

HUMANITAS

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Non uno itinere **Ebraismi, cristianesimi, modernità** *Studi in onore di Mauro Pesce* *in occasione del suo ottantesimo compleanno*

a cura di

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Franco Motta ed Enrico Norelli

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Abstract: Letters and documents that could be attributed to the family of Apollonios son of Heracles illustrate the private and business life of wealthy Greeks in Egypt during the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE. Based in Hermopolis Magna, the metropolis of the Hermopolite nome in Egypt, the family operated a large and flourishing weaving business from the time of the Ptolemies onward. During the period from which the letters and documents originate, Apollonios himself was the official head of the weaving workshop and at the same time held the highest office in another nome, far from home. Several members of the family, including Apollonios himself, may be compared to Paul of Tarsus in terms of their excellent level of education.

Keywords: Papyri, Weaver, Letter Writing, Literacy, New Testament Letters.

GIOVANNI BAZZANA, <i>Apocalyptic Time. Anthropology of History and the Nature of Time in Ancient Apocalyptic Literature</i>	32
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Abstract: The present essay deals with two apocalyptic texts (Daniel and the *Apocalypse of Paul*) and their regimes of temporality, which are clearly different from modern Western paradigms. The case of apocalyptic literature draws attention to the crucial role played by temporality and historical consciousness in shaping literary genres, cultural forms, and ideological stances. A better appreciation of these contexts, through the application of insights drawn from the field of the anthropology of history and temporalities, might lead to a more adequate and effective understanding of ancient apocalypses

and of the cultural and religious practices of those who wrote and read them through the centuries.

Keywords: Time, Historicity, Apocalypse, Daniel, *Apocalypse of Paul*.

CARLO CARLETTI, *Storia del cristianesimo e produzione epigrafica* 41

Abstract: The article discusses some of the theses developed in the historiographical debate in the last five decades concerning the role of epigraphic production in the study of early Christianity. The first considers the influence of Christianity, regarded as a religion of the Book and the Scriptures, on the development of written culture in Late Antiquity, including epigraphy. The second relates to selection criteria used for the study of epigraphic testimonies with regard to their contents and their relationship with the context in which they have been exposed or found. The last point considers the discussion on how the Christian imaginary has influenced funerary epigraphic habits in the Western areas of the Roman Empire.

Keywords: Epigraphy, Early Christianity, Written Culture, Late Antiquity, Historiography.

ISTVÁN CZACHESZ, *Toward a Unified Theory of Magic, Miracle, and Divination* 50

Abstract: The problem of magic in the ancient Mediterranean world has received much attention in recent scholarship, while divination is usually treated as a separate issue. In biblical studies, it is customary to use magic and miracle as diametrically opposed categories. Both magic and divination have been thought to be all but non-existent in ancient Judaism and Christianity. The aim of this essay is to outline a unified, explanatory model of magic, miracle, and divination, drawing on behavioral and cognitive science and evolutionary theory. It will be argued that the categories of magic and divination are in fact well-suited to investigate early Christian texts and practices, and a cognitive approach sheds new light on the connection between magic and miracle.

Keywords: Magic, Divination, Miracle, Cognitive Science, Early Christianity.

JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG, *Community Detection in Ostia Antica and the Diffusion of Elective Cults* 60

Abstract: The many inscriptions from the Roman colony of Ostia Antica offer opportunities to reconstruct occupational and cultic networks, to track social mobility among Roman *liberti* (some of whom rose to positions of authority and influence in their own guilds and even to the rank of *decurion* and *eques*), and to see the various ways in which the cults of Isis, Sarapis, and Cybele were imbricated in the activities of occupational guilds.

Keywords: Ostia Antica, Occupational Guilds, Cultic Associations, Social Mobility.

TOBIAS NICKLAS, *Eine "Passionsgeschichte" in Ps-Cyprians De duobus montibus Sina et Sion* 74

Abstract: The last decades have seen a paradigm shift in Jesus studies. The historical Jesus problems regarding the transmission of Jesus traditions have become increasingly understood as crucial. This, again, has led to an increasing

interest in extracanonical Jesus traditions preserved in apocryphal Gospels. At the same time, passages in patristic literature in which narratives about Jesus of Nazareth are paraphrased, retold or even re-enacted have not yet come into view. Many of them show characteristics which are closely comparable to what we find in apocryphal Gospels. The article illustrates this thesis with the help of a long passage from Pseudo-Cyprian’s treatise *De duobus montibus Sina et Sion*, which, on account of its creative narrative interpretation of Scripture, offers an otherwise unknown passion narrative that cannot be explained from the canonical Gospels alone and is, unfortunately, highly anti-Jewish.

Keywords: Jesus Traditions, Patristic Literature, Apocryphal Gospels, Anti-Judaism, Reception of Scriptures.

MARA RESCIO - LUIGI WALT, *The Esoteric Rule on Parables.*

Mark 4:10-12 and Its Earliest Reception History

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Abstract: The article argues for a renewed understanding of the Markan saying about parables and the mystery of the kingdom (Mark 4:10-12) in light of its earliest reception by Matthew and Luke. The saying plays a crucial role in developing Mark’s narrative strategy, as it provides readers with a key theoretical rationale for the double dimension the evangelist attributes to Jesus’ teaching method. The focal point of this method is that “parables” (i.e. coded language) are used by Jesus to maintain a harsh duality between insiders and outsiders. Such an idiosyncratic view, however, did not go unnoticed to the first readers of the Gospel and prompted both Matthew and Luke to engage in a softening or silencing manoeuvre which would have profound repercussions for the later reception of Mark. It was not merely Mark’s radical theory of parables that troubled them, but also the esoteric communication pattern behind it.

Keywords: Gospel of Mark, Synoptic Gospels, Esotericism in Antiquity, Parables of Jesus, Reception History.

