Herod versus Jesus in the Gospel according to Mark (6,14-29; 15,6-15)* ..... 93-106

Titles of honor, nobility, and office, or academic titles confer prestige and power upon individuals, thus potentially bearing a great deal of political as well as social conflict. In the *Gospel according to Mark* a story of a conflict-laden contest for a royal title is narrated, whose protagonists are Herod Antipas and Jesus. This article first considers linguistic renditions of title and name, of political achievements and failures, and of Herod's demise. Secondly, it juxtaposes these issues in regard to Jesus and thereby demonstrates – particularly based on Mark 6,14-29 and 15,6-15 – that the narrative construes Herod unpredictably as the kingmaker of the Messiah.

### III. New Methodological Questions

**Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli**, *Confini, apparati ideologici e*

*giochi di potere. In riferimento alla «storia sociale delle idee*

*come fatti materiali» di Daniel Boyarin* ..... 107-138

How to write a «social history of ideas as material facts» without falling into teleologism and historical anachronism? How to conceive and narrate the history of discursive initiation and social constitution of two mutually exclusive religious systems, without providing any depoliticized social actor with magical powers of interpellation? This article would like to restart the debate on Daniel Boyarin's controversial reading to the question of the «partition of the ways» between Christianity and Judaism (how did it happen that two former *nonreligions* were borne to a new social existence as *religions* by certain linguistic acts?) and try to articulate a methodological proposal for a different answer. In order to do so, a new role is assigned to the main inspirers of Boyarin's *Border Lines*: L. Althusser, J. Butler, H.K. Bhabha, J.C. Scott and M. Foucault – with the “extraordinary participation” of F. Barth.