BOOK REVIEWS

Baumann, Notker, *Die Demut als Grundlage aller Tugenden bei Augustinus*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt 2009, ISBN 9783631585924, 334 p.

This research was defended as a doctoral thesis at the *Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum* in Rome. Baumann (1975, Konstanz, Germany) pursued here a fundamental theme in Augustine and elaborated it in an exemplary way. His attention in particular for the coherency between humility and self-knowledge as well as his comparison of Augustine's thought with that of his contemporaries and predecessors are groundbreaking.

Augustine's ideas on humility had already begun to take firm shape before the Pelagian controversy, although the aspect of grace in humility gradually became his main interest. Baumann attempts to show that humility in the church father's thought has an ontological priority over all the other virtues. Humility holds a special place among the virtues. It is not just a virtue, it is the fundamental Christian attitude, the base of all *uerae uirtutes*. The author investigates especially the texts in which Augustine speaks of humility in its relationship to other virtues. He endeavours to arrive at the root of Augustine's conception.

In the first chapter, the question is raised as to how Augustine conceived of virtue. Evidently his conception was quite original. The Roman *uirtutes ciuiles* were focused on the practioner and had to do with glory. Yet for Augustine, glory was not the point. Practicing virtues involved recognizing the place human beings occupy in the order of creation. In the ancient world, humility was primarily associated with weakness, while in Christianity it came to signify a strength. Augustine asserts that all virtues are an expression of God's love. They pertain to the order of love and are as such gifts from God which enable a person to act appropriately. A virtue can only be a true virtue if a person is focused on God. Christ gave us the example of lowering himself for the sake of mankind's salvation. As *Christus humilis*, He is not just a model to imitate. His self-deprecation and humility are sacramental and liberating: they deliver from sin.

The second chapter treats humility as self-knowledge. Humility runs parallel to self-knowledge and their relationship is reciprocal. As the adage "know yourself" which hangs above the temple at Delphi,

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Augustine underscores the importance of self-knowledge. At Delphi, the intention was to recognize that a human being was not God. Augustine, however, elaborates this more extensively by defining a human being's relationship to God: the human is a creature, God is the Creator. The realization of the profundity of this distinction makes a person humble. One is urged to turn inward to the soul. Everything which is alien and disturbing there must be removed in order to expose one's real self. When the first human was created, he was endowed with freedom of choice. Because of this freedom, he was exhorted to obey God. But due to his pride and disobedience, he fell prey to temptation. Thus, knowing oneself involves the recognition of sin and the fall of the human race. Yet an individual must also personally confess being a sinner: his giving priority to created things rather than to the Creator Himself and that he would rather enjoy created things instead of using them.

In Christ, God made humility manifest in two ways (*doctor humilitatis*). In the first way, Christ's humility effectuates the salvation of humans. In the second way, personal salvation takes place by recognizing one's personal debt: that is, by confessing these sins before God – not merely justifying oneself to Him. Truth must come to light and brought before God. The latter is of greater importance than doing good deeds. The *confessio peccatorum* is a means of acquiring self-knowledge and healing. Yet, actually, it is *Christus medicus* who makes healing possible. In humility, we must accept divine assistance. To be able to behave virtuously, humans require God's grace. Self-knowledge and a modest attitude are gifts of grace. Through the power of grace, humans are again free and capable of performing works while focused on God. In order for God's grace to become effective, humility is again necessary.

In chapter three, Baumann demonstrates how Augustine envisions humility as the foundation of all virtue. Humility and love are closely allied here. All virtues conjoin in these two. With humility as its foundation, love can continue to build further. True virtues are based upon the *uera pietas*, yet humility holds the primacy. True virtues are gifts from God. They require being focused on the true destiny of humans, on God himself. Humility is also essential to the cardinal virtues. The cardinal virtues, too, are considered manifestations of love. Christ's grace brings them forth. They are subordinated to the theological virtues of faith, hope and love. Faith is accompanied by humility. It cultivates faith. A close relationship exists between obedience and humility. Obedience is the mother of all virtue. It subsumes humility which should secure every good act. It precedes every good

act and accompanies it as well. Especially persons devoted to God are in need of humility to prevent them from becoming arrogant and bringing falsehood to their virtue of *continentia*. As the other virtues, *uirginitas* and *castitas* are God's gifts.

In the fourth chapter, Baumann investigates whether Augustine's conception of humility is bound to a particular tradition or whether it made a unique contribution to the *Ideengeschichte*. The researcher compares Augustine's notion to that of his predecessors and contemporaries. Humility as a virtue is extrinsic to ancient ethics. In a class-conscious and hierarchical society, modesty is not the goal. The classical elements which could have possibly contributed to Augustine's conception of humility should not be exaggerated. Plato and Aristotle taught that virtue should be goal-oriented. In approaching the gods, one should be conscientious, reasonable and avoid presumptuousness. This leads to self-knowledge. Stoics recognized the fortitude of being unpretentious. On the other hand, Israel has quite a different attitude. The people – as well as individuals – are God's partners in the covenant. The God of Israel chooses the humble and poor. The New Testament views servitude as positive. Christ comes to serve. As a result, humility became the core of Christian life. Thus the determining factor is not morality (which one acquires with one's own efforts and strength) but God's acts of grace. In contrast to Neo-Platonism, Augustine sees creatures and created things in a positive light. In his mind, the greatest distinction between classical and Christian thought is belief in the Incarnation, in which God appears in humility as Christ. Philo of Alexandria contrasted the littleness of humans with the exaltedness of God. Lack of pretentiousness is one of the sections in his virtue catalogue. In regard to God, a human should consider himself dust and ash.

Clement of Alexandria sees Christ as the exemplar of humility which is to be imitated. Clement associates humility with the Stoic *apatheia* and with Plato's notion of becoming similar to God. A reasonable person pleases God with his resemblance to Him. However Clement does not go so far as to make humility the central point of redemption. The idea that humility gives way to grace does not play a role in this thinking. Origen equates being humble with being modest and without pretention. It has to do with maintaining moderation. The Incarnation and suffering of Christ indeed serve as examples yet they are not accentuated as in Augustine's doctrine. For Clement, self-knowledge does not involve the recognition of being a creature, but the insight of being a sinner. Humility means voluntary humiliation and penance. He sees humility as a virtue but does not establish the

connection between it and loving God. Basil of Caesarea distinguishes between true and false modesty. Humility is by all means a virtue. A person must learn this from Christ. Gregory of Nyssa says that God asks us to learn humility and forbearance from Him. Then one will resemble God. Whereas humility, for Augustine, is a gift of God, for Gregory, it is attained by one's own strength. For John Chrysostom, as Augustine, humility occupies a special place. It is the mother of all virtues. It leads to self-knowledge yet does not include the realization of being a creature. Humility will be rewarded. Instead of identifying it with grace, John deems it as an effect of grace. The Incarnation as a manifestation of humility is not significant in John's thinking. Although the term humility often occurs in his rhetorical vocabulary, it is not a main theme in his theology as it is in Augustine's. Humility may not be a central concept in Ambrose's thought as it is in Augustine's, yet there are in fact parallels. For both, the lowliness of Christ is the starting point for a person to become humble. Becoming humble is the only way to become similar to God. It is the chief virtue. Virtues are given by God. Humility is also grace. For both thinkers, the recognition of being a creature plays a role in self-knowledge and humility, yet Ambrose lacks an articulated system which highlights the cohesion of the virtues.

This substantial and highly valuable study is certainly worth reading. It concludes with an impressive list of consulted sources (pp. 280-288), secondary literature (pp. 289-308), as well as several practical indexes (pp. 309-334).

Martijn Schrama o.s.a.

Berndl, Wilhelm, *Augustinus – Vordenker des Christentums. Ein Lebensbild*, Verlag tredition GmbH, Hamburg 2016, ISBN 978-3-7345-4482-8, 298 p.

Wilhelm Berndl, Studiendirektor a. D., legt mit seinem Buch "Augustinus – Vordenker des Christentums. Ein Lebensbild" (2016) nach seiner 2014 publizierten Beschreibung der Lebensgeschichte des Sokrates erneut eine Biographie vor. Unterdessen ist von ihm auch "Seneca. Ein Leben für oder gegen Kaiser Nero" (2017) erschienen.

Der Verfasser stellt das Leben des Augustinus chronologisch ("Sein Leben und Wirken […] verdient es, in seinem chronologischen Verlauf im einzelnen verfolgt zu werden", S. 11) in zwanzig Kapiteln (nebst Einleitung, Prolog und Epilog) dar. Er orientiert sich dabei an

Augustinus' Schriften (Augustinus' "eigenes Schrifttum ist es, das in der Fülle biographisch relevanter Aussagen jeder Legendenbildung zuvorkommt", S. 12) und der *Vita Augustini* des Possidius (S. 12f.).

In der Einleitung (S. 11-13) formuliert Berndl das Vorhaben des Buches: "Wollen wir also den Versuch machen, uns Augustin von Mensch zu Mensch zu nähern, ihn nicht allein dem analysierenden und forschenden Blick und Interesse der Wissenschaft zu überlassen" (S. 13). Ein Prolog (S. 14-21) bietet zeitgeschichtliche Hintergründe, Hinweise zum Aufstieg des Christentums zur Staatsreligion und zu den homöischen Streitigkeiten im 4. Jh. Das erste Kapitel (S. 22-31) setzt mit Augustins "Herkunft und frühe(r) Kindheit" ein und macht seine *Confessiones* zum Thema. Die Kapitel 2 bis 4 handeln von seiner "Knabenzeit" (S. 32-39), seiner "Adoleszenz" (mit dem Beginn der Rhetorikausbildung und dem Birnendiebstahl; S. 40-52) sowie der "Wiederaufnahme der Rhetorikstudien" (S. 53-60) in Karthago und seinem partnerschaftlichen Verhältnis zu einem Mädchen. Die Kapitel 5 bis 9 sind überschrieben mit "Wahrheitssuche" (in der Heiligen Schrift und im Manichäismus; S. 61-72), "Rhetorik-Lehrer in Thagaste" (mit Geburt seines Sohnes Adeodatus und dem Tod des Freundes; S. 73-81), "Die gespaltene Seele" (zwischen Geistigem und Weltlich-Sinnlichem; Diskussion mit einem führenden Manichäer; S. 82-86), "In Rom" (S. 87-93) und "In Mailand" (bei Ambrosius; S. 94-101). Die Kapitel 10 bis 15 lauten "Christ im Werden" (S. 102-108), "Mailänder Lebensprofil" (S. 109-123), "Transzendenz- und ‚Aussteiger'-Tendenzen" (S. 124-137), "Erlösung" (mit Entrückungsszene; S. 138-145), "Cassiaciacum" (mit Taufe; S. 146-162) und "Zurück nach Thagaste" (mit Tod der Mutter; S. 163-178). Die Kapitel 16 bis 20 tragen die Überschriften "Kirchlich-hierarchischer Aufstieg" (Priester- und Bischofsweihe; S. 179-203), "Seelsorger und Kirchenlehrer" (mit *De ciuitate dei*; S. 204-231), "Häresie des Pelagius" (der 31 Seiten umfassende, mit Abstand längste Abschnitt über antipelagianische Publizistik, Prädestinationslehre und 'Semipelagianismus'; S. 232-262), "Bischof und Mensch" (Alltägliches und Tod; S. 263-282) und "Nachleben" (Sorge um sein Vermächtnis; S. 283-290). Eine "Abschließende Würdigung" rundet das Buch als Epilog (S. 291-293) ab. Es folgt eine in Quellen und Literatur unterteilte kurze Bibliographie.

Wilhelm Berndls Buch über Augustinus wirbt mit einem auf dem Rückdeckel abgedruckten Statement von Prof. Dr. Dr. Christof Müller, dem Leiter des Zentrums für Augustinus-Forschung an der Universität Würzburg, der "die Arbeit ob ihres Kenntnisreichtums und ihrer Detailfülle loben (möchte), und zwar in vielerlei Hinsicht:

theologisch und philosophisch, aber vor allem auch philologisch und historisch. Sodann fällt positiv ins Auge, dass das reichhaltige Material konsistent und in sich harmonisch arrangiert und durchdrungen sowie geistreich interpretiert und zu einem stimmigen Gesamtgefüge gestaltet wurde." Dem ist uneingeschränkt zuzustimmen. Berndl beleuchtet die Persönlichkeit des Augustinus eingehend und verrät zwischen den Zeilen viel über seine eigene umfassende Bildung und Belesenheit (man denke an Xenophons Symposion, S. 264f.). Neben dem Blick eines Altphilologen ist auch der des geschulten Pädagogen (gerade in den Abschnitten zu Kindheit und Jugend) deutlich zu spüren.

Berndl gliedert sein Buch in Kapitel mit handlicher Länge. Verschiedene Themen werden schön dargestellt und erläutert, so etwa der Manchäismus (S. 62-66) oder die Astrologie/Wahrsagerei (S. 71f.). Hilfreiche, teilweise sehr ausführliche Anmerkungen erschließen auch dem unkundigen Leser Hintergründe und Zusammenhänge. Durchgehend schreibt der Verfasser einnehmend, engagiert und flüssig, er möchte einerseits sehr anschaulich ("vollgepumpt mit Testosteron bis zur Halskrause", S. 49), andererseits wieder ausgesprochen gewählt formulieren.

Der Kürze der Darstellung ist es geschuldet, dass Kaiser Konstantin einführend etwas holzschnittartig dargestellt wird. Denn dass dieser von Zeitgenossen bereits als durch und durch christlich wahrgenommen wurde, ist fraglich (S. 16f.). Unter Constantius II. wäre wohl vorsichtiger von "Homöern" als von "Arianern"/"Arianismus" (18) zu sprechen. Julian von Aeclanum ist leider nur eine knappe Seite gewidmet (S. 261f.).

Manches Zitat würde man gerne nachschlagen, doch häufig fehlen die Referenzen. Andere Anmerkungen (z. B. Anm. 269 oder 280) bieten lediglich eine CSEL-Angabe, aber keinen Verweis auf *epistula* 157 oder 167; weitere sind unvollständig (etwa Anm. 265f.). Der Leser stutzt ein wenig, wenn Berndl zur großen "abschließende(n) Würdigung" ausholt: "Wer wollte es nicht dem großen Hieronymus gleichtun und ihm [Augustinus] den Ehrentitel 'Zweiter Begründer des Glaubens' zuerkennen?" (S. 292). Eine solche (und dazu noch ernst gemeinte) Aussage seitens des Hieronymus wirkt angesichts der zeitweise schwierigen Beziehung der beiden Kirchenväter zueinander überraschend. Vermutlich – aber das ist eben nicht angegeben – rekurriert Berndl auf Hieronymus' *ep*. 141 (= Augustinus, *ep*. 195). Dieser Brief entstammt der zweiten Phase des Briefwechsels zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus. Da heißt es nämlich: "Die Katholiken verehren und rühmen Dich als Neubegründer des Glaubens".

Tatsächlich bildet dieser Brief ein kleines Enkomion auf Augustinus. Allerdings erkennt Hieronymus ihm den Ehrentitel 'Zweiter Begründer des Glaubens' nicht zu, sondern angeblich bezeichnen ihn die *catholici* als ein solchen. An einer derartigen Stelle zeigt sich: Bei aller bestimmt berechtigten Euphorie für Augustinus täte ein wenig Nüchternheit an manchen Stellen gut. Gleichwohl ist das nicht Berndls Ziel. Denn zur Frage von Wissenschaftlichkeit und Stil merkt er bereits einleitend an: "Sollte es […] geschehen, daß sich die Studie mehr Engagement erlaubt, als es die historische Objektivität verträgt und gutheißt, so mag man es nicht der Sache entgelten lassen. Denn es ist ja wohl so, daß nüchtern-unbefangene Zurückhaltung nicht in jedem Fall von Vorteil ist, vor allem dort nicht, wo der Außergewöhnlichkeit einer Person auch Außergewöhnliches in ihrer Darstellung geschuldet erscheint" (S. 13). Stellenweise ist das Buch enthusiastisch und aufbauschend (natürlich auch mitreißend) geschrieben. So findet sich über Augustinus: "Wahrer Leuchtturm in stürmischer Zeit sollte er werden, ein treusorgender Vater der Kirche, ein ‚Kirchenvater'. Wenn einer, dann trägt er den Ehrentitel mit Fug und Recht" (S. 21). Ein solcher Duktus kann eine gewisse Pauschalisierung zur Folge haben, die selbst bei einem Hilarius undifferenziert wirkt: "Wer einen Bischof Hilarius auf seiner Seite hat, dessen Sache ist wahrlich in guten Händen" (S. 18).

Die unter der Bibliographie zusammengestellte Literatur erweist sich als dürftig. Von Augustinus selbst finden nur vier Werke in den Quellen gesondert Erwähnung; aber das gesamte CSEL und die PL werden ohne Spezifizierung genannt. Allgemeinverständliche biographische Werke und Einführungen wie etwa Peter Brown, *Augustinus von Hippo. Eine Biographie* (1967), Ernst Dassmann, *Augustinus. Heiliger und Kirchenlehrer* (1993), Therese Fuhrer, *Augustinus* (2004), Christoph Horn, *Augustinus* (1995), Frederik van der Meer, *Augustinus der Seelsorger. Leben und Werk eines Kirchenvaters* (1951), Klaus Rosen, *Augustinus – Genie und Heiliger. Eine historische Biographie* (2015), Agostino Trapè, *Aurelius Augustinus. Ein Lebensbild* (1976/1988), werden nicht aufgeführt. Die stattdessen getroffene Auswahl wirkt (mit Ausnahme von Wilhelm Geerlings, *Augustinus – Leben und Werk*, 2002) eher willkürlich oder zufällig. Aber: Das Buch erhebt auch keinen wissenschaftlichen Anspruch.

Wilhelm Berndls "Augustinus" nimmt einen größeren Leserkreis in den Blick und handelt mutig über eine Persönlichkeit, zu der Sekundärliteratur Legion ist. Dabei bringt der Verfasser verschiedenste Facetten Augustins zum Leuchten: vorrangig allgemein menschliche, außerdem die des Kirchenvaters, Bischofs, Philosophen,

Rhetorikers und Schriftstellers. Bei diesem "Augustinus" handelt es sich um ein Buch, das das Leben und Wirken einer großen christlichen Persönlichkeit der Spätantike vor Augen führt und werbend Appetit machen möchte auf mehr.

Notker Baumann

Berzon, Todd S., *Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity*, University of California Press, Oakland 2016, ISBN 9780520284265, 320 p.

In *Classifying Christians*, Todd S. Berzon explores the genre of heresiology in its development throughout Late Antiquity. His inquiry follows two overarching approaches. On the one hand, he finds convincing parallels between the genre of Christian heresiology and broader (pagan) Greco-Roman currents of ethnography. On the other hand, he subjects heresiological literature to a critical "Foucauldian" analysis, in which he correctly points to the ties between heresiology and a growing church seeking justification in a theologically diverse Christianity. These two perspectives are never completely disconnected. Throughout the book, Berzon illustrates how the genre of ethnography was transformed by the Church Fathers to become a "Christianized" ethnography of heresies. He compares the ethnographical and heresiological stance of Antique writers to Victorian "armchair" ethnographers. This comparison opens a challenging perspective: whereas contemporary ethnography and anthropology has developed in such a way that the "other" is not only an object but also becomes a subject in field research, the situation for Late Antique ethnography is not the same. For this past era, we are mostly at the mercy of the ethnographers' and heresiologists' truth claims, which Berzon analyses critically and thoroughly in their various hermeneutic-epistemological implications. *Classifying Christians* is a splendid and challenging study, and a must-read for scholars in the field of Late Antique theological polemics. One aspect that could have been developed more satisfactory, is the exploration of the heresiologists' utterances on the limitations of knowledge as a rhetorical strategy. Possible typological errors (*e.g.* p. 108: "Galatia (Transalpine)" [instead of *Gaul*?]; p. 212: "teater" [instaed of *taeter*?]; p. 240: "with *his* infant heart… piously drunk in with *my* mother's milk") are few and far in between and do not hinder the overall reading experience. *Classifying Christians* is

written in an academic English of a very sophisticated level, immersive and engaging while intellectually challenging at the same time.

Aäron Vanspauwen

Cachia, Peter Paul, *Spirituality, Devotions & Traditions of the Augustinian Friars in Gozo*, Augustinian Province Malta, Bestprint Qrendi, Malta 2017, ISBN 978-99957-1-130-6, 399 p.

The name of Augustinian monk Fr Peter Paul Cachia of Victoria, Gozo is gradually becoming synonymous with the history of the Augustinian Order in the Maltese islands. The Augustinians arrived in Malta in 1413 but before 1453 they already had a priory on the island of Gozo. After publishing a book about the history of the priory and Augustinian church of Rabat, on Gozo, Cachia has now delved deeper into the history of the same priory and provided us with a detailed sketch of the various spiritualties, devotions and traditions of the Gozitan Augustinians.

The first part of the book focuses on the different characteristics of the Augustinian spirituality as they evolved in time on the island of three hills. The arrival of the monks in the middle of the fifteenth century must have been quite an event for the Christian community of the island. Gozo, suffering from the phenomenon of what has now been coined as double-insularity, always played a secondary role in the history of the archipelago. However there were exceptions to this rule; the discovery of the ancient poem *Tristia ex Melitogaudo* and its translation into English and eventual publication is a proof of this. Gozo must have maintained the Christian faith even during the Arab rule. Now, in the mid-15th century, Gozo was embracing the first Catholic religious order ever to arrive on the islands. Being part of the Kingdom of Aragon through their connection with Aragonese Sicily, at this point in time the Maltese islands had been consolidated once again in their Christian inheritance. The coming of the Augustinians served to enrich the Christian heritage of the tiny island of Gozo, an island which was very much a backwater and was to remain so under the Knights of St John. Within this historical milieu, the Christian community of Gozo must have been overjoyed to witness the arrival of a religious order with such an enriching history. The Augustinians came from Sicily since Malta formed part of the Sicilian province. The very fact that these monks envisaged a living on the small island is a proof in itself of a vibrant religious community on Gozo. Having

mentioned the Order of St John, it is vital to mention at this point that Fra Bartolomeo Bonavia was the Augustinian monk who served as an intermediary between the Knights and the Ottoman Pasha when the Turks attacked Gozo in what is now known as the Great Siege of Gozo of 1551.

The second part of the book studies the characteristics of the Augustinian devotions and their traditions. Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of God under the title of 'Our Mother of Consolation' known in Latin as *Mater Boni Consilii* can be considered as one of the major characteristics of the Augustinian presence on the island. Various paintings, statues and artefacts carrying this particular Marian title are studied in detail in Cachia's book. One cannot be far from the truth if he were to say that in the same manner that the Franciscans promoted devotion to the Immaculate Conception, and the Carmelites brought forward the devotion to Our Lady of Carmel, the Augustinians focused on Mary as the fountain of consolation and considered her their rightful protector. Cachia provides ample information about the various statues that adorn the church and priory of St Augustine of Victoria. Among these I would like to mention the statue of St Monica sculpted by Agostino Camilleri in 1924, the statue of Augustine also made in papier-mâché by the same Camilleri together with the statues of St Nicholas of Tolentine made in wood by an unknown artist that goes back to 1738 and another statue of St Nicholas of Tolentine made in papier-mâché by Agostino Camilleri in 1913. Since devotion to St Rita of Cascia is the prerogative of the Augustinians, I cannot fail to mention the statue of St Rita that Agostino Camilleri sculpted in 1916 and which still attracts many devotees especially on her feast day in May. The third and last part of the book focuses on other Augustinian traditions that were not tackled in the previous two chapters; this part takes into consideration the *ex-voto* that are to be found in the priory.

Fr Peter Paul Cachia's latest publication is the ideal source-book for all those who want to become friendly with the Augustinian presence in Gozo. The book is enriched by the beautiful photographs taken by young Gozitan photographer Anthony Grech; the photographs bring to life the artistic treasures by which the priory is endowed. Young art critic and researcher Paul Cassar gave his input from the artistic point-of-view; it was he who discovered documentation stating that Mattia Preti was the painter of the main altarpiece depicting the saintly bishop of Hippo. The last section of the book features the various *objets d'art*, paintings and statues that past priors, monks and benefactors

commissioned throughout the ages. *Spirituality, Devotions & Traditions of the Augustinian Friars in Gozo* which I consider as the *magnum opus* of Fr Peter Paul Cachia OSA is a celebration of the Augustinian's cultural, artistic and religious heritage on the island of Gozo, a heritage which is to be enjoyed and appreciated by one and all.

Geoffrey G. Attard

Delaplace, Christine, *La fin de l'Empire romain d'Occident: Rome et les Wisigoths de 382 à 551*, (Histoire. Série 'Histoire ancienne'), Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2015, ISBN 9782753542952, 373 p.

This study of the role played by the Visigoths in the end of the western Roman Empire, by Prof. Christine Delaplace of the University of Rennes, brings into print, with some revisions, a habilitation defended in the fall of 2008 at the University of Toulouse. It is the first monograph in French, or any language for that matter, to focus on the Visigothic settlement in Gaul: previous studies of the Visigoths have focused on Spain, such as A. Ferreiro, ed., *The Visigoths. Studies in Culture and Society* (Brill, 1999), which includes nine contributions on Spain but only one on Gaul. Delaplace divides her study into six main sections, "Sources, héritage historiographique et problématiques actuelles," "Les traditions diplomatiques de l'Empire romain," "382-418: Le rôle des chefs goths dans les guerres civiles de l'Empire romain," "418-455: L'évolution du rôle des fédérés wisigoths au sein de la pars occidentis," "455-477: De l'exercitus gothorum au regnum indépendant," and "Épilogue. 477-531. Les Wisigoths face à l'Orient et ses représentants en Occident." The study ends with an exceptionally thorough bibliography (pp. 305-359), and a brief index of personal and place names (pp. 361-368).

In her introduction, Delaplace discusses the genesis of her study and her methodological approach. She recalls (p. 10), "j'ai commencer a douter de l'interprétation traditionelle des événements," especially with respect to the creation of a "regnum indépendent des Wisigoths en Aquitaine en 418." The best way to approach the issue, Delaplace suggests (p. 10), "consistait donc à tout reprendre en détail, à s'obliger à la rigueur de tout vérifier à nouveau, tant les sources que les traductions proposées tant les événements que la longue chaîne de commentaires qui avaient pu être élaborés à partir de ces derniers."

Regarding her methodological underpinning, Delaplace continues (p. 10), "C'est ainsi que j'ai considéré que seule l'histoire événementielle pourrait résoudre les difficultés que je rencontrais." As for what she means by "histoire événementielle," Delaplace explains (p. 10), "L'histoire événementielle et politique est, me semble-t-il, la parente pauvre de la recherche française en histoire ancienne," suggesting that recent French historical studies have been dominated by "L'histoire religieuse et anthropologique, l'histoire des mentalités et des représentations et une approche littéraire des sources." Here, Delaplace appears to be referring to "histoire événementielle" as defined by Lacombe and Simiand (e.g., Paul Lacombe, *De l'histoire considérée comme science* [Paris: Éditions Hachette, 1894]; François Simiand, "Méthode historique et sciences sociales," *Revue de synthèse historique* [1903], 1-22, 129-157), that is, the history of events taking place over the short term, within a fixed chronology, as opposed to long-term processes that occur over the *longue durée*. Rather than being affected by long-term social, political, and economic influences, events are inter-connected by their sequence and chronology. Using the term "histoire événementielle" as if it were interchangeable with "histoire politique," Delaplace suggests (p. 11) that this volume will help to rectify an "absence du politique" in recent scholarship. Within the chapters of each section, and within the subsections of each chapter, Delaplace sticks to her plan, breaking down the discussion into a sequential series of political events that are analyzed in detail, with a painstaking discussion and analysis of the secondary literature.

Delaplace iconoclastically proposes to debunk a number of dearly held perspectives on the "fall" of the Roman Empire in general and the Visigoths in particular. For example, Delaplace not only argues against (p. 127) "l'historiographie ethnocentriste plus récente qui confère un rôle quasi messianique aux peuples de la Migration dans la construction du passage de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge," but also, regarding two of the marquee events of the early fifth century, suggests (p. 127) that the barbarian crossing of the Rhine in 406 and the sack of Rome were, so to speak, "fake news": "ne furent pas en soi des évènements importants… les contemporains eux-mêmes furent conscients du caractère limité de ces prétendues catastrophes." The crossing of the Rhine, Delaplace goes on to suggest (p. 128), even had a positive outcome for the empire: "contrairement à l'image traditionelle… le passage du Rhin par les Vandales, Alains et Suèves allait entraîner un apport de troupes barbares… dans les armées romaines de Gaule et d'Espagne." And, generally speaking, Delaplace opines (pp. 13-14) that "la disparition du pouvoir romain d'Occident n'était

pas forcement une bonne affaire pour … les Barbares" – given that the empire had been the primary source of economic support for barbarian leaders and groups.

More specifically, Delaplace challenges (p. 11) some fundamental assumptions regarding the establishment of the Visigoths in Aquitania, including not merely the initial establishment of a "royaume de Toulouse" in 418, but the very existence of a "royaume de Toulouse" at all prior to the last quarter of the fifth century. Subsequently, Delaplace continues (p. 11), there was "un grand royaume d'Aquitaine et d'Espagne wisigothique entre 477 et 511, puis au royaume ostrogothico-wisigothique d'Italie et d'Espagne de 511 à 531." The significance of the Battle of Vouillé in 507 thus is likewise downplayed.

With respect to the relationships between barbarians and Rome, Delaplace sees an apparent inconsistency between Roman demonization of barbarians on the one hand and their use of barbarian clients on the other, thus (p. 67, cf. p. 207), "le conflit apparemment insurmontable entre cette politique de paix envers les royaumes amis et l'idéologie impériale traditionnelle véhiculant l'image tout aussi traditionnelle du danger barbare." But, for the Roman government, these varied responses were part of a homogenous policy to use barbarians in the service of the Roman state. On the one hand, it was in the interest of the Roman government to publicize a barbarian threat; as Delaplace points out (pp. 26-27), "les empereurs d'Occident ont joué sur cette carte de la menace barbare pour justifier le maintien d'une force militaire… et pour justifier la légitimité du système impérial" (and here add to the bibliography, R.W. Mathisen, "Violent Behavior and the Construction of Barbarian Identity in Late Antiquity," in H. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity* [Ashgate, 2006], 27-35). And on the other hand, barbarians played a positive role in providing auxiliaries for the Roman army, as seen in the important discussion (pp. 61-65) of "Le système des Ètats clients," which goes so far as to suggest (p. 63) that "Ces royaumes faisaient en quelque sorte vraiment partie de l'Empire et leurs rois pouvaient être considérés à l'égal des gouverneurs de province." One might add that the civilizing influence of Rome also could turn bad barbarians into good barbarians who then could become contributing members of Roman society, as in Orosius' tale (*Hist.adv.pag*. 7.43.4-6) of how the Visigothic king Athaulf morphed into a defender of *Romanitas*.

Delaplace also devotes much attention (e.g., pp. 69-77) to the nature of Roman agreements with barbarian groups, and in particular to just was meant by the terms "foedus" ("treaty"), and "pax" ("peace"). For the period 332-394, Delaplace identifies (pp. 81-82) no

less than seventy treaties. The book then narrows down to focus on the relations between Visigoths and Roman government. After "le traité du 6 october 382" (p. 92, cf.107), Delaplace suggests (p. 110), the term *foedus* appears in the sources "beaucoup plus rarement," and imperial relations with the Goths were considered "comme des relations de politique intérieure et non plus comme des relations diplomatiques." Delaplace does, however, on occasion continue to use the term "foedus" for the agreements of the fifth century (e.g., pp. 186 [418], 189 [436], 193-194 [439], 228 [459]).

Delaplace rightly emphasizes that as of the early fifth century, the Goths were not a united people, stressing the existence of several Gothic groups, thus (p. 101), "l'existence … de chefs de troupes goths indépendants et parfois rivaux … qui ne permet pas de conclure à l'affirmation de l'élection d'un seul roi a la tête d'un peuple uni", and (p. 122), "Alaric redevenait un chef de guerre indépendant, mais les Goths ne constituaient certainement pas un peuple indépendant." And regarding the degree to which the Visigoths became independent of Rome, Delaplace supports the most conservative view possible, arguing not only that the Visigoths did not create an independent kingdom in 418 but also that there was not even a treaty in 418, thus (p. 111), "le prétendu traité de 418 … n'est jamais dignalé comme un *foedus*, mais comme une *pax*." Delaplace also argues (p. 165) that the kingdom of Toulouse is an "invention historiographique," and states (p. 167) "S'il existe un rex Gothorum, il n'existe pas encore un regnum Gothorum." For Delaplace (p. 179), it was a case of "Une Gaule réorganisé, pas un *regnum Wisigothorum*." Delaplace rather overstates the case, however, when she says (p. 12), "cette situation juridique ne pouvait pas être, comme on l'a longtemps pensé, une indépendance territoriale accordée dès 418," or (p. 179), "Tout un courant historiographique a considéré qu'à partir du moment où l'armée gothique était installée en Aquitaine, celle-ci formait immédiatement la base d'un royaume barbare indépendant." This view, however, is not as standard as Delaplace supposes; note, *inter alios*, R. Mathisen, H. Sivan,"Forging a New Identity: The Kingdom of Toulouse and the Frontiers of Visigothic Aquitania," in Ferreiro, *Visigoths*, pp. 1-62 at 15, "In 418 … no one could have foreseen the development of an independent kingdom that would eventually supplant the Roman imperial state in southwestern Gaul."

It was not until 439, Delaplace continues, that the Visigoths made an actual *foedus* with Rome, which remained in effect until the 470s, thus (p. 254), the Visigoths "demeurés fédérés selon les modalités du traité de 439 … tres vraisemblablement sous Anthémius en

471 ou 472"; and (p. 230), "c'est un contresens de penser qu' un royaume wisigothique de Toulouse, royaume indépendent et puissance territoriale autonome, ait pu exister avant 477." Thus, Delaplace supposes, "le royaume wisigoth devient une puissance autonome en 477" (p. 284). Subsequently, Delaplace argues (p. 14), the primary focus of the Visigoths then was on Spain, not Gaul: e.g., "L'Espagne a sans doute dès 477 … constitué la zone principale du territore qu'il fallait absolument conserver et protéger."

Delaplace also makes many other important observations, such as, eschewing the traditional "barbarian conquest model": "Il faut donc se départir de la vulgate traditionnelle qui traduit en termes de conquêtes et d'expansion" (p. 13); stressing the important nature of frontier zones (p. 24); concluding (p. 25), that as of the mid fifth century, "la traditionnelle dichotomie entre Romains et Germains a beaucoup perdu de sa signification"; supporting the view that during the period of initial settlement in the Roman Empire, barbarian groups were armies, not peoples (pp. 102-103, 179); placing the relocation of the Gallic Prefecture from Trier to Arles in the 390s, not in 407 (p. 112); suggesting that the Visigothic settlement in Aquitania in 418 resulted in "le déplacement de la Frontière au Sud de la Gaule" (p. 130, cf. p. 177); noting the role of the Visigoths as the "armée de Gaule… qui désignent leur empereur" in 455 (p. 216); and pointing out the role of warlords in the end of the western Roman empire (pp. 223, 229-238).

The many provocative ideas and questions presented here will surely excite much discussion in the scholarly world, and Delaplace's study undoubtedly will have a very important place in the world of scholarship. Delaplace's demonstration of the crucial importance of the Visigoths to Gaul during the fifth century will help to balance the past concentration on the Franks. Her work has renewed and reopened avenues of research that for many years had been thought to have been already decided, and consequently she asks that we reconsider the nature of the settlement of barbarians in the Roman world in general, and the history of the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul in particular.

Ralph W. Mathisen

Descotes, Pierre, *Premières réactions antipélagiennes II: La grâce de la nouvelle alliance. De gratia testamenti novi*, (Œuvres des saint Augustin, troisième série, Bibliothèque augustinienne

20/B), Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, Paris 2016, ISBN 978-2-85121-278-8, 561 p.

Towards the end of his life (*retr*. 2.36 [62]) Augustine remembered that at the time when he wrote *ep*. 140, a work to which he later referred using the title *De gratia testamenti novi*, "On the grace of the new covenant" (*gr*. *t*. *nou*.), he had just begun to engage with what in the six years that followed (412-418) was to develop into the (first) Pelagian controversy (…*contra Pelagianos exerceri iam coeperamus*). According to more recent scholarship this remark was somewhat judged from hindsight. It was only in the last two to three years in the run-up to 418 that the controversy about the teachings of Pelagius became a major concern for Augustine. In early 412, the likely date of the composition of *gr*. *t*. *nou*., other concerns were still very much at the forefront of Augustine's mind including the struggle with Donatism, which, to be fair, is also mentioned in the passage from *retr*. (*eo ipso tempore, quo contra Donatistas vehementer exercebamur*), and, in all likelihood, something which is not mentioned in *retr*. 2.36[62], the longterm consequences of the sack of Rome in 410. The latter, it must be admitted, were also somehow linked with the beginnings of the Pelagian debate, as key players such as Caelestius and Pelagius as well as their patrons had been displaced from Rome and begun to spread their teachings elsewhere, including in Africa and in the East.

