

CISSR – Centro Italiano di Studi Superiori sulle Religioni
Italian Centre for Advanced Studies on Religions

Incontro annuale sulle Origini cristiane
Annual Meeting on Christian Origins

Centro Residenziale Universitario di Bertinoro

1 – 4 ottobre 2015

University Residential Centre of Bertinoro

October 1 – 4, 2015



Il Centro Italiano di Studi Superiori sulle Religioni (CISSR), fondato nel 1999, promuove la ricerca scientifica sulle religioni, soprattutto nell'ambito cristianistico e giudaistico. Il Centro favorisce lo sviluppo degli studi sulle religioni nella formazione universitaria, organizzando convegni scientifici, offrendo supporto per la formazione post-universitaria e promuovendo iniziative culturali sulle religioni.

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Incontro annuale 2015 // Annual Meeting 2015

Comitato promotore // Promoting Committee: Adriana Destro (Università di Bologna), Mauro Pesce (Università di Bologna), Dario Garribba (Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Meridionale, Napoli), Matteo Grosso (Università di Torino), Mara Rescio (Università di Catania), Daniele Tripaldi (Università di Bologna), Emiliano R. Urciuoli (Scuola Internazionale Alti Studi – Fondazione Collegio San Carlo, Modena), Luigi Walt (Universität Regensburg)

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Cura del programma // Programme Editing: M. Rescio, L. Walt

CISSR — Centro Italiano di Studi Superiori delle Religioni

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CISSR – Incontro Annuale sulle Origini Cristiane
CISSR – Annual Meeting on Christian Origins

Bertinoro, 1-4 ottobre 2015 // Bertinoro, October 1–4, 2015

GIOVEDÌ 1 OTTOBRE // THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1

9:15 – 11:00

Primi gruppi di seguaci di Gesù
Early Groups of Jesus' Followers

- Luigi WALT (Universität Regensburg)

Theses on Paul and Translation

- Adriana DESTRO – Mauro PESCE (Università di Bologna)

Cohabitation of Different Groups of Jesus' Followers in Jerusalem (30-70 C.E.)

- Ryan J. OLFERT (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

Making Truth and Ambition Matter: Negotiating Associative Practice in the Johannine Epistles

- Michael K.-H. SOMMER (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

How Jewish Is the Apocalypse of Peter: Questions Concerning the 'Day of the Lord' Tradition and the Validity of the Torah

Break 11:00 – 11:30

11:30 – 13:15 (Sessione parallela AM 2.A // Parallel Session AM 2.A)

Origini del cristianesimo: miti moderni e rappresentazioni storiche
Christian Origins: Modern Myths and Historical Representations

- Luigi WALT (Universität Regensburg)

Introduzione // Introduction

- Sarah E. ROLLENS (University of Alabama)

The Anachronism of "Early Christian Communities"

- Maria FALLICA (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Roma "La Sapienza")

Antologizzare i Padri: prospettive verso le "origini" // Anthologizing the Fathers: Perspectives into the Origins of the Christian Church

- Rachele JESURUM (Ph.D. Stud., INALCO, Paris)

Il paradosso messianico di Sabbetay Sevi: da un messia crocefisso a un messia apostata // The Messianic Paradox of Sabbetay Sevi: From a Crucified Messiah to an Apostate Messiah

- Carlo SUSA (Università Cattolica / Accademia di Belle Arti Santa Giulia, Brescia)

Vindicta Salvatoris. La distruzione di Gerusalemme nella tradizione teatrale europea (secc. XIV-XVII) // Vindicta Salvatoris. The Destruction of Jerusalem in the European Theatrical Tradition (14th–17th c.)

11:30 – 13:15 (Sessione parallela AM 2.B // Parallel Session AM 2.B)

**Vangelo secondo Tommaso, Nag Hammadi e gnosticismo
*Gospel of Thomas, Nag Hammadi, and Gnosticism***

- Claudio GIANOTTO (Università di Torino)

Introduzione // Introduction

- Andrea ANNESE (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Roma “La Sapienza”)

Immagine e luce. I logia sull'immagine nel Vangelo secondo Tommaso // Image and Light. The Logia about the “Image” in the Gospel of Thomas

- Francesco BERNO (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Roma “La Sapienza”)

Il Trattato Tripartito: ripensando il Valentinismo // The Tractatus Tripartitus: Rethinking Valentinianism

- Daniele TRIPALDI (Università di Bologna)

A Master's Legacy: Marcus the 'Magician', Valentinus and the Date of the Gospel of Truth

- Lavinia CERIONI (Ph.D. Stud., University of Nottingham)

Feminine and Bridal Imagery in the Book of Baruch

Pausa Pranzo // Lunch Break 13:15 – 15:15 (CEUB)

15:15 – 16:45

Lectio Magistralis

- John S. KLOPPENBORG (University of Toronto)

Greek, Roman and Graeco-Egyptian Associations and Early Christ Groups

Break 16:45 – 17:15

17:15 – 19:15

**Questioni metodologiche: memoria, studi cognitivi, sociologia, antropologia (1)
*Methodological Questions: Memory, Cognitive Studies, Sociology, Anthropology (1)***

- Roberto ALCIATI – Emiliano R. URCIUOLI (Università di Torino)

Introduzione // Introduction

- István CZACHESZ (Universität Heidelberg)

The Promise of the Cognitive Science of Religion for Early Christian Studies

- Daniel ULLUCCI (Rhodes College, Memphis)

Theorizing the Evidence for Early Christian Sacrifice

- Discussione generale // General Discussion

Cena dalle // Dinner from 19:15 (CEUB)

VENERDÌ 2 OTTOBRE // FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2

9:15 – 11:00 (Sessione Parallela AM 1.A // Parallel Session AM 1.A)

Antropologia delle forme e delle identità religiose ***Anthropology of Religious Forms and Identities***

- Adriana DESTRO (Università di Bologna)

Introduzione // Introduction

- Francesca SBARDELLA (Università di Bologna)

La parola del non-detto: pratiche di silenziamento in clausura // Unspoken Words: Silence Practices in Cloistered Life

- Mariana MASTAGAR (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

From the Saturnalia to Diasporic Toronto

9:15 – 11:00 (Sessione Parallela AM 1.B // Parallel Session AM 1.B)

Marco e gli altri Vangeli ***Mark and the Other Gospels***

- Mara RESCIO (Università di Catania)

Hiding the Esoteric Jesus: Did Matthew and Luke Intend to Supplement or to Replace Mark?

- Georges MASSINELLI (Ph.D. Stud. University of Notre Dame, South Bend - Indiana)

The Parable of the Two Sons and the Authentic Parables of Jesus

- Giulio E.U. MICHELINI (Istituto Teologico di Assisi)

Jesus of Capernaum: Peter, 'the' House, the Temple Tax (Matt 17:24-27). Consequences for the Matthean Community and the 'Parting of the Ways'

Break 11:00 – 11:30

11:30 – 13:00

Lectio Magistralis

- Francesco REMOTTI (Università di Torino)

L'uomo a immagine di... — Identità o somiglianza // Man as Image of... — Identity or Similarity

Pausa Pranzo // Lunch Break 13:00 – 15:00 (CEUB)

15:00 – 16:30

Discussione di libro con l'autore // Book Discussion with the Author

- Simon Claude MIMOUNI, *Jacques le Juste, frère de Jésus de Nazareth* (Montrouge: Bayard, 2015)

Discussants: Claudio GIANOTTO, Mauro PESCE, Markus VINZENT

Break 16:30 – 17:00

17:00 – 19:00

Ridattare gli scritti protocristiani (1)
Re-Dating the Early Christian Texts (1)

- Thomas WITULSKI (Universität Bielefeld)

Introductory Seminar: Re-dating John's Revelation

- Tavola rotonda // Round Table: Luca ARCARI, Daniele TRIPALDI, Thomas WITULSKI

- Claudio GIANOTTO (Università di Torino)

Alla ricerca del più antico vangelo: a proposito di un recente volume di M. Klinghardt // Looking for the Earlier Gospel: The Theory of M. Klinghardt [18:15 – 18:45]

- Discussione generale // General Discussion

Moderatore // Chairman: Markus VINZENT (King's College, London)

Cena libera dalle // Free dinner from 19:00

SABATO 3 OTTOBRE // SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3

9:15 – 10:30

Discussione di libro con gli autori // Book Discussion with the Authors

- Adriana DESTRO – Mauro PESCE, *Il racconto e la scrittura* (Roma: Carocci, 2014)

Discussants: Luca ARCARI, Claudio GIANOTTO

Break 10:30 – 11:00

11:00 – 13:00 (Sessione Parallela AM 2.A // Parallel Session AM 2.A)

Gesù storico (1)
Historical Jesus (1)

- Facundo D. TROCHE (Ph.D., Università di Bologna)

Ancient Fishing Methods and Fishing Grounds in the Lake of Galilee

- Federico ADINOLFI (Ph.D., Università di Bologna)

Jesus and the Aims of John: Abandoning the Underivable Jesus

- Mauro PESCE (Università di Bologna)

Some Considerations about the Origin of Jesus' Certitudes

- Ursula SCHATTFNER-RIESER (Universität Innsbruck)

On Abba, the Lord's Prayer, Aramaic in the Time of Jesus, Qumran and the Targums

11:00 – 13:00 (Sessione Parallela AM 2.B // Parallel Session AM 2.B)

Storia dei Giudei e del giudaismo in età ellenistico-romana (1)

Jewish History and Hellenistic Judaism (1)

- Marco VITELLI (Istituto di Storia del Cristianesimo “Cataldo Naro”, Napoli), Cristina TERMINI (Pontificia Università San Tommaso d’Aquino, Roma)

Introduzione // Introduction

- Paolo CIMADOMO (Università di Napoli “Federico II”)

Galileans or Ioudaioi? Some Remarks on ‘Judaization’ of Galilee during the First Century BC

- Laura C. PALADINO (Università Europea di Roma)

Presbiteroi, Poimenes, Episkopoi. Istituzioni e ruoli comunitari tra esperienze giudaiche e influenze ellenistico-romane // Presbiteroi, Poimenes, Episkopoi: Community Institutions and Roles between Judaic Experiences and Roman-Hellenistic Influences

- Jessica VAN ’T WESTEINDE (University of Durham)

The Holy Temple in Heaven: The Testament of Levi Revisioning Jewish Identity

Pausa Pranzo // Lunch Break 13:00 – 15:00 (CEUB)

15:00 – 16:45 (Sessione Parallela PM 1.A // Parallel Session PM 1.A)

Gesù storico (2) // Historical Jesus (2)

- Fernando BERMEJO-RUBIO (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, España)

Unspoken Things about Golgotha and Gethsemane: Critical Reflections on Jesus’ (and Others’) Arrest and Crucifixion

- Andrea NICOLOTTI (Università di Catania)

Numero, tipologia e posizione delle stoffe sepolcrali di Gesù secondo i racconti evangelici: rivisitazione esegetica e archeologica // Number, Type and Location of the Burial Cloths of Jesus according to the Gospel Accounts: An Exegetical and Archaeological Review

- Cecilia ANTONELLI (Université de Genève)

James the Just’s Death according to Hegesippus (Eus. Hist. Eccl. 2,23,10-18): Narrative Construction, Biblical Testimonia and Comparison with the Other Known Traditions

- Discussione generale // General Discussion

15:00 – 16:45 (Sessione Parallela PM 1.B // Parallel Session PM 1.B)

Archeologia e origini cristiane

Archaeology and Christian Origins

- Carlo CARLETTI (Università di Bari)

Indagini archeologiche sotto San Pietro in Vaticano: dal progetto di Papa Pacelli alle “ossa nascoste” // Archaeological Investigations under the Vatican Confessio: From Pacelli’s Project to ‘Hidden Bones’

- Emanuele CASTELLI (Universität Basel)

Sulla tradizione di Pietro a Roma // The Tradition of Peter in Rome

- Paola DE SANTIS (Università di Bari)

La ‘memoria’ di Pietro in Vaticano: morfologia e funzionalità // Peter’s ‘Memory’ in the Vatican Hill: Morphology and Function

- Discussione generale // General Discussion

Break 16:45 – 17:15

17:15 – 19:30

Metodi per lo studio dei papiri documentari
Methods for the Study of Documentary Papyri

- Peter ARZT-GRABNER (Universität Salzburg)

What do the Papyri Tell Us about a Pauline Community: Private Life, Administration, and Labour in a Town of Asia Minor

- Facundo D. TROCHE (Ph.D. Università di Bologna)

Galilean Fishermen: Social Conflicts and the Role of Voluntary Associations

- Christopher CORNTHWAITE (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

Bodies of Elders: Trade Associations of Presbuteroi and Leadership in Early Christ-Groups

- Didactic Seminar (Peter Arzt-Grabner – Facundo D. Troche)

Papyrological Databases and Other Tools Online: A Practical Demonstration

Cena libera dalle // Free dinner from 19:30

DOMENICA 4 OTTOBRE // SUNDAY, OCTOBER 4

9:00 – 10:45 (Sessione Parallela AM 1.A // Parallel Session AM 1.A)

Storia dei Giudei e del giudaismo in età ellenistico-romana (2)

Jewish History and Hellenistic Judaism (2)

- Discussione di progetto e di libro // Project and Book Discussion

- Rocco BERNASCONI (Università di Lugano)
*Typology of Ancient Jewish Literature in Antiquity:
The Manchester/Durham Research Project*

Discussants: Cristina TERMINI *et alii*

- Marco VITELLI (Istituto di Storia del Cristianesimo “Cataldo Naro”, Napoli)

Da sacerdote di Gerusalemme a giudeo di Roma? L'identità religiosa di Flavio Giuseppe tra giudaismo palestinese e giudaismo della diaspora // From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew? Josephus' Religious Identity between Palestinian Judaism and Diaspora Judaism

9:00 – 10:45 (Sessione Parallela AM 1.B // Parallel Session AM 1.B)

Storia della ricerca su Gesù in età moderna e contemporanea (1)

History of the Research on Jesus in Modern and Contemporary Times (1)

- Mauro PESCE (Università di Bologna)

Introduzione // Introduction

- Discussione di libro con gli autori // Book Discussion with the Authors

- A. DEL PRETE – S. RICCI (eds.), *Cristo nella filosofia dell'età moderna* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2014)
Discussants: Anna Lisa SCHINO, Luisa SIMONUTTI, Pina TOTARO, Mauro PESCE

