

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

29 settembre – 1 ottobre 2016

*University Residential Centre of Bertinoro*

*September 29 – October 1, 2016*



**Il Centro Italiano di Studi Superiori sulle Religioni (CISSR)**, fondato nel 1999, promuove la ricerca scientifica sulle religioni, soprattutto nell'ambito della storia del cristianesimo e del giudaismo. 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 2016 | 2016 Annual Meeting**

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CISSR — Centro Italiano di Studi Superiori delle Religioni

c/o Centro Residenziale Universitario di Bertinoro  
Via Frangipane, 6 – 47032 Bertinoro (FC), Italia

<http://cissr.wordpress.com>

# CISSR Annual Meeting on Christian Origins

Bertinoro, September 29 – October 1, 2016

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29**

**9:00 – 11:00 | Joint Session AM 1**

## **CHRIST GROUPS AND ANCIENT ASSOCIATIONS**

**Presiding: John S. Kloppenborg**

PHILIP A. HARLAND (York University, Toronto)

“The Most Sacred Society (*Thiasos*) of the Pythagoreans”: Educated and Literate Professionals Forming Associations

JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG (University of Toronto)

Associations, Christ Groups, and Their Place(s) in the Polis

MARK MUELLER (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

“So That We May Be Treated Humanely”: Associations and Liturgical Obligations in Roman Egypt

SARAH E. ROLLENS (Rhodes College, Memphis)

Visions, Dreams, and Origin Stories: Strategies of Legitimation among Associations

**Break 11:00 – 11:15**

**11:15 – 13:00 | Joint Session AM 2**

## **METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS**

**Presiding: Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli**

EMILIANO R. URUIOLI (Max-Weber-Kolleg, Erfurt)

“I Have Nothing Else to Live By”: Discomforting Religious Individualization as a Comfort-Zone Religiosity

DANIEL ULLUCCI (Rhodes College, Memphis)

Spiritualization and the Rhetoric of Simplification

CRISTIANA FACCHINI (Università di Bologna)

When the Body Speaks: Preliminary Remarks on Religious Individualization and Body Practices in the Early Modern Period

## Lunch Break 13:00 – 15:00

### 15:00 – 16:45 | Parallel Session PM 1.A

#### ANCIENT INTELLECTUAL CULTURE

Presiding: John S. Kloppenborg

PATRICK STANGE (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

The Delian Aretology of Sarapis and the Export of Alexandrian Poetics

GREGORY FEWSTER (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

Gospels in Anti-Judean Rhetoric? A Comparison of Justin and Marcion

IAN BROWN (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

Thomas and the Pempaudeumenoï: Reading the Gospel of Thomas  
in Light of Ancient Intellectual Culture

MICHELLE CHRISTIAN (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

Approved Moneychangers? The Economic and Intellectual Context of an  
Early Christian Maxim

### 15:00 – 16:45 | Parallel Session PM 1.B

#### JEWISH HISTORY AND HELLENISTIC JUDAISM

Presiding: Dario Garribba

FERNANDO BERMEJO RUBIO (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid)

The Fourth Philosophy and Violence

DARIO GARRIBBA (Pontificia Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Meridionale, Napoli)

Fiscus Iudaicus e giudaicità. L'impatto del Fiscus sulla definizione dell'identità giudaica  
*// Fiscus Iudaicus and Jewishness: The Impact of Fiscus Iudaicus on Jewish Identity*

PAOLO CIMADOMO (Università di Napoli "Federico II") (with L. DI FRANCO and S. LA PAGLIA)

Munera in Judaea: From the Tel Shalem Bronze Statue of Hadrian to the Local Perception  
of the Gladiatorial Combats

ARIEL LEWIN (Università della Basilicata)

DONATA VIOLANTE (Ph.D. Stud., Univ. della Basilicata)

Il ceto dirigente della Giudea nel I secolo e i suoi problemi *// The Ruling Class of Judea in  
the First Century*

## Break 16:45 – 17:15

**17:15 – 19:00 | Joint Session PM 2**

**ANTHROPOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS FORMS AND IDENTITIES**

Presiding: **Adriana Destro**

ADRIANA DESTRO (Università di Bologna)

Memorization and Writing Processes

ZELDA FRANCESCHI (Università di Bologna)

Conversion as Autobiographical Testimony: Ethnography amongst the Wichí of the Argentinean Chaco

FRANCESCA SBARDELLA (Università di Bologna)

Rewritten Scriptures: Hagiographic Texts in Cloistered Praying Practices

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 30**

**9:00 – 11:00 | Joint Session AM 1**

**PAPYROLOGY AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY (1)**

Presiding: **Peter Arzt-Grabner**

PETER ARZT-GRABNER (Universität Salzburg)

How Old Was Jesus at the Start of His Mission? The Papyrological Evidence and Impacts for the Calculation of Jesus' Year of Birth

SABINE R. HÜBNER (Universität Basel)

The Oldest Christian Letter on Papyrus

DOROTA HARTMAN (Università di Napoli "L'Orientale")

The Babatha Archive and New Testament Research

Individual Paper:

ANDREA NICOLOTTI (Università di Torino)

The Scourge of Jesus

**Break 11:00 11:15**

**11:15 – 13:00 | Parallel Session AM 2.A**

**PAPYROLOGY AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY (2)**

Presiding: Peter Arzt-Grabner

DAN BATOVICI (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

Reading Aids or Lectional Signs?

ELEONORA ANGELA CONTI (Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, Firenze)

Termini di parentela dalla lingua d’uso quotidiano alla vita ufficiale cristiana // *Kinship Terms from Everyday Language to Official Christian Life*

MARCO STROPPA (Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, Firenze)

I rotoli cristiani delle origini // *The Early Christian Rolls*

**11:15 – 13:00 | Parallel Session AM 2.B**

**HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH ON JESUS IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY TIMES**

Presiding: Mauro Pesce

**I. Seminar Session: Discussion of Some Texts about Jesus in the Works of Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza**

Anna Lisa SCHINO (Università di Roma “La Sapienza”)

Hobbes e la storia sacra: due patti politici (Abramo e Mosè) e un patto salvifico (Cristo) // *Hobbes and Sacred History: Two Political Covenants (Abraham and Moses) and a Spiritual One (Christ)*

PINA TOTARO (CNR / ILIESI, Roma)

Il Cristo ‘secundum spiritum’ e ‘secundum carnem’ in Spinoza. Cristianesimo, ebraismo, messianesimo o ateismo? // *‘Christus Secundum Spiritum’ and ‘Christus Secundum Carnem’ in Spinoza: Judaism, Christianity, Messianism, or Atheism?*

**II. Papers Session**

CRISTIANA FACCHINI (Università di Bologna)

Religious Polemics and ‘Regimes of Historicity’: Interpreting the Magen wa-Herev of Leon Modena

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

La rivalutazione ebraica di Gesù: tra filosofia e ricerca storica // *The Jewish Revaluation of Jesus: Among Philosophy and Historical Research*

**Lunch Break 13:00 – 15:00**

**15:00 – 16:30 | Joint Session PM 1**

**MARK AND THE OTHER GOSPELS**

Presiding: Mara Rescio, Luigi Walt

SANDRA HÜBENTHAL (Universität Passau)

The Portrayal of Jesus and Jesus Traditions in the Gospel of Mark

MARA RESCIO (CISSR, Bologna)

“And the Fever Left Her...” – A Papyrological Reading of Mark 1:29-31 and Parallels

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

Jesus' Prayer on the Mount of Olives, the Swords and Roman Empire (Lk 22:39-46)

**Break 16:30 – 17:00**

**17:00 – 19:15 | Joint Session PM 2**

**RE-DATING THE EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS**

Presiding: Claudio Gianotto

MATTHIAS KLINGHARDT (Technische Universität Dresden)

Seminar Lecture: The Marcionite Gospel as the Origin of the Gospel Tradition

Respondent: CLAUDIO GIANOTTO (Università di Torino)

MAURIZIO GIROLAMI (Facoltà Teologica del Triveneto, Padova)

Not Peace, but a Sword and Division: Lk 12:49-53 in Marcionite Texts

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1**

**9:00 – 11:00 | Joint Session AM 1**

**HISTORICAL JESUS**

Presiding: Mauro Pesce

MAURO PESCE (Università di Bologna)

The Sources of Jesus' Certitude: Was Jesus a Mystic?

MICHAEL DAISE (The College of William & Mary, Williamsburg)

Destroying and Rebuilding the Temple: Light from Flavius Josephus

Individual Papers:

ROBERTO ALCIATI (Università di Torino)

“God Is Never Anything Other than Society”: A Bourdieusian Interpretation of Tertullian’s Theology

RENZO TOSI (Università di Bologna)

Lettura degli scolii del ms. GA 1424 // *The scholia of ms. GA 1424*

**Break 11:00 – 11:15**

**11:15 – 13:00 | Joint Session AM 2**

**CHRISTIAN ORIGINS: MODERN MYTHS AND HISTORICAL REPRESENTATIONS**

Presiding: Luigi Walt

HALVOR MOXNES (Universitetet i Oslo)

Historical Jews in the Image of Modern Muslims in Renan’s Life of Jesus

EMMA J. WASSERMAN (Rutgers University, New Jersey)

Myths of Victory: “Powers of Evil” in 20th Century Biblical Theology

FERNANDO BERMEJO RUBIO (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid)

Why Can We Be Reasonably Confident that Jesus Harboured Royal Claims? Arguments versus Fallacies from the 18th to the 21st Century

**Lunch Break 13:00 – 15:00**

**15:00 – 16:45 | Parallel Session PM 1.A**

**EARLY GROUPS OF JESUS’ FOLLOWERS**

Presiding: Mara Rescio, Luigi Walt

JULIA SNYDER (Universität Regensburg)

Were Jesus-Followers Recognizable?