Gr. *t*. *nou*. is therefore an interesting document, written during a transitional period, which reflects a whole range of interests of Augustinian theology, but at the same attests also Augustine's increasing, and increasingly deep and intense, focus on the topic of grace, its true nature and purpose. The work is prima facie a reply to requests by the addressee, Honoratus – there is a question whether he is identical with the [former] Manichaean addressee of *De utilitate credendi* –, to offer explanations of five Scriptural passages: 1) Jesus's cry from the cross "my God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Ps 22[21]:2 cited in Mk 15:34 and Mt 27:46), 2) Jn 1:14 ("the word was made flesh"), 3) Mt 8:12; 22:13 ("…in the outer darkness [*exteriores tenebrae*] there will be crying and gnashing of teeth…", 4) Eph 3:17-18 ("through faith Christ dwells in your hearts…"), 5) Mt 25:1-12 the parable of the ten virgins. The transitional character of *gr*. *t*. *nou*. and the fact that it dates less than two years after the sack of Rome may be reflected in the way the spiritual and transcendent nature of God's grace is emphasized in it. It is not about happiness here on earth, Augustine stresses. *Gr*. *t*. *nou*. 5.13 (the grace of the new covenant,

revealed by Christ, is not concerned with the temporal [*temporalis*] but the eternal [*aeterna*] life; it does not commend earthly happiness, *terrena felicitas*; Descotes, by the way, translates both *temporalis* and *terrena* "terrestre") seems to echo *ciu.* 1.8, where Augustine responds to the challenge, brought by pagans, why Rome was apparently more prosperous under pagan than under Christian rule. In *gr. t. nou.* he argues along similar lines as in *ciu.* 1.8. The purpose of the grace of the new testament, thus *gr. t. nou.* 3.9-4.10, is not for its beneficiaries to become more prosperous in this world, but to be accepted as children of God. Similarly, Jesus' cry on the cross ("my God, my God, why have you forsaken me?") is not indicative of a total despair about being forsaken by God, but specifically about the loss of earthly goods. Elsewhere Ps 22[21] continues to express an experience of God's presence even in tribulations, and hope in eternal life (*gr. t. nou.* 13.33). Earthly loss, thus Augustine, does not affect the core of the Christian faith. On the contrary, it reveals its true character, i. e. the entirely gratuitous nature of God's grace as pertaining, ultimately, to eternal life in the presence of God.

The concept of the "outer darkness", *exteriores tenebrae* (cf. Mt 8:12; 22:13), offers Augustine the opportunity to reflect on the origin of evil, which he finds in the Devil's pride (*superbia*), the "beginning of all sin" (Eccl 10:12: *initium omnis peccati superbia*; *gr. t. nou.* 24.61-25.62). This self-centredness, or ethical self-reliance, the belief that one can do good by relying on one's own virtues rather than on help from God, he also sees at work in the foolish virgins of Mt 25:1-12 (*gr. t. nou.* 31.74). Towards the end of *gr. t. nou.* (36.82-37.85) he also refers to opponents who tend to teach reliance on their own goodness rather than the need to put themselves at God's mercy and "to glorify themselves in the Lord" rather than in themselves (1 Cor 1:31). However, apart from the Manichaeans he does not mention any specific group whom he might here have in mind.

In his new edition and translation of this fascinating short work in the series "Bibliothèque augustinienne" Pierre Descotes is presenting *gr. t. nou.* in a way that meets all the latest requirements of a publication of this kind. The Latin text is taken from Goldbacher's critical edition and faced by a richly annotated and very readable new French translation (pp. 222-397). It is preceded by an extensive introduction (pp. 5-221) and followed by no less than thirty "notes complementaires" (pp. 581-637), a valued and familiar feature of all BA volumes. Indices of passages in the Bible and in ancient authors conclude the volume (pp. 543-561). It is impossible in such a brief review to do justice to a volume like this, as it aggregates not only a huge

amount of scholarship but also displays, in a very convincing way, a wide range of knowledge and skills. Therefore a few further remarks must suffice.

What should be mentioned in this place is the sophisticated inner structure of the letter which Descotes has made visible in his table of content (pp. 213-217). The five answers which Augustine gives to Honoratus' questions are not simply listed in a linear order, but interconnected through a complex web of anticipations and recapitulations. Moreover, the second question, which offers a brief commentary of the entire Ps 22[21]:2-32, is divided into three parts, Part 2 and 3 of which are inserted after the third and fourth answer respectively. The way in which Descotes arranges his text and translation brings to life this complex structure and enables the reader to better appreciate and study it.

The introduction is divided into nine chapters. Ch. 1 (pp. 7-29) briefly discusses the question of the addressee. Following Bochet (against Hoffmann) Descotes holds it to be "extremely probable" that the addressee of *gr. t. nou.* is identical with that of *util. cred.* notwithstanding the fact that anti-Manichaean motifs are not exactly abounding in *gr. t. nou.* Ch. 2 (pp. 31-52) relates the work to the end of the Donatist crisis and the beginnings of the "Pelagian controversy" (initially in form of a dispute between Caelestius and Paulinus of Milan) both taking place in 411. Augustine, thus Descotes, clearly had some "adversaries of grace" in mind when he wrote *gr. t. nou.*, but arguably it may be slightly anachronistic to refer to these as "Pelagians" as early as 412. Ch. 3 (pp. 53-72) reflects on the long shadow of the sack of Rome (410) which also hovers over *gr. t. nou.* and which influenced Augustine in his use of motifs such as his defence of the *tempora christiana* and his call to disregard earthly possessions and to be patient in times of tribulation. Ch. 4 (pp. 73-88) discusses the genre of the work. Here Descotes' focus is on the question, "What is a letter-treatise?" This question is taken up again in Ch. 6, where different literary styles within the work are discussed such as homiletic, catechetical and also scholarly dissertational (pp. 115-134). All in all Descotes here offers a complex and sophisticated answer to both the question of the genre of *gr. t. nou.* overall and the question of the different literary styles employed within it. Ch. 5 (pp. 89-113) focuses on the dominant feature of Biblical exegesis. This is in a certain sense the heart piece of the introduction. Descotes presents Augustine as an extremely meticulous exegete, whose concern is equally with the text and with the context of the passages under investigation. Augustine, thus Descotes, has a strong sense for detail and for paradox, and,

above all, an open mind. He follows the text rather than a preconceived notion of it. The last three chapters (pp. 7-9) are discussing questions concerning ontology (pp. 137-160), Christology (pp. 161-178) and anthropology (pp. 179-202) in *gr. t. nou*. In the conclusion Descotes attempts to put *gr. t. nou*. in a wider context. Against the critics of Augustine's doctrine of grace, who are represented here by no less a spirit than the great Jorge Luis Borges, he concedes that it is easy to discredit Augustine if one takes each of his arguments in isolation and then arranges them systematically to the apparently inhuman and soul-less doctrinal edifice which is Augustinianism. However, what a work like *gr. t. nou*. rather shows is that Augustine, far from constructing his doctrine in a mechanical, abstract, way, struggled with its human dimension. As the "doctor of grace" who he was, he wanted to explore with and in view of his addressees the fundamental human condition at its deepest level, namely the insight that grace, the most profound form of human life, i. e. eternal life in the presence of God, is granted by God entirely gratuitously, and, given that God had granted to human beings the desire to pursue this good, Augustine's "most fundamental idea is that human life has to be conceived of as a constant effort to put one's life in God's presence" (p. 205). Augustine, therefore, Descotes concludes, did not arrive at his controversial position through a series of cold calculations, but by passionately and emotionally engaging with the human condition.

This conclusion also brings out some of the passion, love and diligence which the editor and translator of this volume has invested in putting together the fruits of his studies. It is not least this commitment which commends this volume to all who study Augustine, especially his letters, his teaching on grace, his exegetical technique and his involvement in the Pelagian controversy alongside many other aspects.

Josef Lössl

Doody, John, Paffenroth, Kim, Smillie, Mark (eds.), *Augustine and the Environment*, (Augustine in Conversation: Tradition and Innovation), Lexington Books, Lanham, Md 2016, ISBN 978-14-98-54190-9, 224 p.

This book collects several essays that relate Augustine to modern environmental concerns. Some directly analyze Augustine's thought, while others look to Augustine in light of specific discussions and

issues happening now. The book is divided into three parts. The first presents two very general assessments – one positive and one negative – of Augustine's potential contribution to modern concerns about the environment. The second develops themes in Augustine's theological anthropology that relate to ethics and creation. The third presents different essays on how Augustine's thought relates to the nonhuman creation.

The two essays of Part One set the context for the book. McFague's essay affirms Augustine as one exemplar of spiritual autobiography. She does not discuss Augustine, except to name him as one part of a tradition of writing about spiritual disciplines. Her contention is that inward reflection is the starting point for any serious change in moral direction. Thus, if the environmental and economic crises of today can be resolved, then humanity needs to rethink itself. The essays in Part Two represent such an exploration of Augustine's anthropology, providing helpful analyses of augustinian themes related to character and ethics in relation to the environment. Thus, McFague's essay signals a general direction to many of this volume's most significant essays will follow in their direct and in-depth analyses of Augustine.

Ruether's essay, by contrast, directly discusses Augustine, first by presenting a summary, albeit devoid of nuance, of his works on Genesis, and then assessing those commentaries in light of Augustine's eco-cultural context (the Roman Empire's ecologically destructive practices through deforestation, species degradation for Roman games, urban pollution, etc.). Ruether judges that because Augustine failed to acknowledge or condemn such ecologically negative practices in his commentaries, he has nothing to say to modern society either. Many of the essays in the book attempt to counter this type of anachronistic and simplistic reading.

As opening essays, McFague and Ruether initially confuse the reader because they show so little understanding of Augustine or his context. However, they function as a reminder that most modern readers of Augustine have little understanding of his context, and that he ought not to be read as simply another modern thinker. The challenge, then, is to craft a picture of Augustine's view of the world that can speak clearly in the midst of such a lack of awareness.

The three essays that constitute Part Two, have the theme of anthropology and character as their focus. Marie George's opening comparison of Augustine's ethical teaching with modern Roman Catholic social teaching is comprehensive and impressive. She examines how moral teaching about the environment is grounded in a theology

of creation, noting the pertinent moral topics that have emerged in the past fifty years. In particular, she highlights how the image of God forms the ground for moral teaching, and attentiveness to the praise of God by all creatures is the framework within which moral teaching occurs. At each point, she looks at how Augustine's writings affirm those teachings, go beyond them, or sometimes seem to fall short (in terms of the humane treatment of animals). The strength of this essay is how George makes use of a wide range of Augustine's texts. She rightly finds his sermons (especially his *Expositions on the Psalms*) a rich source for understanding Augustine's moral teaching.

Joseph Kelley's essay is equally impressive as he takes up Augustine's understanding of what it means to be human. He relates this to ecological concerns today by describing recent debates in environmental philosophy about whether the current Holocene should be renamed the Anthropocene. The debate concerns whether humanity's anthropocentric trajectory is promoted by such revised terminology. Kelly notes how the characteristics of empire seem to capture what is wrong with modern discussions about dealing with environmental harm, and that this is what causes discomfort over the term Anthropocene. Augustine had much to say about empire, and Kelly focuses on three virtues that characterize Augustine's response to it: conversion, confession, and humility. His discussion leans toward the *City of God*, but has excellent insights drawn from the practical writings (without duplicating George's discussions) and other works.

Cyrus Olsen's essay concludes Part Two, with a discussion of two more characteristics from Augustine's anthropology: interdependence and vulnerability. Olsen relates these specifically to how sustainability affords the best practice for environmental health. Without understanding the human being's dependent and vulnerable nature, sustainability will lack proper practical wisdom to guide its implementation. The essay is wide ranging in its discussion, primarily dealing with modern authors who generally fall within an augustinian approach to interdependence and vulnerability. While Augustine is the inspiration for the discussion, his own work receives limited exposition.

Part Three takes up how the nonhuman universe fits into an Augustinian work. David Meconi's opening essay considers how Augustine viewed animals in God's providential and eschatological activity. It is a nuanced portrayal of Augustine's thought, with the most detailed and clear exegesis of Augustine's texts, along with carefully reflective interpretations. Augustine's approach to animals may not please modern liberationists, but Meconi demonstrates a much

more sympathetic and positive point of view than most people might expect from the Saint.

John O'Keefe looks at Augustine as a potential corrective to the excesses in modern eco-theology. He contends that modern ecological theology, torn between Romanticism and the evolutionary realism of the "survival of the fittest," has too often produced distorted remedies for modern society. To fix current anthropocentric and destructive practices, such modern theological solutions would be helped by paying attention to how Augustine's thought is eschatological and character-driven: humble, compassionate, rightly oriented and focused on how all things are from God and for God. He notes the importance of accounting for divine redemption through Christ for a realistic view of suffering. This is a diagnosis of modern problems, and suggestions for where to look in Augustine for a different perspective on how to approach them.

Jame Schaefer's valuable essay considers how Augustine's sacramental understanding of creation was a basis for subsequent medieval thought (Hugh of St. Victor, Bonaventure, and Thomas). Beginning with a brief overview of the trinitarian shape of his sacramentalism, and specifically how the creation communicates divine goodness and beauty, she then teases out significant ways in which Augustine's thought was used in medieval writing about creation. She does not always connect how specific ideas come from Augustine (e.g., Bonaventure's use of measure, number, and weight), which would be helpful for students who want to compare and contrast these theologians. After a brief contrast of ancient cosmological thought with modern science, she then proposes several ways in which ancient sacramentalism may still help illuminate modern theological thought and ecclesial practices.

James Peters' essay is titled "Patron Saint of the Environment?" though it actually is an argument that Augustine's approach to knowledge allows people to perceive the goodness and beauty of God's creation, by understanding how true knowledge is properly rooted in loving God and one's neighbor through God's creation. Much of the discussion is based on secondary literature as well as several comparisons with contemporary ecological thinkers. These comparisons tend to be too vague because of the lack of exegetical precision with regard to Augustine. For example, Peters claims that Augustine and Aldo Leopold share much in common because they stress the ethical importance of love and also critiqued the "passionless intellect" (p. 133). This may be true as far as it goes, but I am not sure that Augustine's conception of love ought to be summarized

merely as passion. Indeed, love has much more substance and weight in Augustine than in Leopold. The reader needs to see how love fits within his trinitarian conception of God, and how it relates to knowledge (Peters does allude to the *uti*/*frui* distinction, but the allusion needs to be turned into explicit statement with evidence and application). Much more needs to be said if Augustine is to be considered a patron saint of the environment!

Daniel Smith's essay suffers from a similar lack of attention to the details of Augustine's texts. His essay, "Saint Augustine and the Goodness of Creation" suggests that despite the platonic underpinnings of Augustine's thought, and the ongoing modern divide between religion and science that creates confusion for how we read Augustine, he was able to affirm the goodness of creation, and thus to provide a basis for a Christian ecological ethic. The bulk of the essay is an attempt to move beyond Augustine's discussion of anthropology and the deformation of sin (for which is he best known), into a creational perspective that shows how sin will be overcome because of goodness. The heart of the essay, Augustine's conception of goodness, occupies only two pages. It deals primarily in secondary sources about the concept, and a couple of references to the *Confessions* and *City of God*, which have been covered in other essays.

Finally, Mark Wiebe's "A Green Augustine" makes the case that Augustine's combination of two ideas – his "doctrine of God and his conceptual distinction between 'use' (*uti*) and 'enjoyment' (*frui*)" – will unlock the moral significance of his understanding of creation. Beginning with several examples of critics who have misunderstood his conception of "use," Wiebe looks at texts which clarify how Augustine's view of the creation was more positive. Wiebe's strategy places the conception of use and enjoyment within the context of Augustine's understanding of The Good, namely God. By doing so, Wiebe argues that "use" and "enjoyment" make sense when God is understood in terms of the divine love for creation. One wishes that Wiebe's approach to the doctrine of God would have been attentive to the trinitarian movement of the divine economy, rather than generic theism.

In the end the results are mixed. Those papers that work best pay attention to the wide variety of Augustine's texts, especially the sermons and exegetical works, where ethical implications are abundant, and explain how those texts actually work. As well, the better essays show an awareness of scholarly work on Augustine. There are two particular points that make one wonder about how the book was conceived and put together. First, how is it that Augustine's *Literal*

Meaning of Genesis was not a basis for many of the essays? Only Ruether deals with it, but her summary is too brief and simplistic to be of any help. Where one would expect it to appear it does not, namely in Part Three, where Augustine's conception of creation and God's relation to the creation is supposed to be the dominant theme. By limiting much of the textual burden to the *Confessions* and *City of God*, and within these repeating the same passages across several of the essays, Augustine's doctrine of creation loses much of its richness, as well as the subtlety of his moral sensitivity, which really did shape his picture of reality. Second, as I have noted above, the Trinity is missing in key discussions of how Augustine's God relates to creation. This should not happen given the amount of scholarship that has been devoted to a retrieval of the importance of the Trinity by contemporary Augustinian scholars. If more attention were paid to the variety of Augustine's writings, and to scholarship on Augustine, such obvious lacunae would be less likely to occur. The volume also would have benefitted from sustained discussion of concepts like "measure, number, weight," divine love, and participation, rather than the overly general discussions of goodness in the later essays of Part Three. Ultimately, the editors needed to give more guidance so that the book would not miss out on such opportunities to bring Augustine into modern discussions about creation and ecology.

Despite these criticisms, the majority of the essays do make valuable contributions to understanding Augustine's ideas today. Hopefully some of these discussions will be expanded and developed, since they are helpful in providing an alternative perspective on what is wrong in the world. Several of these essays would certainly help students looking at environmental issues, or trying to understand Augustine's moral anthropology and doctrine of creation.

Scott A. Dunham

Fries, Thomas, *Eucharistische Spiritualität bei Augustinus von Hippo*, (Cassiciacum: Forschungen über Augustinus und den Augustinerorden 53), Augustinus-Verlag, Würzburg 2016, ISBN 978 3 429 04195 3, 423 p.

Este libro contiene la tesis con la cual el autor se doctoró en la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad de Friburgo, Suiza el 1° de mayo de 2015. "Recibís el misterio que sois vosotros" es una frase conocida

de San Agustín (*sermo* 272). Ahí busca resumir lo que significa ser cristiano, pertenecer a la Iglesia y participar de la eucaristía. Son asuntos que deben ser bien vinculados, para que los cristianos puedan crecer en unidad y amor. En esta frase corta de Agustín se aclaran algunas características importantes de su espiritualidad eucarística. Agustín nunca escribió una disertación sistemática sobre la eucaristía, y aún más: usó pocas veces la palabra *eucaristia*. Sin embargo sus conceptos aportaron a la renovación de la espiritualidad eucarística a raíz de la reforma litúrgica formulada en la constitución *Sacrosanto Concilium* del Concilio Vaticano II. En el libro se describen e investigan estos conceptos de Agustín sobre la eucaristía.

La tesis consta de seis capítulos. El último (pp. 362-372) es el resumen de todo. Los capitulos 1 y 2 son de carácter introductorio, los capítulos 4 y 5 tratan de temas secundarios. En el capítulo 3, de lejos el más amplio, el autor diserta sobre *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus* (*Io.eu.tr.*) 25-27 de Agustín, tratándolo como una exposición sobre la eucaristía.

El capítulo 1 (pp. 17-59) tiene como contenido una aclaración del concepto de la espiritualidad eucarística. Es necesario, ya que Agustín no conocía el término moderno de espiritualidad (*spiritualitas*), detrás de la cual se esconde una gran diversidad de significaciones. Por lo tanto se explica primero el término *espiritualidad* desde diferentes puntos de vista. A continuación se define lo que es específico en la espiritualidad *cristiana*. Después se enfoca en la espiritualidad *litúrgica*, y por fin se formula una definición de la espiritualidad *eucarística*. Ahí resaltan, según el autor, los conceptos de Agustín.

El capítulo 2 (pp. 60-122) describe, como introducción, las influencias decisivas en el concepto antropológico de Agustín. Se hace primero con un esbozo biográfico que habla de las personas y de las corrientes filosóficas más importantes presentes en su vida. Desde allí se elaboran un poco más los conceptos neoplatónicos y bíblicos sobre el ser humano y, a continuación, la antropología de Agustín desde la perspectiva salvífica, todo dentro de los parámetros necesarios para una investigación de la espiritualidad eucarística. La conclusión principal es que Agustín tiene un concepto antropológico no dualista y no ascético. Dicho en forma positiva: Agustín honra una idea dinámica del ser humano en la que este va creciendo desde una *creatura animalis* hacia una *creatura spiritualis*. Este proceso de crecimiento pasa por varias fases. Unos temas importantes en estas fases son: el ser humano como criatura e imagen de Dios, pero también como pecador, debido a su desobediencia y soberbia. Por la gracia y la misericordia

el ser humano puede acercarse nuevamente a Dios. En aquel acercamiento Agustín ve al ser humano como un peregrino, que por su deseo espiritual puede crecer en sabiduría. Aquí son importantes los términos *uti* y *frui*. El camino hacia la renovación espiritual empieza en el bautismo, pero dura toda la vida. Es clave subordinar las pasiones (*passiones* y *cupiditates*) al intelecto, lo cual puede ser iluminado por la fe para que se sane interiormente.

El capítulo 3 (pp. 123-272) es el núcleo del libro. Se concentra en la pregunta cuál es, según Agustín, el papel de la eucaristía en el crecimiento espiritual del ser humano. Para responder la pregunta el investigador se fundamenta sobre todo en *Io.eu.tr.* 25-27 de Agustín, ya que ahí se explica el discurso de Jesús sobre el pan (Jn 6). Jesús habla de sí mismo como el pan bajado del cielo, que alimenta a los creyentes como los miembros de su cuerpo. En este capítulo de la tesis se vinculan varios temas secundarios importantes. El capítulo tiene tres párrafos. El segundo es extraordinariamente largo: ¡140 paginas!

Después de unas observaciones introductorias sobre *Io.eu.tr.* en general y *Io.eu.tr.* 25-27 más en especial, primero se explica lo que quiere decir Agustín con *alimento espiritual* o *pan bajado del cielo* (par. 2.1.). En *Io.eu.tr.* 26-27 remite con estos términos a menudo a la eucaristía (*Io.eu.tr.* 26,2.11.12.15 y 16-20 y 27,1.6 sobre Jn 6,54-56). Entonces Agustín vincula el alimento espiritual a Jesucristo como la Palabra eterna de Dios. Según él la relación entre la alimentación corporal con pan y la espiritual con palabras, es la expresión del cuidado universal de Dios para los humanos. El pan espiritual se puede relacionar con la eucaristía, pero también hay otras formas de alimento espiritual.

Sin embargo siempre es así que el uno sí sabe alimentarse con el alimento espiritual ofrecido y el otro no. Por lo tanto es importante preguntarse cómo entrar en la realidad espiritual de la salvación (par. 2.2). Es fundamental la interioridad humana, ya que ahí está la capacidad de poder entrar en la realidad espiritual. Para activar esa facultad se necesitan señales externas. Agustín las llama *sacramenta*. Son, en los conceptos de Agustín, parte de una enseñanza semiotica. Por lo tanto el autor expone ampliamente esa enseñanza. Después enfoca en el que recibe el pan celestial, usando una explicación de *Io.eu.tr.* 26,12-20. Ahí se aclara que la postura correcta del creyente es fundamental para poder recibir la eucaristía en forma fructífera. Para saber cuál es la disposición correcta del creyente, hay que consultar otros textos de Agustín, como su doctrina de las virtudes. Para él, todas las

virtudes son expresiones del amor. Esa virtud divina, junto con las otras virtudes divinas, la fe y la esperanza, prepara al ser humano a poder recibir con fruto la eucaristía. En *Io.eu.tr*. 25-27 Agustín solamente menciona la humildad (*humilitas*) como cualidad importante para los creyentes para tener acceso al alimento espiritual. Cristo es nuestro maestro de esa humildad. Su camino de vida humilde ayuda a sanar la soberbia y la codicia del ser humano pecador. Sin la maestría y el camino de vida de Cristo es imposible para los creyentes llegar al conocimiento de sí mismo, la humildad, la fe y la renovación, elementos imprescindibles para el crecimiento espiritual. En Cristo, Dios pone en evidencia la importancia de la gracia para la fe. Sin embargo, en *Io.eu.tr*. Agustín acentua que en el don de la gracia de parte de Dios también hay un aspecto de voluntad de parte del que recibe. No existe ninguna coacción en la fe.

Alimento espiritual fortalece al que vive la fe. Por lo tanto es importante prestar atención a los efectos de la eucaristía (par. 2.3). Los dones eucarísticos hacen más fuertes a los creyentes en sus virtudes, ya que, siendo cuerpo de Cristo, se llenan con el Espíritu Santo (*Io. eu.tr*. 26,13). No se trata solamente de una espiritualidad eucaristica individual, sino de una espiritualidad de toda la Iglesia como *totus Christus*. En este contexto es importante prestar atención a las ideas de Agustín sobre la estructura orgánica de la Iglesia como cuerpo de Cristo y como *totus Christus*. Esa imagen expresa el cuidado de uno al otro en amor y unidad. El vínculo con la comunidad eclesial es fundamental para poder participar en la salvación. Abre la puerta para otros efectos de la eucaristía, los que el autor elabora en lo que sigue, como el efecto sanador contra la soberbia (*medicina cotidiana* y el motivo de *Christus medicus*) y las perspectivas escatológicas (par. 2.4) en el pedir a los mártires de interceder (*recitatio nominum martyrum*) y en el conmemorar de los hermanos en la fe difuntos (*commemoratio defunctorum*). Dentro de los efectos escatológicos de la eucaristía parece importante la idea de la reconciliación en relación con el carácter sacrificial de la eucaristía.

Por lo tanto todo el capítulo 4 (pp. 273-329) está dedicado a la eucaristía como sacrificio. Agustín nunca disertó sistemáticamente sobre los sacrificios, pero sí reflexiona ampliamente sobre ellos en *De ciuitate* 10. La reseña de aquella obra forma la parte principal de este capítulo (par. 1). La postura crítica hacia los sacrificios materiales y la defensa del sacrificio espiritual no son algo exclusivo del cristianismo. La idea de considerar al ser humano como templo de Dios y al corazón como altar, tiene raíces en el Nuevo Testamento (1 Co 6,19;

2 Co 6,16; 1 P 2,4-10) y tuvo gran influencia en Agustín. Además de estas influencias bíblicas se pueden detectar influjos neoplatónicos. En clara diferencia con la cultura de sacrificio de la Antigüedad, el judaísmo y el cristianismo únicamente conocen los sacrificios interiores al único Dios. Además el cristianismo ve que los sacrificios espirituales sólo tienen efecto por la mediación de Cristo. Él tiene la doble función de ser el sumo sacerdote eterno y a la vez el mismo sacrificio (Hb 2,17). Por esa mediación los sacrificios cristianos pierden toda magia. Lo único que funciona son los espirituales de humilde adoración al único Dios. El sacrificio de redención de Cristo fue una sola vez, pero ahora es la responsabilidad de la comunidad cristiana vivir esa reconciliación con Dios en lo cotidiano, tanto en la liturgia como en la vida social: en la alabanza y las obras de caridad (diaconía, ayuno, oración). Se elaboran estos aspectos en la continuacón de este capítulo (par. 2-4).

En el capítulo 5 (pp. 330-372) el autor pregunta cuál era el lugar que la eucaristía tomaba en la vida cotidiana de los creyentes comunes y corrientes: ¿En los días de Agustín se celebraba la eucaristía todos los días, y por lo tanto se podían considerar los dones eucarísticos como *panis cotidianus* y como *medicina cotidiana*? Parece que la obra de Agustín no da ninguna respuesta unívoca sobre el tema (par. 1.1-6). De todos modos no es probable que en Hippo Regius hubiera una práctica en la que Agustín celebraba la eucaristía con su comunidad de casa (par. 1.7). Por fin se da una sinopsis del funcionamiento del lenguaje corporal en la eucaristía en los días de Agustín, se fija en el significado de la convocatoria *Conuersi ad Dominum* después de la predicación, y se analiza *en.Ps*. 98,9 para ver si en alguna manera remite a una práctica de adoración eucarística en el tiempo de Agustín (par. 2.1-3). Parece que en eso no hay claridad definitiva.

En su tesis doctoral el autor da un buen panorama de una gran cantidad de temas importantes en el pensamiento de Agustín. Por supuesto documenta bien su exposición con las fuentes primarias y la literatura secundaria. Los textos en latín siempre son elaborados en las notas en pie. El uso bien pensado de los subtítulos y los espacios en blanco ayuda al lector a orientarse en el desarrollo del argumento. Sin embargo, la estructura del libro no es equilibrada, con un capítulo de 150 páginas y otro de 12, con párrafos de un tamaño de una o dos páginas, y otro de 140. Algunos capítulos terminan con un párrafo explícitamente conclusivo (1, 3 y 4), en los demás la terminación está más o menos escondida (2 y 5). También llama la atención que se dice varias veces en la argumentación cuán difícil es encontrar los datos en la obra de Agustín, y que los temas eucarísticos importantes no

aparecen en los libros claves: Agustín no escribió nada sistemático sobre la eucaristía (p. 13). Casi no usa la palabra (p. 140). Tampoco escribió una disertación sobre el sacrificio (p. 275). En *Io.eu.tr.* 25-27 nunca se hace un vínculo con la Pascua, un tema tan fundamental para la eucaristía (p. 150). En la misma obra solamente se habla en forma implícita sobre la relación entre la eucaristía y la buena disposición del que comulga (p. 166). Solamente se vincula en forma indirecta la eucaristía y la humildad (p. 182). No se elabora tanto el tema de la eucaristía (p. 202). Nunca se habla de la conmemoración de los mártires y la oración para los difuntos (p. 255). Todo esto lleva con cierta urgencia a la pregunta por qué la investigación se orientó tanto en *Io.eu.tr* 25-27. Lamentablemente no existe como apéndice un registro de los textos augustinianos usados: por eso no es tan fácil ver dónde y cómo se incluyeron en la investigación los *sermones* de Agustín sobre la eucaristía, por ejemplo *sermones* 227, 228, 228B (= *s.Denis* 3), 229A (*s.Guelferbytanus* 7) y 272.

El autor justifica la elección de su fuente principal (*Io.eu.tr.* 25-27) por parte con referencias indirectas, por otra con citas explícitas de Agustín en cuanto a la eucaristía en los tratados 26 y 27. Pero de ningún modo el investigador se pregunta críticamente si es realmente tan obvia la interpretación eucarística de Juan 6,54-56. ¿Y qué le parece la explicación de Agustín en *Io.eu.tr.* 24,5? Ahí se detiene con presición en la señal de Jesús con el pan y el pescado (Jn 6,1-14), lo que es la introducción al discurso sobre el pan. Agustín da una explicación muy linda y para nada eucarística del uso de Jesús del pan de cebada. Por lo demás en la historia de la teología la interpretación eucarística del discurso de Jesús sobre el pan bajado del cielo no es sin polémica. El augustino Martín Lutero publicó en 1520 una disertación en latín sobre los sacramentos (*De captiuitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*). Abogó por una interpretación no eucarística de Jn 6, y para apoyarlo recurre al mismo Agustín, que en *Io.eu.tr.* 25,12 explica las palabras de Jesús "Obrad no por el alimento perecedero, sino por el alimento que permanece para vida eterna" como creer en Él como enviado de Dios: "¡Creed en mí – y ya habéis comido!"

Con mis observaciones críticas no quiero contradecir los resultados de la investigación de Thomas Fries. Pero sí creo que la interpretación del discurso de Jesús sobre el pan bajado del cielo no es tan unicamente eucarística como lo ha presentado, aun en la interpretación de San Agustín.

Hans van Reisen.

Gaumer, Matthew Alan, *Augustine's Cyprian: authority in Roman Africa*, (Brill's series in church history and religious culture 73), Brill, Leiden/Boston 2016, ISBN 978-90-04-31263-0, 372 p.

Among Augustine's predecessors in the church of North Africa, the figure of Cyprian towers above all the others. Both as a bishop having to act in difficult circumstances, and as a prolific writer, he must have been a major source of inspiration for Augustine. In addition, Cyprian's wide popularity in North Africa (notably on account of his martyrdom) made him a suitable and convenient model to follow. Numerous references to Cyprian by Augustine testify to both these aspects, and there is even a body of twelve sermons (*ss*. 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 313a, 313b, 313c, 313d, 313e, 313f, 313g) specifically dealing with Cyprian, delivered by Augustine throughout the years on the occasion of the saint's annual feast.

Meanwhile, systematic studies on the relation between Cyprian and Augustine are scarce indeed. It is therefore fortunate that a new book on this subject by Matthew Alan Gaumer has become available. *Augustine's Cyprian: authority in Roman Africa*, a revised dissertation (defended at Leuven University in 2012), specifically targets Augustine's manner of appropriating Cyprian's legacy to add authority to his own doctrinal positions, notably in his polemics against Donatists and Pelagians. It is, therefore, of broader significance for our understanding of Augustine in general. In fact, Gaumer's approach to the subject is so all-embracing that in some sections of the book, the figure of Cyprian somewhat recedes into the background.

The study is divided into three main parts. The first part deals with Augustine's early years as a church leader and his initial reactions to Donatist Christianity. These reactions were, generally speaking, relatively mild. Only gradually, he seems to have become aware that he needed special methods to really fight the Donatists. Interestingly, the Donatists claimed to belong to the side of Cyprian, and used the example of the early African bishop to articulate their local, 'African' identity. Augustine, on his part, increasingly sought to reinforce his positions by referring to various authorities: scripture, the Church, important Christian authors. In the end, Cyprian became one of the latter. That is, Augustine took pains to make the authority of Cyprian work for him rather than for the Donatists.

Notably the second main part of the book, dealing with 'the maturation of the anti-Donatist campaign', zooms in on Augustine's conscious efforts to bring in the weight of Cyprian's authority for his, the Catholic, cause, against the Donatists. It does so by a detailed

analysis of *De baptismo* and *Contra epistulam Parmeniani* (ch. 4), as well as an even more detailed survey of key words and names discussed by Augustine: *veritas, caro/carnis, concupiscentia, superbia, gratia, ignorantia, pertinacia, rebaptizare, martyr, Africa, mundus/orbis, novitas, auctoritas, Maximianus, Primianus* (ch. 5), and the more general theme of coercion (ch. 6).

The closing, third part of the study moves to the final phase of Augustine's life, discussing the Pelagian controversy, as exemplified in such works as *Contra Iulianum*. Some 95 explicit references to Cyprian in Augustine's anti-Pelagian works (p. 254) show that Cyprian is quite important in this phase too, although in a different way. No longer is there any need for Augustine to dispute the claim that Cyprian would support his opponents, as in the case of the Donatists. In his debate against the Italian theologian Julian, Augustine proudly presents himself *and* Cyprian as representatives of the *African* church. Cyprian thus becomes 'the pre-eminent authority for the African Augustine' (p. 268). A useful list of Cyprian's works used by Augustine throughout his oeuvre concludes the main body of the book (pp. 314-318). A brief conclusion (pp. 321-328), large bibliography (pp. 329-365), and index conclude the volume.

This is probably not a book for the general reader interested in Augustine. It will be most useful for scholars working in such fields as Donatism, Pelagianism, and early African Christianity. The often detailed discussions will be mostly relevant mostly to specialists. Gaumer has adopted a style of arguing and writing that approaches its subject matter in a fairly indirect way, involving numerous minor issues and debates, and adding loads of references to texts and scholarly literature, thus often needing many pages to come to clear conclusions on what is, in the end, a fairly modest topic. But this is, of course, perfectly legitimate in a large scale scientific study.

A rather serious issue, however, concerns the use of Latin texts. The book incorporates a great number of references to Augustine's texts, and very many of them are actually quoted. There is some inconsistency as to the presentation of texts: mostly an English translation is given in the main body of text, and the Latin original text in footnotes; or both are combined in footnotes, while I have also encountered notes with just English or just Latin, or notes where English precedes Latin (e.g. p. 53, n. 172). Still, this does not yet pose a real problem. The use of Latin, however, does. On many occasions where I read both Latin and English quotations, I found them to be inaccurate. Latin quotations often do not closely correspond to English translations. I found many variants here: Latin texts that are longer at

the start or at the end, English translations that are longer at the start or at the end, Latin texts with sentences omitted that do still appear in the translation, translations skipping over words actually presented in Latin, and so forth. In addition, there is a surprising amount of printing errors (or scanning errors) in the Latin, and unfortunately not merely there. To make matters worse, Latin quotations are sometimes clearly misinterpreted.

Some brief examples from the first part may illustrate these points (three dots indicate dots given by Gaumer; three dots between brackets indicate that I break off what is a longer quotation given by Gaumer):

p. 23: '…I suffered violence because of the merits of my sins… But I think (…)'; note 18: '…rito peccatorum meorum… Sed arbitror (…)'.

p. 25: 'we garner' (for 'we gather').

p. 29: 'Proculiean' (twice for Proculeian).

pp. 32-33: *Doct.Chr*. 4,56 quoted for the notion that eloquence 'is to be used in a way that is subordinate and evocative of the truth. Writing in 396, he adds that this is even the case if one's writing or speaking is necessarily subdued and without flourish.' Augustine's point however, is rather different: every speaker who tells something wishes to be believed, even if his style is modest. And this very modest style is often not merely effective, but also naturally beautiful, even as to raise applause. Gaumer starts the translation with 'And who would be willing to listen to him, unless he also held the hearer's attention with some pleasantness of style', which is absent in the Latin. The Latin by contrast starts with 'Quid enim quaerit nisi credi, qui aliquid, licet submisso eloquio, discentibus narrat', absent in the translation. Equally absent in the translation are the printed Latin words referring to 'numerositas clausularum', whereas the English 'convicting his opponent of error' does not correspond to words in the printed Latin.

p. 35: *ep*. 23,4 quoted with the image of the Church 'offering her breast to all the nations for their rebirth', where the Latin in the note rightly reads 'regenerandis praebet sinum et regeneratis ubera infundit' clearly referring to *two* separate groups.

p. 53: *s*. 252,4 '(…) Wasn't the ship almost sunk, along with us its crew, by the rowdy behavior, the rioting of worldly people? Again it also says (…)' corresponding to the Latin in the note: 'Nonne seditione carnalium paene mergebatur nobiscum navis? unde hoc, nisi de illo numero piscium innumerabili? deinde etiam illud ibi dictum est (…)', where, at best, an important sentence has been left untranslated without a mark in the translation.

p. 60: (text by Optatus) 'Cyprian, Lucian, and others' corresponding to the Latin names in the note 'Cyprianus, Carpoforius, Lucilianus et ceteri'.

p. 63: *De ordine* 2,26 referred to for the notion that '*eruditi* and the uneducated masses can be moved to right knowledge through a combination of *ratio, gratia,* and the attestation of sound *auctoritas*', where Augustine's

Latin words show that he is advocating the primacy of *auctoritas*. (n15 'apitor' is misspelled for 'aptior', 'tarnen' for 'tamen'. The online text at www.augustinus.it has neither error).
p. 68: *s*. 313b,1 quoted, with, again, a confusing lack of correspondence between Latin and English at the beginning.
p. 64: *s*. 313b,2 the Latin in the footnote breaks off a sentence in the middle of a word: '(…) quali uenatione Babylon impia laet…Saeuierint, persecuti fuerint'.
p. 70: *s*. 313a,3 referred to for the notion that 'a Christian should be "crazy about Cyprian"', without Latin words in the note. The Latin text appears to refer to insanity only in relation to visitors of a theatre. Christians, by contrast, should love Cyprian (verbs such as 'amare' are used).

