

MELITENSIA
21 SEP 1990

MELITA THEOLOGICA

The Review of the
Faculty of Theology
and the
Theology Students' Association
Malta

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| John 11: Author's Stylistic Devices and Church Vocabulary <i>- Joseph Calleja</i> | 1 |
| The Role of a Religious Leader Today <i>- Alfred Darmanin</i> | 15 |
| The Structure of Hebrews: A Fresh Look <i>- James Swetnam</i> | 25 |
| The Blessed Virgin's Genealogy in the Qur'ān: An Exegetical Problem <i>- Edmund Teuma</i> | 47 |
| Outlines of the Christology of St. Augustine: Part 3 <i>- Hubertus R. Drobner</i> | 53 |
| Persona e Sviluppo nel Tempo del Post-Liberismo <i>- Attilio Danese</i> | 69 |

MELITA THEOLOGICA

Published biannually since March 1947, treating Dogmatic and Moral Theology, Fundamental Theology, Holy Scripture, Canon Law, Spiritual Theology, Liturgy, Patrology, Ecclesiastical History, Christian Archaeology, Philosophy, Psychology and Sociology.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Rev. Dr Anthony Abela
Mgr Prof. Vincent Borg
Dr Antoine Camilleri
Rev. Prof. Emer. Maurice Eminyán S.J.
Mr Hector Scerri

Articles for publication should be sent to:

Rev. Dr A. Abela
The Editor
Melita Theologica
Faculty of Theology
University of Malta
Msida
Malta

Subscriptions and all other communications are to be addressed to:

The Administrator
Melita Theologica
Theology Students' Association
Foundation for Theological Studies
Tal-Virtù Road
Rabat
Malta

The price of a single issue is Lm 1.00

The annual subscription is Lm 2.00

Typesetting: Foundation for Theological Studies, Rabat

Printing: Veritas Press, Zabbar

Copyright: The Faculty of Theology and the Theology Students' Association,
Malta 1990

JOHN 11: AUTHOR'S STYLISTIC DEVICES AND CHURCH VOCABULARY

Joseph Calleja

Prof. W. Wilkens, in his interesting article on Jn 11, has tried to delineate the whole iter behind text formation: he tried to go back to the very context that might have determined the putting together of various elements in the chapter as we now know it.¹ We all know that the various necessities of the Church served as a creative stimulus to compile different literary material in a way that suited the author's intention. Thus we can study the text by trying to discover the various literary units of which it is made up; ultimately our effort could take us back to the ecclesial context wherein the Gospel, or this chapter in particular, might have originated. But then another alternative could be easily offered to the attentive reader who is all intent on the correct understanding of the text; the chapter in its entirety could be made the object of study with the express purpose of coming to what is implicit behind the proper use of language.²

JOSEPH CALLEJA was born 1946 at St. Paul's Bay. Joined the Franciscans Conventuals in 1965. Studied at the Royal University of Malta (1967-1974), reading B.A.(Gen.) in 1970 and Lic.D. in 1974. In 1974 he was ordained priest. He proceeded with his studies in Rome at the Pontificum Institutum Biblicum from where he got his Licentiate in Biblical Studies in 1977, while he continued his Doctoral studies at the Pontifical Faculty of St. Bonaventure (Rome). In 1985 he defended his thesis *Jesus: Resurrection and Life for all his Believers* an abstract of which was published in Rome under the same title in 1989. In 1986 he obtained a diploma in patristic studies from the Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum in Rome. At present he is teaching New Testament at the University of Malta.

-
- 1 Cfr. W. WILKINS, "Die Erweckung des Lazarus", *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 15(1959) 22-39: the original account, according to Wilkens, was made up of vv. 1, 3, 17, 33-34, 38-39, 40, 43-44. This material at the author's disposal was further developed by the introduction and addition of various Johannine themes.
 - 2 The Synchronic approach considers the pericope as one literary unit without taking into account the process of text formation: the study of the vocabulary within a larger context (the sentence, paragraphs, dialogues/different scenes) points to the fact that the truth-content of any text is one with its linguistic formulation. B. OLSSON is more than right when he states: "The semantic structure of a text is therefore very closely related to the intention of the author and to the message of the text": cfr. *Structure and Meaning in the Fourth Gospel* (Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series 6; Sweden 1974) 16.

The two approaches certainly differ from one another but the intention is identical in both attempts: they serve to establish a real link between reader and author, a link that does not ignore the personal dimension of both as they carry out their distinctive roles.

In this short paper, we intend to follow the author's literary techniques, all the literary artifices at the complete service of the author who is presumably capable of communicating his own ideas. The reader could easily come to terms with the author's intention by means of the decodification of the text that is available to him. In the text as it stands within the Gospel, the author's style and personality come to the fore. But then every sacred Writer gives expression to the faith of the community to which he belongs: hence we intend to examine both what is strictly personal and what is embedded within the community's faith-consensus.³ The sacred text, just as any other literary work, is always the perfect combination of these two basic aspects: indeed Jn 11 is no exception to this. The use of language strictly belongs to the author concerned but then some of the vocabulary reveals John's indebtedness to the religious patrimony of his community. Thus in the section that immediately follows, we study the author's use of contrast, irony, delaying technique, announcement of themes, a widening process in the choice of themes, and finally the use of anti-climax.

I. AUTHOR'S STYLE:

a) *The Use of Contrast*

It is a fact that the author has managed to bring up various theological issues within this same chapter but this is indeed only part of the whole truth. By means of the various dialogues and the narrative account of Lazarus' resurrection, he created a system of interrelated truths that are indeed fundamental to Christian belief.⁴

3 Scholars and linguists always refer to every writer's indebtedness to the cultural heritage of the community to which he belongs: in much the same way, the sacred Writer gives expression to the faith of the community of which he forms an integral part and the text itself is like a mirror where the Church's faith is best reflected.

4 The Semitic mind, one it is so concrete and realistic, engages itself in no flights of speculation; by means of this didactic narrative, the author provides an excellent exposition of the most fundamental aspects of Christian belief. Such themes as life, faith, unity of believers find their full justification and unity in Jesus, the Risen Lord! R. E. BROWN, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, I (Garden City, New York 1966) 430: "its casual relationship to the death of Jesus is more a question of Johannine pedagogical and theological purpose than of historical reminiscence..." Cfr. also C. H. DODD, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge 1970) 363-368.

It is precisely through this unification of themes that the reader is introduced to the complexity of a page that, only at first sight, is striking for its simplicity. The author emphasizes the belief that Jesus is still present as "Life" for the one who believes in Him and yet we are told that Jesus' salvific presence among His believers is the outcome of His glorification.⁵ It is then against this setting that Lazarus' raising becomes both the cause and the good exemplification of the effect of Jesus' death and resurrection.⁶

The reader of this chapter notices that the author has developed his lines of thought by creating contrast between two distinct figures and their relative interests. In verse 4, which is the very interpretative key to the chapter as a whole, Lazarus' safety coincides with the themes of *God's glory* and *Jesus' glorification* but then the use of contrast between Jesus and Lazarus is quite outstanding at least during the dialogues. During the first dialogue (vv. 7-16), the use of the place-name "Judea" fully depicts the existing contrast between Jesus' self-security and Lazarus' state of ill-health. It is through the use of this literary artifice that the author defines what it means to be with Jesus, to be His follower. The disciple has to remain in Jesus' company even if this might entail one's own death (v.16); this too is rather antithetical to Jesus' promise of life to all those who decide to remain with Him (vv.8-9).

The author avails himself of this technique also in the Jesus-Martha dialogue (vv.21-27) even if this time the effect is somewhat different. The

-
- 5 BROWN, *Gospel*, 430: "... Jesus the incarnate Word gives light and life to men in his ministry as signs of the eternal life that he gives through enlightenment gained from his teaching". Cfr. also R. SCHNACKENBURG, *Il Vangelo di Giovanni II* (Paideia 1977) 659-668, but esp. 667: "Giovanni è assolutamente cosciente che soltanto dopo quell'ora della glorificazione Gesu' acquista il potere di donare agli uomini la vita eterna (cfr. 7,39)". J.P. MARTIN in his article "History and Eschatology in The Lazarus Narrative John II,1-44", *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 17(1964) 332-343, but esp.341f: "It is because of the Resurrection of Jesus that the raising of Lazarus was remembered as a sign speaking to the need of the early Church, and a sign of the promise of the Last Day".
- 6 The fact that the raising account and Lazarus, as a type of the christian believer, have such a double perspective could be well explained by following Martin's intuitive suggestions. "The history of Jesus as promise is fulfilled in the history of the Church. But since John never regards the work of Christ as complete before the Parousia, the History of the Church is itself promise of the ultimate fulfilment in Parousia, Resurrection and Judgement": cfr. "History and Eschatology", 333.

contrast is created by means of the sudden shift from Martha's Lazarus-centred discourse to Jesus' self-manifestation in v.25: Martha's concluding confession (v.27) shown to what extent the author managed to achieve its goal through such a literary device. Ultimately Lazarus' episode is rather subservient to the basic theme of Jesus' meaningful presence within the present stage of salvation history.⁷ The author is also underlining the "proprium and distinctivum" of the Christian faith as against the tenets of the Jewish Credo as announced by Martha (cfr. vv. 22-24). This technique occurs once again during the Jesus-Mary encounter especially when the Jews think that the second sister is on her way to the grave (v.31). The very contrary is true: she is on her way towards Jesus, the One who had just defined Himself as "*resurrection and life*" (v.25). The literary device serves to emphasize Jesus' presence in terms of "life" immediately before the actual performance of the miracle. Still the contrast creates a certain link between the scenes/encounters of the two sisters with Jesus.⁸

But we still think that this is also true of the two final scenes in Jn 11. The prayer, before Lazarus' raising (vv. 41-42), proves that the sign is meant to draw the audience's attention away from Lazarus onto Jesus Himself: He is to be recognised as "the One sent by the Father" and hence to be accepted in faith.⁹ In the last scene, during the Council session (vv.47-51), we notice both the complete absence of Lazarus' name and the existence of two conflicting interests, that of Jesus and His own nation. Jesus' own death is proposed as the only guarantee for the nation's security. Reflection on Caiaphas' statement has led the author to give an accurate definition of the meaning of Jesus' death through the employment of such an effective contrast.

7 MARTIN, "History and Eschatology", 342: "...the raising of Lazarus is utterly meaningless apart from the Resurrection of Jesus".

8 We are under the impression that, during Jesus' dialogues with His disciples, Martha and Mary, the usual Johannine themes of light and life, come to the fore. There is an evident sequence: light (vv. 9-10) — life (vv. 25-26) — light (equivalent expression, v.37). This sequence takes us back to the respective coupling of both terms in the prologue (1,4) with the only difference that in Jn 11 these stand out against the occurrence of Lazarus' death.

9 It is important to insist on the theme of faith; it is spelled large throughout the whole chapter and it expresses Jesus' intention (cfr. vv. 15. 26. 40. 42) behind the performance of this miracle. Also the author (v.45) and the Jewish Council speak in terms of faith (v.48: cfr the second part of this paper). The object of this faith is well brought out in Martha's confession (v.27) and in Jesus' prayer (v.42).

Before we pass on to speak in terms of irony, we say a word on the two sisters themselves. Very often commentators spoke of Martha and Mary as if they were engaged in some sort of a contrast: a close look at the text itself shows that the terms of comparison lie elsewhere.¹⁰ More than between the two sisters themselves, the author draws a certain contrast between Jesus' self-revelatory word and the sign itself.¹¹ Verse 40 goes a long way to explain the necessity of existing faith as a prerequisite for the correct interpretation of this particular sign. Perhaps one might say that this chapter anticipates the concluding statement in Jn 20,31 where faith is the personal response to the Word proclaimed by Jesus and His Church.

b) *The use of Irony*

Once rhetoricians of the past classically defined irony as "tropus per contraria quod conatur extendens" and once it is so frequent in John's Gospel, we now consider its occurrence within ch.11 quite in line with what we have said above.¹² By means of irony, the reader is led to go in one direction whereas the author wants to stress the truth that lies at the very opposite end: in a way, irony is intimately associated with the theme of contrast and much of what we have to say is but the follow-up of the previous section.

The first consideration that should be brought up is the fact of Jesus' deliberate delay (v.6) immediately after the affirmation of His love towards the three family members in v.5. Jesus expresses His love through the fact of His absence when we know for sure that the very opposite is true and that is what the author is after. The Johannine Jesus is prompt to act in favour of those who have some physical need, still the response is always the outcome of Jesus' free deliberation.

-
- 10 Those who speak of existing contrast between Martha and Mary, do so in the light of Lk 10,38-42. John has given an important role to both: there is no contrast between Martha's confession and Mary's anointing episode. Cfr. SCHNACKENBURG, *Vangelo*, 547, and BROWN, *Gospel*, 433.
- 11 Both words and signs are employed to reveal Jesus' person: they both serve to call new adherents-in-faith. In Jn 11, the author attaches greater importance to Jesus' words: the sign itself becomes the concrete realization of the Lord's self-revelatory statement in v.25. The author seems to say that one has to accept Jesus' word (or the Church) for its worth, for what it means without necessarily subjecting it to the test of signs. Cfr. BROWN, *Gospel*, 525-531. T.E. POLLARD, "The Raising of Lazarus (Jn.XI)", *Studia Evangelica* VI(1973) 434-443.
- 12 Cfr. E. COLEIRO, *Introduction to Latin Style and Rhetoric* (Malta 1958) 54; D.W. WEAD, *Literary Devices in John's Gospel* (Basel 1970) 54-55.

Another case of the double-edged irony occurs when Jesus requests all disciples to walk while it is still broad daylight. The disciples' preoccupation gives way to Jesus' advice which is in turn the inspiration of Thomas' statement in v.16. The disciple has nothing to worry about provided He remains in Jesus' company/presence: on the contrary, the disciple knows that his lot cannot be different from that of his Master. In this case too, irony has been used to stress the importance of Jesus' presence: ironically enough "*to walk in the light of His presence*" does not spare the disciple from having to face the same destiny even if that is the only condition that guarantees maximum security.

Martha's opening statement (v.21) points to the very opposite fact namely that "life" is possible where (and when) Jesus is present. The twice-repeated statement (cfr. vv. 21 and 31) draws our attention to the fact of Jesus' delay which, according to the sisters' lament, should be recognised as the remote cause of Lazarus' death. And yet, without understanding the full implication of their statement, the sisters anticipate the basic thesis and point-of-arrival of this chapter as a whole.¹³ Jesus proves that His presence is indeed life-procuring through this sign that concludes this Gospel's "Semeia section".¹⁴ Besides its anticipatory nature, this figure of speech facilitates the gradual unfolding of the narrative account. Through the use of irony, the author draws the reader's attention to what is central and basic in his line of thought, while he excludes what is secondary and less important.

The bystanders' comment in v.37 constitutes another case of irony: Jesus, who cured the man born-blind, is now willing to do more than is expected of Him. Jesus' intervention in favour of His dead friend by far surpasses all expectations and is indeed the most eloquent manifestation of His love for Lazarus.¹⁵

13 The underlying thesis points to the fact that Jesus is present and that His presence is the cause of life in the believer. The sisters' introductory statements point to this fact by referring to the very opposite: death is present where Jesus is absent (lack of faith). It is important to notice the parallelism between Lazarus' death because of Jesus' initial delay and Jesus' condemnation in His absence during the Council scene (vv.47-53).

14 Cfr. BROWN, *Gospel*, 429-430; but esp. pp. cxxxviii-cxxxix.

15 Lazarus' identity is best explained in vv.3.5.11: there is a certain relationship between Lazarus and Jesus and it is in this sense that "he is to be understood as a believer in the Johannine sense of the term": MARTIN, "History and Eschatology", 336. Cfr. also BROWN, *Gospel*, 436. Thus one could affirm that the use of this literary device achieves different effects according to the various contexts concerned. But then the fact that the Council condemns Jesus to death because of His life-giving sign brings to the reader's attention the full force of this ironical situation. Jesus gives up His own life to guarantee a spiritual form of life to the one who believes in Him.

Caiaphas' statement (vv.50-52) is given such a comprehensive interpretation that it becomes the best explanation of Jesus' death. The irony lies in the fact that this all-embracing definition of the Paschal mystery's end-result is to be found on Caiaphas' lips, himself the chief representative figure of the Jewish religion. Hence ironically enough, Caiaphas' politically-oriented consideration, once it was given a universal interpretation, becomes the authoritative confirmation of the Church's activity by the time of this Gospel's final redaction. Through the use of this figure of speech, the author is indirectly defining the universalistic nature of the Church, the New Israel that has turned its attention to the salvation of both Jew and Gentile.

c) Delaying Technique

Through this technique, the author draws a remarkable difference between Jesus' presence and absence.¹⁶ Jesus is away from the scene of His dying friend, He chooses to delay for a couple of days and when He decides to make His way towards Judea, He Himself becomes the term of reference for both sisters. Thus while death takes hold of poor Lazarus because of Jesus' delay, the fact of the gradual approach, besides bringing all into His presence, provides the occasion for Jesus to reveal Himself for what He is. This means that there is a certain contrast between Jesus and Lazarus in that they constitute two terms of opposite reference: it is within this intervening distance that Jesus speaks of Himself as "light" and "life". And it is only after His self-revelation that Jesus finally arrives at the place of Lazarus' burial.

Still we now examine the verses that speak of the sign: the moment of Lazarus' raising is preceded by various elements that purposely delay the moment of Jesus' intervention. There is Jesus' initial command (v.39), Martha's remark (v.39) with the respective answer, Jesus' prayer to the Father (vv.41-42) and finally the Master's word of order and its execution on the part of Lazarus (vv.43-44). The use of such a technique points to the truth that the reversal of the situation is due to Jesus' life-giving presence. There is no doubt as to Lazarus' state, but then the giving of life is the prerogative of the One sent by God. Jesus' change of location from the Transjordan area to the place of Lazarus' burial is characterized by these various delays that serve an evident Christological purpose, the manifestation of Jesus in two distinct places, away from and at Lazarus' tomb.

16 *Cfr. note 13 above: Lazarus and Jesus constitute two distinct poles. Jesus is absent but then He makes His way thereby inviting all to come into His presence; it is within this intervening space/time that He manifests Himself by word and sign.*

d) *Announcement of themes*

The text is so structured that various suggestions are taken up and developed at a later stage within the same chapter.¹⁷ There is, for example, an obvious link between the first of Jesus' dialogues (vv. 7-16) and the final section of Jn 11. The Jewish Council session is the sequel to the miracle itself but it also justifies the disciples' preoccupation as expressed in v.8: indeed Jesus' condemnation by the Jewish official body is but the realization of what was just hinted at by the disciples. And yet this is not the only example, others follow to show the unity of the various elements of which this chapter is composed.

Jesus' prayer, before the actual performance of the sign, has been alluded to by Martha's opening statements (v.22): her passing remark shows that she is fully convinced of Jesus' righteousness but then she does not go beyond that. Although the reader is under the impression that she is asking Jesus to intervene, still what is going to happen goes far beyond her sense of expectation.¹⁸ There is, therefore, an internal link between v.22 and v.41-42 even if the prayer is there to show Jesus' unique relationship to the Father; it is thanks to this relationship (of Jesus with the Father) that life could be bestowed on Lazarus and the respective believer.¹⁹

Verse 2 could also be considered as an example of the case-in-point even if Mary's role is taken up in Jn 12, 1-11: the first reference speaks of Mary in terms of her characteristic feature, of the action for which she was known within the Johannine community. Maybe she was the better known and the author inserted the reference in v.2 after he had constructed Martha's discourse (vv.21-27) and after he had made up his mind to speak of her anointing episode in the following chapter.²⁰ It is true that this type of reasoning remains hypothetical and subject to possible objections/criticism: still it is an indis-

17 This is rather a psychological phenomenon present in all literatures: maybe it helps the development of one's own ideas and this is the more so when the delivery is by oral transmission. A. VANHOYE has thoroughly studied this procedure with respect to the Letter to the Hebrews: *La Structure littéraire de l'épître aux Hébreux* (Desclée de Brouwer; Brugge 1976).

18 Cfr. Jn 2, 3. 5: these verses are parallel to 11,3. 22. But this instance proves that although Jesus' intervention is earnestly solicited, He acts of His own accord. Cfr. also C.H. GIBLIN, "Suggestion, Negative Response, and Positive Action in St. John's portrayal of Jesus", *New Testament Studies*, 26(1980) 197-211, but esp. 208-210.

19 Cfr. M. WILCOX, "The 'prayer' of Jesus in John XI:41b-42", *New Testament Studies*, 24(1977) 128-132. There is a certain link between vv.27 and 42: Jesus' relationship to the Father stands out in both.

20 Of the two sisters, Mary is the better known because of her anointing episode; v.2 could be a later insertion that proves this basic fact. Then the author could speak of Martha and Lazarus against the setting of Mary, the well-known sister. We should not miss the fact that Mary holds the position of primary importance in vv.1. 2. (vv. 28 and 31). v.45. Cfr. BROWN, *Gospel*, 431. 433. 435.

putable fact that the author wanted to insert these three friends of Jesus within the last phase of His earthly life, within their Lord's Paschal mystery.²¹

Before we conclude this sub-section, we would like to draw the attention to Jesus' words in v.40; the verse implies that Jesus must have said something similar in a previous verse of section. It is not all that easy to establish with certainty to what it actually refers. Does it refer to the introductory verse 4 which was not uttered in Martha's presence or to vv. 25-26 where mention is made of the verb "to believe" but where there is no reference whatever to the theme of "God's glory"? We are more inclined to accept the latter probability: in that case, Martha has to remember that her confession of faith in v.27 is the necessary condition for her to understand the full implication of Jesus' last sign.²²

e) *Widening process in the choice of themes*

The introductory lines of ch. 11 and its concluding scene provide the necessary example of this particular method of approach. The close examination of both sections will bring out all the common elements and the distinctive features of these two paragraphs.

It is interesting to note the structure of the first two lines in ch.11: there is an accumulation of information given according to some scale of importance. By means of a periphrastic construction, the author speaks of Lazarus' state: it is indeed the starting point that urgently calls for Jesus' intervention. It is said that Lazarus comes from "Bethany" the place of Mary and Martha: Martha is Mary's sister but then the point of contact between Lazarus and the sisters is that they all belong to the same place of origin.²³

-
- 21 If Brown's assertion concerning the later insertion of Jn 11 and 12 is correct, then we have to study the meaning of such terms as "friend" and "to love" also against the context of Jn 15, 13, 14, 15. The fact that the three family members are well inserted within Jesus' final phase should be kept in the reader's mind. Cfr. BROWN, *Gospel*, 427; J.N. SANDERS, "Those whom Jesus loved (John XI.5)", *New Testament Studies*, 1(1954-55) 29-41.
- 22 Cfr. SCHNACKENBURG, *Vangelo*, 551 and also V.H. NEUFELD, *The Earliest Christian Confessions* (Grand Rapids, Michigan 1963) 73.
- 23 Cfr. R.T. FORTNA, *The Gospel of Signs* (Cambridge 1970) 76: "Wilkins, following Wellhausen and Hirsch, points out that in this verse there is no suggestion of a family relationship between Lazarus and the two sisters (as in 2, 19, 21, 32, 39) and he holds that such a relationship belongs to the latest stratum of the Gospel. But C.K. BARRETT convincingly denies that Lazarus is necessarily only the neighbour of Martha and Mary in these verses. The relationship seems to be pre-Johannine, and if the wording of 1b is strange in the case of a brother and his sisters, it is perhaps due to the development of the tradition in stages somewhat as follows: - 1) Lazarus alone, 2) Lazarus and the sisters, 3) Lazarus and his sisters".

Bethany calls to mind two important factors: it lies within the vicinity of Jerusalem (v.18), the place of the Jewish authority and hence of Jesus' enemies, and it points to the fact that Lazarus' episode has been inserted within the family of the two well-known sisters. The author has given historical credibility by thus approaching Lazarus' raising to the sisters' family.²⁴

Verse 2 speaks of Mary, the first of the two sisters mentioned in the previous statement, and her episode of the anointing; this anticipation introduces the information that she is Lazarus' sister. Thus, by inference, Lazarus is the brother of both sisters whereas Mary remains the term of reference for both Martha (v.1) and Lazarus (v.2). The concluding remark concerns the obvious insistence on Lazarus' state of health²⁵; still Jesus' statement in v.4 is not excluding physical death but is a rather veiled reference to the sign and its aftermath.

Caiaphas' statement in vv.49-50 provides a somewhat different example of the same literary device. The high priest is interested in safeguarding the security of the nation and temple but then it is clear that the author is rereading (reinterpreting) Caiaphas' saying in the light of the wider meaning given to Jesus' death and resurrection. As we have said above and as we will say in the second part of this paper, this widening process constitutes an approval of the Church's missionary activity by Caiaphas himself.

Perhaps one could also say that the very opposite takes place in Jesus' dialogue with His disciples (vv.7-16). Jesus invites all to follow Him on His way to Judea but then it is said that He is going to arouse Lazarus from the slumber of death (v.11).²⁶ Lazarus becomes the specific goal of Jesus' determination as expressed in v.7. Thus Jesus is interested in His friend: there is an evident

24 We believe that the sisters' mention (vv.1-2), the fact that Bethany is only a short distance away from Jerusalem and the description of the tomb itself point at the fact of an existing tradition; besides we cannot prescind from the author's attempt in creating historical verisimilitude as the framework for what he has to say! Such an information shed enough light on the personality of the author and his audience. Cfr. SCHNACKENBURG, *Vangelo*, 572.

25 Neither Lazarus' sickness nor his death is being personified and the sickness should be understood in a physical sense. In all these signs the physical intervention becomes the symbolic representation of what Jesus gives on the higher spiritual level. Still one has to say that, although spiritual life is being represented by the giving of physical life, there is a certain inter-relationship between the two realities.

