

nis beigegeben hat. Das dankenswerterweise beigefügte Verzeichnis der herangezogenen Quellentexte bietet hier ja nur einen begrenzten Ersatz. Nicht sonderlich praktisch finden wir schließlich die in verschiedene Gruppen aufgegliederte Bibliographie. Aber das ist vielleicht Geschmackssache, insgesamt haben wir es mit einem großen Wurf zu tun, der der französischen Patrologie alle Ehre macht und diejenigen Lügen straft, die der patristischen Forschung unseres Nachbarlandes keine Großtaten mehr zutrauen. Die methodisch überzeugend aufgebaute, auf Grund einer klaren und übersichtlichen Darstellung angenehm zu lesende Untersuchung dürfte für längere Zeit die für die Trinitätslehre des C. von Alexandrien einschlägige Arbeit bleiben.

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GRILLMEIER, ALOIS, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Band 2/4: Die Kirche von Alexandrien mit Nubien und Äthiopien. Unter Mitarbeit von *Theresia Hainthaler*. Freiburg-Basel-Wien; Herder 1990. XXIV + 436 S.

This volume of Alois Grillmeier's slowly-emerging magnum opus explores the development of the doctrine of Christ in Alexandria and its vast hinterland from the Council of Chalcedon until the end of the sixth century (though in the case of Ethiopia, as will become apparent, these temporal markers lose their relevance). During this period Alexandria became the focus of Cyrilline resistance to the settlement of the Council of Chalcedon, and was dubbed by the greatest leader of that resistance, Severus, for a time patriarch of Antioch, the great Christ-loving city of the Alexandrians'. The influence of Alexandria spread down the Nile into Nubia, and beyond that into the mountain-kingdom of Ethiopia, so that the churches of these regions are traditionally called 'monophysite': one of the many strengths of this volume is the dispassionate analysis of the adequacy of such labels.

The volume is divided into four parts: the first deals with the Greek theology of Alexandria, both Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian; the second with the Christology of the Coptic-speaking Egyptian Christians (in fact, mainly the monks); the third with Nubia; and the fourth with Ethiopia. – The *first part* covers what feels, for those who have already read vol. 2/2 (on Constantinople), familiar territory – for the most part. The controversies that involved the two Timothies – the 'Weasel' and 'Wobble-hat' –, Peter the 'Hoarse', and others mirror the controversies that wracked the Queen City: Timothy Aelurus and Peter Mongus supported a 'one nature' Christology, while condemning Eutyches and his rejection of Christ's consubstantiality with us. They were opposed by those who supported Chalcedon (in a minority in Alexandria, though with imperial support, of a kind), and both groups opposed those who agreed with Julian of Halicarnassus that Christ's human nature was incorruptible from conception (called 'Gaianites' in Alexandria). Theodosius, the friend and disciple of Severus, during his long reign as patriarch, spent mainly in exile, united under him the main body of those who refused to accept Chalcedon. His followers, known as 'Theodosians', much as most other anti-Chalcedonians elsewhere were known as 'Severans', formed the core of those who supported the Coptic hierarchy, that emerged in the latter part of the sixth century in opposition to the imperially-supported 'Melkites'. The chapters on all this present an admirably clear account of a potentially confusing story. This is the subject of the first section of this first part: the second section deals with the Christology of the Alexandrian intellectuals. The most important of these are John Philoponus and (though hardly an intellectual) the author of the *Christian Topography*, now known as 'Cosmas Indicopleustes'; there are briefer accounts of Cyrus and Nonnus of Panopolis, Pamprepius, Ammonius, and Olympiodorus. The chapter on John Philoponus (by *Theresia Hainthaler*) is a brilliant account of his theology, especially his Christology (though his alleged tritheism and understanding of the resurrection are also discussed), bringing out that his favoured terminology is not the Cyrilline *mia physis* formula, but rather the term, *mia physis synthetos*. It is an important addition to the now-growing literature on this learned Christian philosopher. The chapter on the *Christian Topography* is no less interesting, and raises some important objections to the generally accepted theory of W. Wolska-Conus that Cosmas is to be seen as a Nestorian. Although Cosmas is undoubtedly indebted to the Antiochene tradition (though in this connexion we should



think of Severian of Gabala, rather than more famous names), his Christology, although expressed in non-technical language, is perfectly Orthodox, indeed Neo-Chalcedonian in his maintaining that the sole subject of the incarnate One is the divine Logos.

