

Sommario

Mauro Pesce, *Presentazione*

In memoria di Luigi Padovese 11-14

I. Ancient Christianities and the Making of Communities

Simon C. Mimouni, *La communauté nazoréenne/chrétienne de Jérusalem aux I^{er}-II^e siècles.*

Quelques éléments de réflexion sur une recherche 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 ekklēsia: mutamenti nel ruolo delle donne*

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 of 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 *ekklēsia*. The *ekklēsia* 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?* 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* 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 *ôdôç* che essi chiamano *αἰρεσις*»
Alle origini dell'autocomprendimento filosofica
dei seguaci di Gesù 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* 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 Blaudeau, *La réfutation d'Eutychès conservée par les pièces 23-26 de la Collectio Casinensis: le résultat d'une initiative lancée par un cénacle aristocratique romain?* 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 lay 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 tardoantico* 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 sirio-orientali dopo la conquista araba della Mesopotamia. Tre linee di indagine a partire da una ricerca recente* 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* 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* 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]* 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* 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, <i>Tra fede e modernità. Il contributo di Leone Tondelli all'esegesi italiana (1893-1953)</i>	325-349
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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, <i>Luther's Assertio: Exploring the Origins of the Reformer's Biblical Hermeneutics</i>	351-363
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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 marked 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 <i>The Cambridge Companion to Philo</i> , a cura di Adam Kamesar (Cambridge - New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009). Interventi di Maren Niehoff, Manlio Simonetti e Katell Berthelot	367-390
Discussione su <i>Per una storia dell'Italia tardoantica cristiana</i> , di Giorgio Otranto (Bari, Edipuglia, 2009). Interventi di Lellia Cracco Ruggini e Giovanni Filoramo	391-406

Discussione su <i>Speculum naturale. Percorsi del pensiero medievale</i> , di Tullio Gregory (Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007). Interventi di Giovanni Filoramo, Mauro Pesce, Ovidio Capitani	407-430
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V. Italian Research Group on the Historical Jesus. Newsletter No. 2

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Mauro Pesce, <i>Per una ricerca storica su Gesù nei secoli XVI-XVIII: prima di H.S. Reimarus</i>	433-464
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Maurizio Gronchi, *Trattato su Gesù Cristo Figlio di Dio Salvatore*, Brescia, 2008 (F. Adinolfi); James H. Charlesworth – Petr Pokorný (eds.), *Jesus Research. An International Perspective - The First Princeton-Prague Symposium on Jesus Research*, Grand Rapids, 2009 (F. Adinolfi); B.J. Oropeza – C.K. Robertson – D.C. Mohrmann (edd.), *Jesus and Paul. Global Perspectives in Honor of James D.G. 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).

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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 el monacato primitivo egipcio del siglo IV*, Buenos Aires, 2009 (J.B. García Bazán); Federico Fatti, *Giuliano a Cesarea. La politica ecclesiastica del principe apostata*, Roma, 2009 (F. Troche); Mariachiara Giorda, *Monachismo 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 del 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 Ciccarese, *Animali simbolici. Alle origini del 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); Antonino 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).

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I. New Texts

Daniele Tripaldi, <i>Apocalisse di Gabriele: introduzione e traduzione</i>	11-21
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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, <i>Il Vangelo del Salvatore copto: introduzione e traduzione</i>	23-37
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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, <i>The Christian Appropriation of the Jewish Scriptures: Allegory, Pauline Exegesis, and the Negotiation of Religious Identities</i>	39-55
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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 constructs Herod unpredictably as the king-maker 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 re-start 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 *non-religions* 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.