- Miriam BENFATTO (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Bologna)

Origini del cristianesimo e studia hebraica moderni: riflessioni a margine di una correlazione necessaria // The Origins of Christianity and Modern Era Studia Hebraica: Preliminary Reflections on a Necessary Connection

- Fernando BERMEJO-RUBIO (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, España)

Is Von dem Zweck Jesu und seiner Jünger an Innovative Contribution? On Reimarus' Role in a New Historiographical Paradigm of Jesus Research

Break 10:45 – 11:15

11:15 – 13:00 (Sessione Parallela AM 2.A // Parallel Session AM 2.A)

Questioni metodologiche (2)

Methodological Questions (2)

- Luca ARCARI (Università di Napoli "Federico II")

Discourses on/of Jesus: The Origins of Christianity between Speech Acts Theory and the Foucauldian Archaeology

- Giulia MARCHIONI (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Bologna)

The Good Shepherd and the Shepherds: Pastoral Representations of Christ and Christian Pastoral Metaphors

- Discussione generale // General Discussion

11:15 – 13:00 (Sessione Parallela AM 2.B // Parallel Session AM 2.B)

Storia della ricerca su Gesù in età moderna e contemporanea (2)

History of the Research on Jesus in Modern and Contemporary Times (2)

- Discussione di libro con l'autore // Book Discussion with the Author

- A.L. SCHINO, *Battaglie libertine. La vita e le opere di Gabriel Naudé* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2015)

Discussants: Antonella DEL PRETE, Mauro PESCE, Pina TOTARO

- Margherita MANTOVANI (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Roma "La Sapienza")

Esegesi cabalistiche del nome di Gesù (XV-XVI sec.) // Kabbalistic Exegesis on Jesus' Name (15th–16th Century)

- Alessandro SANTAGATA (Università di Roma "Tor Vergata")

Sul Gesù storico nella "crisi modernista" // On the Historical Jesus in the Catholic Modernism Crisis

Pausa Pranzo // Lunch Break 13:00 – 15:00 (CEUB)

15:00 – 17:15 (Sessione Parallela PM 1.A // Parallel Session PM 1.A)

Ridattare gli scritti protocristiani (2)

Re-Dating the Early Christian Texts (2)

- Carlo BROCCARDO (Facoltà Teologica del Triveneto)

Luke vs Marcion: Who Cares about Precedence?

- Maurizio GIROLAMI (Facoltà Teologica del Triveneto)

Presentazione del volume: D.T. Roth, The Text of Marcion's Gospel (Leiden: Brill, 2015) //

Presentation of the Volume: D.T. Roth, The Text of Marcion's Gospel (Leiden: Brill, 2015)

- Discussione generale // General Discussion

15:00 – 17:15 (Sessione Parallela PM 1.B // Parallel Session PM 1.B)

Storia della ricerca su Gesù in età moderna e contemporanea (3)

History of the Research on Jesus in Modern and Contemporary Times (3)

- Discussione di libro con l'autore // Book Discussion with the Author:

- Luisa SIMONUTTI (ed.), *Religious Obedience and Political Resistance in the Early Modern World: Jewish, Christian and Islamic Philosophers Addressing the Bible* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)

Discussants: Franco Motta, Mauro Pesce, Pina Totaro

- Massimo RICCHIARI (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Napoli "Federico II")

Il Cristo di Spinoza. Uno "spiritus" denudato della carne per la "potentia" del comune // The Christ of Spinoza: A "Spiritus" Denuded of Flesh for "Potentia" of the "Communis"

- Beatrice NUTI (Ph.D. Stud., Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa)

Gesù dopo Auschwitz: la riflessione di J.B. Metz // Jesus after Auschwitz: The Thinking of J.B. Metz

- Tavola rotonda // Round Table: Franco Motta, Mauro Pesce, Luisa Simonutti, Pina Totaro

Unità Tematiche e Interventi // Programme Units & Papers

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Lectiones Magistrales

Giovedì 1 ottobre // Thursday, October 1
15:15 – 16:45

John S. KLOPPENBORG (University of Toronto)

Ancient Associations and the Study of Early Christ Groups: Recruiting New Members

This paper considers the variety of ways in which small, face-to-face groups in the ancient Mediterranean recruited new members. A consideration of data from cult associations, occupational guilds, diasporic groups, neighbourhood clubs, and collegia domestica indicates that mutual support, conviviality, and belonging to 'networks of trust' were as important as appeals to notions of soteria and benefits conferred by the god.

Venerdì 2 ottobre // Friday, October 2
11:30 – 13:00

Francesco REMOTTI (Università di Torino)

L'uomo a immagine di... – Identità o somiglianza // Man as Image of... – Identity or Similarity

(ITA) All'inizio del mio percorso critico sull'identità (*Contro l'identità*, 1996), avevo affermato che l'identità è un'esigenza irrinunciabile, a partire dall'idea dell'incompletezza dell'essere umano e del suo compito antropo-poietico. Approfondendo il tema dell'antropo-poiesi appare molto più rilevante il "somigliare", il comportamento mimetico: si acquisisce umanità imitando, diventando simili (simili, ma anche diversi, beninteso). Il mio abbandono del concetto di identità si basa in effetti sulla convinzione che ogni io non è identico, ma simile a sé (nell'antichità Epicarmo, Diotima nel *Simposio* di Platone, nella modernità David Hume, Derek Parfit, Douglas Hofstadter ecc.).

(ENG) At the beginning of my critical analysis on the concept of identity (*Contro l'identità*, 1996), I stated that identity is an indispensable requirement in the anthropo-poietic process. The need of identity proceeds from the idea of the incompleteness of the human being. In a further phase of analysis on anthropo-poiesis, the mimetic behaviour ("to be similar to") began to appear much more relevant. It is in the process of imitating or becoming similar (similar, but also different, of course) that one can acquire humanity. My abandonment of the concept of identity is based in fact on the conviction that every Self is not identical, but similar to himself (see, in Antiquity, Epicharmus, Diotyma in Plato's *Symposium*; in modernity, David Hume, Derek Parfit, Douglas Hofstadter etc.).

1.

Antropologia delle forme e delle identità religiose

Anthropology of Religious Forms and Identities

(Adriana Destro)

Venerdì 2 ottobre // Friday, October 2

9:15 – 11:00

(Sessione Parallela AM 1.A // Parallel Session AM 1.A)

Francesca SBARDELLA (Università di Bologna)

La parola del non-detto: pratiche di silenziamento in clausura // Unspoken Words: Silence Practices in Cloistered Life

(ITA) L'intervento intende indagare la forma di silenzio claustrale del non-detto, una forma di pratica attiva di negazione di parola che determina profondamente l'essere stesso della monaca. Attraverso esperienze claustrali personali in ambito cattolico femminile francese (Ordine Carmelitano), si presentano alcune situazioni di quotidianità avvenute durante i cosiddetti momenti ricreativi, in cui la parola è apparentemente ammessa. Nella prospettiva monacale la parola non-detta viene simbolicamente destinata a un soggetto altro, la divinità, considerato invisibile ma incarnato concretamente nella persona fisica della priora. Si tratta quindi di una parola sottratta alla libera conversazione perché indirizzata altrove. Questo meccanismo di deviazione simbolica costruisce due piani di comunicazione paralleli e alternativi rispetto a quello relazionale tradizionale. Se da una parte inventa il dialogo simbolico con la divinità e, in qualche modo lo legittima e lo rende reale, dall'altra, in termini concreti, crea piani di dialogo multipli e paralleli con un unico interlocutore, la priora, che diviene il gestore e il moderatore della parola. Il non-dire in effetti non annulla il dialogo, ma lo orienta verso una sola persona, che a quel punto acquisisce potere grazie al controllo della parola altrui.

(ENG) The aim of this paper is to address the cloistered form of silence behind unspoken words, i.e. an active practice of speaking negation that profoundly determines the nun's way of being. On the basis of personal experience in cloistered life within a French female catholic context (Carmelite order), some daily life situations will be presented with reference to the so called recreational moments, during which apparently one is allowed to speak. From a monastic perspective, unspoken words are symbolically destined for another subject, i.e. a deity, who is considered invisible but concretely embodied in the physical person of the prioress. Therefore this type of words is taken away from free conversation because they are directed elsewhere. Such a pattern of symbolic deviation creates two parallel and alternative communicative levels compared to the traditional relational one. If, on the one hand, it makes up the symbolic dialogue with the deity, thus legitimizing it and making it real in a way, on the other hand, in concrete terms, it creates multiple and parallel levels of dialogue with one single interlocutor, i.e. the prioress, who becomes the speaking manager and moderator. In fact, unspoken words do not cancel dialogue; rather they orient it towards one single person, who thus acquires power by controlling other people's words.

Mariana MASTAGAR (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

From the Saturnalia to Diasporic Toronto

My paper will explore the performance in homeland and diaspora contexts of Budni Večer, an ancient pre-Christian celebration adapted to Christmas Eve. I will compare written ethnographies of rural practices in the homeland with oral performances in the diasporic Macedono-Bulgarian churches involving post-1990 immigrants. Interestingly, this group represents urbanites with no prior connection with the rural folkloric practices or even Orthodoxy. This occurrence in Toronto suggests a contemporary "invention" of diasporic religion. I compare and contrast Budni Večer around three axes: written versus oral; rural versus urban, and homeland versus diaspora.

[*] **Elisa FARINACCI** (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Bologna)

Assemblages of Written and Spoken Words: Two Case Studies of Weekly Prayers in Responses to the Separation Wall in the Bethlehem Governorate

The period after the second Intifada witnessed the beginning of the construction of the “barrier” also known as “security fence” or “segregation Wall” separating the Israeli citizens from the Palestinian people. For more than 10 years the Elizabethan nuns of the Caritas Baby Hospital of Bethlehem have been gathering every Friday by Checkpoint 300 to recite the rosary along the Wall invoking God’s help to dismantle it. Similarly, the Catholic Priest of the Beit Jala responded to the threat of land expropriation in the Cremisan valley, due to the Wall’s projected route, with the Celebration of the Holy Mass among the olive groves. Both initiatives are grounded in the scriptures: the former refers to Luke 11, 9 «ask and it will be given to you» while the latter is rooted in the evangelical narration of Jesus’ prayer in the Gethsemane the night of his capture. The written words of the Holy Scriptures in this context take life in their vocal exteriorization through community prayer. It is the spoken words of supplications to the divinity that become the Christian material response to and weapon against the presence of the Wall. Through these two ethnographic cases, we wish to investigate the written and spoken words not as hierarchical components of prayer, but as cooperating democratic elements of an assemblage. Through Latour’s notion of assemblages, the interplay of the dimension of the written and spoken words during prayer become egalitarian elements of a wide and rich assembly of scriptures, prayers, olive trees, wine, bread, rosary beads, chants, wall, cement, voices that intermingle and unexpected agentic ways.

[*] Non parla al convegno // Not speaking

2.

Archeologia e origini cristiane.

Prassi epigrafica, fonti letterarie e documentazione iconografica nei primi tre secoli

Archaeology and Christian Origins: Epigraphic Practices, Literary Sources, and Iconography in the First Three Centuries

(Carlo Carletti, Emanuele Castelli)

Sabato 3 ottobre // Saturday, October 3

15:00 – 16:45

(Sessione Parallela PM 1.B // Parallel Session PM 1.B)

Carlo CARLETTI (Università di Bari)

Indagini archeologiche sotto s. Pietro in Vaticano: dal progetto di Papa Pacelli alle “ossa nascoste” // Archaeological Investigations under the Vatican Confessio: From Pacelli’s Project to ‘Hidden Bones’

(ITA) Presentazione delle indagini archeologiche sotto la confessione di s. Pietro in Vaticano, iniziate nel 1939 e concluse nel 1949. Di questo evento, al momento percepito come ‘epocale’ e decisivo per la storia della Chiesa di Roma (naturalmente in due direzioni opposte), intendo esplorare i seguenti aspetti: motivazioni e obiettivi dell’intervento; modalità e responsabilità nell’organizzazione del lavoro; i tempi e le aspettative dei rapporti di scavo; motivazioni e risultati delle nuove indagini commissionate dalla Santa Sede nel 1952, dopo la pubblicazione del volume *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di s. Pietro in Vaticano*, 2 voll., Città del Vaticano 1951; proposte di reinterpretazione della natura e cronologia di alcune testimonianze archeologiche ed epigrafiche, alla luce delle peculiarità, che distinguono i diversi gruppi di seguaci di Gesù a Roma nei primi tre secoli; infine, un accenno a due aspetti particolarmente ‘sensibili’: l’interpretazione dei graffiti tracciati sul muro G e il problema – solo teorico – delle cosiddette “ossa rubate” (Th. Barnes).

(ENG) Presentation of the archaeological investigations under the Vatican Confession, started in 1939 and concluded in 1949. Of this event, at the time perceived as 'epochal' and decisive for the history of the Church of Rome (of course in two opposite directions), the following aspects I mean explore: motives and objectives of the intervention; methods and responsibilities in the work's organization; times and expectations of excavation reports; motivations and results of new investigations commissioned by the 'Santa Sede' in 1952 after the publication of *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di s. Pietro in Vaticano*, 2 vols., Città del Vaticano 1951; proposals for reinterpretation of nature and chronology of some archaeological and epigraphic evidence, in light of the peculiarities that distinguish the different groups of followers of Jesus in Rome in the first three centuries. Finally, at least a mention of two particularly 'sensible' aspects: the graffiti's interpretation traced on wall G and the problem—only theoretical—of the so-called "stolen bones" (T. Barnes).

Emanuele CASTELLI (Università Basel)

Sulla tradizione di Pietro a Roma // The Tradition of Peter in Rome

(ITA) La relazione avrà per oggetto l'analisi delle prime testimonianze letterarie riguardanti la vita e la morte dell'apostolo Pietro. Particolare attenzione sarà dedicata agli Atti degli Apostoli, al Vangelo secondo Giovanni e ai frammenti del presbitero romano Gaio. Dopo aver esposto le posizioni della critica più recente (facendo particolare attenzione agli studi di Martin Hengel, Otto Zwierlein, Timothy Barnes) si discuteranno problemi e limiti della documentazione a nostra disposizione.

(ENG) The paper will focus on the early literary sources concerning the apostle Peter's life and death. Special attention will be paid to the Acts of the Apostles, to the Gospel according to John and to the fragments of the Roman presbyter Gaius. Having exposed the state of the recent research (with particular regard to studies of Martin Hengel, Otto Zwierlein and Timothy Barnes), I will discuss the problems and the limits of the literary documentation at our disposal.