This list of errors, inconsistencies, and misinterpretations of the Latin could be extended.

All of this seems rather disturbing in a study of such detail. The defective Latinity seriously detracts from the merits of Gaumer's study. Theologians and historians of religion may perhaps give a shrug here and rather concentrate on the general ideas of the book. But surely the very words on which, in the end, everything we know about Augustine is based, deserve the most scrupulous and meticulous approach by scholars.

Vincent Hunink

González, Justo L., *The Mestizo Augustine: A Theologian Between Two Cultures*, InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, Ill. 2016, ISBN 9780830851508, 176 p.

Isidore of Seville opined that it would take a life time to read the entire corpus of writings from the Bishop of Hippo. It might take two more life times to read all the secondary literature devoted to the Doctor of Grace. Despite all that has been written, Justo Gonazalez has found a new angle on the continuing legacy of the thought and writings of St Augustine in the *Mestizo Augustine: A Theologian Between Two Cultures*.

In his introduction to the thought of Augustine, Gonzalez alerts his readers that he will focus only on primary literature from the saint, although he consulted the secondary literature to improve his own knowledge of the field of study on Augustine. The stated goal of Gonzalez's book is that by considering Augustine "through Latino lenses he may become more relevant to our present-day context and

challenges," (p. 15). With that frame of reference in mind, the book proceeds to define the term "mestizo" for non-specialists in the field of Latin American studies as someone who "belong[s] to two realities and at the same time [does] not belong to either of them," (p. 15). The combination of the large number of Latin American Christians living between two cultures makes Augustine an interesting conversation partner insofar as he lived in a North African context with a Berber mother, and Roman father. The intention of the book is to see how Augustine's theology looks differently when the reader considers that Augustine is not simply a Roman, Latin speaking theologian writing for one monoculture. The book follows Augustine through every major writing and theological controversy with the stated intention of looking through the lens of a mestizo Augustine.

Gonzalez proceeds over the course of seven chapters to follow the life and ministry of Augustine, beginning—critical to his argument—with his upbringing between two cultures in Thagaste. Although Augustine never wrote in Berber, that seems to be the most common language of the area. The evidence for Monica's Berber heritage comes from her name containing the name of a Berber goddess, Mon. Even that is uncertain, as she clearly spoke Latin, and Augustine never explicitly states that she was Berber, only that she was a committed Catholic Christian. This too seems somewhat strange given the fact that the majority of North African Berbers seem to have been Donatist, while Augustine and his mother were Catholic. Later in the book Gonzalez explains this particular peculiarity, but at this point he simply establishes that Berbers were Christian and often Donatist.

Progressing through Augustine's various intellectual changes culminating in his conversion to Catholic Christianity, the second chapter highlights his return to the faith of his mother. Augustine's education in Greco-Roman rhetorical schools and pursuit of philosophy after reading the Hortensius, indicate his commitment to his father Patrick's cultural legacy. In his return to Christianity, through hearing the preaching of Ambrose while a rhetor in Milan, Augustine "was able to join the Roman culture of his father to his mother's faith," (p. 44). Here the mestizo element of Augustine's thought comes into full swing. He speaks an eloquent Latin like a good educated Roman, but his faith comes from his Berber Catholic mother.

In the third chapter, Gonzalez follows Augustine back to North Africa, after he ran away in the cover of night from Carthage to go to Milan. Before he begins his pastoral ministry, Augustine lives in community with his mother and his son Adeodatus, which is also a translation of a common Berber name. Despite Augustine's intentions to live

in this community longer, Valerius calls him to preach because of his ability to communicate with the congregation at Hippo, which Gonzalez thinks might have to do with his connection to the predominately Berber population. Gonzalez concedes, "[Augustine] did not speak the native tongue easily, at least he knew it," (p. 70). This connection to Africa through a native mother gives Augustine credibility with his Donastist Berber interlocutors.

While chapter 4 has almost no connection to the mestizo thought of Augustine, in chapter 5 Augustine's multicultural background allows him to penetrate deeper in his confrontation with the Donatists. Gonzalez argues that Berber's respected the authority of the person, rather than the office of a Bishop like Augustine, as reflected in North African tribal customs (p. 101). This kind of attention to the individual person can be seen in how the Donatists recognized martyrs. The Donatists were also more anti-imperial than their Catholic counterparts. Augustine speaks about the office of the individual, rather than one's status, which confers a true Baptism. Gonzalez believes that Augustine points out the sins of the Donatists to make his point, which follows the later Catholic teaching of *ex opere operato*, rather than *ex opere operantis*. If Augustine did not know the underlying assumptions of the Berber Donastists, his arguments would have looked different by not focusing on the sins of the Donatist community. As Augustine continues down this path, Gonzalez argues that he "had suppressed within himself most of his Libyan roots," (p. 124). Here the picture gets a bit muddy as to how truly mestizo Augustine actually was.

The final two chapters on the life of Augustine focus on his debates with Pelagians and pagans. Neither has much to do with the mestizo element in Augustine's life and writing, but are necessary for an introduction like this one. In order to keep to his focus on a man between two cultures, he does mention that Augustine seems to lean on Berber principles by arguing that the Pelagians try to limit the power of the sovereign God who always acts justly (p. 148). He ends his chapter on Augustine's confrontations with Pagans stating that Augustine had to abandon Roman superiority in the *City of God* in order to show why the Romans were left to fail (p. 166). This would not have been a popular position of a thoroughly educated Roman.

On the whole, Gonzalez does an admirable job trying to make Augustine a conversation partner with contemporary Christians who are dealing with living between two worlds. It takes a confident scholar to try and bridge the gap between their academic backgrounds and a more popular audience. His writing style makes Augustine seem

closer in time. This introduction, also leaves markers to the deeper terrain that could be discovered for those who seek to learn more about this Church Father popular among all Western Christians.

At times this scholar wonders how mestizo Augustine actually was. If Monica was so thoroughly connected to her Berber roots, why was she not a Donatist? Gonzalez is aware of this problem, but all that Augustine leaves are hints as to what his mother's heritage might have been (p. 110). Furthermore, as described above, Augustine is such a thoroughly well spoken Roman, he makes no indication that he wants anyone to know about his possible Berber roots. Other scholars are not even certain to what extent Monica was even Berber. Augustine does not know the language very well, by Gonzalez's own admission.

Despite these misgivings, any attempt by such a well renowned scholar to make Augustine accessible to non-experts is much welcomed. The Church needs to find ways to connect the current generation of Christians to the truths conveyed by those that have walked similar paths before them. Living a life between two cultures is not a phenomenon peculiar to the twenty first century, and Christians would be well advised to see how paragons of the faith like Augustine made sense of their own mixed cultural backgrounds.

Charles G. Kim, Jr.

Heither, Theresia, Reemts, Christiana, *Die Psalmen bei den Kirchenvätern. Psalm 1-30*, unter Mitarbeit von Justina Metzdorf (Ps 22), Aschendorf Verlag, Münster 2017, ISBN 9783402132272, 483 p.

This volume, the fruit of the ongoing study of patristic literature by the Benedictine sisters of Mariendonk Abbey (Niederrhein, Germany), forms the promising start of a series covering the complete Book of Psalms with purposively selected interpretations of the Psalms by Greek and Latin Church Fathers that give a good view of their main lines of thought regarding the matter.

The book starts with a concise yet insightful introduction that offers helpful hermeneutical tools to uninitiated readers who might look to this volume for enriching their personal *lectio* and prayer, while readers with a more scholarly background will find in it a good summary of research on the topic, including some of the most recent publications, e.g. Daley or Perrone. The authors present the (Septuagint)

text of the Psalter (pp. 9-12), a few general ideas on the Psalter in the works of early Christian writers (pp. 12-16), and structure, language and titles of the Psalms as seen by the Fathers (pp. 16-21). A section is devoted to the patristic hermeneutics of the Psalter, i.e. the literal sense, but especially the spiritual sense that through the different implied speakers in the Psalms (the so-called *voces*) always points to Christ and the Church (pp. 21-27). Finally the introduction elaborates a few recurring theological themes the Fathers discerned in the Psalter: song and prayer, suffering and guilt, the road to bliss (pp. 27-36). All in all, the introduction shows a thorough acquaintance with the issues in patristic exegesis, without forgetting the questions raised by modern exegesis.

The bulk of the book (pp. 40-459) is devoted to a verse by verse commentary on Psalms 1 to 30, not unlike a *catena*. For each psalm first the full translation of the Septuagint version is given, together with a brief introduction to the main lines of its patristic interpretation (10 to 20 lines). These introductions partly try to bridge the gap between the modern (praying) reader and the concerns of early Christians. Then each psalm verse is repeated, followed by a selection of patristic commentary, by means of summary or paraphrase for the most part, but not excluding shorter direct quotes (in translation). Each verse is thus covered in one-half to a full page of commentary, or more in certain cases. In footnote the references to the original Greek and Latin sources are given, thereby making it also apt for academic use. The most often quoted authors are the following (cf. pp. 15-16): (Greek) Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus of Lyons, Hippolytus of Rome, Origen, Athanasius of Alexandria, Didymus the Blind, Eusebius of Caesarea, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Diodore of Tarsus, Asterius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria and (Latin) Tertullian, Jerome, Hilary of Poitiers, Chromatius, Ambrose, Augustine, Prosper of Aquitaine, Arnobius and Cassiodorus. The treatment of each psalm (always undersigned by one of the authors) is concluded by a newly composed prayer which takes up with the tradition of the oration after each prayed psalm as known from the earliest cenobitic forms of the Liturgy of the Hours. Meditations on the Psalms are thus incorporated into contemporary prayers.

Whether the book is used to access patristic commentary in the traditional way of *lectio divina*, i.e. psalm by psalm, verse by verse (probably the most personally engaging way) or rather to look up specific psalm verses to get an idea of how the Fathers dealt with each (i.e. with strictly academic intentions), in either case readers will profit

from this book by enriching their theological and literary framework with patristic insights.

The authors clearly state that the aim is not to give a full overview of all the patristic interpretations of each verse, but rather to provide a deeper insight into the psalm (cf. pp. 36-37); this is a very wise move indeed to ensure a manageable introduction to patristic Psalm exegesis. Complete lists of reference are easy enough to find through the volumes of the *Biblia patristica* or the relevant databases available to a more specialised readership, but Heither and Reemts rightly want to go beyond this level of "raw material" in order to give solid orientations in the field upon which interested readers can build further.

The volume concludes with a register of "Bildworte" in the Psalms (words rich in imagery and metaphor), a bibliography and an index of authors. The aim of this register and this index is certainly praiseworthy, but the way in which they are carried through raises questions; yet this is the only point of criticism I would formulate regarding the whole book. The list of "Bildworte" is difficult to manage when starting from the Greek (the Greek words are given, yet ordered in alphabetical order on the German translations) and very hard to use when starting from the Latin text (no Latin equivalents are listed). The index of authors on the other hand includes for the antique authors only those works which are not psalm commentaries. Of course, commentaries on particular psalms and verses are not difficult to find, given the very organisation of the book along the Psalter. Nevertheless, a system with clever abbreviations and references would probably have worked to allow a quick retrieving of all passages and authors, something the more scholarly inclined reader would probably desire.

As already hinted, this work could well serve two rather different readerships. At first sight one might find this somewhat problematic, but in reality it is a strength. Interested readers looking to enrich their more personal and spiritual reading of the Psalms will find in this volume a helpful tool to orient themselves in a perhaps rather unknown field with well-chosen and representative samples of patristic exegesis in modern paraphrase and translation, and presented in an easy *catena* format that for centuries has proven its merits. By taking into account modern issues in faith and exegesis as well as building on recent scholarship, the authors clearly transcended the level of uncritical and slightly naïve devotional anthologies. The academic reader on the other hand looking for a more in depth introduction into main stream patristic readings of the Book of Psalms which a database cannot

provide, will also find valuable information together with direct references to the original language editions.

However diverse both types of readership may seem, what they have in common is their commitment to understanding the word brought to them by the other and the willingness to integrate different interpretations of that word. The authors in any case took great care to keep together the love of learning and the desire for God (to quote the famous work by Dom Leclercq), as worthy heirs to the best of (monastic) traditions of the both the Greek and Latin Church. We can only encourage readers to take up this book and follow their lead.

Stefaan Neirynck

Houghton, Hugh A.G., *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, ISBN 9780198744733, XX + 366 p.

Following the author's continued research in textual traditions of the Latin bible, from its earliest appearance to is latest incarnations in the editions of Weber and Gryson and the *Nova Vulgata*, this volume provides a three-part introduction to its subject matter. In the first, readers learn of the historical background of the Latin bible in the first centuries, leading up to the so-called 'Vulgate' text which is "indissolubly linked with the name of Jerome" (p. 31) – an association which the author prefers to qualify, reserving the scope of Jerome's efforts primarily to the Gospels. Other major figures in the history of Latin Christianity also receive treatment, including the prolific Augustine of Hippo, who in his polemical works often preserved the biblical citations of his opponents, revealing "archaic characteristics associated with 'African' texts" (p. 37). A similar feature occurs in the pseudo-Augustinian text, *Libellus aduersus Fulgentium Donatistam* (ca. 430-450), in which the Donatist opts for an Old Latin citation, while the Catholic prefers to cite "a Vulgate form of the text" (p. 38). In this respect, Houghton offers only select examples of how to detect a supposed 'regional' preference for any variant reading; yet other factors determined the direction any particular Latin verse or phrase might take. Most interestingly, perhaps, a similar type of variety occurs in Jerome's preference – for example – to translate 'chief priest' (ἀρχιερεύς) as "*princeps sacerdotum* in Matthew, *sumus sacerdos* in Mark, and *pontifex* in John" (p. 34). Other examples occur within Jerome's text of John, which included *mandatum* in place of

praeceptum through John 14, with exceptions to allow the latter in John 15:10 and 15:12. Later centuries, however, also receive careful attention, with the advent of 'mixed texts' in the fifth and later centuries, which combined elements of Vulgate and Vetus traditions. Here, as throughout the text, the reader benefits from manuscript images chosen to complement the concise survey of evidence, reproduced from many of the world's premier libraries and archives. In some cases, these images are linked to web resources, for example when folios 441v-442r from the 9th-century Codex Grandivallensis – MS Add. 10546, a complete, one-volume Bible revised by Alcuin of York – appears (p. 83), readers will find reference to image files provided by the British Library online, where one may consult nearly 1.000 additional leaves from the same, complete manuscript. In electronic editions of Houghton's work, many of these references in the footnotes and image descriptions appear as live hyperlinks, a feature which will facilitate ease of access for readers, and in fact transforms this single volume reference work to a fully-functioning database of manuscript resources with detailed supplements.

In the second part, on "Texts", Houghton provides his readers with an introduction to the Latin biblical tradition in a different light, focusing squarely on the use of modern critical editions and the analysis of biblical citations found in previous generations of authors. If the first part emphasized manuscript evidence, and sought to detail key figures in the history of translation and transmission of the Latin biblical text, the second part largely focuses on the history of print (and electronic) editions. This approach is not limited only to Latin editions of the bible, however, since Latin textual authorities also provide modern editors of the Greek text of the New Testament with additional witnesses, which are frequently cited in the critical apparatus of their Greek editions. Part three, "Manuscripts", then turns to consider in a more detailed and systematic fashion how one might go about studying the characteristic elements of any given manuscript of the Latin bible. In this light, Houghton explains common issues in script variation over time, and the use of abbreviations and specialized punctuation, as well as the emergence of decoration in later centuries. Chapter 10 provides a description of the most important manuscripts cited in modern print editions of the Latin New Testament, with additional image files and further reading indicated. This presentation is further supplemented by three appendices which offer details for noteworthy manuscripts, with online images available for nearly half the collection cited. Finally, as the author himself has noted, the volume closes with a fifty-page bibliography (and four

additional indices), which is an exhaustive, up-to-date treatment of scholarship on the Latin New Testament, with the majority of titles published in the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and a smaller number from the nineteenth or early twentieth. These include studies of reception history in a Latin author – or particular texts of a given author –, as well as studies on lectionaries, the evolving biblical canon, individual Gospel books and codices, and Latin exegesis of particular biblical pericopes. Several of Houghton's own studies are also mentioned, though the author is careful to present a wide-ranging and state of the art bibliography that will serve students and researchers of all levels. In light of the vast number of sources cited in the main text, readers will need to acquaint themselves with the convention of the Vetus Latina Institute, which has been adopted by the author for identifying individual works of various Latin authors. For example, 'LAC in', is used to designate the *Diuinae Institutiones* of Lactantius, the fourth-century African poet (p. 19), while 'HIL tri', for Hilary of Potiers' work on the Trinity. The work is an astounding achievement for its breadth, concision, and wealth of material introduced. In light of the author's obvious care for the subject, readers may well expect to follow his exemplary scholarship for many years to come.

Joseph Grabau

Junk, Karsten, *Der menschliche Geist und sein Gottesverhältnis bei Augustinus und Meister Eckhart*, (Augustinus: Werk und Wirkung 5), Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn 2016, ISBN 978-3-506-78481-0, 320 p.

In seinem bewundernswerten Buch stellt Junk die Geisttheorie Augustins und Meister Eckharts dar.[1] Das Hauptanliegen dieser Arbeit ist, die Lehre vom Geist und seinem Gottesverhältnis bei Augustin und Eckhart verständlich zu machen (S. 12) und wie sich das Denken Eckharts zu den Positionen Augustins verhält (S. 9). Die Arbeit besteht aus drei Kapiteln. In den ersten zwei Kapiteln geht es um Augustins (S. 15-189) und Eckharts Geisttheorie (S. 191-290). Das dritte Kapitel ist eine kurze Zusammenfassung (S. 291-294).

[1] Ich bedanke mich bei Matthias Trumpp für die sprachliche Verbesserung und die Überprüfung des Textes.

Das erste Kapitel ist in vier Teile gegliedert. Der erste Teil stellt die metaphysischen Voraussetzungen von Augustins Bildtheorie dar. Davon sind zwei Aspekte betont, nämlich, dass Augustin in seiner Bildtheorie zwischen dem Bild im Bereich der Trinität und im Bereich der Schöpfung unterscheidet (S. 15-18), und dass Augustin zwischen Schöpfer und Geschöpf einen Abstand hält (S. 18-22). Der zweite Teil beschreibt Augustins Seelentheorie (S. 23-56). Die Seele sei bei Augustin in zwei Ebenen der Seelenkräfte gegliedert. Dies entspreche der Unterscheidung des *homo exterior* und des *homo interior* (S. 54-55), oder der Differenzierung zwischen *scientia* und *sapientia* (S. 51-53). Mit dieser Einteilung der Seelekräfte möchte Junk zeigen, dass der *homo interior* das eigentliche Bild Gottes im Geist darstellt, während der *homo exterior* nur in davon abgeleiteter Weise über Gottähnlichkeit verfügt (S. 56).

Der dritte Teil ist der Schwerpunkt der Argumentation des Verfassers (S. 57-170). In diesem am längsten ausgeführten Teil geht es Junk darum, die Kräfte der Seele in Augustins Geisttheorie erläutern. Vor allem hebt Junk drei Seelekräfte – Erinnerung (*memoria*, S. 57-67), Einsicht (*intellgentia*, S. 67-130), Wille (*voluntas*, S. 130-170) – hervor. Seiner Meinung nach sind diese drei Seelekräfte die Grundlage von Augustins Geistdarstellung (S. 56). Mit *conf.* 10 im Hintergrund meint Junk, dass Augustin im Erinnern den maßgeblichen innergeistigen Vorgang sieht, der das Zentrum und den Grund geistiger Aktivität darstellt (S. 57). Das Gedächtnis sei daher auch ein Ort, wo man Gott begegnet (vgl. *conf.* 10,38, S. 66-67). In der Darstellung der Erkenntnis betont Junk, dass man den Unterscheid zwischen den Ebenen des *nosse* und des *cogitare* im Denken Augustins wahrnehmen muss (S. 86). Er hebt die Ebene *nosse* hervor, und behauptet, dass die zwei Triaden *mens – notitia sui – amor sui* und *memoria sui – intellegentia sui – voluntas sui* eine Beschreibung des *se-nosse* sind (S. 86-87). Im Bereich der Erkenntnis diskutiert Junk auch die Aufstiegsberichte in *conf.* 7, 9 und 10 (S. 104-112) und die *verbum*-Thematik (S. 112-121). In der Darstellung des Willens meint Junk, dass Augustin den Willen als Strebevermögen bezeichnet (S. 130). Der Wille ist also eine reflexive, zwanglose und freiwillige Bewegung der Seele (duab. an. 14; diu. qu. 8; lib. arb. 2,194; S. 130). Ein interessanter Punkt in Junks Auffassung ist, dass er Augustins Liebesbegriff mit seinem Begriff vom Willen gleichsetzt. Dafür benutzt Junk viele Texte, in denen die Liebe anstelle des Willens genannt wird (z.B. *trin.* 8,12-14, S. 137; *trin.* 9,2, S. 140; *trin.* 14,18, S. 140). Im vierten Teil des ersten Kapitels geht es um Augustins Vorstellung vom Bild Gottes (S. 171-184). Einerseits strebe die Seele als Bild Gottes

natürlicherweise zu Gott (S. 177), anderseits bleibe eine Unterscheidung zwischen Gott und der von ihm geschaffenen Seele (S. 178). Auf diese Wiese weicht Augustins Bildtheorie von der Emanationslehre Plotins ab (S. 180-181).

Das zweite Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit Eckharts Geisttheorie. Es besteht aus drei Teilen und ist ähnlich wie das erste Kapitel gegliedert. In diesem Kapitel stellt Junk nicht nur Eckharts Denken vor, sondern vergleicht diesen auch mit Augustin. Im ersten Teil – "Metaphysische Voraussetzungen" (S. 192-201) – zeigt Junk, dass das Verhältnis zwischen Bild und Abbild im Denken Eckharts durch zwei grundlegende Relationen gekennzeichnet ist: die Ursprungsrelation und die Gleichheit (S. 192-198). Urbild und Abbild sei bei Eckhart von einer besonders engen Einheit umfasst (S. 197). Diese Einheit von Gott und Mensch zeigt, dass sich Eckharts Gotteslehre ziemlich von der des Augustin unterscheidet (S. 200-201). Im zweiten Teil handelt es sich um Eckharts Konzeption von der Seele (S. 202-279). Eckhart spreche vom Seelengrund nicht nur als Ort Gottes in der Seele, sondern auch von der gesamten Seele als Haus Gottes (S. 217). Dass Gott in der Seele einen Ort hat, scheine Eckhart durch Augustin zu belegen (vgl. *conf.* 10,38). Jedoch müsse man den tiefgreifenden Unterschied zwischen diesen zwei Denkern betrachten. Während Augustin Gott als *super anima mea* ansieht, argumentiert Eckhart hingegen, Gott sei zuinnerst in der Seele: *intimus et in intimis* (S. 220-221). Dann beschreibt Junk Eckharts Vorstellung der Seelenkräfte, aber beschränkt sich auf die "Erkenntnis" (S. 251-263) und das "Strebevermögen" (S. 263-276). In der Darstellung der Erkenntnis ist der Vergleich zwischen Eckharts und Augustins Illuminationstheorie bemerkenswert (S. 254-258). Eckhart kenne drei Arten der Erkenntnis, die er als *lumina* der Vernunft bezeichnet: das *lumen rationis*, das *lumen gloriae* und das *lumen fidei* (S. 254-257). Die Lichtmetophorik im Bereich der Erkenntnis kommt offensichtlich von Augustin, wurde aber von Eckhart auf seine Weise entwickelt. Während Augustin nur ein Licht – *lex aetern incommutabilis* – darstellt, das den Menschen erleuchtet, bezieht Eckhart hingegen seine Illuminationstheorie, in der die Dimension des religiösen Glaubens keine Rolle spielt, auf die Natur der Menschen (S. 256-257). In der Darstellung des Strebevermögens hebt Junk hervor, dass Eckhart Augustin nicht folgt, indem er die Unterscheidung des Willens und des konkreten Willensstrebens nicht wahrnimmt (S. 265). Daher kann die Differenzierung deutlich machen, dass Eckharts Geisttheorie zur Einheit geneigt ist, oder dass Eckhart Fragen im Zusammenhang mit der (Erb-)Sünde nie breiten Raum einräumt (S. 265). Im dritten Teil geht es um das Bild Gottes in Eckharts

Denken (S. 285-290). Junk weist darauf hin, dass Eckhart das göttliche Urbild und das menschliche Abbild als wesensgleich ansieht (S. 290).

Im dritten Kapitel fasst Junk den Vergleich zwischen Augustins und Eckharts Geisttheorie zusammen. Junk hält beide Systeme für vergleichbar, macht aber auf die Unterschiede aufmerksam. Er weist auf fünf Punkte hin, die die Unterschiede zwischen dem Wesen der Seele (S. 292-293), den Seelenkräften (S. 293) und dem Bild Gottes (S. 294) betreffen.

Schon diese Inhaltsübersicht lässt erahnen, ein wie dichtes und intensiv zu lesendes Buch Junk gelungen ist. Er bietet eine klare Darstellung der Geistkonzeption bei Augustin und Eckhart an. Sehr beachtenswert ist vor allem der Vergleich zwischen den beiden Denkern im Lauf des zweiten Kapitels (S. 197-198, 200-201, 204-205, 206-207, 208, 211-212, 216, 220-221, 239-244, 256-259, 261-262, 265, 268-269, 273-274, 278-279, 287-290). Eine Stärke von dieser Arbeit besteht zudem darin, dass sie das Verhältnis bzw. den Unterschied von Eckharts Geistphilosophie und der Augustins aufzuweisen vermag. Besonders erleuchtend ist die Darstellung des Verhältnisses von Gott und Seele bei beiden Denkern (Augustin: S. 15-22, 41-43, 177-184, 192-201; Eckhart: S. 206-207, 217-244). An vielen Stellen kann Junk auch zeigen, wie sich Eckhart selbst Augustins Texte anschließt (z.B. S. 222, 243, 257, 288). Dadurch hat der Verfasser seine These überzeugend bewiesen.

Junks Arbeit stößt auch einige Anregungen an. Ohne Zweifel steht Junk seinem katholischen-philosophischen Vorgänger Schmaus[2] und Brachtendorf[3] sehr nahe. Die Gliederung der Arbeit und die Art und Weise der Diskussion lässt den Einfluss klar spüren: die Darstellung von Augustins Seelenkräften als Erinnerung (S. 57-67), Erkenntnis (S. 67-130) und Wille (S. 130-167) ist vergleichbar mit Schmaus' Darstellung der Triadenglieder (*Die psychologische Trinitätslehre*, S. 310-399); die Beziehung zwischen *scientia* und *sapientia* hier (S. 51-53) hat Schmaus auch diskutiert (*Die psychologische Trinitätslehre*, S. 285-291); Junks Darstellung der Gotteserkenntnis (S. 96-112), des Verbums (S. 112-121) und des Glaubens (S. 122-130) ist der Brachtendorfs sehr ähnlich (*Die Struktur*, S. 79-117; 149-162). Es

[2] Michael Schmaus, *Die psychologische Trinitätslehre des heiligen Augustins* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1967[2]).

[3] Johannes Brachtendorf, *Die Struktur des menschlichen Geistes nach Augustinus: Selbstreflexion und Erkenntnis Gottes in »De Trinitate«* (Hamburg: Meiner, 2000).

scheint mir, dass Junks Darstellung von Augustins Geistbegriff nicht neu ist; sie ist eher eine Integration seiner Vorgänger.

Selbstverständlich hat diese katholische-philosophische Tradition auf die Untersuchung von Augustins Geisttheorie einen sehr starken Einfluss. Schon viel früher hat Schmaus auf die Rolle des Bewusstseins in Augustins Trinitätslehre hingewiesen. Später hat Brachtendorf die Innerlichkeit des menschlichen Geistes im Denken Augustins weitergeführt. Ähnlich wie Schmaus und Brachtendorf betont jetzt Junk die Bezogenheit der Seelenkräfte auf die Seele (S. 140-141) und die Innerlichkeit der Selbsterkenntnis (*se nosse*, S. 82-93). Jedoch bleibt Junks, sowie Schmaus' und auch Brachtendorfs Methode manchmal fraglich. Hier möchte ich drei Anfragen stellen:

1) Junk behauptet, dass die Erinnerung, die Erkenntnis und der Wille drei grundlegende Seelenkräfte der Geisttheorie Augustins sind (S. 54-56). Offensichtlich hat er die Triade *memoria, intellegentia, voluntas* im Kopf. Merkwürdig ist: Während diese Triade erst in *De trinitate* 10 explizit dargestellt worden ist, benutzt der Verfasser *Confessiones* 10 zur seiner Darstellung (besonders *memoria,* vgl. S. 57-63), wo *memoria, intellegentia, voluntas* gar nicht auftaucht. Die *Confessiones* wurden ca. 397 – 401 geschrieben, wobei *De trinitate* 10 ca. zwischen 410 – 416. Man kann Augustins Begriffe in diesen beiden Texten nicht einfach als gleichbedeutend ansehen. Vor allem wird der Begriff *memoria*, wenn man ihn genau anschaut, in *conf.* 10 und *trin.* 10 sehr unterschiedlich benutzt.
2) Nach Junks Meinung ist die Triade *memoria, intellegentia, voluntas* der Triade *mens, notitia sui, amor sui* übergeordnet (S. 86-90). Die letztere ist für ihn nur "ein Zwischenschritt, nicht das Ergebnis des Gedankenganges Augustins" (S. 90, Anm. 111). Diese Meinung vereinfacht das Verhältnis zwischen diesen zwei Triaden zu sehr. Bezüglich Augustins Argumentation in *trin.* 9-10 ist es klar, dass *memoria, intellegentia, voluntas* ein Fortschritt von *mens, notitia sui, amor sui* ist. Aber man darf nicht übersehen, dass diese zwei Triaden nicht komplett parallel stehen, und dass sie unterschiedliche Rollen in Augustins trinitarischer Argumentation spielen. Während Augustin *mens, notitia sui, amor sui* benutzt, um das inner-trinitarische Verhältnis zu entfalten (besonders zwischen dem Sohn und dem Heiligen Geist, vgl. *trin.* 9,16-18), benutzt er *memoria, intellegentia, voluntas* eher, um die Dimension der Selbstbezogenheit und Bezogenheit auf Andere (d.h. *ad ipse dicitur* und *ad aliud dicitur*) zu demonstrieren (vgl. *trin.* 10,13 and 17); diese *ad ipse dicitur* und *ad aliud dicitur* beziehen sich nicht nur auf das inner-trinitarischen Verhältnis, sondern auch auf das Verhältnis

von Gott und Mensch (vgl. *trin.* 14,9-15). Außerdem tauchen die beiden Triaden im letzten Buch von *De trinitate* (d.h. *trin.* 15) wieder auf (z.B. *trin.* 15,10). Daher bestätigt es, dass Augustin beide Triaden für gültig hält.

3) Junk folgt Brachtendorf und behauptet, dass *nosse* besser als *cogitare* in Augustins Darstellung der Erkenntnis bewertet wird, und dass *nosse* die innere Dreiheit darstellt (S. 86). Eine solche Behauptung überschätzt einerseits die Innerlichkeit der augustinischen Trinitätslehre, anderseits unterschätzt sie die Rolle des *cogitare* in Augustins Argumentation. *Trin.* 10,16 zeigt deutlich, dass Augustin *nosse* und *cogitare* gleichwertig ansieht. Es ist auch fraglich, ob der Kirchenvater die Innerlichkeit der Dreiheit überhaupt betont. Augustin erwähnt nur einmal die innere *memoria, intellegentia, voluntas* (*trin.* 14,10), und seine Haltung bezüglich dieser Innerlichkeit ist eher skeptisch. Der zentrale Punkt von *trin.* 14,10 ist, dass es unmöglich oder sinnlos ist, die trinitarische Struktur der Seele in dieser inneren Ebene von *memoria, intellegentia, voluntas* zu verfolgen, weil diese innere Ebene uns nur zu dazu führen kann, das *imago trinitatis* einzig als der memoria zugehörig zu sehen.[4]

Man könnte noch weitere Anfragen stellen. Zum Beispiel hätte das Verhältnis *scientia – sapientia* (S. 51-54) noch besser dargestellt werden können, wenn Junk Studer[5] und Madec[6] berücksichtigt hätte; die Diskussion um den *liberum voluntatis arbitrium* (S. 144-150) sollte den Text *De spiritu et littera* 52-60 berücksichtigen, wobei man die Theorien von LeBourlier[7] und Burns[8] auch nicht einfach vernachlässigen kann. Diese Anfragen sollen nicht als negative Bewertung für Junks Arbeit angesehen werden. Im Gegenteil zeigen diese Anfragen, dass die Arbeit so umfangreich verfasst worden ist, dass man immer

[4] vgl. *trin.* 14,10 (CCL 50A, 434/43-45): *nam si nos referamus ad interiorem mentis memoriam qua sui meminit et interiorem intellegentiam qua se intellegit et interiorem uoluntatem qua se diligit.*

[5] Basil Studer, "sacramentum et exemplum chez saint Augustin," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 10 (1975): 87-141; id., "History and Faith in Augustine's De Trinitate," *Augustinian Studies* 28 (1997): 7-50.

[6] Goulven Madec, "Christus, scientia et sapientia nostra: Le principe de cohérence de la doctrine augustinienne," *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 10 (1975): 77-85.

[7] Jean Lebourlier, "Grace et Liberté chez Saint Augustin," *Augustinus Magister* 2, 789-793 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1954); id., "Essai sur la responsabilité du pécheur dans la réflexion de saint Augustin," in *Augustinus Magister. Congrès international augustinien, Paris, 21-24 sept. 1954*, vol III (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1955).

[8] J. Patout Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1980).

Stellen zum weiter diskutieren finden kann. Daher sollten wir Leser Junk für seine große Mühe, die er für diese beeindruckende Arbeit aufgebracht hat, dankbar sein.

Colten Cheuk-Yin Yam

Lagouanère, Jérôme, Fialon, Sabine (eds.), *Tertullianus Afer. Tertullien et la littérature chrétienne d'Afrique (IIe-VIe siècles)*, (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 70), Brepols, Turnhout 2016, ISBN 978-2-503-55578-2, 380 p.

That Tertullian is an African, we learn from the entry for the year 208 in the *Chronicon*, produced by Eusebius of Caesarea, complemented by Jerome (*Tertullianus Afer*) and is taken up here by the editors of this volume. The papers gathered derive from the actes of a study day of the *Groupe de Recherche sur l'Afrique Antique* (G.R.A.A.) which took place at the Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier from the 3rd to the 4th April 2014. It follows a similar attempt to place important early Christian writers geographically, as done with Augustine in the volume on *Augustinus Afer. Saint Augustin: africanité et universalité. Actes du colloque international, Alger-Annaba, 1er-7 avril 2001*, ed. P.-Y. Fux, J.-M. Roessli and O. Wermelinger, Fribourg 2003 (2 vols.). Anthropologists or ethnographers who might look for the discussion of 'African' traditions in Tertullian will be quickly disappointed, as there are only traces of local traditions that surface in the Latin works that are preserved by Tertullian. This, Jérôme Lagouanère admits in the introductory contribution on 'Tertullien et la littérature chrétienne d'Afrique: problématique et enjeux' (pp. 9-17). Although he states a fruitful tension between *africanitas* and *romanitas*, he distinguishes the approach in the present monograph from the one taken by David E. Wilhite, *Tertullian the African. An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian's Context and Identities*, Berlin and New York 2007 by subscribing to its criticism by Frédéric Chapot (*CTC* 2007, pp. 326-327), although it would have been an interesting engagement at least with those passages in Wilhite where the question of Tertullian's critical position towards Rome is discussed. Yet, I endorse Lagouanère's methodology to start 'with a fully rigorously philological analysis' (p. 11) and also see his criticism of fixed identities quickly implied by ascribing to *africanitas* or *romanitas* opposite or contrasting notions. He rightly points to the deconstruction of such fixations already by Éric Rebillard in his *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late*

Antiquity, North Africa, 200-450 CE, particularly true for major cities like Carthage.

Indeed, the volume rather concentrates on Tertullian as a first and privileged representative of African Christianity, his dogmatic influence on core discussions, Trinity and Christology (developed by Paul Mattei, 'Aspects de l'influence de Tertullien sur le développement des doctrines trinitaire et christologique dans la patristique latine', pp. 21-41), the concept of the soul (Petr Kitzler, 'Tertullian's Concept of the Soul and His Corporealistic Ontology', pp. 43-62), donatism (Elena Zocca, 'Tertullien et le donatisme …', pp. 63-104), martyrdom (Sabine Fialon, '… Tertullien et l'hagiographie africaine …', pp. 105-138), and his literary influence on later 'African' Christian authors, Cyprian (Laetitia Ciccolini, '… Tertullian lu par Cyprian de Carthage', pp. 141-166), Lactantius (Blandine Colot, 'Africain, romain et chrétien: l'engagement religieux de Tertullien et de Lactance ….', pp. 167-184, and Stefan Freund, 'Tertullian bei Laktanz', pp. 185-203), Augustine (Laurence Mellerin, 'De Tertullien à Augustin, vers une definition de l'irrémissible', pp. 205-230, and Jérôme Lagouanère, 'Augustin, lecteur critique du *De anima* de Tertullien', pp. 231-258), and it is great to read that research does not stop with Augustine, but that Jean Meyer asks the question whether Tertullian was a forgotten author during the Middle Ages (pp. 259-265). And his answer is that manuscripts of Tertullian are present at Corbie in the 8th c., in the 9th (*codex Agobardinus*) with 21 of his treatises – according to the table of content – of which, unfortunately, 8 have been lost since then (p. 261). In addition, there are three further Medieval collections of Tertullian's works, and we know of Paschasius Radbertus who made use of him. If one had compared this with the slim manuscript tradition of, for example, Justin Martyr (Meyers uses another example, Tibullus, of whom only one manuscript survives, just like with Justin), the importance of Tertullian for the history of Christianity could have even been underpinned. Despite earlier criticism of Tertullian, therefore, this first giant of Christian *Latinitas* remains an inspiration. The volume closes with a substantial third part, the *Clavis Tertvlliani Opervm*, put together by Jérôme Lagouanère, a very helpful tool that complements the *Chronica Tertullianea et Cyprianea* (pp. 260-314). Attached are a substantial bibliography, abstracts in French and English and indices. Lots of work must have gone into the production of this volume, it is meticulously produced, and I found only minimal spelling errors, particularly in German titles (p. 281, l. 35 'Gotteslehre' instead of 'Gottleshre'; p. 282, l. 1 'ratend' instead of 'rattend', l. 11

'Grenzüberschreitungen' instead of 'Grenzüberschretungen', l. 16 'Festschrift' instead of 'Festchrift').