26 We usually refer to this device as the "tapering approach to a definite theme", and hence the very opposite of "the widening process". Within the "Judea-Lazarus theme", the author has brought in two basic topics: Jesus' death risk and the disciple's duty to remain in Jesus' company.

parallelism between Lazarus' raising and the disciples' faith as an expression of Jesus' intention behind the performance of this sign.²⁷ The author helps us arrive at his particular points of reference through the use of this device: in spite of all the information given, the author wants to underline certain facts of interest that form part of his fundamental tenets.

f) *The use of anti-climax*

The last literary device, object of our study, is the use of anti-climax. As the name implies, normally it draws the reader's attention because of its sudden turn in direction: the Council scene seems to be the case. Jesus reveals Himself through the sign which becomes the point of arrival of this pericope: the reader is told that, once some of the Jews bring word to the Jewish authorities, the Council condemns Jesus because of His many signs. Jesus is, therefore, condemned because He raised Lazarus from the dead and yet it is through the mystery of His death and resurrection that life is given to the believer. The use of the anti-climax points at this fundamental aspect of Christian belief; it serves to draw a certain analogy between Lazarus and the christian who receive the gift of life through Jesus.²⁸

II CHURCH VOCABULARY

In this section, we take up all the vocabulary and the respective belief that is at the author's disposal: through the study and use of the word, one discovers the importance of the underlying doctrine.

The term "*koimēsis*" designates Lazarus' death; he is asleep (vv.11-12) and Jesus has to "*arouse*" His friend from the slumber of death. One could easily see the relationship between "real death" and "sleep" and could also argue in favour of the euphemistic use of such terminology in all cultures.²⁹ Still following the general context of this chapter, one arrives at the conclusion that the term "sleep" has to do with the doctrine of an after-life. Life goes on in spite of the

27 Cfr. note 9 above; Jesus' determination has two goals: i) to raise Lazarus from death (v.11) and ii) and to solicit His disciples' faith. Jesus' prayer (vv.41-42) manifests His intention in favour of all disciples, Lazarus' family and all bystanders but then the object of faith is indeed more than explicit.

28 We have already said that Lazarus is a representative figure but now we draw the reader's attention to the sign in favour of Lazarus and to the theme of Jesus' condemnation on behalf of the whole community.

29 Cfr. R. BULTMANN, *Thanatos, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, III (Grand Rapids, Michigan 1965) 14, no 60; (This dictionary is henceforth referred to by sigla *ThDNT* also H. BALZ, *Hypnos*, *ThDNT* VIII (1972) 548. 553-554. J.H. BERNARD, *Gospel according to St. John* II (ICC, Edinburgh. 1976) 378-379.

reality of physical death: it is against this fact that spiritual life is everlasting and perpetual. It is through the giving of spiritual life that Jesus intervenes within a Johannine realised eschatology.³⁰ This consideration introduces our reflection on Jesus' explanation right after the pronouncement of the "I am" formula in v.25.

In the Jesus-Martha discourse (vv.21-27), the author opposes the doctrine of a "praesentia salutis" to the belief in a resurrection relegated to some future time according to the Jewish Credo. In verses 25b and 26, there is the official teaching of the Christian community: spiritual life is indeed the effect of one's faith in Jesus. Both one's relationship to Jesus through faith and one's spiritual life go on forever without being subject to the change of physical death. Thus physical death remains and sad lot for all believers but then it is only a change in the modality of one's existence.

Also Martha's confession reveals Jesus' real identity, shows that he is to be identified according to the canons of Jewish expectation and the formulation of faith within a Christian setting. The perfect tense of the verb "to believe" denotes her actual belonging to the christian community: she expresses her faith in Jesus as a member of the christian group of believers.³¹ Jesus' self-revelation and all Church teaching become a constant invitation to one's increase-in-faith.

The vocabulary of the Church comes to the fore in a special way in the Council scene: the Council regrets the fact that Jesus is doing many signs and that, as a result, many are going to believe in Him. Scholars normally speak in terms of the redactor's intervention; it is very difficult to think of the Council's accusation as if it were formulated in such terms. It is rather the author who is reformulating the Council's words in the theological language of the Johannine community of faith.³² The sign, as much as elsewhere in John's Gospel, serves to define the rich personality of Jesus; the fact that people come to Jesus and that He manifests Himself through signs points to the Church's constant effort in presenting Him with the express intention of gaining a greater number of adherents to the faith. It is against this basic truth that the Council's use of "semëia" (v.48) makes sense.³³

30 Cfr. the excursus on the theme of *realized eschatology* in SCHNACKENBURG, *Vangelo*, 699-717.

31 SCHNACKENBURG, *Vangelo*, 552; and also BROWN, *Gospel*, 433: "the same titles used in early Christian professions of faith".

32 John's Gospel reinterprets Jesus' events and teaching in the light of the community's theology and spiritual needs but this does not mean that the writer invents freely what he has to say! Cfr. J.L. MARTYN, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel* (New York 1968)

33 We are indebted to BROWN's considerations in *Gospel*, 442-444: SCHNACKENBURG, *Vangelo*, 590: "in questo brano traspare chiaramente la tendenza teologica dell'evangelista ed anche lo stile è assolutamente giovanneo". We are not denying this; we are only saying that these themes were handed over to him by his community.

But then also the beneficiaries of Jesus' death and resurrection are well described in the final scene of ch.11: one has to examine the exact meaning of such words as "*ethnos*" (vv. 48. 50. 51. 52)³⁴ It seems to refer to the Jewish people as a "nation"; but this is only the starting point once other words of a similar meaning occur in this same section. In v.50 both "*ethnos*" and "*laos*" are used and it is obvious that more than a stylistic difference is implied.³⁵ Scholars have always maintained that "*laos*" refers to the liturgical assembly of all believers; if that is the case, there still remains the question whether this assembly is made up of both Jew and Gentile or whether it is made up of Jews alone. Still such a difference shows the author's use of this vocabulary that expresses the concrete reality of John's community.

We believe that the expression "*ta tekna tou theou ta diaskorpismena*" (v.52) refers not only to the believing Jews of the diaspora but to all believers both Jew and Gentile.³⁶ This expression then becomes a further elucidation of the term *ethnos* and it shows that the unifying factor is no longer based on ethnic reality but on the fact of faith in the one Lord. Hence the underlying community is rather heterogeneous and is being indirectly opposed to the monolithic reality of Israel. The fact that Caiaphas' words are being interpreted in the light of the existing reality might have served a double purpose: it could be the confirmation of the Church's activity at a time of some internal conflict.³⁷ The high priest's dictum could have exercised an appeasing, healthy influence; the Church is now

34 Cfr. K.L. SCHMIDT, "*Ethnos*", *ThDNT*, II (1964) 369-372: "It is curious that the Fourth Gospel does not use "*ethnē*" for Gentiles. The explanation is that in this Gospel the Jews in their obduracy are.....to be addressed as "*ethnē*" (p. 371).

35 H. STRATHMANN, *Laos*, *ThDNT*, IV (1967) 52-57; cfr. also BERNARD, *Gospel*, 405.

36 Cfr. Jn 1,12; it seems an obvious reference to Jer 31,8-11. Cfr. BROWN, *Gospel*, 442: "Verse 52 expands the scope of the prophecy to include the Gentiles as well". Cfr. also C.H. DODD, "The Prophecy of Caiaphas (John XI, 47-53)", *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (E.J. BRILL, Laden 1962) 134-143.

37 Cfr. R.E. BROWN, *La Comunità del discepolo prediletto* (Assisi 1982) 61-65. In Jn 9 there is an evident contrast between the Church and the synagogue whereas in ch.11 there may be a certain conflict within the Church itself especially among Christians of a different provenance. Perhaps we ought to envisage Martha's sudden shift from her Jewish Credo against such an affirmation!

open to all people who come to Jesus in faith and it is to this reality that Caiaphas gives full expression through His saying.

Also the very “*apothnēskō*” with the preposition “*huper*” is indeed a theological formulation that brings out the meaning of Jesus’ death.³⁸

We end this paper by saying that the biblical author’s starting point was the profound reflection on the meaning of Jesus’ death and resurrection and the reality of the Church. By means of the narrative account of Lazarus’ raising and Caiaphas’ statement the author expressed the idea that Jesus gives “life” “by laying down” His own³⁹; this life is available to the one who approaches Him in faith and that the Church is the union of all its members with Jesus who is still present in its midst. The conclusion of this text draws a certain analogy between what happens to the individual (Lazarus) and to the group (*children of God—the Church*). The various literary devices go a long way to explain the personal ability in his personal approach to what was the doctrinal heritage of his community and the primitive Church.

Department of Holy Scripture
Faculty of Theology
University of Malta
Msida
Malta

38 Cfr. BERNARD, *Gospel*, 406. Cfr. also J. JEREMIAS, *New Testament Theology* (London 1975) 276-298. The author who uses this important formula twice (vv.51-52) sees the Church’s reality, the unity of all its members, in a strict relationship with the mystery of Jesus’ death and exaltation on the Cross. Jesus not only dies to spare His nation (and temple) but to realize the mystery of the Church’s unity. All this theology has been reread into Caiaphas’ saying; the author had this profound intuition but the doctrinal aspect (meaning of the Church and its close union with the Paschal mystery) was already part of the Church’s theology. We still think that there was some necessity that might have prompted and called for such an interpretation of the statement of Israel’s chief representative figure.

39 Throughout the whole chapter we notice that the themes of life depends on faith; faith itself establishes a strict relationship with Jesus, the risen Lord! But then the unity of all believers among themselves and with Jesus constitutes the best definition of the Church in the Johannine Writings: cfr BROWN, *Gospel*, 443.

THE ROLE OF A RELIGIOUS LEADER TODAY

Alfred Darmanin

The following description of the role, functions and characteristics of a religious leader in our times, in no way claims to be either an exhaustive or an exclusive list. The items mentioned are not meant to be disjunctive elements since many overlappings occur, nor should the analytic or systematic presentation distort what is a synthetic, unifying reality.

Giving Direction

The leader of an organization is the person who gives it a sense of direction and orientation by coordinating the activities of the members in the achievement of the established goals of the group. Leadership begins by enabling the group to clarify and own its proper goals, and commit itself to their achievement. The religious leader's primary responsibility is to enable the community to fulfil its mission.

Sense of direction, or goal orientation, goes hand in hand with foresight. The leader leads the members forward towards a "vision", enabling them to see the larger picture beyond the daily contingencies, being constantly aware of the purpose of the community's life and work. While an administrator is concerned with the orderly functioning of an organization, the leader is attentive to the purpose of the activities.

Leadership functions can actually be distributed among members, but as organizational psychologist E.H. Schein (1980) notes, the leader's "critical functions" still remain

(1) to determine, articulate, or transmit the basic goals or tasks to be accomplished;

(2) to monitor progress toward task or goal accomplishment;

(3) to ensure that the group of subordinates is built and maintained for effective task performance; and

(4) to supply whatever is needed or missing for task accomplishment and group maintenance. (p.134)

ALFRED DARMANIN, a Maltese Jesuit priest, is a clinical psychologist from the University of Louvain, and obtained his Ph.D. from Berkeley, California, specialising in Managerial Psychology and Leadership. He also holds degrees in mathematics, philosophy and theology. Rev. A. Darmanin is a senior lecturer and Head of the Psychology Department at the University of Malta. He is the author of the book "The Skilled Leader" and has published several articles.

A major function of a religious leader is therefore to integrate and focus the multiplicity of gifts of community members in the service of mission, by facilitating their response to the community's goals and by pointing towards a vision or direction.

Integrating

A conflict sometimes arises between the individuals' personal needs and the goals of the community. The role of the religious leader is not simply to reconcile these two by reaching a compromise but to effect an integration in such a way that these forces converge along a common vector. If the individual and the institution are forces represented along two orthogonal axes, the integrating role of the leader would consist in creating the resultant vector with positive co-ordinates. In other words, the religious leader would enable both the individual and the community to transcend their own respective needs and synergetically achieve a higher common goal.

How? By designing and promoting a system such that the individuals' growth is enhanced. By creating an environment in which members may satisfy their own particular objectives, while at the same time contributing responsibly to the attainment of the community's goals. By facilitating the activities of the members in a way that simultaneously promotes the overall aim of the institution. Such an integration is clearly not easy to achieve.

This issue of integration is ultimately a question of values, especially in a religious context. The need is felt for congruence between the internalized values of the individual member and the constantly evolving value-orientations of the community. This applies particularly in formation where the individual undergoes a form of inculturation in a way that the internalized values he or she accepts and integrates as part of one's own psychic structure are congruent with those of the community.

It is ultimately the degree to which values are effectively transmitted and integrated that personal growth, spiritual development and the fulfillment of the community goals occur. W. Meissner (1971) claims that this takes place through the "authority relation" which provides a matrix within which values are communicated and reinforced. As he puts it:

The authority relation does not generate values in the community, but by reason of its unique role in the structures and organization of the group, it serves uniquely to intergrate a coherent and recognizable value-system for the community. This is in virtue of its organizing function on one level, but also in virtue of less apparent mechanisms of identification and value transmissions. (p.74)

Later on in the book, the author suggests a way of applying this to the

integrating role of leadership:

A given measure of variation in values and behaviour contributes positively to the perdurance of shared communal values. For each community and each social system there is an optimal degree of inherent variability which maximally stabilizes the community structure and maximally satisfies built-in needs for creative responsibility and freedom in the community. Authority maintains the delicate balance between the stability of communal structure and the variability of individual enterprise. (p.199)

Serving and Uniting

The roles described so far are more of a general nature. Coming down to specifics now, what is the specific modality in which the religious leader exercises direction and integration? First and foremost through service. A good leader works with and for people, not through them, in spite of them or against them. Leaders serve people, they do not use them. The religious leader exercises authority as a service and not as a power or privilege to be taken advantage of.

The role of the religious leader as servant should not be confused with a false notion of service. It does not mean servility by which the leader becomes the slave of the community, performing menial tasks in the house, providing good meals, accepting duties no one else wants to do, etc., instead of attending to the more demanding role of leadership. Nor does service consist in a timid "laissez-faire" attitude where the leader tries to please everyone, never confronting anyone, never deciding anything. Shirking one's responsibility as leader constitutes a great dis-service.

The leader is at the service of the union of the members. Unifying the community is an important role of the religious leader today. Fostering union by promoting mutual understanding and acceptance among members, integrating the community with the larger body of the institution, defending the community against outside oppressors, protecting the minority, etc. is truly an authentic service. It is a delicate and difficult task for the leader to preserve such unity while maintaining plurality since these appear often in opposition.

Discerning

Through discernment the leader can give direction, serve, unify, and resolve the dialectic between individual needs and community goals. To discern is to be able to read the signs of the times in the light of faith. It means being attentive to the Spirit operating through individuals' needs and gifts, through contemporary changes and current events, through the lived experiences of gospel values.

The role of the religious leader is to facilitate the discernment process, that is, to enable the individual and the community to seek God's will in their life and mission. Authentic discernment combines respect for the spirit of the founder/foundress' charisma with adaptability to different persons, places, times and circumstances. In discerning, the religious leader prays, reflects, and dialogues with the community so that the decisions and actions taken express real communal discernment.

Energizing

Under this rubric is included the role of inspiring, motivating, encouraging, etc. A leader inspires the members through trust and confidence in their abilities, through a realistic vision, through hope and optimism in the midst of fear, discouragement and criticism, and through good example or modelling. Members are motivated when their expectations are fulfilled, when they see meaning and purpose in achieving objectives, when they are challenged and given feedback about their performance. The leader thus exercises the role of energizer by providing the atmosphere just described. In this manner, the members feel supported by the leader in their endeavours, and their contact with the person fills them with energy and enthusiasm.

Besides energizing, the leader's role can also be seen as that of "synergizing". By putting together the available energies, talents and resources, a synergetic effect is produced that exceeds the sum of the individual elements. By grouping a number of persons to live and work together, the benefit for the individuals and the effectiveness of the task go beyond the anticipated results. By integrating the individual needs with the organizational goals, new energy is produced and new ideas are generated that satisfy the persons' needs and accomplish the common objectives maximally.

The leader's role of energizing is not restricted to the preservation and maintenance of the members and the institution. It involves becoming an agent of change. Leaders act on the environment, not vice-versa. Rather than allowing circumstances to determine their action, they make decisions and take action in order to change the circumstances. More than the minimal adaptive change, what is required for good leadership is innovative change. In the words of H. Igor Ansoff, "in the modern world adaptive change is a requirement for survival, and innovative change a condition for success".

At a high level of development, then, the role of the religious leader becomes that of a *creative innovator*. Besides effecting necessary changes, besides ingeniously putting together the elements that are already there ("spatial creativity"), he or she brings in what is absent, creates new ideas, visions, dreams, anticipates future goals ("temporal creativity"). This requires skills in imagination and creativity, but if the leader is not so creative, at least support should be given to those members who are. Encouraging the "creative minority" in a

community is a sign of good leadership.

Caring for Persons

The leader's role is being seen more and more in terms of leading people, dealing with human beings. These complex and ever-changing creatures consume most of the leader's time and energy. And the task becomes more complicated because, unlike parents, the leader must work with used, not new, human beings - persons whom other people have gotten to first! Skills in human relations, consequently, are a must for leaders.

All this applies to religious leaders. They are to show care and concern for their members as persons. The members expect their leaders to treat them as persons with needs and feelings rather than as jobs they have to perform. They want to experience worth for who they are more than for what they do. Such a relationship can only develop if there is mutual trust between leader and members. Otherwise, mutual suspicion would stifle and kind of inter-personal relation and apostolic initiative.

The religious leader's interpersonal skills in caring for persons is part of a whole communication process. The leader has to promote an effective system of communication both within and outside the organization, while realizing that channels of communication spread out in various directions-upwards, downwards, sideways and outwards.

The task of the religious leader is to open up these channels among the members in order to facilitate an exchange of communication, removing any blocks or distortions in communicating. Interpersonal communication in religious organizations breeds openness, sincerity, trust, mutual understanding, intimacy and love. By facilitating this type of communication, the religious leader helps create those conditions required for communal discernment, team-work, mutual sharing, and harmonious living.

Delegating Authority

This role consists in entrusting certain leadership functions to other subordinates. It obviously involves the risk that subordinates will make mistakes, do things differently or even worse than the leader would, for it implies delegating the right to be different and wrong. But its long-term effects in increasing initiative, trust and responsible action are highly-prized payoffs.

For delegation to be effective, the person who is assigned duties to perform must be told clearly what these entail in terms of their role in accomplishing objectives. Such a person should be given authority within that domain, otherwise a feeling of powerlessness would create frustration. Delegation also confers obligations on the person who accepts the job and to whom duties are

delegated. By the process of delegation, responsibility is shared, authority is transferred, and accountability is established.

Delegation of authority not only encourages co-responsibility, promotes team-spirit and creates trust among members of the organization, it also proves beneficial for leader. By liberating themselves of the less crucial issues, leaders can utilize their precious time and spend their limited energy on other more important matters like long-term planning, motivating personnel, anticipating crises, creating new ideas, etc. Unfortunately, many religious leaders ignore what is known in management as "Gresham's Law", namely, they tend to dedicate their whole time and energy on routine and programmed tasks. They work on specific problems with specific deadlines, usually under pressure, and by responding continuously to these unending pressing problems they are apt to neglect the more important, though unprogrammed, tasks.

Religious leaders also have to realize that they are neither indispensable nor eternal. There are times when subordinates have to manage without their leaders. It may in fact be a good advice for leaders at times to let others "enjoy their absence!" A good leader, aware of the importance of continuity in the religious organization, tries to train and prepare suitable successors. This would also prevent him or her from becoming addictive to power.

Planning and Evaluating

The religious leader has the responsibility to ensure that serious planning does take place for the community. Planning aims at both effectiveness and efficiency. The former consists in choosing the right goals from a set of alternatives and reaching them. The latter assumes the goals as given and proper, and proceeds to find the best means of achieving them. In other words, efficiency is doing things right, whereas effectiveness is doing the right things. Effectiveness is results-oriented while efficiency is means-oriented.

Evaluation guarantees that the community is operating effectively and efficiently. The content of such evaluation includes a study of one's apostolic goals or mission, an examination of the means employed to achieve such goals, a clarification and reformulation if necessary of one's values and priorities, an assessment of personnel and resources, and suggested remedies for the future. The process of evaluation is a continuous one, it takes place in the context of renewal and adaptation, it forms part of ongoing formation and continuous updating, and it involves the whole community.

The excuse often brought forward by religious leaders for not investing in planning and evaluation is that they are too busy to find time for that. Quite a few of these religious leaders may be too busy doing the wrong thing! Basically, they fail to distinguish what is urgent from what is important. Certain trivial things that require immediate attention because of their apparent urgency

(phone calls, visitors, paper-work) cause them to neglect the less urgent but more important tasks, like long-term planning and evaluation. Governed by the tyranny of the urgent, they spend all their time fighting small fires while the big ones rage uncontrolled!

Making Decisions

A religious leader serves the community also by making appropriate decisions, difficult and at times agonizing though this task might be. Today, with the emphasis on collegiality and subsidiarity, the decision-making process is no longer the exclusive task of the leader. Yet decisions must be made and the leader has an important role in the process and implementation of decisions. One must realize that not deciding, or postponing to decide, is in itself a decision. Not a few religious organizations become stagnant, impotent and dissatisfied because no proper decision-making mechanism exists in their extremely "laissez-faire" leadership style.

Appropriate decisions are made in view of specific objectives, values, priorities, programmes, personnel and resources. Decisions are relative to the persons, places, times and circumstances. The situational approach to decisions would indicate which process to adopt—consensus procedure, majority rule, delegation, committees, immediate decision by leader, etc.

It is important that decisions are communicated in good time and that an explanation be given regarding the reasons why and manner how they were made. This increases the degree of acceptance, though not necessarily of agreement, by the members. Finally, decisions are not meant to please everyone, and every "no" to something is a "yes" to something else.

Taking Risks

A good leader is ready to take prudent risks, is not afraid of making mistakes, accepts limitations, and does not claim to have the right answers for all the problems. This implies that leaders encourage experimentation and do not allow the best to become the enemy of the good.

The necessity of risk-taking for the religious leader is well expressed by former Jesuit General Superior P. Arrupe (1979):

The man in search of progress wants to experiment and to take some prudent risks. He is not afraid of the judgments made of his actions nor of the criticisms they might incur. He has enough humility to recognize his mistakes, as well as the strength to resist discouragement and to begin all over again. One reason adults learn less than the young is

because they take fewer risks and with greater difficulty admit their mistakes. If we want to learn, we have to take risks and make mistakes. (p.90)

There are situations where taking risks for a leader becomes a question of survival for the organization. The role of a leader may then be compared to that of a driver whose task is normally to push the accelerator, occasionally the brakes, rarely puts the car in reverse, and sometimes has to shift gears - each time depending on the circumstances. There are situations where only by taking a risk can the driver and the car be saved from ruin.

Favouring a Healthy Pluralism

It used to appear as easier, more efficient and more secure to establish uniformity in an organization. As opposed to such a monolithic type of organization where centralization pretailed, a pluralistic one where subsidiarity and collegiality are at work, has emerged. In such a pluralistic community, various points of view are accepted, power is distributed, initiatives arise from different sources, and decisions are assigned to various units of the organization.

A healthy form of pluralism is not only compatible with the goals of a religious organization but it also brings out the richness and variety of human talents that make up a religious organization. A good leader favours such a healthy pluralism in his or her community, and knows that far from dividing, it enriches the community. Such pluralism becomes a source of dynamism in creating greater initiative and innovative action emanating from the grass roots.

In favouring pluralism and promoting unity at the same time, some leaders experience great difficulty. They think you either have to adopt a "laissez-faire" attitude to safeguard pluralism or else implement rigid structures to protect uniformity. Yet, a certain amount and type of structure may help attain both.

For some, the word "structure" evokes the idea of an oppressive system of rules rather than a way of providing a common reference within which a group can operate freely and effectively. Structures are means to facilitate not block development. Even the most flexible groups must have minimal structures and norms if the members are to act together.

Welcoming Criticism and Feedback

The leader-member relationship is a two-way communication. Just as the leader is responsible for providing feedback to the members on their performance, so must he or she be ready to receive it from them. Rather than fearing criticism, a good leader allows it and even facilitates and welcomes it. Unless the members feel that their leader is open to criticism and accepts feedback, the channels of communication between them would remain blocked. As a

result, criticism, instead of being stifled, would be expressed to everyone but the leader.

Instead of taking criticism as a personal attack, an open-minded leader receives it as a sign of interest and concern by the members. It becomes a form of consultation and advice for reflection and future decisions. Again, this does not mean that the leader's aim is to please everyone, seeking popularity and unanimous approval, but that in making decisions he or she tries to be objective, just and honest.

Conclusion

As we conclude this list of the role and functions of a religious leader, the description given above may sound idealistic. As a matter of fact it is. It presents more an ideal or vision of what a leader should be or can become, than the way religious leaders actually are today. It may serve more as an orientation for the future than as a picture of the present. Nevertheless, it offers a challenge and an opportunity for serious reflection not just on leadership but on good, effective leadership today.

It is also true that there are a few leaders who do come relatively close to what we have described. One person certainly does - Jesus Christ. He did exercise the role of a religious leader in his time. From the gospels we know that Christ performed the functions of leadership. He had clear goals to accomplish and enabled his followers to achieve them together with him. He recruited personnel and gave them solid training in view of the objectives to be attained. He motivated and inspired his followers giving them a sense of direction. He served and united his disciples making of them an apostolic community of love. He planned, made decisions, gave commands, and delegated. He coordinated the activities of his members and facilitated communication among them. He certainly took risks in being a creative innovator and agent of change. He respected differences in his followers, welcomed their initiatives, encouraged coresponsibility and even prepared them as successors. His leadership style was flexible and adaptive according to the persons and the situation. Indeed, Christ proved to be an effective organization leader.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADAMS, A.M., *Effective Leadership for Today's Church* (Westminster Press; Philadelphia 1978)
- ARRUPE, P., *Challenge to Religious Life Today* (Institute of Jesuit Sources; St. Louis ²1979)
- CARRIER, M., "Comment gouverner des communautés en évolution", *Supplément de la Vie Spirituelle*, 21 (November 1971) 375-392
- FUTRELL, J., *Making an Apostolic Community of Love* (Institute of Jesuit Sources; St. Louis 1970)
- GREENLEAF, R.K., *Servant Leadership* (Paulist Press; New York 1977)
- HALL, B.P. & Thompson, H.B., *Leadership Through Values: A Study in Person and Organizational Development* (Paulist Press; New York 1980)
- HOGAN, W., "The ministry of community leadership", *Review for Religious*, 38/5 (1979) 723-728
- MEISSNER, W., *The Assault on Authority: Dialogue or Dilemma?* (Orbis Books; Maryknoll, N.Y. 1971)
- MORIYAMA, J.E., *Community Organization Skills* (Vance Bibliographies; Monticello, Ill. 1980)
- OVERMAN, C., *Concepts for Religious Leadership*, (Passionist Leadership Institute; Cincinnati, Ohio 1981)
- SCHEIN, E.H., *Organizational Psychology* (Prentice-Hall Inc; New Jersey ³1980)
- STOGDILL, R.M., *Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research* (Free Press; New York 1974)

THE STRUCTURE OF HEBREWS

A Fresh Look

On the Occasion of a Recent Commentary

James Swetnam

The publication of Harold W. Attridge's commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Hermeneia series is a major event in New Testament scholarship and in the study of the epistle. The meticulous attention given to textual matters, the impressive control of the secondary literature, the expertise in the relevant non-biblical material, the crisp clear style - all of these qualities and more indicate that a classic commentary on Hebrews has arrived, fully on a par with Spicq and Michel and Moffatt. In the future, anyone writing on any aspect of Hebrews will have to consult Attridge. It is as simple and impressive as that.¹

This praise is not meant to indicate complete agreement with all the opinions which Attridge ventures, of course. No one who has worked extensively on the epistle could be expected to concur with all the positions which he takes. The epistle itself is simply too complex, study of it is simply not far enough along, and Attridge is simply too honest in facing problems. (He is not chary about opinions, nor is he ambiguous in giving them, and this is one of the strengths of the work.) But the reviewer must confess to a major disappointment after working through the commentary, a disappointment which Attridge's own remarks helped create: disappointment in the structure which he has adopted.²

JAMES SWETNAM, a Jesuit priest ordained in 1958, has served as Vice Rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, and was Dean of its Biblical Faculty. He studied Greek and Philosophy at St. Louis University, U.S.A., Theology at St. Mary's College, Kansas, U.S.A., and Scripture at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome and Jerusalem and at Oxford University. Rev. J. Swetnam's doctoral dissertation, *Jesus and Isaac: A Study of the Aqedah in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, appeared in the series *Analecta Biblica* (Rome 1981). He is a regular contributor to *Biblica* and *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.