The *second part* concerns Coptic Christology and is mainly concerned with Shenoute (Schenute). Grillmeier draws principally on two recently-published texts ascribed to Shenoute, an *Exhortation* and a Christological catechesis, and paints a picture of Shenoute protecting his monks against errors of gnostic, Origenist and Nestorian inspiration, and in particular defends him against Leopoldt's often-repeated accusation that he represents a ‚christuslose, öde Frömmigkeit‘, drawing attention, among other matters, to his advocacy of praying to Jesus in a way that anticipates the later, hesychast ‚Jesus prayer‘. This part includes a discussion of Shenoute's pupil and biographer, Besa, and the Christology in the liturgical prayer of the Coptic Church.

Because the Christian history of Nubia and Ethiopia is very little known, the *final two parts* include accounts of the history of these regions as background to the discussion of the Christology developed by these churches. In both cases this must have involved a huge amount of work in drawing together scattered secondary literature, and producing some sort of coherent survey. This work will be of value to church historians generally, and not just to those interested in the development of the doctrine of Christ. In both cases Grillmeier shows how the confession of Christ by the Christians of these regions has been profoundly marked by their history. Nubia's history is marked by wars that produced a tightly-knit kingdom cut off from the centres of civilization to the north. The traces of Nubian Christianity, discovered by archaeology (mainly as a rescue operation while the Aswan Dam was being built), have been followed by Grillmeier in pictures and inscriptions that have been recovered. The place of the Mother of God, the comforting and nourishing image of the *Galaktotrophousa*, looms large in the picture that emerges, that and veneration of the Cross as a sign of victory. Grillmeier traces these expressions of devotion to Christ back to the piety of the Coptic monks who first evangelized Nubia.

The case of Ethiopia is even more fascinating. Here is a Christian civilization, in many ways unique, and exceptionally isolated from other Christian culture. Contemporary sources tell of the evangelization of the kingdom of Aksum in the fourth century by a Syrian, Frumentius, whose work was sealed by his consecration by Athanasius as bishop to the newly-converted nation. Native Ethiopian sources are much (almost a millennium) later and tell of a nation that traces its origin back to Menelik, the son of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon. The liturgical practices of the Ethiopian Church, not to mention the existence in that country of the seeming-Jewish Falashas, seem to indicate a Jewish stage in the history of Ethiopia, prior to its Christianization. What archaeological evidence there is gives conflicting signs. Grillmeier presents this material, always with an eye to the way in which all this may have shaped the Christological confession of the Ethiopian Christians. All this could not fail to be confusing, as the experts on Ethiopia entertain sharply different interpretations of the exiguous evidence. Grillmeier brings a fresh eye to it, and also, it may be, fresh confusion. The Jewish material suggests to him the pursuit of some original ‚Jewish Christianity‘ in Ethiopia. The trouble is that, as all too often, what might be meant by Jewish Christianity is left undefined. At one point Grillmeier puzzles over why such a Jewish-Christian Christology should show no traces of a ‚Christology from below‘ (see pp. 376–9). It seems to me that one would hardly expect a church evangelized in the fourth century by an anti-Arian Christian to have any kind of ‚Christology from below‘. The Ethiopian Church is never likely to have been ‚Jewish-Christian‘ in that sense: its ‚Jewish Christianity‘ is that of a Christianity much given to reflection on the Old Testament (perhaps because of its isolation, as scholars have suggested). It might be more to the point to compare the Ethiopians with Oliver Cromwell than with the Ebionites! Nor does it seem to me at all clear that admitted Jewish elements are always correctly interpreted. The liturgical evidence cited amounts to a lot of liturgical activity in September (the time of the New Year and Yom Kippur), the importance of the feast of Christ's baptism and the observance of the Sabbath (see pp. 332–4). One can find all this in the Byzantine liturgical calendar, but no-one would suggest that there it amounts to evidence for deep Jewish influence: 29 August is the



feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist (in Ethiopia it is New Year) and 14 September is, like the Ethiopian Church, the feast of the Cross, the Byzantines also celebrate the New Year on 1 September, and the birth of the Mother of God on 8 September; the feast of the Theophany, which is the feast of Christ's baptism, is celebrated in the Byzantine calendar on the same day as the Ethiopian feast (6 January; in fact, the same as everywhere else), includes a blessing of water, and is in fact celebrated with liturgical ceremonies more elaborate than for any other feast save Easter; there is even a parallel to the observance of the sabbath, in that the Byzantine lectionary clearly envisages a liturgy on Saturdays as well as Sundays. The prominence of the feasts cited by Grillmeier seems to me evidence of the influence of the liturgical cycle emanating from Jerusalem in the middle of the fourth century: it is evidence for what the Ethiopians share with the rest of the Mediterranean world, not for what separates them from it. This is in fact what Grillmeier concludes for the Christology of the Ethiopian Church: affinity with Alexandrian Christology of the turn of the fourth/fifth century, combined with devotion to some translations of 'Qêrellos', i.e., Cyril. There are certainly some unusual ideas in Ethiopian Christology, notably the notion that the humanity of Christ (and indeed that of his mother) were like that of Adam (and Eve) before the Fall, but Grillmeier rightly rejects the allegation of Jungmann that the Ethiopian liturgical anaphoras enshrine 'mono-physitism'.

This volume points beyond formulae, expressed in philosophical terminology and acclaimed by councils, to another Christological dimension, that grows more immediately out of the Christian life of asceticism and the prayers and hymns of the liturgy, and finds its expression as much in pictures as in concepts. It is a dimension that could have been explored more already – in 2/2 there is discussion of the *kontakia* of Romanos, but not of the Christology implicit in the increasingly popular icons of late sixth-century Constantinople – and will surely be further explored in the volumes to come: volumes that are eagerly awaited.

A. LOUTH

AUGUSTINUS-LEXIKON, herausgegeben von / Edited by / Edité par *Cornelius Mayer*, Redaktion / Redaction / Rédaction *Karl-Heinz Chelius*, Vol. 1. Basel: Schwabe & Co. AG 1986–1994. LX S./1294 Sp.

Nun liegt also der erste Band des neuen Augustinus-Lexikons vollständig vor! Was den Gesamteindruck angeht, so wäre positiv und negativ, vor allem aber positiv, für den Band zu wiederholen, was Rez. zu den ersten Faszikeln in dieser Zeitschrift ausgeführt hat (63, 1988, 267–268 und 64, 1989, 265–266). Hinzuzufügen wäre, daß man das vorliegende Lexikon im Unterschied zu sonstigen Nachschlagewerken Artikel für Artikel in alphabetischer Reihenfolge lesen kann, ohne daß das Interesse nachläßt. Der Grund ist wohl, daß hier alle disparaten Einzelinformationen, die die 192 von 74 Mitarbeitern verfaßten Art. dieses Bandes enthalten, ob sie nun Personen oder Realien aus dem Umkreis A.s oder seiner Werke und die von ihm verwendeten Begriffe betreffen, sich letztlich doch alle auf einen einzigen ‚Gegenstand‘, nämlich diesen schlechthin unvergleichlichen Menschen, Augustinus, beziehen. Gefördert wird diese Leselust vielleicht auch dadurch, daß praktisch alle für dieses große Werk gewonnenen Mitarbeiter den Leser in ihre relativ einheitliche und gemeinsame Sicht dieses außerordentlichen Phänomens, das der Bischof von Hippo darstellt, hineinzuziehen vermögen. Wie dem auch sei, zu berichten ist hier über den in dieser Zeitschrift noch nicht besprochenen Teil des ersten Bandes. Es versteht sich von selbst, daß dies aus Raumgründen nur in sehr subjektiver Auswahl geschehen kann. – Gleich der erste Art. *bellum* (638–645, *M.-F. Berrouard*), fesselt den Leser, und zwar nicht nur wegen des Nuancenreichtums, mit dem A.s Position herausgearbeitet wird: Zwar besitzt A. gegenüber dem Krieg eine tiefe Aversion und er weiß wie kaum ein anderer um die schrecklichen Folgen des Krieges, trotzdem gibt es für ihn einen gerechten Krieg. Aber er ist in dem Sinne wiederum kein ‚*théologien de la guerre*‘, daß er genauere Erwägungen darüber anstellte, wie groß die Beeinträchtigungen der Gerechtigkeit sein müssen, daß sie einen Krieg legitimieren. Nie spricht A. im übrigen über den Krieg aus der Sicht des dem Staat gegenüber loyalen Bürgers, sondern immer als Mensch und Christ. Sehr gelungen auch einige Seiten weiter der