In contrast to the mentioned Wilhite, the collection endorses Tertullian as a deeply church oriented author who predominantly writes for insiders, in contrast, for example, to the very different 'African' Lactantius who is almost the complementary author who addresses the non-Christian Roman elite, perhaps one of the reasons that, despite Tertullian's embracing of the Phrygian 'heresy', he was read much more widely than Lactantius ever was. An interesting chapter is Tertullian's impact on the hagiographical literature, developed by Sabine Fialon, the co-editor of this volume. Although Tertullian himself did not suffer martyrdom, his influence was particularly felt by his writings on martyrdom, another sign that the brutality of martyrdom was less influential than the media productions in writings, imaginations and literary constructions of a backbencher who does not fight with his dirty body and bare life, but with his dark ink and a sharp pen. The present volume certainly provides scholarship with a collection of excellent studies and a toolbox for further work on this in many ways odd, but also 'likeable sinner'.

Markus Vinzent

Lane Fox, Robin, *Augustine: Conversions and Confessions*, Lane, New York 2015, ISBN 978 1 846 14400 4, xiv + 657 p. [Remarkably, the US edition of 2015 published by Basic books carries the title *Augustine: Conversions to Confessions*.]

This bulky book centres on Augustine's life up until his composition of *Confessiones*. By doing so, it chisels out a unique place for itself among the existing Augustine biographies. Peter Brown's celebrated book covered the same period in the first 175 pages of his 548 pages volume. This new study shows the depth and detailed approach of the author, who devoted no less than 657 pages to this limited biography. The exact time of composition of *Confessiones* is still an open issue, but the author offers a clear solution to this question: Augustine dictated his *Confessiones* "in a single burst" during the Lent of 397. This would have been a remarkable tour de force, yes, but one which Augustine was certainly capable of. It at least would explain the jazzy flow and sound of the text, as well as its perplexing, if not fluid, structure. This solution also means that the author looks into the first

43 years of Augustine's life, thus ending his biography not long after he became bishop of Hippo.

The author succinctly argues his clear and bold positions, whereas scholars normally prefer to carefully expound mere probabilities. This greatly contributes to the appeal of this work to the general reader, who understandably prefers to avoid intricate discussions of unfamiliar topics. The author succeeds in making one of the most influential figures of European culture profoundly known to a wider audience through his clarity in wording, reasoning, and structure, which help to make detailed information on Augustine's life more palatable.

In order to understand Augustine's world better, the author also created what he calls a triptych: he has added to the centrepiece "Augustine" side panels of two Greek-speaking contemporaneous Roman citizens: the older pagan Libanius, teacher of rhetoric, and the younger Christian Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais. Both have left us a considerable amount of writings, including Libanius' reflections on his own past life. These two side panels help us appreciate the centrepiece better, mainly by way of contrast, especially when considering the impact of Augustine's humble position in Roman society compared to these two wealthy men. Particularly Augustine's almost constant need for patrons to realize not only his worldly ambitions, but later also his ideal life as a Christian (his projected *otium vitae christianae* in Milan), comes much more to the fore in this study.

A comparison between Augustine's desperate letter to bishop Valerius after his sudden call to the priesthood, and Synesius' letter, "a pearl among early Christian correspondence" (p. 413) dealing with a similar request, sheds further light on this life-changing episode in Augustine's life.

As a renowned historian of Antiquity, the author continuously keeps an eye on the wider Roman background which may have effected Augustine's decisions, such as the fact that the authorities ordered visiting students to return to their hometowns when aged twenty, not long before Augustine decided to leave his studies in Carthage and to return to Thagaste … at the age of twenty (pp. 138-139).

As an atheist, the author paints an overall balanced picture of the Christian Augustine, with great respect and admiration for his brilliant mind. Also this aspect no doubt appeals to today's readers, who are witnessing a further retreat of the Christian element within society. His book could potentially guide those interested in Ancient history towards the great saint (and sinner) Augustine, and "convert" those

who have an initial aversion to studying something as out-of-fashion as Christianity. In a sense, this book is also about the making of Augustine's *Confessiones*, and it invites the reader to "pick up and read" this masterpiece of Latin literature and to savour its remarkable content to the full. As such, this study could also be termed "A companion to Augustine's *Confessiones*".

With his bold approach and clear-cut choices, the author also challenges the traditional scholar's view on other occasions: opposing the idea of a fictional element in the Cassiciacum dialogues, he claims: they are evidence for the best-known weeks in the entire history of ancient philosophy" (p. 303).

However, he also writes about Cassiciacum: "he [i.e. Augustine] now planned to seek them [i.e. God and the happy life] with a small 'school' of pupils by embarking on philosophy, not rhetoric. This venture was not one for his intellectual equals in Milan. None of the 'greater friends' would consider leaving their own lordly villas and accompanying a party of social inferiors into someone else's sub-Alpine 'chalet' so as to study with beginners" (p. 299). Here, one could argue that, originally, Augustine planned to engage his friends in his projected "otium vitae christianae", but because he could not persuade them (Nebridius, Verecundus, and perhaps also others), he had to revert to a much humbler version. His fervent desire to have his friends with him at Cassiciacum (see p. 336), and his repeated attempts to attract wealthy patrons (Manlius Theodorus, Zenobius, Romanianus) show that, from the beginning, he had something else in mind than "to study philosophy with beginners".

There is further the crucial and famous "conversion" moment in the garden, the hearing of a child's words "tolle, lege", interpreted by Augustine as a divine command to pick up and read Paul's epistles, i.e. to apply sortilege to the little codex left behind on the table. The author comments: "he converted in the garden through his own creative misunderstanding" (p. 292). I have never encountered before in an index the lemma "creative misunderstanding, by Aug." (p. 652), let alone a subsequent list of no less than 9 references dealing with this term in a biography of Augustine. This surely is related to the "atheist" view of the author, and it leans towards a self-engendered semi-miraculous event, a view which Christian scholars would certainly find difficult to agree to. This begs the question: why would Augustine deliberately wish to misunderstand these words?

We arrive here at what I believe to be the most significant shortcoming of this study. Seeing that Augustine's *Confessiones* stands at the centre of this book, an important approach to this work has been

largely neglected, even though the author pointed out in his introductory chapter that "in the twenty-first century, most readers turn to psychology, not philosophy, to assess Augustine's presentation of 'what I once was' and 'what I now am'". A psychological assessment is, regrettably, conspicuously absent in this study, and this also shows in the bibliography, which does not include, for instance, *The Hunger of the Heart: Reflections on the Confessions of Augustine* (1990). When a comment on psychological interpretation does crop up, it is usually to question or criticize its findings. Possible indications that Augustine shows symptoms of a psychological disorder, such as suffering from an overbearing and dominant mother, who was too attached to her (favourite) son, are somehow played down in the text: the potentially manipulative ceaseless tears of Monnica are normalized by saying that other mothers, too, cried over their sons. Yet, when the author tries to demonstrate that Monnica's behaviour was not that unusual at the time, we need to consider Augustine's own comment: "*As mothers do, she loved to have me with her, but much more than most mothers*". *Conf.* V.viii[15]. We see the same "over-attachment" returning in the relationships Augustine himself developed: we have the severe depression when his friend died ("*I carried my lacerated and bloody soul when it was unwilling to be carried by me*" (*Conf.* IV.vii[12]), and also the comment when he became separated from his first concubine: "*My heart which was deeply attached was cut and wounded, and left a trail of blood […] my wound, inflicted by the earlier parting, was not healed. After inflammation and sharp pain, it festered. The pain made me as it were frigid but desperate*" (*Conf.* VI.xv[25]).

The author claims that Augustine misunderstood his past in his mother's favour, when he indicates that his mother's daily tears had been crucial for his rescue from ruin, but we are left with no further clue as to why he misread his mother's role. The author once again questions a modern psychological approach to Augustine's parental situation, when he states: "With an aggressive, impulsive father and a morally exemplary mother, Augustine is a tempting son for modern analysts who are alive to models in literature" (pp. 47-48). Even though the author acknowledges that therapy is an idea which Augustine fully embraces, with God and Christ as his two therapists, he refrains from evaluating how successful this therapy in the end was.

Lastly, there is one other important issue left unexplored by the author concerning *Confessiones*. Alypius, in all his modesty, declined from writing about himself to Paulinus of Nola, who wanted to know

where he came from, and how he became a Christian. Augustine replied that he would take up this task instead. Later, he would deliver with his *Confessiones* an extensive and masterful account of his own past life. This surely begs the question as to what extent Augustine was displaying narcistic behaviour in doing so.

To conclude, despite this particular lacuna in a book revolving around Augustine's *Confessiones*, this highly readable study has much to recommend itself: placing Augustine's personal and intimate story of *Confessiones* in such a clear and learned way within the wider context of Late Antique Roman society helps the reader to understand more fully the remarkable journey Augustine made to finally arrive at his newly found Christian (happy) life.

Geert Van Reyn

Lassère, Jean-Marie, *Africa, quasi Romana. 256 av. J.-C. – 711 apr. J.-C.*, (Etudes d'Antiquités Africaines), CNRS Editions, Paris 2015, ISBN 978-2-271-07673-1, 778 p.

Das Werk Lasserès ist die erste umfassende Geschichte des römischen Nordafrika, oder besser gesagt eine Geschichte der Romanisierung der nordafrikanischen Provinz(en). Der Leser findet darin eine detaillierte und historisch übersichtliche Zusammenfassung der bisher in zahlreichen Einzelstudien oder Aufsätzen erschienenen Forschungsergebnisse aus der (hauptsächlich französischen) Epigraphik und Archäologie, die von der vorrömischen Zeit bis zum Fall der römischen bzw. byzantinischen Herrschaft und der Übernahme der Macht durch die arabischen Invasoren reicht, für Lassère ein einheitlicher Zeitraum, der erst um 700 zu Ende ging (S. 8). Einleitend bezeichnet Lassère sein Buch als den Versuch einer allgemeinen, wenn möglich vollständigen Geschichte der ‚Afrikaner in der Antike' („histoire générale, et si possible totale, des Africains de l'antiquité classique", S. 7). Ein solches Werk ist sehr willkommen, da es sowohl die historischen Abläufe wie die Strukturen, so die Institutionen, die urbanistische Entwicklung, die Geschichte der Kulte und der Künste und viele andere bedeutende Aspekte behandelt. Für alle, die sich mit den Verhältnissen in diesem Teil der römischen Reichs bekannt machen oder ihre Kenntnisse vertiefen wollen, ist diese Gesamtübersicht mit ihrer Fülle von Einzelinformationen von unschätzbarem Wert. Wer an einer spezifischen Thematik oder Epoche interessiert ist, kann sich auf die Lektüre einzelner

Teile bzw. Kapitel beschränken, ohne notwendigerweise das doch beeindruckend umfangreiche Werk in seiner Gesamtheit zu lesen.

Der Text enthält zahlreiche Fußnoten mit Kommentaren und bibliographischen Verweisen. Auf jedes Einzelkapitel folgt eine auf die jeweilige Thematik abgestellte Bibliographie. Zu bedauern ist allerdings das Fehlen einer Gesamtbibliographie, eines Index und eines Kartenwerks. Vor allem letzteres erschwert an vielen Stellen die Lektüre und damit das Verständnis der Zusammenhänge.

Das Buch besteht aus drei großen Teilen, die jeweils in thematische Kapitel gegliedert sind. Der erste, chronologische, Teil (La construction de l'Afrique Romaine – Der Aufbau des römischen Afrika, S. 21-150) stellt die vorrömische Geschichte und die auf dem einheimischen Substrat fußende Entstehung der afrikanischen Provinzen bis in die Zeit der Flavier (ca. 100 n.Chr.) dar. Der zweite Teil (L'apogée de l'Afrique Romaine – Die Hochzeit des römischen Afrika, S. 161-495), in der Einführung als kulturelle Analyse bezeichnet, ist nicht chronologisch aufgebaut, sondern behandelt in Einzelkapiteln die für die Struktur der romano-afrikanischen Gesellschaft im 2. und frühen 3. Jh. entscheidenden Aspekte, so die Wirtschaft, das gesellschaftliche Leben, die Kulte und Religionen, die Städte, die Institutionen und die politisch-geographische Einteilung und deren Bedeutung. Der dritte Teil (Le temps des incertitudes – Die Zeit der Unsicherheiten, S. 499-735) enthält, wieder chronologisch dargestellt, die Geschichte der Provinzen bis zum Ende der byzantinischen Herrschaft in Nordafrika. Den Abschluß liefert der Epilog ‚De Rome à l'Islam' (Von Rom zum Islam, S. 737-749), der das allmähliche Verschwinden des Urbanismus sowie der Kultur und Sprache des klassischen Altertums und die Verdrängung der christlichen Religion durch den Islam darstellt.

Die Einteilung in Ereignisgeschichte in den Teilen 1 und 3, und Analyse in Teil 2 ist nicht problemfrei. Ergeignisgeschichte und Analyse sind praktisch kaum voneinander zu trennen. Namentlich im zweiten Teil greifen sie ineinander über. Andererseits bietet sich auf Grund der Fülle der Quellen und unseres enormen Kenntnisstandes für das 2. und frühe 3. Jh. eine analytische, sozio-kulturelle Betrachtung der nordafrikanischen Realität für diesen Zeitraum an. Man versteht mithin die Absicht, die hinter der Entscheidung des Autors steht, kann aber gleichzeitig die Augen vor einer gewissen strukturellen Schwäche nicht ganz verschließen.

Nun zu den drei Teilen im Einzelnen. Der erste Teil bietet eine hervorragende Darstellung der geschichtlichen und kulturellen Entwicklungen, so der libyschen Staaten und Karthagos, die den römischen Provinzen vorangegangen sind. Obwohl das eigentliche

Studium der vorrömischen Quellen in Nordafrika kompetenteren, so der Autor, Forschern überlassen wird, erschien ihm die Berücksichtigung des vorrömischen Kulturerbes als eine Selbstverständlichkeit, vor allem auch im Licht von dessen Langlebigkeit und Widerstandskraft bis zum Ende der Antike. So erklärt sich auch die Wahl des Buchtitels, der wohlgemerkt nicht *Africa Romana*, sondern *Africa, quasi Romana* lautet. Bemerkenswert ist weiterhin die Diskussion der wirtschaftlichen Zusammenhänge und der Rolle des Handels. Im letzten Kapitel des ersten Teils (L'Afrique sous Néron et les Flaviens – Afrika unter Nero und den Flaviern, S. 141-155) hätte man sich im Zusammenhang mit der zunehmenden Urbanisierung nach römischem Vorbild einen Hinweis auf die Beziehung zwischen der Vergabe römischen Bürgerrechts, dem Romanisierungswillen der einheimischen Bevölkerung und dem Baueuergetismus in den *ciuitates* gewünscht (s.u.).

Der zweite Teil mit seiner analytischen Darstellung steht zentral, was auch in der Seitenzahl zum Ausdruck kommt. Hier werden die Strukturen im römischen Afrika des 2. und frühen 3. Jh. nach thematischen Gesichtspunkten durchleuchtet. In den Kapiteln ‚Société et vie sociétale' (Gesellschaft und soziale Strukturen, S. 245-282), ‚Les grands aspects de la civilisation des Romano-Africains' (Die großen Aspekte der romano-afrikanischen Zivilisation, S. 283-317), ‚Les villes' (Die Städte, S. 367-400) und ‚Les institutions' (Die Institutionen, S. 401-424) werden Phänomene wie Euergetismus, römisches Bürgerrecht, Urbanismus, städtisches Statut (*ciuitates, municipium, colonia*) und Ämter beleuchtet. Durch die nach Kapiteln getrennte Behandlung stehen allerdings sich gegenseitig ergänzende Informationen, die in einen Zusammenhang eingefügt, interessante Schlußfolgerungen zugelassen hätten, voneinander losgelöst. Vor allem die oben bereits erwähnte Beziehung zwischen den in Nordafrika für die einheimische Bevölkerung gegebenen Möglichkeiten des Erwerbs römischen Bürgerrechts und dem bemerkenswerten Umfang des privaten Euergetismus hätte deutlicher herausgearbeitet werden können: da römisches Bürgerrecht nicht nur von Einzelpersonen einheimischen Rechts erworben werden konnte, sondern auch von ganzen Gebietskörperschaften einheimischen Rechts (d.h. einheimische *ciuitates* konnten das Statut eines römischen *municipium* bzw. einer *colonia* erhalten), und da römisches Bürgerrecht, wie Lassère an mehreren Stellen selbst erwähnt, mit handfesten Privilegien wie z.B. *immunitas* oder sogar *ius Italicum* (s. z.B. S. 418-419) einher ging, d.h. sozioökonomischen Aufstieg für Einzelpersonen und für *ciuitates* gleichermaßen bedeutete, wäre es historisch ergiebig gewesen, den

Zusammenhang zwischen dem offensichtlichen Bestreben der einheimischen Bevölkerung, vor allem der Aristokratie, römische Sitten und römisches Gedankengut zu übernehmen und das Bürgerrecht anzustreben, und ihrer Bereitschaft, Bauwerke zu finanzieren, die den Romanisierungswillen unter Beweis stellten, deutlicher aufzuzeigen. In Thugga, aber auch in anderen afrikanischen *ciuitates* lassen sich diese Zusammenhänge gut beobachten: einheimische Aristokraten heirateten in römische Familien ein, übernahmen das Amt des *flamen perpetuus* im Kaiserkult und errichteten aus Anlaß ihres Amtsantritts ein städtisches Bauwerk, zunächst Tempel, später auch profane Bauwerke. Mitglieder nachfolgender Generationen solcher Familien trifft man als römische Bürger wieder, ausgestattet mit den *tria nomina* und einem Tribuseintrag. Hervorzuheben wäre auch, daß während in anderen Provinzen ähnliche Möglichkeiten des Bürgerrechtserwerbs gegeben waren, der Zugang zum Statut des *ciuis Romanus* im benachbarten Ägypten für den Einzelnen unvergleichlich schwieriger, und die Möglichkeit für Niederlassungen, das Statut eines römischen *municipium* oder einer *colonia* zu erhalten, gar nicht gegeben war. Der fehlende juridische und damit verbunden materielle Ansporn dürfte zumindest eine mögliche Erklärung für den auffallenden Unterschied im Urbanismus der großen Mehrheit der ägyptischen Städte im Vergleich zu jenen z.B. der afrikanischen Provinzen, sowie das geringe Ausmaß des privaten Euergetismus in den Städten und der damit einhergehenden Epigraphik im römischen Ägypten bieten.

In dem Kapitel ‚Städte' werden die für eine nordafrikanische Stadt typischen öffentlichen Bauwerke beschrieben, die der Baufreude privater Euergeten zu verdanken seien, und deren Entstehen Lassere u.a. mit dem Wechsel des städtischen Statuts in Verbindung bringt (S. 382-383). Allerdings zeigen zumindest die Inschriften aus Thugga, daß der größte Teil der durch private Euergeten finanzierten Monumentalbauten in der Zeit der *ciuitates* entstanden ist, und daß nach der Erreichung des Munizipalstatuts (Thugga wurde 205 *municipium*, 261 erst *colonia*) der private Euergetismus einer öffentlichen Finanzierung aus der *respublica*, der Stadtkasse, Platz zu machen scheint (CIL 26551. 26547, 26634).

Bemerkenswert ist in diesem zweiten Teil wieder die ausgezeichnete Analyse der Verhältnisse in Landwirtschaft und Handel. Lassère kommt abschließend zu der Schlußfolgerung, am Ende des 2. Jh. stelle man im römischen Afrika eine integrierte Gesellschaft fest, d.h. ohne allzu große existenzielle Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen sie konstituierenden Gruppen (S. 279). Einen hervorragenden Überblick bieten auch die Kapitel über die heidnischen Kulte und

die Christianisierung Nordafrikas. Detaillierte Kenntnisse über die regionale Einteilung der nordafrikanischen Provinzen kann sich der Leser im Kapitel ‚Les grandes division régionales' (S. 425-513) verschaffen, in dem die doch sehr unterschiedlichen Regionen und Unterregionen mit ihren klimatischen Besonderheiten, ihrer Bodenbeschaffenheit, ihrer wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung, einheimischen Bevölkerung etc. beschrieben werden. Hier macht sich allerdings das Fehlen eines Kartenwerks besonders bemerkbar.

Der dritte Teil greift unter dem Titel ‚Die Zeit der Unsicherheiten' (Le temps des incertitudes) den Faden der Ereignisgeschichte wieder auf, enthält jedoch neben der Darstellung der historischen Abläufe zwangsläufig auch eine analytische Betrachtung. Besonders erwähnenswert erscheinen die Kapitel 19 und 21 über die Weiterentwicklung des nordafrikanischen Christentums im 3. und 4. Jh. mit einer Diskussion der Rolle des Manichäismus (S. 565-569), der Behandlung der Häresien im christlichen Nordafrika, vor allem des Donatismus (S. 619-635), den Lassère als eine typisch nordafrikanische Bewegung und einen ‚accident local' (lokal begrenzten Zwischenfall, S. 634) bezeichnet, der aus der Hand geraten und instrumentalisiert worden sei. Eine Verbindung zwischen den Donatisten und den auf Numidien beschränkten, aufständischen *circoncelliones*, Banden, die sich aus dem ländlichen Proletariat rekrutierten (S. 602) erkennt Lassère nicht. Dennoch stellt sich die Frage, ob die große Bedeutung des Donatismus nicht auch bedingt war durch die von Lassère beschriebenen, im 3. Jh. beginnenden sozialen und politischen Unruhen auch in den nordafrikanischen Provinzen (S. 499-513), u.a. hervorgerufen durch aufständische *gentes* in den weniger romanisierten Gebieten. In jedem Fall haben die mit äußerster Bitterkeit geführten theologischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen der Orthodoxie und den abweichenden Glaubensrichtungen die innere Kohäsion der nordafrikanischen Provinzen geschwächt.

Mit dieser Problematik hängt eine weitere entscheidende Frage zusammen, nämlich ob sich das römische Afrika ab der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jh. in einer wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Krise befunden hat, wie, so Lassère, von marxistisch ausgerichteten Historikern behauptet werde (S. 632), oder ob sich im Gegenteil in diesem Teil des römischen Reichs eine bemerkenswerte Stabilität und ein bis in die byzantinische Zeit praktisch ununterbrochener Wohlstand beobachten lassen, eine These, die namentlich von Claude Lepelley vertreten wird, und der Lassère beipflichtet. Als Beweis werden z.B. die Parameter städtischer Baubestand, Euergetismus und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Provinzen herangezogen, die unverändert geblieben seien. Für den

gleichbleibenden Umfang des Euergetentums verweist Lepelley auf die 800 zwischen 275 und 439 in den Quellen überlieferten Euergesien. Dennoch räumt auch Lepelley ein, daß erstens eine unausgeglichene regionale Verteilung zugunsten der Provinz *Africa Proconsularis* und zu Lasten Numidiens zu erkennen ist, und daß außerdem Baureparaturen an Thermen, Wasserleitungen und Brunnenanlagen, d.h. an Zweckbauten, vorherrschen, während der Anteil der Neubauten sehr gering ausfalle (10 %), ein Umstand, den Lepelley auf urbanistische Sättigung zurückführt (S. 596-597). Jedoch läßt sich die Tatsache, daß viele Zweckbauten offensichtlich verfallen waren, auch als Anzeichen dafür interpretieren, daß der gesamte Baubestand (s. z.B. Theater, Fortunatempel und Saturntempel in Thugga) verwahrlost war, und sich die Euergeten auf die Wiederherstellung der lebensnotwendigen Strukturen beschränkten. In diese Richtung weisen auch die ab der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jh. spärlich werdenden Bauinschriften, z.B. aus Thugga, in denen der von der Zentralregierung zur Supervision des Finanzgebarens der Städte eingesetzte *curator reipublicae*, gleichzeitig regelmäßig *flamen perpetuus*, als eine Art Zwangs-Euerget vor allem bei der Renovierung von Zweckbauten auftritt (erster Beleg für einen *curator reipublicae* in Thugga 264/265). Dies alles deutet auf Verschiebungen und Veränderungen in den gesellschaftlichen Strukturen. Lassère selbst weist auf die namentlich durch exzessive Besteuerung hervorgerufene, seit dem späten 3. Jh. stets wachsende Kluft zwischen extrem reichen Grundbesitzern und verarmten Landarbeitern (S. 511), die auch in der christlichen Literatur der Zeit angeprangert wurde, und sieht darin einen wesentlichen Grund für den späteren Verfall (S. 597-602). Es wäre hinzuzufügen, daß im 4. Jh., also gerade in der Zeit, als offensichtlich Renovierungsbedarf an öffentlichen Bauwerken bestand, die Erweiterung und Renovierung luxuriöser Privathäuser mit aufwendigen Mosaiken und Thermen z.B. in Thugga und Bulla Regia stattfand, die als Ausdruck der Konzentration des Reichtums in einer kleinen Schicht städtischer Bürger verstanden werden kann.

Lassère spricht zwar mit Lepelley von einer relativen Stabilität der großen Strukturen, erkennt jedoch auch die Verwerfungen vor allem im ländlichen Raum (S. 606). Im Kapitel ‚Le temps des tumultes' (Die Zeit der Unruhen, S. 637-652), das die Zeit zwischen 367 und 439 behandelt, kommt Lassère nach der Darstellung der durch die Einfälle barbarischer Stämme entstandenen Unruhen und politischen Verwicklungen mit Lepelley zu dem Schluß, die nordafrikanischen Städte seien zwar zu einem Zeitpunkt, als die europäischen Provinzen bereits durch die Germanen zerstört waren, nach wie vor bewohnt und

aktiv geblieben, und das gute Funktionieren der Institutionen sei allerseits gefeiert worden (S. 649-650), jedoch dürfe man das Bild nicht allzu sehr schönen: es hätten sich schon im 3. Jh. Anzeichen eines kommenden Unheils in den nordafrikanischen Provinzen erkennen lassen, besonders an Hand des Elends der Zivilbevölkerung (S. 651). Diese seien am Wendepunkt des 3. zum 4. Jh. manifest geworden und hätten ab 397 zu dem starken Rückgang des städtischen Bauwesens beigetragen. Es ist dabei eine Frage der Perspektive, ob man diese Anzeichen und die Reaktion darauf mit Lassère als ‚adaptations' (Anpassungen, z.B. S. 499) bewertet oder als Ausdruck einer noch unterschwelligen, aber schwerwiegenden Krise auf Grund einer auch von Lassère beobachteten extremen sozio-ökonomischen Polarisierung bei nach außen unveränderten Strukturen, einer Krise, die das Ende der römischen Herrschaft nach sich zog.

Die beiden letzten Kapitel des dritten Teils enthalten die Geschichte des nordafrikanischen Vandalenreichs (S. 653-693) und der byzantinischen Wiedereroberung der nordafrikanischen Provinzen (S. 695-734). Auf dem von Lassère vorgestellten Hintergrund einer relativen Stabilität und des guten Funktionierens der Institutionen überrascht es, daß es den barbarischen Vandalen gelang, Nordafrika mit solcher Leichtigkeit und gegen einen so geringen Widerstand der Bevölkerung ihre Herrschaft aufzuerlegen. Trotz dieser Fremdherrschaft und obwohl der endgültige Niedergang der nordafrikanischen Städte in der Vandalenzeit eingesetzt habe, habe dies nicht das Ende des wirtschaftlichen Wohlstands dieser Region und ihrer Rolle als Wirtschaftsmacht bedeutet (S. 669-672).

Lassères *Africa, quasi Romana* ist ein Meilenstein in der Forschungsgeschichte der nordafrikanischen Provinzen des römischen Reichs. Diese Gesamtübersicht dient vor allem der Vermittlung von detailliertem Wissen aus den außerordentlich zahlreichen Quellen, die aus diesem Teil der römischen Welt auf uns gekommen sind, seien es Bauwerke, Inschriften, Mosaike oder literarische Texte. Das große Verdienst des Buchs liegt in der bisher noch nicht geleisteten strukturierten Verarbeitung und Darstellung dieser riesigen Masse von Quellenmaterial, an deren Hand die Romanisierung Nordafrikas aufgezeigt wird, gleichzeitig aber auch deren Grenzen in den schwer zugänglichen Berg- und Wüstengebieten, in denen die Vitalität des vorrömischen Substrats einen entscheidenden Faktor im Hinblick auf den Untergang der *romanitas* darstellte.

Gertrud Dietze-Mager

Lau, Dieter, *Origenes' tropologische Hermeneutik und die Wahrheit des biblischen Wortes. Ein Beitrag zu den Grundlagen der altchristlichen Bibelexegese*, (Lateres: Texte und Studien zu Antike, Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit 10), Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main 2016, ISBN 9783653950595, 266 p.

The approach of this study is similar to the one followed successfully by the author in an earlier and more modest study of Augustine (in *Wiener Studien* 124 [2011] 181–229). Logically structured, the volume breaks down into five parts, enveloped by an introduction and a conclusion. Lau opens by introducing the reader to the concept of tropological hermeneutics in the framework of Origen's biblical hermeneutics. This involves an overview of the state of the research, against the background of which Lau defines his own position and the path his study will take throughout the following pages (pp. 15–30).

The first section focuses on terminology: Lau investigates to varying levels of detail the most relevant terms that Origen used to identify and interpret tropic expressions in the Bible (pp. 31–76). These include ἀλληγορία, αἴνιγμα, συνεκδοχή, κατάχρησις etc. One expects this useful chapter to be consulted more often by scholars looking up a particular term than reading it from A to Z.

In the second chapter, Lau reaches back and takes his time to explain the second of both major topics announced in the introduction: the general methodological principles of Origen's biblical hermeneutics. In a handful of pages, he confronts those principles with the insights reached in the preceding section. Those reflections conclude the chapter (pp. 77–94). More importantly, they also announce the following ones.

The third and fourth chapters build the heart of the book. In the third, Lau builds up towards proving the necessity of tropological exegesis. He does this by underlining the duality of the biblical text and its interpretation: throughout the chapter, Lau repeatedly presents contrasting pairs, such as τὸ σημαῖνον vs τὸ σημαινόμενον or *corporalia* vs *spiritalia*, which correspond to multiple semantic levels of the biblical text (pp. 95–123). This duality is continued in the fourth chapter, which opens with a presentation of the so-called 'two worlds paradigm' (the world of the senses vs the spiritual world) and of the duality of speech vs being. Reaching back to the first two chapters, Lau finally moves on to discuss how Origen discloses the τροπικῶς λεγόμενον with the help of his hermeneutical instruments (pp. 125–183).

A short fifth chapter closes the study: pp. 185–201 take a step back and fathom the significance and consequences of Origen's

tropological hermeneutics in terms of insights into the biblical text that are gained, and what they have to offer in the framework of his philosophical and theological instruction. What follows retrospectively summarizes the entire book for the reader desiring a quick round-up (pp. 203–215).

Not having had in my hands any earlier publication in the *Lateres* series, I did not really know what to expect from the volume. I was pleasantly surprised to be able to expose its rather large font, its basic typesetting and its relative pocket size as deceptive: Lau's book is a serious scholarly study of high standards. Particularly advantageous in this regard is the remarkably high number of references to primary literature, which are not restricted to any specific chapter or section but dominate the entire volume (and are conveniently brought together in an extensive *index fontium*). It is beyond doubt that Lau gained his intimate knowledge of Origen from a systematic consultation of the source texts (both Greek and Latin). The philologically oriented reader will be pleased to see that Lau in general manages to refer to the preferable edition—including the more recent volumes in *Origenes: Werke mit deutscher Übersetzung* (for the fragments on Genesis, for example). In this context, one is tempted to point out that at the time of publication of Lau's study, an edition of Origen's Munich homilies on the Psalms was in fact available (*Die neuen Psalmenhomilien: eine kritische Edition des* Codex Monacensis Graecus *314*, ed. L. Perrone et al. [GCS nF 19], 2015), against p. 21 n. 25: it might be interesting to find out to what extent this previously unknown text confirms or nuances Lau's views.

Throughout the book, Lau shows himself very much at home in the grammatical and rhetorical tradition from (pagan) antiquity. This experience is an asset of the volume. The cost at which it comes is not a terrible loss, but it is a fact that the origins of Origen's tropological hermeneutics (its roots in the pagan and, to a lesser extent, in the Alexandrian tradition, for which Lau builds on the work of M. Pohlenz and others) are a topic that is dearer to Lau than is their legacy – an author such as Eusebius of Caesarea is close to absent from the book.

Lau knows his way around the secondary literature. In view of the topic and the observations articulated in the preceding paragraph, one would expect an even more obvious presence of B. Neuschäfer's seminal study (1987), which is now already frequently mentioned, but whose role cannot be exaggerated. Along the same line, it somewhat surprises to see that while Lau cites two articles from Ch. Schäublin, his *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen*

Exegese is completely absent (1974 – despite its title also relevant to a study of Origen such as Lau's).

The latter remarks do not detract from the qualities of the book, which advances our knowledge of Origen's hermeneutics. Time will tell whether Lau's exemplary determination to reach back to the primary sources and his painstakingly detailed and nuanced reading of the source texts will turn out to fulfill the missionary function he sets forth for them (in an ominous and seemingly frustrated side note on p. 8), but one certainly hopes it will.

Reinhart Ceulemans

Marenbon, John, *Pagans and Philosophers. The Problem of Paganism from Augustine to Leibniz*, Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2015, ISBN 9780691142555/9780691176086, 354 p.

L'auteur de ce livre examine ce qu'un nombre d'écrivains importants au cours de la période allant d'environ 200 jusqu'à environ 1700 ont pensé et écrit au sujet de la connaissance et des vertus des païens ainsi que de la possibilité pour eux d'être sauvé. Par le terme païen il désigne tous ceux qui ne sont ni chrétien, ni juif ni musulman. La plupart des études missiologiques qui s'intéressent au problème de la relation du christianisme avec le paganisme traitent d'habitude abondamment de la période du christianisme primitif et des Pères de l'Église. Habituellement elles gardent le silence sur les siècles qui suivent, créant de la sorte l'impression que le problème ne resurgit à la surface qu'à la période contemporaine. Évidemment, il y a des exceptions. Par exemple, Thomas d'Aquin et/ou les Réformateurs font parfois l'objet d'un traitement. Le mérite de Marenbon consiste précisément dans le fait qu'il étudie un grand nombre d'auteurs appartenant à la période traditionnellement négligée. Cela me paraît tellement exceptionnel et inédit que je me sens autorisé à dire que ce livre ne peut manquer dans la bibliothèque d'aucun missiologue.

L'ouvrage est divisé en trois parties. La première partie traite de la problématique à partir du Nouveau Testament jusqu'à Boèce. Un des chapitres de cette partie est consacré à Saint Augustin. Rarement ou jamais j'ai lu un texte qui, en dépit du nombre de pages assez réduit, offre un exposé tellement clair et nuancé de la doctrine de l'influent évêque d'Hippone sur le statut des païens. La deuxième partie traite de la période allant du début du Moyen Âge jusqu'au

quatorzième siècle. En elle la parole est donnée, entre autre, à Alcuin, Abélard, Jean de Salisbury, Dante, Boccaccio et les poètes anglais Laagland et Chaucer. Dans la troisième et dernière partie se trouvent examinées les idées qui ont cours durant la période allant d'environ 1400 à environ 1700 au sujet de la connaissance des païens, des vertus païennes et de la possibilité de trouver le salut. Des figures éminentes de cette période sont Nicolas de Cuse, Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Bartolomeo de Las Casas, Garcilaso de la Vega, Matteo Ricci, Francisco Suarez, Thomas More, Melchior Cano et, évidemment, Leibniz, à côté de bien d'autres que je ne mentionne pas, mais qui n'ont pas échappé à l'attention de Marenbon. Bien entendu, il n'existe pas mal d'études particulières consacrées à certaines des figures traitées par l'auteur. Mais comme étude synthétique d'une période comportant plusieurs siècles et concentrée sur le problème du paganisme, *Pagans and Philosophers* est incontestablement « nouveau ».

Ce qui frappe le lecteur de ce livre est qu'un certain relativisme, qui d'habitude est considéré comme un trait spécifique de la culture occidentale contemporaine, se trouve clairement affirmé et propagé par des auteurs appartenant à une période bien plus reculée de l'histoire. Un second élément frappant est que, au cours de la période étudiée par l'auteur, le problème du paganisme ne suscite pas seulement l'intérêt des théologiens, mais se trouve également abondamment commenté par d'autres écrivains, notamment des philosophes, des chroniqueurs, des essayistes, des compilateurs de récits de voyage, etc. Cela semble indiquer que la société de ces temps-là se sentait fortement concernée par la problématique. Ce qui contraste violemment avec le manque d'intérêt pour la période en question chez les missiologues. Un troisième fait remarquable révélé par l'étude de Marenbon est que, au cours de la période étudiée, on ne constate aucune évolution rectiligne dans la stratégie de l'Occident chrétien à l'égard du paganisme, pas dans le sens d'une plus grande bienveillance à l'égard des païens ni dans le sens d'une attitude plus négative à l'égard du paganisme. Toute la gamme d'attitudes possibles a été durant toute la période pratiquement tout le temps disponible. Là aussi l'image d'un Moyen Âge obscure demande à être corrigée. Par exemple, au douzième siècle Abélard se révèle un ardent défenseur de la cause des païens, tandis que les protestants et jansénistes condamnent et rejettent au dix-septième siècle le paganisme plus résolument que même Augustin ne l'avait jamais fait.