-
- 1 Harold W. ATTRIDGE, *The Epistle to the Hebrews. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*. Edited by Helmut Koester (Hermeneia, Fortress Press; Philadelphia 1989). Not to be overlooked is the physical presentation. The work is a typographical tour de force.
 - 2 *Ibid.*, 19. A key difficulty is that the epistle seems fragmented into so many parts that one has to have recourse to an outline to know just where one is. Form is obscuring content, not enhancing it.

In this structure the epistle comes through as being ill-focused and its author not clear about what he was driving at. There is no a priori reason why fuzziness in exposition and lack of clarity in paraenesis should not mark the epistle. But the evident vigor of expression and skill in using Greek shown by the author of Hebrews makes fuzziness unlikely. What then is the author of Hebrews really up to? What is he saying? What does he expect his audience to do? Attridge's outline leaves these questions hanging in the air, as have earlier attempts to outline the epistle.³ In venturing this opinion the reviewer is giving a vote of no-confidence in himself as much as in Attridge, of course. It is simply that the excellence of Attridge's commentary in the areas noted above and others as well underlines how much needs to be done still in getting the epistle's thought into focus.

Such is the background for the present attempt to look again at the outline of Hebrews. What will be offered here in the context of Attridge's commentary (pro and con) will be a radically new look at what the epistle has to say, but a new look which incorporates features of past attempts. More attention will be paid to content and less to form so that the suppositions underlying the various parts of the outline can be allowed to generate perspectives from which to view the epistle as a whole. Along the way new looks will be directed to old cruces.

All of this, of course, will be presented as an hypothesis.

Hebrews 3,1-6: A Key Passage for Understanding Hebrews 1,1 - 3,6

Attridge's outline of the epistle has 3,1-6 facing forward: it serves as an introduction to the section 3,1 - 4,13, which he labels "A homily on faith".⁴ But once this interpretation is reversed and 3,1-6 is made to look backward to what precedes, a whole series of perspectives opens up which enables the epistle as a whole to be focussed more clearly.

It would seem more appropriate to view 3,1-6 as a paraenesis based on what precedes: 2,5-18. The vocabulary offers no difficulty in this regard: the linking word *hoten*, the phrase *adelphoi hagioi* (the first time the author speaks directly to the addressees through use of the vocative), and the use of the imperative *katanoēsate*, all combine to indicate a change in genre from the exposition which

3 This includes the attempts of the reviewer to come to grips with these questions: James SWETNAM, "Form and Content in Hebrews 1 - 6", *Bib* 53 (1972) 368-385; idem, "Form and Content in Hebrews 7 - 13", *Bib* 55 (1974) 333-348. The present review article will not attempt to keep track of the reviewer's past views which he hereby renounces, or his past views which he hereby reaffirms.

4 ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 19. He takes the section 3,1 - 5,10 as forming the second part of the epistle dedicated to "Christ faithful and merciful".

has preceded in 2,5-18. More important still, taking 3,1-6 as a piece of paraenesis based on what precedes shows how much importance the author attaches to the theme of faith which he began to develop in the previous section⁵: it is Jesus faithful whom the "holy brothers" are being urged to consider.

Once 3,1-6 is viewed as paraenesis following on 2,5-18, the first two chapters of the epistle come into focus: 1,1-4: exordium; 1,5-14: exposition; 2,1-4: paraenesis based on the preceding exposition; 2,5-18: exposition; 3,1-6: paraenesis based on the preceding exposition.

The exordium indicates the pre-existence and earthly existence of the Son. In this juxtaposition the author readies the road in which the glorified Christ and the earthly Christ will be placed in creative counterpoint to convey the epistle's central message.⁶

After the exordium comes a miniature treatise in Christology (1,5 - 3,6, divided as indicated above) based on Ps 110,1 and Ps 8,5-7 united and interpreted according to the exegetical principles of *gezera shawa*. That is to say, the text of Ps 110 and the text of Ps 8 are used for mutual illumination because of the fact that the same phrase is found in each: *hypopodion tōn podōn* from Ps 110 at Heb 1,13 and *hypokatō tōn podōn autou* from Ps 8 at Heb 2,8.⁷ This common phrase is the key structural element in 1,5 - 3,6, but there are other elements as well (symmetry, repetition of thematic words, announcements).

The explicit invocation of a "name" by the author at 1,4 is another important structural indication, and one involving content. The name is "son",⁸ and it

5 A point forcibly, but incompletely, made by ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 91.

6 Cf. ATTRIDGE's perceptive comments at the end of his discussion of 1,2: "In the juxtaposition of the protological and eschatological perspectives a tension begins to emerge that will continue through the exordium and the following scriptural catena. Christ was made heir of that which he, as God's agent, created".

7 ATTRIDGE (p. 50, n. 17 - read "Heb 1:13" for "Heb 1:3") inexplicably refuses to recognize the use of *gezera shawa* here in Heb 1 - 2 even though he uses it, as he should, in Heb 4 and Heb 7 (cf. pp. 128-130 and 187). As used in Heb 1 - 2 *gezera shawa* is one of the most important indications of structure in the entire epistle because it introduces the key concepts of the heavenly and earthly Christ in terms of Scripture texts which are mutually illuminatory.

8 ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 47.

constitutes the underlying basis for unity in the exposition at 1,5-14. Crucial is the need to note how the word "son" is being used: in the semitic sense of an indication of similitude of some kind.⁹ In 1,5-14 the son is granted at his resurrection¹⁰ a similitude in glory with God. The language of "clothing" so marked in the section,¹¹ together with the underlying supposition involving "name" in the context of the resurrection, indicate that the author is saying that the risen body of Jesus has been brought to a state of perfection corresponding to his divine status.¹² The use of angels as a point of reference to indicate the son's superiority would seem to be a way of conveying the absolute nature of this status.¹³

Interpretation of 3,1-6 as paraenesis depending upon 2,5-18 opens the way to a more penetrating exegesis of the latter passage provided the nature of *gezera shawa* is kept in mind. For given the *gezera shawa*, the exposition at 2,5-18 should somehow balance the exposition at 1,4-14 while being distinct from it. Once the mention of Moses, of Christ, and of the participation of the Christians in the son's "house" is added to the data of 2,5-18, the Christological pattern of 2,10-18 becomes reasonably clear: it is the "seed of Abraham" as illustrated in Gal 3,15-29.¹⁴

On the assumption (supported independently from other indications in the text) that 3,1-6 is meant to refer back as paraenesis to 2,5-18 as exposition, Gal 3,15-29 offers several clues helpful for interpretation:

- 1) use of the unqualified numeral *heis* at 3,16 to refer to Abraham's seed;
- 2) oblique reference to the deficiency of the Mosaic Law in relation to the "oneness" of the Christian disposition at 3,19-20;
- 3) stress on the unity of all Christians in Christ at 3,27-28;
- 4) use of the name "Christ" to refer to Abraham's seed at 3,16;

9 For examples in the New Testament cf. Luke 20,34.36 (the latter with regard to resurrection) and John 8,39 (with regard to Abraham, a meaning important for Heb 2,5-18).

10 On the relevance of the resurrection cf. J. SWETNAM, *Jesus and Isaac: A Study of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Light of the Aqedah* (AnBib 94; Rome 1981) 142-145 and idem, "Christology and the Eucharist in the Epistle to the Hebrews", *Bib* 70 (1989) 78.

11 Cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 61.

12 Cf. SWETNAM, "Eucharist", 78.

13 Cf. SWETNAM, *Jesus and Isaac*, 149-150.

14 For a discussion of the possible Christological pattern underlying Heb 2,10-18 cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 79-82. Gal 3,15-29 is not among the possibilities listed.

- 5) explicit mention of the seed of Abraham at 3,16.29 (with allusion at 3,19);
- 6) overriding importance of the context of faith at 3,22-25.

Supposing that Heb 2,10 - 3,6 is related to Gal 3,15-29 either by way of cause or effect or parallel dependence on a common source helps show that the Hebrews passage is centred on what it explicitly mentions at 2,16 - the seed of Abraham. That the author of Hebrews dedicates half of his Christological treatise to Christ as seed of Abraham should not be viewed a priori as being implausible, for even a surface reading shows that Abraham and the promises made to Abraham figure elsewhere in the epistle (cf. 6,13-15; 11,8-10.17-19).

The points clarified by supposing a relation between Heb 2,10-18 and Gal 3,15-29 are as follows:

- 1) Galatians helps explain not only why the phrase *eks henos* of Heb 2,11 can refer to Christ as seed of Abraham but why the author of Hebrews felt no need to explain what to modern interpreters is a conundrum: it was probably already familiar language for the addressees.¹⁵

- 2) Whatever the precise exegesis of the problem passage at Gal 3,19-20, it alludes to the inferiority of the Mosaic Law with regard to the Christian dispensation, and this is the same message conveyed at Heb 3,1-6.

- 3) The unity of Jesus the Christ with all Christians is a theme of the entire passage of Heb 2,5 - 3,6, but it comes to a climax at 3,6 with the statement that Christians constitute Christ's "house", i.e., dynasty.

- 4) The name "Christ" is used for the first time in Hebrews at 3,6. Just why it should appear here is explained by the occurrence of "Christ" at Gal 3,16 as the identification of Abraham's seed.

- 5) The mention of "Abraham's seed" at Heb 2,16 becomes more plausible as a reason for the author's way of speaking of humans in contrast to angels if it is presumed that he is speaking throughout the passage of the seed.

- 6) Faith is a key motif in Heb 2,5 - 3,6.¹⁶

The importance of faith-trust in 2,5 - 3,6 is the explanation of why the entire

15 Cf. ATTRIDGE's remark: "...the ambiguity [sc., of the phrase *eks henos*] that has occasioned so much controversy needs to be recognized" (p.89). If the ambiguity needs to be recognized it needs also to be explained.

16 Cf. Heb 2,13.17 and 3,2.5-6. On the importance of faith in the epistle, beginning with the text at 2,11, cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 91.

The importance of faith-trust in 2,5 - 3,6 is the explanation of why the entire section is to be taken as the second half of the *gezera shawa* construction beginning at 1,5: just as the risen Jesus is "son" because he has become like God in the glory of his exaltation, so the earthly Jesus is "son" because he was like Abraham in his faith-trust in God. The laws of interpretation of *gezera shawa* suggest this exegesis and the stress on Abraham's faith (Heb 11,8-10.17.19) and Jesus' faith (2,13.17; 3,2.5-6) in the context of a passage discussing Abraham's seed is consistent with such a view. What makes it so tentative in Hebrews is the ambiguity attendant on Heb 2,5-9 and the exegesis which is given there of Ps 8,5-7. A Jewish midrash on the Psalms has the "man" *anthrōpos* of 8,5 referring to Abraham, and the "son of man" *huios anthrōpou* referring to Isaac.¹⁷ Such an exegesis would be appropriate for Hebrews, but it is not at all certain that the Jewish midrash of Ps 8 was current when Hebrews was written, or if it was, that the author of Hebrews was aware of it. Uncertainties surrounding research on the "son of man" in the New Testament preclude help from that quarter for illumining Hebrews, at least at the present time.¹⁸ But from the evidence in Hebrews itself (context of the *gezera shawa*, discussion of the faith of Jesus in the light of Abraham's seed) there are grounds for constructing a working hypothesis that in Heb 2,5 - 3,6 the discussion is about Jesus as "son" of Abraham.¹⁹

The implications of the above interpretation for Hebrews are considerable. In his discussion of Christology, at the very beginning of his presentation of who Christ is, the author of Hebrews opts for two meanings of the word "son":

- 1) the risen Jesus, who has been transformed by an exaltation which makes him superior to the angels and which is a participation in the glory of God;
- 2) the earthly Jesus, subject to suffering and death, who is like Abraham in faith and trust.²⁰

17 Cf. SWETNAM, *Jesus and Isaac*, 160-161.

18 Attridge (*Hebrews*, 73-75) valiantly attempts a synthesis of a recent research on the phrase "son of man". If New Testament research on the phrase cannot illumine Heb 2,5-10, at least at the present time, perhaps research on Hebrews can illumine discussion on the phrase in the New Testament, at least by way of hypothesis. It seems worth investigating if when the gospels speak of "son of man" they speak of Jesus as Abraham's seed, with all that that implies as regards faith, inheritance, sacrifice, resurrection, etc.,

19 Thus there would seem to be reason for distinguishing "man" and "son of man" in the exegesis of the author of Hebrews, i.e., there is a type of midrashic exegesis at work which does not rely on classic Hebrew parallelism indicating synonymity. Contra: ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 75, n. 62.

20 Cf. SWETNAM, "Eucharist", 78-88, for a discussion of multiple meanings of words in Hebrews.

Faith-trust is a key theme of Heb 2,5-3,6, but more than faith-trust is being discussed in this section. Apart from the problematic exegesis of Ps 8 at 2,5-9²¹ the section would seem to be divided into three parts: 10-12; 13a; 13b-18. The structure is dictated by the three citations at 2,12-13 which from their length and placement are meant as being parallel in some way. The citations can be seen to have distinctive functions in the context of Jesus as seed of Abraham. Vv. 10-12 are summed up by the citation "I shall announce your name to my brothers, in the midst of the assembly I shall sing your praise". V. 13a is a citation which is considered by the author as being so clear from the context that it needs no explanation. Vv. 13b-18 are summed up by the citation "Behold, I and the children whom God has given me".

The central citation indicates the central concern of the author. Jesus as "son" of Abraham has placed his trust in God. The preceding citation is prepared for by vv. 10-11. Jesus is leading Christians to glory and is the agent of their sanctification while remaining their brother in faith-trust towards Abraham their father. The citation makes community the point of the passage: *God's promise to Abraham (cf. Heb 11,8-10) of a place of inheritance is being fulfilled in Jesus and the community which he has established under God.* The Christians are not yet definitively in the land of rest which is their ultimate goal, but the Christian community is the earthly equivalent of this definitive rest. Hence the crucial importance of not deserting it.²² The citation at v. 13b is explained by the death Jesus underwent which was made possible by the blood and flesh he assumed in common with the seed of Abraham. The death resulted in his becoming a merciful and faithful high priest able to help those who are being tried just as he was tried. *God's promise to Abraham (cf. Heb 11,17-19) of descendants is being fulfilled in Jesus by means of the "children" which God has given him through his death.* Just as the trial connected with the "death" of Isaac resulted in the reality of spiritual (and physical) descendants for Abraham, so the sacrificial death of Jesus has resulted in the reality of spiritual descendants of Jesus.²³

21 Heb 2,9 gives a hint about a double level in Christ's priesthood, but Attridge, unfortunately, fails to rise to the challenge (cf. his lame resort to the gloss to explain away the difficulty in the clause *Hopōs geusetai thanatou, Hebrews, 76-77.*

22 Cf. Heb 10,25 and ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 290-291. Cf. also Heb 3,14 and 3,3. In the latter text Attridge fails to see the allusion to the "house" constructed by Jesus (p.110, especially n. 69) and thus misses an important reference to the effects of Jesus' covenant. Not surprisingly, he correspondingly fails to note the relevance of Heb 3,5 for Heb 9,19-20 and the covenant theme. Cf. SWETNAM, "Eucharist", 85, and ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 111.

23 The author of Hebrews is primarily interested in the "spiritual" descendants of Abraham, i.e., those who in imitation of Abraham believe in the promises of land and of descendants which were made by God to him.

The author of Hebrews uses the same technique at 10,26-39 for dividing paraenesis as he does at 2,10-18 for dividing exposition. The first part of 10,30 (*emoi ekdikēsis egō antapodōsō*) refers to the negative section which precedes (10,26-29), and the second part of 10,30 (*krinai kyrios ton laon autou*) refers to the positive section which follows (10,31-39). Divided this way the citation *krinei kyrios ton laon autou* retains its positive meaning which it has in its original context in Deuteronomy (32,26) and in the Psalms (135[134],14), and the phrase "to fall into the hands of the living God" at 10,31 can have the positive meaning it usually has elsewhere. The only apparent problem is connected with the word *phoberos* in 10,31: it seems to be negative (cf. 10,27). But Attridge supplies the solution by translating the word neutrally as "awesome". This still does not prevent him from interpreting *krinei kyrios ton laon autou* negatively, despite his obvious misgivings (cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 295-296).

In Heb 2,10-18 the promises made to Abraham are reworked in the context of the earthly life of Jesus. It is through the Christian community that the promise of land is destined to be fulfilled; it is through the death of Jesus that the promise of descendants is destined to be fulfilled. This treatment in vv. 10-18 suggests that for the author of Hebrews the concept of Jesus' relation to Abraham has developed beyond the faith-trust which is the basis for the predication of "sonship". Jesus is taking charge of the two promises made to Abraham, land and seed, and is bringing them to fulfillment not only in the context of the faith-trust which characterized the life of Abraham, but also in the context of the trials which characterized the life of Abraham. Jesus is "son" of Abraham not just because he believed and trusted as Abraham believed and trusted; he is "son" of Abraham because he brings many sons of Abraham to glory through "sufferings" (2,10) and because in these sufferings he was "tried" (2,18).²⁴ Jesus moves subtly but unmistakably from "brother" of Abraham's spiritual children in 2,10-12 to one for whom these brothers are "children" (*paidia*) in 2,13b-18. He thus takes over the function of Abraham as a source of faith and inspiration. In a word: he is the "leader" (*archēgos*) of salvation (2,10).

The three key functions of Jesus with regard to Abraham are brought out in the reflective paraenesis at 3,1-6. Besides the stress on Jesus' faith at 3,2 (*pistos*), he is called *apostolos* and *archiereus* (3,1). The word *apostolos* refers to Jesus' comportment in 2,10-12, where he announces God's name to his brothers.²⁵ This name of God would seem to be "father", corresponding to the

24 The author of Hebrews seems to be trying to justify this broadening of the relevance of Abraham for Jesus when he uses the word *prepō* in 2,10, linking it to the spiritual seed of Abraham in 2,11 by *gar*.

25 Noted by ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 107.

name "son" assigned to Christ in the previous exposition.²⁶ (According to the rules of *gezera shawa* such reliance on the other half of the scriptural unit in the pair - here, 1,5 - 2,4 - is perfectly in order.) The word *archiereus* refers to Jesus' comportment implied in 2,13b-18, where his death in the context of a test serves to liberate his children from the fear of death. The context suggests the Aqedah, where Abraham offers Isaac in the test which God has called him to.²⁷ In these verses the author is indicating that Jesus is assuming Abraham's role as a source of faith and trust for those destined to be liberated from the fear of death.²⁸

Heb 2,5-18 is not the only text illumined by looking on 3,1-6 as paraenesis following what precedes.²⁹ The parallel paraenesis at 2,1-4 also becomes clearer. For 3,1-6 alludes to the contrasting roles of Christ (i.e., Messiah) and Moses as regards God's "house", i.e., Israel. Christ is superior to Moses in glory because he founded a house and as son is "over" it³⁰, whereas Moses remains a servant "within" the house and although faithful, functions as a subordinate, mainly as a witness to "those things which were to be spoken" (*ta lalethēsomena*). The allusion is to Heb 9,19-20 where Moses inaugurates the Mosaic covenant in language which alludes to the Christian eucharist.³¹ The perspectives generated by the parallelism between 2,1-4 and 3,1-6 now clarify the "salvation" (*sdōtēria*) which began to be spoken by "the Lord" in the former text: the allusion there is also to the eucharist. And the central role which the eucharist thus has in the first paraenesis of the epistle, balanced as it is by renewed exhortation at 3,1-6, indicates that is a matter of central concern for the author with regard to what he wants the addressees to do. Hence it is of central concern for his purpose in writing his epistle.

26 The use of *apostolos* in Heb 3,1 as explained in the text above should be compared with the language of Jesus in John 8,42 in the context of Jesus' dispute with the Jews about the meaning of "sonship" with regard to Abraham. Cf. also John 17,1-8, where the themes of "Father", "son", "glory", "eternal life", "name", "believe", and "sent" cluster together. Cf. also Rom 8,15-16, and Gal 4,6.

27 The reviewer suggested as much in his book *Jesus and Isaac*, 176-177. The outline of the epistle presented in this review considerably strengthens the suggestion. The Aqedah, with its accompanying promise of seed, is at the heart of Hebrews. Contra: ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, pp. 94-95, n. 179.

28 To the point ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 95, nn. 189 and 190.

29 The use of the word *klēsis* in 3,1 should be noted with relevance to what has precedes. The use of words based on this root seem to be associated with Abraham and his seed. Cf. Heb 11,18 and the citation from Genesis which seems to be the origin and the use in Hebrews, and 11,8. Cf. also 9,15, and the sacerdotal dimension added by the use of *kaleō* at 5,4. The use of such terminology in Hebrews with regard to Jesus, Abraham and the addressees illustrates the importance of the idea of "sharing", *metochos*, at 3,1 (cf. 3,14).

30 The mention of "son" in the context of "house" and the contrast with Moses as "servant" would seem to constitute an allusion to Christ as "heir". In the ancient Near East "son" implied legitimacy and hence the right to inherit.

31 Cf. SWEINAM, "Eucharist", 86.

As the author of Hebrews arrives at 3,7 he has already managed to convey a considerable amount of information to the addressees. In the present article Heb 3,1-6 has played a key role in enabling the reviewer to get the entire first part of the epistle into clearer focus. But of course the author of the epistle was relying on other factors to enable the addressees to focus clearly on what he wanted to say: the familiarity they had with the scriptures and the knowledge they had of some basic elements of the Christian faith (cf. Heb 6,1). What he presupposes with regard to what he writes and what he thinks he can achieve by writing are important for an understanding of who that audience is.³²

Hebrews 4,12-13: Jesus as Logos and Hebrews 3,7 - 4,16

With 3,7 a new section of the epistle begins. In 1,1 - 3,6 the author of the epistle has relied heavily on citations from the scriptures to convey his exposition. His paraenetical sections have not cited the scriptures, but have relied on their content. With the citation of Ps 95,7-11 at 3,7b-11 a more nuanced use of the scriptures is evident: not only are they used as an essential element in the exposition, they are regarded reflexively as somehow needing fulfillment. The Israelites who wandered in the desert were not allowed to enter into the land promised them. But the promise of the land remains (4,1) and the psalm's warning not to fail of entrance through unbelief still has relevance (3,12-13). The "rest" promised the Israelites becomes transformed with the aid of a *gezera shawa* into eternal life (4,3-4).³³ The need for fulfillment is made clear at 4,8-11: if Joshua had really given Israel rest, the psalm could not be considered as speaking of another "day" (i.e., for entering).³⁴ The text of scriptures, in other words, is looking for fulfillment.

This is the context which prepares the way for the much-discussed text at 4,12-13 which speaks of the *logos tou theou* as "living" and "sharper" than a two-edged *machaira*. Here is one of the classic cruces of the epistle, not just as regards the meaning of *logos*, but also as regards the imagery. The author's technique used in dividing 2,10-18 gives a hint for the solution to the problem of imagery: v. 12 speaks of a *machaira* which is a knife of circumcision and sums

32 On the suggestive concept of the audience for a text as the creation of the text cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 9, n. 66.

33 Well handled by ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 128-130.

34 *Ibid.*, 130.

up what went before; v. 13 speaks (implicitly) of a *machaira* which is a knife of sacrifice and introduces what is to come.

Heb 4,12 carries on from what precedes. The context is of entrance into the promised land. Joshua and his rite of circumcision was inadequate to usher Israel into the land. What is needed is an effective circumcision, a circumcision of the heart, and this is described in v. 12, with the word *machaira* being taken from the account of Joshua's circumcizing the Israelites on their entrance into the promised land (Josh 5,3). The emphasis is on the interior efficacy of the action which culminates with the word "heart" (*kardia*) and which thus picks up the key word of the previous context which attributes the failure of the desert generation of Israelites to hardness of heart (Heb 3,8.10.12; 4,7).³⁵ The circumcision of the heart effected by the *logos* touches the interior and is thus efficacious as regards entrance, provided it is received with obedience/faith.³⁶

Heb 4,13 introduces what is to come and concerns the other promise made to Abraham, which in 2,13b-18 was connected with sacrifice. Heb 4,13 speaks (implicitly) of *machaira* in the sense of knife of sacrifice, taking up the use of the word in this sense at Gen 22,6.10. The word *trachēlizomai* seems to have been used for two reasons: 1) it indicates the physical exposure of the neck of a sacrificial victim and 2) it implies the turmoil of soul of such a victim in the face of imminent death.³⁷ Thus it links up with Heb 2,13b-18, where Jesus' death is portrayed as freeing his children from the fear of death in the context of his priestly, i.e., sacrificial, role. Thus Heb 4,14 can begin. "Having, therefore (*oun*), a great high priest..."³⁸

In the light of the analysis of the imagery of Heb 4,12-13 the role of the *logos* - and hence, its identity - becomes reasonably clear. The *logos* fulfills the scriptures but itself stands outside the scriptures.