Paola DE SANTIS (Università di Bari)

La 'memoria' di Pietro in Vaticano: morfologia e funzionalità // Peter's 'Memory' in the Vatican Hill: Morphology and Function

(ITA) Nell'area del c.d. 'campo P', ricavato ai margini di un sepolcreto pagano sul colle Vaticano, è stato individuato il dispositivo segnaletico-locativo, definito convenzionalmente 'edicola', realizzato nella metà del II secolo in relazione alla memoria funeraria di Pietro. Tale struttura è da mettere in relazione con la nota testimonianza del presbitero Gaio, attivo a Roma sotto l'episcopato di Zefirino (Eusebio, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 25, 5-7). I dati archeologici, integrati con quelli derivanti dalle fonti scritte, restituiscono la testimonianza più antica di un assetto monumentale di committenza cristiana; questo documento si inserisce, inoltre, nel più ampio fenomeno dell'esistenza nei primi secoli (I-II sec.) di cimiteri 'misti', che accoglievano indistintamente cristiani e non cristiani.

(ENG) On the margins of a pagan burial-ground on the Vatican hill, in the so-called 'campo P', has been identified a structure marker, an 'edicola', built in the mid-second century to memorialize Peter's tomb. This structure has to be associated with the well known testimony of the priest Gaius, who writes in Rome under the episcopate of Zephyrinus (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 25, 5-7). The archaeological evidence, integrated with the written sources, allow to reconstruct the oldest intervention by Christians on the structure. This area can be included in the broader phenomenon of 'mixed' cemeteries, where in the early centuries (I-II cent.) indistinctly Christians and non-Christians were buried.

3.

Gesù storico *Historical Jesus*

(Adriana Destro, Mauro Pesce)

Sabato 3 ottobre // Saturday, October 3
11:00 – 13:00
(Sessione Parallela AM 2.A // Parallel Session AM 2.A)

Facundo D. TROCHE (Ph.D., Università di Bologna)

Ancient Fishing Methods and Fishing Grounds in the Lake of Galilee

The fish species that populate the lake had seasonal habits and tended to gather in certain areas during specific periods of the year. Through a study of the fish habits - considering the possible changes over time mainly due to recent alterations of the ecosystem - and a comparison with ethnographical data, the paper will identify the most economically important fishing grounds in the lake in antiquity; among which, Bethsaida and the area near the Beteiha plain played a predominant role. A map of the lake will be presented indicating the main fishing areas, the fishing season for each area, and the species that were caught in each area. The second part of the paper will be dedicated to the fishing techniques used in antiquity. Up to now there were only a few studies on fishing methods on the Kinneret, based on the assumption that “traditional fishing techniques” used in the nineteenth century were similar to ancient ones, which is methodologically problematic. I propose to compare the ethnographical data with ancient literature, archaeological remains, ancient mosaics and bass-reliefs, and even epigraphic or papyrological information to assess which methods were most likely to be employed by the ancient Galilean fishermen. I will then explain how each method worked in practical terms, individuating (when possible) where and when were used. I will then address the issue of the fishing tackle production and maintenance, considering its relationship with the flax industry present at Bethsaida and the surrounding areas. I will conclude with some reflections regarding the implications of all the gathered data for the contextualization of the fishing scenes in the Gospels and the public activity of Jesus.

Federico ADINOLFI (Ph.D., Università di Bologna)

Jesus and the Aims of John: Abandoning the Underivable Jesus

Is the search for the unique Jesus really gone for good? Contextual plausibility has by and large replaced dissimilarity as the guiding principle of current Jesus research. Few today would advocate distinctiveness as the starting point and primary foundation of historical reconstruction. Yet everyone keeps doing just that. Indeed, while the formative influence of John the Baptist on Jesus is hardly disputed, it is invariably assumed that what Jesus was up to in Galilee was something essentially new, original, well beyond whatever he may have inherited from John. But is this assumption sound? The present paper argues that altering such “default setting” by assuming an ongoing agreement with John’s project on Jesus’ part makes far better sense of the evidence.

Mauro PESCE (Università di Bologna)

Some Considerations about the Origin of Jesus’ Certitudes

One of the most relevant questions of the research on the historical Jesus is about the origin of Jesus’ certitudes. How could Jesus acquire knowledge about God and his intervention in the world? Why was Jesus certain of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God? The paper will examine in detail some forms of contact with the supernatural world practiced by Jesus: prayer, exorcism, visions and revelations. Particular attention will be devoted to some extraordinary experiences (e.g.: baptism, transfiguration, election of the Twelve). A further question is that of the representation in cultural terms of experiences that exceed the realm of usual human perceptions and their limitations.

Ursula SCHATTNER-RIESER (Universität Innsbruck)

On Abba, the Lord's Prayer, Aramaic in the time of Jesus, Qumran and the Targums

The Aramaic fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls offer a large gamut of individual prayers from or close to the time of Jesus. We cannot resolve all the (linguistic) mysteries of the Lord's Prayer. Despite the fact that we cannot reconstruct an original Lord's Prayer, nevertheless the comparison with liturgical formulae from Qumran and old Targumic material brings us closer to the language and personal prayer of Jesus and permits to correct some of Joachim Jeremias' convictions. In my paper I will discuss elements of the Lord's Prayer within its Jewish prayer context, starting with the opening formula ABBA, the question of what is meant by hallowing God's name, up to some petitions as the bread-petition and the testing/temptation petition.

Sabato 3 ottobre // Saturday, October 3

15:00 – 16:45

(Sessione Parallela PM 1.A // Parallel Session PM 1.A)

Fernando BERMEJO-RUBIO (Universidad de Salamanca)

Unspoken Things about Golgotha and Gethsemane: Critical Reflections on Jesus' (and Others') Arrest and Crucifixion

Those interested in Jesus research must face a striking fact: There is every indication that, according to the overwhelming majority of scholars, the Golgotha events are deemed to be extremely hard to understand, to the extent that it is usual to speak about Jesus' death as a "puzzle", a "riddle" or a "mystery". For a conspicuous minority of scholars, however, the causes of Jesus' death are rather clear and understandable. These diverging results might be explained because of different approaches: most scholars overlook or downplay some key aspects of the Gospel accounts of the arrest and the crucifixion, whilst some of them take them into account. My paper will systematically survey those aspects (the collective nature of the crucifixion, the meaning of the term *lestaí* in the Golgotha accounts, the probable relationship between Jesus and the *lestaí*, the presence of several traces of a Roman arrest, the possibility of providing a plausible explanation of the creation of the accounts on a Jewish initiative, and so on) which are usually overlooked or misconstrued when Jesus' arrest and death are tackled. I will argue that a survey of these aspects, taken together, allows us to understand in a rather comprehensible way the reasons why Jesus (but not only Jesus) was crucified by the Romans.

Andrea NICOLOTTI (Università di Catania)

Numero, tipologia e posizione delle stoffe sepolcrali di Gesù secondo i racconti evangelici: rivisitazione esegetica e archeologica // Number, Type and Location of the Burial Cloths of Jesus according to the Gospel Accounts: An Exegetical and Archaeological Review

(ITA) I Vangeli forniscono una descrizione delle stoffe che avvolsero Gesù molto breve, allusiva e a prima vista contraddittoria. Gli esegeti hanno cercato, in passato, di conciliare i particolari discordi e di fornire un quadro d'insieme fondato, in certi casi, su presupposti non adeguatamente dimostrati. Si propone un tentativo di rilettura della documentazione libera da pre-comprensioni e costruita alla luce delle più recenti acquisizioni documentarie, storiche e archeologiche.

(ENG) The Gospels provide a very brief, allusive and at first sight contradictory description of the cloths that wrapped Jesus. Exegetes have tried, in the past, to reconcile conflicting details and provide an overview based, in some cases, on assumptions not adequately demonstrated. We propose a re-reading of the documentation, free of pre-conceptions and built in the light of the most recent historical and archaeological documentary acquisitions.

Cecilia ANTONELLI (Université de Genève)

James the Just's Death according to Hegesippus (Eusebius of Caesarea, Ecclesiastical History 2, 23, 10-18): Narrative Construction, Biblical Testimonia and Comparison with the Other Known Traditions

Hegesippus' account about James' death (Eus. Caes., Hist. eccl. 2,23,10-18) shows how the author's cultural and social background, as well as the kind of sources he used, influenced the way he conceived and built his chronicle, with regard both to his ideological conceptions and to his narrative procedure. He particularly makes use of biblical testimonia (Is 3,10) read as a prefiguration of the Just's martyrdom. A comparison with the other known accounts (Fl. Jos., Ant. Jud. 20,IX,1 [= 20,197-203]; Ps. Clem., Rec. I,66-70; II Ap. Jac. 61-62) reveals how traditions concerning the same events have been adopted and developed in various ways according to the different authors' milieu and historical period.

[*] **Christian-Bernard Amphoux** (Université Aix-Marseille)

Vie de Jésus: à quelle saison l'entrée à Jérusalem?

(FRA) Les nombreuses enquêtes sur le Jésus historique, menées depuis la fin du XVIIIe siècle, ont toutes rencontré l'obstacle de l'omniprésence du merveilleux dans le récit évangélique ; et la quête d'informations complémentaires n'a pas abouti à réunir assez de données pour rendre possible la constitution d'une biographie de Jésus. En réalité, certaines voies n'ont pas été explorées. En particulier, celle de la critique textuelle : le « texte occidental » présente une rédaction savante des évangiles qui n'a pas été exploitée jusqu'ici ; de plus, cette rédaction différente fonctionne à deux niveaux de sens, et notre enquête nous a amené à conclure que le deuxième sens contient des informations historiques non repérées. Les évangiles contiennent des informations historiques sur Jésus que nous avons tenté de réunir dans un ouvrage récent : *Sous le voile du sens apparent, le Jésus de l'histoire* (Annecy, 2015). Selon cette nouvelle enquête, Jésus naît dans une grande famille de Jérusalem et non à Nazareth, son baptême date du printemps 28, le début de son ministère a lieu à l'automne de la même année ; puis il engage pendant l'hiver une négociation avec les pharisiens, qui échoue au printemps 29, peu avant l'assassinat de Jean le Baptiste ; il révèle sa messianité lors de la fête des Tentes 29 et meurt au début du printemps de l'an 30... Mais une question particulière subsiste, celle de son entrée triomphale à Jérusalem : selon Jean, elle a lieu après l'hiver 29-30, soit au début du printemps 30, peu avant sa mort ; c'est la saison retenue par l'année liturgique. Or, dans les synoptiques, elle a lieu avant l'hiver et se confond alors avec la fête des Tentes 29 comme représentant la fête de la royauté, associée traditionnellement à la fête des Tentes. Faut-il conclure que l'événement s'est produit deux fois ou doit-on lire autrement l'une des deux traditions ?

(ENG) The many investigations of the historical Jesus, carried out since the late eighteenth century, have all underlined the difficulty for the establishment of a biography of Jesus. However, some ways have not been explored. In particular, that of textual criticism. The "Western text" contains historical information about Jesus, as we have shown in a recent book: *Sous le voile du sens apparent, le Jésus de l'histoire* (Annecy, 2015). According to this new research, Jesus was born in a important family in Jerusalem and not in Nazareth, baptism takes place in spring 28 and the beginning of his ministry in the autumn of the same year. Jesus tries, during the winter, negotiations with the Pharisees, who failed in the spring 29, shortly before the assassination of John the Baptist. He reveals his Messiahship during the Feast of Tabernacles in 29 and dies in the early spring of the year 30... But a particular question remains that of his triumphal entry into Jerusalem. According to John, it occurs after the winter 29-30. However, in the Synoptics, it takes place before winter and then could coincide with the Feast of Tabernacles of 29, a feast traditionally associated with the celebration of royalty. Should we conclude that the event took place twice or should we read otherwise one of the two traditions?

[*] Non parla al convegno // Not speaking

4.

Marco e gli altri Vangeli *Mark and the Other Gospels*

(Mara Rescio)

Venerdì 2 ottobre // Friday, October 2
9:15 – 11:00
(Sessione Parallela AM 1.B // Parallel Session AM 1.B)

Mara RESCIO (Università di Catania)

Hiding the Esoteric Jesus: Did Matthew and Luke Intend to Supplement or to Replace Mark?

After decades of neglect, the problem of Mark's reception in the first centuries is now back at the centre of exegetical debate, as shown by some recent contributions (cf. E.-M. Becker and A. Runesson [eds.], *Mark and Matthew II*, Tübingen, 2013; and M. Kok, *The Gospel on the Margins*, Minneapolis, 2015). Two points, in particular, have been highlighted: a) The necessity to start from a more flexible notion of reception (which does not include only quotations, allusions or reworkings of specific Markan motifs, but also omissions and silences); b) The importance to re-evaluate the role played by Matthew and Luke as first users, and then first recipients, of Mark. In this respect, equally crucial is the question of the reasons that would have pushed the other two Synoptics to incorporate Mark in their texts (cf. e.g. D. Sim, "Matthew's Use of Mark," *New Testament Studies* 57 [2011] 176-192; A. Doole, *What Was Mark for Matthew?*, Tübingen, 2013): Did they intend to supplement or to silence the voice of Mark? The present paper will try to re-address the question, moving from a comprehensive survey of Matthew's and Luke's attitudes towards what appears to be one of the most distinctive features of Mark: its singular tendency to emphasize the esoteric dimension of Jesus' teaching.

Georges MASSINELLI (Ph.D. Stud., University of Notre Dame)

The Parable of the Two Sons and the Authentic Parables of Jesus

Parables scholarship is traditionally optimistic about the possibility of identifying Jesus' authentic parables on the basis of a set of form-critical criteria according to which the parables of Jesus are simple metaphors drawn from nature or common life, while interpretative conclusions are mostly secondary additions of the gospel writers. A close reading of the Parable of the Two Sons (Matt 21:28–32) suggests, however, that Matthew created this parable as a narrative commentary on a traditional logion, v. 31c, which likely goes back to the historical Jesus. In creating this parable, Matthew employed elements from other parables and from Matt 7:21, an exhortation to do God's will that appears to be Matthew's interpretation of the original logion. This reconstruction challenges basic assumptions that dominate parables scholarship. First, formcritical criteria are not entirely reliable to identify authentic parables of Jesus. Second, while it is often conjectured that the gospel writers "adapted" Jesus' parables to their own agendas by adding interpretative conclusions, the Parable of the Two Sons is an example of the opposite process. Matthew interpreted an authentic logion of Jesus by prefacing it with a simple parable. These conclusions advise caution in dealing with issues of historicity in the study of the parables. The relationship between the parables and their interpretative conclusions does not always mirror the two-stage development that is often assumed—i.e., Jesus and gospel writers, in this order—but can depend on a variety of processes of literary accretion that should be identified case by case.