Valeer Neckebrouck

Margel, Serge, *La mémoire du présent. Saint Augustin et l'économie temporelle de l'image*, (Le Bel Aujourd'hui), Hermann, Paris 2015, ISBN 978-2-7056-8894-3, 473 p.

C'est un beau livre que voici. Intitulé *La mémoire du présent. Saint Augustin et l'économie temporelle de l'image,* il a été écrit par Serge Margel (Genève 2015). L'auteur étudie minutieusement le rôle de la mémoire chez Augustin, une notion qui pourtant est particulièrement compliquée. Il aborde ce thème en proposant la métaphore du palimpseste. La mémoire, au moment qu'elle se réalise, est devenue une partie du présent et s'inscrit sur le passé comme un nouveau présent. Dorénavant la mémoire est un texte qui s'incruste dans le temps et qui ne cesse de créer de nouveaux textes, de nouveaux temps. Mais la mémoire est même beaucoup plus. Elle n'est pas uniquement souvenir, comme l'appelle l'auteur en parlant des souvenirs concrets, elle est aussi auto-constitutive. C'est-à-dire, la mémoire ne concerne pas uniquement les souvenirs des choses extérieures, mais elle se concerne aussi elle-même. La mémoire est toujours prise de conscience de sa propre existence. Ensuite, de quoi se souvent cette mémoire? En effet, elle se souvient d'elle-même. Mais au fond de ce souvenir d'elle-même, il y un autre souvenir. Car la mémoire n'est pas ce qu'elle est par elle-même, elle l'est par Dieu. Elle est créature, image de son créateur. Donc non seulement la mémoire se souvient d'elle-même, mais également elle se souvient de cette image divine comme l'essence de son identité, elle se remémore son créateur. Voilà les couches différentes qu'on peut découvrir dans la mémoire. Toutefois, cette image n'est pas quelque chose d'invariable, l'image est teinte par l'histoire de l'être humain. Notamment par la chute. Depuis la chute d'Adam, l'image divine que nous portons en nous-mêmes est une image déchue. La mémoire a oublié son caractère d'image divine et le péché original nous contraint désormais à scruter et creuser dans notre mémoire. Mais ayant creusé dans notre mémoire, nous sommes obligés de constater que nous restons pleins d'oubli. N'empêche, malgré ce défaut, c'est justement par cet acte auto-constitutif qu'une nouvelle réalité commence à surgir. Nous découvrons que notre âme, qui en partie est identique à la mémoire, se redécouvre en tant qu'image de Dieu en dans ce sens redevient une image transformée, réformée, guérie. Voilà donc le sens du sous-titre de ce livre *: l'image comme économie temporelle*. L'image se situe dans le temps, mais est en même temps la clef de l'économie divine. Des chemins qui se croisent dans un va-et-vient entre mémoire et oubli.

L'auteur est philosophe et veut son livre un livre un texte qui engage le dialogue avec Augustin à base des textes augustiniens. Un auteur donc qui lui aussi inscrit sa vision dans la série interminable de souvenirs d'Augustin. Il veut son texte un texte qui discute avec les textes d'Augustin. Ce qu'il réussit parfois à merveille. Par exemple quand il disserte sur la narration de la lettre et revoit essentiellement le livre XII des *Confessions* et analyse profondément la polysémie des textes. Il dévoile le dédoublement qui prend lieu dans le livre XII quand Augustin écrit sur le rôle de Moïse et quand il, à la fois, se distingue, mais également s'identifie avec le présumé auteur du Pentateuque. C'est un très beau chapitre qui nous fait découvrir la fonction essentielle de la littérature biblique. Dans le cas en l'occurrence le livre de Genèse. Combien se rapproche en fait l'œuvre créatrice de Dieu de l'œuvre artistique de Moïse, et donc également d'Augustin ? La parole de Dieu, révélée par Moïse, appartient-elle à Dieu ou à Moïse? Et par conséquent, dans quelle mesure appartient-elle à Augustin? C'est dans les chapitres tels celui-là que l'auteur est le plus tranchant. C'est le moment où il évoque des questions qui resteront dans la mémoire, pour ainsi dire. Ou le chapitre où il tire ses conclusions. Clairement, il nous montre que la mémoire découvre à la fois l'oubli de soi-même et l'oubli de Dieu. Mais au moment de le découvrir, il appert donc également qu'elle l'a retenue quelque part et que l'image divine en tant qu'image réformée peut dès lors renaître. L'auteur se base, pour en arriver là, sur une analyse à la fois de *Confessions* X et *De Trinitate* XIV. Entreprise osée, étant donnée le nombre d'années qui séparent ces deux livres. Donc en effet, en tant qu'étude philosophique, ce livre est très inspirant. Il est d'ailleurs admirable de voir combien l'auteur s'est familiarisé avec l'œuvre d'Augustin et son livre est parsemé de citations. Pourtant, le texte montre une grande cohérence et ne souffre pas de ce grand nombre de citations.

Ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y pas de questions à poser. Des questions qui se situent dans le domaine que l'auteur a choisi. Il opte pour une approche philosophique, mais aussi justifiée qu'elle soit, elle paraît parfois oublier les questions historiographiques. Comme je l'ai déjà mentionné, l'auteur juxtapose facilement les *Confessions* et la deuxième parti du *De Trinitate*. Ce qui pose le problème d'un développement dans la pensée d'Augustin. Notamment dans la théologie de l'image, il y a des grands changements qui se produisent et l'auteur a tendance à faire comme si l'œuvre augustinienne comporte une unité doctrinale. Ce qui n'est peut-être pas le cas. Je prends comme exemple la description de l'auteur de la lutte pélagienne. En soi, un beau

compte-rendu de cette dispute entre Augustin et ses adversaires pélagiens. Mais l'auteur se concentre sur les aspects du péché, du libre arbitre et de la grâce. Tout à fait compréhensible, mais le problème du bien, qui fascinait Pélage et Julien, n'est pas abordé. Car la question que posaient les Pélagiens était de savoir comment il fallait concevoir la mémoire du bien une fois que l'âme est déchue et que l'homme n'est plus capable, de ses propres forces, de se convertir à Dieu. Que reste-t-il du bien en dehors de la sphère du divin ? Quel en est le souvenir, la trace du bien dans le monde des êtres humains ? Augustin n'a jamais su formuler une réponse adéquate à cette question, il l'a même esquivée en créant un cercle vicieux entre la *grâce*, le *bien* et *Dieu*. Ce qui a éloigné définitivement le souvenir du bien de la sphère de l'être humain. On n'est pas loin de l'ambiance manichéenne et le prix qu'on a payé dans notre culture pour cet oubli du bien a été élevé. Ayant même pour conséquence que le nominalisme en tirera plus tard la conclusion – très justifiée d'ailleurs – qu'un meurtre peut être 'bien' à partir du moment que Dieu l'a qualifié comme 'bien'. La morale telle quelle n'existe pas, elle n'existe que dans le libre arbitre divin. Voilà pour les suites de l'augustinisme, l'oubli du bien. Sans que Dieu ne donne la grâce d'atteindre la morale, et sans qu'il la qualifie comme 'bien', la morale ne peut exister. Donc dans une étude sur la mémoire, on aimerait lire quelque chose sur cet oubli du bien, la perte de la morale. Surtout parce qu'en effet, l'histoire de cet oubli s'est perpétuée lors des siècles. Pour le dire en termes de l'auteur, le bien non seulement a été oublié, il a été rayé du palimpseste. Une fois rayé, il a été remplacé par le règne de l'arbitraire. D'où le débat actuel sur la permanence de cette insistance de la grâce chez Augustin. S'agit-il d'une véritable continuité? Ou faut-il constater que l'évêque d'Hippone a changé ses opinions au fur et à mesure que ses adversaires l'obligeaient à adopter une autre vision que celle qu'il chérissait naguère? Certes, on peut dire qu'il s'agit là d'une discussion historique et que le philosophe n'a point besoin de s'y mêler. Pourtant ces questions historiques sont de nature doctrinale et philosophique, donc quasiment des questions métahistoriques, impliquant qu'on aurait souhaité que l'auteur se prononce dans ce débat. Surtout parce qu'il prend quand même position sans le dire ouvertement. Quand il parle à la fin de son livre du rôle de la mémoire, il lui attribue la force d'une auto-régénération. Une force qui se révèle en l'homme sans qu'il parle du rôle de la grâce. Il mentionne en effet qu'Augustin dépasse les solutions apportées par Platon, Plotin et Aristote, mais ne mentionne pas l'influence biblique, bien qu'il en disserte largement dans les chapitres sur la crise

pélagienne et sur le Christ Médecin. Donc à son avis, la grâce n'est pas indispensable dans la redécouverte de l'image divine ?

C'est pour cette raison que je regrette que l'auteur ne se réfère pas aux débats actuels des études augustiniennes. Sa connaissance est extrêmement grande, il se réfère à la littérature secondaire, mais il ne se lance pas dans les débats. En plus, dans la littérature secondaire, il fait presque exclusivement référence à la littérature francophone. Ce qui est dommage à une époque où les recherches augustiniennes sont loin d'être dominées par la littérature francophone. Malgré ces questions – mêlées de quelques éléments de critique – le livre reste un très beau livre, inspirant et donnant un bel aperçu de la vision augustinienne de la mémoire.

Matthias Smalbrugge

Marmodoro, Anna, Prince, Brian D. (eds.), *Causation and Creation in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, ISBN 978-1-107-06153-8, 312 p.

This volume is divided into two parts, with the first dealing with the origin of the world, and the latter with the origin of human agency. Though the contributions focus mainly on authors who wrote in Greek, the Latin fathers do make an appearance with two chapters on Augustine. Several essays delve into the details of the thought of a particular figure (for instance, Marmodoro's chapter on Gregory of Nyssa).

The unity of this work obviously consists in its thematic structure. This is fair enough. However, given the diversity of sources consulted, whether in terms of time period, intellectual setting, language, or geographical location (e. g., Chryssipus, Plotinus, Proclus, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, Aeneas of Gaza), I wonder if it would have made more sense further to organise the work according to (type of) source or time period. This however is not a major criticism, especially considering that most of the contributions could be consulted on their own for scholars interested in a particular figure, text, or topic.

Though non-Christian philosophers are addressed in their own right, some contributions deal with the question of reception or influence of these thinkers on Christian theology. A notable example of this is the excellent essay by Anne Marmodoro on Gregory of Nyssa and creation. She shows how Gregory is driven by an apparent problem derived from the Aristotelian principle that "like causes like." In other words, if God is immaterial, how can he create something that

is material? (We see a similar line of enquiry in, e.g., Augustine's *Gn. litt.* V, a topic of which Kurt Flasch has treated extensively.) Marmodoro demonstrates that Gregory himself sees the problem in these terms (e. g., *De hom. op.* 23; *Ap. in hex.*, quoted on p. 95). Gregory's basic solution is that God creates immaterial things, that is, definable and intelligible properties, which in combination form something material (pp. 101, 108, 109). For this reason some scholars have seen Gregory as an idealist, if not a forerunner of Berkeley. Marmodoro situates herself with respect to the current state of the art, taking issue with the proponents of the eliminativist thesis (that is, that Gregory's universe does not include, or eliminates matter), scholars such as Hill, Sorabji, and Zachhuber. She essentially agrees with Hibbs' non-eliminativist thesis, though she seeks to explain how Gregory can maintain that immaterial realities combine to form material ones, a task which she sees as hitherto unfulfilled (p. 100). She concludes that Gregory's solution is to say that "the immaterial God created immaterial qualities of objects, which are physical aspects of objects, and which compose with one another to give rise to material bodies" (p. 110). I was also struck by something Marmodoro mentioned in passing, namely the idea that the question of how an immaterial God could create or relate to material being later developed into the question of the mind-body problem (p. 102). This of course was not the author's focus, but it was provocative and I think it warrants further critical examination, especially through the lens of intellectual history.

I have two questions that I would pose to Dr Marmodoro. First, what is the object to which the properties attach (cf. p. 110)? Gregory wants to say that stripped of all properties, a thing is only pure matter, which is itself unintelligible (p. 104). Is the object simply the sum of the properties put together? But even still, in what sense are they placed together? The language of an "object" as somehow distinct from the properties it instantiates is not clear. Secondly, following Gregory, she takes the principle that "like causes like" to imply that the "like" applies to (im)materiality. Yet is this the only or most obvious sense in which this rule could be applied? On a similar note, I also wonder whether and to what extent Gregory engaged with Romans 1:20, as any exegesis on this passage would surely clarify his approach to the question at hand. To be fair, Marmodoro herself acknowledges that she has not answered all questions concerning this topic. Nor do I claim to have understood all of the intricacies of this fascinating discussion. I should also note that Augustine addresses essentially the same question in the closing stages of *Gn. litt.* VIII (whether he addresses it successfully is another matter).

I was particularly interested in how the editors allowed for a tension within the volume between two authors on Plotinus. Riccardo Chiaradonna's conclusions on Plotinus' cosmology differ from those of Christopher Issac Noble and Nathan M. Powers in the subsequent chapter. In the *Timaeus*, Plato presents the demiurge arranging things like a craftsman, an image which Plotinus rejects in favour of the subtly if significantly different claim that creation flows from the divine mind's understanding of the ways it can be imitated at a lower level of being (pp. 32-33, 51). (A. Michalewski treats of this point extensively in her *La puissance de l'intelligible*, Leuven University Press, 2014). Chiaradonna sees Plotinus as reacting to cosmological debates of his time, and this explains his reading of the *Timaeus* (pp. 35, 43). Plotinus rejects the Middle Platonic interpretation over concerns of its anthropomorphism. He also wants to avoid the Peripatetic rejection of any independent formal reality. This juxtaposition leads to Plotinus' own unique cosmology (pp. 43, 49). Chiaradonna argues that Plotinus is trying to save Plato from himself, in particular the anthropomorphism suggested by the account of the demiurge in the *Timaeus*. However, this author finds such a strategy problematic: "The overall picture to be drawn from this scenario is that Plotinus' interpretation of the *Timaeus* is extensive but selective, and that his reading is profoundly shaped by his own agenda" (p. 35). However, in the chapter following Chiaradonna's a different perspective is presented according to which Plotinus' cosmology was developed less in response to the debates of his time, but rather by a broader attention to the basic tenets of the Platonic tradition itself. This would also imply that, contrary to Chiaradonna's suggestion that Plotinus' position is ad hoc, it is actually profoundly compatible with the essence of the Platonic tradition.

Noble and Powers focus on the fact that planning, deliberation, and execution imply deficiency, e. g., in moving from something less to something better or the temporal extension implied by such a process (pp. 52, 56-60). According to these two authors, the upshot is that "god could relate to an eternal cosmos via planning only at the cost of being cognitively imperfect or imperfectly good." (p. 60) As Noble and Powers suggest, the commitment to the eternity or atemporality of the divine would have been so basic for Plato that it is unlikely he could have intended his account of the demiurge to be taken in a strictly literal way (cf. p. 53). "Plotinus reaches the conclusion that, once other Platonic commitments are taken properly into account, the identification of the demiurge with a divine intellect and of the model for the sensible cosmos with the Forms leaves no place for divine

planning in cosmology […]. Faced with this result, Plotinus proposes that all references to planning in the *Timaeus* are to be taken metaphorically […]" (p. 53). As the authors proceed to explain, the text should be read counter-factually, namely that the world is ordered as if it had been the product of methodical and benevolent divine planning (pp. 53, 61). Perhaps it is also worth noting that Noble and Powers claim that there is some precedent for many of Plotinus' views contra divine craftsmanship in other Platonists before him (p. 54).

Whilst two chapters in the first part provide an excellent overview of Plotinus' cosmology or understanding of creation, two chapters in the latter part offer helpful insights into Plotinus' conception of the life of reason and related topics. D. M. Hutchinson in particular provides an overview of Plotinus' anthropology, situated within the context of his metaphysics. On this basis, Hutchinson can pursue the issue of how the human person, situated in time and space, can aspire to a unity which reflects that of the higher soul (cf. pp. 151-156).

The possession of higher soul, which responds to rational prompts, allows one to be responsible for one's actions (pp. 162-164). As Hutchinson puts it, "we no longer merely play the roles assigned to us by the playwright but we help write the script" (p. 164). When we act on the basis of reason, a capacity afforded us through the possession of higher soul, we act in a truly autonomous and responsible manner (p. 168). The true distinctiveness of Plotinus consists in locating the transcendent also within the depths of the human soul, such that the task of the rational life becomes to unify oneself by proceeding inward and then upward (pp. 151, 153, cf. 150, 170). (Michael Griffin treats of a similar theme in Proclus in a later chapter.)

Aaron P. Johnson presents Porphyry of Tyre's nuanced understanding of the relationship between fate and choice, an account he developed in his interpretation of Plato's Myth of Er, found in the tenth book of the *Republic*, an interpretation unique for its depth, at least prior to the 400s (p. 189). Despite the limitations placed on his enquiry due to the fragmentary nature of the sources, Johnson is able to come to some substantive conclusions regarding Porphyry's exegesis. Porphyry argues that souls, mainly human souls, have a series of choices in the path to embodiment. First, they choose the general type of life they will possess (human, dog, etc.). They later forget that choice, having drunk from the river of Lethe. For humans, because they are rational, they can also choose their second level life, that is, the position or profession they will follow. In addition, within their embodied state, they may choose whether they lead their life well or poorly (pp. 189-191). Fate comes to be understood not as that which

determines one's choices, but that which holds one to the consequences of those choices (p. 199). In this way, Johnson writes, Porphyry seeks to save Plato's myth from concerns over determinism (p. 190), which would also conflict with his claim elsewhere in *Rep*. 10 that appears to support the freedom and autonomy of the human will (p. 189).

This volume closes with two masterful essays on Augustine, by Gillian Clark and Mark Edwards, respectively. Both of these articles deal with the particularities of Augustine's quest for the source of sin and evil in the world, a problem linked with free will.

Causation and Creation in Late Antiquity contains uniformly excellent scholarly articles, collected around the related themes of the respective origins of the cosmos and of human action. Due to the highly technical nature of this volume, it is more useful for specialists in the figures or topics discussed, or Master's students who are dealing with pertinent topics.

Matthew W. Knotts

Martin, Bernd, Wernicke, Michael (eds.) *Das Ringen um Religion und Menschlichkeit. Tagebuch des Augustiners Viktor (Erwin) Hümmer – Wehrmachtssanitäter in Ungarn und während des Warschauer Aufstandes 1944*, (Anpassung – Selbstbehauptung – Widerstand 39), LIT Verlag, Berlin 2016, ISBN 978-3-643-13354-0, 235 p.

The present volume is one of the many ego-documents from the Second World War that have been edited and published in the last couple of decades. This genre is apparently quite popular. To give just one example: the book *Tödliche Schatten – Tröstendes Licht*, containing the war memories of Gereon Goldmann, a Franciscan friar who was member of the Waffen-SS, has already been reprinted fifteen times. Despite – or more probably, due to – the personal and thus always subjective lens through which we look at the war events in this kind of documents, a wider audience is reached and interested in the history of the Second World War. It is almost superfluous to note here that each of these writings is in need of a critical, demythologizing introduction, in which personal experiences and thoughts are confronted with what really happened.

Das Ringen um Religion und Menschlichkeit even has two of these introductions. The personal life of the writer of the diary,

Fr. Viktor Erwin Hümmer, is described by his confrère Michael Wernicke, former archivist at the Augustinian convent in Würzburg. An analysis of the content of the diary is presented by Bernd Martin, emeritus professor of contemporary history at the University of Freiburg. From these introductions we learn that Erwin Hümmer was born in a Bavarian town in 1916. In 1934 he received the habit of the Augustinian order as well as the monastic name Viktor. He was incorporated into the German army at the beginning of the Second World War, but did not take part in the invasion of Poland. Until February 1941 his unit was stationed in France, as part of the occupying force. The next month they were sent to the Balkans, where they helped in the conquest of Yugoslavia. Operation Barbarossa, the German invasion of Soviet Russia, brought Hümmer and his fellow soldiers to Crimea. There his unit took part in the conquest of the Kerch-peninsula and of Sevastopol, an important harbor and naval base. When the Russian army recaptured Crimea in 1944, Hümmer's unit was completely annihilated. He himself however was not there at the time, since he got wounded earlier and was sent back to Germany. In the summer of 1944 Hümmer's unit was reassembled in Hungary and – via what we now know as the Czech Republic – sent to Poland, where he would witness the Warsaw uprising as a medical officer on the outskirts of the war zone. Hümmer started his war diary in June 1944 in Hungary and ended it shortly after Christmas of the same year in Poland.

Throughout his diary, it becomes clear that Hümmer was no Nazi. However, he was deeply influenced by many ideas of the Nazis. In his (negative) description of Polish architecture, for instance, he repeatedly refers to the "Judenherrenschaft" of which this architecture – according to him – was an obvious exponent (pp. 78-79). At Hümmer's request, the Jewish question was explicitly dealt with in the intellectual conversations he had with the Polish writer Count Vladislav-Jan Grabski and Mgr. Karol Niemira, bishop of Pinsk. All three collocutors seem adherents of the old ecclesiastical anti-Judaism and linked it with the persecution of the Jews during the war: "Gott hat so durch Hitler die Juden, die sich nicht zum Christentum trotz des dauernden, jahrhundertlangen Lebens in dem Christentum bekehrt haben, bestraft und ausgerottet" (p. 131; cf. pp. 127-133).

From his perspective as an Augustinian brother, Hümmer analyzed in his diary the religious life of the Catholic people in the countries he visited, as well as the behavior of the local Catholic clergy (pp. 52-54, 84-85, 91, 149-150). Doing this, he was fast and strict in his judgement, not taking into consideration the limitations of his own

point of view (as a German soldier). Hümmer was also confronted with the moral decay among the German troops in Poland. They pillaged and destroyed, visited prostitutes or raped girls, committed random acts of violence or even arbitrarily murdered people (pp. 210-211). The young monk tried to hold on to his own principles and to resist temptation. At some point he felt the urge to kiss a girl, but he managed to suppress this feeling. In his reflection on this experience, he stressed the necessity of a moral community (like in a convent), that is able to support you throughout this kind of difficult situations (pp. 161-162).

The decline of religiosity, belief and morality was something Hümmer saw happening in Europe and all over the world. He interpreted the ongoing war as a sign of God. The Lord had had enough of how humanity had behaved and what it had done to the world, and was now planning to destroy this world so that a new one could be created: "Die Erneuerung Europas geht nicht anders als durch eine Katastrophe hindurch, und wir müssen erst durch diese gewaltige Katastrophe hindurch, um die Menschen wiederum zur Besinnung kommen zu lassen" (p. 105). Elsewhere in Hümmer's diary a similar quote of Mgr. Niemira is jotted down: "Ich danke dem Herrgott, dass er eine Katastrophe über Warschau kommen ließ; denn diese Stadt war nicht fromm und hat zum allergrößten Teil gehurt und in täglichem Genuss gelebt. Te Deum laudamus, dass Gott Warschau in die Katastrophe gestürzt hat. Denn Gott hat hier gesprochen, und diese Stadt muss sich wiederum zu ihm wenden" (p. 119).

Throughout this diary, we get to know Hümmer as a deeply religious man, loyal to his monastic vocation (cf. p. 21), sincerely concerned about the people who surrounded him, irrespective of their background (Polish or German, Catholic or non-Catholic, soldier or civilian…). His analysis of what was happening in the war – on the macro level as well as on the micro level – and why, might sometimes be strange to us. However, we must take into account that Hümmer grew up in Nazi Germany and was heavily influenced by Nazi propaganda. The most remarkable thing about this is that he sometimes blindly follows this propaganda, but sometimes also clearly distances himself from it and criticizes it.

Das Ringen um Religion und Menschlichkeit is more than just another addition to the genre of war diaries from the Second World War. The conversations between Count Grabski, Mgr. Niemira and Fr. Hümmer lift the diary to a higher (self-)analytical level. Hümmer's notes also shed light on a couple of elements that remain quite unclear until today, for instance on the relation between the German soldiers

and the so-called 'HiWis' (*Hilfswilliger*), recruits from areas occupied by the Germans. Hümmer writes about people from other Christian denominations he meets and reports even about a coincidental encounter with a Muslim soldier (p. 101). At some point in his diary we can read about an attack by partisans, although the description we get of it is rather summary.

When the Russian army approached Warsaw, Hümmer fled. He gave his diary to Count Grabski. He was captured by the Russians, but managed to pretend he was a French student who had been obliged to work for the Germans and was released. Back in Germany, Hümmer became active in the pastoral care. He died in 1994. His diary only found its way to Germany at the beginning of the new millennium, when the son of Count Grabski sent it to the Augustinian convent in Würzburg together with a letter in which he recounts his personal memories (as a boy) of the young German soldier who in 1944 often visited his parental home. In his introduction to the diary, Fr. Michael Wernicke writes that "P. Viktor war ein ruhiger, bescheidener unauffälliger Mensch" (p. 24). After some feverish war years, one could say he had earned that rest.

Anton Milh

Melton, Phillip H. (ed.), *The "Quotable" Augustine*, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C. 2016, ISBN-13 978-0813228884, 215 p.

Collecting citations and sayings has become a generally recognized literary form and a concrete answer to the need of those who are looking for a relevant phrase of a great thinker in a letter or a personal message, or an idea to develop in a speech or a homily, or something to read during travel time. One can find many examples such as the quotable Plato, Einstein or Chesterton; the figures are not only theologians, philosophers, but also scientists, writers, politicians, etc.

The project of a 'quotable Augustine' has its own challenges. In his foreword Fr. James V. Schall underlines that there are the famous sayings such as '*Late, late have I loved Thee*' or '*Our heart is restless till they rest in thee*', but the further value of such an undertaking would also be to introduce the reader to lesser known reflections of Saint Augustine. It is a great task to run through the literary and intellectual work of this great Church Father. How can we make

a selection and which criteria can we choose in order to compose a quotable Augustine?

This book does not have the pretention to be 'a summary' nor a scholarly guide to the works of Saint Augustine. The table of contents at the beginning gives an overview of the main themes presented: Church and theology, creation, learning, life and labor, virtue and vice, state and society. In this way, the reader can immediately have a foretaste of Augustine's amazing personality, his deep humanity, his multifacetedness. Augustine enjoyed friendship; he was a lover of beauty and knew the classics. He searched his way through the philosophical schools, followed the way of conversion and discovered God as the One who firstly loved us. Augustine was not only a great theologian, but also a pastor for his flock and a spiritual master.

There is a variety of reasons why the quotations were chosen, for example whether they are eloquent or relevant to Augustine's thought, but also criteria such as fame, utility or piety has played a role in the selection. The literary form allows us to begin and to end anywhere in the book, and helps us also to verify if Augustine really used a certain expression and where to find that quotation. Its thematic organization lends itself to a range of literary requirements. This book is aimed at students, translators and scholars, those who want to know more about this great Father of the Church. It can inspire students, teachers and spiritual fathers, to learn more, to deepen a theme or even to read or re-read a work of Augustine.

The sources quoted are in general the *Fathers of the Church* (FITC) series, published by The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D.C. The book offers a chronological index of quoted works of Augustine, (pp. 149-152) and a topical index (pp. 153-161).

Gabriel Quicke

McInerney, Joseph J., *The Greatness of Humility. St Augustine on Moral Excellence*, Pickwick Pulbications, Eugene, Oregon 2016, ISBN 9781498218160, 208 p.

McInerney's book is a welcome overview of classical and modern views on humility from the viewpoint of Augustine's pervasive fascination for this virtue both in his Christology and in his ethical and political thought. Over the six chapters of the book the author examines the views of authors as diverse as Aristotle, Plotinus, Cicero, David Hume and Friedrich Nietzsche adopting Alisdair McIntyre's

historical approach to rational enquiry embodied in a tradition. In this way, McInerney can bring such diverse authors into a fruitful dialogue comparing the internal consistency of their respective thought and venturing into principles of moral discourse they might share after all.

The choice of ancient authors is justified not only on the basis of their treatment of humility but also of their influence on Augustine's thought. An exception to this principle is Aristotle's treatment of magnanimity in his *Nicomachean Ethics* which reached Augustine only indirectly but is given special attention on account of its enormous historical posterity. Special emphasis is granted to Cicero who presents the clearest non Christian appreciation of humility as a virtue.

The discussion of Augustine's thought on humility and greatness focusses on his use of Scripture seen in the context of the eudamonistic structure inherited from Cicero. McInerney locates the originality of Augustine's approach especially with regards to the importance of faith in relation to moral life, the dynamic role played by love in ethical life, the role of will and grace and his treatment of pride. McInerney attempts a discussion concerning the Christological basis of humility in Augustine but here his work displays some weaknesses. The soteriological role of Christ's humility especially in the *De Trinitate* should have been emphasised more. Instead, the author confines his analysis to the exemplary role of Christ's humility.

McInerney then accounts for Hume's negative approach to humility attributing it to his anti-rationalist and sentimentalist approach to morality. Focus on moral feeling has a direct impact on Hume's notion of humility viewed negatively because of the emotions it arouses, especially with regards to his understanding of utility as the principle determining the moral value of social virtue and vice. Then Nietzsche's notion of irrational virtues and his master and slave morality are used to explain his marked differences from Augustine and his repudiation of humility.

In a final analysis, McInerney compares these theistic an atheistic approaches to humility and greatness and justifies his positive appreciation of this virtue on it being not a circumstance of life to be patiently endured but a virtue to be chosen. In Augustinian fashion he stresses the beauty of Christ's humility and the extent to which, through the Christological lenses, this lowering of oneself coincides with true greatness.

Luigi Gioia

Moretti, Paola Francesca, Ricci, Roberta, Torre, Chiara (eds.), *Culture and Literature in Latin Late Antiquity. Continuities and Discontinuities*, Brepols, Turnhout 2015, ISBN 978-25-035-5735-9, 400 p.

Originating from the conference *Trasformazione e trasmissione dei modelli culturali e letterari nella tarda antichità latina*, held in Milan in May 2013, this volume brings together twenty-three studies (in Italian, English and French) dealing with the general theme of the transmission and transformation(s) of the cultural heritage in Latin late antiquity. More specifically, the studies collected in the volume deal with these processes as they are reflected, and at times problematized, in poetical texts (Section I), in prose (Section II), and in scholarly text types (Section III). The first section, on poetry, covers several genres (epigram, biblical epic, elegy) and a wide variety of authors (Ausonius, Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Claudian, Prosper of Aquitaine, Sidonius Apollinaris, Orientius, Dracontius, Ennodius, Boethius, Arator, Corripus, and others). This section also includes a broader investigation of medical metaphors put to use in late antique Latin literature. The studies collected in the second section, on prose, likewise address various authors and genres, and adopt a number of rather diverse approaches. One can discern studies concerned with (a) the reception of pagan figures and themes (the laughter of the sage in Ambrose; Lucretia in Augustine; and Seneca in early Christian Latin literature); (b) literary style (the question of Ciceronianism and the technique of physiognomy in Ammianus Marcellinus; epistolary *brevitas* in Jerome; and *spoudogeloion* [i.e. the mixture of earnest and jest], hyperbole and myth in Fulgentius the Mythographer); (c) textual transmission (the first book of Symmachus' correspondence as a separate letter collection); and (d) lexicography (the adjectives *imatilis*, *vernatilis*, and *venatilis* in Cassiodorus). The third and last section, on 'school, texts, and paratexts' (the 'literary commentary' could have been mentioned explicitly in the section title), contains a (relatively) more limited number of studies. These deal with the strategies respectively followed by Macrobius and Servius in commenting on Vergil's works; the postulate of *brevitas* in Tiberius Claudius Donatus' *Interpretationes Vergilianae*; the circulation of the *Disticha Catonis* in late antique Spain; and pseudo-Acro's annotations on Horace's *Carmen* 1.37. The volume, which on the whole is carefully edited, closes with a list of abbreviations, an index of ancient authors and works, and a section containing the contributors' biographies. As was already pointed out by another reviewer (Marie-Pierre Bussières in *BMCR*

2017.05.22), an important problem resides in the fact that several studies display significant gaps in the secondary literature they rely upon. Furthermore, although for a volume resulting from a conference, a certain degree of heterogeneity should not necessarily be in itself problematic, a general introduction and/or conclusion would undoubtedly have been helpful in establishing a disciplinary and methodological framework (apart from the two studies mentioned in the short preface, Robert Markus' 1990 *The End of Ancient Christianity*, and Alan Cameron's 2011 *The Last Pagans of Rome*), and in singling out a number of thematic main threads. These criticisms notwithstanding, it is justified to conclude that this rich volume contains many valuable and interesting contributions to the study of the cultural, intellectual and educational history of Latin late antiquity.

Tim Denecker

Neil, Bronwen, Allen, Pauline (eds., intr., trans., notes), *The Letters of Gelasius I (492-496). Pastor and Micro-Manager of the Church of Rome*, (Adnotationes. Commentaries on Early Christian and Patristic Texts), Brepols, Turnhout 2014, ISBN 978-2-503-55299-6, XIV + 215 p.

Il volume di Neil e Allen, noti studiosi australiani del cristianesimo antico, offre in traduzione inglese, con introduzione e commento, un'ampia selezione dell'epistolario di Gelasio di Roma (492-496), figura che merita un'attenta considerazione non solo dal punto di vista dottrinale – per il suo coinvolgimento nella ricezione della dottrina calcedonese – ma anche perché il suo pur breve episcopato ebbe un grande peso nella organizzazione della vita della Chiesa tra l'età tardoantica e altomedievale.

Valorizzando l'epistolario del pontefice, uno dei più ricchi e meglio conservati per un'età così risalente, gli Autori hanno voluto indagare l'episcopato gelasiano dal punto di vista del suo coinvolgimento delle controversie dottrinali e del suo magistero, ma anche il ruolo di "micro-manager" – così viene definito nel titolo – del pontefice, custode e promotore degli interessi spirituali e temporali della chiesa romana. A dire il vero, alla luce della lettura attenta del suo epistolario, emerge una figura tutt'altro che "micro"; egli fu un abile "manager" della comunità più importante del cristianesimo antico nell'ambito di quello che sopravviveva della compagine imperiale romana della quale in vescovo dell'Urbe si sentiva *ciuis*. Il tardo

medaglione del *Liber pontificalis* gli attribuisce un'origine nordafricana e tramanda il nome del padre[9], ma senza escludere un'origine africana della famiglia, con Nautin[10] diamo maggior credito all'affermazione del pontefice che, nella celebre lettera all'imperatore Anastasio (491-518), si definisce, in senso stretto, *Romanus natus*[11].

1. Struttura

Non è questo il luogo per ripercorrere in dettaglio la vita del pontefice e neppure per affrontare le numerose questioni che la sua figura e il suo ministero pongono agli studiosi[12], pertanto ci limitiamo a ripercorrere la struttura della pubblicazione di Neil e Allen e a offrire qualche riflessione critica.

Il volume, dopo una breve presentazione e un indice con le sigle delle abbreviazioni bibliografiche impiegate nel testo, si articola in due grandi parti, una introduttiva, suddivisa in quattro capitoli, e una seconda che accoglie, in dieci sezioni tematiche, i testi gelasiani in traduzione, con una premessa e alcune note di commento e di spiegazione. Seguono i consueti strumenti di consultazione del materiale raccolto nel volume: un glossario dei termini di maggior rilievo e probabilmente meno noti al più vasto pubblico al quale il testo, pur essendo un'opera di divulgazione scientifica di alto livello, è indirizzato; segue ancora la bibliografia scelta, divisa in primaria e secondaria; infine, i sempre utilissimi indici.

2. L'introduzione

La parte introduttiva presenta Gelasio nel contesto dei grandi cambiamenti che interessarono il suo tempo. Egli, infatti, salì alla cattedra di Pietro in un momento particolarmente conflittuale, sul versante sia

[9] *Gelasius, natione Afer, ex patre Valerio*, *Le Liber pontificalis*, I, L. Duchesne, ed., Paris 1886, p. 255. Quest'edizione è preferibile a quella del Mommsen che più spesso impiegano gli Autori del volume.

[10] Duchesne, nel suo commento al *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 256, note 2, 8, 9), rileva altre inesattezze dell'estensore della notizia.

[11] *Sicut Romanus natus Romanum principem amo colo suspicion*, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma,* E. Schwart, ed., München 1934 (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, Noue Nolge, Heft 10), p. 19, 27).

[12] Cf. R. Ronzani, Gelasius I, pope, in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, General Editor Angelo Di Berardino, Consulting Editor Thomas C. Oden and Joel C. Elowsky, Project Editor James Hoover, InterVarsity Press-Thoughtful Christian Books, Downers Grove, Illinois, 2014, vol. 2, pp. 104-107.

civile che ecclesiastico. Uno dei primissimi problemi ai quali il nuovo vescovo di Roma dovette far fronte, all'indomani della sua elezione, fu la guerra tra Odoacre (ca. 437-493) e Teoderico (489-526) per il possesso dell'Italia, conclusasi con la presa di Ravenna da parte degli Ostrogoti nel febbraio del 493. Una seconda grave questione che Gelasio dovette affrontare fu lo scisma ancora aperto tra Roma, Costantinopoli e le principali sedi della *pars orientis* dell'impero. Si tratta dello scisma acaciano, così detto dal nome del vescovo Acacio di Costantinopoli (471-489), scomunicato da Felice III nel 484.

Nel primo capitolo della prima parte del volume, gli Autori indagano con meticolosità la vita di Gelasio che fu vescovo Roma dal primo marzo 492[13] al 19 novembre 496[14]: anche se la cronologia meriterebbe qualche verifica. Chi ci ragguaglia sulla vita del pontefice sono anzitutto le fonti coeve[15] e l'epistolario la cui trasmissione è

[13] Alla morte di Felice III (II), il 25 febbraio 492, l'assenza di notizie in merito a tumulti per l'elezione del successore ci permette di evincere che essa si svolse concordemente e in tempi brevi. In genere la data d'inizio del ministero di Gelasio è fissata al primo marzo sulla base della vacanza della sede dopo la morte di Felice, indicata dal *Liber pontificalis* e dagli antichi cataloghi: «*Et cessavit episcopatus dies V*», *Lib. Pont*., I, 252. Cf P. Nautin, «Félix III (II)», DHGE, XVI, 890; 895; Id., «Gélase», *DHGE*, XX, 284.