As the agent of the circumcision the *logos* achieves what Joshua did not; bring to fulfillment the promise of the land made to Abraham. It is Christ who makes entrance possible. Only by remaining united to him by faith/obedience can the Christians remain in community and thus enter definitively into their

35 *Ibid.*, p. 136 and n. 45.

36 *Ibid.*, p.132 and n. 120

37 *Ibid.*, p. 136, n. 55. This is an example of the advantages deriving from Attridge's command of the contemporary non-biblical sources.

38 The use of two tightly related clauses to refer first to what precedes (4,12) and then to what follows (4,13) has been pointed out to exist at 2,12-13 and 10,30. At 4,12-13 images are juxtaposed and not texts.

heavenly rest. Union with Christ through faith/ obedience, not some kind of union with the scriptures, is the key to this entrance (cf. Heb 3,6.12.14; 4,6.11; 5,9; 11,31).³⁹ This means union with the living God as well (Heb 3,12), but God is speaking and acting through his son (Heb 1,2; 2,10; 3,4). The failure of the desert generation to enter the land was caused by their failure to be united to the Christians, i.e., to Christ (4,2). The fulfillment of the heroes of old was effected not without the Christians, i.e. Christ (11,40). Christ is the living *logos* of Heb 4,12, not the scriptures, for he is the cause of entry, not the scriptures.

The scriptures are needed to understand the role of Christ as *logos*, however. At 2,2 the Law is termed a *logos* because it is viewed as part of God's acts of speaking mentioned in 1,1-2.⁴⁰ Christ as *logos* stands in the same line of God's acts of speaking as the Law (i.e. the scriptures - cf. the use of *logos* at 4,2), except that he brings the Law, i.e., the scriptures, to definitive fulfillment and thus replaces them. With Christ, God's speaking finally attains its goal, as eventually it had to.

What Christ does with regard to Joshua and the scriptures he also does with regard to Isaac and the scriptures. The definitive entrance into the land and hence the definitive fulfillment of the first promise made to Abraham is achieved only by Christ as *logos* and the definitive circumcision which he brings. The definitive fulfillment of the second promise made to Abraham - of progeny - is achieved only by Christ as *logos* and the definitive sacrifice which he brings. With 4,14 the author of Hebrews begins the discussion of that sacrifice which is to occupy him for the rest of the epistle. The promise of the land is important, but its fulfillment depends on the fulfillment of the promise of progeny, and this involves sacrifice which in turn involves covenant. For the discussion of all this the scriptures are essential, but the *logos* which fulfills them stands outside them: it is Christ who is the definitive revelation of God.⁴¹

A standard objection against taking the two instances of *autos* at Heb 4,13 as referring to the *logos* and not to God is that there is no indication in the epistle of the judgemental role of the son.⁴² But this is to take too lightly the reference to Christ as "heir of all things" in 2,2. As heir the son is responsible to God, just as he is responsible as agent of creation. This allusion to the son's authority is repeated at 3,1-6, where he is portrayed as being "over" the house which he

39 Also relevant is Heb 4,2. ATTRIDGE (*Hebrews*, 125-126) is at his best in discussing this text.

40 ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews* 64, n. 26.

41 This use of the term *logos* to refer to the son as the one who replaces the Law as the centre of God's communication with humans seems to parallel the Johannine use of *logos* in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel.

42 Attridge makes this standard objection his own at p. 136. But God acts through the Son in judging enemies just as he acts through the Son in rewarding friends.

fashioned. And this leads back to the parallel paraenesis at 2,1-4, where the addressees are warned not to neglect a salvation which was begun by the Lord himself. A day of reckoning is still to come (cf. Heb 10,25; 9,28).

Following on the exposition of 3,7 - 4,13 the author of Hebrews has a brief paraenesis which sums up his advice to the addressees at this point: hold on to belief in Jesus as son of God (i.e., Heb 1,5 - 2,4) and high priest (i.e., Heb 2,5 - 3,6) who has been tried in all things except sin; he is with God in a position of authority ("the throne of grace", 4,15). With this juxtaposition of the glorified and the earthly Christ placed in the framework of the *logos* who is the definitive fulfillment of God's speaking, the author of Hebrews is ready to prepare for his central exposition and its paraenesis.⁴³

Hebrews 5,1 - 6,20: The Earthly Priesthood of Christ

With 5,1 the author of Hebrews takes up his principal task: explanation of how the second promise made to Abraham, of progeny, is fulfilled in Christ. This entails discussion of Christ's priesthood, his sacrifice, and his descendants.

In 5,1-10 the high priesthood of Christ is obviously being presented in the context of the high priesthood of Aaron. But the passage will not be fully understood unless it is placed in the context of the high priesthood of Christ with regard to the Akedah, a perspective generated by Heb 2,13b-18 and 4,13.⁴⁴ This earthly priesthood of Christ in contrast with the heavenly priesthood of Christ (i.e., after he is brought to fulfillment and is high priest "according to the order of Melchizedek" - 5,5-6.9-10) and with reference to those who are saved eternally through obedience to him, i.e., his "children" (2,13b) or "house" (3,6). Christ is said to "learn" obedience (5,8). This learning takes place "in the days of his flesh", before his "fulfillment" (5,9), as "son" of Abraham, i.e., filled with faith/trust (cf. the word *eulabeia* in 5,7). Inasmuch as Christ is presented in the epistle as coming into the world determined to do God's will (10,7), this

43 It would seem particularly appropriate for the style of Hebrews that the author should explicitly identify Jesus and the *logos* only once, even though the reality of Jesus as *logos* is central to his final chapters. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 118-119) notes that the author of Hebrews "delights in the polyvalence of language". On the "subtle manipulation of language" with regard to the word *logos* cf. *ibid.*, 136. Sensitivity to nuances in the use of words is definitely one of the strengths of Attridge's commentary.

44 The possible relevance of Heb 11,17-22 for the priesthood of Christ needs to be explored.

“learning” of obedience must refer not to the act by which Christ offered himself (cf. 5,1.3.7),⁴⁵ but to the result of that act, i.e., fulfillment and fecundity.⁴⁶ The word “learns” of fulfillment the only way he can, through experience.⁴⁷

With this brief but powerful evocation of Christ’s two-stage priesthood, earthly and glorified, the author sets the scene for his discussion of the priesthood according to Melchizedek which follows at 7,1-28. But before he addresses himself to this discussion he inserts a long paraenesis at 5,11 - 6,20 which both threatens and consoles. The threat comes from the impossibility of forgiveness for apostasy⁴⁸; the consolation comes from the promises to Abraham of descendants. By implication, the addressees will be among the descendants provided they do not apostatize.

The promises of descendants to Abraham present the author with a problem. The promises came to a climax with the oath at the time of Akedah (Gen 22,16-17), in connection with Abraham’s offering of Isaac which, in the perspective of Hebrews, means Christ’s offering of himself and thus his earthly priesthood (2,13b-18; 4,13; 5,1.3.7-8). But Christ’s definitive priesthood is not merely earthly; it is also heavenly, i.e., of the glorified Christ, the earthly Christ brought to fulfillment (5,9-10). Does God have anything to say about descendants in the context of the definitive priesthood of Christ? The author of Hebrews solves the problem by observing that there are “two immutable things” which ground the heirs’ hope in God’s promise, and they are linked with an oath (6,17-18). Now there are two things which God swears to with an oath mentioned by the author in connection with the relevant context: 1) God’s oath to Abraham of descendants (6,13-14) and 2) God’s oath to Christ witnessing to his heavenly priesthood (7,21; cf. 5,6). Thus, by an implied *gezera shawa* the promise of descendants is valid not just for Christ’s earthly priesthood but for Christ’s heavenly priesthood as well. Such is the basis for the hope of those descendants (6,19-20).⁴⁹ Without the perspective generated by the linking of priesthood and descendants made at 2,13b-18 the argumentation at 6,13-20 remains enigmatic.

45 The tendency of Christ in Hebrews to take on the role of Abraham is relevant here.

46 If Christ is being “tested” at 5,7-8 (cf. Heb 2,18) and this test is to be useful by way of example to those whom he is to free from the fear of death. (cf. Heb 2,15 and 4,13), then it would seem that he is asking earnestly to die at 5,7-8, and is heard even though the son at the Akedah was spared death (cf. SWETNAM, *Jesus and Isaac*, 178-184). But Jesus’ adherence to what he perceived as the divine will (cf. Heb 10,7) resulted in his learning experientially (cf. 5,8) what that obedience entailed: eternal life and numerous progeny - the fulfillment of the promises made to Abraham.

47 This “learning”, of course, involves suffering. Cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 153 and n. 196.

48 The crux at Heb 6,4-6 will be discussed below together with the crux at Heb 10,28-29.

49 In his discussion of Christ and hope in Heb 6,18 Attridge mentions Col 1,5 twice (*Hebrews*, 183, nn. 64 and 66), but fails to note Col 1,27 which seems to identify Christ and hope. This identification is not without importance in Heb 11,1.

Hebrews 7,1-28: The Second Stage of Christ's Priesthood

Exposition of Christ's high priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek is found at 7,1-28. In 5,1-10 the author shows that there are similarities between the priests of the Law and Christ's priesthood, both early and even heavenly. In 7,1-28 he labours to show that the Law's witness to Melchizedek as a priest existing outside time corresponds to what can be said of the Son of God (7,3; cf. 1,5-14). Thus the glorified Christ (note the imagery of entrance at 6,19-20 which has introduced the exposition in 7,1-28) constitutes a type of priest radically different from the priests instituted by the Law. The chapter is taken up with discussing the implications of this radically different type of priest, but the most important of the implications is discussed in what follows: change of priesthood calls for change of law (7,12). Thus 7,1-28 prepares the way for 8,1-2 in which the author sums up the content of his exposition in the whole letter: the new priesthood of the glorified Christ sees him as the cult minister of a new liturgy (the new law considered from the standpoint of worship).⁵⁰

Hebrews 8,1 - 10,39: The Centrality of Covenant

The heart of Hebrews (8,1 - 10,39) is dedicated to an exposition of the high priesthood of Christ in the context of a definitively new covenant called for by a definitively new priesthood. 8,1 - 10,18 constitutes the exposition; 10,19-39, the paraenesis.⁵¹ The challenge facing the author is briefly put: in terms of the scriptures, how does Christ's heavenly priesthood "fulfill" (i.e., bring to definitive perfection) his earthly priesthood?

The expository section is outlined by a massive inclusion involving the citation from Jeremiah about the new covenant (8,8-12, echoed at 10,16-17).⁵² The argumentation is intricate and it is well beyond the scope of this paper to trace it in detail. Perspectives generated by Christ's two stages of priesthood and by the old and new covenants are invoked by the author to introduce the addressees into a deeper understanding of their faith involving "solid food" (5, 14).

50 That the author of Hebrews is interested in the Law primarily from a cultic point of view becomes evident at 7,11 although this interest was hinted at as early as the paraenesis at 2,1-4. Cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 200.

51 ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 216, is good about recognizing the unity of Hebrews' central part, but does not recognize the paraenetic role of 10,19-39 with regard to what precedes.

52 On the more universal scope of the new covenant as suggested by the wording of Heb 10,16 cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 281. This is important for Chapter 11.

The motif for the priesthood of the earthly Christ is "offering" (imagery of the Aqedah), just as the motif for the priesthood of the risen Christ is "entrance" (with "presence" implied as the term). The two images are complementary, based on the common element of forgiveness of sin (cf. 9,11-14,28; 10,19). Thus the "eternal spirit" at 9,14, occurring as it does in the context of Christ's "offering himself", refers to the earthly sacrifice. The transforming action of the Spirit replaces the fire of the holocaust of the Aqedah (cf. Gen 22,3.13).⁵³

The key to understanding the imagery of "entrance" would seem to be the "greater and more perfect tent" through which Christ enters into the Holy of Holies in definitive fulfillment of the liturgy of the Day of Atonement. That "tent" is the glorified body of the risen Christ, i.e., the risen Christ as portrayed in 1,4-14, in whom the earthly body which made possible his sacrificial death is no longer subject to the limitations of earthly existence but is transformed into a body commensurate with his divine status as "Son" (of God).⁵⁴

Christ "enters" in order to be present (10,12; cf. 1,3). He is permanently present in *ta hagia tōn hagiōn*, which refers to the Christian mysteries in the imagery of the Holy of Holies.⁵⁵

The "new covenant" is considered in Hebrews as a successor to the Mosaic Law (cf. 8,6-7). If the new law (i.e., the definitive fulfillment of the Mosaic Law as an initial stage in God's speaking) is Christ himself as *logos*, it is appropriate that the new covenant is in some way Christ himself. And this is realized in the eucharist. Christ is the mediator of this new covenant, but his mediation is paradoxical in that it does away with intermediaries between the people and God: Christ himself is God (*logos*) and comes into contact with the heart of each believer through the testament which is based on his death (9,15-17). Thus the propriety of the allusion to the words of the institution of the eucharist at 9,20 in the mouth of Moses: the Law was a foreshadowing of the covenant-testament which fulfilled it.⁵⁶

The paraenesis at 10,19-39 is both encouraging and threatening. The encouragement comes from the access which the Christians now have to *ta hagia* (10,19). The threat comes from the second passage about the impossibility of

53 Thus the objection of ATTRIDGE (*Hebrews*, 250) that a parallelism between fire and spirit is not operative because fire does not play a major part in the Day of Atonement ritual is beside the point. This is yet another example where Attridge's refusal to recognize the influence of the Aqedah in Hebrews leads him astray.

54 Cf. SWETNAM, "Eucharist", 79-82.

55 *Ibid.*, 82-84.

56 *Ibid.*, 84-88.

forgiveness (10, 26-30a). It is now time to address both threat-passages in the context of the perspectives generated by the outline of the epistle being suggested here. The first threat-passage (6,4-6) comes in the paraenesis following the exposition on the sacrifice of Christ "in the days of his flesh", i.e., in his capacity as earthly priest. The threat alludes to this ("crucifying for their benefit the son of God"). Here the author is speaking to those addressees who might be scandalized by the fact that one claiming sonship of God is permitted to be executed as a common criminal (cf. Heb 12,1-3 and 1 Cor 1,23). And here an unspoken supposition comes into play: the addressees are presumed to be persons who formerly gave allegiance to the Mosaic Law ("... to the Hebrews").⁵⁷ If they apostatized from their new allegiance to Christ there was nowhere in God's providential designs for them to go, for the Law was still in effect when the epistle was written (8,13), and the Law makes no provision for the forgiveness of apostates, even should they want to return to it. At 10,26-30a the threat of unforgiveness occurs in the paraenesis following the exposition of the heavenly priesthood of Christ. The phrase "blood of the covenant-testament" show that the second stage of Christ's priesthood is under consideration.⁵⁸ Here the author is speaking to those addressees who might be scandalized by the general implausibility of Christian teaching about the eucharist (cf. 5,11) or by the Mosaic strictures against drinking blood (cf. John 6,52-66). If they fall away from Christ as apostate Jews there is nowhere to go to obtain God's forgiveness (cf. 10,28 where this fate is made explicit).

Thus the epistle would seem to have a clear focus: the author is concerned that the addressees might be scandalized by teaching involving Jesus Christ as high priest, both in his earthly death on the cross and his glorified activity as minister of the new covenant. He seeks to counter these dangers with explanation and paraenesis based on the explanation suited to the addressees, who are converts from Judaism.⁵⁹

57 This is an eminently plausible supposition, given the familiarity with the Scriptures and Jewish exegetical techniques which the author of Hebrews supposes. Contra: ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 12.

58 The "spirit of grace" mentioned at 10,29 evokes the enigmatic text at 2,9, where Jesus is "crowned through suffering and death with glory and honour so that by the grace of God he may taste the death of all". The transforming action of the Spirit (cf. 9,14) assures the continuance of the sacrificial value with regard to forgiveness of sin of Jesus' earthly offering on the level of his heavenly priesthood. The Aqedah is thus brought to fulfillment and the effects it has obtained through the shedding of blood subsumed into the entrance into the Holy of Holies. Christ's earthly priesthood is an essential preliminary stage for his heavenly priesthood.

59 The Epistle to the Hebrews would probably yield up more of its riches if some of the suppositions usually governing current research were to be reversed. That is to say, it is better to take it as written by Paul the apostle, written to people who were formerly under the Mosaic Law (i.e., "Hebrews"), and when taken in its entirety, a letter supported by the authority of its author who is not one to take authority lightly (13,17-19). This is not to say, of course, that other elements have not guided the structure.

Hebrews 11,1 - 13,25: The Descendants

These remain the final three chapters of the epistle. In the light of the perspectives presented in this article it is clear how they should be considered: they present the descendants of Abraham, the heirs of the promise made to him by God. The link between sacrificial faith and posterity established at the Aqedah and transformed at Heb 2,13b-18 into a link between priesthood and posterity has to be maintained: having talked about priesthood in 5,1 - 10,39, (and the covenant based on it), the author must now talk about the posterity connected with that priesthood. But of course the posterity are not simply the descendants of Abraham. They have become preeminently the descendants of Christ (cf. 2,13b). And since Christ is the Word who transcends time, his "children" can exist before he lived on earth. Heb 11,1-40 discuss these "children" of Christ who existed before his life on earth, and Heb 12,1 - 13,25 discuss the "children" who existed after his arrival on earth.

The entire section 11,1 - 13,25 is introduced by three particularly challenging statements at 11,1-3. Only by placing these statements in the perspective of the two types of Christ's children and in the perspective of the two types of relationship of Christ to faith - initiator and perfecter - can they be understood. For the discussion of faith in 11,1-3 takes all these factors into account.

The basic problem for the author lay in the obvious fact that the heroes of old had no knowledge of Christ. How then they could they have faith in him? For only in faith can one be justified.⁶⁰

The basic solution which the author adopts is based on Christ as initiator and perfecter of faith.⁶¹ By collaborating with Christ who is initiator and perfecter of faith, even as the Word, the heroes of old pleased God and hence were justified, at least ultimately, by their faith. Knowledge of the earthly Jesus is accordingly not necessary for salvation.⁶²

To take into account the situation of the heroes of old who lived before the coming of Christ, the author of Hebrews devises a special definition for faith,

60 Aside from the general attribution of "justice" at 11,33, Abel (11,4) and Noah (11,7) are the only persons to whom "justice" is attributed, a fact probably not without importance for the identification of these persons in terms of New Testament reality (cf. text below). The fact that all the persons mentioned and alluded to in Chapter 11 were "witnessed to" through faith indicates that the author regarded them as being on good terms with God.

61 Cf. Heb 12, 2.

62 Cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 314: "Despite the absence of a christological referent, Hebrews' understanding of faith is clearly developed within a christological framework". A shrewd observation, but one which needs further insight. There is a christological referent in Heb 11,1, but it is not explicit.

part of which is valid for all of Christ's "children", part of which is not.

The first part of the definition of faith at 11,1 is valid for all of Christ's children: "Faith is the *hypostasis* of things hoped for ...". The key to understanding this *ad hoc* definition is the word *hypostasis*. Here it is used in an objective sense to indicate that Christ is the underlying reality of that which is hoped for. Two lines of development in the epistle, one concerning hope and the other involving *hypostasis*, suggest this interpretation. Hope plays an important part in the epistle and is always associated with Christ (cf. 3,6; 6,11; 7,19; 10,23). This association becomes especially close at 6, 18, where hope is virtually identified with Jesus.⁶³ The reality underlying all that is hoped for in Hebrews is Christ. The second line of development in the epistle which converges on 11,1 involves the use of *hypostasis*. The word is found only three times in Hebrews. At 1,3 the Son is viewed as the "imprint" of God's "fundamental reality" (*hypostasis*). Here the underlying reality is that of the Father (inferred from the reference to the Son in 1,2 from whom "God" is being distinguished). At 3,14 *hypostasis* appears with seeming gratuity in a context of participation in Christ. There seems to be an allusion to the underlying reality of the Spirit in baptism (cf. Heb 6,4).⁶⁴ At 11,1, then, the use of *hypostasis* with reference to Christ makes good sense when viewed in the context of the other uses of *hypostasis* in the epistle: it complements references to the Father and to the Spirit found previously. Christ as Son (Word) underlies what the heroes of old were hoping for "in faith". Christ is here the perfecter of faith, and that faith is viewed from the stand-point of hope, i.e., it is trust.

The second part of the definition of faith at 11,1 looks upon it from the standpoint of "proof" (*elenchos*) and "vision" (*blepō*), i.e., it is a type of knowledge: "... the proof of things not gazed on".⁶⁵ This part is framed with special reference to the heroes of old whose comportment with relation to the things "not gazed on" constitutes the proof (cf. 11,7). But of course the author of Hebrews is thinking above all of the addressees, who are able to "gaze on" Christ and the things which pertain to Christ as regards salvation (cf. 2,9; 3,19; cf. the imperative at 3,12 and 12,25). The "faith" of the heroes of old was an objective attestation of the Christian realities which would be revealed in Christ; the heroes themselves could not appreciate this, for only in the light of "things gazed on" was the objective quality evident. The addressees have gazed on these

63 Cf. above, n. 49.

64 Cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 119, n. 84, and especially the final observation: "Our difficulty with the term *hypostasis* may be due to some technical use..."

65 Cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 310: "The basic and common meaning of the term [sc., *elenchos*] outside the New Testament is 'proof' or 'test' whereby something is established and verified".

things and hence can appreciate the objective proof involved. Here Christ is the initiator of faith, acting in his capacity as creator who “completes the aeons” (11,3; cf. 1,2).⁶⁶

After this carefully worded introduction the author can now proceed to his task. Chapter 11 is about those who could not gaze on Christ for the benefit of those who could; chapters 12-13 are both about and for those who can “look upon” *Jesus* (cf. 12,2) with the awareness that he is both initiator and perfecter of faith. Chapter 11 is subdivided according to the promises made to Abraham: 11,4-16 are about both promises (cf. the plural, “promises”, at 11,16), but are especially about the land; 11,17-40 are about prosperity (cf. the singular, “promise”, at 11,39).

All through Chapter 11 the author of Hebrews uses Old Testament realities as an “objective proof” (*elenchos*) to illustrate Christian realities which the addressees are presumably aware of (“things gazed on” - *blepomena*). Thus, in effect, Chapter 11 serves as precious window into the early Christian world. The author is content with presenting snapshots through this window; only once, in the case of the sacrifice of Isaac at vv. 17-22, does he give a “parable”, i.e., an extended comparison which could be compared to a movie.⁶⁷ Vv. 4-7 may be adduced as an example.

At 11,4 there is a statement about Abel and Cain in which Abel, “although dead, still speaks”. Witness to Abel’s righteousness and to the validity of his sacrificial gifts is emphasized.⁶⁸ This theme of witness and righteousness is picked up in the following two examples concerning Enoch and Noah. Enoch and Noah are witnesses to Abel not in the Old Testament, of course, but as part of Christian reality. Abel, Enoch and Noah are three snapshots of Christian reality couched in Old Testament terms, and it is this juxtaposition which is the key to their interpretation, given their Old Testament meaning.

Abel stands for Christ. It is Christ’s sacrifice (cf. Heb 5,1) that the author is interested in showing to be validated by God’s witness. Abel, though dead, still speaks (11,4). It is Christ’s blood of a new covenant which speaks “better” than Abel’s (12,24). The author of Hebrews has already mentioned that this covenant has been witnessed to by God in extraordinary ways (2,4). At 11,5-7 he gives two examples of such witness.

66 ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 305 translates *katartizō* in 11,3 as “to fashion”, which seems to miss the nuance of fulfillment which the verb can have and which seems appropriate here.

67 Hebrews seems to use two “parables” (cf. 9,9 and 11,19) but many prefigurations. Cf. the use of *parabole* in the gospels.

68 If there is an implied contrast here between Abel’s sacrifice and some other sacrifices contemporary with the writing of Hebrews, perhaps 11,4 is another indication that the temple at Jerusalem was still standing when Hebrews was written.

The first example concerns Enoch (vv. 5-6). He was "translated" and thus did not see death, disappearing in the process. Before this translation his being pleasing to God had already been attested (v. 5). The reason for this pleasing to God was his faith: the one who approaches God must believe that God is and that he rewards (v. 6). It would seem that the author intends the latter verse to be seen in the general context of the epistle and hence as an exception to that exaltation which is part of the process of the aftermath of death (cf. 11,19; 1,5 - 2,5; 13,20). Normally, one who approaches God must believe that God is and that he can raise from the dead (cf. 11,19 and Rom 4,17). But, strictly speaking, the belief in God's power to raise from the dead is not necessary: for God can reward with a translation which dispenses from death. The Christian counterpart of Enoch was spared death. This Christian reality is a sign of God's power (2,4), witnessing to the validity of Christ's sacrificial death (11,4) which, in part at least, has as its purpose to free humans from the fear of death (2,15). Putting all these factors, implied and explicit, together, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the author is speaking about the assumption of Jesus' mother, implausible as this may seem. If Abel is the prefiguring counterpart of Jesus at 11,4, then Enoch is the prefiguring counterpart of Mary at 11,5.⁶⁹

In the next verse, 11,7, Noah "fashions an ark for the salvation of his house" and thus through his faith becomes an "heir of righteousness". The cluster of words found here and used elsewhere in the epistle in various contexts of Christ - "reverence" (*eulabeomai* - cf. 5,7), "salvation" (*sōtēria* - cf. 2,3.10), "heir" (*kleronomos* - cf. 1,2), "house" (*oikos* - cf. 3,3.6), and "fashion" (*kataskeuwō* - cf. 3,3) - indicates that Christ is being represented by Noah, and that the author is giving a glimpse of one way in which the early Christians viewed the founding of the Church.⁷⁰

Thus the assumption of Mary and the founding of the Church are two examples of God's witnessing to the validity of Christ's sacrificial gifts. Thus "things gazed upon" have resulted from "things not seen" under the guidance of God's Word, i.e., God's word in the Scriptures, viewed from the standpoint of Christian realities, becomes an *elenchos* of those realities because this is the way the Word has "completed" (*katartizō* - 11,3) the ages. The other examples

69 A basic problem with presenting this suggestion, of course, is that there is no New Testament text in which the assumption of Mary is obviously mentioned.