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

Paul’s Collection as Anti-Patronal Act? A Re-Evaluation of Early Christian Financial Practices

MARIA ARMIDA NICOLACI (Pontificia Facoltà Teologica di Sicilia, Palermo)

Stigmatizzazione dei «falsi maestri» e costruzione dell’identità credente nella Seconda Lettera di Pietro // *Vilifying ‘False Teachers’ and Constructing Believers’ Identity in the Second Letter of Peter*

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

Widows in Luke 18: A Test Case of Socio-Historical Research

**15:00 – 16:45 | Parallel Session PM 1.B**

**GOSPEL OF THOMAS, NAG HAMMADI, AND GNOSTICISM**

Presiding: Claudio Gianotto

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

Vangelo secondo Tommaso, logion 40: tracce di conflitti tra gruppi di seguaci di Gesù? // *Gospel of Thomas, Logion 40: Traces of Conflicts among Groups of Jesus' Followers?*

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

Human Creation and Eschatological Redemption: Observations on Logion 114 in the Gospel of Thomas

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

La figura del ‘mietitore’ e del ‘seminatore’ tra il Vangelo di Filippo e le Annotazioni di Eracleone: analisi di un teologumeno valentiniano // *The ‘Reaper’ and the ‘Sower’ between the Gospel of Philip and Heracleon’s Commentary on John: Explanation of a Valentinian Exegesis*

GIOVANNI HERMANIN DE REICHENFELD (Ph.D. Stud., University of Exeter)

The Use of the Word ὁμοούσιος in Heracleon’s Fragments: The Case of the Exegesis of John 4:24 and John 8:44

**Break 16:45 – 17:10**

**17:10 – 19:30 | Joint Session PM 2**

**RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND EXPERIENCES  
IN HELLENISTIC-ROMAN JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY**

Presiding: Daniele Tripaldi

LUCA ARCARI (Università di Napoli “Federico II”)

Emotions and Visionary Experiences in First-Century Judaism: Group Dynamics and Cultural Interactions among Jesus’ Followers

GIOVANNI B. BAZZANA (Harvard University)

Speaking the Tongues of Angels: Intelligibility and Authority in the Debate on Glossolalia in 1 Cor 12-14

BRIGIDDA BELL (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)

Prophet for Hire: Remuneration in Early Christian Perceptions of Prophetic Legitimacy

EUNATE MIRONES LOZANO (Universidad de Salamanca)

Jewish Exorcism in Christian Context: A Case Study

FRANCESCO MASSA (Université de Genève)

The 'Mysteries' in the 2nd Century, or How to Produce an Instrument to Challenge Pagans Cults

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## 1. Ancient Intellectual Culture

(John S. Kloppenborg)

**Thursday, September 29**  
**15:00 – 16:45 (Parallel Session PM 1.A)**

**Patrick STANGE (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)**

### ***The Delian Aretology of Sarapis and the Export of Alexandrian Poetics***

After the influx of Greek speakers penetrated the east with Alexander's invasions, settling soldiers and local inhabitants began to mix various traditions, specifically in the theological and literary realm, making Alexandria an international cultural center. This city's eclectic intellectual population produced a certain style of poetry, most exemplified and theorized in the works of Callimachus. This style, which embodied the international nature of Ptolemaic Egypt, is known especially for its archaizing, Homeric language and its pointed use of traditional, dated forms and syntax to reflect the ever-changing, modern metropolis of Alexandria. This outdated style that did not reflect anyone's current speech could then become the iconic style of all in the mixed region of Egypt and the Aegean, as making the Alexandrian style at home in both Egyptian and Greek contexts. This style became attached to the export of Egyptian cults, most notably Isis and Sarapis. These gods who begin to appear throughout the eastern Mediterranean shortly after the Hellenic invasions bear excellent literary witness to the export of both syncretic Egyptian cults and the acceptance of Alexandrian style. Some have considered the weighty hexameters of the extant Isis and Sarapis aretologies to be cultural appeasement, thinking the Egyptians hoping to ingratiate themselves to Greeks. When one considers the international nature of their locations, Delos, Thessalonike, Ios and Andros, it is possible to see the way the international Alexandrian style could be easily imported and infused into the island port centers of the Aegean, seen as both exotic and sufficiently Greek. I intend to show through a literary analysis of the Delian aretology of Sarapis how this international poetic style was exported en masse through the vehicle of Egyptian cults and became well accepted, indicated by the extensive cult centers on Delos.

**Gregory FEWSTER (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)**

### ***Gospels in Anti-Judean Rhetoric? A Comparison of Justin and Marcion***

In this paper, Fewster engages in a comparison of Justin's and Marcion's use of Gospel texts in the formation of Christian identity vis-à-vis Judean identity. Fewster considers Justin's and Marcion's use of Jesus tradition in light of William Arnal's (2011) insight that Christian group identities in the second century were formed in part through the invocation and claim to certain texts and associated figures from the first century. The paper wades through the methodological conundrum of comparing two figures and their 'Gospels', one of whom is accessible through his authored texts and another of whom is known only through adversarial polemic. On one hand, Fewster argues, Justin's invocation of the Memoir tradition supported his construction of an apostolic heritage and legitimized his claim to Judean ancestral texts. On the other hand, rather than attempting to establish with certainty the theological rationale for Marcion's Gospel edition and concomitant identity-forming strategies, this paper explores the varied effects of Marcion's Gospel on his detractors' own self-definitional strategies. Tertullian and Epiphanius agree that Marcion corrupted Luke's Gospel. But they do not always agree on which passages were included in Marcion's Gospel or the extent to which his editorial activity eliminated the supersessionist understanding of Judean ancestral texts, by then well established in some systems of Christian self-definition. This analysis results in an account of Marcion's invention of a Christian identity in the second century and its refraction into the third and fourth centuries, which is given contour through comparison with Justin.

**Ian BROWN (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)**

### ***Thomas and the Pepaideumanoi: Reading the Gospel of Thomas in Light of Ancient Intellectual Culture***

The study of the Gospel of Thomas has tended to focus on three issues: its alleged Gnosticism, its date, and its dependence on or independence from the texts of the New Testament. In this sense Thomas has been studied almost exclusively as a "Christian" product. This focus on the "Christian" nature of Thomas, however, ignores the many ways in which Thomas fits nicely in the world of ancient intellectual culture.

Situating Thomas in this intellectual milieu will help us move away from the notion that Christianity was in any way unique, and allows us to understand early Jesus people and texts alongside other intellectual groups in antiquity. In spite of a movement away from belief, experience, and community as generative of early Jesus groups and texts, there is still a lingering reliance on the primacy of the Jesus-myth of a letter or gospel. While not denying that the figure of Jesus is important, my paper argues that it is not Jesus that gives a text its traction, but the fact that a social world already existed in which that content of the text could be deemed significant. To argue this I will situate the Gospel of Thomas in the Graeco-Roman world of the *pepaideumenoí* (the ones who have been educated) to illustrate the ways in which its genre, form, rhetoric, and content fit nicely within a sphere of intellectual culture in Graeco-Roman antiquity.

**Michelle CHRISTIAN (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)**

***Approved Moneychangers? The Economic and Intellectual Context of an Early Christian Maxim***

“Be approved moneychangers!” was a popular refrain among early Christian writers, who compared themselves to experts skilled at detecting counterfeit coin. Beginning with an overview of the moneychanger’s trade in antiquity, the paper goes on to discuss the charge of “counterfeiting” in Graeco-Roman intellectual culture before examining what is the maxim’s most curious feature: the description of figures who do not only approve the currency but must themselves be found approved or *dokimoi*.

## 2. Anthropology of Religious Forms and Identities

(Adriana Destro)

**Thursday, September 29**  
**17:15 – 19:00 (Joint Session PM 2)**

**Adriana DESTRO (Università di Bologna)**

***Memorization and Writing Processes***

Nowadays theories about memory are largely discussed at different interdisciplinary levels. Many questions arise. For our presentation is extremely important to ask: how far the theories of memory may be useful to address the problem of the historical reliability of the Gospels? Is the idea of a linear and homogeneous transition from memory to writing in Early Christianity sustainable? Texts must be at the center of our attention. We first need to investigate how the “past” becomes a literary composition. Secondly, we have to produce a theoretical approach to the “art of writing” that takes into account the written text as (a) an organization (b) of mental materials (c) in literary form, (d) in accordance with the rules of writing (of a specific culture). The last point of the paper deals with the internal “levels of the text” trying to highlight how they are connected with the construction of memory.

**Zelda FRANCESCHI (Università di Bologna)**

***Conversion as Autobiographical Testimony: Ethnography amongst the Wichí of the Argentinean Chaco***

Starting from the analysis of the data discussed at the Bertinoro 2014 conference, certain specific themes emerging during the field trips (2003-2014) amongst the Wichí population of the Argentinean Chaco will be analysed. The Wichí, since the beginning of the XX century have witnessed a succession of the *Propaganda Fide* Franciscan missions, of the Anglican and the Pentecostal missions: today they are living in a complex stratified religious universe between different churches and what literature defines ‘ethnic churches’. In particular the formal features of the narratives of the recording of these conversions and the scenario of these records follow an autobiographical pattern that takes up certain specific, traditional modes of narration. But the local concept of conversion as well as the socio-political implications of these records must be taken into consideration to be able to formulate certain hypotheses on the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ value of conversion. The aim of the paper will be that of reflecting on the scope of ‘indigenization’ of conversion and on today’s sense and meaning of conversions both within the *Iglesia Evangelica Unida*, an ethnic church dating back to the seventies, and within the Anglican Church. An attempt will be made to

outline the various gradations of conversion within the two 'professions of faith', and at the same time the various connotations the latter have in relation to generations and gender will be focussed on.

**Francesca SBARDELLA (Università di Bologna)**

***Rewritten Scriptures: Hagiographic Texts in Cloistered Praying Practices***

Drawing on an observing participation-based ethnography, which was carried out sharing the life of a group of French Carmelite nuns, this paper examines the extreme situation where hagiographic texts are used to speak prayers, as is commonly the case in cloistered settings. A direct relation between text reading and everyday life experience must be acknowledged. In Bakhtin's terms, the emerging issue here lies in the boundaries of the text. Being a fluid and permeable cultural product, it offers a variety of options in terms of para-textual usage and internal modifications, and both are in the hands of the cultural subject's creativity utilizing it.

### 3. Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels: Their Sources and Reciprocal Relations

(Enrico Norelli, Mauro Pesce)

Not planned for 2016.

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

(Carlo Carletti, Emanuele Castelli)

Not planned for 2016.

### 5. Christ Groups and Ancient Associations

(John S. Kloppenborg)

**Thursday, September 29  
9:00 – 11:00 (Joint Session AM 1)**

**Philip A. HARLAND (York University, Toronto)**

***"The Most Sacred Society (Thiasos) of the Pythagoreans": Educated and Literate Professionals Forming Associations***

Since the time of Jean-Pierre Waltzing (1895-1900), considerable work has been done on the formation of associations among craftsmen and other hand-workers of a common occupation (with terms such as *collegium*, *synergasia*, *synodos*, *synedrion* being quite common for these groups). Roughly contemporary with Waltzing, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1881) developed a legalistic theory that Plato's Academy itself was an officially registered "society" (*thiasos*). While the legal dimensions of the theory have not taken hold for good reason, a debate still continues among certain scholars of ancient philosophers as to whether or not the Academy and other gatherings of intellectuals are, in some cases, better understood as societies or associations. Moving beyond a mere focus on philosophers, in this paper I expand outwards to consider social networks of what I would call educated or literate professionals more broadly, encompassing

instructors, physicians, and philosophers. I ask whether and in what ways such professionals formed ongoing groups that are comparable to other associations, and I look at the ways in which their contemporaries expressed philosophical group identity in associative terms. Both literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that at least some of these professional networks generated associations of recognizable types. Although not solely important for our understanding of Christ groups, this material concerning the formation of associations by literate people who continued to produce, use, or interpret writings may provide a fresh perspective on literary dimensions of life within associations devoted to Jesus or Christ.

**John S. KLOPPENBORG (University of Toronto)**

***Associations, Christ Groups, and Their Place(s) in the Polis***

Classical literature on private associations and Christ groups has usually represented these as structurally separate from the political structures of the ancient city. This paper challenges this assumption, by arguing that both of these types of private associations mimicked political structures and language, in part as a way to 'fit in' the polis, and that structures of patronage and performative rituals gave visibility to these associations within the city, thus integrating them into the visual landscape of the ancient city.