[14] «*Sedit ann. III m. VIII d. XVIII* […] *Qui etiam sepultus est in basilica beati Petri XI kal. decemb. Et cessavit episcopatus dies VII*», *Lib. Pont*., I, 255. La maggior parte delle voci dei dizionari e delle enciclopedie confonde la data della *depositio* nella basilica vaticana (21 novembre) con quella della morte che, sulla base degli anni, mesi e giorni di pontificato riportati dal *Liber*, è fissata al 18 o al 19 novembre, come preferiscono Thiel e altri storici in base anche alla data di un'antica memoria liturgica («*XIII calendas Decembres anni 496*», A. Thiel, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, 287; «Gelasius I», *BBKL*, II, 197-199). Beda e Usuardo, infatti, fissano al 19 novembre la memoria del pontefice, presto venerato come santo: «*beatus Gelasius in sanctitate uitae atque scientia per uniuersum mundum celebrioris famae gloria praedicatus*», Facvnd., *Liber contra Mocianum*, *CCL*, 90A, 403, 82-88; 404, 136-138; *Usuardi Martyrologium*, 167^{v}; *Matyrologium Romanum* (1630), 572-573. Del *titulus* funerario, deperdito, già collocato sul sepolcro nell'atrio della basilica costantiniana di S. Pietro in Vaticano, parla Giovanni Diacono nel IX secolo e il luogo della sepoltura è indicato nella pianta dell'Alfarano. Cf *Martyrologium Romanum* in *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum dicembris*, 537-538; *Lib. Pont*., I, 194.

[15] Testimonianze su Gelasio si ricavano da Eugippio, che ricorda il coinvolgimento del pontefice nel trasferimento del corpo di san Severino a Napoli (CSEL, 9/2, 65, 15-19); da Facondo di Ermiane (CCL, 90A, 154, 252-255; CCL, 90A, 403, 82-88; 404, 136-138; 414, 505-518); da Vittore di Tunnunna (CCL, 173, 22, 355-356); da Cassiodoro che, nelle *Istituzioni*, riferisce di annotazioni alle lettere paoline attribuite a Gelasio, definito santo e colto uomo di lettere, da lui ritenute spurie: «*sed in epistulis tredecim sancti Pauli annotationes conscriptas in ipso initio meae lectionis inveni, quae in cunctorum manibus ita celebres habebantur, ut eas a sancto Gelasio, papa urbis Romae, doctissimi viri studio dicerent fuisse conscriptas: quod solent facere qui res vitiosas cupiunt gloriosi nominis auctoritate defendere. Sed nobis ex*

illustrata nel volume (pp. 8-11), anche se poteva meritare più ampio spazio.

In relazione all'epistolario, viene trattato anche il ruolo della "cancelleria" e dell'"archivio" papali e il ruolo dei suoi funzionari nelle fila dei quali aveva senz'altro militato anche il futuro pontefice. Gli Autori dedicano spazio (cap. 2) al tema della cura pastorale del vescovo romano alla quale Allen, in una trattazione più ampia, aveva già trattato in un articolo apparso in *Augustinianum* 40 (2000), pp. 345-397.

È di estremo interesse e attualità il paragrafo dedicato all'attenzione di Gelasio verso le persone indigenti, le donne, il suo impegno per fronteggiare le ingiustizie sociali causate dal collasso delle strutture pubbliche di governo, dalle guerre e dalle migrazioni di popoli. L'epistolario è uno spaccato, visto attraverso gli occhi di un vescovo, della società del suo tempo e dei suoi mali.

Il terzo capitolo illustra i vari fronti sui quali Gelasio dovette lavorare per arginare l'eresia e gli scismi: da quello acaciano, già ricordato, alle sopravvivenze del pelagianesimo e del manicheismo. In merito all'arianesimo, quello dei Goti invasori, si deve rilevare che in Italia, dopo una turbolenta fase di assestamento, i rapporti tra la sede romana e la corte gota di Ravenna furono buoni, improntati, se non alla collaborazione, sicuramente al rispetto reciproco. La confessione ariana degli Ostrogoti, inoltre, come è stato messo in luce dagli studi di Luiselli[16], era moderata e per questa ragione non ci si spinse mai fino alle cruente persecuzioni messe in atto nel regno visigotico iberico e, a più riprese, dai Vandali in Africa. La tolleranza e il rispetto fu anche, e soprattutto, l'esito dello spirito di apertura verso l'elemento romano che, pur nella separazione tra Goti ariani e cattolici Romani, caratterizzò le idealità del regno di Teoderico. Ullmann ha potuto affermare che, se ci si volesse limitare all'analisi del solo

praecedentibus lectionibus diligenti retractatione patuerunt suptilissimas quidem esse ac brevissimas dictiones, sed Pelagiani erroris venena illic esse seminata», Cass., *De institutione*, 8, *PL*, 70, 1119C. Possediamo, infine, un elogio molto bello del pontefice nella lettera prefatoria alla collezione canonistica di Dionigi il Piccolo – la *Dionysiana* – dedicata a Giuliano, presbitero romano del titolo di S. Anastasia al Palatino. Il monaco Dionigi afferma di non aver conosciuto Gelasio, essendo giunto a Roma dopo la sua morte, intorno al 500, ma di aver raccolto notizie di prima mano dai chierici romani che erano stati suoi allievi e, tra questi, dallo stesso Giuliano (cf *Prefatio in collectione decretorum pontificum*, 45-47). Per questa ragione, è evidente che non fu Gelasio a ispirare la collezione *Dionysiana* come sostiene il Peitz.

[16] Cf B. Luiselli, *Dall'arianesimo dei Visigoti di Costantinopoli all'arianesimo degli Ostrogoti d'Italia*, in *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, serie IX, vol. XVI, fasc. 1 (2005) 5-30: 27.

epistolario gelasiano, eccettuate ovviamente le lettere a Teoderico e ai suoi funzionari, si potrebbe concludere che in Italia gli Ostrogoti quasi non esistessero.

Gli Autori dedicano un congruo spazio alle sopravvivenze pagane nella Roma di Gelasio attraverso la lettera sui *Lupercalia*. Chi scrive concorda con quanti hanno revocato in dubbio la paternità della lettera e, pertanto, non ritiene oportuno il suo inserimento in questa pubblicazione. Come è noto le lettere gelasiane e le altre opere del pontefice sono state trasmesse per lo più da collezione epistolari e hanno subito nel corso della trasmissione manoscritta non poche manomissioni, così che alcune lettere di Felice III sono state erroneamente attribuite a Gelasio e alcune di quelle genuine sono state attribuite ad altri autori[17]. Sicuramente di Felice III è la lettera a Fravita, i due frammenti intitolati *De anathematis uinculo* e *De uitanda comunione Acacii*, le due lettere al vescovo dalmata Onorio di Salona (*CSEL*, 35, 398-400 e *ibid*. 436-439, quest'ultima datata 20 luglio 490: «*Data V. Kal. Aug. Fausto u.c. cons.*») e, infine, a nostro avviso, la lettera ad Andromaco contro la festa dei *Lupercalia* (*CSEL*, 35, 453-464)[18].

Il quarto e ultimo capitolo presenta il pontefice alle prese con la gestione della sua chiesa particolare, del patrimonio fondiario, ma anche, potremmo dire inscindibilmente, con la vocazione di della chiesa romana di essere uno strumento a servizio dell'unità per la Chiesa universale. Ormai ai tempi di Gelasio si erano ben consolidate la dottrina e la prassi del "primato" romano!

Gli Autori, inoltre, non mancano di rilevare l'importanza del *Generale decretum* e dell'intervento in campo liturgico di Gelasio. Circa il contributo del vescovo romano alla formazione e alla definizione della liturgia romana il volume ripete notizie ben conosciute, ma anche poco probanti. Sarebbe stato molto più utile un confronto tra il linguaggio di Gelasio, almeno quello impiegato nelle opere più impegnate dottrinalmente, e i testi liturgici dei sacramentari[19]. Nel volume,

[17] Cf. R. Ronzani, *Nota sulla paternità della lettera di Gelasio di Roma a Lorenzo di Lycnidus (CPL 1610)*, in *Augustinianum* 53/2 (2013), pp. 531-545.

[18] Cf P. Nautin, *Félix III (II)*, DHGE, XVI, 889; Id., *Gélase*, DHGE, XX, 283. Guenther, G. Pomarès e A. W. J. Holleman, nei loro studi e nelle edizioni, non avanzano dubbi sulla paternità dell'opera sui Lupercali. Cf P. Nautin, *Félix III (II)*, DHGE, XVI, 895; G. Pomarès, *Lettre contre les Lupercales*, *SCh*, 65, 20-21; A. W. J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and Lupercalia*.

[19] Un saggio nella recensione di R. Ronzani al volume *Sacramentarium Gelasianum. Concondantia*, a cura di M. Sodi-G. Baroffio-A. Toniolo, Roma 2014 (Veterum et Coaevorum Sapientia 11), in *Augustinianum* 54/2 (2014), pp. 559-561.

infatti, non mancano sezioni di testi in traduzione per quasi tutti i punti indagati nell'introduzione, ma non c'è una sezione dedicata ai testi di carattere liturgico.

L'introduzione, infine, avrebbero potuto meglio rilevare l'inscindibile congiunzione tra questioni di dottrina, cristologica e ecclesiologica, e di disciplina ecclesiastica nei testi e nell'epistolario gelasiani e, in ultima analisi, avrebbe dovuto leggere sotto questo cono di luce l'azione del pontefice.

4. Testi in traduzione e commento

Le dieci sezioni che raccolgono i testi in traduzione toccano tanti aspetti delle questioni di dottrinali e disciplinari ricorrenti nell'epistolario.

La prima sezione (pp. 69-80), dopo la traduzione del medaglione biografico del *Liber pontificalis*, è dedicata alla preminenza della sede romana. Ci sarebbero stati numerosi testi e frammenti gelasiani da inserire, ma gli Autori hanno preferito limitarsi alla traduzione della sola *Ep*. 12, la lettera *Famuli uestrae pietatis*[20], nota per la cosiddetta "teoria dei due poteri" che, nella storia e nel pensiero occidentali, ha avuto senz'altro notevole fortuna e ha goduto di costante attenzione per quanto vi si afferma in merito ai rapporti tra la chiesa e il potere secolare. In realtà, pur facendo significative affermazioni in merito a un problema che attraverserà il pensiero e la vita dei secoli cristiani a venire, il testo gelasiano non è un trattato sui rapporti tra comunità cristiana e istituzioni secolari, ma uno scritto del tutto occasionale[21]. La lettera, in un preciso contesto storico, intende richiamare il punto di vista della sede romana in merito a questioni ecclesiali, di carattere dottrinale e disciplinare, e in relazione a norme che regolavano i rapporti tra le sedi episcopali maggiori del cristianesimo antico, inserite nel mondo romano, ma consapevoli di essere anche, allo stesso tempo, trascendenti quel mondo e le sue autorità, compresa quella suprema dell'imperatore.

[20] Cf. *Epistula ad Anastasium imperatorem*, in *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma*, ed. E. Schwartz, München 1934, pp. 19-24; Thiel, *Ep*. 12, in Id., *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilaro usque ad Pelagium II, ex schedis clar. Petri Coustantii aliisque editis, adhibiti praestantissimis codicibus Italiae et Germaniae*, I, [Braunsbergae 1867] Hildesheim-New York 1974, pp. 349-350. La lettera è databile alla seconda metà del 493 o al più tardi ai primi del 494.

[21] Cf. R. Ronzani, *La lettera 'Famuli Vestrae Pietatis' di Gelasio di Roma all'imperatore Anastasio I (CPL 1667, Ep. 8)*, in *Augustinianum* 51/2 (2011), pp. 501-549.

La seconda sezione (pp. 81-126) si diffonde sullo scisma acaciano, già menzionato, e il coinvolgimento di Gelasio, da funzionario della chiesa romana prima e poi da pontefice, attraverso alcuni documenti come una lettera del predecessore Felice III (Thiel, *Ep*. 1), il *commonitorium* a Fausto (Thiel, *Ep*. 1; Migne 4; *Coll*. *Ver*. 7) e la lettera *Quid ergo isti* (Thiel, *Ep*. 27; Migne 15; *Coll*. *Ver*. 10). Sarebbe stato opportuno inserire anche qualche brano tra i più significativi del *De duabus naturis* gelasiano (Thiel, *Tractatus* [22]III; Coll. Ber. 35), trattandosi del testo del pontefice più impegnato teologicamente e l'intervento dottrinale più importante della sede romana tra il pontificato di Leone Magno e quello di Gregorio Magno.

Le sezioni terza e quarta (pp. 127-139; 141-169) conducono il lettore nel lavoro dello *scrinium* del Laterano, cioè della cancelleria papale tardoantica, e della documentazione da essa conservata prodotta. Il ruolo della cancelleria e dei suoi funzionari, illustrato attraverso alcune lettere, mostra l'importanza e l'efficienza della macchina burocratica romana. La lettera 30 in particolare, tradita dalla *Collectio Auellana* (103), è un documento collegiale che trasmette gli atti di una sinodo romana del 495: è di grande interesse per la prassi sinodale, le fasi del dibattimento e le modalità di registrazione delle decisioni prese dai vescovi presenti. L'azione disciplinare del pontefice è illustrata anche attraverso il *Decretum generale*, mentre il decreto *de libris recipiendis*, che dovrebbe rappresentare un intervento di stampo più ideologico, è certamente spurio; a tutti è nota la posizione in merito di Schwartz che considera il decreto un testo privato e anteriore a Gelasio, probabilmente di origine gallomeridionale (cf. p. 142). L'autorevole giudizio del filologo tedesco avrebbe dovuto indurre, anche in questo caso, a non inserire il documento nella pubblicazione.

Le altre, più brevi sezioni (5-9), offrono un saggio dell'attività febbrile della calcelleria gelasiana su tutti i campi, ecclesiastici e civili, sui quali il vescovo di Roma era chiamato ad intervenire. Le lettere del papa riguardano i numerosi affari della sede apostolica in Italia e altrove: la vita interna delle comunità ecclesiali e dei singoli fedeli, ordinazioni, inchieste, processi, questioni circa i beni ecclesiastici, consacrazioni di chiese, crimini e ingiustizie, diritto d'asilo, testamenti e molte altre materie ancora. Forse soltanto questa sezione giustifica, nel sottotitolo del libro, la definizione di Gelasio come *Micro-Manager* della chiesa di Roma. Tuttavia, malgrado il suo fu un breve

[22] Cf. Gelasio di Roma, *Lettera sulle due nature. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento*, a cura di R. Ronzani, Bologna 2011 (Biblioteca Patristica 48).

episcopato, tutto sembra certificare che la sua figura fu tutt'altro che "micro".

L'ultima sezione (10) è dedicata ancora al tema dei Lupercali e riporta il testo della lettera ad Andromaco con una breve introduzione. È stato già detto che il testo, pur importante per la testimonianza in merito alle sopravvivenze dei culti pagani a Roma, resta di difficile attribuzione.

4, Conclusioni

La pubblicazione è dunque un buon testo di divulgazione scientifica, ma presenta anche criticità, come il più volte ricordato impiego di testi la cui paternità gelasiana è almeno incerta, mentre lascia da parte altri testi, come il difficile eppur fondamentale trattato, in forma epistolare, *de duabus naturis in Christo*. In luogo del glossario, in parte utile, ma non indispensabile, sarebbe stato più necessario avere tra gli strumenti un ragguaglio più ricco sulla trasmissione dell'epistolario e delle opere gelasiane e una sinossi delle edizioni che avrebbero meglio orientato il lettore dato che le lettere del vescovo romano, i frammenti e le altre opere sono numerate in modo diverso nelle edizioni di Migne, Thiel, Guenter, Schwartz, Hamman e altri.

Non è dubbio che l'episcopato di Gelasio è uno dei più documentati del suo tempo e pertanto tra i più importanti per lo studio della storia della chiesa romana, della sua dottrina, del suo governo, e dell'amministrazione dei suoi beni, dei rapporti con il mondo e dei rapporti con l'Orbe cristiano antico. Sarebbe senz'altro auspicabile una nuova edizione completa dell'opera del pontefice, con una revisione critica dei testi già pubblicati, una nuova traduzione e uno studio complessivo del suo autore, del pensiero e dell'azione condotta da Gelasio come pastore e manager della Chiesa romana, direttamente e attraverso il formidabile strumento dello *scrinium Lateranense*.

Rocco Ronzani

Ployd, Adam, *Augustine, the Trinity, and the Church*, *A Reading of the Anti-Donatist Sermons*, (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology), Oxford University Press, New York 2015, ISBN 9780190212049, 240 p.

In *Sermon* 4, Augustine associates Catholicism with Jacob and Donatism with Esau. He presents Esau as someone who thinks

carnally and is focused on earthly things, and Jacob as someone who thinks spiritually and is focused on heavenly things. According to Augustine, it is clear therefore that the uncouth Esau can never be Isaac's successor as patriarch, even though this was his birth right. The refined Jacob, however, was well suited to this task. Augustine is willing to overlook Jacob's "white lies", which were, after all, not his own initiative, but his mother Rebekah's, and which were necessary to eliminate Esau as a significant factor and to consolidate Jacob's own position. In the sermon, Augustine develops the contrast thus created between Jacob and Esau into a contrast between the good Jews and the bad Jews; ultimately they are models of the good Christians and the bad Christians. The good Christians are the Catholics, the bad Christians are the Donatists. Like Jacob, the Catholics are spiritual and are oriented towards heavenly things; like Esau, the Donatists are carnal and are oriented towards earthly things. The consequence is that the unity of the church is in peril, and the body of Church, which is the church, is rent apart. Augustine therefore endeavours to protect Catholicism from Donatism, by confirming the Catholics in their faith and discouraging them from becoming Donatists, and by convincing the Donatists of their disbelief and encouraging them to turn to Catholicism. Donatus's party, he insists in a reference to the schism, is made up of carnal and proud people who seek their own interests like Esau. But it is never too late for them to convert and seek readmittance to the company of the spiritual and humble people.

This is the context in which Adam Ployd's study is situated. He has carefully researched a series of forty-one of Augustine's sermons from the years 406-407 (*sermon* 4 is not part of this series), and meticulously examined the development in, and presentation of the anti-Donatist thought contained in them. According to Ployd, the central theme is Augustine's "trinitarian ecclesiology", a combination of his Trinitarian theology and his ecclesiology. Its core tenet is the notion that the unity of the Trinity is reflected in the unity of the church as the body of Christ. This happens first at the level of scriptural texts and their interpretation. Augustine follows in the footsteps of predecessors who have found and explained texts that convey information about the activities of the three persons, who can be represented individually, but who are indivisible. It also occurs at the level of the church as a community. It is only within a community that important ideas such as these can flourish; not outside the church. The unity of the church as a whole is therefore inseparably connected with the unity of the Trinity.

Because Ployd has focused on a series of sermons from a specific period of time, he is able to show how Augustine's living thought, as expressed before a varying audience, developed. That is what Augustine did in his sermons: he tried out his ideas, adding necessary elements or eliminating unnecessary ones, in short: he changed them and polished them so that they would optimally express his vision. In addition to the content of its argument, Ployd's book is therefore important as an instance of the study of Augustine's sermons.

Ployd has executed his thematic approach carefully and purposefully in four clearly arranged chapters, preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion. The book has an extensive bibliography and includes three indices: one of names and subjects, one of Augustine's works, and one of biblical references.

Joost van Neer

Raja, Rubina, Rüpke, Jörg (eds.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World*, (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World), Wiley Blackwell, Chichester & Malden MA 2015, ISBN 978-1-4443-5000-5, 502 p.

As part of the much-acclaimed series of Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, this recent Companion on the archaeology of ancient religions can be considered to be an invaluable contribution to the academic research on so-called "lived religion" in Antiquity. The principal aim of this Companion is the detection of social actions and structures that shaped religious identities and daily religious experiences into all sorts of physical appearances (both natural and artificial) throughout the history of ancient religions. In order to achieve this goal, the authors mainly analyzed material evidence instead of literary sources. This method is believed to detect everyday religious experiences in the ancient world more efficiently and is therefore preferred over the use of literary sources, which tend to lay more emphasis on the importance of theological or normative aspects of ancient religion. Such approach should also allow a much more versatile view on the topic, because it sheds light on the spatial context of ancient religion which cannot be deduced from any literary evidence, like *e.g.* the abandonment of sanctuaries at a certain point in time or the transition of religious identities based on the topographical transformations of sacred places over a given period of time. This goal is achieved by

means of 36 chapters (i.e. an introduction by the editors and 35 individual contributions), divided over 9 parts.

It would be far beyond the purpose of any review to summarize all these contributions in detail. Instead, I will highlight the most valuable conclusions of each part. The first part deals with the archaeology of ritual, namely how can we discover social (i.e. public and private) aspects of ancient religion from archaeological evidence? Van Adringa (pp. 29-40), for instance, concludes that the location of public sanctuaries is not only determined by communal standards, but by personal (aristocratic) competition as well, while Parker (pp. 71-80) stipulates that public versus private aspects of ancient religion were only distinguishable at the level of payments for rites or ownership of shrines and for this reason he proposes the term 'domestic religion' for any reference to religious experiences within the household. The second part, called 'Embodiment', aims to understand ancient religion through the ritual use of physical objects like amulets and dress. Bohak (pp. 83-95) focuses on the apotropaic function of amulets and demonstrates that all social strata in the Greco-Roman world made use of amulets. Gawlinski (pp. 96-106) claims that dress was a form of non-verbal communication in order to embody religious sentiment within a ritualized context, as the pious representation of *flamines* on the *Ara Pacis* demonstrates. 'Experience' forms the third and most extensive part within this Companion and concentrates on religious experiences through the senses. Fine (pp. 133-143) discusses the concept of so-called 'chromophobia' that is often being associated with ancient Jewish visual culture. Huet (pp. 144-154) deals with the visibility of rituals from the viewpoint of active participants (initiates) versus passive participants (spectators). She argues that ritual (in)visibility was based on trust and control and therefore characterized by a strong sense of repetition and expectancy, which was reflected within many art forms (*e.g.* sculptures). Méniel (pp. 155-166) specifies the latest research on isotopic methods and DNA-analysis for the examination of sacrificial animals. Méniel also indicates a strong correlation between animal sacrifice and economical management. The article by Martens (pp. 167-180) must be situated in a similar vein and deals with the sacrifice of animals and its relation to communal dining with the Roman town of Tienen in Belgium as a case study. Martens argues convincingly that the introduction of new species of animals first occurred within a sacrificial context, such as the inauguration of new religious complexes. A final contribution in Part III by Gordon (pp. 194-206) deals with temporarily sensory deprivation in religious contexts, based on archaeological and epigraphic evidence (*e.g.* the

analysis of blindfolded initiates in the Eleusinian Mysteries). The fourth part, called 'Creating spaces of experience', is actually an extension of the former and focuses on the variety of spaces with any religious importance besides the usual 'sacred places' like shrines and temples. The most representative chapter in Part IV, in my opinion, is Neudecker (pp. 220-234) and his archaeological approach on the religious meaning of gardens and groves as sacro-idyllic habitats of the Greco-Roman gods, as attested in the mythographical tradition. The fifth part ('Designing and appropriating sacred space') investigates how space can shape and influence the religious experience of those involved and this delivers some compelling insights, such as Jensen (pp. 253-267) who succeeds in distinguishing the ritual of early Christian baptism in so-called baptisteries as a form of religious initiation ('rebirth') from Jewish ritual baths. Kindt (pp. 268-278) delivers another valuable contribution in Part V by focusing on the material side of oracular divination. Both archaeological and epigraphic evidence on oracular shrines deliver important information on rules and conventions, but also on the geographical origin of much of its visitors. In a sixth part, called 'Sharing public space', we are confronted with the balance between conformity and expectancy of a sacred place, on the one hand, and the variety it can display, depending on the spatial context, on the other hand. The article by Raja (pp. 307-319) is representative of the conformity of sacred places by providing a clear overview of the architectural hierarchy of religious complexes, while the contribution by Smith (pp. 362-375) is a good illustration of the degree of variety sacred places and ancient religion in general can display. Smith thereby focuses on the flexibility of memory and its incongruence with stability of cultic practice. A seventh part, entitled 'Expressiveness' deals with the active role individuals can perform within any religious experience. Especially the article by Siebert (pp. 388-397) on the sacrificial use of everyday instruments and vessels and the article of Schörner (pp. 397-411) on anatomical *ex votos* are in this regard interesting. Schörner, for instance, informs us that the manufacture of body parts votives, made out of clay, appeared to have been a typical phenomenon of the lower social layers of ancient communities. The idea of 'agents', in the sense of archaeological evidence that can be addressed in the formation of religious identities of different social groups and individuals, comprises the eighth part of this Companion. This leads to some strong theoretical conclusions. Rebillard (pp. 427-436), for instance, relates the central theme of 'agents' to the concept of 'internal plurality of individuals', which refers to a multiplicity of (religious) identities each with contradictory

experiences and expectations that individuals can adopt. Rüpke (pp. 437-450), on the other hand, associates 'agents' with the existence of a self-conscious idea of religious individuality in Antiquity. In a final ninth part of the Companion, we are confronted with 'transformations'. This last topic deals with different religious transformations that took place in the provinces outside of Rome over time. Woolf (pp. 465-477) stresses the importance of an emic versus etic approach on the analysis of transformations of ritual practices in non-Mediterranean Europe and concludes that archaeological sources are by far the most suitable form of evidence for the examination of the ritual traditions of the northern peoples of ancient Europe. Finally, Gasparini (pp. 478-488) argues persuasively that the coexistence of different cultural traditions in Roman Africa allowed an individual choice of religious identity.

In summary, we can conclude that this new addition to the Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World excels in scientific quality and expertise. Each contribution is obviously the product of highly esteemed scholarly labor, and in many cases we are dealing here with the world's leading experts. Notwithstanding these positive remarks, some critical observations must be taken into account. First of all, the chapters themselves are characterized by a limited size of approximately ten pages each, which does not allow any in depth analysis. Instead, we are faced each time with the clarification of complex research questions in a rather concise and dense form. Another consequence of such editorial decision is the inclination of many authors to compress as much elaborate descriptions of material evidence as possible. This does not always facilitate an easy reading. For these reasons, it would have benefitted this Companion substantially if the number of chapters had been sized down to a more reasonable amount. This would not only have allowed larger chapters in which the discussion of the main research topics would have been presented in a more well-balanced fashion, but it would have resulted in a less loose coherence between all present chapters as well. A limitation of chapters should also have prevented the overlap in topics that can be observed now (*e.g.* Parker (pp. 71-80) and Bowes (pp. 209-219) on domestic religion and Luginbühl (pp. 41-59) and Stavrianopoulou (pp. 349-361) on processions). Another almost inevitable outcome of such a large amount of contributions is the categorization of some chapters into less suitable parts. For instance, the decision of the authors to recognize the article on ritual dance by Naerebout (pp. 107-119) primarily as an example of 'Embodiment' (Part II) and not a more obvious form of 'Expressiveness' (Part VII) remains rather unsatisfactory. The

article by de Cazanove (pp. 181-193) on the ritual function of water poses a similar problem: this should clearly belong to Part IV ('Creating Spaces of Experiences') and not Part III ('Experiences'). However, these shortcomings cannot diminish the overall quality of this new Companion. The principal aim of approaching the study of ancient religion by other means than literary sources is certainly achieved beyond expectation. All chapters without any exception fulfill an excellent job in discussing ancient religion by the almost exclusive use of archaeological or epigraphic evidence. At most, literary sources are only incorporated for auxiliary means (*e.g.* Siebert, pp. 390-391). Despite the fact that the vast majority of chapters only scratch the surface of each topic due to editorial constraints (then again, this is somehow countered by the addition of a most useful 'guide to further reading' at the end of each chapter), we can nonetheless conclude that this Companion provides an excellent introduction to any archaeological or epigraphic research on "lived religion" in Antiquity and will therefore be an indispensible reference work for both college students and scholars for many years to come.

Alexander Meert

Rebillard, Éric, Rüpke, Jorg (eds.), *Group Identity & Religious Individuality in Late Antiquity*, Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C. 2015, ISBN 9780813227436, 331 p.

Can the concept of religious individualism be applied to Early Christianity? That is the overarching question on which this book, a collection of eleven essays, tries to formulate an answer. As the editors of the work acknowledge, it is not an unproblematic question. The low number of Ancient testimonies on religious experience are almost exclusively "elitist". Those who were able to produce a literary or architectural heritage which we can examine today were often part of the wealthy and well-educated classes of society. In addition, the few extant testimonies often lack a clarifying context. Thankfully, the focus on group identity and religiosity can generate new views on the sources examined, and contribute to better understanding (religious) society in Late Antiquity.

Group Identity is a rich book. The authors in this book did not only examine textual testimonies, but also archaeological evidence. In addition, attention is paid to the materiality of the textual sources. The

latter is for example the case in chapter 9, in which J. Rüpke discusses the composition of the different texts of the manuscript "the 'Chronograph of 354'", or in chapter 10, where R. Raja points to the public character of an inscription made on request of bishop Aeneas in Gerasa. The textual testimonies examined in this volume are different in nature and genre (legal texts, literary texts, letters, sermons) and offer a diverse look on religious life in the fourth and fifth century Roman Empire. Another example of the book's richness is the geographic diversity of the studies, encompassing regions in both the West (North Africa, Gaul, Italy) and the East (Greece, the Levant, Egypt, Cappadocia) of the Roman Empire. The essays also cover religious diversity in Late Antiquity, examining besides Catholic Christianity also the ties or tensions with Manichaeism, Paganism, Judaism, and Mithraism. The methods of the contributions are as diverse as the sources examined, and one can notice that the editors paid careful attention to studying the research question of group identity and religious individuality in as many aspects as possible. The multidisciplinary approach has two complementary consequences: while a specialised scholar may not find all essays in this book equally relevant for his or her own field of expertise, every reader will be able to consult multiple studies of importance for his or her personal interests. The broad hermeneutical and methodological scope of this collection can enrich every reader. Furthermore, the openness of this book's research question allows an endeavouring scholar to further contribute to the question of religious identity in Late Antiquity.

In sum, *Group Identity* constitutes an important innovative study in the field of Early Christianity. The collected essays lay a foundation for the inquiry on group identity and religious individuality in Late Antiquity. Because the book does not offer a final answer to the questions asked (and frankly, it does not need to), it will definitely stimulate further reflection on the subject.

Aäron Vanspauwen

Rosen, Klaus, *Agostino. Genio e santo. Una biografia storica*, (Grandi profili), Queriniana, Bresica 2016, ISBN 978-88-399-2884-9, 336 p.

"Una biografia moderna, che fa parlare il padre della Chiesa tramite i suoi scritti: Agostino raccontato da Agostino." Mit diesem, auf dem hinteren Bucheinband abgedrucktem Diktum wird die italienische

Übersetzung der bereits in der zweiten Auflage erschienenen, ursprünglich auf Deutsch vorgelegten Augustinusbiographie von Klaus Rosen beworben (*Augustinus. Genie und Heiliger. Eine historische Biographie*, (Gestalten der Antike), Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 2015, [2]2017). Dass dabei nicht zu viel versprochen wird, ja gerade das Gegenteil der Fall ist, erweist sich bald nach Beginn der Lektüre. Rosen führt den Leser nämlich quellennah und behutsam an dem Leben dieses "Genies und Heiligen" entlang. Eine gelungene Zitatenauswahl – überwiegend aus der *Confessiones* – lässt tatsächlich Augustinus selbst regelmäßig zu Wort kommen. Die Kontextualisierung, die Rosen vornimmt, bietet einen informativen Einblick in die Welt und Lebensweise der Spätantike, selbst für solche Leser, die mit der Epoche nicht vertraut sind. Darüber hinaus hat die Biographie jedoch noch mehr zu bieten. Ihre Besonderheit liegt primär in dem dezidierten Interesse an der *historischen* Persönlichkeit des Augustinus. Das heißt freilich im Umkehrschluss nicht, dass Rosen auf die theologische und philosophische Perspektive verzichten würde. Vielmehr skizziert und reflektiert er anhand der in den Vordergrund gestellten historischen Ereignisse die wichtigsten philosophischen und theologischen Entwicklungslinien.

Getreu der Gattung "historische" Biographie ist das Buch chronologisch aufgebaut und orientiert sich besonders in den ersten zehn Kapiteln an der *Confessiones*: Familie und Jugend in Thagaste (1.), Studium in Karthago (2.), junger Lehrer in Thagaste (3.), akademische Erfolge in Karthago (4.), Rom (5.) und Mailand (6.), Bekehrung im Jahr 386 (7.), erste philosophische Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Christentum während einer Aufenthalt in Cassiciacum (8.), Taufe sowie Tod seiner Mutter Monica (9.), schließlich Rückkehr nach Karthago (10.). In der zweiten Hälfte der Biographie löst sich Rosen von der Selbstdarstellung Augustins und stellt anhand seines überwältigenden Schrifttums die Herausforderungen und Probleme dar, mit denen Augustinus als junger Priester (11.) und später als Bischof (12.) im nordafrikanischen Hippo konfrontiert wird. Besonders geglückt ist dabei die lebhafte Darstellung der Kämpfe zwischen Manichäern, Donatisten, Circumcellionen und Katholiken sowie ihrer Auswirkungen auf das Denken Augustins und die Lebenswirklichkeit der afrikanischen Lokalbevölkerung (13.). Auf den Fall Roms im Jahr 410 und auf die Reflexionen Augustinus' dazu in *De civitate Dei* (14.) folgt die Kontroverse um Pelagius (15.) sowie die Darlegung der Schrift *De Trinitate* (16.). Die Biographie wird mit dem Tod und der Nachfolge des Bischofs von Hippo (17.) sowie einem kurzen Ausblick auf die Rezeptionsgeschichte (Epilog) abgeschlossen.

Das Buch wird mit einer praktischen Zeittafel und einem Abkürzungs-, Stichwort-, und Literaturverzeichnis abgerundet. Letzteres weicht nur unwesentlich von der deutschen Originalausgabe ab und bietet, von einigen Ausnahmen abgesehen überwiegend deutsch- aber auch englisch- und französischsprachige Untersuchungen. Immerhin werden die jeweiligen italienischen Übersetzungen in eckigen Klammern aufgeführt (etwa bei Brown, Flasch Lancel und Ratzinger). Darüber hinaus werden noch drei zusätzliche italienische Beiträge erwähnt (Brown, Dolbeau, Marrou) und es wird erfreulicherweise auf eine italienische Gesamtausgabe samt Kommentar der *Confessiones* hingewiesen (ed. Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Milano, 1992-97). Die vielleicht auffälligster Differenz zwischen der deutschen und italienischen Ausgabe besteht neben der Fußnotierung statt Endnotierung darin, dass die italienische Ausgabe weitestgehend auf die Übernahme der Illustrationen der Originalausgabe verzichtet. Da es sich dabei tatsächlich um Illustrationen im engeren Sinn handelt (Abbildungen des Lebens von Augustin entnommen aus dem Freskenzyklus von Ottaviano Nelli in der Kirche Sant'Agostino in Gubbio um 1420), d. h. der Text auch ohne die Abbildungen schlüssig bleibt, stellt der Verzicht eher einen ästhetischen Einschnitt dar. Abgedruckt werden hingegen die beiden Landkarten (spätantike Karthago, S. 39, sowie der Provinz Numidia, S. 63), das Abbildungsverzeichnis wird jedoch nicht übernommen. Das führt indessen dazu, dass der Quellennachweis des Kartenmaterials entfällt. Die genannten Schwächen schmälern die Verdienste der von Rosen vorgelegten Augustinusbiographie allerdings kaum: Sie macht eine informative, lesbare und auch für Laien gut verständliche Einführung über das Leben und Werk einer der bedeutendsten Lichtgestalten der Antike für das italienische Publikum leicht zugänglich.

András Handl

Schulz, Fabian, Föller, Carola (eds.), *Osten und Westen 400-600 n. Chr. Kommunikation, Kooperation und Konflikt*, (Roma aeterna 4), Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2016, ISBN 978-3-515-10942-0, 316 p.

Der vorliegende Sammelband ist das Ergebnis der Tagung "Das Auseinandertriften zweier Teilräume des Imperium Romanum in Spätantike und Mittelalter. Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen", die im Frühjahr 2013 stattfand. Das hier zu behandelnde Thema, also der Übergang

von der Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter, stellt an sich keine bahnbrechend neue Fragestellung dar. Die Forschung der vergangenen Dekaden diskutierte bereits diverse Aspekte des Epochenwandels kontrovers. Hier argumentierten einige Stimmen für die Kontinuität beider Epochen, andere wiederum betonten die Konflikte, Brüche und kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen. Maßgeblich ist auch die von Michael Borgolte entwickelte Perspektive der kulturellen Synthese. Die Beiträge des Sammelbandes setzen zwar ebenso in dieser Periode an, nehmen aber eine neue Perspektive ein und fragen nach den unterschiedlichen Aspekten kultureller Ausdifferenzierung. Im Mittelpunkt stehen dabei das Selbstverständnis sowie die Abgrenzungstrategien, die die kulturelle Identität bestimmen; die Wahrnehmungen und Vorstellungen beider Seiten; die (fehlenden) Interaktionen, seien es Kooperationen oder Konflikte; und die Art und Weise, wie diese erfolgen oder eben ausbleiben. Die Rolle der divergierenden religiösen, kulturellen und politischen Konzepte gilt es ebenfalls zu erörtern. Die beiden Teilräume des Imperiums werden vorsichtig als "Ost" und "West" definiert. Damit sollen allerdings betont keine homogene, sondern kulturell heterogene Großräume beschrieben werden, deren tragende Gemeinsamkeit in der ersten Linie darin besteht, dass sie sich "weniger intern unterscheiden als vom jeweils anderen" (S. 10). Die Grenzziehung ist zwar politisch (die "Reichsteilung" unter den Theodosius-Söhnen Arcadius und Honorius im Jahre 395) und religiös (kirchliche Spaltungen entlang der trinitärischen Streitigkeiten) begründet, bleibt aber stets Objekt wissenschaftlicher Reflektion.