70 On the typology of the ark as church cf. ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 319.

in the chapter are other windows into the life of the early Christians couched in Old Testament terms.⁷¹

In Chapters 12 and 13 the author speaks to the addressees as ones who can "look on" (*aphoraō*) Christ.⁷² The author does not emphasize faith because in the key aspect in which the heroes of old needed faith the addressees do not: they can "gaze on" Jesus (cf. 2,9) and even "look to" him, i.e., study him for indications as to how to live. But endurance is as important for them as it was for the heroes of old.

The Generation of Perspectives

The present review article has made a number of suggestions about classic cruces in Hebrews in the process of taking a fresh look at the outline of the epistle. The reviewer had no intention to take on so many problems when he began the article; the solutions suggested themselves as the outline grew organically.⁷³ There seems to be a lesson here - that outlines are valid only insofar as they generate perspectives in which solutions to problems of content suggest themselves. The same can be said, *mutatis mutandis*, about commentaries - commentaries are valuable because they generate perspectives in which solutions to problems suggest themselves. By this criterion, as well as by many others, Attridge's new work on Hebrews succeeds handsomely, even though it has not reached perfection.

Pontifical Biblical Institute
Via della Pilotta, 25
00187 Rome, Italy

-
- 71 The interpretation given to Abel, Enoch and Noah would obviously gain in credibility if all the figures mentioned in Chapter 11 could be given plausible interpretations in the light of New Testament realities. The reviewer hopes to present such interpretations.
- 72 Excellent discussion of Heb 12,2 (where the verb *aphoraō* occurs) in ATTRIDGE, *Hebrews*, 356. Attridge rightly sets much store by Heb 12,1-3 in his commentary.
- 73 Perhaps this point could be considered a subsidiary thesis of the article: that cruces in a work as tightly written as Hebrews are best approached in clusters rather than individual entities. In clusters cruces are more susceptible to treatment in such a work because they are mutually illumined by the perspectives generated by an outline based heavily on content - if the outline is valid or insofar as it is valid. The validity of an outline would accordingly be judged by the plausibility of the interpretations which it suggests for cruces.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN'S GENEALOGY IN THE QUR'AN - AN EXEGETICAL PROBLEM

Edmund Teuma

Apart from being the one and only woman who is mentioned by name in the Qur'ān¹ the Blessed Virgin Mary may be considered one of the principal personages who are mentioned with praise in the holy book of Islām. In that book her name is *Maryam*. This word is mentioned 34 times in the Qur'ān, usually in combination with Jesus' name: *Isā ibn Maryam* (Jesus, the son of Mary). Moreover the 19th chapter (*sūra*) of the Qur'ān is entitled *sūrat Maryam* (the chapter of Mary) and together with chapter 3 it gives the bulk of the Qur'ān's tenets regarding Mary and Jesus. All this already shows a vivid interest of the Qur'ān, and therefore of Muslims, in the person of the Blessed Virgin. In the present article we shall investigate just one aspect of the Mary narrative in the Qur'ān: her genealogy as it appears in the book. If at first sight it seems to constitute a grave exegetical problem, after a more profound reading one might arrive at a well-balanced interpretation of the text. This is what I try to offer here.

CONTENTS

Sūra 3, 33-36 relates the nativity of Mary.

33. *God chose Adam and Noah and the House of Abraham and the House of Imran above all beings, 34. the seed of one another; God hears, and knows.*
35. *When the wife of Imran said, "Lord, I have vowed*

EDMUND TEUMA O.F.M. Conv. was born in 1948 and ordained priest in 1974. He read Theology at the 'Istituto Teologico Sant'Antonio Dottore' in Padua, Italy, and Hebrew and Semitic languages at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. In 1974, he obtained his S.Th.B. from the Pontifical Theological Faculty "San Bonaventura", Rome, and a Diploma in Librarianship from the Vatican School of librarian sciences. He obtained also a double licentiate in Arabic and Islamic studies from the Pontifical Institute for Arabic and Islamic studies, Rome, in 1978. He is a Visiting Lecturer in Muslim Philosophy at the University of Malta.

1 Cf. Nilo GEAGEA, *Maria nel messaggio coranico* (Edizioni del Teresianum; Roma 1973)

- to Thee, in dedication,
 what is within my womb.
 Receive Thou this from me;
 Thou hearest, and knowest."
36. And when she gave birth to her
 she said, "Lord, I have given
 birth to her, a female."
 (And God knew very well
 what she had given birth to;
 the male is not as the female.)
 "And I have named her Mary,
 and commend her to Thee
 with her seed, to protect them
 from the accursed Satan."²

From the context we gather that 'Imrān's wife, whose name is not mentioned, became pregnant, and in her pregnancy she vowed to offer what was in her womb to the Lord. It is clear that she was expecting a baby boy, for 3,36 seems to express the mother's almost disappointment, especially in the bracket dividing her speech to the Lord into two parts: *And God knew very well what she had given birth to; the male is not as the female*. Nevertheless, the mother being a saintly woman, she readily overcame the crisis - she soon accepted the babe as a gift from God. She named her *Maryam* and commended her and her seed to God most high for protection from Satan the accursed (lit. *the stoned*).³

Scholars agree that sūra 3 belongs to the Medinan period of Islamic history, therefore it was revealed after the *hijra* (A.D. 622). The polemical tone against the "people of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*) and especially against the Jews and against the "hypocrites" (*al-munāfiqūn*), the special way of addressing people as "oh you who believe" (*yā'ayyuhā l-mu'minūn*), apart from the length of the sūra (200 verses), its "calm" literary style and the various allusions therein to particular historical events, are all sufficiently clear elements pointing towards the post-migratory period.⁴

2 Qur'ānic quotations are taken from: Arthur J. ARBERRY, *The Koran interpreted* (Oxford University Press; London 1964)

3 *A ūdhu billāh min al-shaytān al-raġīm* (I take refuge in God from Satan the "stoned" = accursed). This is the usual Muslim "refuge-taking" enjoying universal usage both officially and popularly. Cf. *Sūrat al-falaq* (113) and *Sūrat al-nās* (114). Cf. also: Constance E. PADWICK, *Muslim Devotions a study of prayer-manuals in common use* (S.P.C.K., London 1969) 83-93

4 Cf. *Maria* 29-31

THE PROBLEM OF GENEALOGY

A serious problem rises to the reader of the Qur'ān regarding Mary's genealogy as to the way how it is presented therein. It is affirmed that Mary is the daughter of 'Imrān. But who exactly is this 'Imrān? He does not seem to be St. Joachim, husband of St. Anne, who are both considered to be the Blessed Virgin's parents by Christian tradition. Moreover, *Hannah* is never mentioned by name in the Qur'ān, although she is held to be 'Imrān's wife by Muslim commentators and theologians, such as *Tabarī* and *Mas'ūdī*.⁵

The name 'Imrān seems to be an Arabic rendering of Hebrew 'Amrām, who appears in the Bible as Moses' father. In Exodus 6,18-20 we find the genealogy of 'Amrām and Moses:

18. *The sons of Kohath: Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, the years of the life of Kohath being a hundred and thirty-three years...*

20. *Amram took to wife Jochebed his father's sister and she bore him Aaron and Moses, the years of the life of Amram being one hundred and thirty-seven years.*⁶

'Amrām's name is again mentioned four times throughout the Pentateuch. Then it is mentioned among the long genealogies of I Chronicles 6,2-3, where the above-mentioned position of Ex 6,18-20 is confirmed; and another four times throughout the two books of Chronicles. The Greek rendering of the name is *Am(b)ram*. Lastly from Ezr 10,34 we gather that 'Amram was "of the sons of Bani".

This situation is apparently confirmed by Q. 3, 33-34. It would be more logical to take 'Imrān's family as mentioned here to be that from which Moses was born. For it here concludes a chronological series of four Old Testament families descending from four Old Testament patriarchs. The families here mentioned are made to descend from one another.

Moreover, in Q. 19,28 (Sūrat Maryam = 2nd Mekkan period) Mary is addressed by her people as "*Yā ukht Hārūn*" (Oh sister of Aaron). This is confirming all that has been said up till now: the Qur'ān places Mary as daughter of 'Imrān and sister of Aaron, and naturally, even though it does not mention it

5 Cf. V. COURTOIS, *Mary in Islam* (The Oriental Institute; Calutta 1954)

6 Biblical quotations are taken from *The Jerusalem Bible*.

specifically, Mary would also be sister of Moses. On the other hand, however, the Bible speaks of a "Mary" sister of Aaron and Moses:

"Then Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Aaron took a timbrel in her hand; and all the woman went out after her with timbrels and dancing." (Ex 16,20-21)

Then follows the song of Miriam. In Numbers 26,59 she is specifically qualified as daughter of 'Amrām and Jochebed, and as sister of Aaron and Moses. Miriam is also mentioned in: I Chron 5,29; Ex 15,21; Num 12,1,4,5,10,15; 20,1; in Dt 24,9; and in Mi 6,4. In Greek the name is rendered *Mariam*.

SOLUTIONS OF THE PROBLEM

There could be three possible solutions to this enigma.

(a) We must either admit that, through badly informed sources, the Qur'ān makes a flat confusion between Miriam, sister of Aaron and Moses, and Maryam, mother of Jesus. This judgement is generally given by classical western orientalis: Marracci, Ullmann, Nallino, Bonelli, Sidersky, Montet, Zakarias. But does it not seem to be quite naive to admit this? It seems rather impossible that the Qur'ān should have fallen into such an error, mixing up two biblical personages who lived in two different epochs with a range of time amounting to more than a thousand years separating them. This position is held by Sale, Gerock and others.⁷ It is true that one should keep in mind the differences between Mekkan and Medinan Sūras. During the composition of the former Muhammad might have still had a confused mind in things concerning the Bible. But it is a fact that the apparent confusion between the two "Marys" is repeated in both Mekkan and Medinan Sūras.

(b) Or we must admit that by pure chance there may have been two distinct men named 'Imrān, and another two named Aaron. In this case, an 'Imrān and an Aaron would be father and brother of Miriam, sister of Moses; and another 'Imrān and yet another Aaron would be father and brother of Maryam, mother of Jesus. This position is held by some Muslim commentators.⁸ But being based on pure chance, and finding no more profound basis to back it, I would disregard this opinion altogether.

(c) Or else we must try to solve this problem enquiring into the exact

7 Cf. A.J. WENSINCK, "Maryam", in: *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, H.A.R. GIBB and J.H. KRAMERS, eds (E.J. Brill; Leiden, Luzac & Co; London, 1961)

8 J.M. ABD-EL-JALIL, *Marie et l'Islam* (Beauchesne; Paris 1950) 12-15

meaning of "genealogy" in semitic mentality in general. The Bible will help us to understand this. In I Chron 1,1 - 9,44 we find whole lists of the so-called "threshold genealogies". The literary genre of Biblical genealogies is characterized by monotony and inconsistencies, and, in the words of Robert North in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, it "must not blind a modern reader to its indispensable role, replaced nowadays by parish and civil record offices, in vindicating legitimacy of both family and function".⁹ An author's intent to trace out a genealogy is not administrative and much less historical, but it is rather theological.

This affirmation is best understood when one studies the genealogies of Jesus reported in Matthew 1,1-17 and in Luke 3,23-38. By his genealogy of Jesus, Matthew wants to prove that Jesus is the Messiah, the one who brings to completion the history of salvation started by the promises given by God to Abraham. So he makes him descend directly from Abraham, through David, the ideal figure of Messianic king. Any Biblical scholar or exegete will today notice that Matthew's genealogy of Jesus is a literary artifice made up of three groupings of generations with 14 heads forming each group.¹⁰ The same thing may be said about the genealogy reported by Luke, although they both differ in literary formation, contents, and purpose. Luke's intents are to prove Christ's divinity and his universality, as contrasted with Matthew's, who puts the Hebraicity of Jesus much in evidence. Moreover, in the links between Abraham and David, Matthew and Luke agree substantially, but between David and Jesus, both Evangelists disagree completely, except for only two names.¹¹

Now, keeping the basic semitic orientation in mind, I think we might as well apply what has been said so far to our Qur'anic text. Mary, the mother of Jesus is made to be daughter of 'Imrān and she is conversely called "sister of Aaron" by the Qur'ān, for a similar reason to that for which Jesus is called "son of David" by the Gospels. Maryam, being a quasi-prophetess; Maryam, being the mother of 'Isā al-Masīh, the major prophet of Islām after Muhammad, is made to descend directly from other major personalities. She is believed to belong to the lineage of Prophet Aaron, and she thus acquires intimate relationship with 'Imrān, his and her father, and consequently with Moses, his and her brother.¹² I feel that this is the most plausible position of the three. It is upheld by

9 "The Chronicler: 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah", *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, vol.I (Chapman; London 1970) 405-406

10 Cf. John L. McKENZIE, *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, Vol.II (Chapman; London 1970) 66; Angelo POPPI, *Vangeli a confronto, sinossi didattico pastorale* (Ed. Messaggero; Padova 1970) 13

11 Cf. Carroll STUHLMÜLLER, "The Gospel according to Luke", *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, Vol.II (Chapman; London 1970) 129; POPPI *Vangeli*, 136

12 Cf. ABD-EL-JALIL, *Marie*, 12-15 and COURTOIS, *Mary*, 4-7

Al-Baydāwī in his “*Anwār al-Tanzīl*”. Explaining the expression “*ukht Hārūn*” *al-Baydāwī* says: “...they meant the Prophet Aaron; she was indeed in the posterity of those who were with him in the category of brotherhood. It is said that she belonged to his lineage and that there were thousands of years between them.”¹³

Provincial Curia
Franciscan Minors Conventuals
Republic Street
Valletta

13 Cf. AL-BAYDAWI, *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, Vol.I (Ed. Fleischer; Lipsiae 1846) 580

OUTLINES OF THE CHRISTOLOGY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

Hubertus R. Drobner

Part three:

Christological concepts prior and contemporary to St. Augustine

This article's first two parts (which featured in *Melita Theologica* 40 [1989], nos. 1 and 2) solely regarded the works and theology of St. Augustine himself without taking into account other attempts to solve the problem of Christ's two natures, his unity of person and his relationship to the Father, though, of course, Augustine's christology cannot be understood without these other concepts, influences or else surroundings. The most important to be named are Tertullian, Isaak the Jew and Pseudo-Vigilius who arrive at the very same formula Augustine finds, too; Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, Ambrose and Ambrosiaster as the theologians most closely linked to St. Augustine; and Theodore of Mopsuestia as a representative of the very same and most certainly independent development in the Greek church.

1. Tertullian

The first author who called Christ *una persona* was, at least as far as we know, Tertullian in his treatise *Adversus Praxean* 27,11.⁸⁴ He says there: "we

HUBERTUS R. DROBNER, born 1955, studied Classics and Theology in Mainz, Oxford and Rome (*Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum*), Dr. phil. Mainz 1980, ordained priest Mainz 1982, Dr. theol. et sc. patr. Rome 1984; since 1986 Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Patristics in the Faculty of Theology in Paderborn. Major subjects of research: Cappadocian Fathers, St. Augustine, Homilies of the Fathers, History of Doctrine.

84 *CChr.SL* 2, 1199, 62-63. KROYMANN/EVANS. English translation and commentary: *Q. Septimi Florentis adversus Praxean liber*. Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas. The Text edited, with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary by E. EVANS, (London 1948) Italian translation and commentary: G. SCARPAT, *Tertulliano, Adversus Praxean*. Edizione critica, introduzione, traduzione, note (Turin 1959); R. CANTALAMESSA, *La cristologia di Tertulliano* (= Par. 18), (Freiburg 1962) 131-135. Cf. J. MOINGT, *Théologie trinitaire de Tertullien*, vol. 1 (= *Théologie* 68), (Paris 1966) 225-281; GRILLMEIER (note 77) 121-131; J. LIEBART, *Christologie. Von der Apostolischen Zeit bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon* (451) (= HDG III/1a), (Freiburg 1965), 44; M.-J. RONDEAU, *Les Commentaires Patristiques du Psautier (IIIe-Ve siècles)*, II: *Exégèse prosopologique et théologie* (= OrChrA 220), (Rome 1985) 415-417.

observe a double quality, not confused, but combined in one person, Jesus God and man" (*videmus duplicem statum, non confusum sed coniunctum in una persona, deum et hominem Iesum*). It is the only instance that Tertullian uses *persona* like that at all, so that it is rather difficult to assess the exact meaning and context of the sentence. It seems at first, as if here the Chalcedonian formula was presented two hundred and fifty years before Chalcedon. Above all the famous Protestant theologian Adolf von Harnack supported the hypothesis, that Tertullian had deduced the formula from Old Testament passages like Pr 8,30 and Lm 4,20 and had understood it in a juridical meaning.⁸⁵ From Tertullian the formula would have directly entered the Chalcedonian creed, which acquired an easy lead of the Greek church, which had to find it only through the hard and tedious quarrels of the fourth and fifth centuries. Harnack's thesis was transmitted until the most recent years, when there could be shown that Tertullian did not deduce his theological concept of *persona* from juridical language, did not influence the Council of Chalcedon directly, and even may not have comprehended the formula *una persona* in a strict christological but rather a trinitarian context.

Regarding St. Augustine it is of rather higher interest to inquire, if he knew the formula of Tertullian, or else parallels can be detected, or even arguments supporting our view of the influence of grammatical exegesis on St. Augustine. Unfortunately, it cannot be proved with certainty if St. Augustine knew the treatise *Adversus Praxean* or not. Tertullian's name and theology became rather

85 A. VONHARNACK, *Grundriß der Dogmengeschichte. Die Entstehung des Dogmas und seine Entwicklung im Rahmen der morgenländischen Kirche* (Freiburg 1889) 79; id., *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, vol. 2 (Freiburg-Leipzig³ 1894) 285, note 1. In *Lehrbuch*, 576-577, he recalled his deduction of *persona* from a juridical term on the basis of the researches by S. SCHLOSSMANN [*Persona und prosopon im Recht und im christlichen Dogma*, (Kiel 1906)], but he insisted on the thesis, that it was Tertullian who first introduced the term *persona* into Christian theology. Following Harnack cf. Th. DE REGNON, *Etudes de théologie positive sur la sainte trinité*, vol.1: *Exposé du dogme* (Paris 1892) 130-131; J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER, "Tertullian's use of *substantia, natura* and *persona*": *JThS* 4 (1903) 440; G. KRÜGER, *Das Dogma von der Dreieinigkeit und Gottmenschheit in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt* (Tübingen 1905) 144; A. BECK, *Römisches Recht bei Tertullian und Cyprian. Eine Studie zur frühen Kirchengeschichte* (Aalen 1967) (= Halle 1930) 71-73. Further references in ANDRESEN (note 11) 1 note 1.

suspect after his lapse to Montanism. Nevertheless, though his name was rarely mentioned, his works were widely known and read throughout antiquity right on to the Middle Ages. Cyprian, Novatianus, Lactantius, Ambrosiaster, Jérôme, Ambrose, Leporius, Vincentius of Lerinum - they all knew and quoted the works of Tertullian.⁸⁶ It is therefore highly probable that Augustine, too, was acquainted with them. He even states himself in *De haeresibus*, that Tertullian's writings are still widely circulated⁸⁷ and cites from them various passages.⁸⁸ Moreover, Augustine says at the beginning of *De trinitate*: "I studied all the authors I could, who wrote about the Trinity before myself".⁸⁹ It seems quite improbable that he should have missed out the prominent treatise on the Trinity by Tertullian. Nevertheless, even if one is inclined to accept Augustine's knowledge of the *una persona* in *Adversus Praxean*, one can hardly insist on his being dependent on it, as a single quotation will not have a decisive influence without taking into account the whole of the theological setting around St. Augustine.

Tertullian's writings indeed give another indication towards Augustine, namely the grammatical exegesis. A thorough analysis of the use of *persona* shows a very similar pattern to that of Augustine.⁹⁰ Tertullian uses the word *persona* 133 times in his works, twice as mask in the theatre, 38 times synonymous to *homo*, 54 times in grammatical exegesis, a few times each in rhetorical, juridical and biblical contexts. In Tertullian, too, the transfer of a grammatical notion of person to a metaphysical one can be shown, even in the same context

86 Cf. G. BARDY, "Tertullien": *DThC* 15 (1946) 168-169; C. MOHRMANN, "Saint Jérôme et saint Augustin sur Tertullien", *VigChr* 5 (1951) 111 f.; Y.-M. Duval, "Tertullien contre Origène sur la résurrection de la chair dans *Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum*, 23-26 de saint Jérôme," *REAug* 17(1971) 227-278; C. MICAELI, "L'influsso di Tertulliano su Girolamo: le opere sul matrimonio e le seconde nozze," *Aug* 19 (1979) 415-429; S. von SYCHOWSKI, *Hieronymus als Literaturhistoriker. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung der Schrift des h. Hieronymus "De viris illustribus"* (= KGS 2/2) (Münster 1894) 46-47; J. C. M. VAN WINDEN, "St. Ambrose's interpretation of the concept of matter," *VigChr* 16 (1962) 205-215; id., "Some additional observations on St. Ambrose's concept of matter," *VicChr* 8 (1964) 144 f.; J. MEHLMANN, "Tertulliani Liber de Carne Christi a Leporio citatus" *SE* 17 (1966) 290-301; F. SCIUTO, "Tertulliano e Vincenzo di Lerino," *MSLCA* 4 (1954) 127-138; P. LEHMANN, "Tertullian im Mittelalter," *Hermes* 87 (1959) 231-246; A. MILANO, *Persona in Teologia. Alle origini del significato di persona nel cristianesimo antico* (Università degli studi della Basilicata-Potenza: Saggi e ricerche 1; Naples 1984) 95-97.

87 *Haer* 86 (PL 42, 46 f.)

88 Cf. MOHRMANN (note 86) 111 f.; G. Bardy, "Saint Augustin et Tertullien", *ATHA* 13 (1953) 145-150; id., note 52: *BAug* 37 (1960) 823 f.; J. MEHLMANN, "Tertulliani Liber de carne Christi ab Augustino citatus," *SE* 17 (1966) 269-289.

89 *Trin* 1, 4, 7 (*CChr.SL* 50, 34, 1): *omnes quos legere potui qui ante me scripserunt de trinitate*.

90 Cf. DROBNER (note 10) 179-184. Prior, though not complete analyses: ANDRESEN, "Personbegriff" (note 11): EVANS (note 8) 46-50; MOINGT (note 8) II 551-674, IV 142-147; R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum. Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien* (Paris 1977) 207-242, 704-705.

of Gn 1,26-27 "Let us make man in our image and likeness. And God made man to the image of God". In Tertullian, too, the grammatical exegesis of the numbers of persons becomes the starting point of speaking of the metaphysical persons of the Trinity.⁹¹

2. Isaak the Jew

A second time the formula *una persona* has been transmitted from the times before St. Augustine, was in a creed compiled by Isaak the Jew. Isaak had converted from Judaism to Christianity at the times of Pope Damasus I. (366-384).⁹² His creed contains towards its end the *una persona* in a surprisingly definite form: "*unigenitus et primogenitus duae naturae sunt, divina et humana, sed una persona*" (the Only-Begotten and the First-Born are two natures, divine and human, but one person).⁹³ What is most unusual is that an author of so little importance should have found this decisive formula, though the genuity of the treatise cannot be doubted.⁹⁴ This becomes, however, less surprising, if one considers the theological conceptions of his time, which e.g. knew the negative expression of the *non duae personae Christi*⁹⁵, and that every theologian of the period badly sought for a solution of the christological issue. On the other hand Augustine did certainly not know the creed of Isaak, which stayed without influence on the history of doctrine.

3. Pseudo-Vigilius

A third time, possibly, the formula *una persona* can be found before Augustine is in the Pseudo-Vigilian treatises *De trinitate*⁹⁶. They have been transmitted as Book X-XII of the *De trinitate* by Eusebius of Vercelli, but were

91 *Prax* 12, 4 (*CChr.SL* 2, 1173, 18-24); cf. ANDRESEN, Personbegriff (note 11) 9-10. DROBNER (note 10) 185-186

92 Cf. J. WITTIG, *Papst Damasus I. Quellenkritische Studien zu seiner Geschichte und Charakteristik* (=RQ.S 14) (Rome 1902); E. CASPAR, "Kleine Beiträge zur älteren Papstgeschichte, V. Der Prozeß des Papstes Damasus und die römisch-bischöfliche Gerichtsbarkeit" *ZKG* 47 (1928) 178-202; A. HOEPFFNER, "Les deux procès du pape Damase", *REA* 50 (1948) 288-304.

93 *CCL* 9, 343, 91-92, HOSTE.

94 Cf. A. HOSTE: *CChr.SL* 9 (1957) 334; H. RAHNER, "Isaak", *LThK*² 5 (1960) 775.

95 Cf. Jerome, below.

96 *Pseudoathanasii De Trinitate LL. X-XII: Expositio fidei catholicae, Professio ariana et confessio catholica, De Trinitate et de Spiritu Sanctio*, rec. M. SIMONETTI (Bologna 1956): V. BULHART: *CChr.SL* 9 (1957) 133-161.

neither written by him, nor by Athanasius, to whom they were attributed, also.⁹⁷ Book X and XI each contain the *una persona* once. Book XI is to be dated to the 4th or 5th centuries, whether before or after Augustine, cannot be determined. Book X, however, can be dated precisely after AD 418-428, as it quotes Augustine, *epistula* 219 and the *Libellus emendationis* by Leporius.⁹⁸

Book X 55 runs as follows: "Therefore one person must be assumed, consisting of flesh and the Word. And this one selfsame, being always and inseparably God and man in a double substance, always performed what is the part of man, and always truly kept what is part of God".⁹⁹ Reading the vocabulary of this sentence, it might well date from the end of the fourth century. Only the following sentences rather point to the time of the Nestorian controversy, when Pseudo-Vigilius explicitly states, that "according to his manhood God was born, suffered and died."¹⁰⁰ One should suppose that this statement was directed against those who denied it. But even this is not an absolutely convincing argument, as this terminology was already used in the fourth century, too.

