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## Gods Doomed to Death. Psalm 82 as a Testimony of the Birth of Monotheism

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**ABSTRACT:** The paper examines the beginnings of biblical monotheism. The author indicates the period of the Babylonian exile as the moment of the emergence of this idea in Israel. Psalm 82 is interpreted here as a testimony to the monotheistic transformation. The author advocates a literal understanding of the content of the psalm, as an image of the judgement over pagan gods, which ended in their condemnation to death. The reason for this dethronement of the entire pantheon is the permanent inability of the gods to ensure justice on earth. According to the psalmist, it is a feature of the only true God, which is the God of Israel, called upon to take power over the whole earth.

**KEYWORDS:** monotheism, justice, judgment of the gods, death of the gods

According to the biblical narrative, monotheism appeared in Israel's religion when YHWH revealed Himself on Mt. Sinai. Jan Assmann<sup>1</sup> even wrote about a revolutionary “Mosaic distinction” between truth and falsehoods in the religious sphere, and, consequently, about the dethronement of the Egyptian religion. According to him, “Moses’ reform” was an act that built Israel's identity and initiated a unique process of consolidating tradition. The breakthrough which Assmann wrote about was inextricably linked with monotheism, which, in turn, led people to question the existence of gods other than YHWH — the God of Israel. Since the time of publishing the monograph cited here, Assmann's thesis has been widely discussed among biblical scholars, cultural researchers, historians, and sociologists.<sup>2</sup> Monotheism itself, considered by him as progressive, was accused of intolerance towards other religions. However, one cannot overlook the fact that the idea of monotheism is connected to the tradition of the exodus, which, in turn, as the “founding myth” of the chosen people, was based on the ideas of freedom and truth.<sup>3</sup>

1 J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian. Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1997) = *Moses der Ägypter. Entzifferung einer Gedächtnisspur* (München: Hanser 1998; extended version, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag 2000).

2 Cf. G. Schramm, *Pięć rozdroży w dziejach świata* [Five Crossroads in the History of the World] (trans. B. Baran) (Warszawa: PIW 2009) 45–74.

3 Cf. R. Achenbach – R. Ebach – J. Wöhrle (eds.), *Wege der Freiheit. Zur Entstehung und Theologie des Exodusbuches. Die Beiträge eines Symposiums zum 70. Geburtstag von Rainer Albertz* (ATANT 104; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag 2014).

Although the process of maturing towards the adoption of monotheism could have had its intermediate stages (henotheism, monolatry),<sup>4</sup> monotheism itself, in its pure form, only appeared in Israel's religion at the end of the Babylonian exile (6th century BC).<sup>5</sup> In accordance with common opinion, this article indicates this period as the proper time of its birth. Psalm 82 is a unique testimony to this crucial moment in the history of Israel's religion. In the background of the problem addressed therein, a clear crisis of the world order is found, as seen through the eyes of the inhabitants of Judea. Its cause was, in turn, the religious and social crisis caused by a perceived lack of the rule of law, for which the gods took the brunt of responsibility, followed by the rulers who represented them and the nations they ruled. The effect of this sense of ubiquitous injustice, in conjunction with the dynamic changes taking place on the international stage, was such that people started questioning the need for the existence of these deities, as well as their role; with monotheism<sup>6</sup> being its consequence.

For the psalmist, the satirical "*short story*"<sup>7</sup> of the Canaanite religions, which represented pagan religions as a whole, became a vivid background allowing him to illustrate the revolutionary change in religious beliefs among the people of ancient Israel. The biblical author presents the readers with a drama which takes place on a global scale (v. 5c: all the foundations of the earth are shaken), and for which he holds foreign gods responsible. According to him, the only logical solution is to cast them off the world stage and annihilate them. They would then be replaced by the God of Israel, who has been and remains the only God of all peoples on earth — a god capable of ensuring justice. What influenced this way of thinking and the monotheistic declaration of faith made here? We try to find the answer to this question in the article below.

4 On the concepts used in the discussion of phenomena and processes leading to monotheism, cf. A. Berlejung, "Die Begriffe Monotheismus, Polytheismus, Monolatrie, Henotheismus, Polyjehwismus," *Grundinforma-tion Altes Testament* (ed. J.C. Gertz) (UTB 2745; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2006; 4 ed. 2010) 69–70.

5 H. Vorländer, "Der Monotheismus Israels als Antwort auf die Krise des Exils," *Der einzige Gott. Die Geburt des biblischen Monotheismus* (ed. B. Lang) (München: Kösel 1981) 84–113; R. Gnuse, "The Emergence of Monotheism in Ancient Israel. Survey of Recent Scholarship," *Religion* 29 (1999) 315–336, <https://doi.org/10.1006/reli.1999.0198> [access: 14.02.2021]; C.A. Rollston, "The Rise of Monotheism in Ancient Israel: Biblical and Epigraphic Evidence," *SCJ* 6 (2003) 95–115, <https://www.academia.edu/474501> [access: 14.02.2021]; B.D. Sommer, "Monotheismus und Polytheismus in Ancient Israel [Appendix]," B.D. Sommer, B.D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: University Press 2009) 145–174; A. Mandell – J. Smoak, "Space, Things, and the Body. The Material Turn in the Study of Israelite Religions," *JHebS* 19/5 (2019) 1–42, <https://academia.edu/41349280> [access: 13.02.2021]. Cf. also H.-P. Müller, "Monotheismus und Polytheismus. II: Altes Testament," *RGV* V, 1459–1461.

6 K. Seybold, *Die Psalmen* (HAT 15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1996) 325.

7 O. Loretz, "Psalmenstudien III. Eine kanaanäische *short story*: Psalm 82," *UF* 3 (1971) 113–115.

## 1. General Remarks on the Difficulties Associated with the Interpretation of Ps 82

As has already been mentioned, Psalm 82 seems to be a unique testimony to the causes and the timing of the definitive transition from polytheism to monotheism in the religion of ancient Israel. The psalmist refers to one of the most important arguments in the polemic on the essence of divinity as understood by the ancient, Middle Eastern world, which was the requirement that gods ensure justice on earth. The uniqueness of this testimony does not stem from the fact that it is the only monotheistic text (cf. Deut 4:35.39; Isa 41:21-29; 45:5-6.14.18.21),<sup>8</sup> but rather from the argumentation employed in it, which not only renders it the only such psalm in the entire<sup>9</sup> psalter, but also the only instance in the entire Bible where the righteousness of monotheism is argued for in this way. The “event” depicted therein takes place during an assembly of the gods (a vision?). The main purpose of this meeting as well as its main subject is to issue God’s judgement of the other gods for failing to fulfil their task of ensuring justice on earth (hence the root *šp̄t*—“to judge” appears four times; vv. 1c.2a.3a.8a). Accusations are made (vv. 2-4); conclusions are drawn (v. 5) and the sentence is passed — the death penalty (vv. 6-7). The result, however, is the call for the judge and the accuser, in one person, to take over the tasks of the inept defendants, since all the nations of the earth now belong to Him (cf. Deut 32:8-9). It is not difficult to notice that the structure of the psalm with regard to the imagery is based on mythical ideas drawn from the religious and cultural environment of Israel. From them, the psalmist creates his own unique portrayal of how and why the God of Israel (here as *ʾēlohîm*) can and should be considered the only true God.

There is, however, a problem with this interpretation of the psalm, which results from the fact that we cannot be sure who the “gods” being judged here are; nor can we find out who is addressing whom. At the end, it is undoubtedly the person who speaks (v. 8). The voice of the narrator describing the events (v. 1) is likely also his voice. The subject in v. 5, however, is difficult to identify. It may be the voice of God Himself, as in the other verses (vv. 2-4, 6-7), but it could also be the voice of a purported “prophet” or simply an observer of the scene.

### 1.1. Mythological Context of Ps 82

Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger<sup>10</sup> point to at least three references to mythical ideas which are reflected in the structure of the psalm. *The first* one is the Canaanite image of a hierarchical gathering of deities which forms a kind of throne council in heaven, with

8 More extensively on monotheism in the Book of So-Called Deutero-Isaiah, cf. Z. Malecki, *Monoteizm w Księdze Deuteroizajasza* (Kraków: WAM 1998).

9 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen 60–150*, 6 ed. (BKAK 15/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1989) 735: “Ps 82 hat in Psalter einem so exzeptionellen Charakter, dass es unmöglich sein dürfte, in jeder Hinsicht befriedigende Erklärungen zu geben.”

10 F.-L. Hossfeld – E. Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100* (HThKAT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2000) 481.

a chairman sitting on a heavenly throne. This image was well known to biblical authors from the time of the monarchy (v. 1; cf. 1 Kgs 22:19; Isa 6:1-3; Job 1-2; Ps 29:10-11; 89:6-8). *The second* one is the conviction that the divine king assigns certain territories and the peoples inhabiting them to individual deities to look after and govern them (cf. Deut 32:8-9). Finally, *the third* one is the hierarchical (henotheistic) model of the pantheon, characteristic of the Middle East, in which, over time, one deity would gain the upper hand (Ashur in Assyria, Marduk in Babylonia, El and then Baal in Ugarit). The psalmist combines all these images and subjects them to his own concept of the judgement of the gods, described in a manner analogous to the course of earthly trials. The main character (judge and accuser) is YHWH—the God of Israel. In the psalm, He is referred to as *'Ēlôhîm* (v. 1a) so as to show the contrast between Him and the other *'ēlôhîm* who constitute the “*'ēl* assembly” (v. 1b) and “*sons of 'eljôn*” (v. 6b). It is also the effect of the universalisation of the God of Israel (the Elohist editing of the Psalter). It is He who accuses other gods of having failed to ensure justice on earth. It goes as far as accusing them of being corrupt and keeping the side of the wicked. There can be only one sentence—to deprive them of their divine status and execute the death penalty (vv. 6-7). Thus, the God of Israel becomes the only rightful God on earth. Moreover, at the end of the psalm the *vox populi* calls upon Him to accept this function (v. 8).

The psalm clearly intertwines the heavenly and earthly spheres. The crucial events unfold in heaven. The main characters are God, the king, judge and accuser, as well as other gods who stand trial. The latter, however, are ascribed negative traits (corruption) and negligence (failing to enact justice), which have adverse consequences on earth. As a result of these gods' approach, the ones who benefit from their rule are the wicked (*rešā'im*; vv. 2a.4b), and the ones who suffer are the weak (*dal*; vv. 3a.4a), orphans (*jātôm*), the oppressed (*'ānî*), the poor (*rās*) and the people in need (*'ebjôn*) (vv. 3-4). Who are all these victims? By referring to the big picture of the socio-political situation, it can be inferred that it is not only about the poor in general, but also about all other socially vulnerable people, such as orphans or small-holder farmers who lose their cases in the courts when confronted with nobles. Such situations occurred frequently, both in the mid-eighth century BC (Amos, Isaiah, Micah) and later. In a broader sense, however, it may concern all the victims of injustice prevailing on earth. As in verse 5, the gravity of the situation is evaluated: the earth's foundations are shaking. The extent of the events here is therefore much broader than just the social problems in Israel itself. It is a violation of the created order, requiring the Divine Judge to intervene immediately, which also follows (vv. 6-7). The ritual described here reflects yet another image known to biblical authors: a ruler usurping divine authority is brought down to Sheol (v. 7; cf. Isa 14:3-21; Ezek 28:11-19).

As we have already noted, the psalmist uses images associated with them to carry out a kind of liturgical-judicial seizure of power by the only legitimate contender for divine dignity – the God of Israel.

## 1.2. The Problem with Dating Ps 82

Due to its Canaanite background, the psalm<sup>11</sup> was dated back to even the period before the rise of the monarchy.<sup>12</sup> With time, however, the opinions that began to prevail were: at the time of the end<sup>13</sup> of the monarchy, during the Babylonian exile,<sup>14</sup> or just after it.<sup>15</sup> Some scholars have even suggested that the writing process of this psalm was longer.<sup>16</sup> What reality, then, should we place Psalm 82 in?