SARAH E. ROLLENS, *Two “Un-Scientific” Concepts in the Study of Christian Origins*

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Abstract: Mauro Pesce’s work on early Christianity consistently strove to provide “scientific” accounts of the tradition’s history. In the same spirit, this essay examines two concepts in the study of Christian origins (mission and scripture) that are decidedly “un-scientific” and exposes their problematic features. By denaturalizing such concepts, we stand to get closer to a more realistic account of the dynamics of earliest Christianity.

Keywords: Jesus Movement, Mission, Scripture, Scientific Study.

DANIEL ULLUCCI, *Redescribing Spiritual Sacrifice as Moralistic Therapeutic Rhetoric*

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Abstract: This paper addresses the concepts of “spiritualization” and “spiritual sacrifice” in early Christianity. Numerous scholarly models posit that a spiritual turn took place sometime in Late Antiquity, and that this internalizing of religion led to the cessation of animal sacrifice and the advent of a modern conception of religion. This paper challenges these models by pointing out the relative scarcity of such terminology in early Christian texts and by pointing to a modern parallel in the competitive use of the term “spiritual” – the growth of “spiritual but not religious” identity constructs. In light of these points, there is little evidence

to support a sweeping metaphysical, “spiritualizing” shift as an explanation for the decline of sacrifice and the growth of Christian anti-sacrificial discourse.

Keywords: Axial Age, Spiritualization, Spiritual Sacrifice.

- EMILIANO RUBENS URCIUOLI, *The Origins Pit, the Jerusalem Pendulum, and the Cat-Eyed Historian* 127

Abstract: The article singles out and discusses some recent historical research on Christian origins that programmatically reflects on the role of Jerusalem in the rise and expansion of the Jesus movement. Epistemological and methodological considerations spurred by Marc Bloch’s famous engagement with the “obsession with origins” frame the analysis of the type of centrality ascribed to Jerusalem and the Jerusalemite Christ group/s in the earliest experiments with mythmaking and social formation. The discussion of a new radical method of history writing that aims to reset the quest for origins concludes the article.

Keywords: Obsession with Origins, Jerusalem, Centrality/Marginality, Redescription, Retrospection.

2. *Pluralità delle origini cristiane. Testi, pratiche, gruppi*

- RAFAEL AGUIRRE, *La viuda pobre y el Templo (Mc 12,41-44)* 139

Abstract: Considered in isolation, it is clear that this short text highlights the poor widow’s generosity and trust in God. But if it is placed in the context of the Markan account, new possibilities of interpretation are opened. This article considers that the fundamental context in which this pericope must be situated is the section of Jesus in the Temple of Jerusalem (Mark 11:11–13:2). The words of Jesus do not praise the generosity of the widow or set her as an example, but consider her a victim of the corrupt system of the Temple, which is to be destroyed.

Keywords: Poor Widow, Temple, Scribes.

- MICHAEL A. DAISE, «*The Voice of One Calling in the Wilderness*». *Reflections on John the Baptist and Isaiah 40:3* 148

Abstract: In four *loci* within literature from Qumran and the Gospels, Isaiah 40:3 is put in a midrashic relationship with a biblical idiom for prudent living found elsewhere in Jewish scripture. In three of these, the two are conflated into a single reference: 4QLevi^b ar 1,7; Luke 1:76; and John 1:23. In the fourth, the reference to the idiom (1QS IV,2-3) appears in proximity to a quotation and allusions to Isaiah elsewhere in the same work (1QS VIII,13-14; IX,19-20). The midrash turns on shared vocabulary: the idiom’s language of “making straight” one’s “ways” dovetails Isaiah’s admonition to «prepare the way of the Lord» and «make straight a highway for our God», and the result in each case is that Isaiah’s call to prophetic mission is simultaneously cast as wise and righteous living.

Keywords: Isaiah, Wisdom, Qumran, Gospels, Midrash.

- PHILIP F. ESLER, «*Obey “Him”*» (*Matt 17:5*). *The Law of Moses and the Gospel of Matthew* 154

Abstract: The approach to ethnic identity inaugurated by Fredrich Barth facilitates the recognition of the Ἰουδαῖοι of Matthew’s time as an ethnic group,

with the name being an ethnonym based on their ethnic homeland of Judea. Christ-movement identity was different, being non-ethnic or trans-ethnic (in the latter case, like voluntary associations honoring a particular god and embracing members of different ethnic groups). This situation casts doubt on the assertion that Matthew's Gospel was "within Judaism". In particular, neither in Matt 5:17-19 nor in Matt 5:20-48 does Jesus require adherence to the law of Moses. Matthew's transfiguration (Matt 17:1-8) shows that obedience to Jesus, not to Moses, was required. Jesus was someone who was very close to God and remained personally present to his followers, unlike Moses.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Mosaic Law, Judean Identity, Christ-movement Identity, Obedience.

CARLOS GIL ARBIOL, *El pasado de Pablo ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ (Ga 1,13)*. . . 167

Abstract: In recent years, scholars have brought back the discussion about the relationship between Paul's past and his Jewish identity after his calling. What was the former life ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ that Paul refers to in Gal 1:13-14? Was it a life that was over? Is Paul speaking of a religion he abandoned, or of a way of life that changed? If the latter is the case, what did he abandon from his former life and what did he not? The scarcity of occurrences of the noun Ἰουδαϊσμός makes these questions difficult to answer. There are, however, important hints in the Maccabean literature. A close reading of the four texts where the author speaks of Ἰουδαϊσμός sheds new light to answer those questions about Paul's former life ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ.

Keywords: Second Temple Judaism, Early Christianity, Ἰουδαϊσμός, Paul of Tarsus, Maccabean Literature.

SANTIAGO GUIJARRO, *¿Por qué una "Vida"? Necesidad retórica y género literario en Marcos*. 175

Abstract: The identification of the Gospels as "lives" of Jesus has recently awakened interest in reading them as ancient biographies. However, before addressing this task, it would be helpful to clarify why their authors chose this literary genre. This paper explores this question in the case of Mark, inquiring about the relationship between context and discourse. To this end, it turns to the category of "rhetorical situation" in order to find out to what extent this determines the choice of literary genre. An analysis of certain key features of the Gospel reveals that the decision on the biographical genre responds to a need in the traumatic aftermath of the Jewish War to propose a model that would redefine what it meant to follow Jesus.