Giulio E.U. MICHELINI (Istituto Teologico di Assisi)

Jesus of Capernaum: Peter, "the" House and the Temple Tax (Matt 17:24-27). Consequences for the Matthean Community and the "Parting of the Ways"

The pericope on the temple tax that Jesus and Peter paid in Capernaum has recently been the subject of research. While it is clear the position of the Pharisees, which later merged in the Jewish law (E.

Ottenheim, "I know the Sons are Free.' The Temple Tax and in the Matthean Community," in A. Houtman – M. Poorthuis – J. Schwartz - J. Turner, eds., *The Actuality of Sacrifice: Past and Present*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2014, 71-88), other scholars, such as G. Harb ("Matthew 17.24-27 and its Value for Historical Jesus Research," *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 8 [2010] 254-274), believe that Jesus had not given indications of paying such a tax. In this way, they challenge the traditional position of Jesus or his community in relation to Temple sacrifices, or even, as scholars have even recently argued, against Rome (F. Bermejo-Rubio, "Jesus and the Anti-Roman Resistance," *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 12 [2014] 1-105). The present paper wants to reconsider the question, and propose a new reading based on the singularity of this text amongst the Gospels.

5.

Metodi per lo studio dei papiri documentari

Methods for the Study of Documentary Papyri

(Peter Arzt-Grabner)

Sabato 3 ottobre // Saturday, October 3

17:15 – 19:30

Peter ARZT-GRABNER (Universität Salzburg)

What do the Papyri Tell Us about a Pauline Community: Private Life, Administration, and Labour in a Town of Asia Minor

Although the great majority of papyri and ostraca have been excavated in Egypt, finds from Palestine, Libya, Jordan, Syria, Bactria, Crete, Italy, Dacia, Britannia and even Switzerland show that the material from Egypt allows for reconstructing the general private, business and administrative life throughout the Roman Empire, left aside that local and regional differences can be found everywhere. Thus, what we, generally, find about marriage and family, slavery, taxes, business relationships etc. in papyri and ostraca from Egypt can be transferred to the average city life in Asia Minor. This paper aims at drawing a picture about what everyday life might have looked like in a Pauline community, or in a "house-church" of an early Christ group in Asia Minor respectively.

Facundo D. TROCHE (Ph.D., Università di Bologna)

Galilean Fishermen: Social Conflicts and the Role of Voluntary Associations

Last year I presented a paper that addressed the socio-economic status of Galilean fishermen. Now I will expand on the subject addressing the social tensions and conflicts that could emerge from the economic system of the fisheries; through a comparative study based on papyri, inscriptions, archaeology, literature and anthropological data. The second part of the paper will deal with the possibility of Galilean voluntary associations and its role in fishermen lives, not only to regulate the relationships between fishermen and solve conflicts, but also as an organism that could give fishermen a voice in local affairs.

Christopher CORNTHWAITE (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

Bodies of Elders: Trade Associations of Presbuteroi and Leadership in Early Christ-Groups

The question of how bodies of *presbuteroi* (elders) functioned in early Christ-groups has yet to be enriched through the study of *presbuteroi* roles in voluntary associations. In the Synoptics, *presbuteroi* are connected with the Jerusalem local government, and, in Egypt, *presbuteroi* could have regional authority over several ethnic groups (*politeuma* and *koina*). There were also bodies of *presbuteroi* connected with many *gymnasia*. However, several inscriptions and papyri make reference to trade associations of *presbuteroi*; in particular, we have examples of groups of farmers, elder millers, elder fine carpenters,

elder weavers, and elder shippers, warehousemen, and merchants. There is also a *koinon* of elder oil anointers on Samos. In an attempt to complexify our understanding of the role in Christ-groups, this paper studies the occurrences of trade-related *presbuteroi* in an attempt to interrogate whether these types of associations had an impact on the understanding of early Christian *presbuteroi* in the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles.

Peter ARZT-GRABNER (Universität Salzburg) – **Facundo D. TROCHE** (Ph.D., Università di Bologna)

Didactic Seminar – Papyrological Databases and Other Tools Online: A Practical Demonstration

In this session we will give detailed introductions to the use of major papyrological databases and online tools to explain their potentialities as well as their limits. Following the introduction, particular examples will be presented, and more methodological aspects will be discussed. Participants will also be given the chance to do some searches and see how to use this material by themselves.

6.

Origini del cristianesimo: miti moderni e rappresentazioni storiche

Christian Origins: Modern Myths and Historical Representations

(Luigi Walt)

Giovedì 1 ottobre // Thursday, October 1

11:30 – 13:15

(Sessione parallela AM 2.A // Parallel Session AM 2.A)

Sarah E. ROLLENS (University of Alabama)

The Anachronism of “Early Christian Communities”

It has long been common to speak of “early Christian communities”, and especially to assume that particular communities were associated with texts with supposed unique theological ideas (e.g., “Matthew’s community” or “the Roman Christian community”). Stanley Stowers has shown that many scholarly portraits of these communities rely on idealizations from the Book of Acts and Eusebius’ writings. This essay argues, in a similar vein, that presumptions of “early Christian communities” are anachronistic, because they depend on—indeed embody—modern understandings of religious identity: in particular, that religion is a private, interior matter that is shared among a wider “community” of believers who all orient their collective identity around these beliefs. These features of identity should not be taken for granted in non-modern contexts, and there are more nuanced ways to understand the group identity generated by many proto-Christian texts. Furthermore, the idea that doctrinal differences evident in ancient texts should correspond to particular communities is a legacy of the Protestant Reformation, which saw the proliferation of new Christian communities when differences of doctrine, authority, or practice emerged. Rather than view each distinct text as corresponding to a particular community, it is better to imagine a discursive space dealing with early Christian identity and authority, in which a variety of authors engaged, some perhaps entirely disconnected from any coherent community.

Maria FALLICA (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Roma “La Sapienza”)

Antologizzare i Padri: prospettive verso le “origini” // Anthologizing the Fathers: Perspectives into the Origins of the Christian Church

(ITA) Il mio intervento si propone di indagare la rilettura delle origini cristiane operata in età riformata, a partire dalla prospettiva offerta dalle antologie patristiche. Questi testi, costituiti da excerpta patristici riuniti insieme per rispondere a specifiche domande, sono strumenti, spesso dal tono polemico, usati da cattolici e riformati; particolarmente interessante la prospettiva degli antologisti protestanti, fra cui

personaggi di spicco in seno alla Riforma (Martin Butzer, Andreas Musculus, Otto Brunfels), nel suo intento, esplicito o sottinteso, di servire da legittimazione per una dottrina in via di definizione, che si presenta non sovvertiva innovazione ma ritorno ad origini tradite. Ciò viene fatto penetrando consapevolmente nel campo del nemico, la grande tradizione patristica, con la necessaria cautela, posta ad esempio da Andreas Musculus (1514-1581) nei suoi *Loci communes* (1563): *nec desunt eius rei exempla, ubi sanctorum Patrum lectio non modo non profuit, sed obfuit multis, qui etiam agnita veritate exciderunt, et in horrendas tenebras Pontificiae doctrinae, non sine magno Ecclesiae malo et scandalo, inciderunt*. È quindi testimonianza di un tentativo di nuova definizione di cosa è "originale": dice Musculus con Ambrogio (*Virginit. 6, 28*), *nos nova omnia, quae Christus non docuit, iure damnamus, quia fidelibus via Christus est. Si igitur Christus non docuit, quod docemus, etiam nos id detestabile iudicamus*. Cosa ha insegnato Cristo? Il presente intervento partirà dalla presenza sovversiva/antagonistica al modello agostiniano dei Padri greci nella controversia e analizzerà in particolare una voce ricorrente nelle succitate antologie quale ecclesia, come traccia privilegiata di indagine sul concetto di origini cristiane in questi autori.

(ENG) My contribution intends to investigate the rereading of Christian origins made during the Reformation through the perspective offered by patristic anthologies of the day. These anthologies are instruments, often polemical in tone, composed of patristics excerpts collected and organized with the aim of answering specific questions. While Catholic and Reformed parties produced anthologies, the Reformed project is particularly interesting in that it seeks to legitimate its doctrine not as a subversive innovation but rather as a return to betrayed origins. This aim is pursued with an incursion in the enemy's field, that is the great patristic tradition, but with due caution: Andreas Musculus (1514-1581) in his *Loci communes* (1563) wrote that *nec desunt eius rei exempla, ubi sanctorum Patrum lectio non modo non profuit, sed obfuit multis, qui etiam agnita veritate exciderunt, et in horrendas tenebras Pontificiae doctrinae, non sine magno Ecclesiae malo et scandalo, inciderunt*. Thus, these anthologies give witness to an attempt to redefine what is "original". Musculus asserts with Ambrose (*Virginit. 6, 28*) *nos nova omnia, quae Christus non docuit, iure damnamus, quia fidelibus via Christus est. Si igitur Christus non docuit, quod docemus, etiam nos id detestabile iudicamus*. What did Christ teach? The present contribution begins by treating first of the subversive/antagonistic presence of the Greek Fathers in the anthologies, given as an alternative to the prevalent Augustinianism. Then it analyses a recurrent theme in these anthologies, namely that of ecclesia, as a way to investigate the concept of Christian origins in these authors.

Rachele JESURUM (Ph.D. Stud., INALCO, Paris)

Il paradosso messianico di Sabbetay Sevi: da un messia crocefisso a un messia apostata // The Messianic Paradox of Sabbetay Sevi: From a Crucified Messiah to an Apostate Messiah

(ITA) Secondo Gershom Scholem (*The Messianic Idea in Judaism*, 1995) la differenza sostanziale tra messianismo cristiano e messianismo ebraico si esprime in una visione differente della redenzione: un evento dal carattere pubblico e sociale per la tradizione ebraica, spirituale e intimo per quella cristiana. Alla luce di questa affermazione mi piacerebbe presentare in questa sede la vicenda del messia apostata Sabbetay Sevi, che si distanzia enormemente dai meccanismi della tradizione messianica ebraica, tendendo piuttosto a quelli del messianismo cristiano. I più importanti teologi sabbatiani, quali Natan di Gaza e Avraham Cardoso, hanno infatti accettato e teorizzato uno scarto tra la redenzione interiore e intima del credente, e la realtà storica che lo circonda, posizione fino a quel momento sconosciuta all'ebraismo classico. Sabbetay Sevi divenne così per i suoi fedeli una figura mitologica, come Cristo per i suoi discepoli, e alcuni tra i sabbatiani dell'ala radicale giunsero a riconoscere nel messia apostata un'incarnazione divina. Anche se la posizione di Scholem risulta ad oggi in parte superata dalla storiografia più recente, credo sia molto interessante interrogarsi su questo anomalo redentore ebreo, che ha così poco a che fare con il messianismo giudaico, e che tende ad un approccio messianico d'ispirazione cristiana.

(ENG) According to Gershom Scholem (*The Messianic Idea in Judaism*, 1995) the main difference between Christian messianism and Jewish messianism is in their differing visions of redemption: it is a public and social experience in the Jewish tradition, while for Christians it is spiritual and personal. In the light of this, I would like to present in this context the whole matter of the apostate messiah Sabbetay Sevi, whose circumstances differ hugely from everything that epitomizes Jewish messianic tradition, tending rather towards a redemption model of Christian messianism. Indeed, leading Sabbatian theologians Nathan of Gaza and Avraham Cardoso accepted and theorised the discrepancy that someone who has an interior, personal redemption experiences from the historical reality around them, something that until that time was unheard of within the classic Jewish faith. In this way, Sabbetay Sevi became a mythological figure to his faithful, as Christ was to his disciples, and some Sabbatians from the radical wing came to recognize in

the apostate messiah a divine incarnation. Even if Scholem's position has, in part, been superseded by more recent historiography, I believe it would be very interesting to further investigate this anomalous Jewish redeemer, who so little reflects the nature of Jewish messianism, but rather leans towards a Christian-inspired approach to messianic redemption.

Carlo Susa (Università Cattolica / Accademia di Belle Arti Santa Giulia, Brescia)

Vindicta Salvatoris. *La distruzione di Gerusalemme nella tradizione teatrale europea (secc. XIV-XVII)* // Vindicta Salvatoris: *The Destruction of Jerusalem in the European Theatrical Tradition (14th–17th c.)*

(ITA) Il tema della cosiddetta 'Vendetta di Nostro Signore', nel tardo medioevo europeo, fu sviluppato in un numero di rappresentazioni teatrali probabilmente inferiore solo a quello degli spettacoli sulla Passione di Cristo. La sostanziale indipendenza della vicenda da fonti bibliche e il suo tenue collegamento con la liturgia permisero agli autori medievali di sperimentare una certa libertà nella drammatizzazione del racconto della distruzione di Gerusalemme da parte dell'esercito romano guidato da Tito, spesso attingendo materiali – oltre che naturalmente da Flavio Giuseppe – anche da fonti apocrife e dalla letteratura apocalittica ebraico-cristiana. Gli spettacoli, caratterizzati da grandiose scene di battaglia e inaudite crudeltà, contribuirono in modo determinante a codificare il modello spettacolare del 'dramma storico', che sarebbe divenuto uno dei generi fondamentali del teatro moderno. A partire dal XVI secolo, con l'insorgere dei violenti contrasti interni al cristianesimo, il tema – potenzialmente esplosivo e destabilizzante – scomparve da quasi tutte le scene europee, con la significativa eccezione dell'Inghilterra, dove entrò nelle discussioni interne di carattere religioso e politico, sia in epoca Tudor che Stuart. L'analisi dei testi pervenuti, prodotti in un arco di tempo di poco più di tre secoli, si rivela assai utile per la comprensione di alcuni aspetti che caratterizzavano il rapporto tra storia e provvidenza nel pensiero e nell'immaginario tardo-medievali e moderni, e della funzionalità dell'interpretazione 'tipologica' nel collegare il passato col presente.