It is one of the Asaphic psalms (cf. Ps 50:73-83). It is probable that they previously formed an independent collection associated with a group of temple singers associated with the name of Asaph. The Asaphites originated from the region of Ephraim. They arrived in Jerusalem during the times of Hezekiah or Josiah, and after their exile, they were granted access to service in the temple in Jerusalem. During this period, they are presented as temple cantors (1 Chr 6:24; Neh 12:46).<sup>17</sup> Although, according to some scholars,<sup>18</sup> there are no clear arguments for placing the psalm at a specific time or in a specific circumstance, its monotheistic nature linked to the criticism and eradication of other gods, and its connection to the monotheistic spirit of Deutero-Isaiah's expression and his concept of divinity (cf. Isa 41:21-24; 4:8-13; 46:1-2) imply that the most probable date of Psalm 82 is the time of the end of the exile,<sup>19</sup> and taking into account the ideological connection to Dan 7, even the post-exilic period. Nevertheless, the stylistically "separate" character of v. 5 and the suspicions about the secondary origin of v. 4:8 may be an argument that the psalm may have had a later history as well and was only refined when used in the post-exilic liturgy.<sup>20</sup>

## 1.3. Verse 5 and the Question of the Structure of Ps 82

The following can be clearly distinguished in the psalm: an accusation (vv. 2-4) and the judgement (vv. 6-7). The description of the scenery, the so-called *exposition* (v. 1) and the liturgical acclamation calling on the God of Israel to seize power over all peoples of the earth and to judge the earth (v. 8) constitute a frame (inclusion). In the first case (v. 1), the psalmist (or a prophet, as some would have it) takes the floor; in the second (v. 8), theo-

11 R.T. O'Callaghan, "A Note on the Canaanite Background of Psalm 82," *CBQ* 15 (1953) 311-314.

12 M. Dahood, *Psalms II. 51-100* (AB 17; New York: Doubleday 1968) 269 with reference to J.S. Ackerman, *An Exegetical Study of Ps 82* (Diss. Harvard University; 1966).

13 S. Terrien, *The Psalms* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2002) 591.

14 H.-W. Jügeling, *Der Tod der Götter. Eine Untersuchung zu Psalm 82* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1969) 78-80.

15 Z. Rokay, "Vom Stadttor zu den Verhöfen," *ZKT* 116 (1996) 457-463.

16 Loretz, "Psalmenstudien," 268-273

17 H.P. Nasuti, *Tradition History and the Psalms of Asaph* (SBL.DS 88; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1988) 193-197; D.G. Firth, "Asaph and Sons of Korah," *Dictionary of the Old Testament. Wisdom, Poetry & Writing* (eds. T. Longman III - P. Enns) (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic - Nothingam: InterVarsity 2008) 24-25; W.M. Stabryła, "Asafici - śpiewacy świątynni doby powygnaniowej," *StPast* 12 (2016) 121-130.

18 A.P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms. II. 42-89* (KEL; Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic 2013) 719.

19 M.E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (WBC 20; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1990) 333; Seybold, *Die Psalmen*, 325; Hossfeld - Zenger, *Psalmen*, 485.

20 Seybold, *Die Psalmen*, 325.



retically, the same voice may be speaking, a community celebrating the cult of dethroning foreign gods, or the peoples of the earth. The subject in verse 5 – as already mentioned – is more difficult to identify. Here, the style of speech changes and the speech directed to “gods” is replaced by a statement about “gods.” If we single out this voice as the words spoken by the observers of the judgement scene or the alleged prophet, then verse 5 could be a turning point. This is also how Marvin E. Tate places it in his proposal of a chiasmic structure in the psalm.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the words that echo in this poem seem to be an observation that the “gods” did not understand the admonition from the preceding verses (vv. 2-4) and now punishment must inevitably follow (vv. 6-7).<sup>22</sup> However, if we treat the statement in verse 5 as a continuation of the accuser’s (God’s) speech, the content of the poem appears more as a final act of accusation resulting from the lack of improvement, which will be supported by the community taking part in the ritual (or its representative) (v. 8).

#### 1.4. The Problem with Defining the Literary Genre of Ps 82

The genre classification of Psalm 82 has long caused problems for researchers. Sigmunt Mowinckel considered this text a combination of a psalm and a prophetic oracle.<sup>23</sup> Its prophetic character has also been noted by many other researchers who often write about the so-called temple prophets.<sup>24</sup> Marvin E. Tate<sup>25</sup> believes that it is at least a literary composition dependent on prophetic preaching (such as 1 Kgs 22). Allen Ross,<sup>26</sup> even treats the purported “oracle” (vv. 2-4.7) as “the heart of the psalm,” interpreting the scene of the judgement and condemnation (of the judges!) by God in the same spirit as in Psalm 50 (the Psalm of Asaph). In fact, the description of the scenery from v. 1 brings to mind the prophetic privilege of participating in a gathering of the gods (cf. Isa 6:1-9; 1 Kgs 22:19-23). Nevertheless, the issue of the so-called cultic prophets is a subject of debate today,<sup>27</sup> and there is no unequivocal statement in the psalm itself to suggest that it is a prophetic vision. The psalm can also be classified as a type of *rib* – a (pre-)judicial dispute, a form so often used in prophetic texts (Hos 2:4-25; cf. also Ps 50–51) or — which seems to be the most

21 Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 334. Likewise, G. Ravasi, *Il libro dei Salmi. Commento e attualizzazione*. II. 51–100 (Bologna: Dehoniane 1985) 717.

22 The lack of introduction to this direct response is typical of the Asaph psalms (cf. Ps 75); cf. Hossfeld–Zenger, *Psalmen*, 485.

23 S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship* (trans. D.R. Ap-Thomas) (New York: Abington Press 1967) II, 64. However, the precursor of this way of looking at Ps 82 was Herman Gunkel (*Die Psalmen* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1892; 6 ed. 1986] 361). Ravasi, *Il libro dei Salmi*, 713, regards this way of interpreting the psalm as erroneous.

24 J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels* (WMANT 35; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag 1970) 120–125; Kraus, *Psalmen 60–150*, 735: “Kultprophetische Gericht” close to “Kultprophetische Klageliturgie.”

25 Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 333.

26 Ross, *A Commentary*, 716–717.

27 On this subject J. Lemański, “*Niech przyjdzie do mnie, a dowie się, że jest prorok w Izraelu*” (2Krl 5,8b). *Wprowadzenie do profetyzmu starotestamentalnego*. I. *Profetyzm przedklasyczny*. *Prorocy więksi* (Studia i Rozprawy 28; Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe US 2011) 52–53.



logical solution here — as a psalm imitating the course of a court hearing.<sup>28</sup> Rather, the purpose of the prophetic *riḅ* was to avoid a trial in court (cf. Ps 51). Daniel McClellan<sup>29</sup> classifies Ps 82 as a “psalm of complaint,” but John Goldingay only writes about a “distinctive form of prayer psalm.”<sup>30</sup> However, only the last verse is of a prayer character. The court hearing theme is present here clearly enough to be seen as an imitation of a court hearing culminating in an acclamative petition.

## 2. Ps 82 as a Scene of Judgment Over Pagan Gods

The way in which the psalm is interpreted — as we have already noted — depends primarily on the identification of *’ēlohîm* from vv. 1.6. A detailed discussion of this issue will follow in a moment. At this point, however, a problem must be noted, since in the case of Ps 82, three possible interpretations are proposed.<sup>31</sup>

*The first* one places the psalm on the religious and historical level. The demise of the gods is announced here, proving their permanent inability to ensure justice on earth. Consequently, YHWH remains the only true God on the scene — the God of Israel. The *lexem ba’adat-’el* is a technical phrase with Canaanite roots. In the texts from Ugarit, El, the father of the gods, was the chairman of such an assembly; although with time a prominent role (deserving of the “king” title) began to be played by the younger god — Baal. The proponents of the literal understanding of the word *’ēlohîm* (vv. 2b.6a) perceive the psalm as a poetic court ritual leading to the dethronement of pagan gods in favour of the one true God, which is the God of Israel (v. 8).

*The second* interpretation identifies *’ēlohîm* as the term for human authorities who exercise any office in the name of God (judges, rulers) (cf. Ps 58:2). The main argument here is the description of social injustice (vv. 2-4), which fits well with the “social criticism” known from prophetic texts and from the set of requirements established by the law exercising judicial power (Exod 23:1-9; Deut 16:18-19). Proponents of this interpretation also refer to texts such as Isa 1:17; 3:13-15; Mic 3:9-12.<sup>32</sup> The second group of texts which, in the opinion of the supporters of such an interpretation, allow for the identification of *’ēlohîm* with “judges,” are on the one hand the regulations of Exod 21:6; 22:7, and on the other, such passages as Exod 18:13-27; Num 27:17; Deut 1:9-18; Josh 12:16-17.

<sup>28</sup> On various other proposals to define the literary genre of this psalm cf. Tate, *Psalms*, 332.

<sup>29</sup> D. McClellan, “The Gods-Complaint: Psalm 82 as a Psalm of Complaint,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 137 (2018) 833–851.

<sup>30</sup> J. Goldingay, *Psalms. II. Psalms 42–89* (BCOTWP; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2007) 559.

<sup>31</sup> Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen*, 481–482.

<sup>32</sup> A. Deissler, *Die Psalmen* (Welt der Bibel 1; Düsseldorf: Patmos 1964) 319–320; S. Łach – J. Łach, *Księga Psalmów* (PST 7/2; Poznań: Pallottinum 1990) 368–369; Ross, *A Commentary*, 721.

The third interpretation is an attempt to avoid a difficult choice.<sup>33</sup> According to this proposal, the Israelites of the monarchy period were polytheists like their neighbours; and YHWH was viewed in parallel to other gods around them. The mindset, back then, was such that the actions of the people mirrored the actions of the gods. Consequently, Psalm 82:2-4 is both a description of the actions of people and gods. As Canaanite officials, they were criticised and disavowed for their reprehensible attitude. In consequence, they were removed from their posts and executed just like their gods (v. 7a: *mw*) (v. 7b: *npl*). Thus, the psalm constitutes, on the one hand, a strong criticism of social relations in which the Canaanite officials and the religion that inspired them play a negative role. On the other hand, it is a voice spoken on behalf of the Yahwist religion. While such a picture would still fit the interpretation stemming from vv. 2-4, the verses 6-7, however, seem to render these proposals less plausible. The psalmist had the judgment of pagan gods before and by YHWH in mind. Indicating their uselessness in their performance of assigned tasks, their death sentence is deemed a polemic at the level of events taking place on earth (the political and religious background).<sup>34</sup> However, the consequences are also transcendent.

### 2.1. 'ēlôhîm: Gods or Judges? (v.1)

The image evoked by the psalmist is a specific vision of the divine tribunal — the “gathering of the gods.” It is derived from the Canaanite tradition of the hierarchy in the world of deities. In the texts from Ugarit, the pantheon was led by El — the creator and father of the gods. Gathered around him were other deities usually related to him (sons of El). They formed the “throne council” (cf. 1 Sam 22:6; 1 Kgs 22:19). The psalmist, however, can now only consider the text from Deut 32:8-9 (LXX version; 4QDeut<sup>c</sup>) on which the mentioned Canaanite tradition was established. YHWH is presented in it as a ruler (the Ugaritic title of El - *‘eljôn* is identified here with him; cf. Ps 82:6) superior to other gods. He assigns them the task of taking care of the individual nations of the earth and leaves Israel under his exclusive jurisdiction. However, the intention is no longer to show YHWH in a similar role previously attributed to El.<sup>35</sup> The psalmist goes one step further. In Ps 82, the scene is clearly of a judicial nature, and YHWH is not in the position of a chairman among other gods. He is an absolute sovereign, which is clearly highlighted by the judgement passed over them (vv. 6-7). The God of Israel is the embodiment of (all) *‘ēlôhîm* and, as such, appears in the midst of the other *‘ēlôhîm*. However, he does so solely to accuse (vv. 2-4) and to judge them (vv. 6-7). This is not the role of a “chairman”<sup>36</sup> of the assembly (God is not a king sitting on a throne!), but of the accuser and judge.<sup>37</sup> This is suggested by the verb root *nšb* — “to

33 H. Niehr, “Götter oder Menschen – eine falsche Alternative. Bemerkungen zu Ps 82,” *ZAW* 99 (1987) 94–98, esp. 96–97

34 Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen*, 483.