**Mark MUELLER (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)**

***"So That We May Be Treated Humanely": Associations and Liturgical Obligations in Roman Egypt***

Trade associations were ubiquitous in Greek and Roman Egypt. Almost every craftsman was a member of an association devoted to his craft. These associations provided a number of benefits. We have documents that show that the associations paid for funerals, provided funds for bail, and offered protection against enforced liturgies. There is some question, however, how well the associations protected its members, particularly when it came to gaining exemptions from Roman liturgical obligations. One document from a weavers' guild pleads with the local strategos that its members be granted exemption from guarding shipments of grain to Alexandria, so that they might have the manpower to fulfill the weaving work they had been contracted to complete for the Roman army. At the same time, a number of documents also suggest that, in the Roman period, taxes were collected through trade associations, and that there was a corporate liability for the payment of taxes. This raises the question of just how voluntary such associations were, and how well they could protect their members from Roman exploitation. As trade guilds became the means by which the Roman administration organized the people of Egypt and extracted its wealth, membership in the guilds almost surely became compulsory, and the protections they could offer, increasingly feeble.

**Sarah E. ROLLENS (Rhodes College, Memphis)**

***Visions, Dreams, and Origin Stories: Strategies of Legitimation among Associations***

While much of the written evidence for voluntary associations provides information about meeting frequency, group activities, venues for gathering, and membership requirements, many inscriptions and papyri also embed narrative elements into such descriptions that serve a legitimating purpose or contribute to the common identity of the association. Such narrative elements often take the form of a vision or dream (sometimes involving an encounter with a deity) that a patron receives that encourages him or her to found the association or alter its practices in some way. Alternatively, the narrative elements sometimes describe a set of experiences or circumstances that explain why the association engages in certain practices—that is, the narrative details provide "backstories" that the association can use to understand its own identity and activities. In all likelihood, association members expected to encounter such myths of origin as part of their affiliation with a group. Awareness of this "benefit" to group affiliation gives us a new framework to understand Paul's claims to have encountered Jesus on the road to Damascus—a spellbinding story that he no doubt shared with his groups as he was visiting them. I argue in this paper that many of his audiences would have received such lore as rather commonplace given the frequency of other similar stories among voluntary associations. Paul's claim to encounter Jesus, which set off his traveling throughout the eastern Mediterranean, was likely regarded as a typical vision of a deity that initiated the founding of a network of associations affiliated with the deity, and not necessarily as a self-evidently exceptional or unique encounter with Christ.

## 6. Christian Origins: Modern Myths and Historical Representations

(Luigi Walt)

**Saturday, October 1**

**11:15 – 13:00 (Joint Session AM 2)**

**Halvor MOXNES (Universitetet i Oslo)**

### ***Historical Jews in the Image of Modern Muslims in Renan's Life of Jesus***

History represents “the reconfiguration of the past in the image of the present” (K. Malette, *The Romantic Review* 96 [2005], 248). What were the images of the present that were reconfigured in Renan's *Life of Jesus* (1863)? There has been little discussion of how Renan has combined the descriptions of the Jews at the time of Jesus with his own observations of the local Arab and Muslim population in Syria/Palestine. In *The Life of Jesus* Jewish Scribes and Pharisees are presented as *analogous* to the “learned Muslim” of Renan's time in their contempt for Greek culture and “science”, respectively. To understand how the attitude to “science” was the main difference between Muslims and European civilization, we must draw on Renan's inaugural lecture as Professor of Hebrew at the Collège de France in 1862, and his 1882 lecture, “Islam and science”. “Science” was Renan's code for civilization, and he saw Jesus – and the origins of Christianity – as the beginning of European civilization. Both with regard to religion, race and state, Islam and “the Muslim” represented “the Other” to “the Self” of Renan, France and European civilization. The Muslim was the essentialist opposite. The result was the creation of the *homo islamicus*, different from and inferior to “the Western Man”. The image of Jews in *The Life of Jesus* followed the same lines, with Pharisees and Scribes as the typical examples of fanaticism and racial thinking.

**Emma J. WASSERMAN (Rutgers University, New Jersey)**

### ***Myths of Victory: “Powers of Evil” in 20th Century Biblical Theology***

This paper aims to understand myths about world-rebellion and “powers of evil” that flourished in the work of post-WWII biblical theologians such as Ernst Käsemann and Oscar Cullmann. This work has had an enduring influence on the study of early Christianity where it sparked an outpouring of work on Paul's “principalities and powers,” sin as a so-called power, Jesus' alleged defeat of demonic forces, and a general enthusiasm for all things apocalyptic. Indeed, the most popular scholarly view holds that Christian apocalypticism imagines the world as in rebellion against God, held under the grip of satanic forces and anti-God powers. My forthcoming and published work shows that the relevant literature does not conceive of divine opponents, so-called demons, or figures like “Satan” on these terms. Though tendentious, theories of world rebellion were popularized by scholars such as Johannes Weiss in the 19th century and enjoyed a revival after the Second World War. This revival was sparked, at least in part, by Käsemann's attempt to re-instate a “thoroughly” apocalyptic theology over and against the deficiencies he claimed to find in the thought of Rudolf Bultmann. This paper offers a critical re-appraisal of these aspects of Käsemann's work, as well as that of Oscar Cullmann, Heinrich Schlier, and G.B. Caird, among others. One aim will be to show how these theologians use myths of evil to further very different kinds of political projects. Another will be to explore their changing notions of the secular world, spiritual forces, and the extent to which they adapt Augustine's political theology.

**Fernando BERMEJO RUBIO (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid)**

### ***Why Can We Be Reasonably Confident that Jesus Harboured Royal Claims? Arguments versus Fallacies from the 18th to the 21st Century***

Among the many odd phenomena in Jesus research we find a striking discrepancy regarding the Galilean preacher's claims. Whilst a minority of scholars—from Reimarus to Allison, through Eisler, Maccoby and Buchanan—has argued that Jesus harboured royal claims, an overwhelming majority of them overlook or downplay this aspect, or contend that he laid claim to kingship “in an unpolitical sense”. This paper aims at reassessing the evidence and arguments supporting the minority view, thereby unveiling a key aspect of Jesus' anti-Roman stance, and exposing—for the umpteenth time—the overwhelming tide of theologically-driven apologetic interests in standard scholarship.

**Luigi WALT (Universität Regensburg) (\*)**

***The Basileia Movement: Idealized Group or Realizable Utopia?***

The paper will seek to explore the ways in which recent scholarship on Christian origins, whether depending from apologetic agendas or not, suggest understanding the social form of the earliest groups of Jesus' followers in the light of ancient or modern utopian ideals. 'Those around Jesus', just to paraphrase the ambiguous phrase of Mark 4:10, are often portrayed with the traits of a utopian or utopian-like society (the 'Basileia movement'), serving as an ideal model for present-day minority or majority groups engaged—or claiming to be engaged—in acts of cultural and political resistance. Such a process of idealization is not a modern but an ancient invention, whose earliest evidence can be detected in Q and the first stratum of Jesus tradition (though obeying to very different functions and goals). How then can we read these ancient materials without running the risk of anachronism? Does the comparison with the imagery and ideals of Hellenistic utopian literature prove to be really effective for the purposes of historical reconstruction?

(\*) Not speaking.

## 7. Early Groups of Jesus' Followers

(Arianna Rotondo, Luigi Walt)

**Saturday, October 1**

**15:00 - 16:45 (Parallel Session PM 1.A)**

**Julia SNYDER (Universität Regensburg)**

***Were Jesus-Followers Recognizable?***

In the second century, the author of the so-called Epistle to Diognetus wrote that although Jesus-followers were "not distinguished from other people by land, language, or customs", they nevertheless demonstrated a "marvelous and confessedly unexpected" way of life (Ep. Diogn. 5). This raises several questions. Were Jesus-followers recognizable in their neighborhoods and cities, and if so, on what basis? How did various Jesus-followers in the early centuries describe their own particularity, or did they emphasize "fitting in"? And did "being a Jesus-follower" look the same for everyone, or were different lifestyles for different people the norm? This paper will delve into these questions through the eyes of the apostle Paul, drawing especially on Galatians and 1 Corinthians.

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

***Paul's Collection as Anti-Patronal Act? A Re-Evaluation of Early Christian Financial Practices***

A major trend in recent studies on Paul's collection for the saints in Jerusalem interprets Paul's rhetoric in light of Greco-Roman practices of gift-giving. Authors such as James R. Harrison, David J. Downs, Sze-kar Wan, and Steven J. Friesen notice the distinctiveness of the discourse on the collection and in its actual practice and argue that Paul redefines and/or creates gift-giving practices as an "alternative to patronage", the prominent form of socioeconomic exchange and an instrument of social and political hierarchy in Mediterranean antiquity. Paul, it is implied, feared that the support offered to Jerusalem could be understood in terms of sociopolitical dominance of the Pauline groups over those in Judea. I will evaluate these scholarly arguments and their methodological assumptions and suggest that the texts about the collection (Rom 15:25-27; 1 Cor 16:1-4; 2 Cor 8:1-9:15) reveal a set of worries—e.g., impoverishment, embezzlement, and the strained relationship between Corinth and Paul—that do not match the picture of possible inter-group domination.

**Maria Armida NICOLACI (Pontificia Facoltà Teologica di Sicilia, Palermo)**

***Stigmatizzazione dei «falsi maestri» e costruzione dell'identità credente nella Seconda Lettera di Pietro // Vilifying "False Teachers" and Constructing Believers' Identity in the Second Letter of Peter***

(ITA) Insieme alla lettera di Giuda, da cui probabilmente dipende, la Seconda Lettera di Pietro costituisce un esempio alquanto duro delle strategie di stigmatizzazione impiegate in non pochi testi neotestamentari,

soprattutto epistolari (ma cf. anche Ap 2-3). Diversamente che in Gd, però, in 2Pt non gli interlocutori polemici sono «infiltrati» dall'esterno, ma le loro dottrine (cf. 2,1) che possono, dal punto di vista dell'autore, ingannare i più fragili nella fede (cf. 2,2.14.18; 3,16). La virulenza della stigmatizzazione messa in atto nella Lettera si spiega dunque con l'esigenza di disegnare dei confini identitari netti rispetto a «falsi maestri» interni al proprio gruppo che introducono elementi apparentemente dissonanti nell'interpretazione teorica e pratica del comune fondamento identitario dei credenti. Intendo, quindi, analizzare in modo sistemico l'intreccio tra finzione autoriale, situazione descritta e costruzione del ritratto degli avversari, senza rinunciare a ricercarne il fondamento storico-ecclesiale e socio-culturale. Ricondurre la finzione epistolare, con le sue figure violente, allo sfondo da cui l'una e le altre emergono mi sembra essenziale all'interpretazione teologica e non ideologica della polemica, alla sua relativizzazione e, per ciò stesso, alla sua corretta valorizzazione in ordine alla costruzione dell'identità oltre gli stereotipi. Se la polemica e l'invettiva costituiscono una modalità occasionale e non essenziale della definizione dei confini, l'esigenza di tale definizione – che si esprime, non casualmente, mediante codici di matrice giudaico-apocalittica – non perde di importanza: la custodia dinamica del fondamento identitario che fa esistere i credenti, infatti, è custodia stessa della rivelazione e condizione perché si mantenga storicamente, cioè in tempi e spazi diversi, la differenza della fede che è anche, sostanzialmente, irriducibile differenza tra Dio e «mondo».