(ENG) In late medieval Europe, the theme of the so-called 'Vengeance of Our Lord' was developed in many plays, probably second only in number to that of the representations of Christ's Passion. The essential independence of the story from its biblical sources and its weak connection with liturgy enabled medieval playwrights to experience some freedom in the adaptation of the narrative on the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman army led by Titus, drawing obviously from Josephus and often from apocryphal sources and the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic literature. The plays, showing great battle scenes and terrifying cruelty, contributed significantly to encoding the spectacular model of the 'historical drama', that would later become one of the basic genres of modern theater. From the sixteenth century, with the emergence of violent internal conflicts within Christianity, the story – potentially disruptive and deeply unsettling – disappeared from almost all the stages of Europe, with the notable exception of England, where it became entangled with the internal discussions on religion and politics, both in the Tudor and the Stuart era. The analysis of the surviving texts, written in a period of over three centuries, is very useful for understanding some distinct features in the relationship between history and providence in late medieval and modern thought and imagination, as well as the functionality of 'typological' interpretation in order to connect past and present.

7.

Pratiche religiose del cristianesimo primitivo (I-II sec. E.V.)

Religious Practices in Early Christianity (I-II Centuries CE)

(Daniele Tripaldi)

L'unità tace per il 2015 // Not planned for 2015

8.

Primi gruppi di seguaci di Gesù

Early Groups of Jesus' Followers

(Arianna Rotondo, Luigi Walt)

Giovedì 1 ottobre // Thursday, October 1
9:15 - 11:00

Luigi WALT (Universität Regensburg)

Theses on Paul and Translation

The idea of translation has never played a significant role in the historical reconstruction of Christian origins. However, if we intend 'translation' as a practice of cultural mediation, it is more than reasonable to think about the rise of Christianity as a process involving various acts of translation. In this respect, the figure of Paul turns out to be crucial, not only for his very activity as a cross-cultural mediator, but also for his puzzling definition of apostleship as "a service of the spirit against the letter" (cf. 2 Cor. 3:6). The aim of this paper is then to move a first step towards a double 'archaeology' of translation, on the one hand by re-reading Paul through the lens of the current debate in Translation Studies, and on the other by showing how we can look at Paul's experience as a sort of paradigm for the Western history of translation. Arguments will be presented in the form of theses, in a close dialogue with the reflections of J. Assmann, A. Berman, and M. Bettini, among others.

Adriana DESTRO (Università di Bologna), **Mauro PESCE** (Università di Bologna)

Cohabitation of Different Groups of Jesus' Followers in Jerusalem (30-70 C.E.)

A big city like Jerusalem permitted relations and situations of different nature: regular contacts, exchanges and hybridations among peoples, but also an independent development of groups that have few reciprocal relations. Different ethnic and linguistic groups, variously integrated Jewish movements coexisted in Jerusalem. It is the complex urbanistic and socio-religious structure of this town that permitted an independent development of some different Jesus' groups. Luke/Acts, John, the Gospel of the Hebrew, Paul narrate presumed "apparitions" of the resurrect Jesus in Jerusalem, which are characterized by clear dissimilarities (but also by some literary interdependence). This fact is the symptom of the coexistence in the city of Jerusalem of groups of Jesus' followers with evidently differentiated orientations. Not a unique church of Jerusalem but the coexistence of many different and sometimes conflicting groups seem to characterize the life of Jesus' followers in Jerusalem from 30 to 70 C.E.

Ryan J. OLFERT (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

Making Truth and Ambition Matter: Negotiating Associative Practice in the Johannine Epistles

This paper will leverage the array of social practices from Greco-Roman associations in order to provide productive place to think about the textual and historical problems of the Johannine epistles. Rather than as a peculiar moment in the development of church offices or the determinative conflict over theology, whether exclusion from the synagogues over Christ belief or the clash of orthodoxy and heresy, the Johannine epistles can be seen productively as enmeshed in a dynamic and politically charged field of normative ancient embodied practices. Competitive patronage, hospitality, and exclusionary and disciplinary practices interlace a social field in which early Jesus groups, associations, and the Roman administration are differentially negotiating the place, aggregation, and limits of associative bodily capacities in the Empire. This is articulated and materialized through particular discourse (truth and ambition), communicative technology (letter writing, bureaucracy), and the circulation and distribution of money. Seen as such, the Johannine epistles become less of an example of either sectarian or communal "Johannine Christianity," both which function to separate and insulate these texts from their social world

both in terms of religion and politics, and more of an example of a response to the dynamics of associative practice, one among many of such negotiations across the Roman world.

Michael K.-H. SOMMER (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

How Jewish Is the Apocalypse of Peter: Questions Concerning the 'Day of the Lord' Tradition and the Validity of the Torah

Recently T. Nicklas created a certainly bold, but nevertheless highly interesting access to the Apocalypse of Peter. Whereas scholars (including his early essays) exclusively struggled with the text's formal origins, Nicklas lately began to value its worth for the "the parting of the ways/the ways that never parted" debate. Certainly, Nicklas reads this 2nd century witness in a very refreshing and extraordinary progressive way, but, however, his draft leaves many open questions. First and foremost, he highlights the influence of Israel's Scriptures on the Apocalypse, but, nevertheless, he concludes that "questions of proper Torah observance do not play any role in this text". I strongly doubt this on the one hand and, on the other hand, I'd like to add a point to the debate how the text combines "Jewish" and "Christian" ideas: (1) The judgement categories of the "Day of God" rely still on the Torah, although it isn't quoted literally. The text's ethics presuppose that at least some of its laws are still valid. Behavioural correctness according to it isn't very far away from the Torah's social prescriptions. (2) How ApcPet 4 implies the motif of a "Day of God" is even for Jewish Christ followers or for 2nd century Jews very unusual. At least, the Apocalypse of Peter differs in this point totally from many other Christian texts like 1/2 Thess, Jud, 2Petr, Mt or Rev. I question that ApcPet 4 just simply combines different Jewish, Christian and Pagan ideas, but, in contrast, I assume that there is a completely different form of "Judaism" behind this text.

9.

Questioni metodologiche. Memoria, studi cognitivi, sociologia e antropologia ***Methodological Questions: Memory, Cognitive Studies, Sociology, Anthropology***

(Roberto Alciati, Emiliano R. Urciuoli)

Giovedì 1 ottobre // Thursday, October 1
17:15 - 19:15

István CZACHESZ (Universität Heidelberg)

The Promise of the Cognitive Science of Religion for Early Christian Studies

This paper considers how insights from Cognitive Science about the human mind can be used to advance our understanding of the formation and expansion of early Christianity, including its social structure, theology and literature. Special attention will be paid to developments in the Cognitive Science of Religion, an interdisciplinary research field that studies cross-culturally recurrent patterns of religious thought and behavior. In the first part of the paper, I will address the challenges of applying modern cognitive and behavioral research to the study of ancient religious movements and documents. In the second part, I will mention examples of how the new methods shed light on selected aspects of early Christianity: the oral and written transmission of texts; rituals and religious experience; miracle stories and magical practices; moral intuitions and ethical norms; and the formation of new types of social structures. Finally, I will argue that a "cognitive turn" in the historical study of religions will benefit both scientific and humanist understandings of religion, as well as yield a fruitful, new paradigm in the study of early Christianity.

Daniel ULLUCCI (Rhodes College, Memphis)

Theorizing the Evidence for Early Christian Sacrifice

This paper explores the archaeological and textual evidence for physical offerings (animals, plants, wine, and oil) made by Christians from the second to the fourth centuries. This evidence for Christian 'sacrifice' has often been dismissed as 'pagan' influence or Christian 'heresy.' I argue that this data should be understood as evidence for competition between different types of Christian experts who disagreed on whether physical offerings were or were not appropriate for Christians. Exploring this competitive arena helps us understand the ways in which a particular class of Christian experts changed not simply offering practices, but the very definition of 'religion' itself. The paper ultimately presents a sociological model for why a form of offering-free Christianity may have appealed to Rome elites, and how their support ultimately led to the success of one type of Christianity.

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4

11:15 - 13:00

(Sessione Parallela AM 2.A // Parallel Session AM 2.A)

Luca ARCARI (Università di Napoli, Federico II)

Discourses on/of Jesus: The Origins of Christianity between Speech Acts Theory and the Foucauldian Archaeology

Starting from the integration of the speech acts theory carried out by J.L. Austin and the archeological method of M. Foucault, I want to deal with some aspects in the reconstruction of the various accounts concerning Jesus between the 1st and the 2nd cent. CE. My aims are: a. demonstrating how the memory of Jesus from a truth-telling historicized point of view is a dynamism arising from the gospels, with wholly kerygmatic and announcement concerns; b. showing how the Quest on the 'historical' Jesus is not modern at all, whereas it has been one of the many theological outlooks by which considering Jesus since the birth of the early groups of believers in Christ; c. proving that the traditional idea of development of the quest of the historical Jesus is due to an ideological and theological tendency too.

Giulia MARCHIONI (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Bologna)

The Good Shepherd and the Shepherds: Pastoral Representations of Christ and Christian Pastoral Metaphors

In my PhD study of the bucolic and pastoral metaphors in Early Christian art, the representation of the so-called Good Shepherd is characterized by many hermeneutical ambiguities. Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine* gives an account of the popularity of that image; he argues that the Good Shepherd was well known by those who relied upon the sacred oracles; nevertheless an exclusively christological interpretation of the image of the Good Shepherd is reductive. We shall assume that the expression "Good Shepherd" refers to the words spoken by Jesus about himself and quoted by the Gospel of John (chapter 10). Therefore this expression does not stand for all the shepherds represented in Early Christian art, but it only describes Jesus Christ. My starting point will be two pastoral representation of the undoubtedly christological shepherd: first, the mosaic of the lunette in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna; second, the sarcophagus relief held in the Vatican Museum, from san Lorenzo Fuori Le Mura in Rome. The art-historical analysis of contexts and iconographic and literary sources of those pastoral images of Jesus will lead to the comprehension of the contexts and the sources of non-christological shepherd images too. The aim of my study is, on one hand, to understand and underline the simultaneous significations of pastoral and shepherd imagery. On the other hand, the comparison of christological and non-christological shepherds will lead to the reformulation of the ideas of symbol and allegory, the latter widely used in the Early Christian visual culture.

10.

Ridattare gli scritti protocristiani *Re-Dating the Early Christian Texts*

(Claudio Gianotto, Enrico Norelli)

Venerdì 2 ottobre // Friday, October 2
17:00 – 19:00

Thomas WITULSKI (Universität Bielefeld)

Introductory Seminar: Re-dating John's Revelation

The seminar's central theme is the development of religious emperor worship in the Roman province of Asia from the reign of Augustus to Antonius Pius. The analysis of this development brings up an initial suspicion concerning the dating of the Book of Revelation: It was not written in the second half of Domitian's reign as modern scholars usually assume, but during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian and can be dated precisely to the period of time from AD 132-135. Evidence is given to this dating by the Apocalypse itself, as the analysis of Rv 17,9-11; Rv 2,12-17 and Rv 13 shows.

Claudio GIANOTTO (Università di Torino)

Alla ricerca del più antico vangelo: a proposito di un recente volume di M. Klinghardt // Looking for the Earlier Gospel: The Theory of M. Klinghardt

(ITA) L'intervento discuterà le proposte di ridatazione complessiva dei vangeli canonizzati formulate dal recente volume di M. Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium und die Entstehung der kanonischen Evangelien*, Bd. I: *Untersuchung*, Bd. II: *Rekonstruktion - Übersetzung - Varianten*, Francke Verlag, Tübingen 2015. Le proposte si basano su di una nuova ricostruzione del testo dell'*euaggelion* di Marcione e di una dettagliata analisi dei suoi rapporti con i quattro vangeli canonizzati.

(ENG) The paper will discuss the hypothesis of a new dating of the canonical Gospels suggested by M. Klinghardt in his recent book: *Das älteste Evangelium und die Entstehung der kanonischen Evangelien*, Bd. I: *Untersuchung*, Bd. II: *Rekonstruktion - Übersetzung - Varianten*, Francke Verlag, Tübingen 2015. Klinghardt's hypothesis is based on a new reconstruction of Marcion's *euaggelion* and a detailed analysis of its relations with the four canonical Gospels.

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4
15:00 – 17:15
(Sessione Parallela PM 1.A // Parallel Session PM 1.A)

Carlo BROCCARDO (Facoltà Teologica del Triveneto)

Luke vs Marcion: Who Cares about Precedence?

In 2014 I attended two conferences offering divergent opinions on the relationship between Luke and Marcion. In Bertinoro, at our CISSR annual meeting, M. Vincent suggested Marcion was the first evangelist, thus giving as *terminus ante quem* for the Synoptic Gospels the years 138-144 AD. In San Diego, at the SBL general meeting, J.D. Atkins indicated in a yet unpublished paper how the Ophite use of the Infancy Narratives could demonstrate that Lk 1-2 was part of Luke's Gospel before the rise of Marcion, hence making it impossible to consider Luke's infancy narratives as a response to Gnosticism. On one issue there is agreement among many scholars: Lukan priority cannot any longer be taken for granted. I would like to investigate the point from an exegetical point of view. Taking primarily the more recent commentaries on Luke into account, I will judge the kind and relevance of the evidence put forward to date the gospel: who receives the priority between Luke or Marcion? I will then confront myself with the question: How does a choice about Luke's dating influence the exegesis of the text? Too often – I would argue – works about

gospels' dating are written by scholars who do not produce commentaries, and vice versa exegetes busying themselves with commentaries are not much concerned with their colleagues' hypotheses. After all, who cares if Luke was written before or after Marcion? What exegetical consequences do we have?