35 In the elohistic section of the Psalter *‘ēlôhîm* is synonymous with Jhwh; Tate, *Psalms*, 329.

36 Kraus, *Psalmen 60–150*, 736; L. Alonso Schökel – C. Carniti, *I Salmi* (Roma: Borla 1993) II, 145; Seybold, *Die Psalmen*, 325.

37 Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen*, 486.

stand up, to arise,” which means readiness to act (cf. v. 8: *qwm*). It describes the attitude of the accuser in the judicial context (cf. Isa 3:13).<sup>38</sup> The God of Israel is therefore among the accused, but acts as their accuser. The problem lies in the decision as to who is indeed the judge facing this assembly? Since the verb *nšb* means “become” or “arise,” then there are two principal interpretations. The first meaning would imply that the assembly is standing and God appears (cf. Gen 28:13; the angel of YHWH; Num 22:23.31), the other one would imply that God is already present therein and rises (Isa 3:13). It can be estimated that the content of the psalm shows that He is identical with the accuser. However, the judge usually has a sitting posture (cf. Exod 18:13; Judg 4:5; 1 Sam 20:5; then also 1 Kgs 7:7; Isa 16:5; 28:6; Ps 122:5; Prov 20:8). The same image of God sitting on the throne of judgement can also be found in Dan 7:9-14 (cf. also Zech 3:1-10). Therefore, the standing posture may mean that He has something important to say (cf. Amos 9:1-4), as in Joseph’s dream, where his sheaf rose and stood and the sheaves of the other brothers bowed to him. There, it signified his exaltation. Now, standing may denote not only the importance of what He is about to communicate<sup>39</sup> but also His readiness to act by seizing power over the entire earth. In fact, the verb analysed here often appears in the context of emotional tension as well as the expectation of an important event (cf. Gen 24:13.43; Judg 18:16; Isa 21:9; Amos 9:1). In the Pentateuch it is associated with extraordinary actions of God (Exod 15:8) or theophany (the text of Gen 28:13 was identified already). However, in prophetic and poetic texts, it is mainly associated with the activity of God Himself or someone acting under His auspices as an overseer or leader (cf. 1 Sam 19:20: nifal *participium*, as in the psalm analysed here). Thus, the psalmist may be describing the appearance of the God of Israel among other supposed gods. Despite that, He is not as much to take over the leadership (cf. Deut 32:8), as to act as an accuser in assessing their actions.

How should one understand the term “gods” then? The first and last use of the word *‘ēlohîm* (vv. 1a,8a), due to the use of singular verbs (v. 1a: *nšb*, *šp̄t*; v. 8a: *qwm*), allows for identifying them clearly as a designation of the one God who accuses other *‘ēlohîm* which are already understood collectively (cf. *bekereb* – “among”). But who are these other “gods”? The image of the “gathering of the gods” suggestively refers to the previously mentioned mythical notions. However, the content of Psalm 82 may also be compared to other psalms dealing with God’s judgement (e.g., Ps 58; 94). Apart from the judicial context itself, it does not have any close parallel in the Old Testament (cf. 1 Sam 22:11-23: Saul kills the priests of Nob). The allegations made immediately afterwards of the “gods” (vv. 2-4) are reminiscent of expectations towards earthly judges (Lev 19:15; Deut 1:16-17; 16:19).

In the Hebrew Bible and even more so in its social environment, the religious-cultural term *‘ēlohîm* refers not only to gods but generally to all other supernatural and “non-human” beings, such as: hostile cosmic monsters, demons, and dead kings, (CAT 1:113-13-26) or

38 H.J. Boecker, *Redeform des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament*, 2 ed. (WMANT 14; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag 1970) 85; P. Bovati, *Ristabilire la giustizia* (AnBib 110; Roma: PIB 1986) 212.

39 Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 335.

deceased people in general (cf. CAT 1:6 VI 48–49: *'ilm / mtm*; 1.6 VI 46–47: *rp'im/ilnim*; 1 Sam 28:13; Isa 8:19: *'ēlōhīm*).<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, living rulers (e.g., Pharaoh) were periodically considered gods.<sup>41</sup> This group even included divine statues (CAD I: 102–103 #7), stone stelae,<sup>42</sup> and a number of other religious objects and places.<sup>43</sup>

In the Old Testament, the word *'ēlōhīm* with a different understanding than one God essentially appears as a literally understood *pluralis*, referring to foreign/many gods, or to lower heavenly beings (cf. Ps 86:8; 95:3; 96:4-5; 97:7.9). The context of the psalm, as we have already noted, is Canaanite. The psalmist refers to the notions of the world of gods, known today mainly thanks to the texts from Ugarit. Thus we have before us the image of a “divine gathering” (*ba'adat- 'ēl; beqereb 'ēlōhīm*).<sup>44</sup> From the course of events and from the manner of description, as we have already noted, it follows that this time it does not refer to a throne council but to a judgement over these gods. The God of Israel will therefore appear in the assembly of *'ēlōhīm*, hitherto presided over by *'ēl*. It is not so much a takeover of his role and a kind of dethronement of the chairman, but – as the events described below will show – the total deprivation of all the divine members in this assembly of *raison d'être*. The moment YHWH is identified as the only true *'ēlōhīm*, all others must die (cf. Ps 95:3; 94:4-5; 97:7.9; then also Exod 15:11; Ps 8:6; 29:1; Job 1:6).<sup>45</sup> The phrase *ba'adat- 'ēl* is a well-established formula here (cf. Ugaritic *dt 'ilm*) and in the Bible it basically refers to God's entourage.<sup>46</sup> The singular form of the noun *'ēl*, as we have already noted, may mean, however, that the biblical author is pointing here to the chairman of that congregation. On the other hand, the very notion of *'ēdā* in the Bible never means “gathering of the gods” around YHWH, either. When it appears in conjunction with the name YHWH, it only signifies the gathering of Israel (Num 27:17; 31:16; Josh 22:16-17; Ps 74:2).<sup>47</sup> In the descriptions of the heavenly “gathering” around the God of Israel, the noun *sōd* is used, although people, especially the prophets, could also participate in this group (Job 15:14; Ps 25:14; Jer 27:18.22; 23:1; Amos 3:7).<sup>48</sup> Over time, there was a semantic transformation and the noun began to denote a cult assembly.<sup>49</sup> So, was it really intended to ritually put

40 M.S. Smith, *The Origin of Biblical Monotheism* (New York: Oxford University Press 2001) 6.

41 F. Abitz, *Pharao als Gott in den Unterweltbüchern des Neuen Reiches* (OBO 146; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag – Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1995) cf. also letters from el-Amarny: EA 141: 31–33; EA 185: 13–15. Iconographic examples cf. O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World. Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (New York: Seabury Press 1978) 225–226, 263.

42 K. van der Toorn, “Worshipping Stones: On the Deification of Cult Symbols,” *JNES* 23 (1997) 1–14.

43 Smith, *The Origin*, 67–80.

44 E.T. Mullen, *The Assembly of the Gods. The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (HSM 24; Chico, CA: Scholars Press 1980) 226–244; M.S. Heiser, *The Divine Council in Late Canonical and Non-Canonical Second Temple Jewish Literature* (Diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison; 2004) <https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu> [access: 26.02.2021].

45 Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *I Salmi*, 149.

46 Mullen, *The Assembly*, 230.

47 KBL, I, 739; later also H.D. Preuss, *Theologie des Alten Testament. I. JHWHs erwählendes und verpflichtendes Handeln* (Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln: Kohlhammer 1991) 60–61.

48 H.-J. Fabry, “sōd,” *TDOT* X, 171–178, esp. 174–175.

49 Fabry, “sōd,” 175–176.

other gods to death? After all, the picture may be an allegory of the judgement of judges. Some extra-biblical texts indicate that some gods were assigned judicial powers in the human world. However, the tools of their activity were always the people themselves. An example is furnished by the hymn to the sun god (Šamaš),<sup>50</sup> in which the deity is called upon to intervene in the case of dishonest judges. Similar calls are made to Marduk or Ištar.<sup>51</sup> Thus, ultimately, these deities were represented by earthly rulers and judges.

According to some researchers,<sup>52</sup> however, Ps 82 in its original wording had a literal meaning and was meant to be a monotheistic revolution. The idea was born in the Babylonian exile, when the chosen people had to face not only the consequences of the national defeat but had to ask whether the Babylonian gods were actually stronger than YHWH. When the exiles looked at the beautiful Babylonian temples and the statues of the gods worshipped in them, the answer could only be: yes. The biblical authors, however, argued against these conclusions. This results in beautiful monotheistic and, above all, anti-iconic texts from the so-called Deutero-Isaiah. One of them (Isa 41:21-29) even resembles Ps 82, although the polemic with the images of deities is more subtle there. On behalf of YHWH, Deutero-Isaiah conducts a dispute against the Babylonian gods, showing that they are closer to “idols” than to true gods. This fictional dispute, however, has ontological consequences later on. It constitutes evidence that these gods do not really exist. In this context, we can also read the message of Ps 82, in which they are judged not so much as worthless statues (thus, Deutero-Isaiah), but as useless ones on account of being ineffective in ensuring legal order on earth. Luis Alonso Schökel and Cecilia Carniti believe<sup>53</sup> that the psalm only later began to be read in a new context, as a judgement of human judges (a logical consequence of the non-existence of other gods). The targumic interpretation proceeded in this direction,<sup>54</sup> as did Kimchi, Aquila<sup>55</sup> and Jesus Himself (John 10:34-36),<sup>56</sup> followed then by the Church Fathers.<sup>57</sup> The change of identification did not change the content of the psalm.

In fact, the arguments invoked in support of the “juridical” function of “gods” in Ps 82 are often found in Exod 21:6; 22:7.8.10. Intercession “before God” in these cases, however, may mean not so much intercession before judges but visiting local sanctuaries. The second

<sup>50</sup> ANET, 387–389.

<sup>51</sup> The texts quote Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *I Salmi*, 150.

<sup>52</sup> Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *I Salmi*, 149.

<sup>53</sup> Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *I Salmi*, 149.

<sup>54</sup> “in the assembly of the faithful...among the judges of truth”

<sup>55</sup> “in the assembly of the powerful” (Greek *en synagōgē(i) ischyron*); cf. R.B. Saleters, “Psalm 82,1 and the Septuaginta,” *ZAW* 103 (1991) 225–239.

<sup>56</sup> J.H. Neyrey, “I Said: You Are Gods’: Psalm 82.6 and John 10,” *JBL* 108 (1989) 647–663; later also J.A. Emerton, “The Interpretation of Psalm lxxii in John X,” *JTS* NS 11 (1960) 329–334; J.S. Ackerman, “The Rabbinic Interpretation of Psalm 82 and the Gospel of John: John 10:34,” *HTR* 59 (1966) 186–191; W. Gary Philips, “An Apologetic Study of John 10:34-36,” *BSac* 146 (1989) 405–419.