The wording of Book XI 68 is very similar to the *Tomus ad Flavianum* of Leo the Great: "According to the doctrine of our Lord himself, then, and the teaching of the Apostles, in preservation of the real qualities of both natures in the one person of Christ".¹⁰¹ The *Tomus ad Flavianum* has it: "In this preservation, then, of the real qualities of both natures, both being united in one person".¹⁰² Many theologians, as lately as Manlio Simonetti, concluded from

97 Cf. FREDE (note 69) 574.

98 Cf. *ibid.*

99 CChr.SL 9, 144, 366-370: *Idcirco una persona accipienda est, carnis et verbi, unum eundemque deum et hominem, inseparabilem semper geminae substantiae vere semper omnia gessisse quae sunt hominis, et vere semper possedisse quae dei sunt.*

100 X 56 (CChr.SL 9, 144, 371-375).

101 CChr.SL 9, 159, 443-160, 448: *Secundum igitur ipsius domini doctrinam et apostoli praedicationem salva proprietate utriusque naturae in una persona Christi.*

102 Ep 28, 3 (PL 54, 763 A) = H. DENZINGER/A. SCHÖNMETZNER, *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (Freiburg 1976) N. 293: *Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam coeunte personam.* Translation by E. HUNT: *FaCh* 34 (1957) 95.

the similarity of expression, that here the source of the Chalcedonian formula has been found.¹⁰³ Berthold Altaner and myself doubt that very much, as similarity of phrase does not inevitably establish dependency.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, a single formulation at the end of the fourth century cannot be considered as the single force for so impressive a development without taking into account the "theological climate", i.e. the various tentative formulations of the contemporary christologies.

4. Hilary of Poitiers

The first author who opened the combat against Arianism in the west was Hilary, Bishop of the Gallic city of Poitiers until AD 367. From 356 to 359 he was exiled to Asia Minor by decree of the Arian emperor Constantius. But by this very fact after his return he was the competent theologian able to mediate Greek theology to the Latin church. During his exile he wrote the *De Trinitate*, which is the only trinitarian treatise Augustine not only read but also explicitly named.¹⁰⁵

In Hilary we find two tentative solutions to describe the unity of Christ: he calls Christ "*eadem res*" (the same thing) and "*unus atque idem*" (one selfsame).¹⁰⁶ The expression "*eadem res*" is only once used by Hilary, in *De Trinitate* 9,3.¹⁰⁷ As this passage, however, is a key-text to all the christology of Hilary, it may here be quoted at length: "He alone is both, while He himself, by reason of the two natures that are united to Him, is the same 'thing'¹⁰⁸, in both natures (*ipse ex unitis in idipsum naturis utriusque res*) but in such a manner that He is not wanting in anything that belongs to either, so that He does not cease to be God by His Birth as man, and again, He is man while He remains God". This text is surrounded by a number of other expressions that essay to describe the unity of Christ:

103 Cf. M. SIMONETTI, "*Persona Christi: Tert. Adv. Prax. XXVII, II*", *RSLR* 1 (1965) 98.

104 Cf. B. ALTANER, *Augustinus und Athanasius: Kleine patristische Schriften*, ed. by G. GLOCKMANN (= TU 83), (Berlin 1967), 264 note 1 [first published in *RBen* 59 (1949) 82-90]; DROBNER (note 10) 197.

105 Cf. *Trin* 6, 10, 11 (*CChr.SL* 50,241,5); 15, 3, 5 (*CChr.SL* 50 A 464,44).

106 For the christology of St. Hilary cf. P. SMULDERS, "La doctrine trinitaire de S. Hilaire de Poitiers". *Etude précédée d'une Esquisse de mouvement dogmatique depuis le Concile de Nicée jusqu'au règne de Julien (325-362)* (*AnGr* 32; Rome 1944); P. GALTIER, *Saint Hilaire de Poitiers le premier docteur de l'église latine* (Paris 1960) 108-158; J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil. Recherches sur la naissance, l'enseignement et l'épreuve d'une foi épiscopale en Gaule au milieu du IVe siècle* (Paris 1971); P. C. BURNS, *The Christology in Hilary of Poitiers' Commentary on Matthew* (*SEAug* 16; Rome 1981).

107 *CChr.SL* 62 A 373, 6-374, 23 SMULDERS. Translation by S. McKENNA: *FaCh* (1954) 324-325.

108 McKenna translates 'person', which confirms my own interpretation. As, however, Hilary does not yet say '*persona*', one should leave it at the preliminary '*res*'.

*verus deus - verus homo,
verbum caro factum,
homo dominus maiestatis,
deus homo natus,
homo deus manens,
deus et homo,
verbum et caro.*

All these double expressions, indeed, succeed in showing the double nature of Christ, but do not quite arrive at describing their unity, though they, of course, mean to do so. The attempt of a *terminus technicus* is the quoted formula "*ipse ex unitis in idipsum naturis utriusque res*". As *res* here tries to express the unity and identity of the subject of the two natures, it comes very near to the later *persona*.

The other formula "*Christus unus atque idem*" need not be expounded in so broad a way, as it has been traditional before since the times of Irenaeus of Lyons.¹⁰⁹ Hilary applies it in *De trinitate* in the contexts of the problem of the two sons and his two natures, consubstantial both to the Father and to his mother.¹¹⁰ Up to then and even further until St. Augustine the old formula *unus atque idem* obviously presented the most convincing way of expressing the unity of Christ.

5. Jerome

Jerome, too, like Hilary living in the east of the Roman empire, he, however, for the rest of his lifetime, mediated Greek theology to the Latin church, even exchanging letters with Augustine himself. He clearly states in his works the full Godhead and manhood of Christ, even against Apolinarios, whom he calls his teacher besides Didymus of Alexandria.¹¹¹ The unity of the two natures of Christ Jerome expresses at first in traditional forms like:

*unus atque idem,
unus filius,
non duo filii,
non alius et alius,*

109 Cf. SMULDERS, *Doctrine Trinitaire*, 196 note 74; A. BENOIT, *Saint Irénée. Introduction à l'étude de sa théologie* (EHPHr 52; Paris 1960) 212-214; LIEBART (note 84) 33.

110 9, 5 (CChr.SL 62 A, 375, 1-376, 18); 9, 40 (415, 22-32); 10, 22 (475, 1-477, 44); 10, 52 (505, 1-506, 14).

111 Ep 84, 3 (CSEL 55, 123, 10-12 HILBERG).

and clearly aims at evading the insinuation of dividing Christ in two sons and at stressing both complete natures at the same time.¹¹²

Next to that, however, Jerome develops a new way of expressing negatively that there are no two sons to be thought of: *non duae personae*, which matches the old *non duo filii*. Nevertheless it is not quite synonymous. Whilst *non duo filii* remains on the level of the concrete, *non duae personae* shifts to the level of the (grammatical) subject. Christ is the one subject of all his sayings and deeds, both regarding God and man. This intention of Jerome becomes evident through his application of the *regula canonica* to distinguish the passages of Scripture, which speak of Christ as God and of Christ as man: "We say that, lest we believe, that the one is God and another is man and so make two persons in the one God. But it is the one selfsame, who is Son of God and is Son of man, and regarding what he said, we relate one part to his divine glory, the other one to our salvation."¹¹³

Though Jerome has arrived both at the idea of the unity of subject and of the really existing being, he does not find the positive formula of the *una persona*. Reasons for that may be, that the grammatical exegesis in his works does nowhere lead to a metaphysical terminology¹¹⁴ and that he has not quite overcome the meaning of *persona* being a mask or rôle.¹¹⁵ Then, of course, he had to retain that Christ had two persons, i.e. two natures.

6. Ambrose

The christology of the Bishop of Milan resembles very much that of Hilary of Poitiers, which might be due to the similarity of their situation. Both had to argue with Arianism and Photinianism, whereby their christology had become intimately linked to their trinitarian theology. Ambrose, too, spoke Greek and was acquainted with the Greek theologies, which he recalled in his own works.¹¹⁶

112 *Ps comm* 1, 3 (CChr.SL 72, 180, 38-43 MORIN).

113 *Ep* 120, 9, 15 (CSEL 55, 498, 6-10).

114 Information kindly given by G. Cecchetto, Rome, who is preparing a study on the christology of Jerome.

115 E. g. *Zach* 2, 6, 9/15 (CChr.SL 76 A, 799, 275-277 ADRIAEN); cf. RONDEAU (note 84) 416.

116 For the christology of St. Ambrose cf. F. H. DUDDEN, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1935) 591-605; J. GAPP, *La doctrine de l'union hypostatique chez saint Ambroise* (Issoudun 1938); K. SCHWERDT, *Studien zur Lehre des heiligen Ambrosius von der Person Christi* (Diss. Freiburg 1937); G. MATT, *Christus Fons Vitae. Ein Verständnis der Vermittlung des Lebens in der Theologie des Hl. Ambrosius* (Diss. PUG; Rome 1964).

The main feature of St. Ambrose's christology is above all his clear opposition to Apolinarios of Laodicea. He leaves no doubt about the complete and really existing two natures of Christ, without undergoing the danger of setting Christ apart into two sons. A great number of texts independently deal with the full Godhead and manhood of Christ, that cannot be treated here at length.¹¹⁷

In addition to the Antiapolinarian emphasis on the two complete natures of Christ, the Antiarian orientation of St. Ambrose stresses the distinction of the natures. There are two natures, two substances, the *gloria dei* and the *forma servi*, that must carefully be distinguished, especially what regards the attribution of passages of the Scriptures.¹¹⁸ Besides that, Ambrose has, of course, to stress the unity of the Christ likewise carefully in order to avoid a doctrine of two sons, and he does so. He therefore sets the negative limits first: one has to speak of two births (*nativitates*) and consequently of two natures of Christ. This does not, however, divide the one Christ. He is not two (*alter et alter*), not two sons, not two Christs.¹¹⁹ Positively Ambrose describes the unity of Christ in largely traditional terms. He is one (*unus*), one in two natures (*in utroque unus*), one selfsame (*unus idemque*).¹²⁰

In one passage, eventually, Ambrose calls Christ *persona*, in the *Expositio Psalmorum* 61,5.¹²¹ He explains Psalm 61 against Apolinarian tendencies saying: "Therefore it has been said, that he preserves the highest truth of the faith, who recognizes the Son of God and does not deny his manhood. The same is consequently both and recognisable by the distinction of his works, not by the difference of person". Here the exegesis of the Bible apparently plays a major rôle but maybe the grammatical exegesis, too, though this is not stated explicitly. The works of Christ have to be attributed to the different natures, the subject of all of them, however, stays the same. So it might well be, that Ambrose, too, is influenced by grammatical exegesis when he employs the term *persona*.

117 E.g. *fid* 1, 17, 108 (CSEL 78, 46, 1-47, 8 FALLER); *inc* 6, 59 (CSEL 79, 254, 127-128 FALLER). Cf. DROBNER (note 10) 210-212.

118 E.g. *inc* 4, 23 (CSEL 79, 235, 1-5). Cf. DROBNER (note 10) 212-213.

119 E.g. *fid* 3, 9, 60 (CSEL 78, 130, 9f.); 3, 10, 67 (133m 41-42). Cf. DROBNER (note 10) 213.

120 E.g. *inc* 5, 35 (CSEL 79, 241, 17); 6, 47 (248, 12). Cf. Drobner (note 10) 213-214.

121 *Exp Ps* 61, 5 (CSEL 64, 380, 24-30 PETSCHENIG).

7. The Ambrosiaster

Last of the Latin authors prior to St. Augustine, we will have a closer look at the so-called Ambrosiaster. We do not know who he was. His works were transmitted under the name of Ambrose, so that Erasmus of Rotterdam called him "Ambrosiaster", detecting it was not Ambrose who had written those books, but rather a pupil or a friend of his. In any case he belongs to the fourth century and to the circle around Ambrose and Augustine. His christology therefore is quite similar to that of Ambrose and Hilary of Poitiers.¹²² Only two tractates of the Ambrosiaster have been preserved to us: the first Latin commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul and the 127 *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, so that all the theology we know of the Ambrosiaster is shaped by his exegesis.¹²³

As the Ambrosiaster like Hilary and Ambrose develops his christology in opposition to Arianism, his main concern is to point out the Godhead of Christ and the equality of his substance to the substance of the Father. He even explicitly names his adversaries: Arians, Jews, Marcionites, Manichees, Sabellians and Photinians, all those who contest the Godhead of Christ.¹²⁴ The Ambrosiaster therefore never speaks about the manhood of Christ without an immediate connection to his deity. In his incarnation the Son of God abandoned nothing of his deity, but only raised manhood to his deity. "He did not abandon what he was, but assumed what he was not" - a phrase which corresponds almost literally to Hilary and Ambrose.¹²⁵ By his incarnation Christ took upon him a complete man, body and soul. He therefore stays true God and becomes true man. The soul thereby operates as mediator between God and man: "though God came into flesh, he dwelled in the soul".¹²⁶

For the distinction of natures Ambrosiaster applies the *regula canonica*, he even discovers quotations in Scripture, where Christ himself points to his double nature, e.g. Mt 26,41 "the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak", meaning God

122 Cf. A. SOUTER, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (TaS 4; Cambridge 1905); W. MUNDLE, *Die Exegese der paulinischen Briefe im Kommentar des Ambrosiaster* (Marburg 1919); A. SOUTER, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul* (Oxford 1927); C. MARTINI, *Ambrosiaster. De auctore, operibus, theologia* (SPAA 4; Rome 1944); A. POLLASTRI, *Ambrosiaster. Commento alla Lettera ai Romani. Aspetti cristologici* (L'Aquila 1977).

123 *Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas*, ed. H.J. VOGELS: CSEL 81/1-3 (1966-69); *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* CXXVII, ed. A. SOUTER: CSEL 50 (1908).

124 E.g. *Qu* 76, 1 (CSEL 50, 129, 7-21).

125 *Ambrs 2 Kor 5, 21, 3* (CSEL 81/2, 238, 6-7); *Hil trin 10, 23* (CChr.SL 62 A, 477, 1-4); *Ambr fid 2, 8, 62* (CSEL 78, 78, 24-25 FALLER).

126 *Qu 45* (CSEL 50,425,26-426,2).

in the spirit and man in the flesh.¹²⁷

The unity of the natures in Christ Ambrosiaster expresses in rather traditional terms: God and man are one, and: one selfsame is Son of God and son of man.¹²⁸ At one point, however, he develops a christological concept of *persona*, where he even approaches the *una persona* quite closely.¹²⁹ "When Paul declares himself servant of Christ, he shows that he is excepted from the law. And therefore he stated both, i.e. Jesus Christ, in order to name the person both of God and of man, as the Lord is in either of them." The interpretation of this passage is not altogether evident. "*Et dei et hominis personam*" could be translated, "both the person of God and the person of man". Then the Ambrosiaster would mean the two persons, i.e. rôles of Christ. He might then have rather said *personas*, but not inevitably so, as that is not required by Latin grammar. I rather prefer the translation "the (one) person consisting of God and man". With that the Ambrosiaster has virtually reached the formula *una persona*, though he does not stress the *una* explicitly.

8. Theodore of Mopsuestia

So far we have analysed Latin christologies, which showed how widespread the basic problem of the unity of Godhead and manhood in Christ was and how many attempts were made to solve it. We saw, too, that all of them headed towards the *una persona* and indeed found it before and independently of St. Augustine, though it was to be his success alone to have introduced the new formula into the great currents of theology, eventually leading to the Council of Chalcedon. We have not considered the Greek tradition, as St. Augustine did not know Greek very well and was apparently little influenced by Greek theology.¹³⁰ We will now, however, at least deal with one Greek theologian, Theodore of Mopsuestia, not because any direct influence on St. Augustine could be suspected, rather because at the same time he independently arrived at the very same conclusion as St. Augustine by the very same means. He, too, developed the formula *hen prosopon* starting from grammatical exegesis.

127 Ro 8, 10, 3a (CSEL 81/1, 269, 8-10).

128 E.g. Qu 45 (CSEL 50, 426, 1); Phil 2, 11, 4 (CSEL 81/3. 143. 9f.).

129 Ro 1, 1, 2 (CSEL 81/1, 9, 16-19).

130 Cf. M. MELLET/Th. CAMELOT, note 24: BAUG 15 (1955) 577-578; A. SOLIGNAC, note 6: BAUG 13 (1962) 662; MARROU, *Augustin* (note 12) 25-41.

The principal concern of the christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia was the search for a middle course between the Monophysitism of Arians and Apolinarians on the one hand and the Adoptianism of Photinus on the other. Against the Arians the divine generation of the Son of God had to be established, against the Apolinarians the reality and integrity of the incarnation, and against either of them the 'Logos-Sarx' framework had to be criticised. Theodore had to find a formula, how two really existing, complete substances could form a real unity in Christ, without giving up their own characteristics, but without falling apart either.¹³¹ Theodore begins to approach a solution taking up the soteriological argument developed by Gregory of Nazianzus, that Christ had to assume both body and soul, i.e. a complete man, in order to redeem man completely, as that which is not accepted by Christ will not be redeemed.¹³² The first formula of Theodore therefore is the expression of the *homo assumptus*, man accepted into God.¹³³

The accentuation of Christ's full manhood carries the danger of a doctrine of two different sons. Theodore therefore keeps searching for a formula of unity and re-detects the old expression "one selfsame is God the Word and the man"¹³⁴, but very soon this leads him up to the notion of person (*prosopon*): "So our Lord, when he spoke of his manhood and his Godhead, referred the pronoun 'I' to the common person".¹³⁵ *Prosopon* here has not yet, however, the later Chalcedonian meaning. It describes the "form in which a *physis* or an *hypostasis* appears". Therefore Christ has even two *prosopa* what regards his two natures, their conjunction at the same time only one: "For when we distinguish the natures, we say that the nature of God the Word is complete, and that his *prosopon* is complete (for it is not correct to speak of an *hypostasis* without its *prosopon*). And we say also that the nature of the man is complete,

131 For Theodore's christology cf. E. AMANN, "La doctrine christologique de Théodore de Mopsueste (A propos d'une publication récente)" *RevSR* 14 (1934) 161-190; F. A. SULLIVAN, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (AnGr 82; Rome 1956); P. GALTIER, "Théodore de Mopsueste, sa vraie pensée sur l'incarnation," *RSR* 45 (1957) 161-186, 338-360; R. A. NORRIS, *Manhood and Christ. A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (London 1963); G. KOCH, *Die Heilswirklichung bei Theodor von Mopsuestia* (MThS 31; München 1965).

132 Gr Naz ep 101 (PG 37, 182 C-184 A).

133 *Hom cat* 5, 9 (*StT* 111-113 TONNEAU); 5, 10 (115); 5, 11 (115-117); 5, 19 (127).

134 *Ps* 8, 5 (*StT* 93, 45, 10-11, DEVREESSE).

135 *Jo* 8, 16 (*CSCO* 116, 119, 34-36 VOSTÉ); cf. *Jo* 14, 13 (193, 36-194, 7).

and likewise his *prosoyon*. But when we look to the conjunction, then we say one *prosoyon*".¹³⁶

In his further development Theodore does not yet arrive at the later Chalcedonian formula of two natures in one *prosoyon* or *hypostasis*, but he draws very near to it, though he sees the difference of God and man in Christ on the level of *physis* and *hypostasis*, the unity guaranteed by the *prosoyon*. Chalcedon later will rather set as a parallel two natures and two *prosopa* and define the unity on the level of *hypostasis*. This, however, is a purely terminological development, caused by the difficult distinction of the Greek words applied.

Regarding the christological formula of Theodore it may also be allowed to ask, if and in how far grammatical exegesis influenced his choice. A perusal of Theodore's *Commentary on the Psalms* shows in fact, that *persona* in the context of grammatical exegesis is very prominent.¹³⁷ Especially frequent are the expressions *ex persona*, *in persona*, and *sub persona*, though a christological context is rare. The reason for that, however, is the peculiar understanding of the Old Testament on the part of Theodore. He does not conceive it as pointing to the New Testament, but rather to the history of the chosen people.¹³⁸

We have already noticed some hints towards the idea of a unity of subject in Christ, which can quite well be established by a few key-texts. Explaining Jn 6,62 ("when you will see the Son of man ascend to where he was before") Theodore solves the obvious problem, that it was not the Son of man, but the Son of God who descended from heaven, by the unity of subject in Christ (similar to the Augustinian exegesis of Jn 3,13).¹³⁹ Rm 8,29 ("the First-Born amongst many brothers"), too, is explained by the unity of the *prosoyon*. The Logos, who is Son by nature, and the assumed man are not two sons, but one. And this unity has to be thought of not on the level of natures, but rather on the level of the *prosoyon*, the one subject.¹⁴⁰

If one compares the theology of St. Augustine and of Theodore of Mop-

136 Leontius *frg* 6 (II 299, 18-26 SWETE). Translations taken from GRILLMEIER (note 77) 431-432.

137 R. DEVREESSE, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (ἰ-Λ̄XXX)* (StT 93; Vatican City 1939); *Expositiones in Psalmos Iuliano Aclanensi interprete in Latinum versae quae supersunt*, ed. L. de CONINCK: CChr.SL 88 A (1977). Cf. DROBNER (note 10) 232-236.

138 Cf. R. A. GREER, *The Captain of Our Salvation. A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews* (BGBE 15: Tübingen 1973) 229.

139 *Hom cat* 8, 11 (CSCO 116, 203 TONNEAU). See above part two 2.c.

140 II 298-303 SWETE. Against F. LOOFS, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*. 1. und 2. Teil; *Alte Kirche, Mittelalter und Katholizismus bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. K. ALAND, (Tübingen 1968) 223: "nur eine Einheit der *huiotes*, nicht der Subjekte, die an ihr teilhaben, ist erreicht".

suestia, many parallels and similar developments can be stated. They combat the same heresies of their time, they have to avoid the division of Christ into two sons, they start at traditional formulas of unity as e.g. *unus atque idem* and Jn 1,14 and they both detect the *una persona / hen prosopon* by ways of the grammatical exegesis.

Conclusion

The historical setting St. Augustine lived in, was a very complex and difficult one. On the one hand there already existed examples of the formula *una persona* (Tertullian, Isaak the Jew, Pseudo-Vigilius) and Augustine probably knew Tertullian, though not the other ones. On the other hand no formula was commonly accepted so far, though all christologies of Augustine's time headed towards this solution and presented a number of similar and closely related expressions. Without this general christological background the development of the *una persona* by St. Augustine is most certainly unconceivable. Only Augustine, however, arrived at presenting the *una persona* as the future valid solution because of his grammatical exegesis and because of his ability to show how this newly found formula could be the key to all the different christological queries of his time. This is confirmed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, who for his part had no direct example for the *hen prosopon*, but nevertheless developed it on the basis of the same doctrinal setting and by the same means as St. Augustine, i.e. the grammatical exegesis.

Prospect:

The case of Leporius as test of St. Augustine's christology

The future importance of his own christology St. Augustine could already experience towards the end of his life in the case of Leporius. Leporius was a monk and later a priest in a monastery in Southern Gaul, possibly in Marseille. He was condemned and most probably excommunicated because of christological heresy.¹⁴¹ He went to St. Augustine to be instructed by him, wrote a *Libellus emendationis sive satisfactionis*¹⁴² and was reconciled to the church by a synod in Carthage.¹⁴³

141 Cf. G. MORIN, "Notes d'ancienne littérature chrétienne V: Solution d'un problème de histoire littéraire: le diocèse d'origine de Leporius, théologien gaulois du Ve siècle": *RBen* 14 (1897) 102-103; E. AMANN, "Léporius": *DThC* 9/1 (1926) 434-440; A. TRAPE, "Un caso de nestorianismo prenestoriano en occidente, resuelto por san Agustin": *CDios* 155 (1943) 45-47.

142 *PL* 31,1221-1230 = P. GLORIEUX, *Prénestorianisme en Occident* (MCS 6; Tournai 1959) 14-25.

143 *Aug ep* 219 (*CSEL* 57,428-431) = GLORIEUX, *Prénestorianisme*, 11-13 = MANSI IV 518-520.

He then returned to Gaul, accompanied by a letter of St. Augustine.¹⁴⁴ The date of this affair cannot be ascertained exactly. It either took place during the years 418-421 or even as late as 426 or 428.¹⁴⁵

Leporius obviously laboured with the unity of natures in Christ and their *communicatio idiomatum*. He therefore was sometimes called the first case of Nestorianism before Nestorius. In the right effort to avoid an intermingling of the two natures of Christ and to safeguard above all the untouchable and transcendent deity of Christ, he found it too hard to accept statements like the birth, crucifixion and death of God. Augustine writes in his *Letter* 219: "He did not want to confess that God was born of a woman, that God was crucified or had suffered in a human way, fearing that the Godhead might be believed to have been changed into man or to have been corrupted by being mingled with man: a pious fear but an incautious mistake. In his piety he saw that the Godhead could not be changed, but incautiously he presumed that the Son of man could be separated from the Son of God so that each was different, and one of them could be Christ and the other not, or Christ could be twofold."¹⁴⁶ As was the great ability of St. Augustine he immediately grasped the crucial point of the otherwise pious intent of Leporius: the danger of a doctrine of two separate sons.

Together with St. Augustine, Leporius compiled his *Libellus emendationis*, so that, if not written by Augustine himself, it reflects his christology and indeed presents a short summary of the whole of Augustine's christology:

1. Christ is Son of God and Son of man because of his two generations.
2. Both substances and natures are real and complete without any change in the Godhead of Christ.
3. Nevertheless God and man form an inseparable unity in Christ.
4. He is one subject (*unus atque idem - una persona*).
5. Therefore the *communicatio idiomatum* is the only consequent.

144 Cf. MANSI IV 517-520.

145 418-421: GRILLMEIER (noté 77) 465 and others before. - 426: A. TRAPE, *Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana* 23 (1974) 619 note 5 "comunemente accettata" and others before. - 428: H. LECLERCQ, "Marseille", *DACL* 10/2 (1932) 2218; G. BARDY, "Conciles d'Hippone au temps de saint Augustin", *Aug(L)* 5 (1955) 458.

146 *Aug ep* 219, 3 (CSEL 57, 430, 17-24). Translation according to GRILLMEIER (note 77) 465.

On the level of trinitarian theology, Leporius

6. refuses any Monarchianism or Sabellianism,
7. distinguishes the different modes of unity in Christ (by person) and in the Trinity (by nature) and
8. denies any quaternity.

This is the christological concept which not only proves good in the case of Leporius, but will do so for the centuries to come.