Dieses gewiss nicht unreizvolle Vorhaben manifestiert sich in 15 Beiträgen, die fünf separaten thematischen Abschnitten zugeordnet sind. Der erste Abschnitt des Bandes, "Identitätskonstruktion. Abgrenzung vom Westen durch *paideia*?", untersucht die Bildungskonzepte des paganen und christlichen Ostens, die ein doppeltes Paradoxon zu bewältigen hat: Dem Streben nach Einheit sowie der Sicherung einer gemeinsamen "römischen" Identität einerseits sowie von dem faktischen Zerfall des römischen Reiches und dem wachsenden gegenseitigen Unverständnis andererseits. Der Beitrag von Jan R. Stegner stellt die Abgrenzungsbemühungen der griechischen Intellektuellen Libanios, Himerios und Themistios als echte Repräsentanten zivilisierter Menschheit – im Gegensatz zu den Lateinern – in den Mittelpunkt. Anhand der Kollektivbiographie des Eunap macht Matthias Becker ähnliche Beobachtungen. Oliver Schelske hebt hingegen die gemeinsame Beschwörung der Überlegenheit griechisch-römischer *paidea* paganer Intellektuellen gegenüber der zunehmenden Marginalisierung durch die fortschreitende Christianisierung des Reiches im vierten

Jahrhundert hervor. Er stellt die These auf, dass die Ausbreitung des Christentums die Auseinanderentwicklung zumindest bezüglich der Bildung begünstigte.

Der zweite Teil wird mit "Wahrnehmung des anderen. Außenperspektiven auf Ost und West" betitelt. Anhand der fränkischen Geschichtsschreiber Gregor von Tours und Fredegar untersucht Hans-Werner Goetz die Wahrnehmung des byzantinischen Reiches im Westen. Er kommt zum Schluss, dass die Kenntnisse beider Autoren eher lückenhaft waren und ihre Wahrnehmung unpräzise. Dennoch wurde weder eine feindselige Haltung eingenommen, noch wurden die Differenzen zur fränkischen Identitätsbildung instrumentalisiert. Nach der Ansicht von Christian Stadermann sind ähnliche Tendenzen auch in der Rezeption der Schlacht von Vouillé (507) in einer Reihe von Quellen des sechsten Jahrhunderts zu erkennen. Hier überwog noch das Lokalinteresse ohne religiöse Untertöne. Dmitrij F. Bumazhnov richtet die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Ambivalenz der Begrifflichkeit "Ost-West". Durch Quellen der ostsyrischen Kirche in dem Sassanidenreich wird eine außerrömische Perspektive eingenommen. Bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon (451), so das Resümee, wurde der byzantinische "christliche Westen" mit Wohlwollen betrachtet, danach wurde er zunehmend als "Brutstätte der Irrlehren" (S. 128) abgestempelt. Das wiederum begünstigte die Selbstständigkeitsbemühungen innerhalb der ostsyrischen Kirche.

Der dritte Teil über "Gelingende, misslingende und fehlende Kommunikation. Päpste und Bischöfe und der Osten" richtet die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Umgangsformen der kirchlichen Elite des Westens und des Ostens miteinander und auf die daraus resultierenden Missverständnisse.

Die Haltung von Augustinus und Hieronymus gegenüber des griechischen Ostens war nach der Einschätzung von Fabian Schulz sympthomatisch: Hieronymus, obwohl er in Bethlehem lebte und arbeitete, integrierte sich schlecht und blieb ein westlicher Außenseiter. Augustinus in der nordafrikanischen Präferiere fehlte sogar das nötige "Werkzeug", sich über griechische Theologie aus erster Hand zu informieren. Es überrascht folglich kaum, dass die beiden kaum Einfluss auf die griechischen Kollegen ausüben konnten, als es um die pelagianische Kontroverse ging. Als mangelhaft sind auch die offiziellen kirchlichen Kontakte beider Großräume zu bewerten, wie dies aus dem Beitrag von Sebastian Scholz hervorgeht. Die Briefe des römischen Bischofs Simplicius (468–483) zeugen zwar von einer versuchten Einflussnahme auf die griechischen Streitigkeiten nach dem Konzil von Chalcedon (451), der Bischof blieb aber schlecht

informiert und in seinen Bemühungen erfolglos, weil er sich lediglich mit dem Kaiser sowie mit dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel austauschte. Ein weiteres Beispiel misslungener Kommunikation stellt Carola Föller in der Kontroverse zwischen Gregor dem Großen (590–604) und dem Patriarchen Johannes von Konstantinopel vor, in der es um den vom Letztgenannten beanspruchten Titel "Ökumenische Patriarchen" geht. Was als Ausdruck der Demut durch die monastische Frömmigkeit des Johannes im Osten aufgefasst wurde, wirkte als Angriff auf die Primat des Papstes im Westen.

Mit "Krieg und Konflikt. Ost und West im Vergleich militärische Aspekte" werden die militärischen Aspekte und damit auch die Wechselwirkungen zwischen Reichsmitte und Peripherie skizziert.

Die Entwicklung vom Krieger Theoderich zum ostgotischen König beschreibt Guido M. Berndt in seinem Betrag. Seine Fähigkeit, unerwartete Chancen für sich auszuschlachten, sowie die Entstehung und Umwandlung seiner Kriegergruppe zu einem stehenden Heer bereiteten seinen Thron vor und waren später dessen Sicherung maßgeblich beteiligt. David Jäger übt mit seinem qualitativen Ansatz Kritik an der "Neuen deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte" aus, indem er den "Kriegermodus" und die damit verbundenen Plünderungen als akzeptierte Gütererwerbspraxis herausarbeitet. Solche Kriegergruppen bestanden jedoch weder dauerhaft noch begriffen sie sich als Krieger. Exemplarisch untersucht er dabei das Verhalten der Hunnen sowie die militärischen Operationen zur Zeit des Westgotenkönigs Eurich. Anne Poguntke beleuchtet die unterschiedlichen Entwicklungslinien im Osten und Westen anhand der Verhältnisse zwischen Kaiser und Heermeister, exemplifiziert an Stilicho und Gainas. Schließlich diskutiert Katharina Enderle die aufflammenden apokalyptischen Erwartungen um 500. Sie macht dafür u. a. das nähernde *Annus mundi* 6000 sowie die antichalkedonische Religionspolitik des früheren Heermeisters und Usurpators Basiliskos (475-476) verantwortlich.

Der abschließende fünfte Teil behandelt die "Methodischen Perspektiven". Tobias Schöttler skizziert unterschiedliche Facetten von Missverständnissen, vom Literarischen bis zum Figurativen und betont dabei die Vorteile der kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Perspektive für die historisch arbeitenden Disziplinen. Uwe Walter thematisiert die Implikationen, Vor- und Nachteile des für den Tagungsband gewählten Zugangs und debattiert die ihm zugrunde liegenden Konzepte.

Das vorgelegte Band "Osten und Westen" ist thematisch breit aufgestellt und schneidet mitunter sehr unterschiedliche Felder an. Durch die vorgenommene Gruppierung ergeben sich Schwerpunkte,

jedoch bleiben die einzelnen Beiträge eng fokussierte Schlaglichter auf einen komplexen Sachverhalt. Diese bieten aber durchaus gelungene Einblicke in die kulturelle Fragmentierung und Auseinanderentwicklung des Imperiums und deren Bedeutung für den Übergang von der Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter. Sie eröffnen auch eine neue Perspektive auf einen dynamischen, oft von Paradoxen geprägten Zeitraum, mit viel Potenzial für künftige Untersuchungen.

András Handl

Shuve, Karl, *The Song of Songs and the Fashioning of Identity in Early Latin Christianity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2016, ISBN 9780198766445, 256 p.

The author of this rich and finely written study makes the very important point that the early interpreters were not very troubled by a bad conscience about not acknowledging the plain sense as a human, sexually erotic one, as readers like Elizabeth Clark have seemed to suppose. The equal and opposite error was to think that the late antique and medieval church largely viewed the Song as something completely mysterious. Although the dominance of Origen is played down in this study, it might be added that even Origen saw the Song as largely about ecclesiology and ethics, or 'Christian identity', which is not to say that he or the other early interpreters themselves would have used such language. It does seem correct to conclude that Song was used (counter-intuitively) to speak about such unlovely things as heresies and heretics. The opening chapter of this book seems to want to pay its dues to these wider debates, as though Gregory of Elvira himself, the main subject of the original Edinburgh PhD, alone were not quite interesting enough to have more than a chapter in this monograph. For that reason it is a more challenging book to have written, requiring gear-changing from translating and close reading to tracing a bigger picture, but it is slightly worrying that so often English-speaking historical theology feels it would rather not 'do detail'.

Of course there is rigorous and detailed *argument*. Cyprian offered a purely ecclesial or ecclesiastical interpretation with a use of Song 4:12,15 and 6:8 to speak of rebaptism, given the invalidity of the church led by the anti-pope Novatian, which did not share the one faith. However given that there are barely three verses commented on it is perhaps a bit of a stretch to call Cyprian 'father of Song exegesis'. Then in the case of the rebaptizing Donatists, Optatus responded by

taking Parmenian's description of 'church' but varied in terms of location of the true church: for the former Song 4:11's 'come from Libanus' was the whole Roman Empire. Augustine himself in his *De baptismo* refuted Cyprian's theology of baptism and its call for a pure community to be found 'in the south' (Song 1:7) He joined Song 6:8 to Eph 5:27, but to locate purity in the church leadership (martyrs or *traditores*) made the church into something just too visible. In all this it might be questioned whether it was *ritual* purity from which Augustine wished to disengage the Song-interpretation. In similar fashion Pacian of Barcelona used the Song's horticultural imagery not to exclude but to invite penitents in for nourishment and healing, as well as Tyconius the reengaged Donatist who by 400 had come to believe in a mixed church. The conclusion on Augustine's mysticism is that it was just too dialogical for the Song's nuptiality to fit it. Is that quite it? Can nuptiality not be dialogical?

The author is determined to redate the commentary by Gregory of Elvira. "The text's most recent editor [Schulz-Flügel], however, has demonstrated that the prologue is spurious, by pointing out that its penultimate line was taken from Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job.* The argument for a late date crumbles before our eyes" (p. 81). However, surely this by itself does not argue for an earlier date in the 350s. The argument that Origen's exegesis was mediated to him by Victorinus of Petau, even while the latter "eschewed the individualized dimension of Origen's exegesis" (p. 85), is all plausible, but no more than that. Why is it so important to establish that Gregory wrote to deal with issues in the 350s? One wonders. The appeal to Reticius's missing commentary (apart from excerpts criticized by Jerome in *Ep*. 37, who concluded the former could not have read Origen) and the reconstruction on pp. 92-93 seems not quite convincing. The author maintains that Gregory does not show a grasp of Trinitarian theology because he wrote just before that all came to matter in the West, and instead had a mere concern for a full divinity and humanity in Christ, not least for the soul of Christ. However that particular tradition plays on an Origenian topos as Grillmeier and at least this present reviewer once observed. If a case is going to be convincing and not 'admittedly speculative' (p. 93) then there had better be more quotation and comparison of texts. The explanation of Gregory's 'hybrid Christ' (p. 105) is well done.

In the Second Part of the Book ('The Song of Songs in Italy') one learns that Ambrose started with the ideal and practice of virginity and applied it to the church, but also that he viewed it in a more positive way than, say, Athanasius. In Ambrose's *De uirginitate* virginity

becomes paradigmatic for the whole church. Compared with Origen, the soul's role is more active in its asceticism in preparation for spiritual ascent, through renunciation of bodily passion. Yet Ambrose could see the virgins as personified ideals of the Church, in a way that Jerome would not. There is a challenge to each Christian to order their desires, and to Jovinian for denying Mary's *uirginitas in partu*. "The notion that ascetic readings *must* be defensive is rooted in our anachronistic insistence that early Christian readers, like contemporary readers, took the plain sense of the Song to be carnal desire" (p. 208). This seems well judged. Jovinian aimed to contest the Song as supporting a hierarchical notion of the church. In this David Hunter has been a useful guide. In the conclusion it is repeated: "the interpretation of the Song was deeply responsive to local conflicts" (212). One wonders whether some of the more speculatively reconstructed contexts can bear the weight. There is also some interesting concluding thoughts on Julian of Eclanum's disingenuous siding with Ambrose's respect for the state of marriage, and Julian's partial reception by Bede – but one wishes this a bit more space. Throughout there is good engagement with secondary literature, and an ability to see a wide-ranging project through to completion.

Mark W. Elliott

Sigurdson, Ola, *Heavenly Bodies. Incarnation, the Gaze and Embodiment in Christian Theology* (Translated by Carl Olsen), Willem B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan 2016, ISBN 978-0-8028-7166-4, 673 p.

Sigurdson's *Heavenly Bodies* is, in many respects, a monumental work. In about 700 pages, Sigurdson presents us with a compendium of what contemporary theology is, and what it can stand for. One cannot but be struck by the breadth of references, the depth of its discussions and the at times rather novel interpretations of embodiment within contemporary theology. Sigurdson dialogues with the best of continental philosophy—from Heidegger to Jean-Luc Nancy and from Simone de Beauvoir to Judith Butler—in order to come up with a theology that tries to be, well, contemporary: up to date and in dialogue with the current context—I, for one, do not know any other text in theology that discusses the reality of virtual images, through the Internet and photography, in its relation to the Christian tradition of the icon.

The book comprises three parts, respectively incarnation (part I), the gaze (part II) and embodiment (part III) and twelve chapters. Right at the outset, Sigurdson makes clear that phenomenology is his discussion partner of choice (p. 19) although "this study does not lay claim to being phenomenological in a strict sense (p. 21). The focus of the book remains theology and its contemporary ambitions. Yet phenomenology presents him with the possibility to go beyond instrumental rationality and sheer testimony (p. 36) and enables Sigurdson to "shift to a more dedicated theological perspective (p. 254).

In Part I, then, Sigurdson queries for the existential origin of incarnational theology. This origin concerns "what the salvation that God has accomplished in Christ means for humanity" (p. 68) and how "the active presence of God in human history […] gives ground for hope" (p. 58). As for the Hellenization of the Christian message, and the increasingly speculative formulations of the Christian doctrine in the first, formative, phases of the Christian tradition, Sigurdson argues that even these are "rather than being the result of theological hubris [an] experiment in finding conceptual categories that correspond to an existential concern. This concern is to adequately articulate the genuine nature of salvation by clarifying the relation between God and human, and at the same time respecting the apophatic character of theological language" (p. 90). This, too, is the reason why the author later argues, with Barth, that one should avoid speaking about Christ in too abstract a manner (although this does not entail speaking, with John Hick, of the 'myth of the God incarnate' (pp. 121ff.)) but rather through stories and events (p. 110), as the Gospels in fact do.

Yet the Christian tradition is human, all too human, and in the course of its history it, too, has been comprised by prejudices, by power play etc. It is for this reason that the author, quite often, turns to the feminist critique of Christology. Conversing with Rosemary Radford Ruether, the author seems to agree that "the Chalcedonian Christology is the outcome of a long patriarchialization of a Christology that from the start entailed a questioning of all hierarchies" (p. 130). It is to this feminist critique, Sigurdson argues, that we owe the awareness of "the need for a concrete, transformed praxis as a further development of the incarnation […] The importance of the incarnation does therefore not only lie in Jesus Christ, but also in the reception of him" (p. 146, also 141). With this, we reach an important point of the book: the hypothesis that the incarnation is not, say, a bygone affair but in fact *continues*. God still, one might say, takes on body in and through the body of believers.

Part II concerns the 'how' of this reception, to speak in phenomenological terms: how to receive Christ? How to look upon him? How to see and "behold salvation" (p. 195)? With the help of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, Sigurdson points out that the human gaze is active and passive: we are able to see things because things give themselves to be seen, they are, as Heidegger says, events that address the human being in toto, the eye and the mind and the body all work together in perception, to refer to Merleau-Ponty. It is with these phenomenologies on the horizon that part II builds a "theology of the gaze as a concrete, anthropological reception of the doctrine of the incarnation" (p. 181).

In the Gospel, the author argues, it is "Jesus [who] gives instructions in the art of seeing" (p. 187). The author here relies, among other stories, on the Song of Simeon as recounted by Luke (2:25ff) to trace the link between seeing and salvation. "It is not a matter of seeing God, since God remains invisible. To "behold salvation" is instead a matter of seeing God's concrete action in history, and it is precisely this action that becomes visible in Jesus" (p. 195). Sigurdson makes clear that this art of seeing is not merely spiritual, not merely speculative or an inner mental occurrence, "it is not independent of the concrete, historical gaze of the disciples" (p. 199).

If salvation can be *seen* and if the incarnation has not been brought to a halt, then we need to ponder whether and how this incarnation continues and how "the representing of God's word in visible form" (p. 214) is still a possibility today, in ethics, in liturgy or in the arts. Even if the New Testament gave rise to a theology of the image, this discussion as to how God can be represented (or even presents Godself) in an image generally and in an icon more specifically, lasted at least "up until the second council in Nicea in 787" (p. 214). This question concerns not only how to represent God but also what exactly to represent exactly. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, Sigurdson states, the focus on Jesus' humanity was such that we should at least ponder, with Leo Steinberg, that "the eternal, there and then, became mortal and sexual" (p. 235).

What, then, do the eyes of faith see? And is the gaze of faith in effect an erotic gaze? This is the topic of Sigurdson's seventh chapter. To avoid any unnecessary links between a sinful *eros* and eroticism in general, the author distinguishes between "lusting" and "longing" (p. 247). This longing, to follow Kearney and Levinas, is an "eschatological longing" (p. 249) that avoids the comprehensive grasping that is proper to instrumental rationality and focuses on what is "not yet", not yet understood that is, rather than claiming to represent God

in totality. This does not mean that the transcendence of God, aimed at and longed for in the liturgy for instance, is that of a 'far away' God—a God forever 'beyond' reason's grasp. Such a God "is not worthy of humanity. because we need a God who is "near" us. If transcendence means that something is remote, this is correct, but if transcendence could be understood as "difference", it is hardly the opposite of presence of immanence" (p. 271). The God incarnate, incarnat*ing* rather, is both a remote God, at a distance as it were, and present, present*ing* and revealing itself. This 'presentation' takes place nowhere else than in immanence and in the bodies of being-in-the-world, concretely in the liturgical gathering. For it is here, in doxology, that the human longing for God and God's active presence in history might *meet*: "the erotic gaze that manages to perceive the invisible in the visible is therefore also a liturgically informed gaze" (p. 273). It is in liturgy, says Sigurdson, that we "[learn] to see the world as God's world" (p. 285).

It is here, in its focus on the active role of the liturgical gathering in, say, summoning the divine presence, that one of the weaker points of the book is revealed. Although the author stresses repeatedly that the gaze of faith is both active and passive, calling out for God and being addressed by God if you will (e.g pp. 180, 273, 316 and 337), it is clear that the active role of the community to present itself to God is emphasized a bit more than the passivity of being called and summoned by God to such 'gathering'. Whereas Marion in his *God without Being*, which Sigurdson discusses from p. 520 onwards, argued for a complete passivity when it comes to the divine presence in the Eucharist, to the point of stating that God would still be present if only the priest consecrating the bread and no one else was present, Sigurdson takes almost the opposite road: without there being this body of believers actively celebrating and gathering around God's involvement in history, God will not (could not?) be present. Obviously, this is part of an old schism within Christianity, which I do not want to discuss here, but the point is that this active gathering, for Sigurdson, seems to function as the only 'norm and criterion', the only corrective, that the author sees in the gradual fading away of representations of Christ and the divine in an increasingly secular culture. It is this discussion, from photographic images of Christ (p. 240), over Holbein's painting of *Christ in the Grave* (pp. 238ff.), to Baudrillard's somewhat nihilistic celebration of the possibility that icons formed the stepping stone to seeing God as but one more 'simulacrum' (p. 286), that would have deserved more attention. It simply cannot be settled by the fact that God's presence would be 'real' as long as people still

celebrate and gather in Churches (p. 291). It is rather to this growing 'unreality', in and through photoshopped images, in an increasingly virtual reality in which everything becomes simulated and secularized, that a contemporary theology should be more attentive. One does not shut the door to these concerns by simply stating that "the gaze for the invisible is namely not given outside of a fellowship that cultivates [the] liturgical gaze" (p. 291). In this way, theology loses every chance of becoming a contemporary for our contemporaries but rather contributes to its growing isolation.

Part II, 'Embodiment', starts out with a long discussion of Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger, and the role of the body in their phenomenologies. From Merleau-Ponty one should take two things. First, the 'memory' of the body, the fact that whatever we know and are able to know starts with and in an experience of the body—as, when one is typing blind, the fingers know what to type and are ahead of the mind in many ways. Secondly, the sense of an incarnation of meaning, developed in his *The Visible and the Invisible*, the ideas and essences "could not be given *as ideas* except in a carnal experience" (quoted on p. 329). But the body is not in the world *ex nihilo*: it is immersed in institutions, in cultures, in environments and in atmospheres, as philosophy today has it. This too makes for the fact that we are creatures of history and of traditions. Being-in-the-world today is simply not the same as it was forty years ago. This causes our author to turn to Michel Foucault: since a human being is not in the world *ex nihilo*, he or she must be trained and educated to take up his or her being in the world. And our liturgical being-in-the-world, too, will require just such a training, for the Christian must *learn* to see the world as God's world. But how such a training should occur, with what means, and for which goals, one needs a theology of the (liturgical) body. Such a theology, of course, cannot happen without considerable help from contemporary philosophy—as well as Foucault, our author heavily relies on Bourdieu and Butler. If our immersion in culture and tradition is a matter of training, then sexuality, too, is a construction and 'has a history'. The opening chapter of this second part is a long build-up to a theology of sensuality that wants to rid us of a too rigid, binary and so-called natural view of embodiment. The author argues: "Sexuality becomes historical by the fact that the individual appropriates it. But the question is whether this historically given sexuality that is thus taken as natural is not in fact a sedimented sexuality" (p. 338). The individual appropriates a historical account of sexuality that only afterwards, in and through this appropriation, *seems* natural and so 'valid for all times'. This is not to say that there is nothing natural to the

body, but only that every talk of these natural traits is only given from within a cultural construction (most often, obviously, our own construction).

"What does [such] performativity mean for the idea of *imitatio Christi*" (p. 348), this is the question that the author has in mind in this second part. How does the liturgical being-in-the-world of the Christian construct the Christian body? How to understand the "intertwining between individual bodies and social bodies from a Christian perspective" (p. 359). Later, the author focuses specifically on the following question: "how the rites [and their repetition—no training without repetition, JS] become mediators between individual body and social body" (p. 414).

It is important to understand that for the author these mediations on embodiment respond to the "loss of social body", a movement which, according to Sigurdson, started out somewhere in the eleventh century when, following de Lubac, a confusion arose between the *corpus mysticum* and the *corpus verum*. Sacramentality becomes increasingly reified, a "miracle" that happens on Sunday, apparently even when no one is around (p. 384). It becomes an object, an institutionalized construction that, at a given time, will even contradict the laws of nature. It is not certain whether we should follow our author here, but the consequences are clear: salvation becomes increasingly 'individualized' and the "Eucharist [is] no longer understood as a congregation's commemoration of the body of Christ but as an individual's" (p. 387). The individual will then slowly but surely will become an ego and a cogito, an isolated thing that stands over and against another isolated thing, in casu the Eucharistic bread. One could also say that the liturgical body is no longer a body of relations (to others, to God), no longer an event, but rather a sort of mechanism, if not a machine to produce salvation. "Faith came to be individualized, the social dimension of Christian salvation fell out of focus" (p. 391).

Again, it is not sure whether we should share the author's somewhat ill-advised attempt to criticize modernity (even though modernity seems to begin earlier and earlier these days!) so fashionable in the theologian's mindset these days. But what matters, in the remaining pages of this review, is Sigurdson's views on this relationality, the intertwining between Christians in the liturgical body, the relations to others and to the cosmos writ large. For even though Sigurdson sometimes seems to lose focus and loses himself in quite specific discussions, the intriguing part of the book lies in its emphasis on the Christian body as a "grotesque" body, a term he takes from Michael

Bakhtin, a body that knows not of specific borders, of rigid boundaries and thus remains "unclosed, permeable, and excessive" (p. 396).

For this, one should turn to a "theologically informed theory of how the constitution and construction of the body in liturgy, as well as the relationship between the individual body and the social body, come about" (p. 423) knowing full well, from Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger, that the individual body is not an atom, but rather "grotesque", "more like individual nodes in a field" (p. 422). How does this individual body fit into the Christian body?

Through liturgy—but one needs to wonder whether the liturgy would be the sole example of something like Christian identity formation—the individual is, to agree with Foucault, confronted with "techniques of subjectification" (p. 439): one is taught how to *become* a Christian. It is true that in the majority of the Christian – if not the religious – traditions, there existed mostly "ascetic techniques" (p. 432), aimed at the purification and moderation of the Christian soul. Sigurdson, however, wants to bring sensuality back to theology by arguing that there is another view possible on the senses and desires, even from within the Christian tradition. For this he points above all to two main strands: the first one coming to us through Julian of Norwich, which was a very painful but vivid 'sight' of the living Christ; and a second strand stemming from the female mystics who had no qualms about meeting Jesus in the flesh. As for erotic desire, another reification comes to mind and the laws regulating human behaviour once again become very rigid: "abstract and general principles came to be elaborated regarding who got to do what with whom, and when, where, and how it could occur" (p. 435). Needless to say, Sigurdson raises here some very pertinent and courageous questions towards the church and its practices, not least: whether such a law code "[does not entail] morally negative consequences, namely an ethics whose self-assurance and abstraction oppress rather than transform the person's desire by essentializing her identity in the effort to classify the essence of sin" (p. 435)? It goes without saying, of course, that the essence and existence of sin always lies with the other rather than with oneself. Be that as it may, a lot of what Sigurdson is going to argue is present in the quote above, namely that his 'theology of sensuality' seeks a transformation of the body and of desire rather than its oppression (by oneself or by others). For this, rigidity is neither possible nor desirable: what is needed, rather, is a 'theology of the grotesque'.

Sigurdson finds, as we have seen above, the solution to the deadlock within theological discussions in the severing of 'sex' and

'nature', or as he writes, a learning to distinguish between 'sexuality' and 'reproduction' (p. 437). For this, one must unlearn to speak of the 'family' in theology and start to speak, rather, of the 'household' (p. 441). "What is crucial is not whether two Christian people can have children, but their relationship to the other" (p. 477). This creates the possibility of talking way more positively within the church about same-sex relations, adoption, women, and sex in general, than today is sadly the case. Sigurdson concludes: "it is thus not a matter of how desires should be extinguished, but how they should be cultivated" (p. 479).

For this, the author returns to his focus on the incarnation: "[the Christian tradition] has also been aware that desire for God has been mediated via the material […] In some way the material world must place human beings in a position to seek that which is different than the material—to find the invisible in the visible" (p. 486). For such a transformation from within the material, and the learning to see what is different, what is needed is not another Christian codex and catechism but rather "concrete practices, which should be understood as a further development of the incarnation" (p. 487). The author here states that "since God's [revelation] was neither in words nor in print, but amid a people and in the flesh [….] neither should God's self-revelation in the liturgy be reduced to word and text" (p. 419). Could it be that Christian identity is not a state, not something which one *is*, but rather an event, something which one *does*?

The chapter on 'The Grotesque Body' focuses a bit more on the relation between incarnation and transcendence. For, if the Christian tradition knew there was a place for the transcendent within immanence, "it must somehow also be able to imagine that the finite is capable of housing and expressing the infinite, without because of this allowing the infinite to perish in the finite" (p. 493). But if the infinite is, as stated above, 'different than the material', yet still at a 'distance', then the question needs to be raised just how different such a transcendence can still be. Here, the author makes an important (but also a bit unfortunate) distinction between the grotesque as developed by Bakhtin and by Wolfgang Kayser, that other theoretician of the grotesque. For the latter, according to Sigurdson, "the alien world of the grotesque is not a different world than our own, but instead our own world that has been transformed into an inhospitable and hostile world" (p. 500). Yet Sigurdson agrees that transcendence and incarnation do in effect entail some sort of transformation, but such a transformation, it seems, needs to keep to certain limits: it is not a move *into* the hostile but rather a move *away* from the inhospitable—there

is a good and a bad transformation as it were. For this, he returns to Bakhtin's definition of the grotesque. "For the Christian tradition it is not a matter of continually remaining in the 'paradigm crisis,' but of being able to tell the story of how the existential 'paradigm crisis' was overcome (not avoided) by God through Christ" (p. 512). It is a pity, however, that on the relation between these two forms of transcendence, these two transformations, Sigurdson remains silent, for it is necessary to have some hermeneutical means to distinguish the one transformation from the other. For even though Christ did not avoid the grotesque in the sense of 'passing into' the inhospitable and the hostile—one might think of Holy Saturday here—Sigurdson chooses to stress just how this hostility has been overcome in and through the resurrection and its promise of salvation as the (eventual) "transformation of humanity" (p. 512). Therefore, where the Christian tradition, even according to Sigurdson, knows of these two transformations, and turns the 'bad' transformation consciously into the good one, Sigurdson speaks only (or mostly) of this good transcendence. Yet, for theology it would be important to know whether *even* the inhospitable and the hostile are turned into the hospitable or the friendly by Christ, or whether they remain untouched and thus outside of salvation.

It is a difficult issue, to be sure, but with this 'good' transformation and salvation Sigurdson concludes his major book. Sigurdson emphasizes that the resurrection of the body is, first of all, a "transformation of the body". He wants to avoid the "coarse materialism" (p. 563) of the Middle Ages when stating that this resurrection is by no means "the awakening of a cadaver" (p. 561). Yet even if speaking of the resurrection in this way is in a sense too 'real' or too 'literal', "the resurrection of the body as a grotesque conception is […] not that it would 'merely' be a metaphor. [It] is instead a matter of a possibility [of] speaking of something that it is not actually possible to speak of, since we do not possess any knowledge of what is it about" (p. 509). It is grotesque, rather, because "it breaks with *common sense* and constitutes a sort of extravagant divine action that goes beyond what we view as possible by human standards" (ibid.). It is however this focus on divine extravaganza that should make us wonder about the good and the bad forms of transcendence mentioned above. Though Sigurdson rightly reminds us that the risen Christ was, in most of the Gospels, met with fear, it remains for us to know whether such an encounter was or was not a stretch of our own finite world into the inhospitable or hostile. Unless here too the extravaganza is not so extravagant at all and God does respect some of the finite borders and does not 'break with common sense' all that much. It would be

important to know these gradations within these forms of transcendence before ruling out the question, certainly when trying to avoid "reducing the alien, the discontinuity in the understanding of the resurrection" (p. 570).

Sigurdson thus focuses on this discontinuity between earthly and heavenly bodies, in line with his understanding of transcendence as difference. Yet, one might wonder whether emphasizing continuity and on materiality would not be able to realize a similar sense of difference. Much of Jean-Luc Nancy's and Jacques Derrida's writing on difference and the infamous *différance* seems to suggest just that: a materiality and empiricism that refuses to be reified, that cannot be completely signified, and *for that very reason* remains strange and alien. Instead of moving away and jumping toward an 'eschatological' horizon (cf. p. 573), a theology might just as well move into this very, very mundane ground and still be able to speak of difference and transcendence.

Sigurdson, however, closes his book with an intriguing thought on eschatology, relying on Gregory of Nyssa and echoing, perhaps unbeknownst to the author, certain thoughts of Jean-Yves Lacoste. "The salvation history that God is in the process of realizing through Jesus Christ"—a nice line which, come to think of it, summarizes the whole book (p. 554) does not end: one must imagine a continued transformation "even after the resurrection" (p. 573). Salvation, for Sigurdson, is never finished and in this sense, too, it is grotesque. This means here that salvation is not just the "restoration of creation" (p. 506) but also its "perfection" (p. 582). It is certainly not unwise to leave the imagining of this perfection to God, but to imagine a creation that ever transforms, and increasingly desires such a transformation, is, by all means, worth pondering for a while. Just whether such a transformation *quasi-automatically* reaches its destination and its perfection (like a machine, almost modern!), that however seems to be the question which this book does not really answer.

To conclude: there is plenty in this book for students and scholars to learn. It is an at times erudite study, courageous when necessary and bold when possible. Certainly there are things that one can question: does not, for instance, this whole account of the 'gaze of faith' and the corresponding theological "competence" (p. 592) reinstate and reinstitute a totally uncalled for hierarchy at the level of faith? Does it not forget that, by all appearances, Jesus was an ordinary Joe calling out for other ordinary Joes whilst gathering ordinary Joes around himself? Was his message, perhaps, not to the 'incompetent' rather than to the competent, just as it was to 'the sick' rather than to

the ones already healed? All this would no doubt make for nice theological discussions.

One final remark: the sheer size of the book makes one wonder whether the author would not have attracted a wider readership if he were able to cut down the size of this 'tome'. It would be a pity if the breadth of these discussions will be lost on a generation that tends to read no more than 140 or so characters.

Joeri Schrijvers

Stock, Brian, *The Integrated Self: Augustine, the Bible, and Ancient Thought*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2017, ISBN 078-0-8122-1871-5, XVI + 269 p.

In *The Integrated Self*: *Augustine, the Bible, and Ancient Thought* Brian Stock provides a rich and informative study of Augustine's notion of the self against the background of ancient thought from Plato to Benedict of Nursia. Stock organizes the book around a series of essays that approach the self from diverse dimensions of thought. For Stock, "integrated" means "taking into account the different disciplines in discussing the self (p. 7)." Instead of confining himself to an analysis of Augustine's texts from a purely philosophical standpoint influenced by Platonic dualism, Stock broadens Augustine's quest to understand himself by focusing on the biblical post-conversion self that emerges primarily in the *Confessions* and later works. In doing so, Stock is more interested in uncovering the practical or personal dimension of the self rather than a theoretical conception of self that remains abstract and removed from lived experience. As the *Confessions* attest, the notion of self that is best suited for Stock's purpose is distinct from the soul and a product of the contemplative imagination.

To capture this sense of self, Stock devotes the first two chapters of the book to reading holistically and the contemplative imagination. The first chapter provides the backdrop for reading Augustine's texts with the whole self. Stock centers the discussion on Christian thinkers, such as John Cassian and Benedict of Nursia, who sought to create the notion of an integrated self by rooting it in ascetic practices that enable the mind and body to function harmoniously. To connect these thinkers to Augustine he traces Augustine's awareness of the ascetic movement to the passage in the *Confessions* in which Augustine acknowledges the presence of hermits living outside Milan around

384-385. Of the two thinkers, only Cassian is a contemporary of Augustine, but as Stock sees it, both thinkers provide a framework in which to understand the relevance of the ascetic practice of sacred reading (*lectio divina*) for grasping the notion of the integrated self. Because the ascetic life involves both mental and physical exertion, there must be a "willing collaboration" between the mind or soul and the body. The monk's labor to subdue the body with vigils, fasts, and prayers combined with meditation upon sacred texts purifies the soul and energizes its upward ascent to God but not without the interaction between mind and body. In this respect, Christian asceticism differs from Platonism because salvation involves the integrated unity of the self's physical and psychological elements and not just the soul's ascent to God.

In chapter two Stock uses these observations to set up the discussion of Augustine's own reading of sacred texts in light of specific passages from the *Confessions*. According to Stock, Augustine combines the insights of the ascetic (Cassian and Benedict) and classical rhetorical traditions (Cicero and Quintillian), thereby transforming the Greek notion of *phantasia* into its Latin equivalent *imaginatio*. By combining these two traditions, Augustine is able to account for the role that the imagination plays in the creation of the self. Stock refers to this construct as the "contemplative imagination." Within this framework Augustine is able to reflect upon the notion of the self both non-interpretively through a process of self-abasement that is in keeping with the ascetic tradition and interpretively through the imaginative creation of an individual self, possessed of subjective consciousness and human freedom.

Chapter three sets off in a different direction. Stock turns his attention to the philosophical soliloquy, examining its evolution in the works of Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius and Plotinus before charting its development in Augustine and, finally, in Boethius. With respect to Augustine, Stock characterizes the *Confessions* as a philosophical soliloquy that approximates Plotinus' exploration of self-consciousness in the *Enneads*. But unlike Plotinus, who depicts nature as conversing with herself, Augustine is more interested in inserting his own voice into the soliloquy and dialoguing either with himself or God. For Stock, the sound of Augustine's voice in the interior confines of the dialogue is a form of embodiment. Moreover, unlike Hellenistic writers before him, through the use of memory and the creative imagination Augustine is able to gather together all of the disparate strands of his life into a harmonious whole and to reflect on its meaning. As a result, Stock considers Augustine to be the first Western author to

establish a "consistent and fully articulated theory of the relationship between narrative time and hermeneutics (p. 119)." He concludes the chapter by noting that Boethius' works spell the end of the "ancient tradition of the inner dialogue (p. 126)," whereas Augustine's represent that tradition at its height.

Chapter four shifts the focus of Stock's concern to an analysis of the relationship between the soul and the self. Stock points out that the primary contrast between the soul and the self is that the soul is eternal, while the self is impermanent. As a changeable entity, the self consists not only of a material element subject to the extension and division commonly associated with embodiment but also of a somewhat fuzzy, non-material element, that functions as a container for the mind and its objects. Stock suggests that there is continuity in the self, and that the soul and the self may in fact overlap. The overlapping of soul and self, though, raises a question regarding how an impermanent and presumably temporal subject, such as the self, can conceivably overlap with an eternal soul. Equally problematic is the fact that Stock admits that ancient authors have no term to designate the self. Nevertheless, he finds a way to manifest its presence in ancient thought by translating the *te* in the Latin imperative *scis esse te* (know that your self exists) as referring to the self. It is this *te* that is the focus of the remainder of the chapter both in its philosophical and theological sense.

As far as the philosophical sense of the self is concerned, Stock searches for its meaning in two of Augustine's texts: *De immortalitate animae* and *De quantitate animae*. Commenting on the *De immortalitate animae* Stock engages in a complicated analysis of the relation between the soul and the body. After comparing the body's impermanence with the changelessness of the soul, mind, and reason, he distinguishes the body's form from its material frame. The latter eventually disappears, while the former remains. The body, therefore, is both temporal and non-temporal insofar as God intends that there be something permanent in a non-permanent frame. According to Stock, this distinction is necessary in order to affirm the existence of an integrated self. His reflection on the soul's ascent in the *De quantitate animae* enables him to point out the different levels of embodiment involved in the soul-self relation. The greatest integration of soul and self occurs at the level of memory and imagination, after which the soul leaves the self behind in its upward ascent.