<sup>57</sup> C. Mosser, “The Earliest Patristic Interpretations of Psalm 82, Jewish Antecedents, and the Origin of Christian Deification,” *JTS* NS 56 (2006) 59–72; C. Gers-Uphaus, *Sterbliche Götter – göttliche Menschen: Psalm 82 und seine frühchristlichen Deutungen* (SBS 240; Stuttgart: Katholische Bibelwerk 2019).



example may also involve the practice of the so-called trials by ordeal. Indeed, human administrators of justice were seen as representatives of God Himself (2 Chr 19:5-6). They represented Him but were not His substitutes, and like all those who acted in the name of the Most High, they had to give an account before God in the end (cf. Wis 6:1-11). Outside the Psalter, the term “gods” is never used of judges. Nevertheless, people acting on behalf of God are compared to Him (Exod 4:17; 7:1), although it is then stressed that this should be understood non-literally. According to Exod 18:15, the people came to Moses to ask God (cf. 1 Sam 2:27). Human judges are also accused of perverting justice (cf. 1 Sam 8:3; Isa 3:13-15). Finally, the king, as God’s anointed one, is called “God,” but was always chosen by the one God (cf. Ps 46:7-8). The problem, then, would not be the application of the word “gods” to people, but the attitude of the people themselves, who might have understood their authority too literally and started to think of themselves as superhumans (cf. Isa 14:13-21; Ezek 28:11-19; Dan 10).<sup>58</sup> Perhaps Dragoslava Santrac<sup>59</sup> is right that in the case of Ps 82 we are dealing with an “intentional poetic ambiguity” and behind the cover of imagery evoking Canaanite ideas about the world of gods, the psalmist, in actual fact, not only disavows these images but also criticises unfair human relations.

It should be remembered, however, that the text of the psalm clearly presents to the reader’s eyes a horizon wider than just judges in Israel / Judah. It is constituted by the geopolitical situation of the entire region of the fertile crescent from the turn of the 6th / 7th century BC. Behind it is the world of foreign religions and the lack of social justice sanctioned by them. The fall of Assyria and Babylonia must have made an impression on the followers of YHWH. Their initial doubts were therefore replaced by enthusiasm. Evidence of this change is the aforementioned Deutero-Isaiah, who, following in the footsteps of his historic namesake from the 8th century BC, presents YHWH as the Lord of history and additionally depicts Him as the only true God. In the same spirit, but at the same time in a more spectacular way, the psalmist proclaims the triumph of the one true God in the arena of world history through the scene of judgement over foreign deities. As a starting point, he uses an image that he knows well: the gathering around YHWH seated on the throne (1 Kgs 22:19-22; Job 1:6-12; 2:1-6; Dan 7:9-10; 10:13.20-21). This time, however, the entourage around his throne is not the lower entities of God’s heavenly circle, but the gods themselves, degraded and doomed to be mortals.<sup>60</sup> Undoubtedly, however, it is not about the “gods” themselves, but about the simultaneous judgement on the evil nations for whom these gods stand (cf. Exod 12:12<sup>61</sup>; Deut 32:8-9; Dan 10).

<sup>58</sup> Ross, *A Commentary*, 718.

<sup>59</sup> D. Santrac, “God and ‘Gods’ – Poetic Ambiguity and Wordplay: A Proposal Towards a Better Understanding of Psalm 82,” *JATS* 27 (2016) 37–54.

<sup>60</sup> E.B. Smick, “Mythopoetic Language in the Psalms,” *WTJ* 44 (1982) 88–98.

<sup>61</sup> Interestingly, when viewed from the perspective of Psalm 82, the text from the Book of Exodus 12:12 is classified as an element of a priestly elaboration. The statement is possibly inspired by the texts of the prophets from the time of exile (cf. Jer 43:8-13; Ezek 30:13-15.19).

## 2.2. Why Did the Gods Deserve to Be Judged? (v. 2-4)

“How long” (v. 2a: *‘ad-mātaj*) is the question that introduces the objection (cf. Exod 10:3; 16:28; Num 14:11,27),<sup>62</sup> having the power of the imperative: “stop,” “cease.”<sup>63</sup> It allows a look back upon the actions of the accused so far, and at the same time offers a short perspective of this state of affairs in the future. Usually, it is a complaint to God about the current situation (Ps 74:10). However, this expression also expresses the protest of one person against another (Exod 10:7; 1 Sam 1:14; 2 Sam 2:26; 1 Kgs 18:21) or God’s protest against humans (Exod 10:3; Num 14:27; 1 Sam 16:1). So, here too it is possible that the words of protest may come from both humans and God. For there are no clear indications that it is God Himself who is speaking here. One can imagine that the words are addressed in God’s name by the prophet to the community to which he was sent (cf. 1 Kgs 22:19-22; Isa 6:8). However, most researchers believe that the subject here is the God of Israel.

The accusations were arranged to take the form of a chiasmus (villains: v. 2b.4b; weak and needy: v. 3a.4a), and the questions are rhetorical.<sup>64</sup> They are motivated by the already mentioned mythological belief that deities are meant to ensure order and justice in their territories.<sup>65</sup> However, as the questions posed here indicate, this is not the case. Instead of law, there is lawlessness, perversely proclaimed to be law (v. 2).<sup>66</sup> Later, we learn that the accused “judge unfairly” (*špt* Qal *imperfectum* 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, masculine + *‘awel*) and show partiality towards the vicious / wrongdoers (cf. Lev 19:15,35). They literally “raise the face of evil doers” (*penê rešāim* + *ns’* Qal *imperfectum*, 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, masculine). This phrasing refers to the course of the trial (cf. Deut 16:18-20). A lowered face is a sign of guilt and disturbed relationships,<sup>67</sup> and in the presented context, it is a bias in passing court sentences.<sup>68</sup> Thus, “lifting the face of evil doers” is justifying their actions in the majesty of the law and consequently destroying the rule of law and legitimising injustice. However, the phrase can also be viewed in a more general way and applied to broadly understood social relations or a court audience with the king (Gen 40:13,19). Going further, beyond the earthly socio-political conditions, the final recipients, however, are the “gods,” obliged to make sure that this is not the case.

The following verses (vv. 3-4) concern the future. They serve as an admonition and a call to change. They can therefore be read as if they were a reform instruction.<sup>69</sup> These are traditional Middle Eastern religious *topoi* about the role of deities in ensuring the rule

62 Bovati, *Ristabilire*, 173.

63 Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 335–336.

64 T. Lorenzin, *I Salmi* (Milano: Paoline 2000) 325.

65 For examples cf. Ravasi, *Il libro dei Salmi*, 712–719.

66 Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen*, 486.

67 On this topic W. Pikor, „Zbawienie – zmaganie o Boże oblicze na twarzy Kaina (Rdz 4,1-16) [Salvation – the Struggle for God’s Face on the Face of Cain, Gen 4:1-16]”, *VV1* (2002) 29–40.

68 Bovati, *Ristabilire*, 175. Cf. in Exod 22:21; 23:6; Deut 10:18; 24:17; 27:19; Prov 23:10; 24:11; 31:8 and the prophetic texts Isa 1:17,23; 5:23; 10:1-2; 56:10-11; Jer 5:27-30; Ezek 22:27; Amos 2:6-8; 5:7; Mic 3:11.

69 Ross, *A Commentary*, 721.

of law.<sup>70</sup> Expectations of this kind (protection of the most vulnerable: orphans, widows, people marginalised in a given community) were usually assigned to one specific deity in the pantheon. The psalmist, on the other hand, portrays this as a fundamental feature of divinity.<sup>71</sup> In other words, in his opinion, ensuring justice is a sign of being a “god.” However, Middle Eastern texts<sup>72</sup> limit this requirement to the protection of *personae miserae*. The psalmist makes it a more holistic postulate calling for changes in the overall social and political relations.<sup>73</sup>

The choice of words is well thought out here. It is about the broadest possible spectrum of people affected by injustice. Moreover, the classic patterns are broken. Instead of the correlation of “widow / orphan,” we have the correlation of “weak / orphan” (v. 3a: *dal – jātôm*) and the related verb “to judge (justly)” (*špt*: Qal *imperativus* 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural). Another group requiring justice (this time, the root *šdq* Hifil *imperativus* 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural) are the “oppressed” (*āni*) and “the poor” (*nāš*) (v. 3b) and again the “weak” (*dal*) and “needy” (*’ebjôn*) (v. 4a). Here, too, the customary pair *āni* (v. 3b) and *’ebjôn* (v. 4a) is “torn apart.” Instead, the psalmist creates other pairs. The last two are referred to by the verbs “save” (*pl̄* Hifil *imperativus* 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, masculine) and “rescue” (*nšl* Hifil *imperativus* 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, masculine) (v. 4). In the latter case, it is about rescue from the wrongdoers (*rešā’im*). The repetition of the word *dal* – “weak” gives an additional accent to this juxtaposition. The noun also includes the meaning of “thin” (Gen 41:19), “helpless” (Exod 30:15; 1 Sam 2:8; Isa 10:1), “powerless” (2 Sam 3:1) “irrelevant” (Jer 5:4).<sup>74</sup> It is not difficult to guess, then, that the psalmist has in mind an unjust socio-political system in which villains and the socially stronger have the advantage. He demands a change to save the helpless, the oppressed, the weak, the needy, and the poor (v. 4b). Here, the issue no longer lies in individual situations, but in a whole system based on injustice. Its victims are not only “the poor by birth” or orphans, but also craftsmen and farmers owning little land who become victims of oppression and exploitation (cf. Prov 10:15; 22:16; 28:15; Amos 2:27; 5:11; 8:6)<sup>75</sup> and also all who are socially helpless and suffering any kind of injustice. The gods allow for such a system to be in place, and the psalmist expresses his disapproval of it and demands a radical change on behalf of the God of Israel.

70 The prologue to the *Code of Hammurabi* is meaningful here. For its overview cf. M. Van de Mieroop, *King Hammurabi of Babylon* (trans. F. Tryl) (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 2016) 145–161, 175–190.

71 It may refer to one of the basic Old Testament ideas describing the God of Israel, since his moral nature and justice are indicated through it; R.W.L. Moberly, “Justice and the Recognition of the True God: A Reading of Psalm 82,” *RB* 127/2 (2020) 215–236.

72 F.C. Fensham, “Widow, Orphan, and Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature,” *JNES* 21 (1962) 129–139.

73 Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen*, 487.

74 KBL, I, 211.

75 Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen*, 488.



### 2.3. The Judge's Conclusion or the Observer's Assessment? (v. 5)

As Beth Tanner writes<sup>76</sup>: “words and grammar are clear here, interpretation is not.” There occurs a change from the second to the third person. Now, there occurs a shift from speaking “to” them to speaking “about” them. This may mean that the subject who speaks changes, but it does not have to. But who are “they”? Are they the gods or their subordinates? Maybe both? Who is the subject speaking here? Is it the psalmist? Observers of the trial? The liturgical assembly? Or maybe it is God Himself who is still speaking, because there are no signals to indicate any change of the speaker? The message of the statement clearly shows that, despite the accusations made earlier, there is no reaction from the “gods.” The psalmist seems to include a brief pause, allowing time for the accused to respond.<sup>77</sup> He does not receive any response, and he (he or the prosecutor himself) concludes the previous accusations in the form of a reflection preceding the verdict.<sup>78</sup> As we have noticed, it is not incidental examples but the overall attitude<sup>79</sup> which is the case here. Therefore, verse 5 summarises that the “gods” who have just been accused are incapable of changing the situation and fulfilling the tasks which are their duty based on their position. Consequently, the words spoken here sum up the previous accusation and contain the final assessment of “gods.” Nothing has changed, and nothing will change. They have neither knowledge (*lō' + jd'*) nor understanding (*lō' + bjn*) (v. 5a).<sup>80</sup> The juxtaposition of these two verbs is not accidental (cf. Job 42:3, Ps 92:7, Isa 1:3, 40:21, 44:18, Jer 4:22, Mic 4:12). Ancient trials, including those in Israel, did not end only with the verdict or the declaration of innocence; it was also required that the rationale of the trial winner be approved (Ps 51:6; then also Exod 9:27; Jos 7:19-20; Judg 10:10; 1 Sam 12:10; 15:24-30; 2 Sam 12:13; 1 Kgs 8:47). For this, however, it was necessary first to acknowledge one's own fault, and the gods accused a moment ago are not capable of this. Although the two verbs may be synonyms, the latter is concerned with knowledge acquired through using the senses (Job 23:5). It also describes a characteristic trait of the God of Israel, His ability to penetrate human hearts and recognise human thoughts (cf. 1 Chr 28:9; Ps 33:15; 139:1; Prov 24:12). The accused gods, however, lack the ability to acknowledge their faults and properly see the unfair reality. Moreover, they wander (*hlq* Hitpael) in the darkness (*baḥšēk*) (v. 5b). Walking the paths of God (cf. Gen 3: 8) is related to light and salvation (Job 29:3; Ps 27:1; Prov 2:13; Isa 9:1; 10:17; 59:9). Darkness is the opposite of light (Job 3:4-5; 17:12; 24:16; Eccl 2:13-14; Isa 45:7.19) and walking in it is synonymous with wrongdoing.