(ENG) Along with the Letter of Jude, from which probably depends, the Second Letter of Peter provides a very hard example of the stigmatization's strategy employed in various New Testament texts, especially epistles (but see also Rev 2-3). Unlike Jude, however, in 2Pt not the adversaries but their doctrines come from outside (2:1) and, from the author's point of view, they can mislead the ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστήρικτοι (2:2.14.18; 3:16). The virulence of the vilification's device is thus explained by the author's need to draw clear identity's boundaries in front of "false teachers" internal to his group of recipients who are introducing dissonant elements in the theoretical and practical interpretation of the shared faith. It is my desire to analyze, in a systemic way, the interplay between authorial fiction, depicted situation and construction of opponents' portrait, without renouncing to seek its historical, socio-cultural and ecclesial background. The epistolary fiction with its vilification's device, once read against the background from which emerges, can be relativized and, thereby, properly (i.e. theologically and not ideologically) understood in order to the construction of believers' identity beyond the stereotypes. If polemic and invective are an occasional and not essential way to define self-boundaries, the need for such a definition—which is expressed, not by chance, through Jewish-apocalyptic codes—does not lose its importance as mean to keep, in different times and spaces, the difference of faith which is also irreducible difference between God and 'world'.

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

#### ***Widows in Luke 18: A Test Case of Socio-Historical Research***

Is social history enough to recreate early Christian identity? When it comes down to the motif "widow", certainly not! However, scholars focusing on the role of widows in early Groups of Jesus followers have tended to be interested in social history, and have therefore neglected a lot of texts that do not provide much socio-historical information (e.g., Rev 18, 5Esra, ApcPetr, Apology of Aristides etc.). The "widow" motif in these texts is part of a specific word cluster with a narrative function in a very complex Jewish debate about God's law as social order. Furthermore, the "widow" motif functions similarly in other Greco-Roman sources, where it is connected to similar ideas and stereotypes. These texts thus shows how a Jewish debate about the role of the Torah continued to manifest itself in so-called "Christian" texts, and demonstrates that early Christianity cannot be separated from (non-Jewish) Greco-Roman contexts. Using the motif "widow" in the Gospel of Luke as example, this paper demonstrates methodological weaknesses in contemporary research on early Christianity. It shows how problematic it is to distinguish too sharply between categories like "Jewish", "Christian" and "Greco-Roman." Ideas, stereotypes and motifs often defy these supposed borderlines.

## **8. Gospel of Thomas, Nag Hammadi, and Gnosticism**

(Claudio Gianotto)

**Saturday, October 1  
15:00 – 16:45 (Parallel Session PM 1.B)**

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

**Vangelo secondo Tommaso, logion 40: tracce di conflitti tra gruppi di seguaci di Gesù? // *Gospel of Thomas, Logion 40: Traces of Conflicts among Groups of Jesus' Followers?***

(ITA) Il contributo intende analizzare nel dettaglio il *logion 40* del *Vangelo secondo Tommaso*, rapportandolo ai possibili testi paralleli e ad altri *logia* della stessa collezione, partendo da una rassegna della più importante letteratura critica. Un confronto con *Mt 15,13*, in particolare, evidenzia le differenze tra i due testi: ma non basta affermare che essi derivano probabilmente da flussi di trasmissione indipendenti. Alcune particolarità lessicali del testo copto di *Th 40*, infatti, inducono a chiedersi il *perché* delle differenze con *Mt*: la causa è forse non solo o non tanto nell'origine in un diverso flusso di trasmissione, quanto in una precisa prospettiva del redattore finale di *Th* e/o del gruppo di seguaci di Gesù rappresentato da questo testo (occorre considerare anche lo *sviluppo* della composizione di *Th*). Ci si soffermerà in particolare sui termini “vite” ([*ben*]eloole) e “forte/salda/fortificata” (forma *estajrēu*): un confronto con le versioni copte (in particolare sahidiche) dei testi biblici e con gli altri testi di Nag Hammadi conduce a riscontrare una peculiarità linguistica e contenutistica di *Th 40*, che se letto in connessione con altri *logia*, in particolare il *l. 32*, acquisisce un significato nuovo. Il contenuto simbolico che esso esprime viene usualmente identificato nella critica ai “farisei” e alla religiosità ebraica: ma è possibile che esso rappresenti invece la traccia di una volontà di contrapporsi ad altri gruppi di seguaci di Gesù. In quest'ottica, sarà vagliato il dibattito accademico sui rapporti tra *Th* e *Gv* ovvero tra il gruppo tommasino e quello giovanista di seguaci di Gesù.

(ENG) This paper aims to analyze in depth *Gospel of Thomas, l. 40*, relating it to the possible parallels and to other *logia* in the same collection, moving from a survey of the research. In particular, a comparison with *Mt 15:13* shows the differences between the two texts: but it is not sufficient to say that they probably come from independent streams of tradition. Some lexical peculiarities of the Coptic text of *Th 40*, in fact, invite to inquire into the *reason* of those differences: maybe this is identifiable not only or not so much in the origin in a different stream of tradition, but lies in a specific perspective of *Th's* redactor(s) and/or of the group of Jesus' followers represented by this text (one has also to consider the compositional development of *Th*). I will focus on the terms “vine” ([*ben*]eloole) and “strong/established/fortified” (form *estajrēu*): a comparison with the Coptic (esp. Sahidic) translations of the biblical texts and with other Nag Hammadi texts leads to recognize a peculiarity of *Th*, in vocabulary and content; thus, this logion, if related to others (esp. *l. 32*), may be interpreted in new ways. Its symbolic content is usually identified in the criticism of “Pharisees” and Jewish practices: but it could be the trace of the will to oppose other groups of Jesus' followers. From this viewpoint, the scholarly debate about the relationship between *Th* and *John*, and between the Thomasine and the Johannine group of Jesus' followers, will be analyzed.

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

***Human Creation and Eschatological Redemption: Observations on Log. 114 in the Gospel of Thomas***

Logion 114 of the *Gospel of Thomas*, where Jesus states that ‘female who makes themselves male will enter the Kingdom’, has always represented an obscure conundrum for gnostic scholars. Does it really indicate a gnostic ritual practice (Buckley 1985)? Or was Jesus simply speaking ironically (Brankaer 2005)? Is the use of gender imagery in this logion different from other *logia* (Meyer 1985)? While many different perspectives have been explored so far, one has been almost entirely neglected: the connection between this logion and the gnostic interpretation of *Gen. 1, 26-27* and *Gen. 2, 7*. Due to the gnostic nature of this Gospel, any question related to eschatology is strictly connected with protology, for ‘the end will be where the beginning is’ (logion 18). Henceforth, an investigation of the author's interpretation of the protological creation of humankind may answer some eschatological questions raised by logion 114. Unfortunately, the *Gospel of Thomas* offers very little information about this protological creation, therefore it will be necessary to take into account other gnostic texts, especially the ones found in the Nag Hammadi library. In this paper, I will firstly conduct an analysis of the use of gender imagery in the *Gospel of Thomas* (particularly *logia 22, 61, 106* and *114*); secondly I will explore *Thomas's* eschatology in connection with the idea of creation of humankind; and lastly I will propose a reading of this logion that will hopefully cast a new light on this obscure passage.

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

**La figura del ‘mietitore’ e del ‘seminatore’ tra il Vangelo di Filippo e le Annotazioni di Eracleone: analisi di un teologumeno valentiniano // *The ‘Reaper’ and the ‘Sower’ between the Gospel of Philip and Heracleon's Commentary on John: Explanation of a Valentinian Exegesis***

(ITA) L'intervento intende avanzare una nuova proposta di interpretazione per le figure dialettiche del 'mietitore' e del 'seminatore' in ambito valentiniano. A dispetto della rilevanza teologica che esse assumono, non è ancora comparso alcun contributo dedicato alla ricognizione sinottica dei due passi ove 'seminatore' e 'mietitore' paiono giocare un ruolo fondamentale, ovvero *Vangelo di Filippo* 52, 26-36 e Origene, *Commento a Giovanni* XIII 49-50 (fr. eracleoniani 35-36). L'interpretazione che qui si propone vuole connettere tale dialettica – dedotta, naturalmente, da Gv 4, 37 – alla cristologia (rapporto tra Cristo psichico e Cristo spirituale) e alla soteriologia (rapporto tra elemento psichico ed elemento pneumatico) valentiniane.

(ENG) The speech aims to provide a new interpretation for the problematic characters of the 'reaper' and the 'sower' in the Valentinian teaching. Surprisingly, no scholar has devoted himself to a synoptic reading of the two texts in which the 'reaper' and the 'sower' have a central role to play, that is *Gospel of Philip* 52 and Origen, *Commentary on John* (Heracleon's fragments 35-36). The reading this speech proposes connects these figures – obviously, deduced from *John* 4, 37 – to the Valentinian Christology (relationship between psychic and spiritual Christ) and soteriology (relationship between psychic and spiritual element).

**Giovanni HERMANIN DE REICHENFELD (Ph.D. Stud., University of Exeter)**

***The Use of the Word ὁμοούσιος in Heracleon's Fragments: The Case of the Exegesis of John 4:24 and John 8:44***

It is well known that everything we know regarding Heracleon's exegesis of the fourth Gospel comes from the 48 fragments preserved in the *Commentary on the Gospel of John* by Origen (with the minor exception of a reference in Photius, *Epistle* 134). The very nature of this transmission has ignited a huge debate concerning Heracleon's affiliation with Gnosticism. Scholarship has spent many pages to prove Heracleon's kinship with the *Tripartite Tractate* and other Valentianian writings (Janssens 1959; Quispel 1974), whereas more recent scholarship has treated him more as a Johannine exegete rather than an exponent of Valentinism (Wucherpfening 2002; Kaler 2006). Engaging with previous scholarship, this paper aims to analyse the use of the word ὁμοούσιος (and, consequently, the term οὐσία) in Heracleon's *Fragments on John*. The main research question is: did really Heracleon apply the term ὁμοούσιος to the spiritual substance (πνευματικὴ φύσις)? Or should this be considered Origen's reinterpretation based on the reading of Heracleon's later followers? The relevance this term gained in later history of Christianity makes this enquiring not an otiose one. In this paper, I will firstly explore the meaning of the word ὁμοούσιος in the second century theological and philosophical debate (especially within gnostic and platonic texts); then, I will analyse the use of the term in Heracleon's exegesis of *Jn* 4:24 and *Jn* 8:44, comparing it with Origen's exegesis of the same passages, hence determining whether or not Heracleon might have used this term.

## 9. Historical Jesus

(Adriana Destro, Mauro Pesce)

**Saturday, October 1**  
**9:00 – 11:00 (Joint Session AM 1)**

**Mauro PESCE (Università di Bologna)**

***The Sources of Jesus' Certitude: Was Jesus a Mystic?***

Divine polimorfism in Judaism. Why and through which ways and experiences was Jesus certain of his ideas and affirmations? Certitude and incertitude of Jesus. Jesus' experiences of contact with the supernatural world. Prayer and theophanic sonship. Jesus' prayer. Jesus' baptisms. Exorcisms and healings.