Keywords: Rhetorical Situation, Hellenistic Biography, Jewish War, Imitation, Discipleship.

GIORGIO JOSSA, *Gesù perché fu messo a morte?*. 184

Abstract: Jesus' death is considered an enigma. This has led many scholars to look for a specific cause. However, this is not needed. Jesus' condemnation was due to Judaic action. The only episode that could worry Pilate – namely, Jesus' regal entrance in Jerusalem – did not have consequences. Even for the Sanhedrin, there were no facts to justify Jesus' condemnation. The Cleansing of the Temple had a symbolic meaning. It was Jesus' activity as a whole that caused concern among Judaic authorities. In Galilee, Jesus' activity had reli-

gious and social features and was opposed by the Pharisees, but in Jerusalem it also became political and involved the chief priests. The trial before the Sanhedrin ended with a religious motivation (his messianic presence) that became political before Pilate (his regal presence).

Keywords: Sanhedrin, Pilate, Jerusalem, Temple.

- PETER LAMPE, *The Irony of Salvation. A Fundamental Pattern of Early Christian Soteriology* 193

Abstract: A definition of irony is derived from an investigation of its use in Greek and Roman literature, especially rhetorical literature, and applied to early Christian writings. The essay explores the irony in Mark's passion narrative (in Mark 15:16-20.34), in the images of the disciples in Mark, of Jesus as crucified messiah, and of Paul. The early Christian paradoxical combination of contrasts exposes an ironic *sub-contrario* thinking that is a fundamental pattern of Christian soteriology. What is empirically ostensible (Jesus' crucifixion, but also the apostles' weaknesses) is not left as it is but ironically stands for the opposite (or at least something other) being true, which represents a meaning-giving coping strategy for dealing with the hardships of existence.

Keywords: Irony, Rhetoric, Soteriology, Mark, Paul.

- EDMONDO LUPIERI, *Prostitutes, Prophets, Priests. Some Cases of Woman Power in and outside the Early Church* 208

Abstract: Part of a project on the power of women in the first centuries, this essay studies two different early testimonies. In the first section, the author discusses how Luke applies priestly attributes to the prophetess Anna to extol her, while Revelation connects priestly attributes with female prostitution and pseudo-prophecy to describe the degeneration of John's adversaries, Jewish (or Jewish-Christian) authorities. In the second section he studies the case of women concelebrating Gnostic eucharist and prophesying in the church of Marcus "the Magician", as told by Irenaeus. He finally hypothesizes that the fear of women priests in orthodox confessions is connected with ritualized sexual activities that, according to the heresiologists, were constitutive of the religious life of minority groups.

Keywords: Prophecy, Priesthood, Prostitution, Revelation, Marcus the Magician.

- ANDREA NICOLOTTI, «*In un luogo a parte*». *Sulla traduzione di un passo evangelico (Gv 20,7)* 216

Abstract: In the Gospel of John it is said that Peter, having reached the tomb of Jesus on Sunday morning, saw the linen clothes lying inside and the napkin that was upon his head away from them, having been folded up. The translation of the Greek text is controversial and has given rise to some interpretations that modify its meaning in order to describe the resurrection of Jesus as a dematerialization. I propose a reexamination of the text.

Keywords: Jesus, Burial, Clothes, Sudarium, Resurrection.

- ROMANO PENNA, *Lo scandalo e la fede. Da Gesù a Paolo* 226

Abstract: According to Kierkegaard, the theme of scandal belongs to the DNA of Christianity. In fact, it characterises Christian origins with respect to both

Jesus and Paul. Jesus provokes scandal with the liberty of his behaviour towards the publicans and the prostitutes, in addition to his violent gesture in the Temple. Moreover, he scandalises even his disciples with the event of his passion and death. Paul, on the other hand, concentrates his reflection entirely on the death of Jesus on the cross, which is considered to be the manifestation of an unexpected wisdom of God, in front of which human wisdom is wrong-footed. In fact, the God of the gospel has little or nothing to share with the reason of the philosophers and with the law of Moses, since his identity precedes and exceeds every rational pursuit.

Keywords: Historical Jesus, Pauline Theology, Faith, Paradox.

EKKEHARD STEGEMANN - WOLFGANG STEGEMANN, *Hellenistischer Einfluss in der Theologie des Paulus?* 235

Abstract: This article discusses the question of whether Paul's theology is influenced by "Hellenism". The historian Johann Gustav Droysen, who coined this term, understood it as a fusion of Greek and other cultures with the simultaneous dominance of Greek culture. In Paul's case, then, it would be a fusion of Greek culture with Jewish culture. The Greek letters of the Diaspora Jew Paul show influences of Hellenistic philosophy, and particularly of Stoicism; however, Paul differs especially from the Stoic conception of the human being. Because of their physical constitution, for which the term "flesh" stands in Paul's letters, humans are incapable of being disciplined by reason. This possibility exists only through the revelation of God in Christ and the associated mediation of the Holy Spirit.

Keywords: Paul, Hellenism, Theology, Flesh, Spirit.

3. *Ebraismi e cristianesimi tra Antichità e Medioevo*

ANDREA ANNESE, *Il Dialogo del Salvatore (NHC III,5) e la "costellazione giovannista"* 248

Abstract: This contribution analyzes the *Dialogue of the Savior* (NHC III,5) in light of the concept of a "Johannist Constellation" of texts, proposed by Mauro Pesce and Adriana Destro. Selected passages from the Dialogue are investigated to verify whether this text can be included in the Johannist Constellation by considering (in particular) cosmology, Christology, soteriology, and the themes of heavenly ascent and mystical vision. The Gospels of John and Thomas, in view of their connections with the Dialogue, take on an important role in the analysis.

Keywords: *Dialogue of the Savior*, Johannist Constellation, Heavenly Ascent, Vision Mysticism, *Gospel of Thomas*.