Kamp 6,
D-4790 Paderborn,
West Germany

*Il Convegno Nazionale Sul Personalismo - Teramo -
8 - 10 gennaio 1990*

PERSONA E SVILUPPO NEL TEMPO DEL POST-LIBERISMO

Attilio Danese

1. Obiettivi del Convegno

Il secondo convegno nazionale sul personalismo si è svolto nei giorni 8-9-10 gennaio, a quattro anni di distanza dal I convegno, a Teramo, cittadina abruzzese che comincia a proporsi come "centro di riferimento del personalismo comunitario" a livello Europeo, come hanno confermato i politici presenti (" Il Centro di ricerche personaliste -ha sottolineato l'on. Aiardi- vuole sviluppare anche dopo il convegno questa pista di ricerca su persona e post-liberismo, caratterizzandosi come centro che privilegia il rapporto tra cultura ed etica dei comportamenti").¹ Una caratteristica del Convegno sono state le manifestazioni collaterali: dalla mostra delle acqueforti di M. Ciry, al Concerto organizzato dall'Unicef, all'intitolazione di una nuova piazza ad E. Mounier, alla consegna di una medaglia d'oro alla vedova di Mounier (offerta dal Presidente

ATTILIO DANESE, nato nel 1947, è laureato in Pedagogia (Univ. de L'Aquila) e in Filosofia (Univ. di Roma). E' ricercatore confermato di Filosofia della politica presso la Facoltà di Scienze Politiche dell'Università degli Studi "G. D'Annunzio" di Chieti, direttore del Centro di Ricerche personaliste di Teramo, direttore della collana "Società e politica" presso le ed. Dehoniane di Roma. Ha pubblicato saggi e articoli in Italia e all'estero. E' l'autore di "Il Modulo personalista unità-diversità per l'unità federale dei popoli europei. L'apporto di E. Mounier e Denis de Rougemont" in *Melita Theologica* 39 (1988).

1 "Non possiamo non compiacerci - ha detto il sindaco prof. D'Ignazio ai giornalisti - di questa iniziativa a carattere internazionale. Come teramani ci carica di responsabilità per mantenere una strada aperta alle sfide del futuro". "Teramo recupera un passato di tradizione filosofica (era sede di una libera università sino all'unità d'Italia) - ha sostenuto l'on. Tancredi - e si candida ad essere erede di una corrente di pensiero sociale di ispirazione cristiana che ne fa una cittadina di respiro europeo". L'Alto Patronato della Presidenza della Repubblica, della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, del Pontificio Consiglio della Cultura del Vaticano, dell'Ambasciata di Francia in Italia, dell'Unicef - Italia, della Regione Abruzzo e degli enti locali provinciali hanno dato al convegno il riconoscimento meritato.

della Giunta Regionale), alla presenza dell'Ambasciatore di Francia, all'udienza pontificia.²

L'obiettivo era un confronto tra studiosi europei di orientamento personalista sul tema: *Persona e sviluppo verso il tempo del post-liberismo*, allo scopo di verificare se il modello di sviluppo dominante e il paradigma caratteristico della sua razionalità non siano o non divengano oggi più coscienti dei loro limiti e delle loro difficoltà, proprio nel momento in cui sembrano ricevere il riconoscimento storico del loro successo.

In quest'orizzonte interpretativo sono state concepite le tre sessioni di lavoro: "la prima - ha spiegato il prof. Attilio Danese, direttore del Centro di ricerche - fa il quadro della situazione attuale, rilevando le mutazioni antropologiche e sociologiche dei processi culturali e sociali delle società industrializzate, nella loro evoluzione verso forme e valori del post-industrialismo. Si affronta l'analisi dei problemi e delle prospettive che si aprono al divenire delle nostre società e al loro modello di sviluppo, nel momento in cui la ricerca antropologica di nuovi stili di vita, di nuove gerarchie di valori e di nuovi assetti incontra i processi reali dei sistemi ed agisce sulle loro dinamiche (Prof. Robin e Portelli).

La seconda approfondisce le prospettive della transizione sul piano antropologico, etico e teologico (con A. Pieretti, P. Ricoeur, P. Coda e F. Bellino). La centralità della persona, infatti, mentre costringe a rivedere i paradigmi della razionalità, spinge anche a pensare in modo nuovo il rapporto dell'etica con le correnti contemporanee del pensiero e riformulare il rapporto uomo-Dio.

La terza affronta i risvolti pratici ed economici, con particolare attenzione al rapporto tra scienze economiche ed etica (con S. Zamagni, A. Aiardi, B. Gui, S. Alessandrini), partendo dalla constatazione delle provocazioni della miseria, dei problemi e del rapporto Nord Sud, delle grandi disparità nella distribuzione della ricchezza. Infatti, quanto più il sistema diventa macro e impersonale, tanto più si evidenzia il bisogno di far emergere il primato della sfera personale e

2 Questo il saluto del Santo Padre ai convegnisti: "Sono lieto di salutare i partecipanti al II Convegno Nazionale sul personalismo comunitario dal titolo "Persona e Sviluppo verso il Tempo del Post-Liberismo" svoltosi nei giorni scorsi a Teramo. Essi, guidati dall'Arcivescovo Mons. A. Nuzzi, hanno chiesto di poter prendere parte a questa udienza, che s'inserisce nella celebrazioni internazionali in occasione del 40 anniversario della morte del filosofo Emmanuel Mounier. Mi compiaccio per il vostro convegno, nel quale in modo concreto avete coluto affrontare le problematiche sulla perona umana e sullo sviluppo, in questa particolare epoca storica, caratterizzata da rapidi e radicali mutamenti.

Vi incoraggio a proseguire in questa ricerca, che vi offre l'opportunità di uno scambio di idee tra persone impegnate nel campo della cultura, in armonia con l'ispirazione cristiana dell'etica personalista" (*L'Osservatore Romano* 11.I.1990).

spirituale su quella materiale e produttiva. Il problema principale che l'ispirazione personalista incontra, in questo senso, è quello di coniugare il primato della persona con i processi tipici della scienza economica.

La tavola rotonda infine pone sul tappeto problemi e soggetti emergenti nella società di oggi (infanzia, educazione, donne, razzismo, emigrazione, competitività e prosocialità), rimbalzando la palla ai politici (Galloni, Iervolino, Gui)".

Nell'introdurre i lavori, il prof. Danese ha evidenziato che il modello di sviluppo dominante da una parte sembra esercitare un fascino crescente attorno a sé e suscitare nuove impreviste aspettative al suo esterno (si pensi alla caduta delle "seconde" vie del socialismo e alla crisi delle ipotesi social-democratiche o social-cristiane). Dall'altra parte registra all'interno delle proprie frontiere una "crisi di evidenza" della quale possono essere inquietanti indicatori la crisi ecologica, la caduta di qualità delle relazioni sociali (a profitto di un regime diffuso di competitività), l'acutizzarsi del gap Nord Sud, che diviene sempre di più un vincolo esterno, umano, politico ed economico anche per le strategie di sviluppo delle società più ricche.

Così, tra aspettative esterne e crisi di evidenza interna, il modello di sviluppo dominante si trova a fare i conti con le basi stesse del suo paradigma di "razionalità ristretta", fondata sull'antropologia dell'individuo mosso da interessi e da ragioni di ottimizzazione del proprio benessere. Tale modello, se effettivamente ha allargato le basi della ricchezza (dei pochi), sembra ora incapace, con questa etica e con questi strumenti concettuali, di dominare le conseguenze della sua stessa espansione. Un uomo sempre meno docile alla colonizzazione mercantile della vita sembra domandare una nuova qualità dello sviluppo, segnata da valori e progetti di vita più vivibili. Ma questa transizione favorisce nuovi assetti e nuove concentrazioni di potere che, in altro modo, potrebbero risultare limitativi della democrazia e quindi di uno sviluppo veramente umano dei singoli e dei popoli.

Viviamo in tempi in cui la frantumazione del tessuto sociale si accompagna alla frantumazione dei riferimenti etici e religiosi e la conseguente perdita di senso tra crisi della totalità etica e teoretica, pensiero debole, fenomeno della destrutturazione, nichilismo. Quando il pluralismo diviene esaltazione del nulla, ogni gruppo o corporazione assume come referente etico le sue regole e la sua logica autoreferenziale, anche se spietata e senza rispetto per le esigenze della persona. L'angoscia per il futuro, in un mondo sempre più interdipendente e una crescente domanda di etica sembrano così caratterizzare questa fase della nostra cultura.

Come pensare questa fase, quali strategie favorire perchè la possibilità che sembra aprire siano effettivamente a misura della comune umanità nel pianeta?

Due linee di forza della visione liberista sembrano in particolare venir meno: quella della separazione della ragione dai valori e quella dell'individualismo metodologico. Forse non è per sola virtù che ci rimettiamo in questione; ma è certo che occorre ritrovare valori per i quali prendere partito. Giocano ormai ragioni comuni di sopravvivenza e di speranza di vita. Una nuova necessità sembra così farci virtuosi, spesso nostro malgrado.

Oltre l'individualismo e il funzionalismo sistemico, occorre che si affermi un nuovo orizzonte di senso, illuminato dall'istanza etica del rispetto della persona umana. Ma nel parlare di persona oggi, non si fa riferimento ad una concezione statica e sostanzialista - ha sottolineato Danese - bensì a una struttura relazionale che si esprime in attività dialogiche a tutti i livelli dove il pensiero può giungere, secondo un ritmo scandito dal rapporto tra l'uno e il molteplice. Si tratta di una dialettica che, a livello antropologico, esprime la tensione della persona tra la frammentazione individualista e la fusione totalitaria. A livello sociale la stessa dialettica sembra schizzarsi nel gioco politico di equilibrio tra le rivendicazioni della vita privata, le lotte per una società più giusta e l'utopia comunitaria. Facendo poi riferimento analogico al livello teologico, nella dottrina trinitaria il cristianesimo si distingue da un monoteismo semplice proprio perchè caratterizza in Dio stesso la dimensione societaria e la perfezione del rapporto unità pluralità. Per questo tutti e tre i livelli, sociale-politico, antropologico, teologico sono oggetto della riflessione sul personalismo oggi.

2. *L'influsso del personalismo e i problemi emergenti.* M. Mounier

Anche se non c'è una dottrina personalista come corrente filosofica, i cui confini siano distintamente segnati, esiste una consolidata tradizione di personalismo comunitario o anche, in senso più lato, un'ampia attività di pensiero di ispirazione personalista presa a riferimento per una reinterpretazione della moderna società complessa. E. Mounier resta un capofila³, a patto che non si pensi al personalismo come a qualcosa di compiuto "perchè il personalismo è più davanti a noi che dietro".

La ricerca personalista deve tuttavia affrontare le critiche di utopia. "La miglior sorte che possa capitare al personalismo - scriveva Mounier - è quella

3 Sulla necessità di tornare alla persona rinvio al mio *Unità e Pluralità. Mounier e il ritorno alla persona*, prefazione di P. Ricoeur (Città Nuova; Roma 1984); cf. anche G. LIMONE, *Tempo della persona e sapienza del possibile* (ESI; Napoli 1988)

che, avendo risvegliato presso molti uomini il senso totale dell'uomo, sparisca senza lasciare tracce, tanto dovrebbe confondersi con l'andamento quotidiano dei giorni." ⁴ Si possono altresì ripetere le parole con cui il Presidente degli amici di Mounier, Paul Fraisse concludeva il convegno di Dourdan: "Il personalismo non è una dottrina, non è un sistema... è l'*utopia fondamentale che deve reggere i nostri pensieri e guidare i nostri passi*". ⁵ Si resta così sulla lunghezza d'onda di una filosofia che Mounier agli inizi di *Esprit* voleva tutta incentrata nell'azione e nella donazione di sé: "Occorre donarvisi totalitariamente. Abbiamo scelto cammini senza ritorni". ⁶

Questo slancio che unisce pensiero e vita è stato trasmesso dalla signora Mounier che è tornata a porre la centralità della persona ⁷, facendo riferimento da una parte, sul piano della personale esperienza storica, agli albori del movimento e della rivista *Esprit* ⁸, e dall'altra al parallelo tra gli anni trenta e i più attuali pressanti attacchi alla dignità della persona che rendono ancora attuale il personalismo oggi: la scienza e la tecnica (specie in riferimento alla bioetica), la caduta della democrazia e lo svilimento dell'umanesimo contemporaneo (violenza, tortura, squilibri sociali). "Mi sembra che il personalismo possa essere un punto di riferimento, una protezione contro quei pericolosi 'scivoloni' sociali, scientifici e tecnologici che minacciano di dissociare in particolare la scienza e la cultura, l'uomo stesso e il suo mistero".

A dimostrazione della fecondità storica del personalismo, la signora Mounier ha citato il caso Polonia: il governo nato da Solidarnosc, con a capo Tadeus Mazowiec, ha riconosciuto la formazione personalista di tanti membri

4 E. MOUNIER, "Qu'est-ce que le personalisme?" in *Oeuvres*, 4t., III (Seuil; Paris 1961-63) 229

5 P. FRAISSE, "L'espoir des Désespérés", (AA.VV., *Le personalisme d'E. Mounier hier et demain*, cit., 245

6 Cfr. E. MOUNIER, "Refaire la renaissance," in *Esprit*, n.1 (1932), 151

7 E' di P. Mounier la Prefazione a A. DANESE - G. P. DI NICOLA, *Etique et personalisme* (Ciaco; Louvain La Neuve 1989). La collaborazione tra gli inizi del Centro Ricerche personaliste di Teramo e la comunità dei "Muri Bianchi" di Châtenay Paris risale al 1982.

8 "In questa testimonianza - ha detto - i temi personali hanno ai miei occhi meno valore del lancio da parte della rivista *Esprit* del Personalismo, movimento di ordine filosofico, etico e sociale con tutti gli impegni che ciò ha comportato. Dal punto di vista privato, una sola confidenza: verso la fine del 1930 mi sono incontrato con Mounier che stava avviando la pubblicazione della rivista e da allora abbiamo immediatamente ed in modo definitivo collaborato assieme".

animatori di riviste e movimenti che, sin dagli anni quaranta, hanno militato clandestinamente in gruppi personalisti. Un altro esempio è J. Delors, presidente della Commissione Esecutiva della CEE a Bruxelles, che confessa pure esplicitamente le sue origini personaliste e tenta di attuarle nei suoi programmi europei. Senza parlare dell'America Latina, dove il forte richiamo del personalismo deve ancora mostrare i suoi effetti nella concretezza degli assetti democratici.

Per quanto riguarda l'Italia, i politici intervenuti al convegno hanno ricordato l'influsso del personalismo comunitario nel periodo della Resistenza.⁹ Luigi Gui, nella sua apprezzata testimonianza ha detto tra l'altro: "Desidero sottolineare in particolare un altro ricordo connesso con questo convegno nel quale il pensiero di Maritain e Mounier fa da luminoso sfondo culturale. Mi riferisco al tempo in cui per noi, giovani di allora, i due pensatori costituivano i nostri maestri nella stagione in cui andavamo formandoci all'interesse per la politica: nell'imminenza, cioè della fine del conflitto mondiale e subito dopo la liberazione. Allorché attorno a Dossetti, a Lazzati, a La Pira, a Fanfani, a Moro, ci raccoglievamo per dar vita a quello che poi sarebbe stato "Cronache sociali" e traevamo, appunto dagli approfondimenti di Maritain e di Mounier del concetto di persona, ispirazioni vincenti nella preparazione della Bozza della nostra *Costituzione*, che sul concetto di persona è fondata, ancor più nel testo della Commissione dei 75, per certi aspetti, che in quello definitivo. Noi avremmo voluto poi che anche la linea e la pratica della politica sociale e di governo successive della nuova Repubblica fossero nel concreto rigorosamente fedeli alle conseguenze che dal servizio alla persona pensavamo si potessero ricavare". Parimenti significativa in questo senso la testimonianza di Galloni che ha sottolineato la maggiore vicinanza di Mounier, al confronto con Maritain, rispetto alle problematiche del mondo contemporaneo. Egli ha ricordato che i tempi sono cambiati: ciò che spingeva Dossetti a tirarsi indietro, favorendo la linea di De Gasperi, era l'avvertire che i tempi erano poco favorevoli ad un avanzamento della politica sulla linea personalista e comunitaria, dal momento che i due ostacoli principali erano il mancato rinnovamento conciliare e la pressione del mondo comunista sull'Italia. Entrambe le condizioni sono oggi cambiate: il Concilio Vaticano II e il recente crollo del mondo comunista rendono possibile oggi quegli obiettivi di politica democratica e popolare allora impossibili. Attenzione però - ha aggiunto la Jervolino - che la gioia del crollo

9 Si può ricordare - come fece il P.Vanzan - che Maritain ha permeato gli ambienti cattolici più 'ufficiali' - la Fuci di Montini, i docenti dell'Università cattolica e poi i quadri dirigenti della democrazia cristiana - e Mounier ha influenzato maggiormente i così detti cattolici 'marginali' [la sinistra democristiana (dai dossettiani ai professorini), i cattolici comunisti, i cristiano-sociali, i gruppi vicini a P.Mazzolari - e alcuni ambienti della sinistra laica, (alcune frange del PSI, gli ambienti sindacali e il gruppo "Comunità" di A. Olivetti)] (Cf. P.Vanzan, "Maritain e Mounier in Italia cinquant'anni dopo - Uomo e società al Convegno di Teramo 18-19 aprile 1986," in *Civiltà Cattolica*, n.3265 (1986) 38-47, specialmente p.39)

del muro di Berlino e dunque dei regimi senza Dio non ci faccia sentire troppo vincenti e sicuri. Sarebbe forse più doloroso il crollo del nostro mondo liberista ritenuto a torto costruito attorno ai valori della fede.

La debolezza del mondo liberista è stata tratteggiata dal prof. Maurice Robin (Paris X Nanterre), che ha sottolineato le differenti condizioni nelle quali è stato formulato il pensiero di Mounier rispetto al mondo d'oggi: interdipendenza sistemica mondiale, culturale, politica, economica, terziarizzazione del mondo, espansione demografica, urbanizzazione, conflittualità sociale. Impossibile perciò un mero ritorno all'indietro, ma possibile e doverosa una fedeltà di prospettiva a partire dai valori di base del personalismo. Robin e H. Portelli hanno così introdotto il problema del rapporto valori-istituzionali per una democrazia reale.

I temi del rapporto persona e sviluppo sono stati ripresi nella tavola rotonda introdotta dal Prof. Antonio Pavan, con lo scopo di affrontare, su piani plurimi interdisciplinari, il ventaglio dei problemi sui quali è costretto a confrontarsi oggi il ritorno alla persona: S. Spinsanti ha affrontato i temi della bioetica, mettendo in guardia dall'oblio del rispetto della persona come pure da certa ispirazione ingenua del personalismo con le conseguenti strumentalizzazioni di comodo; G.P. Di Nicola ha confrontato i temi della cultura femminista con l'ispirazione personalista; E. Todisco ha offerto dati sul razzismo, invitando a riflettere sulla società multirazziale verso cui marcia l'Europa; A. Farina ha posto sul tappeto, con la carica umana che gli è consueta, i problemi dell'infanzia a dimensione planetaria; M. Micheloni ha trattato i temi dell'emigrazione, con particolare riferimento al rapporto Italia e Svizzera e ai nuovi problemi creati dall'emigrazione di ritorno; W. Böhm ha confrontato una pedagogia che vede l'alunno come il paziente con una autentica pedagogia personalista che si presenta come una istanza critica e idea regolativa perchè ciascuno possa essere messo nelle condizioni di creare e realizzare il senso della propria vita.

3. La crisi della ragione

E' toccato al prof. Pieretti (Univ. Perugia), nella sessione più filosofica, affrontare il tema della crisi della razionalità sottostante l'organizzazione del mondo moderno. Egli, dopo aver precisato che la ragione si incarna nell'esperienza esistenziale, ha parlato di un nuovo umanesimo che può prendere forma attorno al nucleo teoretico ed esistenziale di una regione argomentativa. Si può ben dire che l'epistemologia contemporanea restituisce al pensiero la capacità di attendere ad un'attività ben più ricca e significativa di quella che si risolve nella formulazione di ipotesi o concetture sperimentalmente verificabili. Si può anche sostenere che ne fa una sorta di testimone di una realtà trascendente, alla quale può progressivamente approssimarsi, pur senza riuscire a raggiungerla e possederla in maniera completa e definitiva. Inoltre, dal momento che emancipa da ogni condizionamento di tipo empirico,

la ragione pone la persona nella condizione di soddisfare quell'istanza di liberazione in cui vengono messe in gioco le indefinite possibilità creative simboliche con le quali l'uomo arricchisce se stesso e dà origine ad un mondo più umano.

Si tratta di un pensiero che, in quanto presuppone la verità pur senza possederla, pur senza presumere di impadronirsene (in questo senso non nega la metafisica, ma ne fa uno stimolo di ricerca continua), opera sullo sfondo della verità, fungendo da interprete delle sue manifestazioni. Ad essa fa appello e verso essa si muove fungendo da giustificazione tanto della conoscenza quanto delle scelte che l'uomo è chiamato quotidianamente a compiere. Si tratta dunque di un pensiero che più che nell'esperienza estetica o retorica (cultura post-moderna), si incarna nell'esperienza esistenziale. Vi si riflette l'uomo come essere finito che però non "si contrae nella propria limitatezza", ma si apre oltre se stesso verso il mondo e verso gli altri, consapevole di appartenere ad un comune destino di trascendenza: una ragione insieme teoretica ed esistenziale, attorno a cui prende forma un nuovo umanesimo.

"Questo umanesimo - ha spiegato Pieretti - poichè si ispira alla ragione, si svilupperà soltanto se sarà capace di consentire alla ragione di restare fedele alla propria identità; sarà quindi l'umanesimo non di una ragione astratta e impersonale, bensì di una ragione concreta ed impegnata a rendere testimonianza della verità in tutte le forme in cui l'esistenza umana si esprime". Pieretti ha così introdotto la domanda sul nuovo umanesimo, le sue caratteristiche, le sue direzioni etiche.

4. *Il contributo di Ricoeur: il tripode fondativo dell'etica personalista*

Il prezioso, originale contributo di Ricoeur al tema del convegno ha sviluppato il significato dell'etica personalista, partendo dall'insegnamento di Mounier (di cui Ricoeur si è dichiarato più volte debitore) e ripensandone i riferimenti alla luce delle odierne acquisizioni filosofiche. Egli ha distinto così quattro livelli di ciò che potrebbe costituire una fenomenologia ermeneutica della persona: linguaggio, azione, racconto, vita etica (meglio: l'uomo parlante, agente - e sofferente -, l'uomo narratore e protagonista del suo racconto di vita, infine l'uomo responsabile). L'ultimo stadio dona la struttura ternaria che si può ritrovare in tutti i livelli.

Occorre innanzitutto distinguere l'etica dalla morale, intendendo per questa l'ordine degli imperativi, delle norme, delle proibizioni, quando invece la dialettica dell'*ethos* fornisce il filo conduttore nell'esplorazione degli strati pre-etici della costituzione della persona. Ricoeur propone una definizione a tre termini: "aspirazione ad una vita compiuta, con e per gli altri, in istituzioni giuste".

L'espressione "aspirazione ad una vita compiuta", inscrivendo l'etica nella profondità del desiderio, evidenzia il suo carattere di aspirazione anteriore ad ogni imperativo. L'elemento etico di questa aspirazione può essere espresso dalla nozione di stima di sé. In effetti, qualunque sia il rapporto con gli altri e con le istituzioni, non ci sarebbe soggetto responsabile se non potesse stimarsi in quanto capace di agire intenzionalmente, ossia secondo delle ragioni riflesse. La stima di sé, così concepita, non è una forma raffinata di egoismo o di solipsismo. Il termine "sé" è là per mettere in guardia contro la riduzione a un io centrato su se stesso. Del resto, il sé verso cui si dirige la stima è il termine *riflessivo* di tutte le persone grammaticali (anche la seconda e la terza persona sono capaci di stima di sé, definita mediante l'intenzionalità e mediante l'iniziativa).

La seconda espressione, "con e per gli altri", esprime la *sollecitudine*, ossia il movimento di sé verso gli altri. Pur sottoscrivendo le analisi di Lévinas sul volto e sull'alterità, ossia sul primato dell'appello venuto dall'altro, Ricoeur preferisce fondare l'etica sulla nozione di *reciprocità* che istituisce l'altro come simile e l'io come il simile dell'altro. Senza reciprocità, o per impiegare un concetto caro ad Hegel, senza "riconoscimento", l'alterità si collocerebbe ad una distanza insormontabile.

Ma tale reciprocità solo nell'amicizia sottolinea la somiglianza e l'uguaglianza. Quando invece la sollecitudine va dal più forte al più debole, come nella compassione o nel rapporto maestro scolaro, essa si presenta in forme diseguali, benché vi sia implicito sempre un riconoscimento che il forte riceve dal debole. In questo senso, la reciprocità, è la molla nascosta delle forme ineguali della sollecitudine.

Al terzo punto si colloca l'aspirazione a vivere in *istituzioni giuste*. Introducendo il concetto di istituzione, si esce dal modello dell'amicizia. L'altro è il tu senza volto, il *ciascuno* (ma non l'anonimo, nel senso dell'*on* di Kierkegaard e di Heidegger). "Ciascuno" è una persona distinta, ma non è possibile raggiungerla che tramite i canali dell'istituzione. Non è per caso che la forma più notevole di giustizia è chiamata giustizia distributiva, concetto che supera il fenomeno puramente economico, per applicarsi bene anche alle istituzioni, come uno schema di distribuzione non soltanto dei beni e degli oggetti, ma anche dei diritti e dei doveri, delle obbligazioni e dei compiti, vantaggi e svantaggi, responsabilità e onori (espliciti i collegamenti all'opera di Rawls, nella *Teoria della giustizia*). Ciò che distingue la relazione all'altro tramite l'istituzione dalla relazione d'amicizia faccia a faccia è precisamente questa mediazione delle strutture di distribuzione, alla ricerca di una proporzionalità degna di essere chiamata equa.

Sarebbe equivoco però attendersi dalle istituzioni quella intimità che raggiungono le relazioni interpersonali di amicizia. E' ciò che fa precisamente della categoria del "ciascuno" qualcosa di irriducibile all'altro della relazione

amorosa o amicale. Tuttavia, l'incapacità del "ciascuno" di giungere al livello dell'amico non sottolinea alcuna inferiorità etica, giacché rientra sempre nella giustizia, secondo la formula romana: attribuire a ciascuno il suo.