**Michael DAISE (The College of William & Mary, Williamsburg)**

***Destroying and Rebuilding the Temple: Light from Flavius Josephus***

The *logion* of Jesus destroying and rebuilding the temple occurs in five contexts. In Matthew, Mark and Acts it appears in Jesus' trial before the Sanhedrin (Matt 26:59-61; Mark 14:57-58), Jesus' crucifixion (Matt 27:39-40; Mark 15:29-30) and Stephen's trial before the Sanhedrin (Acts 6:12-14); and in these episodes it is cast as being falsely ascribed to Jesus. In John and the Gospel of Thomas, by contrast, it appears either as Jesus'

response to the Jews' demand that he legitimate his temple cleansing (John 2:18-21) or in isolation (Gos. Thom. § 71); and in both cases it is articulated by Jesus himself, with the modifications that (a) in John the Jews (rather than Jesus) will do the destroying and (b) in Thomas the 'house' will not be rebuilt. The offense tendered by this saying is thought to lie in a blasphemous antipathy towards the temple; that is, its affront to Jews is presumed to derive from Jesus' wish to 'demolish' the standing temple. It has not been noticed, however, that the language of this dictum reflects the language used by Josephus for Herod's renovation of the sanctuary (*Antiquities of the Jews* 15.380-425); and, further, that, when examined in light of Herod's purpose for that renovation, it, in fact, connotes the enthronement of a new dynasty. This paper will make such an examination and, in its light, will revisit the *loci* in which this *logion* appears with a view toward reframing the implications they carry for Jesus' messianic consciousness, trial and crucifixion.

**Friday, September 30**  
**9:00 – 11:00 (Joint Session AM 1)**

**Andrea NICOLOTTI (Università di Torino)**

***The Scourge of Jesus***

According to the Gospels, Jesus suffered the flagellation before his crucifixion. The texts do not clarify the form and materials of the scourge that was utilized. Since the beginnings of the modern era, several commentators have speculated about the scourge's form, on the basis of the Greek-Roman literary evidence and with reference to flagellation relics. In the last few centuries, scholars have provided new indications that are exemplified in great dictionaries and encyclopaedic works of Greek-Roman archaeology and antiquities. However, a close re-examination of the whole evidence compels us to dismiss nearly all data and to conclude that we know almost nothing about the materials and form of the scourge used at Jesus's time.

## 10. History of the Research on Jesus in Modern and Contemporary Times

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

**Friday, September 30**  
**11:15 – 13:00 (Parallel Session AM 2.B)**

I. Seminar Session

Discussion of Some Texts about Jesus in the Works of Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza

**Anna Lisa SCHINO (Università di Roma "La Sapienza")**

**Hobbes e la storia sacra: due patti politici (Abramo e Mosè) e un patto salvifico (Cristo) // *Hobbes and Sacred History: Two Political Covenants (Abraham and Moses) and a Spiritual One (Christ)***

(ITA) Hobbes presenta tre patti stretti tra Dio e gli uomini: i primi due sono patti politici mediati da Abramo (*De cive* XVI, 3-7; *Lev.* XXXV e XL) e poi da Mosè (*De cive* XVI, 8-10; *Lev.* XXXV e XL), che coinvolgono il solo popolo ebraico. Completamente differente è il terzo, rivolto all'intera umanità e di cui è mediatore Gesù (*De cive* XVII; *Lev.* XLI).

(ENG) Hobbes discusses three great covenants involving Gods. He refers to the covenant that God made with Abraham by which God established a prophetic kingdom (*De cive* XVI, 3-7; *Lev.* XXXV e XL). This covenant was repeated by Moses (*De cive* XVI, 8-10; *Lev.* XXXV e XL). Deeply different is the new covenant of which Jesus is the mediator and involving all mankind (*De cive* XVII; *Lev.* XLI).

**Pina TOTARO (CNR / ILIESI, Roma)**

**Il Cristo 'secundum spiritum' e 'secundum carnem' in Spinoza. Cristianesimo, ebraismo, messianesimo o ateismo? // *'Christus Secundum Spiritum' and 'Christus Secundum Carnem' in Spinoza: Judaism, Christianity, Messianism, or Atheism?***

(ITA) Il termine *Christus* conta oltre 50 occorrenze nel *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Altre occorrenze sono presenti nell'Epistolario e, seppure più raramente, nell'*Ethica*. Come interpretare questa presenza così

consistente in un autore di nascita ebreo, espulso dalla Sinagoga e poi accusato di essere di volta in volta cristiano, eretico, ateo? Si propone una scelta di testi di Spinoza, per lo più dal suo *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670), come base per una riflessione sulla presenza e l'interpretazione della figura di Gesù nell'opera di un autore "eretico per tutte le chiese", per il quale certamente la figura di *Christus* è sganciata dalla "comprensione della sua morte e resurrezione come evento salvifico". Nel *Tractatus theologico-politicus* troviamo un'esplicita dichiarazione in merito al proprio metodo di interpretazione della Scrittura che consiste nell'ammettere "soltanto quei principi e quei dati che dalla Scrittura stessa e dalla sua storia si ricavano", in un senso apparentemente simile al calvinismo delle Province Unite dell'epoca. Nel *Tractatus theologico-politicus* Spinoza usa sempre e soltanto l'espressione *Christus*. Si tratta di una precisa scelta lessicale che sottolinea la piena coscienza del carattere speciale del termine "Cristo", o è solo una scelta casuale? Come interpretare questa particolarità? In Spinoza è presente o assente il senso della messianicità di Gesù indicata dal termine *Christos*, almeno nel senso tradizionalmente inteso? Nel *Trattato* ci sono molti elementi possono essere riferiti al soggetto di "Gesù storico", o per la storicità di Cristo, per la storia della sua vita e al ruolo di apostoli in relazione alla nascita del cristianesimo ben oltre la morte di Cristo.

(ENG) The term *Christus* occurs more than 50 times in Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. It also occurs in the *Letters* and, more rarely, in *Ethica*. How can we interpret such a consistent presence in a Jewish-born author, expelled from the Synagogue and then considered at different times a heretic and an atheist? I have collected some of Spinoza's texts, mostly from his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670) [TTP], for discussion on the presence and interpretation of the figure of Jesus in the work of an author considered a "heretic for all churches", and for whom the figure of Christ is completely detached from the "understanding of his death and resurrection as a saving event". In TTP Spinoza proposes his method of interpretation of the Scriptures. It consists of admitting "only those principles and data obtained from the Scriptures and its history". Spinoza uses only the term *Christus*. Is this a precise choice that emphasizes the full awareness of the special nature of the word 'Christ', or is it just a random choice? How can we interpret this peculiarity? In Spinoza is there the sense of the Messiahship of Jesus that the term Christ indicates, or not? In TTP there are many elements which could refer to the subject of the "historical Jesus", to the history of his life and death and to the role of the apostles in relation to the birth of Christianity.

## II. Papers Session

### **Cristiana FACCHINI (Università Di Bologna)**

#### ***Religious Polemics and 'Regimes of Historicity': Interpreting the Magen wa-Herev of Leon Modena***

My paper aims to present some chapters of Leon Modena's anti-Christian treatise, *Magen wa-herav*. I will analyze the structure of the whole text and its relationship with the medieval tradition in order to detect why this work has been praised as particularly original. Moreover, I will read and comment upon some parts where Leon describes Jesus' activities against the background of second Temple Judaism. At the end I will delve into practices of historical writing and 'regimes of historicity' in order to place Modena's work and his understanding of Christianity.

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

#### ***La rivalutazione ebraica di Gesù: tra filosofia e ricerca storica // The Jewish Revaluation of Jesus: Among Philosophy and Historical Research***

(ITA) Il contributo ebraico alla valutazione della figura di Gesù è un tema che interessa in maniera crescente sia il dibattito scientifico della Storia del Cristianesimo, sia quello della Storia dell'Ebraismo. Il mio obiettivo è proporre alcuni quesiti in merito alla considerazione di matrice ebraica di Gesù per riflettere, in primo luogo, sul suo carattere 'ebraico'; in secondo luogo, per cercare un collegamento tra la rivalutazione, e in un certo senso la ri-appropriazione, della figura gesuana con la formazione della moderna esperienza identitaria ebraica. Ci si deve chiedere se il ruolo dei pensatori ebrei sia tributario di un modo specifico di interpretare Gesù e quali siano stati i suoi diversi effetti. Si presenteranno alcuni contributi storiografici recenti che cercano di spiegare questi nessi e si proporranno delle ipotesi d'interpretazione offerte da alcuni intellettuali ebrei (da M. Mendelssohn ai più recenti contributi scientifici, passando per J. Salvador, H. Graetz, A. Geiger e altri). La voce ebraica su Gesù (e su Paolo) si modella sotto le spinte e i freni del cambiamento storico, e risponde a esigenze dettate dalle contingenze culturali e dalle dinamiche di potere. La partecipazione degli storici e dei pensatori ebrei sembra aver contribuito a svincolare la figura di Gesù dallo spazio confessionale dove la critica cristiana lo aveva confinato. Inoltre, ha incoraggiato l'apertura di un autentico dialogo ebraico-cristiano, superando quelli che per secoli sono stati soltanto contrapposti monologhi, alimentati da una parte dalla rivendicazione identitaria cristiana e, dall'altra, dalla necessità ebraica di autotutelarsi.

(ENG) The Jewish contribution to the study and evaluation of Jesus as a historical figure is an issue that generates a rising interest both in the scientific debate of History of Christianity, and of Jewish Studies. My aim is to pose some questions about the Jewish's consideration of Jesus to reflect, firstly, upon his 'Jewish' character; secondly, to attempt a link between the revaluation (and, in a sense, the re-appropriation of this figure) with the formation of modern Jewish identity. One might wonder whether the role of Jewish thinkers is tributary to a specific way of interpreting Jesus and what were its different effects. We will present some recent historiographical considerations that attempt to explain these links, and we will discuss an array of interpretations from the works of several Jewish intellectuals (from M. Mendelssohn to the latest scientific contributions, through J. Salvador, H. Graetz, A. Geiger and other). The Jewish point of view on Jesus (and Paul) is modelled after the thrusts and the brakes of historical change, and responds to the needs dictated by the cultural contingencies and the dynamics of power. The participation of Jewish historians and thinkers seem to have helped to release the figure of Jesus from the confessional space where the Christian critique had confined him. In addition, such participation encouraged the opening of an authentic Jewish-Christian dialogue, going beyond the 'opposing monologues' (fostered by the claim of Christian identity and by the Jewish need for self-protection) that were the norm for centuries.

## 11. Jewish History and Hellenistic Judaism

(Dario Garribba, Cristina Termini, Marco Vitelli)

**Thursday, September 29**

**15:00 – 16:45 (Parallel Session PM 1.B)**

**Fernando BERMEJO RUBIO (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid)**

### ***The Fourth Philosophy and Violence***

According to a widespread view, Judas the Galilean and his followers advocated the use of violence to oppose the Roman rule. According to other scholars, however, this is wrong: Richard A. Horsley has denied the violent nature of Judas' stance, and his view has been endorsed by others (C. Evans, J.D. Crossan...). Horsley's arguments, however, are far from compelling. My aim is to rethink this issue, in order to show that the so-called "Fourth Philosophy" must have been more complex than usually assumed, thereby integrating several stances towards violence.