It is a description of their current condition and, at the same time, the lack of prospects for change. The negative *lō'* particle emphasises that this is a permanent situation, and

<sup>76</sup> N. de Claisé – R. Jacobson – B.L. Tanner, *The Book of Psalms* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 2014) 643.

<sup>77</sup> Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 362.

<sup>78</sup> M. Tsevat, “God and the Gods in Assembly,” *HUCA* 40–41 (1969–1970) 123–137, esp. 129.

<sup>79</sup> Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 337.

<sup>80</sup> Both verbs can have a juridical sense (cf. Job 11:1; 32:9; Ps 139:2; 1 Kgs 3:9; as a reproach to the unworthy shepherds, cf. Isa 56:11). On the issue of the first of these verbs cf. Bovati, *Ristabilire*, 59, 69–70, 222–224.

the sequence *perfectum* + *imperfectum* presents both the perfect tense (*characteristic perfect*) and the progressive state (*progressive imperfect*).<sup>81</sup> The darkness here probably results from the lack of light (e.g., the justice resulting from observance of the law (cf. Isa 59:9; Wis 18:4; light as an expression of justice cf. Ps 37:6; 97:11; 101:8; Job 38:12-13; Mal 3:20; Hos 6:5). Perhaps, the darkness stands for the chaos created by such a situation, or for the desire to hide one's sins and reject the light (cf. Wis 17). In any case, straying "gods" cause social turmoil on earth. The consequences here are cosmic since the social order is a part of the universal order. Thus, social injustice caused the order of all creation to be violated: "all the foundations of the earth were shaken"<sup>82</sup> (v. 5c; cf. Ps 62:3; because of YHWH's anger cf. Ps 18:8; Isa 24:18). The psalmist probably refers to the "pillars" which are the foundations of the earth (mountains or their roots; cf. Job 38:4-6; Ps 75:4; 87:1b; Mic 6:2). In this situation, God can no longer remain idle. He is, in a way, compelled to intervene.<sup>83</sup> The unjust system, the religions sanctioning it, and the gods worshipped in them must therefore disappear for the universal, cosmic order to be restored.

#### 2.4. The Correction of an Erroneous Opinion or a Discovery of the True God's Character? (vv. 6–7)

In vv. 6-7, the style of expression from verses 2–4 reoccurs. The accumulation of words with pharyngeal consonants is noticeable.<sup>84</sup> The accuser now takes the role of judge. His judgement is one of the most exceptional texts in the Hebrew Bible. The death of all gods is declared in it (v. 7). This sentence is preceded by a description of the original state. The problematic part, however, is the introduction: *'ānî-'āmartî*. It could be translated literally as "I said..." (in The Millennium Bible) or "I say ..." (in The Bible of the Society of Saint Paul). Since Herman Gunkel's<sup>85</sup> times, some researchers have turned this declarative way of expression into the formula "I used to think ..." (Ger. *Ich dachte einst...*), which makes the first part of the statement more theoretical. The formula *'ānî-'āmartî* (v. 6a) followed by the word *'ākēn* (v. 7a: "but"), however, primarily expresses an erroneous, earlier concept of something that changes upon observing someone else's actions (cf. Isa 49:4; Jer 3:19-20; Zeph 3:7; Job 37:7; Ps 31:23; 66:18-19). It must therefore be understood in the sense of: "I thought so previously, but now I think otherwise" (cf. Gen 20:4; Ruth 4:4).<sup>86</sup> Therefore, it refers to

81 Ross, *A Commentary*, 723.

82 The verb describes the activity of the legs (Ps 17:5; 38:17; 66:9; 94:18; 121:3), the regularity of which may be disturbed; hence the meaning "to stagger," "to sway"; cf. F.I. Anderson, "A Short Note on Psalm 82.5," *Bib* 50 (1969) 393–394.

83 J. Jeremias, "Die Erde 'wankt,' «Ihr Völker klatscht in die Hände». *Festschrift E. S. Gerstenberger* (eds. R. Kessler et al.) (Münster: LIT 1997) 166–180, esp. 173; then also R.S. Watson, *Chaos Uncreated. A Reassessment of the Theme of "chaos" in the Hebrew Bible* (BZAW 341; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2005).

84 Lorenzin, *I Salmi*, 325.

85 Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 360–362.

86 Dahood, *Psalms II. 51–100*, 270; Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen*, 489 in both cases indicating K. Budde, "Ps. 82,6f," *JBL* 40 (1921) 39–42. In their translation, respectively: "I had thought ... but ..."; "Ich erkläre hiermit ... jedoch ...". Marvin E. Tate (*Psalms 51–100*, 330) suggests translating "Indeed I said..."

new experiences and an *ex cathedra*<sup>87</sup> judgement delivered on that basis. If the God of Israel is the one speaking these words, is He being credited with this change of opinion? Bearing in mind the situation presented in Deut 32:8-9 (cf. version LXX; 4QDeut<sup>c</sup>), we can find its correction in the present place. This original concept of “you are gods,” “sons of the most High” certainly alludes to this text. It speaks of “the most High” (= YHWH), who assigned individual peoples / countries to His sons to care for and rule over them. In this role, as results from the current statement, they did not rise to the challenge, and the evidence of this is the lack of law and order among the peoples under their authority (cf. vv. 3-4).<sup>88</sup> In the background of the psalm, however, the voice of the psalmist himself must also be considered. Initially, he may have been impressed by the foreign deities and their power.<sup>89</sup> However, now, the fascination with them is gone.

Only justice is immortal, as a sage of Israel will say later (Wis 1:15). A lack of justice therefore leads to death. The sentence itself, the death penalty, is not expressed here by one of the formulas typical of legal texts (*môt jāmût; môt jūmāt*).<sup>90</sup> The phrase *temūtūn* (*mut* Qal *imperfectum* 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural) rather resembles the formula in Num 16:29 (*jemutūn; mut* Qal *imperfectum* 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural), which refers to natural death (“they will die, and the fate of all people will fall upon them”), and even more so a statement from the garden of Eden (Gen 3:4).<sup>91</sup> The emphatic formula (“if they sin, they die”) in the latter case appears only twice in Isa 22:14 and in Ps 82:7. The serpent in Eden, however, declares “you will certainly not die... (you will be) like God...” (Gen 3:4-5), which undoubtedly allows us to see the reversal of this situation declared by the serpent after the trial described in Ps 82. As *’ādām*, who wanted to be like God, finally heard that he was mortal (cf. Gen 3:19b), so now the “gods” hear that they will be like a human being (*ke’ādām*) and will die. Immortality<sup>92</sup> was one of the privileges of the divine, even though the religions of the ancient Levant

87 Seybold, *Die Psalmen*, 326.

88 B. Janowski, “Der göttliche Richter und seine Gerechtigkeit,” *Gerechtigkeit. Richten und Retten in der abendländischen Tradition und ihren altorientalischen Ursprüngen* (eds. J. Assmann – B. Janowski – M. Welker) (München: Fink 1998) 20–28, esp. 23.

89 This is suggested by Mitchell Dahood (*Psalms II. 51–100*, 270).

90 On this subject, cf. J. Lemański, “Prawo Pana doskonałe – krzepi życie” (*Ps 19,8a*). *Kilka refleksji na temat prawa i sprawiedliwości w Starym Testamencie* [The Law of the Lord Is Great – It Strengthens Life (Ps 19:8a). Some Reflections on the Essence of Law and Justice in the Old Testament] (*Studia i Rozprawy 54*; Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe US 2019) 165–166.

91 Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *I Salmi*, 148.

92 C.H. Gordon, “History of Religion in Psalm 82,” *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. Essays in Honor of William Sanford La Sor* (ed. G.A. Tuttle) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1978) 129–131. Mitchell Dahood (*Psalms II. 51–100*, 270) indicates the figure of the semi-divine King Kirta (Keret) from an Ugaritic poem dedicated to him. Cf. A. Tronina, “Eposy ugaryckie o Kerecie i Akhacie [Ugaritic Epics on Keret and Akhat],” *Ewangelia o Królestwie* (ed. A. Paciorek) (Scriptura Lumen. Biblia i jej oddziaływanie 1; Tarnów: Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2009) 563–621, esp. 586–587, 589. Better examples are given by Marvin E. Tate (*Psalms 51–100*, 337) pointing among others to the god Kingu being put to death for leading a rebellion (*Enuma eliś* 4,119-128); cf. J. Bromski (trans.), *Enuma eliś czyli opowieść starobabilońska o powstaniu świata* [Enuma Eliś That Is the Old Babylonian Tale about the Creation of the World] (Wrocław: Bagiński 1998; reprint of the Warszawa 1925 edition) 75.

and Mesopotamia know some exceptions. Death, by the verdict of gods, was ascribed to human nature.<sup>93</sup>

But now all “gods” – except one – are to become “like men” (v. 7a: *ke’ādām*) and die; fall (*npl* Qal *imperfectum* with volitive *be*) as “one of the princes” (v. 7b). The latter case probably refers to a synonym of an office (royal official, commander, district administrator, etc.).<sup>94</sup> In relation to “gods” this means that they will lose their former functions. Nevertheless, these types of words (“die,” “fall”) often describe violent death (1 Sam 4:10; 14:13)<sup>95</sup> and fall (to Sheol) of earthly tyrants with divine aspirations (Isa 14:12-15; Ezek 28:1-10).<sup>96</sup>

Perhaps it is indeed a manifesto declaring not so much the death of the gods as of the whole system of polytheistic ideas about the divine world.<sup>97</sup> In fact, the psalm mentions two ways of looking at the divine reality, the former (v. 6) and the latter (v. 7). The culmination of this demythologisation process is the final liturgical acclamation (v. 8).<sup>98</sup> This is a peculiar way of saying to the polytheistic world: I believe in one true God.<sup>99</sup> Mark S. Smith<sup>100</sup> believes that, in contrast to the tendencies noticeable in Mesopotamia, where – as he writes – the so-called “summodeism,” or “the concept of one god [ is understood] as the sum and summit of the reality represented by other deities,” Israel rejected all such compromises (Smith refers to those as “translation”), opting for pure monotheism.