Maurizio GIROLAMI (Facoltà Teologica del Triveneto)

Presentazione del volume: D.T. Roth, The Text of Marcion's Gospel (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 49), Brill, Leiden - Boston 2015 // Presentation of the Volume: D.T. Roth, The Text of Marcion's Gospel (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 49), Brill, Leiden - Boston 2015

(ITA) L'intervento intende presentare il volume di D. Roth che raccoglie un approfondito studio per ricostruire il testo del vangelo di Marcione a partire da un'analisi critica della fonti quali l'*Adversus Marcionem* di Tertulliano, il libro 42 del *Panarion* di Epifanio di Salamina e il *Dialogo con Adamantius* attribuito ad Origene. Dopo il terzo e il quarto *Beilage* di A. von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott. Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der Katholischen Kirche*, Leipzig 1924, dedicato rispettivamente all'*Apostolicon* e al Vangelo, nessuno più aveva tentato di ricostruire la forma testuale del vangelo di Marcione con uno studio globale ed esaustivo delle fonti. Il volume così si presenta come un'opera di vera critica testuale, uno strumento indispensabile per chi voglia accostare il problema del testo marcionita; e offre altresì l'occasione di mettere a fuoco alcune questioni di carattere metodologico sull'uso delle fonti e anche sull'importanza – non messa in evidenza da Roth – di contestualizzare le singole fonti nel loro contesto storico e ideologico non senza dimenticare la necessità di guardare con senso critico la ricezione dei testi e di idee in un periodo, quale quello del II secolo, dove i testi non sono ancora fissati e nemmeno canonizzati. La discussione sul testo di Lc 16,19-31 offrirà l'occasione di vedere criteri storici e testuali in un fecondo confronto.

(ENG) The contribution has the purpose to present the book of D. Roth, which is a deep study to rebuild the text of the Marcion's Gospel from the sources, critically viewed: the *Adversus Marcionem* of Tertullian, the book 42 of the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamin and the *Dialogus with Adamantius*, attributed to Origen. After the third and fourth *Beilage* of A. von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott. Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der Katholischen Kirche*, Leipzig 1924, respectively dedicated to the *Apostolicon* and to the Gospel, none tried to rebuild the textual form of the Marcion' Gospel comprehensively. The book is a very critical textual work, a very useful tool for whom wants to study the marcionitic text. This work is a good opportunity to focus methodological questions about the use of the sources and, also, to contextualize every source in his own historical context. Probably this last aspect is not deeply considered by Roth. Furthermore it is important to consider critically the reception of the texts in the second century, when the texts are not fixed or canonized. The text of Lk 16:19-31 will offer a good opportunity to view historical and textual critical patterns in discussion.

[*] **Enrico NORELLI** (Université de Genève)

Where and When Should We Locate the Greek/Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter?

Richard Bauckham, developing an older hypothesis, endeavoured to prove that the portrait of the enemy of the last days, described in *Apocalypse of Peter* 2,8-13, alludes to Shim'on Bar Kohba and, since the book affirms that Henoah and Elijah will come before the end of his activity, it must have been written after the revolt began, but prior to the death of Bar Kokhba, and therefore between 132 and 135 C.E. This thesis has raised objections. In recent years, especially Tobias Nicklas and Thomas J. Kraus have put forward arguments against it. The present paper examines their arguments, trying to show that though they are helpful in several regards for a better understanding of the Apocalypse, they are not decisive against Bauckham's proposal that remains the best hypothesis concerning the historical context of the book.

[*] Non parla al convegno // Not speaking

11.

Storia dei Giudei e del giudaismo in età ellenistico-romana

Jewish History and Hellenistic Judaism

(Dario Garribba, Cristina Termini, Marco Vitelli)

Sabato 3 ottobre // Saturday, October 3
(Sessione Parallela AM 2.B // Parallel Session AM 2.B)
11:00 – 13:00

Paolo CIMADOMO (Università di Napoli “Federico II”)

Galileans or Ioudaioi? Some Remarks on ‘Judaization’ of Galilee during the First Century BC

During 104-103 BC Aristobulus seems to have conquered all or part of the Galilee. During the first century BC the Galileans and other people in the area around were forced or encouraged to convert to Judaism. The inhabitants of all Galilee faced daily the problem of preserving their Jewish identity: they started using certain elements of the material culture, such as stone vessels and ritual baths. Therefore Galileans preferred using locally manufactured products such as oil and wine. Andrea Berlin called “household Judaism” this phenomenon. This paper’s aim is to analyze Galilean population, focusing on city life and comparing cities and their surroundings. Josephus usually uses the term Galilaeoi referring to inhabitants of the region, mainly from the villages, as distinct from the residents of the major cities. At this stage many questions arise: Was the population made up only of Ioudaioi? How much did they change their identity during the first century BC? Was there a specific policy pursued by Hasmonean and Herodian kings? In this preliminary study I will try to answer to these questions surveying archaeological data of some Galilean cities.

Laura C. PALADINO (Università Europea di Roma)

Presbuteroi, Poimenes, Episkopoi. Istituzioni e ruoli comunitari tra esperienze giudaiche e influenze ellenistico-romane” // Presbuteroi, Poimenes, Episkopoi: Community Institutions and Roles between Judaic Experiences and Roman-Hellenistic Influences

(ITA) Il contributo affronta la questione della reggenza delle comunità giudaiche, anche in presenza di elementi proto-cristiani, in terra di Israele e in diaspora nei primi secoli, esaminando la documentazione testamentaria e intertestamentaria (Qumran e letteratura giudaico-ellenistica) in relazione al lessico adoperato sull’argomento e ai modelli di matrice ellenistico-romana. Ne emerge un quadro composito che consente di comprendere le scelte operate in campo istituzionale e organizzativo alla luce di molteplici e complessi elementi di riferimento, che coinvolgono la questione centrale dell’identità giudaica, a contatto con variegata e diverse esperienze in atto nel più ampio contesto mediterraneo.

(ENG) This paper deals with the government of the Jewish communities, also in the presence of proto-Christian elements, in the land of Israel and in the Diaspora in the first centuries, by examining the biblical and extrabiblical documentation (Qumran and Judeo-Hellenistic literature), the lexicon used on the subject and the Roman-Hellenistic models. We can thus understand how the theme was received and what choices were taken about institution and organization, in continuity with the crucial point of Judaic identity in the Mediterranean context.

Jessica VAN ’T WESTEINDE (Durham University)

The Holy Temple in Heaven: The Testament of Levi Revisioning Jewish Identity

Amongst the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs one of the most intriguing texts with regards to the question of Jewish or Israelite identity is the Testament of Levi with its spiritualised apocalyptic vision of the Temple (TestLev. 5). Of course, the problem with this text is to what extent it displays a Judaism unrelated to an emerging ‘Christianity’. How do the identity notions in this version differ from the Aramaic versions of this Testament and the Dead-Sea find of the Aramaic Testament of Levi (4Q213-214)? While

the Aramaic text focusses on sacrifice and wisdom topics, the later text displays a clear Torah-orientation (TestLev. 13). In this sense, emphasis will be placed on how this testament reflects the loss of the Temple during the first and second Jewish-Roman wars which physically destroyed one of the core identifiers of Judaism. This paper will take the observations further made by Marinus De Jonge (1975), Michael A. Knibb (1998), and Michael E. Stone (1991).

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4
(Sessione Parallela AM 1.A // Parallel Session AM 1.A)
9:00 – 10:45

Rocco BERNASCONI (Università di Lugano)

Typology of Ancient Jewish Literature in Antiquity: The Manchester/Durham Research Project

My purpose in the present paper is to report on a project in which I played a part and try and describe this approach perhaps in the light to bear on the analysis of texts outside the corpus of the TAPJLA project, such as for instance the Gospels. This project, known as the Manchester-Durham Typology of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature from 200 BCE to 700 CE, has been running for four years from 2007 to 2010. The Principal Investigator was Alex Samely of Manchester, while the co-investigators were Philip Alexander, Robert Hayward and myself. The outcome of the project is an electronic database, publicly available on the Manchester University website, which offers new typological descriptions of every anonymous and pseudepigraphic Jewish text surviving more or less intact from late antiquity, accompanied by a series of articles and a book which spell out the typology and its methodology in discursive detail. Moreover, the project has produced an analytical tool, the Inventory, which is available online and can be used by other researchers. The Typology project arose out of a deep dissatisfaction with previous attempts to create typologies of ancient Jewish literature. These have been dominated by the search for genres, whose determination is important in the understanding of texts since the readers' decision as to the type of text in front of them will determine how they decode its meaning. The methodology elaborated by within the project is corpus based and all the analytical categories found in the Inventory have been determined inductively from the analysis of the texts. The Inventory involves fundamentally a text-linguistic approach to profiling. We deal strictly with the surface literary features of the texts as they have been transmitted to us. We are not, therefore, concerned with questions of their historical setting or historical function, nor with their supposed sources, nor with their content in the sense of their theology, nor even, strictly speaking their genre. These are important, but we would argue that they should all be approached on the basis of a thorough text-linguistic profiling of the text in question. And this, on the assumption that a synchronic analysis of ancient Jewish texts is a necessary prerequisite to any diachronic reading.

Marco VITELLI (Istituto di Storia del Cristianesimo "Cataldo Naro", Napoli)

Da sacerdote di Gerusalemme a giudeo di Roma? L'identità religiosa di Flavio Giuseppe tra giudaismo palestinese e giudaismo della diaspora // From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew? Josephus' Religious Identity between Palestinian Judaism and Diaspora Judaism

(ITA) Prendendo spunto da alcune recenti pubblicazioni di D.R. Schwartz (ad es. "From Joseph ben Mattathias, a Jerusalem Priest, to Flavius Josephus, a Roman Jew", in Id., *Judeans and Jews: Four Faces of Dichotomy in Ancient Jewish History*, Toronto University Press, Toronto 2014, 48-61) e M. Tuval (*From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2013), nonché dal dibattito che ne è seguito (cfr. in particolare S. Mason, "The Priest Josephus Away From the Temple: A Changed Man?", in *Revue de Qumran* 103,26 [2014], 375-402), il contributo intende affrontare la questione dell'identità religiosa di Giuseppe nel periodo romano della sua vita: nella capitale dell'impero, lontano dalla Palestina, egli da sacerdote gerosolimitano qual era divenne a tutti gli effetti un giudeo romano? L'analisi comparativa del *Bellum Iudaicum* e delle opere successive veramente attesta che, almeno a partire dalla composizione delle *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, egli passò da un giudaismo ancora tempio-centrico a un giudaismo nomocentrico, dal giudaismo palestinese al giudaismo della diaspora? Quali sono i criteri e i parametri più idonei per condurre un'indagine come questa?

(ENG) Inspired by some recent publications of D.R. Schwartz (e.g. "From Joseph ben Mattathias, a Jerusalem Priest, to Flavius Josephus, a Roman Jew", in Id., *Judeans and Jews: Four Faces of Dichotomy in Ancient Jewish History*, Toronto University Press, Toronto 2014, 48-61) and M. Tuval (*From Jerusalem*

Priest to Roman Jew, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2013) as well as the ensuing debate (cf. in particular S. Mason, "The Priest Josephus Away From the Temple: A Changed Man?", in *Revue de Qumran* 103,26 [2014], 375-402), this paper will address the issue of Josephus' religious identity during the Roman period of his life: in the capital of the Roman Empire, away from Palestine, did the Jerusalem priest become a real Roman Jew? Does the comparative analysis of the *Bellum Iudaicum* and Josephus' later works really attest that, at least since the composition of *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, he changed his religious views moving from a Temple-centered Judaism to a Law-centered one, from Palestinian Judaism to Diaspora Judaism? What are the criteria and the parameters most suitable to conduct this research?

[*] **Dario GARRIBBA** (Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Meridionale – San Luigi, Napoli)

Definire l'identità del giudaismo della diaspora. Osservazioni su alcuni recenti orientamenti storiografici // Defining Diaspora Identity: Observations on Some Recent Historical Trends

(ITA) Negli ultimi anni l'attenzione della storiografia sul giudaismo della diaspora sembra conoscere un'attenzione crescente. A cominciare dalle pubblicazioni di Collins, Barclay o Gruen, che sul finire del XX secolo, hanno posto le basi di una radicale ridefinizione della natura e del carattere del giudaismo della diaspora, l'interesse verso il mondo della dispersione giudaica e verso le sue differenze con il giudaismo di Palestina ha occupato sempre più spazio nel dibattito storiografico. Recenti pubblicazioni, come quella di M. Tuval (*From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2013), ponendosi in parziale rottura con alcune posizioni oggi comunemente accettate, sembrano porre il giudaismo della diaspora in netta antitesi con quello palestinese e sembrano individuare nella diversa relazione con il tempio di Gerusalemme la matrice di questa profonda, radicale differenza identitaria tra diaspora e Palestina. Il mio contributo intende interrogarsi sulla validità storiografica di questa proposta, nel confronto con altre posizioni storiografiche correnti.

(ENG) In recent years the focus of historiography on Diaspora Judaism is knowing an increasing attention. Starting with the publications of Collins, Barclay or Gruen, who, at the end of the twentieth century, laid the foundations for a radical redefinition of the nature and character of the Diaspora Judaism, the interest in Mediterranean Diaspora and to its differences with the Judaism of Palestine has occupied space in the historical debate. Recent publications, such as M. Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2013, breaking with some positions now commonly accepted, seem to pose the Diaspora Judaism in sharp contrast with the Palestinian and seem to identify the different relationship with the Temple of Jerusalem, the matrix of this profound and radical difference between identity and diaspora Palestine. My proposal is to question the validity of this historiographical proposal, in comparison with other historiographical trends to question the validity of this historiographical proposal, in comparison with other historiographical trends.

[*] Non parla al convegno // Not speaking

[*] **Maria BRUTTI** (Ph.D., Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma)

Un'identità in fieri: hoi Ioudaioi nel Primo e nel Secondo Libro dei Maccabei // Identity in the Making: Hoi Ioudaioi in the First and Second Book of the Maccabees

(ITA) Intorno agli anni 2000, si è sviluppato soprattutto in un contesto linguistico anglo-americano un dibattito sulla traduzione del termine greco «hoi Ioudaioi» che ha coinvolto studiosi ebrei e non ebrei in relazione alla doppia traduzione inglese del termine in 'Judean' o 'Jews' e che ha dato a una vera e propria linea di ricerca che dall'analisi semantica si è focalizzata sulla questione dell'origine dell'identità giudaica. Questa breve ricerca considera l'uso di hoi Ioudaioi nel Primo e nel Secondo libro dei Maccabei a partire da alcuni interrogativi: Si tratta di un termine che indica un gruppo con caratteristiche geografiche determinate o un gruppo caratterizzato da una comune connotazione etnica? Un gruppo la cui connotazione si evolve nel tempo ad opera di autori diversi? L'analisi delle occorrenze ci consente di parlare dell'affermazione di una identità già costruita o mostra piuttosto un'identità in fieri che già al suo sorgere presenta una varietà e una complessità di accezioni? In questo senso il confronto tra il Primo e il Secondo Libro dei Maccabei, quale apporto può dare alla definizione del problema? Schema provvisorio: 1. Hoi Ioudaioi nel Primo Libro dei Maccabei; 2. Hoi Ioudaioi nel Secondo Libro dei Maccabei; 3. Differenze dell'uso di hoi Ioudaioi nel Primo e nel Secondo Libro dei Maccabei; 4. Dal confronto dei due Libri, quale identità si può derivare? I diversi contesti in cui hanno operato gli autori dei due libri hanno dato luogo a differenti identità?

