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Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (review)

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Dunn argues for the unity and integrity of Tertullian's text by offering a detailed examination of its structural elements, including the *exordium*, *narratio*, *partitio*, *refutatio*, *confirmatio*, and *peroratio*. He concludes that *Aduersus Iudaeos* is a "work in progress" (p. 96). Most scholars agree that chapters 1–8, which are more polished than the later chapters, are from Tertullian's pen. Dunn maintains that chapters 9–14 are also the work of Tertullian, but these chapters remain unfinished and in need of revision. Dunn explains the vexing similarities between these later chapters and passages of *Aduersus Marcionem* by claiming (with Gösta Säflund and Hermann Tränkle) that Tertullian wrote *Aduersus Iudaeos* before *Aduersus Marcionem* and that he reworked some of the later passages of *Aduersus Iudaeos* and incorporated them into *Aduersus Marcionem*.

Although Dunn focuses mainly on the rhetorical features of Tertullian's pamphlet, he resists any reading that would deny the "reality" of Christian-Jewish interaction in second-century Carthage. Dunn suggests that readers should take at face value Tertullian's opening claim that the idea for his text was sparked by a recent debate between a Christian and proselyte Jew. According to Dunn, the subsequent text thus comprises Tertullian's recommendations for how Christians can defend their case in future debates with Jews. Tertullian aims to persuade his audience "that God had replaced the Jews with the Christians as the people of divine favor" (p. 95), and he defends this position by citing "evidence" from the Hebrew Scriptures.

By defending the unity and authenticity of *Aduersus Iudaeos*, Dunn reminds his readers of the importance of analyzing Tertullian's pamphlet as an early example of Christian anti-Jewish literature. Dunn's rhetorical analysis paves the way for future work on the social and historical contexts of this pamphlet, including a study of Tertullian's understanding of *Iudaeus* as a religious identity marker as opposed to an ethnic or geographic one (a topic that Dunn mentions briefly). In general, Dunn's monograph is clearly structured and well documented. It includes a full bibliography, general index, and index of citations of Tertullian's works and of Scripture. Its lucid descriptions of Tertullian's rhetorical practices and purposes in *Aduersus Iudaeos* make it accessible to students of ancient rhetoric and early Christian-Jewish relations, in particular.

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SUSANNA DRAKE

Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri. By AnneMarie Luijendijk. [Harvard Theological Studies, 60.] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2008. \$25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-674-02595-0.)

In this innovative study AnneMarie Luijendijk mines documentary texts from Oxyrhynchus (letters, edicts, etc.) that cast light on Christians living in or near that important Egyptian city. She succeeds in showing both the use-

fulness of these documentary texts and also the limits and difficulties involved in drawing firm inferences from them.

After an introduction to Oxyrhynchus and the discovery of the massive trove of manuscripts by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt (from c. 1890s onward), Luijendijk explores the various markers of Christian identity in these texts, including use of the term *Christian* (rare and used solely by non-Christians) and given names as indicators (showing names to be of limited usefulness in that many Christians continued to bear non-Christian names). There follows a chapter on the “*nomina sacra*” (especially the Greek words for *Jesus*, *Christ*, *God*, and *Lord*), which were written by Christians in a distinctive way, abbreviated and with a horizontal stroke over the abbreviated form. The presence of any of the “*nomina sacra*” in a manuscript is commonly regarded by specialists in ancient Greek paleography as a strong indication of a Christian provenance, and Luijendijk notes that this scribal convention appears in Christian letters as well as Christian copies of their literary texts (e.g., Scriptures).

The next two chapters focus on a particular Christian named Sotas, who appears in several documentary texts, including letters sent by and to him. The letters from Sotas include letters of recommendation, which Luijendijk proposes must have been a common responsibility of Christian bishops in the third century, enabling Christians to travel for various reasons and to be received hospitably by coreligionists in their journeys. Other texts indicate that Sotas was involved in fund-raising and traveling (perhaps to participate in a church council in Antioch). Luijendijk also offers a basis for the intriguing proposal that the production of Christian books may have been sponsored by Sotas in Oxyrhynchus.

Chapter 6 discusses the documentary evidence of Roman governmental persecution of Christians. This includes the *libelli*, certificates in which people were required (by Emperor Decius) to attest that they had always participated in the worship of the pagan deities and that posed a major religious crisis for Christians. Luijendijk also attempts to correlate these documentary items with statements of early Christian authors about Roman edicts and actions against Christians. In chapter 7, Luijendijk discusses evidence of Christian efforts at passive resistance and subversion of Roman efforts to suppress them. The texts reviewed in this chapter refer to the official inspection of a church in rural Egypt, to Christians who served as “readers” in churches, to a certain Paul of Oxyrhynchus who was martyred in the persecution of 305–06 AD, to Christian tactics directed to avoiding the confiscation and destruction of their Scriptures, and to Christians such as a certain Aurelius Athanasius who seems to have been a Christian employed in the imperial administration of Egypt in this period.

For anyone interested in the *realia* and particulars of early Christians, this book will be interesting reading. For those unfamiliar with the sort of evi-

dence mined in the book, Luijendijk proves an engaging and accessible guide. She provides the Greek text of each text considered, along with her English translation. In the copious notes and thirty-two-page bibliography, she also gives thorough pointers for further research. She is sure-footed in handling the issues and scholarly debates. Indices of primary sources (including all ancient manuscripts cited), authors, and subjects complete this very useful and stimulating study.

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A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Vol. VI: The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites. By Robert F. Taft, S.J. [Orientalia Christiana Analecta, No. 281.] (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale. 2008. Pp. 857. €58,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-872-10361-4.)

There is probably no one more qualified than Robert Taft, emeritus professor of Oriental Liturgy at Rome's prestigious Pontifical Oriental Institute, to write the history of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. This is the concluding volume in a series he began in 1975. Although this is the last volume of the series, one more remains to be published: volume 3 on the Anaphora or Eucharistic Prayer. Taft notes some nine articles he has already published on the Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom, the most employed Eucharistic prayer in the Christian East, and so one can hope that the series will reach completion. Taft has sometimes been called "the Byzantine Jungmann." The truth of the matter is that Taft himself has written far more extensively about the Christian East than Jungmann did about the Roman Rite. One can imagine that someday people might refer to Jungmann as "the Roman Taft."

The current volume on the Communion and concluding rites is both massive and impressive. Taft seems to leave no question untreated—and he deals with every question with extraordinary depth and scholarship, using the time-honored method of comparative liturgy. This volume sheds light, therefore, not only on the Byzantine liturgy of St. John Chrysostom but on the other Byzantine liturgies (St. Basil, the Presanctified), and other Eastern and Western rites as well.

Perhaps the most significant improvement over past volumes in the series is Taft's attentiveness to the history of the "everyday," the incidental literature that gives us not liturgical texts themselves but rather the historical and liturgical context in which they were experienced. This volume is filled with reports from the desert monastics, sermons, and other literature that sheds light on how the Communion rites were celebrated and understood.

In addition to his encyclopedic scholarship, Taft is at his best when writing about method, as he does in the excursus on the *skeuophylakion* (sacristy) and processions at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople's "Great Church." Here he shows step-by-step how he has come to conclusions that differ signifi-