## 2.5. Acclamation: the God of Israel as the Only True God (v. 8)

What is meant here is not so much a request as an acclamation stating that the God of Israel is the only true God. Nevertheless, the psalmist or liturgical assembly (*vox populi*) invites Him (*imperativus* forms with volitional *be*) to “arise” (*qûmâ*; cf. Ps 3:2), to judge (*šāptâ*) the earth; that is, to begin to act by changing the present situation. This call to assume the role of corrupt gods is justified (*kî-’attâ*) by the fact that (now, after judging the gods) He takes as an inheritance (“takes into possession”; *nhl* Qal *imperfectum* 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular, masculine) all the nations of the earth. Undoubtedly, such a conviction stems from the experience of the Exodus (cf. Ps 81:11). Like at that time in relation to Israel, so now to all peoples of the earth, the God of Israel appears as the saviour from oppression and injustice. Thus, the psalmist summarises and updates this historical experience of his people and per-

93 Cf. *Gilgamesh* X.320-322; A. Tronina, *Epos o Gilgameszu* [Epic of Gilgamesh] (TSPSM 2; Kraków – Mogilany: Enigma Press 2017) 102.

94 H. Niehr, “šar,” *TDOT* XIV, 190–215.

95 Goldingay, *Psalms*, 567.

96 Dahood, *Psalms II. 51–100*, 270.

97 Tsevat, “God” 123–137, esp. 129–130. Cf. also M.S. Smith, *God in Translation. Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World* (FAT 57; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2008) 131–139; Peter Machinist, “How Gods Die. Biblical and Otherwise: A Problem of Cosmic Restructuring,” *Reconsidering the Concept of Revolutionary Monotheism* (ed. B. Pongratz-Leisten) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2011) 189–240; J.M. Trotter, “Death of the *’lhm* in Psalm 82,” *JBL* 131 (2012) 221–239.

98 Tsevat, “God,” 134. Next also S.B. Parker, “The Beginning of the Reign of God: Psalm 82 as Myth and Liturgy,” *RB* 102 (1995) 532–559.

99 Lorenzin, *I Salmi*, 326.

100 Smith, *God in Translation*, 169.

haps of himself in exile, encountering other religions (after 722 BC and even more so after 597/87 BC).<sup>101</sup> The return from exile, preceded by the collapse of great empires, seems to be the decisive argument for such a declaration and at the same time constitutes the answer to the question posed by the pagans: “Where is their God?” (Ps 79:10). YHWH is no longer the chairman of the “gathering of the gods”; He is the only true God on earth. Although the verb “to judge” (*špt*), which is key to the entire psalm, returns, the main idea is not that God should judge the earth. What is really at stake here is that God should begin ruling this earth in a way that the fallen gods did not. For the time being, He stands in the midst of these fallen deities, and the supplicant calls upon Him to act (cf. Ps 44:27; 74:22; 76:9-10). Here, God is supposed not only to take the portion/inheritance (*nhl*) of Israel as his own (cf. Exod 34:9; Deut 32:9; Prov 2:12-16), but also take into possession all other nations.<sup>102</sup> In this way, they will no longer be subject to their patron deities (cf. Deut 32:8-9; then also: Jer 10:14; 51:17-19; Dan 10:13.20-21) and will become the property of the one true God – the God of Israel (cf. Deut 4:19-20; Jer 16:19-20).

### 3. Sitz im Leben of Ps 82: The Challenge of the Babylonian Exile

There is no doubt that the Babylonian exile was the best time to gain experience that would allow for the process of annihilating the entire ancient pantheon. The fall of the kingdom of Judah (587 B.C.) triggered a massive socio-religious crisis. After the temporary enthusiasm of Josiah’s time (especially between 629–609 B.C.), when the Assyrian empire collapsed and there was hope of “rebuilding” a unified monarchy (Josiah was portrayed as “the second David”), a mighty blow came from recent allies, the Babylonians. The kingdom of Judah, first subordinated to the new empire (after 597 B.C.) and then destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (587 B.C.), ceased to exist. The elites were deported. Feelings of disappointment, bitterness and loss of hope (cf. Ps 137; Ezek 37:11) dominated, resulting in the conviction of breaking the covenant with God, and in the belief in the power of foreign deities. There was a temptation to abandon Yahwism. The latter tendency was undoubtedly supported by the splendour of the Mesopotamian temples and the ancient cultural heritage of Mesopotamia. Such deities as Ishtar, Shamash and the Egyptian Amon were associated with justice by their followers. For Israel, however, the nations that worshipped them were associated with injustice and oppression. This is also how the deities themselves were perceived. It was YHWH – the God of Israel, who ultimately revealed Himself as the saviour of the oppressed, which would be marked by the fall of another empire (formerly Assyria, now Babylonia). So, it is He who will also ultimately prove to be the one true God and He will be given the right to pronounce the death of other deities. As Gianfranco

<sup>101</sup> Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen*, 490.

<sup>102</sup> Goldingay, *Psalms*, 568.

Ravasi wrote,<sup>103</sup> Semitic psycholinguistics could not confess monotheism except by declaring the total superiority of the one God over others (cf. Ps 29:1b-2; 95:3; 97:9; then also Exod 15:11; 1 Kgs 22:19) and we also find a reflection of this way of thinking in Ps 82.

Therefore, the psalmist takes up the new challenge of the experience of the Babylonian exile, presenting his definition of the true God on its canvas. He builds it on the basis of the requirement of justice for the poor and the deprived of social rights. Although we do not have sufficient data to precisely date the psalm, the knowledge of Deut. 32:8-9 and the clearly monotheistic tone of the verses, despite their polytheistic background, allow us to place Psalm 82 in the context of emerging monotheism, i.e. at the turn of the end of the exile and the beginning of the so-called Second Temple era. The text classified today as post-exilic, like Joshua 24, set in the context of the covenant renewed in Shechem, provides the time setting for a clear call to make a choice between the formerly worshipped gods and the God who saved Israel, with the preferred option to choose the latter, of course. Ps 82 provides a concise argument in favour of this choice. It was not (foreign) gods but the God of Israel who proved to be the saviour of the oppressed.

Understood too literally, Ps 82 could over time arouse resistance on the part of adherents of radical monotheism and we can find therein the roots of the later, interpretative transformation of “gods” into “judges” (cf. Exod 4:16; 7:1; Num 11:17,25; 2 Sam 14:17; Ps 45:7), as evidenced by the already mentioned anthropological reappraisal made in the Targums, as well as by the interpretation made by Jesus (cf. John 10:34-36).

## Conclusions

1. The primary factor that influenced the birth of monotheistic thinking among Israel's intellectual and spiritual elites was the experience of the Babylonian exile. First, there appeared a socio-political and spiritual crisis caused by the fall of the state, and then, along with the collapse of Babylon, came the sense of the triumph of Israel's God over the powers of this world. These events constituted a decisive impulse to re-evaluate the previous religious way of thinking.
2. The background of Psalm 82, in terms of imagery, is made up of reminiscences from the world of ancient Canaanite religious imagery. However, the psalmist uses these images only as poetic material, allowing him to visually present the reasons for his monotheistic beliefs.
3. Ps 82 is, alongside Deut 32:8-9 (version LXX; 4QDeut<sup>j</sup>), to which the psalmist indirectly refers (v. 1: assembly; v. 6: the Most High), is a testimony of the transition process from polytheism and monolatry to monotheism.
4. The declaration of the inability of the “gods” to ensure justice on earth, and consequently of their uselessness and the death penalty imposed on them, is the central theme of

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<sup>103</sup> Ravasi, *Il libro dei Salmi*, 712.



the psalm. Thus, the understanding of the word *'ēlōhīm* in the literal sense of alien, de-throned and annihilated gods (apart from vv. 1a,8a, where it is meant to define YHWH) is perfectly justified and constitutes the original meaning of the psalm.

5. Behind the judgement of “gods” there is also the already mentioned negative religious and social experience caused by the loss of the state and freedom (Babylonian exile). The scope of this experience is beyond the limits of the Judean community alone. It has a worldwide dimension (v. 5b). Hence, a second meaning of the psalm is also possible, in which the critique and the fall of *'ēlōhīm* can be applied to those responsible for ensuring social justice. Such an interpretation does not, however, blur the expressive power of the first meaning, which is an explicit monotheistic declaration, in which the effective assurance of justice on earth is a fundamental feature of divinity and a hallmark of the one true God.

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## The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of Jewish Law in 4QMMT

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**ABSTRACT:** The article discusses Elisha Qimron's suggestion that the syntagm חוק ומשפט וטהרה (B 52 = 4Q394 8 IV,2; 4Q396 1–2 II,3–4) from 4QMMT indicated the tripartite division of Jewish law in the understanding of the Qumran community. The first part presents the context of the use of חוק ומשפט וטהרה in 4QMMT, and briefly analyses the use of each of these terms in the literature of the Second Temple Period. The second part raises arguments refuting E. Qimron's idea and proposes an alternative meaning of חוק ומשפט וטהרה.

**KEYWORDS:** 4QMMT B 52; Jewish Law; *hōq wūmišpāt; tohōrāh*

While many scholars have focused on the hypothesized tripartite division of the authoritative writings of Second Temple Judaism in 4QMMT (C 10 = 4Q397 14–21,10; 4Q398 14–17 I,2–3) as a textual witness to the early existence of a divided “canon” of the Scriptures,<sup>1</sup> probably no one – as far as it has been feasible to establish – has taken up the issue

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- 1 K. Berthelot, “4QMMT et la question du canon de la Bible hébraïque,” *From 4QMMT to Resurrection. Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (eds. F. García Martínez – A. Steudel – E.J.C. Tigchelaar) (STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill 2006) 1–14; G.J. Brooke, “The Explicit Presentation of Scripture in 4QMMT,” *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. J. Kampen – M.J. Bernstein – F. García Martínez) (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill 1997) 85–88; J.G. Campbell, “4QMMT and the Tripartite Canon,” *JJS* 51 (2000) 181–190; C.A. Evans, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Canon of Scripture in the Time of Jesus,” *The Bible at Qumran. Text, Shape and Interpretation* (ed. P.W. Flint) (SDSSRL 5; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2001) 67–79; A. van der Kooij, “The Canonization of Ancient Books Kept in the Temple of Jerusalem,” *Canonization and Decanonization. Papers presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) held at Leiden 9–10 January 1997* (eds. A. van der Kooij – K. van der Toorn) (NB 82; Brill: Leiden 1998) 17–40; T.H. Lim, “The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible,” *RevQ* 20 (2001) 23–37; T.H. Lim, “Authoritative Scriptures and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. J.J. Collins – T.H. Lim) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010) 303–322; E. Ulrich, “Canon,” *EDSS* I, 117–120; E. Ulrich, “Qumran and the Canon of the Old Testament,” *The Biblical Canons* (eds. J.-M. Auwers – H.J. de Jonge) (BETHL 163; Leuven: Leuven University Press 2003) 57–80; E. Ulrich,

of the alleged tripartite corpus of Jewish law<sup>2</sup> in 4QMMT: in the syntagm חוק ומשפט וטהרה (B 52 = 4Q394 8 IV,2; 4Q396 1–2 II,3–4). This tripartite division was noted by Elisha Qimron in the *editio princeps*,<sup>3</sup> suggesting that each of the three nouns corresponds to one category of Jewish law, and the tripartite division itself implies a similar division present in the text of 1QS VI,22, namely, לתורה ולמשפט ולטהרה. If both phrases factually related to the tripartite division of Jewish law, then – according to E. Qimron – the term תורה from 1QS VI,22 would be parallel to the term חוק (“law, statute”) from 4QMMT, referring to the Law of Moses.<sup>4</sup> In turn, the next two terms, משפט (“rule, judgment”) and טהרה (“ritual purity”), common for 1QS and 4QMMT, would successively refer to civil law and the regulations of ritual purity. However, E. Qimron himself admits that the scope of each of these three terms within the alleged tripartite division of law, as understood by the Qumran community,<sup>5</sup> requires in-depth research. The aim of the article is to determine whether the phrase חוק ומשפט וטהרה from 4QMMT can be interpreted as supposed evidence for the existence of a tripartite division of law in the light of the use of the three terms in Second Temple Judaism.