**Dario GARRIBBA (Pontificia Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Meridionale, Napoli)**

### **Fiscus Iudaicus e giudaicità. L'impatto del Fiscus sulla definizione dell'identità giudaica // *Fiscus Iudaicus and Jewishness: The Impact of Fiscus Iudaicus on Jewish Identity***

(ITA) A partire dalla metà degli anni '90 del secolo scorso è stata prestata una crescente attenzione alle implicazioni identitarie, relazionali e sociali che l'istituzione del *Fiscus Iudaicus* comportava. Una tassa imposta a tutti i giudei residenti nell'impero imponeva alle autorità preposte all'esazione una definizione di chi potesse essere riconosciuto come giudeo e quindi soggetto al pagamento. E costringeva le stesse comunità giudaiche distribuite nell'impero e i diversi orientamenti interni al giudaismo (non ultimi, i cristiani) ad adattare la propria comprensione di sé alla luce del *fiscus* e di ciò che questa tassa comportava. Su questi aspetti intenderà soffermarsi il presente contributo, confrontandosi con le posizioni, tra gli altri, di M. Goodman, M. Heemstra, J. Rives.

(ENG) In the last decades has been taken an increasing interest in the implications on identity and social relationships that the the *fiscus iudaicus* entailed. The tax, imposed on all Jews living in the empire, demanded that the imperial authorities were to offer a precise definition of who could be recognized as a Jew and therefore subject to the payment. The *fiscus* also prompted Jewish communities in the Empire and the various internal guidelines to Judaism (not least, the Christians) to adapt their self-understanding in the light of the new, punitive tax. On these aspects dwell deemed this contribution, dealing with the positions, among others, by M. Goodman, M. Heemstra, J. Rives.

**Paolo CIMADOMO (Università di Napoli "Federico II") (with L. DI FRANCO and S. LA PAGLIA)**

***Munera in Judaea: From the Tel Shalem Bronze Statue of Hadrian to the Local Perception of the Gladiatorial Combats***

Public spectacles were very popular in ancient Roman world, even in Palestine, attracting mostly urban people. Herod the Great introduced many of the Roman spectacles in his reign: several Jews accepted these practices, although many other condemned them. The theatrical performances, chariot races and athletic competitions were easily accepted by the populations of ancient Palestine, who did not similarly approve gladiatorial spectacles: the scarcity of amphitheatres in this region could be a proof, although combats were performed also into theatres. Starting from new considerations regarding the decoration of the bronze statue of Hadrian found in Tel Shalem, in the territory of Scythopolis, and now at the Israel Museum of Jerusalem, this paper will focus on gladiatorial performances. In particular, the aim of this study will be to define and better understand if and how, during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, Roman authorities have used gladiatorial combats as political and cultural instruments, and which was the perception of Jewish people.

**Ariel LEWIN (Università della Basilicata) / Donata VIOLANTE (Ph.D. Stud., Univ. della Basilicata)**

***Il ceto dirigente della Giudea nel I secolo // The Ruling Class of Judea in the 1st Century***

(ITA) La classe dirigente ebraica della Giudea nel periodo seguente alla provincializzazione non fu capace di porsi come un efficace punto di contatto fra i provinciali ed il governo romano. Questo studio intende discutere vari aspetti politici, religiosi e culturali che ostacolarono il loro compito.

(ENG) The ruling class of Judaea of the period following the provincialization was not able to become an effective link between provincials and Roman government. The present study will discuss several political, religious and cultural elements that hindered their task.

## 12. Mark and the Other Gospels

(Mara Rescio)

**Friday, September 30  
15:00 – 16:30 (Joint Session PM 1)**

**Sandra HÜBENTHAL (Universität Passau)**

***The Portrayal of Jesus and Jesus Traditions in the Gospel of Mark***

As the first narrative text about Jesus, the Gospel of Mark always held a distinct position in historical and especially historical Jesus research. In the aftermath of the cultural turn, the text is today no longer regarded as a source providing information about how things have actually taken place, but with an increasingly scholarly interest perceived as a witness to Jesus memories, displaying a Jesus remembered. Reading Mark as an artefact of Early Christian collective memory has further paved the way to understanding the text as a source of distinct reception of Jesus and Jesus tradition – woven into a founding story for the generations to come. The paper draws from my contribution for the emerging reference work "Jesus Traditions in the First Three Centuries" (Ed. Helen Bond, Chris Keith and Jens Schröter) and will reflect upon the hermeneutical shaping of the image of Jesus in Mark's Gospel, considering how the text is both indebted to previous receptions of Jesus and providing a unique image of Jesus in the light of its social circumstances.

**Mara RESCIO (CISSR, Bologna)**

***"And the Fever Left Her..." – A Papyrological Reading of Mark 1:29-31 and Parallels***

The aim of this paper is to move a first step toward a systematic reading of the synoptic miracle stories in the light of documentary papyri, along the lines of the 'Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament – Papyrological Commentaries on the New Testament' (PKNT) international series published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Göttingen, 2003–). The analysis will focus on the first healing story recurring with triple attestation in the Synoptic Gospels, namely the healing of Simon/Peter's mother-in-law (Mark 1:29-31 // Matthew 8:14-15 // Luke 4:38-39). The story is very short in all three versions, and apparently one of the

less impressive for modern readers, since Jesus' healing seems to involve a 'simple' case of fever. One aspect of the inquiry, therefore, will consist of isolating the semantic area relating to fever in documentary papyri and semi-literary texts (such as medical treatises, prescriptions, amulets, and magical papyri). What do these sources tell us about fever, and how can they help us to interpret the Gospel account? Were the authors of the Synoptic Gospels influenced by or aware of the Greco-Roman medical terminology? And what can be said about their portrait of Jesus as a healer? What kind of relationship did they intend to suggest between Jesus and the healing practitioners of the time?

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

***Jesus' Prayer on the Mount of Olives, the Swords and Roman Empire (Lk 22:39-46)***

The Lukan pericope of Jesus' prayer on the Mount of Olives distinguishes itself by parallel versions for different reasons, but normally it is not noticed that the Jesus here faces the "agonia" in Gethsemane after having rejected two swords during the Last Supper (Lk 22:38), and another one during his arrest (Luke 22:49). Verses Lk 22:43-44 (the angel that appears to Jesus, the blood sweat and the struggle) are now considered Lukan (C. Clivaz, K.O. Sandnes). An important element for the interpretation of this scene comes from the sense that one gives to the angelic figure that appears to Jesus, which received several explanations: a reference to the temptation of Jesus at the beginning of his ministry; a reference to the angel that threatens the life of Abraham in *Testament of Abraham* (F. Bovon); the angel who comforts Elijah (R. Meynet). But a stronger connection is with the scene of Jacob wrestling with God in Genesis 32 (R. Hayward), whose person will be soon interpreted (even in the first century CE) as an angel, and then as the *alter-ego* of Esau, or Edom, that is, for many sources, Rome itself. Empire Studies have highlighted several aspects of the attitude of Jesus' movement towards Roman Empire, but Lk 22:39-46 has not been considered from this perspective, yet. Along with other scholars who believe that Jesus and his disciples did not intend to overthrow the Roman Empire, Luke, with this "apocalyptic" scene, shows that the struggle of Jesus is a cosmic one, so that the confrontation with Rome becomes theological, more than political.

### 13. Methodological Questions: Memory, Cognitive Studies, Sociology, Anthropology

(Roberto Alciati, Emiliano R. Urciuoli)

**Thursday, September 29  
11:15 – 13:00 (Joint Session AM 2)**

**Emiliano R. URCIUOLI (Max-Weber-Kolleg, Erfurt)**

***"I Have Nothing Else to Live By": Discomforting Religious Individualization as a Comfort-Zone Religiosity***

A maximalist handbook for a safe Christian everyday life, Tertullian's treatise *On Idolatry* is also a priceless document for investigating what modern 'psy' disciplines use to label as 'personal religion'. The paper focuses on chs. 3-8 of the text – the dispute with the 'idol-makers' – in order to show that the need to make a living in a societal system which does not recognize Christianity has triggered job-oriented forms of individual appropriation of religious representations and practices circulating among Christian groups. I argue that the pressure to work in ways that are compatible with the given social organization of labor have ignited processes of 'religious individualization'. To say it with the Marx-Engels duo, the creative consumption of some Christian patterns of religiosity, which are increasingly defined and controlled by small-group leaders, has been inspired by material exigencies 'arise(n) from historical-life processes'. Relations of production and labor stand out among them. The main risk with ancient religious individualizations is to adopt and advertise concepts of the self-attuned to the members of the (modern) white middle class and aligned to the political economic paradigm of our time. To avoid this, it is necessary: a) to draw attention on the diverse conditioning biases and confrontational realities with which the individual agency is woven together; b) to highlight the possible 'accommodationist' scope of the individual appropriations of religious systems, thereby (indirectly) showing the 'feel-good' agenda which is likely to underlie any fashionable and market-oriented survey on 'personal religions'. The paper is aimed at showcasing both the *operational constraints* and the *socially pacifying features* of some early Christian religious individualizations. Strategy is twofold: while attempting to *theoretically* discomfort religious individualization by pointing to its multiple obstacles, I will describe Tertullian's efforts to *concretely* obstruct any comfortable appropriation of Christian beliefs and practices.

**Daniel ULLUCCI (Rhodes College, Memphis)**

***Spiritualization and the Rhetoric of Simplification***

This paper attempts to reframe our scholarly discussion of a key rhetorical concept in many early Christian texts: the concept of 'spiritualization.' Many Christian texts claim that Christian practices are superior to Greco-Roman practices and Jewish practices because they are more 'spiritual.' Scholars have not paid sufficient attention to theorizing such claims as examples of competitive rhetoric. Previous scholarship, for example the work of Guy G. Stroumsa, proposes that scholars should understand the rise of 'spiritualization' within early Christianity as part of a general trend of internalizing religion, which Stroumsa argues characterized Late Antiquity. In opposition to such models, this paper attempts to theorize the discourse on 'spiritual' practices as an example of competition between different modes of religiosity, as developed by the work of Harvey Whitehouse. It also incorporates comparative example of competitive discourse on the 'spiritual' from Craig Martin. The project, thus, attempts to use current social scientific models and cross-cultural comparative data to redescribe the early Christian discourse on 'spiritual' practices. I argue that terms like 'spiritual' are used competitively by a particular class of elites as a counter to the complex theologies of the type of religious experts that Whitehouse calls 'Doctrinal Mode' experts. In short, the paper theorizes the rhetoric of the 'spiritual' as an attempt to return to what Whitehouse and Boyer call Cognitively Optimal models. This redescription of 'spiritual' as a competitive, not descriptive, term, is critical for understanding how Christian worship practices spread throughout the ancient Mediterranean. The paper ultimately argues for the usefulness of cognitive theory in redescribing early Christian data.