LUCA ARCARI, *L'Apocalisse di Pietro. Tra esperienze di contatto in prima persona con l'oltre-mondo e scrittura* 257

Abstract: This essay aims at reconsidering the various preserved forms of the *Apocalypse of Peter* as mirrors of *longue durée* processes of transmission. According to such a perspective, it is quite difficult to explain the Greek version of the Akhmim Fragment as a "secondary", manipulated, and/or ideologically oriented version, especially when it is compared to the supposed original Ethiopic text. Both the Greek and the Ethiopic transmissions of the

Apocalypse of Peter appear as individual appropriations of previous visionary accounts, which are based on contextual and rewritten practices of personal contact with an Otherworld. Visionary narratives are disseminated and transmitted thanks to various modes of communication, among which writing emerges as just one of many that have been in place for a long time.

Keywords: *Apocalypse of Peter*, Visionary Texts in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity, Visionary Texts as Living Texts.

- RICHARD BAUCKHAM, *Isaiah's Prophetic Canon (Ascension of Isaiah 4:21-22)* 265

Abstract: *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:21b-22 is a list of canonical scriptures in which the author identifies “parables” (prophecies in enigmatic or allegorical form) of the story of Jesus. There are two categories: psalms and prophets. The list of authors of Psalms (David, Solomon, Korah, Ethan, Asaph), along with a reference to those by unnamed authors, is probably intended to cover the whole Book of Psalms, written by inspired prophets. The list of prophets may originally have been only of those who lived before or during Isaiah’s lifetime; Daniel, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi are later additions. In the phrase “the words of the righteous Joseph” the name is probably a corruption of Job, who was understood as a type of Jesus.

Keywords: *Ascension of Isaiah*, Interpretation of Psalms, Interpretation of Prophets, Job.

- MIRIAM BENFATTO, *Sulle tracce di una ricezione ebraica del corpus apocrifo neotestamentario* 274

Abstract: This paper aims to show how apocryphal Gospels have been taken into account in Jewish anti-Christian polemical literature. The first part deals with an overview of Anti-Christian Jewish polemics, while the second part looks at how the Apocrypha were used in this literature, and what value was attributed to the narratives of Jesus that were not included in the New Testament. Examples will be given from the *Sefer Nestor ha-Komer* (9th century), an anonymous dissertation written in Judeo-Arabic in an Islamic area and translated into Hebrew; the *Sefer Niṣṣaḥon Yaśan* (13th century), an anonymous anthological collection from the Franco-German context; and the *Sefer Ezer ha-Emunah* (14th century), drafted by Mošeh ha-Kohen of Tordesillas in Spain.

Keywords: Jewish Anti-Christian Polemical Literature, Early Christian Apocrypha, *Sefer Nestor ha-Komer*, *Sefer Niṣṣaḥon Yaśan*, *Sefer Ezer ha-Emunah*.

- ANTONIO CACCIARI, *L'antigiudaismo nell'Ad Diogneto. Alcune riflessioni* 282

Abstract: This article focuses on the passages of the *Ad Diognetum* that attack some elements of Judaism. From an examination of these texts and from a comparison with Christian apologetics, it appears that the topic present in the *Ad Diognetum* is largely indebted to collections of anti-Jewish texts that were previously put together and used by pagan authors like Celsus.

Keywords: *Ad Diognetum*, Anti-Judaism, Christian Apologetics.

- PIERO CAPELLI, *Sulle radici bibliche della mistica ebraica*. 296

Abstract: The earliest literary expressions of Jewish mysticism (Hekhalot literature and the *Sefer Yeširah*, Mesopotamia and Palestine, 4th to 7th centuries)

are relatively independent from symbolism and intertextuality based on the Bible. By developing a spiritual discourse of its own and resorting to quotations from Scripture only as prooftexts, this literature shows very scant interest for mystical exegesis of Scripture – though the ascetic and ascensional techniques of Merkabah mysticism had precise literary antecedents (and possibly even practical ones) in Scripture (e.g., in the stories about Elijah and Elisha). In later mystical literature from Iberia and Provence (*Sefer Bahir*, *Sefer ha-Zohar*, Yosef Gikatilla, 11th to 13th centuries), mythologies that had originally been independent from Scripture (e.g., about the origin of evil) were gradually more deeply grounded in it by systematically resorting to intertextuality and mystical exegesis of biblical episodes and themes. Along with the textualization of the Talmud in medieval Ashkenaz, the rooting of Jewish mysticism in Scripture in Sefarad became a structurally crucial process in the making of medieval rabbinic Judaism.

Keywords: Rabbinic Mysticism, Qabbalah, Biblical Quotations, Intertextuality, Exegesis.

- LAURA CARNEVALE, *Consolarsi da lontano. Autorità femminile e gerarchia nelle lettere di Maria di Cassobola e Ignazio di Antiochia* 308

Abstract: This paper aims to provide reflections on the letters of Mary of Cassobola and Ignatius of Antioch, which are attributed to a 4th century Arian forger, the so-called Ps.-Ignatius. After briefly recalling the framework of the “Ignatian question”, I analyze the cultural and doctrinal setting of these two letters and their representation of the relationship between Mary and Ignatius. What clearly emerges is the authoritative role attributed to this woman; furthermore, such a role is grounded not on a charismatic or prophetic capacity, but on her ability of managing issues of ecclesiastical hierarchy and on her biblical knowledge.

Keywords: *Corpus Ignatianum*, Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, Women with Authority, Mary of Cassobola, Asia Minor.

- CLAUDIO GIANOTTO, *Il finale lungo di Marco e la formazione del “vangelo tetramorfo”* 316

Abstract: Starting from the recognition of the secondary character of the so-called Longer Ending of the Gospel of Mark and of its circulation in the second half of the 2nd century CE, the paper tries to highlight the occasion that led to its composition and the aim of the new edition of the Gospel of Mark in the collection of the four Gospels.

Keywords: Longer Ending of Mark, Collection of the Four Canonical Gospels, New Testament Canon.