L'analisi schizzata da Ricoeur rappresenta un passo avanti rispetto alla dialettica a due termini di Mounier (persona e comunità), in quanto la formula a tre termini (stima di sé, sollecitudine, istituzioni giuste) caratterizza la specificità del rapporto istituzionale, che specie nei primi anni di *Esprit*, si confondeva con l'utopia di una comunità come estrapolazione dell'amicizia. L'opposizione che si trova presso certi pensatori tedeschi dell'inizio del secolo tra comunità e società conduce alla stessa utopia di una comunità di uomini e di donne che sarebbe una "persona di persone". Diviene allora molto difficile riconoscere al piano politico una autonomia al confronto col piano morale, perché la politica ha a che fare con la distribuzione del potere e si iscrive perciò nella dimensione politica dell'*ethos*, come giustizia. Allo stesso tempo, si libera l'idea comunitaria da un equivoco che in fondo le impedisce di dispiegarsi pienamente nel campo delle relazioni umane, quando l'altro pur essendo senza volto, non resta privo di diritti. In altri termini, sotto la parola "altro", Ricoeur suggerisce di distinguere bene l'altro dell'amicizia e il "ciascuno" della giustizia, anche se entrambi rientrano nell'*ethos* della persona che abbraccia in un'unica formula ben articolata la cura di sé, dell'altro, dell'istituzione.

Una tale triade spinge Ricoeur a comparare ed arricchire l'idea di persona quale la tradizione personalista di Mounier ha trasmesso, tenendo conto delle ricerche contemporanee sul linguaggio, sull'azione e sul racconto.

a. Il Linguaggio

Una ripresa dell'idea di persona ha tutto da guadagnare da un dialogo con le filosofie ispirate da ciò che si chiama *linguistic turn*. Non che tutto sia linguaggio, come è detto talvolta esageratamente da alcune concezioni in cui il linguaggio ha perduto il suo riferimento al mondo della vita, a quello dell'azione e a quello dello scambio tra persone. Ma, se tutto non è linguaggio, tutto, nell'esperienza, non giunge al senso che alla condizione di essere portato a linguaggio. L'espressione "portare l'esperienza al linguaggio" invita a considerare l'uomo parlante, se non come equivalente dell'uomo *tout court*, almeno come condizione primaria dell'essere uomo.

A livello della semantica, la persona non è ancora un sé, nella misura in cui ella non è trattata come una entità capace di designarsi essa stessa, ma solo come un'entità a cui facciamo riferimento. Tuttavia, la semantica non deve essere sotto stimata, nella misura in cui, riferendosi alle persone come "particolari di base", assegna uno statuto alla terza persona grammaticale, egli, ella.

Ma è a livello della pragmatica che l'apporto della linguistica alla filosofia della persona è più decisivo, intendendo per pragmatica lo studio del significato

di una proposizione dipendente nel contesto degli interlocutori. E' a questo stadio che l'io e il tu, implicati nel processo d'interlocuzione, possono essere tematizzati per la prima volta. Il miglior modo di illustrare questo aspetto è di porsi nel quadro della teoria degli atti del discorso (speech acts).

La proposta di Ricoeur per questo filone di studi è di riformulare la teoria degli atti del discorso, e attraverso essa tutta la pragmatica, sulla base della triade dell'*ethos* morale. L'equivalente della stima di sé sarebbe costituito dall'io parlo, implicato in ciascuna delle configurazioni degli atti del discorso. Quanto alla relazione all'altro, è evidentemente messo in gioco nel contesto dell'interlocuzione che la pragmatica prende in considerazione quando si distingue dalla semantica. Infine, non sono solamente l'io e il tu che sono portati in primo piano mediante il processo d'interlocuzione, ma subentra anche il terzo termine: il linguaggio stesso come istituzione. Ciascuno parla, ma nessuno inventa il linguaggio; lo mette solo in movimento, al momento in cui prende la parola, come dice appropriatamente l'espressione popolare.

Il legame tra la triade locuzione, interlocuzione, linguaggio-istituzione è così omologa alla triade dell'*ethos*: stima di sé, sollecitudine, istituzioni giuste. Una tale omologia diviene implicazione mutua nel caso della promessa, che unisce la triade linguistica e la triade etica. L'obbligo a mantenere la promessa è legato a tre aspetti. Da una parte, mantenere la propria promessa è mantenere se stessi nell'identità di colui che ha detto e di colui che domani farà. Questa tenuta di sé evoca la stima di sé. D'altra parte, è sempre a qualcuno che si promette. Infine, l'obbligazione di mantenere la propria promessa equivale all'obbligazione di preservare l'istituzione del linguaggio, nella misura in cui questa, per la sua struttura fiduciaria, riposa sulla fiducia di ciascuno nella parola di ciascuno (linguaggio come una istituzione di distribuzione della parola). Nella promessa, la struttura triadica del discorso e la struttura triadica dell'*ethos* si riscoprono reciprocamente.

b. *Il soggetto agente*

La teoria della persona riceve un rafforzamento considerevole da ciò che si chiama oggi teoria dell'azione. La problematica della persona si identifica, nel campo dell'azione, con la problematica del "chi"? L'attribuzione dell'azione a un agente, infatti, si rivela essere irriducibile a quella di un predicato a un soggetto logico: è per questo che nella teoria dell'azione si è spesso riservato un termine tecnico, avente valore di neologismo, per dire questa attribuzione *sui generis*: *ascrizione*. Ma l'ascrizione ha una certa parentela con ciò che si chiama imputazione sul piano morale.

E' qui che la triade dell'*ethos* serve da guida nella problematica del "chi?", distinta da quella del "cosa?" e del "perché?" dell'azione. Il "chi?" presenta la stessa struttura triadica dell'*ethos* morale. Da una parte, non c'è agente che non possa designarsi come autore responsabile dei suoi atti. In questo senso, noi

ritroviamo le due componenti della stima di sé: la capacità di agire secondo delle intenzioni e quella di produrre dei cambiamenti efficaci nel corso delle cose. Ma, d'altra parte, l'azione umana non si concepisce che come *interazione*, nelle varie forme, dalla cooperazione alla competizione e al conflitto. Ciò che si chiama *praxis* da Aristotile, implica una pluralità di agenti che si *influenzano* mutualmente entro l'ordine delle cose. La terza componente dell'*ethos* interviene per il fatto che non c'è azione che non si riferisca a ciò che si è chiamato, in teoria dell'azione "*talons d'excellence*", ossia senza fare riferimento a delle regole (tecniche, estetiche, giuridiche) che definiscono il livello di riuscita o di scacco di una azione.

Non è difficile il passaggio dal piano pratico - o *praxis* - al piano etico: agire per un agente è esercitare un potere *su* un altro agente: questa relazione, espressa per il termine *potere su*, ha di fronte un agente e un paziente. La teoria dell'azione in quest'ottica, deve completare l'analisi dell'agire con quella del patire: l'azione è fatta da qualcuno e subita da qualcun altro. Su questa dissimetria fondamentale si innestano tutte le perversioni che culminano nel processo di vittimizzazione: dalla menzogna agli inganni sino alla violenza fisica e la tortura. La violenza risulta il male fondamentale iscritto in filigrana nella relazione dissimetrica tra l'agente e il suo paziente. E' sempre l'ineguaglianza tra agenti che pone il problema etico nel cuore della struttura inegualitaria dell'interazione. Il criterio etico a questo riguardo è quello della Regola d'Oro: "Non fare ad altri ciò che non vorresti fosse fatto à te". Un rapporto preciso si stabilisce così tra la regola d'oro e la giustizia distributiva, che culmina nel principio di Rawls, ossia la massimizzazione della parte minimale, in una spartizione ineguale.

c. *La mediazione narrativa*

Il confronto della persona con la mediazione narrativa sottolinea il complesso problema dell'*identità*. La persona non esiste che dalla nascita alla morte, dunque nella *concatenazione* di una vita e ciò ripropone la questione del "chi?".

Con identità, infatti, si possono intendere due cose diverse: la permanenza di una sostanza immutabile che il tempo non colpisce (in questo caso Ricoeur propone il termine *memeté*), e la tenuta di un sé, a dispetto di ciò che Proust chiamava le vicissitudini del cuore. Si può distinguere perciò tra l'identità *idem* e l'identità *ipse*, denominabili rispettivamente stessità e ipseità.

In questa distinzione interviene la dimensione narrativa che costruisce l'unità di una storia, poiché è nello sviluppo di una storia raccontata che si gioca la dialettica tra le due polarità. Si può avere una coerenza completa tra il personaggio della storia e la fissità d'un carattere che permette di identificarlo (è ciò che succede nelle fiabe o nelle storie del folklore, o anche agli inizi del romanzo classico), ma si possono riscontare anche casi inquietanti in cui l'identità del personaggio sembra dissolversi interamente, come nei romanzi di

Kafka, di Joyce e in generale nel romanzo post-classico. Se è questo il senso dei drammi d'identità che abbondano nella letteratura contemporanea, noi possiamo dire che la vita si svolge tra la ricomposizione quasi completa e la dissociazione quasi completa.

Anche in questo ambito una filosofia della persona può vedere il ritmo ternario, tentando delle analogie, senza scadere in parallelismi rigidi.

Al primo termine della triade dell'*ethos* personale, la stima di sé, corrisponde il concetto di identità narrativa, mediante il quale si definisce la coesione di una persona nella concatenazione di una vita umana. Così la filosofia della persona potrebbe essere liberata dai falsi problemi del sostanzialismo greco. Infatti, l'identità narrativa sfugge all'alternativa del sostanzialismo: o l'immutabilità di un nucleo (un'anima) intemporale, o la dispersione nelle impressioni, come in Hume e Nietzsche.

Il secondo elemento dell'alterità, la sollecitudine, ha il suo equivalente narrativo nella costituzione stessa dell'identità narrativa, in tre modi differenti. Innanzitutto, l'unità narrativa di una vita integra l'alterità dell'avvenimento. In secondo luogo ciascuna storia di vita si trova aggrovigliata con tutte le storie di vita alle quali ciascuno è mischiato come sottolinea Wilhelm Schapp). In terzo luogo, l'elemento dell'alterità è legato al ruolo della finzione. Il riconoscersi nelle storie fittizie dei personaggi storici, della leggenda o del romanzo costituisce un vasto campo sperimentale per il lavoro di identificazione che ciascuno persegue con se stesso.

L'analisi delle filosofie contemporanee esaminate riconduce perciò Ricoeur alla persona nella sua triplice dimensione etica: stima di sé, sollecitudine per l'altro, aspirazione a vivere in istituzioni giuste.

5. *Reciprocità e trascendenza*

Il tema della reciprocità, evocato da Ricoeur, è stato sviluppato soprattutto come tensione etica tra unità e differenza nelle relazioni interpersonali. G. P. Di Nicola lo ha trattato affrontando l'emergere della questione femminile e la sua domanda critica costruttiva al personalismo: se esso sia stato costruito a misura di uomo maschio universalizzato e se sia possibile oggi pensarlo invece in termini di reciprocità. La reciprocità, infatti, mira tendenzialmente al riconoscimento dell'uguaglianza dell'essere persona a pieno titolo, rispettando la differenza sia in rapporto all'unicità di ogni individuo, sia in rapporto alla differenza di genere. Scriveva Hegel: «Unificazione vera, amore vero e proprio,

ha luogo solo tra viventi che sono uguali in potere., e che quindi sono viventi l'un per l'altro nel modo più completo». ¹⁰

Soprattutto nel rapporto uomo-donna si gioca la realizzazione di quelle spinte etiche positive che caratterizzano la reciprocità, quando l'uguaglianza non è la formalità contrattuale del diritto né quella astratta del concetto di Umanità (che si traduce in sistemi etici, politici, culturali monocordi), ma la tensione etica a vivere e rispondere all'altro, in un movimento di comunicazione che non annulla, ma valorizza le differenze relazionandole. In tal senso nel rapporto uomo-donna si sperimenta il gioco della reciprocità come scambio di ruoli tra un agente e un paziente evitando che l'uno e l'altro si trasformino in persecutore e vittima.

Sul piano culturale, approfondire il senso della reciprocità nella sua applicazione al maschile e al femminile (unidualità antropologica) significa arricchire la persona delle due voci che compongono l'umanità, tenendo presente che l'una voce, quella maschile, ha elaborato una ricca cultura giunta sino all'odierno post-liberismo e l'altra è ancora in procinto di farsi. Nel contesto culturale attuale, la cultura delle donne presenta però molteplici sintonie con quell'esigenza di ritorno alla persona reclamato dalla frantumazione dei modelli della totalità e della razionalità.

La reciprocità inoltre implica il superamento del rapporto io-tu non solo nelle istituzioni, ma anche in una trascendenza verticale che garantisce il "verso dove" di ciascuno e mette in guardia dalla tentazione dell'annichilimento dell'uno nell'altro.

E' stato Piero Viotto a sviluppare l'impostazione triadica di Ricoeur applicandola ai rapporti tra persona, comunità e verticalità. La persona è stata presentata come fuoco nodale in cui individualità, religiosità e socialità si implicano reciprocamente, a prescindere dalla diverse fedi filosofiche, religiose e politiche.

Il teologo Piero Coda è tornato sul tema dalla reciprocità, in forma di rinnovamento e continuità con la tradizione personalista. La persona che è al centro della transizione non può più essere pensata soltanto nella sua singolare individualità, ma nel suo rapporto di reciprocità con l'altro, sia che si tratti dell'altro *uomo*, sia che si tratti dell'altro in quanto *Dio*, sia che si tratti dell'altro in quanto *altra cultura*, sia che si tratti dell'altro in quanto *maschio e femmina*, sia che si tratti dell'altro in quanto *natura*. In tutte le forme esaminate il "verso dove" del nostro tempo si configura come una reciprocità conviviale. In par-

10 G. W. F. Hegel, "Die Liebe", in H. NOHL, *Theologische Jugendschriften* (Tübingen 1907) 379

ticolare:

- da una cultura sull'uomo autocentrato, unilateralmente antropocentrica, ad una cultura di reciprocità tra uomo e Dio, tra antropocentrismo e teocentrismo;

- da una cultura dell'individualismo, del soggetto monade a quella della comunione reciproca e quindi della *kenosi* di se stesso per ritrovarsi con l'altro nel noi (qualitativamente nuovo della reciprocità);

- dal primato della razionalità antropologica e tecnologica del maschile, alla reciprocità maschile/femminile, con conseguente ampliamento del paradigma della razionalità;

- dall'etnocentrismo/eurocentrismo, alla società multi-culturale, rispettosa delle differenze in un rapporto di simbiosi e osmosi;

- da una razionalità e da un modello di approccio alla natura, di carattere tecnocratico possessivo, ad un rapporto di reciprocità, nel rispetto della soggettività;

Infine, Coda ha indicato i due criteri di ispirazione cristiana (ma non solo per i cristiani) di operatività storica per un'autentica cultura della persona in reciprocità: partire dagli ultimi e amore/perdono per i nemici (non violenza).

Questi elementi hanno il loro paradigma regolativo in un concetto di dignità umana armonicamente cosmoteandrica, per usare un termine di R. Pannikar. Dal punto di vista teologico, il mistero della persona ha il suo massimo luogo di rivelazione nel mistero trinitario che evidenzia la relazionalità come espressione di reciprocità realizzata.

6. *Etica ed economia*

La sessione, introdotta dall'on. Alberto Aiardi, ha avuto l'intervento centrale del Prof. S. Zamagni sulla falsariga del tema: *Sulla cooperazione tra scienza economica e etica: ragioni, problemi, prospettive*. Egli è partito dalla domanda come darsi conto della recente ripresa del mutuo interesse tra economia e filosofia morale, dopo decenni durante i quali economia ed etica, un tempo assai vicine, erano cresciute nel più completo isolamento e nella più totale indifferenza. Se ancora vent'anni fa gli economisti conoscevano appena qualche lavoro di filosofia della scienza, oggi è difficile trovare un economista che non perpepisca il messaggio che viene dalle opere di Rawls, Nozick, Parfit, Dworkin, Elster, Williams, anche solo per sentito dire. Da una parte dunque con la tesi della avallatività nella ricerca economica si è avallata l'emancipazione dell'economia dall'etica, dall'altra però questo paradigma è entrato in crisi.

Un mutamento parallelo si è verificato sul versante filosofico. Se prima non si poteva porre in dubbio la dicotomia fatto-valore, oggi è impossibile leggere Rawls e Nozick e i contributi di filosofia morale, senza una solida conoscenza della teoria economica.

Da entrambi i fronti si avverte una crescente insoddisfazione nei confronti della sistemazione esistente, nella speranza che un nuovo orizzonte possa arricchire la ricerca su entrambi i versanti. "E' ormai diffuso il convincimento - ha affermato Zamagni - che una teoria economica pura, cioè scientificamente avalutativa, che prescindendo completamente dai punti di vista etici nella istituzione delle norme, non è all'altezza della comprensione scientifica dell'agire economico".

Allo stesso modo problematico risulta sempre più l'affermazione del principio economico della sovranità delle preferenze individuali, per le sue conseguenze sul piano dell'azione individuale e su quello sociale. Il superamento delle aporie vecchie e nuove delle ricerche economiche richiede un ampliamento del concetto di razionalità nell'azione.

Se infatti vogliamo agire e pensare nella prospettiva dei nuovi modelli di sviluppo, seguendo le premesse di valore cui ci richiama il personalismo, allora troviamo inadeguato l'impianto teorico tradizionale in economia, incapace di affrontare le questioni più gravi poste dall'interazione sociale.

Il problema si riallaccia, tramite la giustizia distributiva, alla questione posta da Ricoeur, in un dialogo di reciprocità e distinzione tra economia ed etica, per impedire all'economista di rimandare al filosofo le questioni irrisolte dell'assetto sociale e al filosofo morale di adagiarsi nei problemi del bene senza toccare la giustizia istituzionale. Interessante anche per Zamagni il tentativo di Rawls, anche se non il solo. "Questa interpretazione - egli ha scritto - certamente discutibile, mentre avvicina Rawls ad altri esiti delle discussioni recenti nell'ambito della teoria della giustizia distributiva (penso soprattutto alle 'teorie comunitarie') lo allontana dalla formulazione in termini di teoria della scelta razionale. Occorre avvertire che quella rawlsiana non è certo la sola prospettiva di discorso, che in epoca recente, si è offerta quale ponte e quale banco di prova della cooperazione tra economia ed etica (basta pensare alle posizioni cosiddette neoaristoteliche)".

Zamagni ha concluso con una frase di T. Pynchon: "Nei primi stadi, della vita, pensiamo di conoscere ogni cosa, ovvero siamo spesso inconsapevoli della portata e della struttura della nostra ignoranza. L'ignoranza non è semplicemente uno spazio in bianco sulla mappa mentale di una persona. Essa possiede contorni e coerenza e, a quanto mi consta, pure regole di funzionamento" ed ha aggiunto: "ritengo che si possa agevolmente estendere questa metafora dal processo di maturazione di una persona a quello di una disciplina (o di un paio di discipline nel caso presente). Imparare qualcosa circa la complessità di ciò

che non si sa non è solo un esercizio di grande umiltà”.

Il Prof. Bernard Callebaut ha rappresentato il *Centrum for Ekonomie en Etiek* di Lovanio, nel quale collaborano economisti, filosofi morali e teologi e che sta portando avanti una triplice direzione:

- tentare una mediazione tra i principi morali fondamentali del cristianesimo e la pratica concreta dell'economia;
- favorire progetti di ricerca sui problemi etici della macroeconomia e dell'economia politica (giustizia distributiva e commutativa, giustizia fiscale, ambiente, evoluzione tecnologica ed economia);
- contribuire allo sviluppo di un'etica dell'impresa con la creazione di “codici morali” per i quadri dirigenziali e per i lavoratori.

In questo quadro, il prof. Benetto Gui ha posto in evidenza come lo studiare l'economia come sistema di mercato è utile, come ogni momento di analisi, all'approfondimento dei meccanismi del settore, è perciò necessario sotto l'aspetto metodologico: “Un sistema di mercato ideale - sostiene B. Gui - ha il pregio di poter essere modellizzato in modo estremamente nitido, il che consente di spingere l'analisi molto in là senza perdere di rigore. Ciò fa sì che a confronto dei sistemi economici reali, ibridi e estremamente complessi, il caso idealizzato rappresenti un oggetto di studio particolarmente appetibile, con il rischio di non percorrere mai, o quantomeno non compiutamente, il cammino che separa questo da quelli, che pure costituiscono il vero oggetto della politica economica”.¹¹

Quando si parla di “sistema aperto”, ha continuato Gui si intende dire che la società per sopravvivere deve guardare all'integralità dell'interazione umana, se non vuole arrestarsi ad un rapporto difensivo e manipolativo con l'ambiente; aprirsi dunque a quegli aspetti che non consentono una sistemazione, ma la cui esistenza è una provocazione: l'intuizione, l'espressività, l'etica, la religione ecc.. Particolarmente significativa al fine di rimettere in questione il sistema è la voce dei nuovi soggetti che intervengono nel dialogo culturale, passando dall'emarginazione (marginalità di razza, di sesso, economica, religiosa) alla centralità, offrendo un contributo di ripensamento meno parziale, più comprensivo della vasta gamma di temi e problemi rimasti occultati e che oggi emergono dal sommerso e contribuiscono a far rileggere, correggere, integrare il già fatto.

In tale ottica, la logica che domina le regole del sistema non è alternativa a

11 B. GUI, “Sull'idea di economia comunitaria”, in *Nuova Umanità*, n. 57 (1988) 77-88

quella della persona, giacché entrambe comprendono il momento dello scambio come equilibrio fluido, sempre aperto all'irrompere della novità creativa individuale. Legare i problemi della persona e della comunità alle questioni economiche significa cercare tutte le formule che riescano a controllare la convivenza della due dimensioni che abbiamo visto non così antitetico, come una certa cultura, spiritualista da un verso e materialista dall'altro, ha portato a credere.

Tutte le forme di controllo dell'economia sembrano passare per il setaccio del gruppo e ciò fa parlare di economia comunitaria, che per B. Gui è l'"insieme di organizzazioni economiche private, strutturalmente finalizzate a rispondere in modo diretto alle esigenze di una pluralità di soggetti e perciò più adatte a convogliare comportamenti non individualistici".¹²

Una risposta diretta può aversi in due forme distinte: collaborazione e condivisione delle decisioni (modello partecipativo delle cooperative, delle associazioni, dei sindacati e delle varie forme di cogestione e autogestione); modello "donativo" delle organizzazioni non dominate da fini di lucro, dirette a recepire i bisogni emergenti ascoltando direttamente i beneficiari, a favorire interessi generali o a sostenere le categorie più deboli coinvolgendole per quanto è possibile. In entrambi i modelli si fa ricorso a motivazioni volontaristiche, almeno dei promotori che mettono in moto i meccanismi di cogestione, e donative, il cui sforzo non viene ripagato immediatamente se non dall'adesione e dalla solidarietà che scaturisce dall'impegno. Ciò non significa ovviamente idealizzare l'azione disinteressata e sublimare eventuali forme di interessi nascosti, ma sollecitare il ricorso ad una integrazione della logica del mercato con quella personalista e comunitaria.

Se il correttivo invocato è quello della responsabilizzazione, esso non può essere un indicativo di tipo etico kantiano, che fa appello sulla volontà di adesione dell'individuo alla legge morale, in contrasto con quella economica, ma un richiamo che ha senso nell'ambito dei rapporti interpersonali e comunitari, laddove dall'etica del moralismo si passa, per il rapporto diretto, all'etica della solidarietà e della reciprocità.

Via Torre Bruciata, 17
1 - 64100 Teramo,
Italia

12 B. GUI, "Sull'idea di economia comunitaria," 85

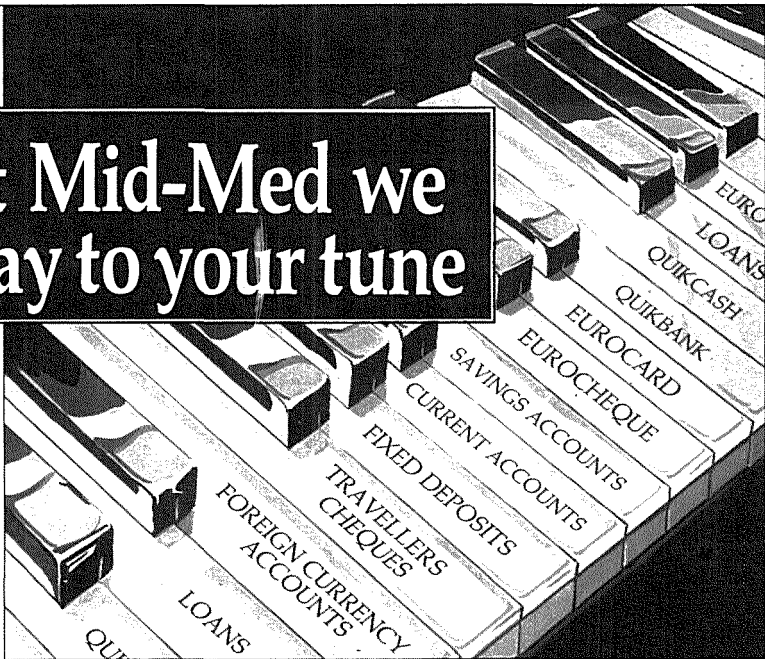


DON'T WORRY, WE'LL EXPLAIN...

Our travel consultancy service will help you unravel your travel problems. And it's free!

220 ST PAUL STREET, VALLETTA, MALTA
TEL: (+356) 624 983, 626 628 FAX: (+356) 230 330 TLX: 1626
45 ST FRANCIS SQUARE, VICTORIA, GOZO
TEL: (+356) 553 977, 558 415 FAX: (+356) 554 977

At Mid-Med we play to your tune



Mid-Med Bank Malta's Largest Bank is determined to play to your tune. The number of banking services it offers from its network of modern and up-to-date offices are tailor-made for you.

Current Accounts

You get a Cheque Book to pay your bills in comfort and a Quikcash Card to be able to use the Quikbank - 24 hours a day.

Savings and Deposit Accounts

Your money is safe and secure while working for you. 3% p.a. on Savings payable on demand, 5% p.a. if you deposit it for one year, 5¼% p.a. for two years and 5½% p.a. for three years.

Foreign Currency Accounts

If you can hold Foreign Currency you can earn high interest. See the newspapers for current rates.

Loans

Mid-Med provides you with that extra cash required to expand your business, make that extra improvement to your house or to finance any project.

Whatever your banking requirements go to a Bank that plays to your tune - call at one of the Mid-Med Bank Offices.



Sole Ticket-Selling Agent in Malta
for Banca Nazionale Del Lavoro
Official Bank Italia '90



Mid-Med Bank

Malta's Largest Bank
Where You Matter Most

Contribution by
EDRICHTON HOLIDAYS GROUP OF COMPANIES
58, Old Bakery Street, Valletta, Malta