(ENG) The current millennium has witnessed a growing debate among both Jewish and non Jewish English-speaking biblical scholars on the translation of the Greek word "hoi Ioudaioi". The issue revolves around its translation as either 'Judean' or 'Jews' and has moved beyond the sphere of semantics into a full-blown debate focusing on the origin of Jewish identity. This brief research investigates the meaning, function and evolution of the term Ioudaioi in the First and Second Book of Maccabees. Is Ioudaioi a term for a group defined by geography or one characterized by a common ethnic connotation? A group whose connotation evolves over time with different authors? Does an analysis of its occurrences show us a defined identity or one still in the making, one which from its very inception presents a variety and complexity of meanings? What contribution can the study of terminology and a comparison between the First and Second Book of Maccabees, with their diverging origins and ideologies, make to clarify the issue? Provisional draft: 1. Hoi Ioudaioi in the First Book of the Maccabees; 2. Hoi Ioudaioi in the Second Book of the Maccabees; 3. Differences in the use of hoi Ioudaioi in the First and the Second Book of the Maccabees. 4. What kind of identity is coming out from the comparison of the two books? The different contexts in which the authors of the two books are working given rise to a different identities?

[*] Non parla al convegno // Not speaking

12.

Storia della ricerca su Gesù in età moderna e contemporanea *History of the Research on Jesus in Modern and Contemporary Times*

(Franco Motta, Mauro Pesce, Luisa Simonutti, Pina Totaro)

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4
(Sessione Parallela AM 1.B // Parallel Session AM 1.B)
9:00 - 10:45

⇒ Vedi anche: *Discussioni di libri*, p. 39 // See also: *Books Discussions*, p. 39

Miriam BENFATTO (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Bologna)

Origini del cristianesimo e studia hebraica moderni: riflessioni a margine di una correlazione necessaria // The Origins of Christianity and Modern Era Studia Hebraica: Preliminary Reflections on a Necessary Connection

(ITA) La conoscenza e l'uso della lingua ebraica, insieme all'utilizzo e alla possibilità di accedere alla letteratura ebraica biblica e post-biblica, hanno contribuito in maniera decisiva allo sviluppo delle conoscenze sulla storia dell'ebraismo e del cristianesimo antico. L'armamentario esegetico così riscoperto ha avuto un notevole impatto sugli studi religiosi, portando ad una nuova interpretazione della Bibbia ebraica e del Nuovo Testamento nonché al riesame delle dottrine centrali del Cristianesimo, ivi compresa la possibilità di conoscerne il contesto storico da una diversa e necessaria angolazione. Acquisizione definitiva si è rivelata la consapevolezza che la figura storica di Gesù non è afferrabile senza il ricorso allo studio dell'ambiente storico nel quale viveva: per una corretta contestualizzazione delle parole, delle azioni e della missione religiosa di Gesù non si può prescindere dai significati storici e culturali che queste avevano nei primi secoli antecedenti e posteriori all'era volgare. Questa consapevolezza, con i relativi, determinanti strascichi sulla storia della ricerca, è maturata a partire dal XVI secolo, soprattutto grazie agli *studia hebraica*. Obiettivo del paper è ripercorrere la storia della nascita e dell'evoluzione degli studi delle materie ebraiche, prestando particolare attenzione alla *Ratio Studiorum* dei Gesuiti e all'istituzione dei moderni Collegi linguistici, fornendo un quadro preliminare per collegare la riflessione sulla figura storica di Gesù alla nascita di queste discipline. L'ambiente in cui è possibile collocare il Gesù storico nasce e si sviluppa come nuovo fronte di indagine grazie agli studi, alle metodologie e agli interessi che gli *studia hebraica* sono stati capaci di suscitare e vitalizzare nel corso dell'età moderna.

(ENG) Acquaintance with and use of the Hebrew language and the possibility to have access to Biblical and post-Biblical early Jewish literature have been pivotal to the development of historical research on the history of Judaism and early Christianity. Both have had considerable impact on religious studies, leading to a new interpretation of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament as well as of fundamental doctrines of Christian theology. The necessity was now deeply felt to focus on their respective historical context from a different perspective. The critical consciousness developed that knowledge of the historical figure of Jesus is unattainable without the analysis of his historical background: a proper understanding of his words, actions and religious mission necessarily implies grasping the historical and cultural significance that they had in the first centuries before and after the turn of the Common Era. Such a consciousness matured from the sixteenth century onward thanks mostly to the *studia hebraica*. Aim of this paper is both to offer an outline of the story of the birth and evolution of Jewish scholarship, paying particular attention to the *Ratio Studiorum* of Jesuits and the establishment of modern linguistic Colleges, to provide a preliminary framework for connecting research on the historical Jesus with the emergence of these disciplines. The background of the historical Jesus has come to the fore as new field of historical investigation, as a result of the interests, studies and methodologies which *studia hebraica* were able to foster and fuel in the Modern Era.

Fernando BERMEJO-RUBIO (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, España)

Is Von dem Zweck Jesu und seiner Jünger an Innovative Contribution? On Reimarus' Role in a New Historiographical Paradigm of Jesus Research

Contemporary research has (rightly) relativized the role played by H.S. Reimarus in the *Leben-Jesu-Forschung*. Despite Schweitzer's approach, Reimarus cannot be deemed as the beginning of the research any longer. Nevertheless, he has been not only the hero of this research, but also the target of many scholars who (also, and especially after Schweitzer) have tried to discredit and playdown the value of his contribution. After the compelling criticisms addressed to the old paradigm of the "three quests" (especially by S. Porter, D.C. Allison and F. Bermejo-Rubio, but also by Mauro Pesce and other scholars), which is the relevance of Reimarus' *Von dem Zweck Jesu und seiner Jünger?* In the challenging context of building a new historiographical paradigm, my paper will offer a critical reflection on this subject with the aim of opening a discussion.

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4
(Sessione Parallela AM 2.B // Parallel Session AM 2.B)
11:15 - 13:00

⇒ Vedi anche: *Discussioni di libri*, p. 39 // See also: *Books Discussions*, p. 39

Margherita MANTOVANI (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Roma "La Sapienza")

Esegesi cabalistiche del nome di Gesù (XV-XVI sec.) // Kabbalistic Exegesis on Jesus' Name (15th - 16th Century)

(ITA) Muovendo dagli studi più recenti (C. Zika, W. Schmidt-Biggemann, B. Røling, R.J. Wilkinson), si intende considerare la funzione del nome di Gesù all'interno della tradizione cabalistica cristiana del primo Cinquecento, con particolare riferimento agli esiti raggiunti nel *De verbo mirifico* e nel *De arte cabalistica* di Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522). Il *De verbo* (1494) rappresenta la prima opera completamente incentrata sulla Cabala mai pubblicata da un umanista cristiano. Reuchlin vi propone alcune tecniche cabalistiche sul linguaggio, spesso mescolate a dottrine di stampo pitagorico, o derivate dalla teologia dello pseudo-Dionigi. Teorie che il pubblico cristiano avrebbe veramente assimilato solo con la pubblicazione delle *Portae Lucis* (1516), opera dell'ebreo convertito Paolo Ricci. La meditazione sui nomi divini esposta nel *De verbo mirifico* e nuovamente formulata nel *De arte cabalistica* (1517) culmina nel nome di Gesù, vale a dire nel pentagramma יהשוה (IHŠWH) in grado di rendere dicibile il Nome ineffabile (IHWH). Scopo di questo contributo è indagare il problema della *deificatio hominis* che questo procedimento cabalistico sottende, unitamente alla connessione tra l'esegesi di Reuchlin e quella operata da Paolo Ricci in relazione al Tetragramma. Ulteriori sollecitazioni saranno dedotte dall'esame delle fonti reuchliniane sulla teologia del Nome, con particolare attenzione ai *Sermones* di Cusano e alle *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ* di Pico della Mirandola (*Concl.* XI.7; XI.8; XI.14; XI.15).

(ENG) In light of the most recent studies (C. Zika, W. Schmidt-Biggemann, B. Roling, R.J. Wilkinson), the aim of this paper is to consider the function of Jesus' name in the Christian Kabbalistic tradition of the first half of the 16th Century, with particular reference to the results achieved by Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) in his *De verbo mirifico* and *De arte cabalistica*. *De verbo* (1494) represents the first Christian work completely dedicated to Kabbalistic ideas, often enriched with Pythagorean doctrines, or combined with the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius. However, the Christian reading public would have assimilated these Kabbalistic theories only with the work *Portae Lucis*, published in 1516 by the Jewish convert Paulus Riccius. Meditation on the divine names included in *De verbo mirifico* and again formulated in *De arte cabalistica* (1517) culminates in Jesus' name, namely the pentagram יהשוה (IHŠWH) which is able to express the unpronounceable Name. This contribution aims to investigate the problem of *deificatio hominis* implied in this Kabbalistic procedure, as well as the relationship between Reuchlin's exegesis and Riccius' one, with relation to the Tetragram. Further evidence will be deduced by interrogating the sources on Reuchlin's theology of the Name, with particular reference to Nicholas of Cusa's *Sermones* and to Pico della Mirandola's *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ* (Concl. XI.7; XI.8; XI.14; XI.15).

Alessandro SANTAGATA (Università di Roma "Tor Vergata")

Sul Gesù storico nella "crisi modernista" // On the Historical Jesus in the Catholic Modernism Crisis

(ITA) Questo contributo si propone di mettere a fuoco il dibattito sulla «crisi modernista» a partire dalla riflessione sui libri di Claus Arnold e Giacomo Losito dedicati agli atti del processo contro Loisy: *La censure d'Alfred Loisy* (1903); *Les documents des congrégations de l'Index et du Saint-Office* (Roma: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009); «*Lamentabili sane exitu*» (1907). *Les documents préparatoires du Saint Office* (Roma: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2011). In particolare, l'attenzione si concentrerà sui passaggi dedicati alla controversia sulla figura del Gesù storico e alle conseguenze della crisi sulla ridefinizione della cristologia cattolica fino al Concilio Vaticano II.

(ENG) The exposition will focus on the debate concerning the Catholic Modernism Crisis. Particularly, it will concern the discussion on two recent book speaking on the affaire Loisy : Claus Arnold, G. Losito, *La censure d'Alfred Loisy* (1903); *Les documents des congrégations de l'Index et du Saint-Office* (Roma: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009); «*Lamentabili sane exitu*» (1907). *Les documents préparatoires du Saint Office* (Roma: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2011). We will concentrate the attention on the debate about the historical Jesus reflecting on the consequences of the crisis in the history of Catholic Christology in the XX century.

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4

15:00 – 17:15

(Sessione Parallela PM 1.B // Parallel Session PM 1.B)

⇒ Vedi anche: *Discussioni di libri*, p. 39 // See also: *Books Discussions*, p. 39

Massimo RICCHIARI (Università di Napoli "Federico II")

Il Cristo di Spinoza. Uno «spiritus» denudato della carne per la «potentia» del comune // The Christ of Spinoza: A "Spiritus" Denuded of Flesh for "Potentia" of the "Communis"

(ITA) La filosofia di Spinoza delinea un percorso di salvezza universale come beatitudine per l'uomo in funzione della conservazione del suo *conatus* e della stabilità della società. La ricerca della libertà della mente conduce il filosofo olandese ad una riflessione originale sul *Cristo* che è, al contempo, sapiente, pedagogo e maestro. Pur riconoscendo in Lui la via della salvezza universale, Spinoza ne salta le virtù legate alla sua conoscenza intuitiva e ai suoi insegnamenti, ma rifiuta la possibilità di concepirlo come Dio incarnato, morto e risorto. Spinoza pone in luce il solo "spirito" di Cristo come eterna sapienza di un Dio denudato della "carne". Il filosofo prende così le distanze dal sistema di credenze e racconti relativi alle sue manifestazioni contenute nelle Scritture. Lo disancora da una natura umana che lo condannerebbe alla croce della sofferenza, dell'impotenza, del sovvertimento della Legge di un Dio che da *causa libera* diverrebbe, invece, ente determinato dai modi particolari a sacrificarsi per loro. Croce che sarebbe da considerarsi come la mistificazione estrema di ogni superstizione e di quel senso di paura che attanaglia gli uomini affetti dai deliri dell'immaginazione. Promotore di un umanesimo eterodosso, che risente dell'influsso delle sette ereticali olandesi del Seicento, Spinoza strappa Gesù dalla croce e proietta il

«Cristo della montagna» in una cornice teorica che fa della *potentia* della *societas* e dell'educazione dei simili un progetto di accrescimento del *comune*.

(ENG) Spinoza's philosophy outlines a universal salvation's path as bliss for man in relation to the preservation of his *conatus* and to the society stability. The quest for freedom of mind leads the Dutch philosopher to reflect, in an original way, on *Christ*, who is at the same time wise, pedagogue and teacher. Though in him he recognizes the way of salvation, Spinoza exalts the virtues related to its intuitive knowledge and his teachings, but he rejects the possibility of considering him as God incarnate, crucified and risen. Spinoza points out solely the "spirit" of Christ, as the eternal wisdom of God, denuded of the "flesh". The philosopher moves away from the system of beliefs and stories relating to his manifestations in the Scriptures. He undocks him from a human nature that would condemn him to the cross of suffering, to the impotence, to the subversion of the Law. God would be forced to sacrifice himself by particular modes, rather than being a "free cause". Cross would be considered as the extreme mystification of superstition and of that sense of fear that grips men suffering from delusions of imagination. Promoter of heterodox humanism, that reflects the influence of the heretical Dutch sects in the seventeenth century, Spinoza rips Jesus from the cross and he projects the "Christ on the Mount" in a theoretical framework that makes the *potentia* of the society and the education of the similars a project of growth for the *communis*.