- SIMON C. MIMOUNI, *Les baptistes nasaréens et dosithéens* 325

Abstract: This study explores the Nasareans and the Dositheans. When considering each group, one wonders whether they belong to the Baptist movement at all, as this membership is not as obvious as it might seem at first glance. Of these two Judean Baptist groups, one (the Nasareans) certainly existed, while the other (the Dositheans) may not have. These groups are no less important because of their membership in the Baptist movement, which played a role in the emergence of religiosities such as Elchasaism, Mandaicism, and Manichaeism.

Keywords: Nasareans, Dositheans, Baptist Movements.

- ENRICO NORELLI, *Il “re Erode” e la condanna di Gesù nel Vangelo di Pietro* 345
- Abstract:* The beginning of the excerpt from the *Gospel of Peter* found at Akh-mim seems to show that this work did not contain an actual trial of Jesus but assigned to “King Herod” alone the order to torture and crucify him. Such a course of events was likely due to the use of *testimonia* (not only of Ps 2:[1-]2 LXX, as has been recognized for a long time, but also of Hos 10:6a, which was linked to the Passion story as early as Mark 15:1) and the interpretation of the “king” as Herod Antipas (who was not a king, though ancient sources sometimes call him so) following Justin Martyr. The apologist uses phrases that clearly aim to suggest that Antipas was a king in order to connect Hos 6:10a with him. Also, the verb *παροδίδωμι*, known to be associated with Jesus’ Passion because of Isa 53:6-12, has a narrative function unique to the *Gospel of Peter* with Herod as the subject of v. 5. Despite the common scholarly opinion, the episode of Jesus being sent from Pilate to Herod and back at Luke 23:6-12 does not seem to have influenced the assumption of Herod’s role in the *Gospel of Peter*; both stories are best explained as independent narrative developments of Ps 2:2 and Hos 10:6a, including the apparently shared issue of their friendship.
- Keywords:* *Gospel of Peter*, Early Passion Narrative, Early Christian *Testimonia*, Herod in the Passion Narrative.
- GIORGIO OTRANTO, *Note sulla comunicazione dei cristiani nei primi tre secoli* 357
- Abstract:* Epistolography plays a key role in the Pauline foundation of early communities and is a literary genre privileged by Christians during the first three centuries. Aside from individual letters (Ignatius), as the Christian generic tradition takes shape we see the rise of collective epistles written by entire communities to be read before the faithful of the addressed community. In the 2nd century, the two most common subjects are communications regarding martyrdoms and discussions on the date of Easter. In the 3rd century, new subjects appear, and individual letters become prevalent. Apart from Cyprian’s letters, important collections are lost, such as those of Origen and Dionysius of Alexandria. Eusebius informs us of their existence and collects many letters and fragments in dedicated volumes.
- Keywords:* Epistolography, History of Christianity, Communities, Communications.
- MAURO PERANI, *La nascita e lo sviluppo della scrittura ebraica italiana nelle yešivot pugliesi dei secoli XI-XII* 365
- Abstract:* The article investigates the role that the *yešivot* of Bari, Otranto, Oria, and Trani played in the birth of Italian Hebrew script after Hebrew reappeared in the West with the Venosa epitaphs. The Salento’s *yešivot* produced a great number of texts in the 11th century. After the massacres of the 13th century, the Jews emigrated to the North, where they were able to protect their manuscripts, some of which were purchased by libraries and book collectors. Some other manuscripts were dismembered in the second half of the 16th century and were reused in book binding. A number of images from important manuscripts accompany the article.
- Keywords:* Jews of Puglia, 11th Century, Italian Hebrew Script, Italian Hebrew Manuscripts.

- LORENZO PERRONE, «*Sii difficile da imitare!*». *Appunti sul lessico dell'“eccezione” in Origene* 395

Abstract: Taking as a pretext the unique occurrence of the term for “rare” (σπάνιος) in the Septuagint, the article explores its rather frequent use by Origen as a main witness of biblical and Hellenistic Greek. The lexical analysis unveils a more consistent scriptural connection than is apparent at first glance, one which conforms to the approach typical of the Alexandrian exegete. It especially helps to appreciate in which respect he regards something as rare, infrequent, or exceptional. Not only does he qualify as such different aspects of reality from a mere phenomenic point of view, but on a deeper level he does so especially with regard to ethics and theology. This realm provides for him the most eloquent illustration of the experience of “rarity” or “exceptionality”: both the practice of virtue and the true knowledge of God are indeed rare and exceptional. Yet, in spite of this apparently pessimistic view of humankind, everyone, according to Origen, has the chance to become personally “rare” and “difficult to imitate”.
Keywords: Origen, Rare, Rarity, Exception.

- EMANUELA PRINZIVALLI, *Fingersi Ignazio. Le ragioni di un falsario del IV secolo* 411

Abstract: The essay aims to investigate the reasons for Ignatian pseudo-epigraphy in 4th century Christian Antioch. The forger tries to strengthen the pride in the identity of the Christians of Antioch in order to overcome a long period of internal conflicts.
Keywords: Pseudo-Ignatius, Church of Antioch, History of Ancient Christian Doctrines.

- MARCO RIZZI, *Origene o Ambrogio? A proposito di un passo del Sermo 273 di Agostino* 420

Abstract: The paper discusses Dominic Keech’s proposal that there is a parallel between Augustine’s *Sermo* 273 and a passage from Rufinus’ translation of Origen’s *Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* concerning the interpretation of Rom 8:3. Upon closer consideration, however, it is possible to identify Augustine’s dependence on Ambrose’s works, particularly *De incarnationis Dominicae sacramento*. The conclusion offers some methodological observations about the use of computer-based tools to determine connections between texts and the modes of reading proper to ancient authors.
Keywords: Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, *Epistle to the Romans*, Jesus’ Virgin Birth.

