

Horbury terms 'spiritual' messianism (the angelic character of the messiah) and the contribution of this element to earliest Christology. If Horbury is right on this (and I think he is), many accounts of the emergence of Christian doctrine require significant revision. From the very earliest days of the Christian Church a sophisticated Christology, akin to the two natures doctrine of later orthodoxy, permeated early Christian belief. The likelihood is that the problem for the very first Christians was not so much the divinity of Christ but his humanity. This should be compulsory reading for anyone interested in the emergence of Christian Trinitarian theology.

Inevitably one will want to raise questions about matters of detail. What Horbury sets out to achieve is an essay in the history of ideas. There is little, therefore, of the enormously fruitful application of social theory which has been such an asset to the understanding of the development of doctrine in recent years. A judicious use of this would surely have assisted Horbury's discussion of the separation of Church and Synagogue. Likewise his fascinating account of messianic ideas fails to communicate the subversive and unpredictable quality which is characteristic of many such movements. William Horbury knows better than I do about the disruptive effects of messianism in later Judaism. As the great student of Jewish messianism and mysticism realised, there are deep affinities between Christianity and these later manifestations which it would be entirely appropriate to consider. Doubtless some of the Jewish writers Horbury studies meditated upon messianism in a rather detached way. The same cannot be said of the first Christians, whose doctrine was linked to particular, sometimes radically different, practices. The divergence of these from what most other Jews were doing led to the subsequent break. Understanding of the suspicion of the messianic, the apocalyptic and the eschatological helps to illuminate what distinguished the early Christian appropriation of these elements. Horbury's concern in this study could have been complemented by an attempt to comprehend how messianic ideas could leave behind the speculative and spawn radically different social and cultural groups. Nevertheless his rich treatment of the subject is an important foundation for further discussion, and we are all in his debt.

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Studien zur Entfaltung der altkirchlichen Theologie der Auferstehung. By Katharina Schneider. (Hereditas. Studien zur Alten Kirchengeschichte, 14). Pp. xlvii + 298. Bonn: Borrengässer 1999. DM 65. 3 923946 41 4

At the 1999 Oxford Patristics Conference Wolfram Kinzig called for early church historians to attend to the resurrection, and not leave it to biblical exegetes and dogmatists. Schneider's book has already laid a good foundation for that development. She divides her study between the inner-church writings of the earliest period (Didache, Barnabas, 1 and 2 Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp), and the Greek apologetic writings (Aristides, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus and the resurrection-monographs of Ps-Justin and Ps-Athenagoras).

Both the resurrection of Christ and whatever may constitute the general resurrection are considered with originality and with scrupulous attention to detail. The author's fire comes out towards the end, where Theophilus and Ps-Athenagoras are enthusiastically presented. It is clear that the early Christian writers have no coherent position. Traditional, biblical and philosophical material is all used to deal with whatever moral or theological matter is in hand. The inner-church writers all mention or imply the resurrection of Jesus, if only in creed-like formulae, and argue from New Testament texts to the future resurrection. Four of the apologists never refer to Jesus and his resurrection at all, which Schneider attributes to its potential for misunderstanding, and the offence it might cause to the intended audience. The writers differ between themselves, as to whether all or only the righteous rise again, and how this event relates to the Last Judgment. The main line of the book relates to the development of the doctrine of creation. Justin and Athenagoras have a clear doctrine of pre-existent matter on which God imposes form in creation; Tatian has the material substrate itself produced by God; Theophilus and Ps-Athenagoras show the effects of repelling the Platonic model in favour of a biblically-based doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. In this, the will and power of God combine to generate Man as embodied spirit, and God will not see his work fail through sin and mortality. There is much good exegesis here, which students of the writers concerned (especially the apologists) must take notice of, whether or not they are directly concerned with the resurrection. Schneider's book is difficult to fault. There are very few typographical errors. Good editions of texts are used, relevant studies assembled, conclusions judiciously drawn. Pouderon is rightly preferred to Marcovich for Athenagoras; but Marcovich is a mine of information, and should be in the bibliography. Less central to the plot, Origen's *Contra Celsum* needs Marcel Borret (*Sources chrétiennes*) as well as Koetschau. Too often the terms Gnostic, Gnosticism, are used to represent a particular complex of beliefs, for example about a purely spiritual resurrection. Schneider derives this use from excellent authorities, but it is now questionable. One must be more specific if a serious parallel is to be drawn. But this does not damage the argument, and if she is wrong, she is in good company. Scholarship apart, this study exposes the ineptitude with which every Easter the popular press and many clergy trivialise the debate about Christ's resurrection, not having first considered what resurrection might mean then or now.

ST ANDREWS

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The Antenicene pascha. A rhetorical history. By Karl Gerlach. (Liturgia Condenda, 7.)

Pp. xix + 434. Louvain: Peeters, 1998. B.Fr. 1,570 (paper). 90 429 0570 0
 This is a learned and provocative book, clever and sprightly in style. The first part deals with the melding of Exodus xii with the narrative of the Last Supper in early Christian liturgy and comment. The second part is headed 'The rhetoric of dispute', and looks in close detail first at the paschal controversy of 325 and the attempted resolution of the conflicting dates of celebration at the Council of Nicaea; and, secondly, taking a backward step in time, at the Quartadeciman