Stock's reflection on the theological significance of the soul-self relation adds further insight into the self when viewed from a biblical perspective. Perhaps the most important insight is that the intellectual

core of a human being is no longer independent of the body, as it is in Platonism. Instead, the self is conceived as a composite of physical and psychological attributes. Chief among these attributes are will and memory, both of which are deeply involved in the historical narration of the self in time. On the basis of this understanding of the self, Stock regards the conversion scene in the *Confessions*, in which Augustine's once real, now recollected and imagined self, "puts on Christ," as the "definitive commentary on the notion of the embodied or integrated self (p. 142)." In this manner, for Stock, the disciplines of philosophy, theology, and literature combine to produce an understanding of Augustine's integrated self.

Chapter five, the longest chapter in the book, draws out the implications of memory, will, and imagination for the understanding of the integrated self by emphasizing the notions of harmony and time. As a substitute for Platonic *anamnesis*, Stock maintains that, like souls, texts are capable of transmigrating from one place to another because memory recalls the rhythmic patterns in them and reproduces those patterns in other texts. A good example of this migratory process is the transplantation of biblical themes from scripture into the *Confessions*. The emphasis on rhythm prompts Stock to extrapolate the contents of *De musica* in painstaking detail in order to show how Augustine solves the problem of the soul's stability in keeping with the "principles of rhythm and the subjective experience of time (p. 167)." These are the two assumptions on which the *Confessions* rests.

In the final chapter of the book Stock strikes an entirely different note, apologizing in advance for seemingly wandering away from the primary subject matter of the book. As it turns out, in this chapter Stock covers a broad swath of territory on the topic of meditation and healing that includes contemplative practices in the East and West from antiquity to the present. He justifies this change in scope on the basis of contemporary interest in the mind-body problem and the helpful contributions of hospitals and clinics in developing medical alternatives in keeping with the notion of the integrated self.

Despite these contributions, Stock wonders why so little interest exists today in recovering the historical roots of alternative medicine, especially meditation as a means of healing diseases. Stock tackles this problem by reminding his reader that meditation lost its appeal in the West in the seventeenth century when modern medicine gained a foothold in Western thought. Because Western medicine ultimately traces its roots to the empirical works of Hippocrates and Galen, the practice of modern medicine supplanted alternative forms of healing such as

prayer and meditation that were integral to ancient and medieval religious practice.

If interest in alternative medicine exists in hospitals and clinics today, it is largely on account of the influence that Eastern contemplative traditions have on Western thought. Stock sees nothing wrong with this influence, but he also suggests that it would be helpful to recognize that in the past Western naturalistic medicine and spiritual meditation complemented each other. That they continue to conflict with each other today except in times of crisis implies that the West needs to relearn what the ancients knew long ago, namely, that meditation prepares the integrated self for a potential medical crisis. As Stock asserts, it is better to be prepared than too late to meet the crisis.

Without a doubt this volume deserves the utmost praise for its intricate, global elaboration of the notion of an integrated self. Stock is at his creative best when he extricates this notion from works such as Augustine's *Confessions* in order to articulate what Pierre Hadot refers to as a lived philosophy or, in this case, the experience of an embodied self, living in historical time, that simultaneously reflects on that experience in narrative time through the use of the creative imagination. Stock's multidisciplinary approach to ancient texts enlivens them and enables his reader to come into contact with the past in an unanticipated, yet remarkable way. Because he writes about ancient thought on a broad canvas, Stock is careful to balance general, overarching schools of thought with the particular details of texts that he wants to analyze. At times, the connection may appear to be somewhat tenuous or the details slightly misplaced, but overall Stock's mastery of the ancient disciplines of philosophy, theology, and rhetoric is truly impressive. In the end, he leaves his reader with a treasure trove of ideas that will surely stimulate further thought in the future on the ontological status of the soul-self relation.

Marianne Djuth

Toom, Tarmo (ed.), *Patristic Theories of Biblical Interpretation: The Latin Fathers*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2016, ISBN 978-1-107-06655-7, XVI + 262 p.

The present volume offers contributions from an array of talented scholars in the flourishing fields of patristic exegesis, hermeneutics and reception of the Latin bible. In the history of biblical interpretation, Augustine of Hippo certainly looms large among Latin authors,

an impression that this series of up-to-date research essays may well serve to reinforce. The editor's own chapter, on the sign theory of Augustine, is the most lengthy, and attempts to provide a concise overview of how *res* and *signa* operate chronologically in the development of Augustinian semiotics, moving well beyond the standard treatise *De doctrina Christiana* (a.d. 396-426). In this respect, the author does well to consider works of the late 380s and early 390s – including *Contra academicos*, *De dialectica*, *De magistro*, as well as two of Augustine's early commentaries on Genesis: *De Genesi aduersus Manicheos* and *De Genesi ad litteram liber inperfectus*. This approach is then complemented by addition of the principal works of Augustine written while bishop of Hippo – excepting *De Trinitate* – and demonstrates the rigor of Augustine's attention to formulating a theory of signification that would guide his exegetical practices, in sermons, polemics and doctrinal treatises, and, with it, one of knowledge, existence and Christian virtue. Signs (*signa*) serve to mediate these realities of human experience in part, yet are insufficient in and of themselves, without active intervention of the interpreter.

Reflection on Augustine alone in this respect has generated tremendous interest, which no doubt will continue. The volume also seeks to integrate other, slightly less well-known authors, however, from the later fourth century in the figure of Tyconius (Jean-Marc Vercruysse) and his widely influential *Liber regularum*, covering essential ground with material on Jerome (Aline Canellis), until the seventh century a.d. with the systematisation of prior trends in the hermeneutical thought of John Cassian (Christopher J. Kelly), Gregory the Great (Brendan Lupton), and Isidore of Seville (Thomas O'Loughlin). Contributions on Junillus Africanus (Peter W. Martens and Alden Bass) and Cassiodorus (Rita Copeland) furnish the collection with valuable sixth-century material, completing the picture of Latin interpretation of the bible through the late patristic age. In these last two figures, we find implicit echoes of the earlier Latin tradition of Tyconius and Augustine, yet combined: (1) in the case of Junillus Africanus with Theodore of Mopseustia's version of Antiochene exegesis, and (2) applied in a detailed, rhetorical reading of the Psalms by Cassiodorus, who found himself both in Rome and Constantinople over the course of his career.

One general conclusion to be drawn from the text is how the series of Latin authors considered remains in contact with classical learning and forms of rhetoric. Yet while degrees of continuity exist within this broader framework, even within the Latin tradition alone, the genuine developments achieved by each author in the course of

four centuries is not to be overlooked. Together with the general bibliography, each chapter concludes with a very brief suggested reading list, which will allow students and researchers access to the best and most recent scholarship. In this respect, the chapter on Tyconius is particularly helpful, although as one might expect from this publisher, the entire effort bears constant marks of professional care and meticulous attention to detail, in citation, quality of prose, and overall presentation throughout the work. The fact that Origen does not appear in these pages should only confirm to (potential) readers that the scope of the work is indeed limited, and for that reason casts a light upon biblical interpretation among Latin Fathers that will allow them to shine all the brighter within their own diverse contexts, even if in many ways Augustine occupies the foremost attention.

Joseph Grabau

van Geest, Paul (ed.), *Seeing Through the Eyes of Faith: New Approaches to the Mystagogy of the Church Fathers*, (Late Antique History and Religion 11; The Mystagogy of the Church Fathers 3), Peeters, Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT 2016, ISBN 978-90-429-3198-5, XIV + 728 p.

This massive and stylishly designed volume comprises the proceedings of the first international congress of the (Netherlands) Centre for Patristic Research (CPO), which was held in Utrecht, from 18-20 May, 2011. CPO – a cooperation of Tilburg University, VU Amsterdam and (currently) Leiden University – makes its specific contribution to the field of patristics by focusing on the mystagogy of the Church Fathers. The term 'mystagogy', 'initiation into the mystery', is approached here not only as the explanation of the ritual mysteries of baptism and Eucharist to the newly baptized, but also, more broadly, as referring to the existential transformation process by "which the Christian mystagogue attempts to bring about in the mystes both a degree of openness to the mystery of God which, in the Person of Christ, is as incomprehensible as it is near, and development in the community …" (p. 20). In this way, patristic research is joined to a new interest in spirituality and, it is believed, recognizes the main concern of the Church Fathers themselves, viz. to persuade believers to become more receptive to the mystery and grace of God. The character of this research is interdisciplinary and brings together insights from ritual studies, literary theories, rhetoric, philology, historical studies and

theology. The contributions of this volume are intended to "form a first sketch of the research area of the mystagogy of the Church Fathers, as it is taking shape at present" (p. 18).

The Book is divided into six major parts, preceded by an unnumbered introductory part, which, besides an editorial introduction, contains three chapters concerning some etymological and semantic aspects of the term 'mystagogy'. Parts 1, 2, and 3 deal with topics such as apologetics, rhetoric, polemics, visual symbolism, and the function of creeds, which provide the indispensable tools and strategies for the Church Fathers' mystagogical endeavour. Part 4 is concerned with mystagogy in the strict sense of the word – the unfolding of the mysteries of baptism and Eucharist – and Part five with its wider sense, relating to the lifelong process of spiritual growth, aided by the transformative function of hymns, prayers, and the like. Part 6 deals with Christian formation invoked by writings on martyrdom, definitely the most thought-provoking approach to the matter. The papers are mostly well-written and of high scholarly quality. Among the thirty-six authors – all specialists in their field of study – are internationally renowned scholars like Margareth Schatkin, Gerard Rouwhorst, and William Harmless. The volume concludes with a bibliography and several indices.

It goes without saying that I cannot provide a detailed review of every article, for obvious reasons of space constraints, not to mention my own limited expertise. Therefore, I will confine myself to a few general observations. To begin with, the broad multi-faceted approach of mystagogy indeed seems 'new' (subtitle), since the term 'mystagogy' or 'mystagogical catechesis' is usually restricted to a (post-baptismal) explanation of the mysteries of baptism and Eucharist. Furthermore, not unimportantly, the volume's approach reminds us that men like Augustine and John Chrysostom were in the first place not systematic theologians, but Churchmen who were occupied with the spiritual care of their communities (cf. pp. 6f.). As Robert Wilken puts it elsewhere: "The intellectual effort of the early church was at the service of a much loftier goal than giving conceptual form to Christian belief. Its mission was to win the hearts and minds of men and women and to change their lives". Hence, the volume as a whole seems to do full justice to the primary intentions of the Church Fathers themselves, and it makes a very welcome (somewhat corrective) contribution to the field of patristics in general and the study of early Christian mystagogy in particular.

At the same time, however, the critical reader cannot escape the impression that a fundamental question is slumbering below the

surface of the different contributions. Indeed, a close reading of the volume reveals that the different authors do not (fully) agree about the contents, aim, and audience of mystagogy. This concerns mystagogy in the strict as well as the broad sense of the term. To start with the former, in the introductory article the editor advocates the experience-explanation model concerning baptismal mystagogy: the unfolding of the mystery of baptism follows the experience of the rite itself (pp. 11-12). Some other contributions are written from the same presupposition as well (see e.g. pp. 61, 63-64, 100; 287, 320, 327, but cf. p. 485). Although it is very common to see 'mystagogy' as something post-baptismal, this can be maintained only by an appeal to the Jerusalem *Mystagogical Catecheses* and the testimony of Ambrose of Milan. And that this was definitely not the universal practice is shown by the catechetical homilies of both Theodore of Mopsuestia and John Chrysostom, which bear witness to just the opposite order: explanation of the mystery of baptism *preceding* the rite. If 'mystagogy' is just that, an unfolding of the mystery of baptism, then Theodore's pre-baptismal catechesis is as much mystagogical as the Jerusalem post-baptismal explanation. It is the late William Harmless who in his article explicitly pays attention to this issue. Adding Augustine as another witness of pre-baptismal mystagogy, Harmless draws the obvious conclusion that mystagogy "need not necessarily be *post-baptismal*" (p. 357; his italics). Therefore, I wholeheartedly agree with Harmless that the Jerusalem praxis is "simply one instantiation of ancient mystagogy" and definitely not "*the* mystagogical paradigm, a standard against which all others" must be judged (p. 357; his italics). The latter is exactly what happens when one author claims that "Antioch lacked a mystagogical system" for the simple reason that there were no "postpaschal instructions aimed at explaining what had really happened during the Easter Vigil".

A similar need for clarity is felt concerning mystagogy in the broad sense of the term. The question to be raised is: 'How broad is 'broad'?' Harmless contends that mystagogy concerns not only liturgical actions, but words as well (p. 358). He further argues that, at least in Augustine, it is very difficult to draw a line between mystagogy and theology, if the former is interpreted as 'a teaching of the mysteries' (p. 367). Despite this stretching of the term, Harmless still sees mystagogy as "something given to beginners" (p. 373). However, in line with Paul van Geest's editorial introduction, not a few authors employ the term with the still broader meaning as referring to an ongoing transformation process, a progressive initiation into the Mystery of Christ (cf. pp. 34, 106, 251n2, 487, 511, 594, 627, 631,

642). Yet the applied definitions differ from author to author, and especially for the authors of Part 6 – Mystagogy and Martyrdom – it is a real challenge to show in what way the discussed works on martyrdom are mystagogical; its success mainly depends on the definition used of 'mystagogy'. And still another author stretches the term so far that the audience of mystagogy may even comprise the non-Christian(!) (p. 79). The main problem which crops up here is that a lack of clarity on the (exact) meaning of mystagogy may give rise to miscommunication and, as in the case with the strict sense of the term, that different authors are answering different questions.

In conclusion, I would suggest that one use the volume's valuable exploration of the boundaries of 'mystagogy' as a stepping stone for a more exact demarcation of the term in order to catalyse even more fruitful research in this field in future years. This seems in harmony with the volume's intention, since it is presented as "a first sketch of the research area" (p. 18). A 'sketch' by definition has some rough edges, but may lay at the foundation of a beautiful piece of art.

Nathan Witkamp

Vinzent, Markus, *Tertullian's Preface to Marcion's Gospel*, (Studia Patristica Supplements 5), Peeters, Leuven 2016, ISBN 978-90-429-3320-0, VI + 398 p.

Recent scholarship has seen a surge of interest in Marcion's Gospel, challenging the heresiological assertion that it was a bowdlerized version of (canonical) Luke, edited to serve the heretic's own agenda. While a few earlier scholars had raised the possibility that Marcion represents an earlier stage of the formation of Luke, it has been the contribution of recent studies to subject the surviving evidence to detailed, close analysis, combined with a greater attention to textual diversity in the second century. The major difficulty facing all reconstructions is that the evidence for the contents and text of Marcion's Gospel is provided almost exclusively by his opponents, and that their primary concern was to demonstrate both its numerous errors and its simultaneous failure to eradicate passages that undermined his theological principles. The most substantial of these witnesses are Tertullian and Epiphanius, each of whom brought to their reports their own specific agenda and sets of values, which therefore require 'decoding' before any attempt can be made to reconstruct Marcion and his Gospel. Of these Tertullian has inevitably attracted most attention both

because of his greater proximity to Marcion himself, and because of his much-discussed rhetorical strategies.

Markus Vinzent has already made a number of contributions to the debate about Marcion's Gospel, all leading towards the striking conclusion that it was Marcion who instigated the Gospel genre and whose own Gospel provoked the rapid production in the mid-second century of those Gospels that came to form the kernel of the New Testament. In *Tertullian's Preface* he develops a theme that has already emerged in his earlier work, namely the importance of dissecting Tertullian's account of the relationship between his own work, that of Marcion, and Marcion's own account of the production and reception of 'his' Gospel. Yet this in turn demands a more systematic understanding of the development of Tertullian's obsession with Marcion alongside a thorough analysis of the strategies he adopts in the introductions or prefaces to his polemical writings. Therefore, although the main focus of the book is on the opening chapters of Tertullian's *Against Marcion* IV, where he interweaves polemic, defence, and reportage against Marcion's self-justification as supposedly reported in the *Antitheses*, this is preceded by a lengthy — over half the book — close analysis of Tertullian's initial forays against Marcion in the *On the Prescription of Heretics*, *On the Flesh of Christ*, and *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*.

Vinzent sets the pattern for what follows in his extensive study of the *Prescription* (pp. 32-232), briefly setting out a synopsis of the work, and following this with a detailed analysis and exegesis, section by section. The premise here is that the *Prescription* itself forms a preface to Tertullian's subsequent polemical works, and indeed that this means that even apparently imprecise or general polemic or defence is to be understood against the backcloth of Marcion's and his peers' views as attacked elsewhere. For each section the text is given in Latin (following Refoulé, 1954, CCSL, wrongly described as 'London'), in English (following Bindley, 1893, Oxford), and in German (following Kellner, 1912-15, not listed in the Bibliography but presumably from the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*). The interpretation is dense, combining paraphrase, explanation, reference to biblical and other sources, and cross-references to other writings by Tertullian himself or by other early Christian authors. A similar pattern is adopted for the *Flesh of Christ* 1-2 (pp. 232-43), and the *Resurrection* 1-2 (pp. 243-54: for both following E. Evans for the Latin and English and Kellner, 1882, for the German), although here the exposition is somewhat less dense.

Following a brief introduction to scholarship on the Gospel, leaping from Semler and Harnack to his own work (pp. 255-65), the second major section of the book (pp. 267-347) adopts the same analytical model for the *Against Marcion* IV.1-6 (and the postscript in IV.43.9), again following E. Evans and Kellner (1882) for the text and translations. Vinzent treats this as Tertullian's own preface to the detailed survey of the Gospel that occupies the rest of Book IV, but also as responding to Marcion's prefatory account of the genesis of his Gospel. Any interpreter of Tertullian's argument in these chapters of the *Against Marcion* has to disentangle the threads constituted by (i) Marcion's claim that the Gospel he promoted was the original Gospel; (ii) Marcion's further claim that he had had to restore that Gospel because of its 'corruption' almost from the beginning; (iii) Tertullian's recognition of that Gospel as similar to the canonical Luke he knew, but missing some sections and with some textual variations; (iv) the assumption that the four canonical Gospels were directly or indirectly attributable to original apostles, an assumption that owed much to Irenaeus and which therefore modern scholars cannot assume as standard in the time of Marcion, even if Tertullian did so assume; (v) Tertullian's fundamental principle that what is older has priority. The main task, therefore, of Vinzent's analysis is to disentangle these threads with the dual goal of presenting more coherently Tertullian's argument and of recovering that of Marcion.

All this makes *Tertullian's Preface* challenging for any reader. Vinzent's presuppositions, argument, and conclusions are for the most part embedded within the exposition — perhaps much like Tertullian's own work. This offers the reader few tools for assessing the success of the analysis and the direction of travel. Although there is a substantial bibliography and some interaction with it in the footnotes, this tends to be recording the views of others more than engaging with them. Throughout the exposition numerous assumptions are made about matters of translation, context, and meaning that only specialists will know are not matters of consensus, but the confidence and density of the presentation leave little space for justification or for buyer's warning. An important key to the whole crystallises in a sentence on p. 260, 'As just mentioned, one of the most important insights of my *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (2014) was the discovery that Marcion's *Gospel* must have existed in at least two different versions'. This conclusion, based on an interpretation of *Against Marcion* IV.4.2, played a focal role in Vinzent's argument for the seminal and creative role played by Marcion's Gospel in the

development of the genre and the production of subsequent written Gospels. What is not mentioned is that not all reviewers have been persuaded by that 'insight', or indeed by numerous others that here are taken for granted. There is, therefore, little overt progression of argument through the book, but rather a playing out and expansion of a known set of conclusions.

When one reaches the end it is therefore difficult to determine what the primary goal of the exercise has been, beyond engaging in it; the brief Epilogue does little more than repeat the methodological challenges incumbent on anyone wishing to reconstruct Marcion (and perhaps daring to challenge Vinzent's own solution), but appears more interested in reflecting on the art of the Preface as exemplified by Tertullian. It would seem that further studies of Marcion and, perhaps especially, his nemesis, Tertullian, are likely to follow: Vinzent, one might suggest, has learned from his Latin mentor the art of the Preface.

Judith M. Lieu

Weidmann, Clemens (ed.), *Augustinus, Sermones selecti*, (Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 101), De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2015, ISBN 978-3-11-033399-2, VI + 238 p.

Ormai da quasi un secolo, iniziando da Germain Morin nel 1917, all'edizione dei sermoni autentici di Agostino ristampata in PL 38-39 si sono affiancate numerose scoperte di inediti e di recensioni migliori e il recupero di testi già giudicati spuri senza ragioni cogenti. Il volume di Clemens Weidmann, studioso noto per altri lavori analoghi, è (per ora?) l'ultimo anello di questa catena. In esso si rivendica la genuinità di tredici sermoni, di cui si dà anche il testo critico. Il metodo seguito, descritto particolareggiatamente alle pp. 4-6 (*Echtheitskriterien*), si articola attorno a cinque punti, applicabili a situazioni analoghe: 1. Lingua e stile; 2. Tenore e uso del materiale scritturistico; 3. Teologia e argomentazione; 4. Contesto storico; e 5. Trasmissione manoscritta. L'introduzione e l'apparato di ciascuno dei testi rispecchiano questo impianto. In concreto, per il *Sermo* 2A, anonimo nell'unico manoscritto, finora era stato postulato soltanto l'influsso di Agostino; *S*. 59A è un frammento non altrimenti noto tramandato da una compilazione agostiniana; *S*. 61B era stato attribuito a Cesario, influenzato da Agostino; *S*. 204B-204D, già tra gli spuri di Agostino, sono stati assegnati e poi rifiutati a Ottato di Milevi; di *S*. 225 *auct*. si conosceva

soltanto una forma abbreviata e leggermente riscritta; *S*. 272C era stato pubblicato sotto varie forme, di cui la migliore si trova tra gli spuri di Fulgenzio; *S*. 295 *auct*., da sempre riconosciuto autentico, era stato abbreviato, e il testo integrale viene qui pubblicato assieme a Gert Partoens; *S*. 298A era già stato pubblicato due volte tra gli spuri, ma il testo tràdito presenta problemi testuali e, forse, di integrità; 319B si trova in una situazione analoga; *S*. 363A era stato pubblicato come spurio derivato da Agostino; infine, *S*. 363B era stato considerato spurio.

Il consuntivo del volume mi sembra positivo e i tredici sermoni appaiono autentici alla luce delle argomentazioni di Weidmann.

Tuttavia, muoverei qualche appunto alla scelta dei paralleli agostiniani addotti per la dimostrazione. Il curatore si muove più agevolmente con i criteri 2 (materiale biblico) e 3 (teologia e argomentazione) che nei riguardi della lingua e dello stile (criterio 1). Eppure, un'analisi più minuta del lessico e delle associazioni di parole probabilmente avrebbe messo in luce maggiormente (sia pure al prezzo di un allungamento del volume) la coerenza tra questi sermoni e l'elocuzione agostiniana, rivelando forse (ma sottolineo il forse) l'evoluzione delle preferenze linguistiche di Agostino lungo la sua più che trentennale attività come predicatore e fornendo qualche appiglio per una datazione, sia pure approssimativa, dei sermoni.

Si minima licet: si legga Charakteristika (p. 36). Nella bibliografia finale l'articolo di Barré, Un homéliaire…, va completato con il titolo del volume *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. VI: *Bibliothèque Vaticane*. *I*^{ère} *partie*; Lo spagnolo J.A. de Aldama andava elencato sotto Aldama. Un difetto generale è che la bibliografia è in ordinata per autore e data, ma nel volume viene citata per autore e titolo abbreviato.

Sever J. Voicu

Williams, Rowan, *On Augustine*, Bloomsbury, Oxford 2016, ISBN 978-1-4729-2528-2, VII + 218 p.

Rowan Williams is one of the great contemporary expositors of Augustine, and *On Augustine* is the fruit of his long-standing devotion to bring Augustine forward for contemporary audiences in an historically sophisticated way. The book is an outgrowth of twenty-five years of lecturing on Augustine to both students and a wider intellectual audience. It is comprised of eleven distinct essays, some of which are

oriented toward a less specialized audience while others offer a more technical analysis. The topics of the essays cover Augustine's accounts of: creation, hermeneutics, anthropology, sin, politics, soteriology, christology, and trinitarianism. Williams does not claim to provide a systematic overview of Augustine or an historically comprehensive account of the areas he covers. Rather, he offers a critical and creative reading that yields a targeted analysis into core issues that animate the topics he covers. In the course of this analysis, Williams ranges wide in Augustine's corpus. But the core texts that form the foundation for his analysis are: *Confessions*, *On the Trinity*, *On Christian Doctrine*, *City of God*, and *Expositions of the Psalms*. Williams' concerns here are both historical and constructive, displaying a patient and nuanced understanding of Augustine's historical context and intellectual interlocutors, and a keen eye toward the reception history of Augustine and contemporary feminist, postmodern and other critics of Augustine. Williams' goal is not one of hagiography – to rescue Augustine from and elevate him above his critics. Williams levels his careful probing at both Augustine's critics and Augustine himself. Toward this end, Williams seeks a nuanced reading that does not shy away from Augustine's shortcomings, but one that is unrelenting in refusing to view Augustine as an easy scapegoat for the perceived malaise of contemporary consciousness. Williams' critical engagement with Augustine's critics is instructive, then, not only as a model of careful historical theology, but also because it opens vistas for reevaluating the relevance of Augustine's work in contemporary discourse, both its possibilities and shortcomings.

Though the book does not have a single unifying topic or agenda, one can discern various overarching themes interwoven through the chapters that build toward a coherent and persuasive vision of Augustine. One such theme develops out of Williams' sustained ruminations on Augustine's famed opening of the *Confessions*: "my heart is restless…". Williams returns at various points to the restless – open-ended, dynamic, temporal, and bodily – condition of human nature. The self for Augustine is an unfinished project, not only because sin degrades our proximity and relation to God, but also because of the mutability inscribed on a creation that is *ex nihilo*. This basic difference between the immutable God and mutable creation, fundamental to Augustine's thought, also leads Williams toward another important claim on what contemporary theology would call God's noncompetitive relation with the world. God and humanity are qualitatively distinct, though this is a distinction of dependence not separation. Humans exist in and through God's power such that we

never represent an independent alternative or rival to divine reality. This leads into an ongoing critique Williams levels against some contemporary appropriations of Augustine, namely, their tendency to extract aspects of Augustine's thought without realizing or acknowledging the interdependency of Augustine's various doctrines (e.g., his anthropology and doctrine of God). This need to read Augustine's doctrines within the context of his wider intellectual framework connects into one final key theme, namely, reading the bishop's project within his religious context. Williams probes repeatedly into the program of spiritual exercise interwoven into Augustine's doctrinal analysis. Here Williams' focus on the grammar of Augustine's theology is a way of displaying not only Augustine's rhetorical acumen and training but also the existential and soteriological issues that animate his thought. This is hermeneutics not only as a method of interpretation but also as a way of being in the world.

Williams develops these overarching themes through distinctive foci that help organize the eleven chapters of the book. The first of these focuses on Augustine's anthropology, though with a wider eye toward Williams' contention that one cannot disentangle Augustine's views of the human person from his other doctrinal commitments. This yields a rich and complex view of the person that emerges only through related claims on language, ecclesiology, Christ, and the Trinity. The leitmotif here is that the self as an unfinished project is an ethical demand even as it cries out for soteriological fulfillment and completion. We are a mystery and fragment to ourselves that can only be known and fulfilled through God. This is a knowing that is always accompanied by absence in that we are known through the divine other who is never present to us as an object we can transparently and wholly know. *Confessions* exemplifies this concept of selfhood in developing an autobiographical method oriented not toward contemporary standards of historical objectivity but rather toward a pedagogical model that trains us how to question the self in a manner that exposes its incompleteness and opens it toward divine love. Christ interacts with us here as the teacher of wisdom, though it is wisdom not as a definitive (propositional) content but rather as a humble love that opens a place, or way of life, that takes on and transforms our incompleteness. This place is the body of Christ, that is, the church, which means that we really only come to know ourselves within the ecclesiological context of corporate love.

Williams reinforces these claims about the self in the hermeneutics he sees Augustine developing in *On Christian Doctrine*, *Confessions*, and *Narrations on the Psalms*. Here Williams discerns a

unifying message in how we are incorporated into Christ's body. God is the only true *res*, and all else is *signum* in the sense that only God is stable and permanent while all else is unstable and finds its foundation and rest in referring to God. Christ and the cross is the ultimate *signum* in pointing unequivocally to God, shedding light on the abyss that haunts the distance between God and creation, even as it points the way toward creation's fulfillment and completion in God. Against certain misreadings of Augustine, Williams underscores that Augustine's account of the incarnation locates the possibility of fulfillment not in a timeless, despatialized place, but only in and through temporal embodiment. In particular, and again affirming the soteriological hermeneutics that permeate the *Narrations on the Psalms*, Williams argues that our fulfillment is in Christ's humility as he speaks in our human voice of suffering so that we can speak and be united in him through the body of Christ (i.e., the church). Williams contends this is the lesson of Augustine's famous Ostia vision: ascent to God must move in and through human corporate life.

In the second section of the book Williams tackles Augustine's accounts of creation and evil, developing them in close proximity with his views on God. Williams again draws on a noncompetitive view of God's relation to the world, which allows him a targeted foray into key controversies that swirl around Augustine's doctrines of creation and evil. On the issue of creation, Williams argues that one must hold together Augustine's account of the discontinuity and continuity between God and creation: the radical (i.e., noncompetitive) otherness of God stands outside the impermanence and fragmentation of creation and precisely in this grounds the ordered whole of creation (i.e., its measure, weight, and number). This leads Williams to reject contemporary criticisms that Augustine's doctrine of creation is dualist. This misses the vital point that Augustine is not articulating God and the world as two distinct and competing objects where the world might affect and contribute to the divine life. Rather, Williams offers two basic insights Augustine maintains about God's relation to the world. First, the world, according to Williams, is "good for nothing" in the sense that it does not contribute to God's goodness (perfection). Second, God's love is radically self-giving in that God does not gain anything from creation. Williams carries a similar logic into Augustine's account of evil. Here he addresses the contemporary critiques of John Hick and the feminist scholar Kathleen Sands. Central to both lines of critique is that Augustine maintains a dualist view of God and the world, which then leads to a litany of aesthetic, moral, and other errors in conceiving God's relation to the evil and suffering in the

world. Williams argues, however, that a noncompetitive view of God that also refuses to treat evil in spatial and metaphysical (i.e., Manichean) terms may not resolve the problem of evil but does not fall prey easily to contemporary critiques such as those of Hick and Sands.

The final section of the book comprises essays on the topics of christology and the Trinity. Pushing back against contemporary criticisms that Augustine's accounts are overly speculative and not focused enough on the economy of salvation, Williams argues that for Augustine understanding Christ and the Trinity entails a practice of spiritual enactment that occurs within the church. The charge of abstract speculation is most often leveled against *On the Trinity*, especially the second half where Augustine turns inward in search of the trinitarian image within his soul. Williams rejects this critique, focusing on Augustine's anti-skeptical argument in *On the Trinity* book 10. Here Williams maintains that Augustine rehearses an intellectual abstraction that is simultaneously rooted in a movement of desire (love) and a quest for goodness and justice (ethics) that, as a result of the Donatist and Pelagian controversies, frames the issues of love and justice not within the isolated individual's abstract understanding of God but within the lived, corporate context of the church.

Williams also takes the opportunity to reject contemporary claims that Augustine's anti-skeptical exercise lands him within a proto-Cartesian trajectory. Unlike common readings of Descartes, Augustine is not seeking indubitable certainty at the level of propositional claims about the self, God, or the world. He is developing a grammar of the thinking subject rather than one about the objective thoughts within the mind. Admittedly, there are ways of reading Descartes' anti-skeptical exercise as a type of speech-act that may come closer to Williams' interpretation of Augustine, but Williams' overall point on the differences still holds. Williams helpfully contextualizes Augustine's well-known paradoxes on love-knowledge and part-whole within his goal of uncovering the grammar of the thinking subject: they point away from certainty as an objective content and toward certainty as an act, or even a habit of mind, that comes despite, or rather precisely through, the process, openness, and flux of thinking. Here Augustine is interested in thought at the unthematized level of *nosse* rather than at the self-conscious level of *cogitare*, thus harkening closer to the certainty sought by Wittgenstein and, one might add, the phenomenological program of Heidegger.

Williams' contention that there are affinities between Augustine and certain postmodern projects leads into another contemporary critique he aims to rebut. Here again Williams eschews a dualist

framework, which when applied to Augustine's christology would sharply separate the divine and human in Christ. Williams argues that Augustine avoids the dualism of the Antiochenes and is closer to Cyril's account of union, though Augustine articulates the divine-human union of Christ on his own grounds. It is a union rooted within a non-competitive relation where the divine and human do not exist along side, and in potential rivalry with, one another. Rather, the divine underlies and is the precondition for the one person of Christ—divine and human—such that all Christ is, does, and says emerges from the eternal election of Christ by the Son. This means one cannot parse the speech of Jesus into divine and human camps, relegating utterances of Jesus that are supposedly inappropriate to God's power and immutability to a distinctly human dimension within Jesus. Rather, one needs to discern that such utterances arise from divine wisdom as it is shown within the act of humble love. The incarnation conveys this divine wisdom to us, revealing a unity within the Trinity of both substance and will (love), a unity that we receive through our (substantial) unity within the body of Christ that transforms our love.

This way of reading wisdom as fulfilled within an embodied and ecclesial (corporate) love also provides Williams the occasion to push back against Hannah Arendt's well-known critique, picked up in some contemporary scholarship, that for Augustine human love of God is an inward affair of the individual that finds its fulfillment in isolation from rather than in consort with the public and political sphere. Williams contends this has it exactly backwards: for Augustine, the love between God and humanity, and the grace that flows through such love, is precisely the foundation for all genuine human communities. Our love of others must always be directed toward and flow through God or we neglect the divine image at the core of our being. To love others in God is to free them from our own (sinful) agenda and love them in their essence. This is the love that internally unites the Christian community as the body of Christ.

Though *On Augustine* is not a systematic exposition of Augustine's thought, it is a tour de force that incisively delves into a wide range of topics and organizes them within Williams' own incisive reading of Augustine. This is historical theology at its finest, and is richly rewarding for both the educated general reader of Augustine and the specialist.

Matthew Drever

Zenti, Giuseppe, *Il travaglio della Verità in Agostino. Charitas Veritatis*, (Catechesi 13), Marcianum Press, Venezia 2016, ISBN 978-88-6512-430-7, 243 p.

Su Agostino vengono pubblicati continuamente libri di vario genere. Vi sono da un lato le monografie scientifiche, che con rigore accademico approfondiscono aspetti particolari della vita e del pensiero del grande Padre della Chiesa e sono destinate alla comunità internazionale degli studiosi. Dall'altro lato, vi sono i testi di divulgazione, che con finalità per lo più agiografiche o spirituali propongono a un pubblico non specialistico la figura e l'opera del santo vescovo di Ippona. Il libro di Giuseppe Zenti non appartiene propriamente né all'una né all'altra categoria. L'autore, vescovo di Verona, non si prefigge infatti di fornire un contributo originale alla conoscenza di Agostino né di diffondere le conoscenze già acquisite presso i cosiddetti "non addetti ai lavori". Il suo obiettivo, pienamente raggiunto, è invece quello di delineare un percorso interno agli scritti agostiniani mostrando come sia centrale in essi, per varie ragioni, il rapporto con la verità. La consapevolezza di questa centralità è utile a chiunque frequenti i testi di Agostino, tanto agli studiosi di professione quanto ai lettori non esperti ma interessati alla vicenda esistenziale e intellettuale del santo. «Il mio compito – afferma l'autore a p. 240 – si riassume in un gesto di fraternità: quello di aver estratto dalla biblioteca sconfinata di Agostino testi pregevoli, benché non esaustivi, su una tematica, la verità nella sua dimensione metafisica e in quella morale, oggi per un verso snobbata dallo scientismo e dal relativismo, per altro affascinante in non poche persone pensose sul senso del vivere umano terreno».

Il libro di mons. Zenti può definirsi un'antologia ragionata, che dispone in un preciso ordine logico un gran numero di brani tratti dall'immenso corpus delle opere agostiniane, offrendone una traduzione personale (cfr. p. 8). I brani sono raggruppati in tre parti. La prima riguarda il rapporto personale di Agostino con la verità, a lungo cercata e finalmente trovata in Cristo e nella fede della Chiesa («Agostino nel travaglio della Verità», pp. 9-99). La seconda parte concerne la trasmissione e l'insegnamento della verità trovata e contemplata, ossia l'evangelizzazione («Agostino evangelizzatore della verità presso i fedeli», pp. 101-176). La terza e ultima parte, infine, prende in considerazione la difesa e il chiarimento della verità nei confronti degli avversari, eretici e scismatici, con la sottolineatura del dialogo quale metodo privilegiato («Il metodo del dialogo corsia preferenziale della verità», pp. 177-238).

Le note a piè di pagina sono sobrie. La bibliografia citata si riduce a poche decine di titoli, per lo più studi molto datati e ormai classici, come quelli di M. Pellegrino e A. Trapè o la celebre *Introduzione* di Gilson. Il linguaggio è chiaro e lo stile quasi colloquiale. L'uso di certe espressioni lessicali (come ad es. nelle frasi «la verità era in lui come in standby», p. 35, e «la ragione stessa fa appello alla fede rivelata nella Scrittura, la cui password si identifica con la Persona di Cristo, Dio-Uomo», p. 239) farà probabilmente storcere il naso a qualche accademico, ma è indice dello sforzo di attualizzazione messo in atto dall'autore. Mons. Zenti è infatti convinto che Agostino possa essere un valido «compagno di viaggio» (p. 239) anche per noi uomini e donne del XXI secolo, immersi nell'era digitale. Leggere o rileggere le pagine agostiniane che l'autore ha sapientemente e amorevolmente selezionato può aiutarci a riscoprire quanto la sete di verità che segnò in profondità l'esistenza di Agostino abbia ancora da dirci qualcosa di importante ed essenziale.

Giovanni Catapano