**Cristiana FACCHINI (Università di Bologna)**

***When the Body Speaks: Preliminary Remarks on Religious Individualization and Body Practices in the Early Modern Period***

After the Reformation much of European religious landscape became fragmented by the formation of new religious communities, which reinvented their tradition accordingly, through a selection of a usable religious past. This paper aims to present an on-going research on forms of religious individualization and body practices related to a set of different religious experiences that range from mysticism to collective enthusiasm, spirit possession and miraculous healing. Against this backdrop I will analyze how 'religious enthusiasm' emphasized the relationship between body and religious agency, while detecting whether spirit possession, visions, and 'prophetic' behaviors were practices that activated forms of individualization, especially when they triggered forms of spirit possession. I will present few cases of study that cross the religious divide, presenting some new theoretical approaches which likely link social and cognitive sciences.

**Saturday, October 1**

**9:00 – 11:00 (Joint Session AM 1)**

**Roberto ALCIATI (Max-Weber-Kolleg, Erfurt)**

***"God Is Never Anything Other than Society": A Bourdieusian Interpretation of Tertullian's Theology***

According to Pierre Bourdieu, all the manifestations of social recognition which make up symbolic capital (visibility, celebrity, admiration, love...) are manifestations of the grace (*charisma*), which gives them not only a 'theodicy of their own privilege' – as Max Weber said of religion – but also a theodicy of their existence. Like all (early) Christian theology, Tertullian's first question springs from theodicy: Is there one god, good and true, who is creator and ruler of this world of evil and chaos? The constant answer is that such a god is credible, if he has, in Jesus, redeemed the world which he has made. To this answer there were two main objectors, the Jews and Marcion, which force Tertullian to define his anti-Jewish and anti-Marcionite theodicy. But because, as Bourdieu said, every theodicy is always a sociodicy, the principal aim of this paper is to understand how Tertullian's – and, generally, theologians' – theodicy may be intended as a sociodicy. We usually read that in a Christian empire theodicy ceased to be the first question, until Augustine faced the end of empire in his *City of God*, but Bourdieu shows clearly how this is only a misunderstanding related to the concept of 'double profit'. The theodicy/sociodicy is never dealing with a future consummation in Christ's return. It always works in the society and for the society. A second – and more general – aim of this paper, then, is to show how Bourdieu's theory may save our researches from becoming a pure rationalist positional formalism with disembodied agents engaging in strategies to accumulate different kinds of capital. On the contrary, this approach allows understanding the social agent as a physical, embodied actor, subject to developmental, cognitive and emotive constraints and affected by the very real physical and institutional configurations of the religious field.

## 14. Papyrology and Early Christianity

(Peter Arzt-Grabner)

**Friday, September 30**

**9:00 – 11:00 (Joint Session AM 1)**

**Peter ARZT-GRABNER (Universität Salzburg)**

### ***How Old Was Jesus at the Start of His Mission? The Papyrological Evidence and Impacts for the Calculation of Jesus' Year of Birth***

Luke 3:1-4 offers the most exact date of the whole New Testament when telling the readers of this gospel that John the Baptist started to preach in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar, i.e. 28-29 CE. And in Luke 3:23 we read that Jesus was “about 30 years old” when he started his mission. Many scholars argued that the age of thirty should be taken symbolically, in analogy to 2Sam. 5:4, Gen. 41:46, or Ezek. 1:1. Others have interpreted the Greek term ὡσεὶ as a hint that thirty has to be taken as a rounded number. But a careful look into papyri or ostraca of the time shows a differentiated picture: furnishing the age of someone in the form of ὡς ἐτῶν is so commonly used in thousands of papyri and ostraca that it's impossible that all these could be rounded numbers. And as can be shown by census declarations, the given ages of people are approximately accurate and little affected by age rounding; in general, the declarants were not guessing when they declared their ages. In other documents, especially family archives, which are not related to the census, it may occur that the given ages of an identical person are not always consistent over the years, but if so, the differences are in the majority differences of only one year. This contemporary papyrological evidence allows for giving Jesus' age in the later part of or shortly after the 15th year of Tiberius as more or less exactly 30 years. It also allows for a calculation of the year when Jesus was born, a calculation that is in consistency with both the death of Herod the Great and the reign of Tiberius, and that might be more reliable than astronomical calculations about the star of Bethlehem.

**Sabine R. HÜBNER (Universität Basel)**

### ***The Oldest Christian Letter on Papyrus***

As part of a bigger project on the expanded re-edition of the Basel papyrus collection, I am currently preparing a revised edition of P.Bas. 16 – allegedly the oldest Christian private letter on papyrus. A certain Arrianus write to his brother Paulus about business and family matters, about their father planning to visit, a certain Herakleides who was nominated to the city council, the request for fish sauce, etc. and uses in his final clause the *nomen sacrum* ἐν κ(υρ)ίῳ. Rabel (1917) and Ghedini (1923) believed for paleographic reasons that the letter belonged to the first half of the third century, Naldini (1968) even believed for paleographic reasons that it belonged to the first quarter of the third century. This early dating, however, which assigns this letter a date around 50 years earlier than any other Christian private letter known from Egypt, has never been securely confirmed. I was now able to corroborate this very early date. By identifying individuals mentioned in this letter on the recto (Arrianus, Paulus, Herakleides) and in the account of the verso (Lucretius and Heron) with individuals known from the Herakleides dossier and the Heroninos archive, as well as for contextual reasons (nomination of Herakleides to the city council), the letter has a secure terminus antequem of 250 CE which makes it indeed the oldest Christian documentary evidence from Roman Egypt as well the oldest testimony of a *nomen sacrum* among the documentary papyri.

**Dorota HARTMAN (Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”)**

### ***The Babatha Archive and New Testament Research***

The importance of papyri for a better understanding of the Septuagint and the New Testament, was already pointed out at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century by Adolf Deissmann, and today a knowledge of the papyrological documentation, especially from Egypt, is recognized as fundamental, among other things, especially in the area of biblical lexicography. But besides the well-known Egyptian papyri, there are other texts originating outside Egypt that are more and more attracting the scholarly attention. Among these, a special place in relevance is occupied by the documentary papyri from the Judaean Desert, and especially those produced in the plurilingual milieu of the 2d century A.D., as the documents in the Babatha's Archive found in Naḥal Ḥever, a private archive of a Jewish woman, Babatha bat Shim'on, who took refuge and died in a cave during

the turmoils of the Bar Kochba revolt. Her archive includes Nabataean and Aramaic documents, but also 26 Greek documentary papyri, some of which with Aramaic and Nabatean subscriptions and/or signatures. In the present paper I will introduce some of the main linguistic features of the documents, showing various lexical and syntactical affinities with the New Testament. Furthermore I will also discuss some loci of the New Testament on which, according to some recent proposals, it seems that the documents of the Babatha Archive could shed new light.

**Friday, September 30**

**11:15 – 13:00 (Parallel Session AM 2.A)**

**Dan BATOVICI (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)**

***Reading Aids or Lectional Signs?***

This paper discusses a number of current theories (e.g. L. Hurtado, S. Charlesworth) concerning the purpose and function of para-textual features in early Christian literary papyri: *paragraphoi*, vacant end lines, *ektheses*, enlarged first letter of verse or chapter, blank spaces, medial and high points, dicolons, *diplae*, acute-like text division markers, miscellaneous strokes, etc. Based on a study of the papyri of ‘non-canonical’ writings—a corpus of evidence which tends to be understudied in this regard—this paper evaluates the basis for identifying the use of literary papyri in liturgical contexts, and calls into question in particular the implications which such theories draw with regard to the formation of the New Testament canon in Early Christianity.

**Eleonora Angela CONTI (Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, Firenze)**

**Termini di parentela dalla lingua d’uso quotidiano alla vita ufficiale cristiana // *Kinship Terms from Everyday Language to Official Christian Life***

(ITA) Lo scopo di questo contributo è indagare le testimonianze papirologiche di due termini di parentela, *amma* e *appa*, appartenenti al lessico affettivo infantile, e analizzare la loro evoluzione da un uso prettamente privato e familiare ad un’utilizzazione più specifica, e conseguentemente ufficiale, nel contesto cristiano, in particolare all’interno della vita monastica. Questa evoluzione, che emerge chiaramente dalle lettere private su papiro, comincia nel II secolo, quando si registra la prima attestazione del termine *amma* su papiro. Gli appellativi *amma* e *appa*, attestati anche in epoca pre-Cristiana, sono pertanto testimoni del processo di risemantizzazione del lessico di uso quotidiano nell’Egitto greco-romano avvenuto all’interno del mondo cristiano.

(ENG) The aim of this paper is to investigate the papyrological evidence about two kinship terms, particularly the child’s words *amma* and *appa*, and their evolution from a private use, typically inside the family, to a more extensive use, consequently more official, inside the Christian world and typically the monastic life. This evolution, which is clear from the private letters on papyri, begins in the II century, when we record the first evidence of the noun *amma* on papyri. The nouns *amma* and *appa*, also attested in pre-Christian era, testify the transition of the everyday Graeco-Roman language nouns to the christian language and the subsequent change of meaning.

**Marco STROPPA (Istituto Papirologico “G. Vitelli”, Firenze)**

**I rotoli cristiani delle origini // *The Early Christian Rolls***

(ITA) Negli studi papirologici recenti molto rilievo hanno avuto le ricerche sul passaggio fra le due forme di supporto, rotolo e codice e l’adozione di quest’ultimo formato da parte delle comunità cristiane. L’attenzione degli studiosi si è giustamente concentrata sulle testimonianze dei codici cristiani più antichi. Tuttavia, un ambito meno considerato è quello delle testimonianze di rotoli certamente cristiani: tali reperti coprono un ambito cronologico abbastanza ampio, dal II fino all’VIII secolo. La raccolta e l’analisi di circa una ventina di frammenti risalenti al II e III/IV secolo permette di approfondire la conoscenza delle caratteristiche materiali dei manufatti e di collocarli nel contesto sociale e culturale del tempo. L’indagine metterà a confronto vari elementi dei rotoli cristiani più antichi: il contenuto, il tipo di rotolo (in particolare l’uso di *recto* e *verso*), la datazione e la scrittura; saranno presentati in dettaglio alcuni papiri con caratteristiche eccezionali rispetto al quadro generale che emerge dalla documentazione.

(ENG) Among the papyrological studies of the recent years, many researches concentrated upon the transition between the two book formats, roll and codex, and the adoption of the latter by Christian communities. The scholars properly focused on the testimonies of the oldest Christian codices. However, a

less investigated field concerns the existence of rolls that are definitely Christian: such pieces cover a pretty wide timespan, ranging from the 2nd to the 8th Century. The collection and the investigation of about 20 fragments from the 2nd and the 3rd/4th Century allow us to get an insight on the technical and material features of these books and to view them inside the historical and social context of the early Christianity. In my paper I will compare different elements of early Christian rolls: their content, the kind of roll (in particular the use of recto and verso), the dating and the writing; I will also analyze in details some papyri which have special features compared to the general framework of the other documents.

## 15. Re-Dating the Early Christian Texts

(Claudio Gianotto, Enrico Norelli)

**Friday, September 30**  
**17:00 – 19:15 (Joint Session PM2)**

### I. Seminar Session

**Matthias KLINGHARDT (Technische Universität Dresden)**

***The Marcionite Gospel as the Origin of the Gospel Tradition***

**Respondent: Claudio GIANOTTO (Università di Torino)**

A reconstruction of the Gospel that was part of the collection of scriptures attributed to Marcion in the 2nd cent. will – almost inevitably and contrary to general belief from Irenaeus to Harnack and beyond – reveal that it is prior to the canonical Gospel of Luke. The literary priority of the Marcionite Gospel (Mcn) has consequences which challenge a number of basic insights of long standing in the fields of New Testament and Patristic studies. The seminar will briefly argue for the Mcn-priority and then explain the consequences for two areas: The inter-gospel relations (i.e., the Synoptic Problem and beyond) and to the history of the New Testament textual transmission. For this, a number of examples shall be discussed. The primary intention is to familiarize the participants with the new perspectives and to give them a “feeling” for the range of possibilities resulting from this approach.