- DANIELE TRIPALDI, *Filologi e dèi. Divinazioni e divagazioni sul Vangelo secondo Giovanni segreto* 427

Abstract: This article aims to argue for the surviving Coptic copies of the *Secret Gospel According to John* (NHC II,1–IV,1) as textual evidence for reconstructing and evaluating its lost and problematic Greek “past”. Two case studies in detecting traces of such a past are offered, both revolving around the misinterpretation of Greek interrogative sentences as relative.
Keywords: “New Philology”, Coptic Translations, Greek Interrogative Sentences, Semantic Diffractions, Divination.

- MARCO VITELLI, *Tra giudaismo palestinese e giudaismo della diaspora. Considerazioni sull'identità giudaica di Flavio Giuseppe* 433
- Abstract:* The contribution addresses the issue of Josephus' religious identity in the Roman period of his life. During these years did he, a Jerusalem priest, radically change his way of living Judaism when he became a Roman Jew, as some scholars think? Does the confrontation between the *Bellum Iudaicum* and Josephus' later works attest to his passage from Palestinian Judaism to Diaspora Judaism? These are the questions the paper tries to answer. In particular, Josephus' personal attitude to the Diaspora is analyzed. The result of the analysis is as follows: Josephus did not radically transform his religious identity, but reshaped it by enhancing the Pharisaic component of his formation and opening himself to certain instances of Diaspora Judaism without a drastic break with the past.
Keywords: Josephus, Jewish Identity, Diaspora.
4. *La ricerca sul Gesù storico in Età moderna e contemporanea*
- FERNANDO BERMEJO-RUBIO, *Riflessioni sulla dimensione politica della vicenda di Gesù di Nazareth (Un confronto critico con Mauro Pesce)* 442
- Abstract:* This article surveys Mauro Pesce's (and Adriana Destro's) most recent contribution to the debate on whether Jesus was involved in the political matters of his time (M. Pesce - A. Destro, *Was Jesus a Political Revolutionary?*, in *ASEs* 36[2019], pp. 453-468) and analyzes its conclusion that, since the Galilean preacher did not think to establish the kingdom himself, his message and his action were ultimately "nonpolitical". I set forth a series of reasons why I do not consider this conclusion plausible enough from a historical and an argumentative standpoint. Furthermore, I make several suggestions and remarks which should seriously be taken into account if a hypothesis aimed to explain the Golgotha scene (namely, a collective crucifixion) can be considered compelling.
Keywords: Jesus of Nazareth, Politics, Religion, Historiography, Collective Crucifixion.
- FRANCESCO BERNO, *Per una Chiesa latitudinaria. Note su Gesù e le origini cristiane in The Primitive Constitution of the Christian Church di John Toland* 451
- Abstract:* The present article aims at providing an in-depth analysis of Toland's interpretation of "Christian Origins", which he developed in his *The Primitive Constitution of the Christian Church*. Specific attention is paid to two closely related issues, namely Toland's exegesis of some pivotal New Testament and Patristic passages and the effect of the resulting perspective on the early quest for the "historical Jesus" before Reimarus.
Keywords: John Toland, Christian Origins, Historical Jesus, *Primitive Constitution*.
- GIANFRANCO BONOLA, *La figura di Gesù in Spirito dell'utopia (1918) di Ernst Bloch. Il profeta mite, cardine della trasmutazione umana e divina* 458

Abstract: The paper analyzes the pages devoted to the figure of Jesus in the first edition of Ernst Bloch's *The Spirit of Utopia* (1918), especially in the paragraph entitled "Jesus". Here, after having considered and rejected the hypotheses that made him a mythical figure or an example of a Middle-Eastern deity of vegetation, Bloch traces Jesus back to the Jewish milieu, though he questions the sacrificial interpretation of his death and the theology of substitutionary atonement. Even by naming Jesus the "son of man" and placing him in an apocalyptical perspective, Bloch stresses the defeat of his messianic attempt and instead brings his altruistic teaching, spiritual purity, and unveiling function to the forefront. While the "Jesus paradigm" will be an element of the figure of the yet unknown final Messiah, in his earthly history the mild prophet Jesus promoted the overcoming of an execrable form of humanity and (in synergy with Gnosis) made an unbearable model of divinity obsolete.

Keywords: Ernst Bloch, *The Spirit of Utopia* (1918), Jesus as a Prophet, Failed Redemption, Final Messiah.

DARIO GARRIBBA, *La ricerca ebraica su Gesù e il Giudaismo nel XIX secolo. Spunti e osservazioni* 475

Abstract: It is widely acknowledged that since the mid-19th century European Judaism has been interested in the historical Jesus and tried to describe him as a Jew; thus, Jewish scholars were the first to situate Jesus within the Judaism of his time. But in which Judaism? What image, what reconstruction did they give of that Judaism? Reviewing the works of the exponents of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, this paper shows how much Jewish scholars were conditioned in their reconstructive efforts by the portrayal of ancient Judaism in Christian and, in particular, German liberal historiography. Joseph Salvador's singular work *Histoire de la domination romaine en Judée, et de la ruine de Jérusalem* stands out from this picture.

Keywords: Jewish Historiography, Second Temple Judaism, Historical Jesus, *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Joseph Salvador.

CRISTIANA FACCHINI, *Storio-grafie del Gesù storico* 483

Abstract: This article aims to reflect upon the history of scholarship with respect to the field of inquiry surrounding the "historical Jesus", focusing especially on the 19th and early 20th centuries. In doing so, it describes some new approaches that have shed light on classics of the field, highlighting the methodological potentiality of a cultural history that focuses on the complexity of the cultural context with its social and religious interactions, which themselves imply the process of cultural transferences. Moreover, it also invites us to broaden the methodological approach to the study of this distinctive historiographical theme, so that we might also include media studies.

Keywords: History of Scholarship, Historical Jesus, Cultural History, Media and Religion.

GIOVANNI FILORAMO, *Fino a che punto è moderno il Gesù di Piero Martinetti?* 492

Abstract: Stimulated by Pesce's works on modern research on the historical Jesus, the author returns to the way in which he presented the Jesus of the Italian philosopher Piero Martinetti (1872-1943) in some of his previous

contributions. Reading Pesce's works gave him two fundamental questions: how does Martinetti's reconstruction of Jesus in *Gesù Cristo e il cristianesimo* (1934) fit into modern research on the historical Jesus, and to what extent can we speak of a modern Jesus in this regard? The contribution responds to these questions through a series of examples.