Beatrice NUTI (Ph.D. Stud., Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa)

Gesù dopo Auschwitz: la riflessione di J.B. Metz // Jesus after Auschwitz: The Thinking of J.B. Metz

(ITA) Attraversato il dramma dei campi di battaglia e di concentramento, J.B. Metz (1928) muove una critica alle elaborazioni speculative del *kerigma* cristiano (neoscolastica, idealismo trascendentale) intese come devianti ellenizzazioni e ontologizzazioni. Per il sacerdote cattolico, nucleo vivo del cristianesimo primitivo è la chiamata e l'esperienza della *sequela* pratica, e soprattutto, la *memoria della passione* gesuana, paradigma dell'esposizione dell'uomo alla violenza e ingiustizia – e culminanti in "Auschwitz"; contro le affermazioni delle verità ontologiche e astoriche espresse dal *Logos* preesistente e onnipotente, Metz opera una *deposizione* e "abbassamento" teologico del Cristo verso un Gesù sinottico e apocalittico, figura potenzialmente destrutturante dei mondani ordini sacrali, dai totalitarismi alla "Chiesa trionfante" (distinzione tra istituzione proiettata all'autoconservazione per mezzo di un'ideologia "forte", e comunità in cammino con una memoria comune). Nella "riduzione" metziana, il cristianesimo – *memoria martiriale* di Gesù ed *esca-teologia*, entrambe d'ispirazione ebraica – è inteso affine alla critica illuminista e post-illuminista agli ordini di verità ontologici e metafisici; esso è il corrispettivo della democrazia laica, chiamata all'autocritica incessante di fronte alle vittime della storia, sempre esposta al pericolo di farsi ideologia. Metz non solamente interpreta le origini cristiane in linea con la modernità (secolarizzante e laica), ma considera questa come la più autentica, seppur tacita, professione di fede al nucleo del cristianesimo gesuano. Essa non lascia il credente alla propria intimità ma lo obbliga alla *sequela*, all'ascolto di *tutte* le memorie martiriali, dei vivi e dei morti, e a prenderne le parti: intese le premesse anti-ideologiche resistenti al divenire sistema/istituzione/partito, il cristianesimo primitivo si risolve in una "teologia politica", un appello all'impegno pratico e politico sui campi della storia. L'intervento proporrà alcuni esempi di selezione e esegesi dei testi evangelici operati dall'autore, e alcune note sul dibattito suscitato (teologia della liberazione-reaione Ratzinger).

(ENG) After II Worl War and concentration camps, the German theologian J.B. Metz (1928) criticizes abstract theories (neo-scholasticism or transcendental idealism) for their wrong Hellenization and ontologization of Christian *kerigma*. According to Metz, Christian essence is a practical discipleship, and above all, the *memoria passionis* of Jesus, as evidence and testimony of human condition threatened by unreasonable violence and injustice – which became history with "Auschwitz"; against the assertion of ontological and ahistorical truth expressed by the idea of pre-existent and all-powerful *Logos*, Metz reduces the theological Christ toward an apocalyptic and synoptic Jesus, potentially teacher of deconstruction of all absolutisms, religious or not (totalitarianisms or the ideology of "triumphant Church" different from the community of disciples following Jesus' memory). Metz's reduction of Christianity (*memory* of Jesus passion and *eschatology*), underlines similarity with Judaism and, otherwise, with critical Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment (Frankfurt School) which deconstruct ontological systems of truth, or metaphysics. Ultimately, for Metz, Christianity meets and coincides with democracy and secularism, both endless call to criticize and deconstruct themselves in front of victims tales and witness, and, on the other side, under danger of becoming ideology. Ancient Christianity (Jesus and ancient communities) educates to modernity of secularism thanks to its teaching of liberation from ideology; moreover modernity is the most authentic profession of Christian faith, although unspoken. This practical

discipleship obliges to listen *all* memories of passions of all times, by living and dead, and witness them. With its anti-ideological spirit, ancient and present Christianity is a particular “political theology”, an appeal to practical and political engagement on history fields, on the losing side. This paper proposes some examples of exegesis and picking of gospel texts according to Metz’s reading of Christianity and Modernity, and some note about debate arose around it (Liberation theology and Ratzinger answers).

13.

Trasmissione delle parole di Gesù

Transmission of Jesus’ Words

(Mara Rescio)

L’unità tace per il 2015 // Not planned for 2015

14.

Vangeli canonici e apocrifi: fonti e rapporti tra fonti

Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels: Their Sources and Reciprocal Relations

(Enrico Norelli, Mauro Pesce)

L’unità tace per il 2015 // Not planned for 2015

15.

Vangelo secondo Tommaso, Nag Hammadi e gnosticismo

Gospel of Thomas, Nag Hammadi, and Gnosticism

(Claudio Gianotto, Matteo Grosso)

Giovedì 1 ottobre // Thursday, October 1
(Sessione Parallela AM 2.B // Parallel Session AM 2.B)
11:30 – 13:15

Andrea ANNESE (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Roma “La Sapienza”)

Immagine e luce. I logia sull’immagine nel Vangelo secondo Tommaso // Image and Light: The Logia about the “Image” in the Gospel of Thomas

Nel *Vangelo secondo Tommaso* quattro *logia* chiamano in causa il teologicamente centrale concetto di *immagine*: essi sono tra i più oscuri ma anche tra i più importanti dell’intera raccolta. In particolare è emblematico il dibattito *l. 83*: questo contributo analizza principalmente tale *logion*. Dopo una rassegna

delle diverse traduzioni e interpretazioni, si proporrà una lettura del testo, connettendolo agli altri *logia* sull'immagine in *Th* ma soprattutto a dei possibili paralleli riscontrati in testi paolini, deutero/pseudo-paolini e giovannei. Si tocca così un tema che sta emergendo tra gli interpreti: quello del rapporto tra *Th* e Paolo (si pensi a recenti studi di Gathercole, Skinner e Patterson), che per quanto riguarda la ricerca sulle *fonti* o comunque sui paralleli di *Th* è ancora quasi inesplorato. Per quanto riguarda il l. 83, si sosterrà qui che esso concerne non solo tematiche antropologiche e protologiche, ma anche e soprattutto cristologiche. Il testo può essere compreso senza necessariamente ricondurlo ai sistemi gnostici; esso sembra interagire con motivi paolini e giovannei, ed evocare *Gn* 1 ma anche riflessioni su Cristo-Immagine, connettendo escatologia e protologia. Ci si chiederà qui se tali motivi vadano considerati mere assonanze, o non si possa piuttosto impostare un discorso sulle fonti e gli influssi. Con ciò non si vuole sostenere la *dipendenza* dell'intero *Th* da quei testi: *Th* è un'opera stratificata, ove *logia* arcaici si giustappungono ad altri più tardi, con l'evolversi e l'intersecarsi delle prospettive teologiche. Non è improbabile che i *logia* sull'immagine, generalmente riconosciuti come tardi, possano inserirsi in traiettorie sviluppate da altre tradizioni protocristiane.

(ENG) In the *Gospel of Thomas*, four *logia* contain the (theologically crucial) *image* motif: they are considered some of the most enigmatic but also important of the whole collection. The divisive l. 83 is emblematic: this paper mainly analyzes it. After a survey of the various interpretations and translations, we will provide a reading of the text, relating it to the other *logia* about the image in *Th* but above all to some possible parallels identified in Pauline, deutero/pseudo-Pauline and Johannine texts. So we will deal with an issue that is emerging among scholars: the relationship between *Th* and Paul (see recent works by Gathercole, Skinner and Patterson), which – as for research on the sources or at least on parallels of *Th* – is still almost unexplored. With regard to l. 83, we will argue that it refers not only to anthropological and protological issues, but also (and significantly) to Christological ones. The text could be understood without necessarily relating it to Gnostic theological systems; it seems to interact with some Pauline and Johannine motifs, and to evoke *Gen* 1 but also reflections on Christ as Image, connecting eschatology and protology. We will examine whether those motifs have to be considered as mere consonances, or rather if it is possible to reflect on sources and influences. This is not to claim that the *whole Th* is *dependent* on those texts: *Th* is a layered text, in which early *logia* are juxtaposed to other later ones, with the development and the interacting of the theological perspectives. It does not seem unlikely that the *logia* about the image, generally acknowledged as late, could fit into trajectories developed by other proto-Christian traditions.

Francesco BERNO (Ph.D. Stud., Università di Roma “La Sapienza”)

Il Trattato Tripartito: ripensando il Valentinismo // The Tractatus Tripartitus: Rethinking Valentinianism

(ITA) Considerato elemento oramai acquisito il progressivo abbassamento della datazione del *Trattato Tripartito* (NHC I, 5) – testo valentiniano del *corpus* di Nag Hammadi tra i più noti anche al di fuori della ristretta cerchia degli specialisti –, il contributo che qui propongo si pone l'obiettivo di valutare il significato e la portata storico-religiosi di un tale “allontanamento” dell'opera dallo gnosticismo del II secolo, fotografato dalle fonti eresiologiche in lingua greca e latina. In una prospettiva di attenzione particolare alla peculiare struttura dello scritto, caratterizzato da due cesure in 104, 3 e 108, 12 (che certo inducono la domanda sulla sua possibile discontinuità retorico-dottrinale), si tenterà di mettere a fuoco gli snodi concettuali, le modalità di articolazione teologica, gli obiettivi teorici, che resero necessaria e possibile una restituzione così filosoficamente atteggiata, miticamente disimpegnata, deterministicamente povera, delle strutture valentiniane qualificate. Il punto di accesso privilegiato sarà la categoria mediana degli psichici, luogo teologico eminente di dialettica tra una nozione di salvezza elettiva ed “eccezionale”, ideologicamente imparentata con movenze di pensiero apocalittico, ed una concettualità “cattolica”, volta a ridurre lo iato tra le diverse componenti del corpo mistico di Cristo.

(ENG) Taking for granted the progressive lowering of the *Tractatus Tripartitus's* dating (NHC I, 5) – a valentinian text part of the Nag Hammadi *corpus*, among the most known even outside the narrow circle of the scholars –, the main aim of my speech is to evaluate the historic-religious significance and role of this work's “estrangement” from the II century Gnosticism, as the Greek and Latin heresiological sources give us back. Focusing on the analysis of the text's peculiar structure – which is characterized by two caesurae in 104, 3 and 108, 12 – I will try to frame the conceptual junctions, the modalities of theological articulation, and the theoretical goals that made necessary as well as possible a reconfiguration so philosophically combined, mythically released, and deterministically poor of the qualified valentinian structures. The privileged access to this topic will be the median category of the psychic.

Daniele TRIPALDI (Università di Bologna)

A Master's Legacy: Marcus the 'Magician', Valentinus and the Date of the Gospel of Truth

Formal and thematic parallels between the *Coptic Gospel of Truth* and the written revelation ascribed to Marcus, disciple of Valentinus, by Irenaeus of Lyon (*Haer.* 1,14,1-16,2) have been identified and examined more than once. I will make the attempt to put them under focus anew and to describe the literary relationship between the two texts, emerging from the analysis. On this basis, I will suggest a *terminus ante quem* non for dating the Greek original of the *Gospel of Truth*. Finally, taking the disciple's explicit claim to be his master's corrector and improver as starting point, I will propose an external, albeit hypothetical, argument in favor of Valentinus himself as author of this early Christian writing.

Lavinia CERIONI (Ph.D. Stud., University of Nottingham)

Feminine and Bridal Imagery in the Book of Baruch

The book of Baruch, written by the Gnostic teacher Justin, is certainly one of the most important testimonies of Ophites' mythology; nonetheless its mythology is unique within the Gnostic production. The aim of this paper is to investigate its peculiarities regarding feminine and bridal imagery. Telling the tale of the union of a male spiritual element, Elohim, with a female psychic one, Edem, this book opens a variety of different perspectives worthy to be further investigated. To the extent of feminine and bridal imagery, it represents a unique case study: the agreement of the συζυγία, Elohim's abandonment of his bride and his identification with the responsible of mankind's evil are elements alien to other Gnostic texts. Hence, these features make it an extremely fruitful material regarding the role and function of the female characters in Gnosticism. Comparing it with Nag Hammadi's texts and other Gnostic testimonies, I aim to show its originality and importance for a complete understanding of Gnostic gender imagery.

16.

Visione e tradizione. La tradizione come fonte di autorità nella riconfigurazione di esperienze visionarie nel mediterraneo antico

Vision and Tradition: Tradition as a Source of Authority in the Reconfiguration of Visionary Experiences in Ancient Mediterranean World

(Luca Arcari)

L'unità tace per il 2015 // Not planned for 2015

Discussioni di libri

Books Discussions

Venerdì 2 ottobre // Friday, October 2

15:00 – 16:30

Simon Claude MIMOUNI, *Jacques le Juste, frère de Jésus de Nazareth* (Montrouge: Bayard, 2015)

Discussants: Claudio Gianotto, Mauro Pesce, Markus Vinzent

Sabato 3 ottobre // Saturday, October 3
9:15 – 10:30

Adriana DESTRO – Mauro PESCE, *Il racconto e la scrittura* (Roma: Carocci, 2014)

Discussants: Luca Arcari, Claudio Gianotto

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4
(Sessione Parallela AM 1.A // Parallel Session AM 1.A)
9:00 – 10:00

A. SAMELY, in collaboration with P. ALEXANDER, R. BERNASCONI, R. HAYWARD (eds.), *Profiling Jewish Literature in Antiquity: An Inventory, from Second Temple Texts to the Talmuds*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013

Discussants: Cristina Termini *et alii*

Vedi sopra, p. 30: *Storia dei Giudei e del giudaismo in età ellenistico-romana* // See above, p. 30: *Jewish History and Hellenistic Judaism*

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4
(Sessione Parallela AM 1.B // Parallel Session AM 1.B)
9:00 – 9:45

Antonella DEL PRETE – Saverio RICCI (eds.), *Cristo nella filosofia dell'età moderna* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2014)

Discussants: Anna Lisa Schino, Luisa Simonutti, Pina Totaro, Mauro Pesce

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4
(Sessione Parallela AM 2.B // Parallel Session AM 2.B)
11:15 – 12:00

Anna Lisa SCHINO, *Battaglie libertine. La vita e le opere di Gabriel Naudé* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2015)

Discussants: Antonella Del Prete, Mauro Pesce, Pina Totaro

Domenica 4 ottobre // Sunday, October 4
15:00 – 15:45
(Sessione Parallela PM 1.B // Parallel Session PM 1.B)

Luisa SIMONUTTI (ed.), *Religious Obedience and Political Resistance in the Early Modern World: Jewish, Christian and Islamic Philosophers Addressing the Bible* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)

Discussants: Franco Motta, Mauro Pesce, Pina Totaro

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