### II. Papers Session

**Maurizio GIROLAMI (Facoltà Teologica del Triveneto, Padova)**

***Not Peace, but a Sword and Division: Lk 12:49-53 in Marcionite Texts***

The new books by D. Roth and M. Klinghardt about the Gospel of Marcion allow us to reconsider some difficult passages about the mission of Jesus: He has come to bring fire on earth, division and a sword. Tertullian complains that Marcion changed the Lukan text, even if the textual tradition is closer to Marcion than to the African writer. In the light of the synoptic tradition, the Gospel of Thomas and the Recognitiones of Pseudo-Clement, the pericope of Lk 12:49-53 is interesting as it gathers at least five logia which we nowhere find together. The fire mentioned in v. 49 is understood by Tertullian with Old Testament overtones, while Marcion reads in it a new Christological revelation. The reference to baptism in v. 50, unknown by Tertullian according to Harnack, Roth and Klinghardt, is well transmitted in the synoptic tradition, whereas division and sword in v. 51 are the very point where we are allowed to think that Tertullian knows a Lukan text older than Marcion. Last but not least the division among generations finds different interpretations in Matthew, Luke, and Marcion. The analysis of the Marcion text is of great interest to focus on the process leading to the final redaction of the Gospels and on the reception history of the words of Jesus.

**Thomas WITULSKI (Universität Bielefeld) (\*)**

***The Letters to the Seven Churches and the Main Body of the Book of Revelation***

The letters to the seven churches (Rev 2f.) and the main body of the Book of Revelation (chapters 4–22) obviously date back to different times of origin. The seven letters focus on internal Christian conflicts but do

not reveal any fundamental conflict with the authorities of the Roman Empire. In contrast, chapters 4–22 portray the image of Christianity being at a kind of war (πόλεμος) with the δράκων/σατανᾶς as the opponent of God and the Roman emperor as its earthly representative. Thus, it is assumable that the letters to the seven churches were written at another time than the main body of the Book of Revelation. These considerations let it seem historically reasonable that the author first wrote the letters to the seven churches. He later revised them and combined them with chapters 4–22 (which itself reflect the historical setting of origin the Book of Revelation) to create the Book of Revelation as it became part of the New Testament. In the course of this revision the author also made some additions to the letters, such as the Victor Sayings.

(\*) Not speaking.

## 16. Religious Practices and Experiences in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism and Early Christianity (2nd Cent. BCE – 4th Century CE)

(Luca Arcari, Daniele Tripaldi)

**Saturday, October 1**

**17:10 – 19:30 (Joint Session PM 2)**

**Luca ARCARI (Università di Napoli “Federico II”)**

***Emotions and Visionary Experiences in First-Century Judaism: Group Dynamics and Cultural Interactions among Jesus’ Followers***

This paper aims at reconstructing the group dynamics connected with the various forms of worship in honor of Jesus attested among his followers, especially in their function of emotional acts. These acts emerge as consequences of the first-person vision of Jesus, that Jesus who reveals himself during not-ordinary experiences of contact with the other-world. Starting from the direct vision of variously defined super-human beings, it is possible to reconstruct intra-Jewish “mental schemata” and, as a consequence, internal and external dynamics of self-definition and competition, concerning the “truest” worship in honor of Jesus, among his followers especially in the last phase of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. CE.

**Giovanni B. BAZZANA (Harvard University)**

***Speaking the Tongues of Angels: Intelligibility and Authority in the Debate on Glossolalia in 1 Cor 12-14***

Possession by the “spirit” of Christ constitutes the fundamental element in the religious experience of Paul and of his groups. In 1 Cor 12-14 famously Paul describes the contents of such experiences employing the traditional Jewish terminology of “prophecy” and the innovative label of “speaking in tongues”. To give order to the pneumatic practices of the Corinthian group Paul deploys a series of rhetorical arguments centered on questions of language intelligibility and of spiritual authority. Several exegetes have tried to connect the religious experience presupposed by Paul and the rhetoric that he deploys in these key chapters with hypotheses concerning the cultural and social makeup of the Corinthian Christ group. The present treatment builds on previous attempts to understand the Pauline experience of “being in Christ” as an instance of “spirit” possession. Such a move is rendered more effective and more productive when early Christian texts are compared with the rich ethnographic literature on possession as a way to help historical imagination. In the case of prophecy and speaking in tongues in 1 Cor an analysis informed by linguistic anthropology and ritual studies shows that the dialectic between intelligibility and obscurity is a locale in which authority is negotiated and social structures are constructed and reflected on.

**Brigidda BELL (Ph.D. Stud., University of Toronto)**

***Prophet for Hire: Remuneration in Early Christian Perceptions of Prophetic Legitimacy***

This paper examines early Christian accusations against those prophets who accepted wages as part of a larger conversation on appropriate compensation and exchange relationships, and analyzes how this is drawn into assessments of prophetic legitimacy. In *The Shepherd of Hermas*, the shepherd advises Hermas

that the *false* prophet “takes wages for his prophecy, and if he does not receive [wages] he does not prophesy” because “it is not possible that the prophet of god should do this” (43:12) and the Didache agrees, recording that if a prophet “asks for money, he is a false prophet” (11:9). Similar moral concerns about the remuneration of providers of divinatory services are present in the works of Greek and Latin authors who quip that “the entire *genos* of seers is fond of silver” (*Antigone* 1055). Yet seers were remunerated for their services, some very handsomely, and without question of their moral fibre. Contextualizing the early Christian evidence in Greek and Roman discussions of the legitimacy of seers of higher and lower social strata suggests that accusations of illegitimacy are related to perceived social standing, where relationships of patronage confer legitimacy in contrast to those employing a fee-for-service model.

**Eunate MIRONES LOZANO (Universidad de Salamanca)**

***Jewish Exorcism in Christian Context: A Case Study***

Demons, possession and magic are woven throughout Jewish tradition same as through Christendom since very old times. The first case of possession claimed by Jewish tradition goes back as far as King Saul. Josephus recounts incidents of possession and exorcism in his *Antiquities of the Jews*. Moreover, the Dead Sea Scrolls include several exorcism incantations and formulae, mostly directed against disease-causing demons. In rabbinic times we come across exorcisms performed by Jews; the most notable of them being the one performed by Simon ben Yohai who drove out the demon Ben Temalion from the daughter of a Roman emperor. My study focuses on a formulaic ceremony of exorcism taking place some centuries later in which the daughter of Emperor Basil I is exorcised by a Rabbi. I present it as a compilation of what it was this practice in Jewish traditions along the centuries, - especially in 1st and 2nd centuries CE-. I consider attentively all the works done on Jewish exorcism hitherto; in particular Bohak’s last research on exorcisms in the centuries before and after the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem. My tentative contention is that the essence of this kind of ceremony had such strong roots that its ritual hardly varies for centuries. Thus, we still find in Early Middle Ages episodes of exorcism with most of the features we find in ancient practices. It tells us also about the broad common denominator in the field of religious beliefs, around which members of different communities could be united, to turn for “help” from one another.

**Francesco MASSA (Université de Genève)**

***The ‘Mysteries’ in the 2nd Century, or How to Produce an Instrument to Challenge Pagans Cults***

What is a “mystery” in the Christian discourses of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD? What ritual practices and what teaching does this term imply? Too often the research focused almost exclusively on the relationship between the Christian texts and the use of the mysteric vocabulary in some of the Greek books of the Bible or in the Pauline epistles. This competition becomes evident in the ritual context. In fact, it is not possible to analyse the definition of the Christian “mysteries” without considering that, at the same time, some authors like Aelius Aristides, Athenaeus, Pausanias, and in particular Lucian and Julius Pollux substantially contributed to the interpretation of this category. The paper aims to investigate that, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, Christian take advantage the category of “mystery” as an instrument of competition against the Greek and Roman world, in which they lived. The study of the evidence will be based on three principal terms: *mysteria*, *teletai*, *orgia*. The texts analysed (Ignatius of Antioch, Justin, Theophilus of Antioch, Melito of Sardis) show that the “mysteries” are used differently not only according to the geographical context, but also depending on the specific narrative strategies and to the pragmatics of each discourse.

**William Arnal (University of Regina, Canada) (\*)**

***“The Spirit Goes Where It Will”: Ritual, Mobility, and Social Integration among Early Jesus-People***

I have argued elsewhere that the kinds of actions and practitioners frequently accused of “magic” in antiquity (and frequently identified as such by modern scholarship, as well) can be understood as extensions of “official” ritual practices extended outside of the spaces formally designated for them, and by practitioners who are not approved to function in those spaces. The effect is less subversive than it is integrative, serving to extend the reach of fixed institutions into a variety of local spaces and individual applications. This paper will treat Mark’s Jesus and the Paul of the undisputed letters as precisely such practitioners, and will examine how appeals to spirits, or to the Holy Spirit, help underwrite the legitimacy of ritual practices outside of ritual space.

(\*) Not speaking.

## 17. Transmission of Jesus' Words

(Mara Rescio)

Not planned for 2016.

## 18. Individual Papers

**Friday, September 30**

**9:00 – 11:00 (Joint Session AM 1)**

**Andrea NICOLOTTI (Università di Torino)**

*The Scourge of Jesus*

→ See 9. Historical Jesus, p. 21

**Saturday, October 1**

**9:00 – 11:00 (Joint Session AM 1)**

**Roberto ALCIATI (Max-Weber-Kolleg, Erfurt)**

*"God Is Never Anything Other than Society": A Bourdieusian Interpretation of Tertullian's Theology*

→ See 13. Methodological Questions, p. 27

**Renzo TOSI (Università di Bologna)**

**Lettura degli scolii del ms. GA 1424 // *The scholia of ms. GA 1424***

(ITA) Il GA 1424 è un manoscritto greco, pergameneo, datato al X secolo, contenente i Vangeli, gli Atti, le Epistole Apostoliche e l'Apocalisse di Giovanni. Esso inoltre presenta numerosi scolii, presumibilmente posteriori di un paio di secoli al testo: in essi sono ravvisabili due diverse mani, la prima delle quali offre numerosi commenti tratti in particolare da Origene e Giovanni Crisostomo (vari di essi sono inediti), la seconda riprende in particolare un testo denominato *Ioudaikon*, particolarmente interessato ai Realien ebraici.

(ENG) GA 1424 is a 10th century Greek parchment manuscript which contains the Gospels, the Acts, the Apostolic Epistles and John's Apocalypse. It offers a great variety of scholia, probably dating a couple of centuries after the text. In the scholia it is possible to identify two different hands: the first one offers different commentaries taken from Origen and John Chrysostom (many of which are unpublished); the second uses a source called *Ioudaikon*, particularly interested in Jewish Realien.

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