Keywords: Piero Martinetti, Historical Jesus.

HALVOR MOXNES, *Jesus' Itinerancy in Historical Context* 500

Abstract: Did Jesus' itinerancy imply that he was a vagrant and homeless? This essay explores the presentation of Jesus' itinerancy in Schleiermacher's *The Life of Jesus* (early 19th century) and compares it to modern studies of Jesus. In early modern Europe, vagrants and the homeless were regarded as a threat to society and therefore could no plausibly serve as models for Schleiermacher, who presented Jesus as «a great man» and a respected teacher. The influence of social and political perspectives on recent Jesus studies have inspired modern scholars to place Jesus as itinerant in the context of homelessness, vagrancy, and poverty.

Keywords: Jesus, Itinerancy, Vagrancy, Homelessness, Poverty.

PIERLUIGI PIOVANELLI, *À propos de la damnatio memoriae d'Ernest Renan dans la recherche contemporaine sur le Jésus historique* 510

Abstract: Ernest Renan has become one of the most ostracized figures in contemporary historiography of historical Jesus research. The roots of the problem probably lie in Albert Schweitzer's contemptuous dismissal of the French scholar's *Life of Jesus*, an unfortunate consequence of the nationalistic tensions between German and French intellectuals on the eve of the First World War. Regrettably, a certain number of German and North American theologians seem to have inherited this age-old bias. Others claim that Renan's work promoted cultural anti-Semitism without realizing that Renan was strongly opposed to this form of hatred. As recent studies have shown, Renan's impact on academia and society at large was far more positive and lasting than what is portrayed in standard accounts of historical Jesus research.

Keywords: Antisemitism, Historical Jesus, Orientalism, Ernest Renan, Albert Schweitzer.

ANNA LISA SCHINO, *Il profeta Gesù secondo Hobbes*. 518

Abstract: This article investigates the image of Christ proposed by Hobbes on the basis of a peculiar reading of the Holy Scriptures. In Hobbes' vision, Christ, on the one hand, is assimilated to Moses according to the Averroistic-Libertine model of the great *Legislatores*, prophets with strong political ambitions; on the other hand, Christ's role is strongly spiritualized on the basis of the beginning of his political reign after the Second Coming. Meanwhile, Christ's role in the historical, pre-Second Coming period is to teach the way of salvation (that is, moral conduct). This shift in time and this strong idealization of Christ's tasks get rid of any apocalyptic prophecy and open the way to reflection on the possibility of recognizing every citizen as having full freedom of conscience.

Keywords: Hobbes, Christ, Bible, Prophecy, *Libertinage érudit*.

GUY G. STROUMSA, *Renan, le judaïsme et l'islam. Orientalisme et monothéisme* 529

Abstract: Ernest Renan, the famed author of the all-time bestseller *La vie de Jésus*, was also the leading historian of religion of 19th century France. Renan sought to offer a united and comparative approach to the study of the religious history of the Semitic peoples. For him, the Semites, who in most fields were much less gifted than the Indo-European peoples, contributed one major idea to humanity: that of a single God. Renan devoted many efforts to aspects of Judaism and Islam, but he has often been accused of both antisemitism and of Islamophobia. The purpose of this article is to shed some new light on his general approach (in particular of ancient Judaism) and what it does, and does not, entail.

Keywords: Renan, Judaism, Orientalism, Monotheism, Semites.

5. *Filosofia, teologia e politica tra Medioevo e XX secolo*

ISABELLA ADINOLFI, *Su The Banality of Evil* 539

Abstract: This essay examines some aspects of Hannah Arendt's *The Banality of Evil*. The political thinker spoke of the «duty to understand the new type of criminal represented by A. Eichmann». The essay therefore aims first to clarify what “understanding” means for Arendt, and then why each of us has, according to her, the “duty” to understand. Finally, it focuses on the controversies sparked by the definition of “banality of evil”.

Keywords: Hannah Arendt, Ethics, Shoah, Evil, Thoughtlessness

ROBERTO ALCIATI, «*Il tacere non conviene nell'ora presente*». *Baldassarre Labanca e la bancarotta della teologia* 549

Abstract: Mauro Pesce has recently emphasized the need for a multidisciplinary approach to the history of Christianity, inviting colleagues to engage with the social and cognitive sciences. This call is not new. In 1895, another historian of Christianity, Baldassarre Labanca, suggested a strategic alliance with the positivists as a way out of the conundrums of theology and confessionalism in religious studies. The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the main characteristics of Labanca's proposal, which is in many ways similar to Pesce's.

Keywords: Baldassarre Labanca, Scientific Study of Religion, Positivism, Theology.

PAOLO BETTILOLO, «*Sine intermissione orate*». *La lectio divina nella pratica e nel pensiero di Giuseppe Dossetti* 558

Abstract: The essay examines the proposal and the practice of a *lectio continua* of the Bible in today's church, which was developed during the second half of the 20th century by the Italian Catholic Reformer Giuseppe Dossetti. It focuses on the problematic relationship between the Christian tradition and modernity.

Keywords: Giuseppe Dossetti, Bible, Prayer, Church, Modernity.

LUIGI CANETTI, *Debito di reciprocità e debito di investimento. Semantiche della purgazione e del sacrificio nel cristianesimo tardomedievale* 567

Abstract: The sacrificial model of Latin Christianity found its apex in the invention of Purgatory as the third place in the afterlife. It entered into crisis because, during the commercial revolution of the 12th-14th centuries, balance

was now conceived as a property of the incessant movement determined by the dynamics of credit and financial debt. Credit was no longer identified exclusively with the credit accumulated with good works (alms, prayers, pilgrimages) that compensate the debt of guilt generated by sin; instead, credit was granted to the merchant not on the basis of goods already available but on the basis of guarantees of insurance and planning, something which only time – the new measurable time of the merchant – could verify.

