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I. Conflicts

Simon C. Mimouni, <i>Qu'est-ce qu'un "chrétien" aux I^{er} et II^e siècles? Identité ou conscience?</i>	11-34
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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 1st and 2nd centuries, in which not only members of ethnic Judaeoan 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 2nd and 3rd centuries and which later in the 4th and 5th centuries will give birth to what is called Christianity. In short, he attempts to prove that there is no Christian identity in the 1st and 2nd centuries, but rather a prevailing Christian consciousness.

Emanuele Castelli, <i>La cattedra della Chiesa e il trono del vescovo tra II e III sec. a Roma: ricerche sul contesto storico della "statua d'Ippolito"</i>	35-50
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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, <i>Pluralità di versioni e conflitti tra sedi episcopali: le cronache veneziane antiche</i>	51-76
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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, *Didascalìa e potere episcopale ad Antiochia nell'ideologia dei panegirici di Giovanni Crisostomo* .. 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* 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*. 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 ten 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* 181-188

Historical and social circumstances, the needs of the public, and catechetical requirement 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 Donnio 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 Donnio*, 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 Donnio (-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 .* 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* 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 tended 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 its villages to maintain their roots there. There is no migration, no territorial expansion, no attempt to conquer.

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.

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

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.

The work explores the relationship between Wace's *Conception Nostre Dame*, a 12th-century poem in Old French 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 13th 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*.....

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 6th 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 4th century, in particular those introduced by Stefano bar Sudaili.

Emanuela Colombi, *Le edizioni delle Passiones aquileiesi e istriane*

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 late 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).....

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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. 12,1). *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 Catello*, 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 (G. 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 - Carlos Gil (edd.), *Reimaginando los orígenes del cristianismo. Relevancia social y eclesial de los estudios sobre los Orígenes del cristianismo*, Estella 2008 (M. Rescio); Sergio Cingolani, *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 I - inizio XVI)* - Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Napoli, 6-11 dicembre 1999), con la collaborazione di Ulderico Parente, 3 voll., Napoli 2007 (L. Walt).

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Sommario

Mauro Pesce, *Presentazione* 9-10

James C. Miller, *Communal Identity in Philippians* 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 behavioural 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 (φρόνησις) of Christ forms the behavioural 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 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) ...* 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* 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* 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* 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?* 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 theriolatrous 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*..... 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* 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 3,28 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* .. 133-156

Thanks to the connection suggested by the French scholar Édouard des Places between the pair of words $\beta\epsilon\theta\acute{o}\varsigma/\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of the *Chaldean Oracles* as easy to assimilate to the notion of $\gamma\upsilon\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$ 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* 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.

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