## 1. The Context of the Use of חוק ומשפט וטהרה in 4QMMT

The aforementioned expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה appears in the legal section of the document 4QMMT, in the *editio princeps* marked with B, constituting the main corpus of the work. In this section, the authors give their addressees a proper legal interpretation concerning a number of issues related more or less to the Mosaic Law, which is not necessarily known in its present written version. One of the issues discussed by the authors is the problem of the status of the blind and deaf in the context of the temple worship and its sacrificial system (B 52–54). Under this system, some sacrificial offerings may be eaten, while some may not<sup>6</sup>; all this is governed by regulations that make up the “ordinances of Israel” – משפטי ישראל (B 53 = 4Q394 8 IV,3; 4Q396 1–2 II,4), including the laws of “the ritual purity of the sacred food”<sup>7</sup> טהרת המקדש (B 54 = 4Q394 8 IV,4; 4Q396 1–2 II,6).

“The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT,” *CBQ* 65 (2003) 202–214; J.C. VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 5/3 (1998) 387–388.

2 Here Jewish law should be understood as law in the general sense, law to which the Jews were subject in Judea and which could have included both religious and civil regulations.

3 E. Qimron – J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V. Miqṣat Ma’ase ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon 1994) 52.

4 Qimron – Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4*, 140.

5 It should be added that Elisha Qimron assumes that 4QMMT is a work created by the Qumran community. This assumption is not certain, but it is not necessary to authenticate or refute it in order to establish whether such a division of law, based on the expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה, functioned in Second Temple Judaism.

6 The Mishnah enumerates possible instances of unknowingly eating certain forbidden parts of the offering, including the sin offering referred to in 4QMMT (B 51 = 4Q394 8 IV,1). See *m. Ker.* 5,4–8.

7 Like in the Temple Scroll (11Q19 XLVII,17), טהרת המקדש refers to ritually clean foods to be sacrificed in the Jerusalem Temple. In 4QMMT this expression seems to a synonym of טהרת הקודש (B 65 = 4Q396 1–2 III,5; 4Q394 8 IV,15; B 68 = 4Q396 1–2 III,8; 4Q397 6–13,8), since in both cases the genitive of or-

The blind,<sup>8</sup> although are able to hear the law, cannot differentiate, due to their deformation, between all kinds of “mixture” of the food offerings (B 50 = 4Q396 1–2 II,2; cf. 4Q394 8 III,20)<sup>9</sup> in the temple. In turn, the deaf cannot hear the ordinances of Israel, and thus they have no possibility of learning how to preserve these laws. Nevertheless, the authors of 4QMMT allow such persons to eat the food of the temple.<sup>10</sup> It is in the context of the deaf that the phrase *חוק ומשפט וטהרה* was used to define the precepts that they cannot hear and obey them.

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igin indicates sacral area. In the same meaning, the syntagm *טהרת הקודש* was used in 4Q513 2 II,1, and also in the Mishnah (*Hag. 2,7*), where it was used to regulations concerning the ritual purity of the food offerings. Hannah K. Harrington (“Holiness in the Laws of 4QMMT,” *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* [eds. M.J. Bernstein – J. Kampen – F. García Martínez] [STDJ] 23; Leiden: Brill 1997] 123) also recognises *טהרת הקודש* as an equivalent of *טהרת המקדש*.

- 8 The additional description *שאינם רואים* “who cannot see” (B 50 = 4Q396 1–2 II,1–2; cf. B 51 = 4Q394 8 IV,1) of the noun *הטומים* “the blind” (B 49 = 4Q394 8 III,20) specifies that the line is about those whose both eyes are deformed (Qimron – Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4*, 52). Nonetheless, the Qumran community did not allow even those who were blind in one eye to participate in the *sacrum* (A. Shemesh, “The Holy Angels Are in Their Council”: The Exclusion of Deformed Persons,” *DSD* 4 [1997] 179–206).
- 9 The text speaks precisely of *כל תערובת* “every mixture” (B 50 = 4Q396 1–2 II,2), but the context is clear that the mixture concerns the offering in the temple, which seems to be confirmed by the further expression *תערובת אשם* “mixture of the guilt offering” (B 50–51 = 4Q396 1–2 II,2; 4Q394 8 III,20 – IV,1). Although the text first speaks of “every mixture,” which causes that the addition of another category, i.e. “mixture of the guilt offering,” seems illogical, the expression *תערובת אשם* can be an emphasis of the phrase “every mixture” and the conjunction *uaw* before it can syntactically be interpreted in an emphatic way (“especially thus”). Therefore, the “mixture” concerning the guilt offering would be part of the aforementioned phrase, “every mixture.” In this context it should be added that the very expression *תערובת אשם* is not attested outside 4QMMT, and thus it is not easy to establish its exact sense. It could have been a mixture of products included in the guilt offering mentioned, e.g. in Lev 5:6–26; 7:1–6 and 14:12–29. However, the fact is that no text certifies the use of the noun *תערובת* to designate elements of any offering, and so the hypothesis has thin grounds.
- 10 The position of the authors of 4QMMT does not only find any parallels in the remaining Qumran writings, but also in the Law of Moses and the Rabbinic texts. Although E. Qimron does not point to any biblical text that could support the legal problem (Qimron – Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4*, 160–161), it cannot be excluded that here we are to a certain extent dealing with a reference to Lev 21:16–24. Since it says that a priest who has a defect (e.g. is blind; Lev 21:18), cannot fulfil his priestly function (Lev 21:23) by making offerings to God (Lev 21:21), but at the same time he may eat the most holy food of his God (Lev 21:22). Although 4QMMT does not suggest that the legal problem concerning the deaf and blind applies to priests, the authors of this document could have passed this priestly rule to lay people, but in this case, it should be assumed that they counted deafness as a “defect,” while the expression *טהרת המקדש* relates to the food that was eaten by lay people, after the offering had been made, outside the temple. The blind were not permitted to enter the temple (see 2 Sam 5:8), and by analogy, the deaf could have been excluded as well. Yet, we cannot definitely refute the hypothesis that the text is about a blind or deaf person belonging to the priestly family who because of his deformation, inherited or acquired, could not be admitted to the ministry for the sake of maintaining the ritual purity of the holy food. 4QMMT seems to be a letter addressed to a person who has an influence on priests, as evidenced by the “formula of instructing priests” used several times, calling them to implement the guidelines of the authors of 4QMMT (see B 11–13 [4Q394 3–7 I,14–16]; B 16–17 [4Q394 3–7 I,19 – II,1]; B 25–27 [4Q394 3–7 II,13–14]; B 82 [4Q396 1–2 IV,11]).

## 2. The Terms חוק and משפט in the Literature of Second Temple Judaism

The syntagm חוק ומשפט וטהרה is not attested outside 4QMMT, nor are there in any known texts from the Second Temple Period juxtaposing the nouns חוק, משפט and טהרה. Yet, it does not apply to the combination of the nouns חוק and משפט, which occurs thirty-eight times in the Hebrew Bible<sup>11</sup> and at least six times in the writings from Qumran,<sup>12</sup> not counting the document 4QMMT (4Q394 8 IV,2 = B 52). Nevertheless, only in eight texts both nouns occur in their singular forms, again not counting 4QMMT.<sup>13</sup> Before discussing these eight texts, it is worth briefly analysing the use of the terms חוק and משפט in the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran writings.

In the Hebrew Bible the first term, חוק (from the root חקק, “to engrave,” “to inscribe,” “to establish”) is used to designate rules and statutes, whether of divine origin – such as the laws of nature (e.g. Jer 33:25), the laws given to Moses (e.g. Exod 15:25-26), including priestly privileges and shares (e.g. Exod 29:28) – whether of human origin, such as civil laws (e.g. Gen 47:26), poetic rules (e.g. Sir 44:5), customs and manners (e.g. 2 Chr 35:25). A similar difference in the meaning of the noun חוק can be seen in the writings of the Qumran community, where it is used to denote the time and space frameworks decreed by God (e.g. 1QS X,1), including the laws of nature (e.g. 1QM X,12), as well as to describe the statutes of God’s covenant (e.g. CD V,12), God’s revelation (e.g. 1QpHab II,15), the cultic laws (e.g. 1QpHab VIII,10), the rules of communal life (e.g. 1QS V,20), and also the laws of the gentiles (e.g. CD IX,1) and the laws of [sons] of darkness (e.g. 1QM XIII,12). It is therefore a very broad term that generally refers to principles and rules which have an authority behind them and which therefore must be followed.<sup>14</sup> However, this term is not attested as a specific and narrow category under general law. It is significant that in the Mishnaic texts, the term חוק has completely dropped out of use<sup>15</sup> in favour of the term דין, “judgment, argument, analogy” although it appears again in the Talmudic texts.<sup>16</sup>

In the legal context the second noun, משפט (from the root שפט, “to exercise power”), can refer to civil and religious laws, thus to God’s laws (e.g. Exod 24:3) or to laws introduced by man (e.g. Ezek 11:12), including customs or accepted practices (e.g. 2 Kgs 17:26. 33-34). In the Qumran writings it occurs in the context of taking decisions (e.g. 1QS IX,7), giving judgement (e.g. 1QSa I,14), the result of a judgement, e.g. justification (e.g. 1QS XI,12), as well as the communal directives (1QS IX,10) and law as a moral norm expressing God’s will

11 Exod 15:25; Lev 24:46; Num 9:3; Deut 4:1. 5. 8. 14. 45; 5:1. 31; 6:1. 20; 7:11; 11:32; 12:1; 26:16. 17; Josh 24:25; 1 Sam 30:25; 1 Kgs 2:3; 8:58; 9:4; 2 Kgs 17:37; Ezek 11:12; 20:18; 20:25; 36:27; Mal 3:22; Ps 81:5; 147:19; Ezra 7:10; Neh 1:7; 9:13; 10:30; 1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 7:17; 19:10; 33:8. All statistical data in the present article are based on Oaktree’s software Accordance and its search capabilities.

12 CD XX,30; 1QSa I,5; 4Q184 5,5; 4Q400 1 I,5; 4Q504 3 II,14; 11Q19 L,6.

13 Exod 15:25; Josh 24:25; 1 Sam 30:25; Ezra 7:10; Ps 81:5; 4Q184 5,5; 4Q365 6aII+6c,11; 11Q19 L,6.

14 J.P. Lewis, “חקק,” *TWOT* I, 316–318; H. Ringgren, “חקק,” *TDOT* V, 139–147.

15 The exception is the text of *m. Hul.* 10,1, which is, however, a citation from Lev 7:34.

16 See M. Jastrow, “חוק,” *DTTML* I, 438.



rooted in the Law of Moses (e.g. 1QS I,5). If in the legal context, משפט results from a divine bestowal, it refers to God's commandment or God's law in general, standing in parallel with terms such as חוק or תורה, in both the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran texts.<sup>17</sup> What is important here, like in the case of the noun חוק, the term משפט disappears in Mishnaic literature in favour of the aforementioned term דין.<sup>18</sup>

In the context of the expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה, much more significant is the common use of the nouns חוק and משפט, which in the Hebrew Bible are attested mainly in the plural form – חקים ... ו ... משפטים.<sup>19</sup> In this kind of use of both terms, it is difficult to show a precise designate of each of them.<sup>20</sup> It seems that they both point to the law as a whole, for often these two plural nouns are used interchangeably or complementarily with such terms as מצוות “commandments,” דברים “words, rulings,” תורות “instructions” or עדות “testimonies.”<sup>21</sup> It is very difficult to precisely isolate the technical meaning of each of these terms within the collection of God's law because they have lost their specific and individual meanings in favour of their combinational use to denote law as a whole.<sup>22</sup> In all this it is not clear whether the combination of the plural forms of the terms חוק and משפט corresponds to their combinations in the singular forms with which we are dealing in the text of 4QMMT. In this context, it is worth attempting to show the usage of the terms חוק and משפט in their singular forms, which in turn will allow us to shed further light on the phrase חוק ומשפט וטהרה in 4QMMT.