Keywords: Debit, Gift Money, Purgatory, Sacrifice.

GUGLIELMO FORNI ROSA, *La théologie spirituelle de Thomas Müntzer* . . . 579

Abstract: Thomas Müntzer's theological-political writings were mostly composed during the summer or autumn of 1524, a time of hard unease and great risk. The immanentist interpretation of Friedrich Engels (1850), like that of the historians who preceded him, does not correspond to the texts left by Müntzer and seriously distorts their fundamentally religious nature. Müntzer condemns those theologians, both "papists" and Lutherans, that take the Bible away from the people to whom it was addressed, creating material and spiritual misery. The true knowledge of God can instead be achieved only once suffering and hardships make us resemble Christ, allowing the immediate presence of God into our spirit.

Keywords: Thomas Müntzer, Radical Reformation, Eschatology (16th century).

UMBERTO MAZZONE, *Strutture e procedure al Concilio di Trento* 587

Abstract: The understanding of the procedures by which the meetings of the Council of Trent were held, the rules that guided the proceedings, the organization of its bureaucracy, and the management of the expenses is necessary to fully comprehend how the discussions unfolded. The Council of Trent falls fully within the historical process of the political assemblies contemporary to it. If the preparation, the organization, and the maintenance of an assembly that is going to last for a long time always constitute a substantial effort for those who convened it, the commitment demanded of the Curia was truly substantial. The papacy in the mid-16th century managed to see to it that the bureaucratic structure of the Council was firmly in its own hands. This fact turned out to be fundamental in the management of more delicate procedural matters, such as that of the conciliary finances.

Keywords: Council of Trent, Political Assemblies, Rules and Procedure, Order of Business, Administrative Staff.

DANIELE MENOZZI, *Intorno alle origini del mito della congiura giudeo-massonica* 595

Abstract: In the construction of modern Catholic antisemitism, the myth of the "Jewish-Masonic Conspiracy" played an important role. The French Revolution, which started the process of secularization and produced the disintegration of Christendom, would have originated from a plot hatched by Masonry, secretly led by Jews. The first attestation of this theory is found in a letter that the Jesuit Augustin Barruel, the famous author of the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme* (1797-1798), declares he received in 1806 from a Piedmontese army captain, Giovanni Battista Simonini. Historiography has long held that it was Barruel's invention. Recent studies have instead shown

a fact that has long been known by local scholars: Simonini did historically exist. His letter circulated widely in Catholic counter-revolutionary circles before being made public in 1878 through the memoirs of the Jesuit who had assisted Barruel in the final years of his life.

Keywords: Catholic Antisemitism, Myth of the Jewish-Masonic Conspiracy, Interpretation of the French Revolution, Society of Jesus, Giovanni Battista Simonini.

FRANCO MOTTA, *L'esegesi copernicana di Paolo Antonio Foscarini* 603

Abstract: The article analyzes the *Lettera sopra l'opinione dei pitagorici* of the Carmelite friar Paolo Antonio Foscarini, a well-known text in the events that led to the condemnation of Copernicanism by the Roman Church. The book, which was prohibited in the decree of the Congregation of the Index of 1616 because it asserted the possibility of a heliocentric interpretation of the Bible, can be fully understood only when considered within the broader plan of a renewal of knowledge designed by its author. In the case of astronomy, the *Lettera* shows how Foscarini ascribed a key role to a realist view (instead of hypotheticalist, as maintained by some scholars) of the knowledge of nature attainable by physical and mathematical sciences.

Keywords: Copernicanism, Biblical Exegesis, Science and Religion, Counter-reformation.

PAOLO POMBENI, *Il sacramento del potere. Il problema del rapporto tra cultura religiosa e legittimazione politica* 610

Abstract: This article aims to offer some reflections on the role the Catholic Church has exerted on "shared feelings" (*idem sentire*) within Italian political life. Departing from a historical background defined by conflict between the state and the church, the article analyses the role that the Christian Democratic Party (*Democrazia Cristiana*) played in the aftermath of World War II as a unifying cultural force. Moreover, the article investigates whether the role played by the Catholic world to forge social solidarity is still relevant today.

Keywords: Religion and Power, Roman Question, Catholic Church and Politics, Church and Democrazia Cristiana, Civic Religion and Church.

FRANCESCA SOFIA, *Lo scambio "ripristinato" tra Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de Sismondi e Raffaello Lambruschini* 619

Abstract: The religious reflection of Raffaello Lambruschini (1788-1873) enjoyed an extraordinary fortune in Italy in the first decades of the last century, when in the eyes of a large group of Catholic Modernists he appeared as a distant, but vital, spiritual father. It is up to these distant studies to bring the dense network of contacts maintained by the Tuscan intellectual with the Protestant world to light. These include the Genevan historian and economist Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, whose full correspondence with Lambruschini we publish here, while correcting some erroneous attributions.

Keywords: Raffaello Lambruschini, Jean-Charles-Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, Italian Religious Reform (19th century), Bianca Milesi, Unitarian Doctrines.

- GIOVANNI VIAN, *Francesco Mari tra esegesi biblica e modernismo*.
Note su alcuni provvedimenti romani 627
- Abstract:* Francesco Mari (1873-1934), Umbrian priest and biblical scholar, participated in the renewal of biblical studies according to a historical-critical approach. He was repeatedly condemned by the Holy See for his alleged modernistic tendencies. These notes mainly examine the complaints against the Umbrian presbyter, after the apostolic visit to the diocese of Nocera Umbra and the publication of *Il quarto Vangelo* (his exegetical study on the Gospel according to John, condemned in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1910), with a nod to a new censorship in 1916, again with the charge of modernism.
- Keywords:* Francesco Mari, Catholic Modernism, Biblical Studies, Holy Office, Gaetano De Lai.
- Bibliografia di Mauro Pesce (Pubblicazioni scientifiche, 1967-2021)*,
 a cura di Mara Rescio e Luigi Walt 634