### 3. חוק ומשפט in the Literature of Second Temple Judaism

The phrase in its singular form, חוק ומשפט,<sup>23</sup> appears only in seven texts, but 4Q184 5,5 is too fragmentary to make any conclusion, while the fragment 4Q365 6aII+6c,11 is a citation from Exod 15:25. The latter mentions an event when the Israelites were given חוק ומשפט at

17 R.D. Culver, “שפט,” *TWOT* II, 947–949; B. Johnson, “משפט,” *TDOT* IX, 86–98.

18 The term משפט can be found in the Mishnaic texts only ten times (see *m. Sanh.* 4,1; 10,3; 11,2; *m. 'Ed.* 2,10 (x 5); *'Abot* 1,18; 5,18), while the noun דין has been attested over 300 times. The Accordance module for the Mishna (MISH-T) is corrected to the Kaufmann Codex.

19 Lev 24:46; Deut 4:1. 5. 8. 14. 45; 5:1. 13; 6:1. 20; 7:11; 8:11; 11:1. 32; 12:1; 26:16. 17; 30:16; 2 Kgs 17:37; Ezek 20:25; Mal 3:22; Neh 1:7; 1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 19:10; 33:8. In the Qumran texts this plural usage is attested in 4Q504 3 II,14.

20 Ringgren, “חקק,” 142.

21 For example, Num 36:13; Deut 5:31; 6:1. 17; 7:11; 8:11; 11:1; 26:17; 30:16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 6:12; 8:58; 2 Kgs 17:34. 37; 23:3; 1 Chr 28:7; 29:19; 2 Chr 8:14; 19:10; 34:31; Neh 1:7; 9:14. 29. 34; 10:30; Dan 9:5.

22 See the discussion of these problems with references in: Ringgren, “חקק,” 142–145.

23 Exod 15:25; Josh 24:25; 1 Sam 30:25; Ezra 7:10; Ps 81:5; 4Q184 5,5; 4Q365 6aII+6c,11. Incidentally, one can only mention the presence of both nouns in the singular forms in the genitive construction, in which the *nomen regens* is the noun חוק, and the *nomen rectum* is the noun המשפט (Num 27:11; 35:29; 11Q19 L,6). In the Temple Scroll (11Q19 L,6), on the other hand, the verb טהר was used before the phrase המשפט וטהרה, which means that, exceptionally, there are exactly three roots next to each other, which make up the syntagm חוק ומשפט וטהרה from 4QMMT.

the very beginning of their leaving Egypt, and here the very expression חוק ומשפט seems to refer to the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20:22–23:33) as its anticipation. The use of the phrase חוק ומשפט in Exod 15:25 testifies to the presence of the Deuteronomist, or D, (Deut 12–26), which was interwoven in the narrative created by the Priestly Code, or P<sup>24</sup> and for which the phrase חוק ומשפט is a characteristic element although it usually occurs in the plural.<sup>25</sup> A similar case can be observed in the Book of Leviticus (26:46), where in the only use of the phrase חוקים והמשפטים, referring to the Book of the Covenant, this phrase does not belong to P, but to D, although the fragment itself is woven into the H narrative (Lev 17–26).<sup>26</sup> In any case, the phrase חוק ומשפט in Exod 15:25 seems to anticipate the Book of the Covenant because in both cases it is about the laws given by God through Moses.

The second passage, Josh 24:25, speaks about the covenant between Joshua and the people of Israel at Shechem. Within the covenant, Joshua reaffirmed for the Israelites חוק ומשפט. In this case, we could be dealing with a renewed covenant that God made with Moses, while חוק ומשפט would refer to the statutes included in this covenant.<sup>27</sup> However, it seems that Josh 24:26 assumes that חוק ומשפט given by Joshua were added to – or more likely, constitute its part – the existing “the Book of the Law of God,” ספר תורת אלהים, which in turn can refer to the law given by God at Mount Sinai. In this context, the probable function of Josh 24:25–26 would have been to relate Joshua’s covenant (Judg 23–24) to the existing Sinai covenant, written in the Law of Moses.<sup>28</sup>

The third passage, 1 Sam 30:25, concerns the problem of the fair distribution of the spoils of war, which is solved by King David. The solution proposed by him is now established as חוק ומשפט for Israel. Here the context requires us to understand חוק ומשפט as a custom and practice, or possibly a royal ordinance. It is worth noting that the phrase is accompanied by the verb שים, which was also used in the syntagm in the analysed texts of Exod 15:25 and Josh 24:25. Moreover, like in the latter, in 1 Sam 30:25 the introduction of חוק ומשפט occurs as a result of a dispute or debate.<sup>29</sup>

According to the next passage (Ezra 7:10), Ezra arrives in Israel from Babylon to, on the one hand, study “the law of Yahweh,” תורת יהוה, and on the other hand, to teach חוק ומשפט in Israel. The authors of Ezra–Nehemiah, in the context of their whole work, make people understand that Ezra brought the Law of Moses with him (cf. Neh 8:1; 9:3; 13:1), which at the time could have been understood as the Pentateuch,<sup>30</sup> and which in the period of the redaction of Ezra–Nehemiah (3rd c. BC) could have assumed the form

24 W. Johnstone, *Exodus 1–19* (SHBC 2A; Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys 2014) 318; V.P. Hamilton, *Exodus. An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic Press 2011) 478–479.

25 Deut 4:1. 5. 8. 14. 45; 5:1. 13; 6:1. 20; 7:11; 8:11; 11:1. 32; 12:1; 26:16. 17; 30:16.

26 J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3B; New York: Doubleday 2001) 2342.

27 P. Pitkänen, *Joshua* (ApOTC 6; Nottingham: Apollos 2010) 454.

28 R.S. Hess, *Joshua. An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC 6; Leicester: IVP 1996) 295.

29 A.G. Auld, *I & II Samuel* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2011) 342–343.

30 L.L. Grabbe, *Ezra–Nehemiah* (OTR; London: Routledge 1998) 139–143.



we know today.<sup>31</sup> It is worth noting that in the next verse, Ezra 7:11, the phrase חוק ומשפט is replaced by the syntagm דברי מצות־יהוה וחוקיו “matters/words pertaining the commandments of the Lord and His statutes.”

In the last, fifth passage, the author of Psalm 81 calls the Israelites to celebrate and sing for joy to God since God set free Israel from the Egyptian yoke. The probable context of the psalm was the Feast of Tabernacles.<sup>32</sup> As Ps 81:4 says, the reason for the celebration is not only to remember the exodus from Egypt but above all the fact that celebrating this event means חוק ומשפט for Israel, according to the ordinance of the God of Jacob when Joseph left Egypt (Ps 81:5[4]). Referring to the figure of Joseph and the title “God of Jacob” indicates that the psalm could have been created in northern Israel, but both its form and place in Asaph’s collection seems to point to the post-exilic context of this psalm.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, although in this text חוק ומשפט refer the local law of northern Israel,<sup>34</sup> the connection of this psalm with Sukkoth and the associated joy in receiving the Law of Moses suggests that חוק ומשפט may refer to the Pentateuch, like in Ezra 7:10.

This brief overview of the sporadic use of the combined חוק ומשפט in the singular testifies to their different uses, whether for a set of covenant laws (Exod 15:25; Josh 24:25; Ezra 7:10) or for a single custom (1 Sam 30:25; Ps 81:4). Importantly, in the context of God’s law, it is actually difficult to distinguish between the use of the terms חוק ומשפט in their plural forms and their use in the singular. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that their occasional use in the singular form is merely a stylistic procedure that essentially corresponds to the use of the nouns חוק ומשפט in the plural in the D material, i.e. with regard to law as a whole, consisting of the laws given by God through Moses. This interpretation of the phrase חוק ומשפט can allow us to assign each term to a specific category, class or type of the law, but the attempts made so far have not brought anything certain in this matter.<sup>35</sup> Thus, it seems that the expression חוק ומשפט is best understood as it is represented in the plural form in the D material, as pertaining to the entirety of God’s law, התורה, given by Moses.<sup>36</sup>

This observation seems to be confirmed by the very context of the above-mentioned texts of Exod 15:25, Josh 24:25 and Ezra 7:10, where חוק ומשפט is used in the context of the Law of Moses. So in Exod 15:25, the phrase חוק ומשפט in the next line would be repeated by the parallel מצותיו “His commandments” and כל־חוקיו “all His statutes” (Exod 15:26); in turn, Josh 24:26 explains that חוק ומשפט from the previous verse is the “words,” הדברים, written “in the Book of the Law of God” – בספר תורת אלהים. Similarly, in Ezra 7:10, where

31 Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 146–147.

32 A.P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*. II. (42–89) (KEL; Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic 2013) 707; J.H. Waltner, *Psalms* (BCBC; Scottsdale, PA: Herald 2006) 396.

33 Waltner, *Psalms*, 395.

34 Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms*, 708.

35 Albrecht Alt and Gerhard Liedke uncertainly argued that the term משפט included “casuistic law,” whereas the term חוק “apodictic law.” See the brief overview of the scholars’ opinions in: Ringgren, “חוק,” 142–143; cf. Johnson, “משפט,” 94–95; Lewis, “חוק,” 317.

36 Ringgren, “חוק,” 145.

in the next verse the phrase חוק ומשפט is explained as “words of the Lord’s commandments and His statutes for Israel” – דברי מצות־יהוה וחקיו על־ישראל (Ezra 7:11). At this point, it is significant that a similar paradigm appears in 4QMMT, where in the next line the expression חוק ומשפט (B 52 = 4Q394 8 IV,2; 4Q396 1–2 II,3–4) was rendered with the parallel phrase משפטי ישראל “the ordinances of Israel” (B 53 = 4Q394 8 IV,3; 4Q396 1–2 II,4). This allows us to presume that in the passage of 4QMMT, the syntagm חוק ומשפט can also be a merism embracing all the laws of Israel. Yet, in this context we can ask about the kind of relation between the phrase חוק ומשפט and the noun טהרה, i.e. about the meaning of the noun and its syntactic function in חוק ומשפט וטהרה.

#### 4. Is the Noun טהרה the Third Category of Law?

In the Hebrew Bible, the noun טהרה and its root טהר almost always refer to cultic purity.<sup>37</sup> Depending on the context, it is used to denote a ritual or process of cleansing from ritual impurity, as well as to denote the time needed to obtain ritual purity or to denote ritually pure food.<sup>38</sup> However, in no place can the use of the noun טהרה point to its understanding as a category of Jewish law.<sup>39</sup> The fact that this is how E. Qimron understands the noun טהרה in 4QMMT seems to result from his assumption that this document is a work of the same community that created the Community Rule, which has the expression לתורה ולמשפט ולטהרה (1QS VI,22). In this syntagm, the term תורה would refer to the Law of Moses, constituting a parallel with the term חוק from 4QMMT, while the noun משפט could point to civil law, and the term טהרה would embrace laws concerning ritual purity. Nonetheless, E. Qimron’s interpretation poses several problems.

Firstly, the origins of the 4QMMT document and the Community Rule in the same community is not certain. The position of the authors of 4QMMT, for example on the issue of the blind and deaf, in the context of the expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה evidently differs from what can be found in other writings of the Qumran community, where it is explicitly stated that the blind and deaf cannot enter its congregation (4Q266 8 I,7–9 = CD XV,16–17; 1QSa II,6). Moreover, the blind cannot participate in the eschatological war (1QM VII,4–5), and further, they are not permitted to enter Jerusalem (11Q19 XLV,12–14<sup>40</sup>).

37 H. Ringgren “טהר,” *TDOT* V, 287–296; E. Yamauchi, “טהר,” *TWOT* I, 343–344; cf. “טהרה,” *HALOT* II, 370; “טהרה,” *DCH* III, 348–349.

38 That is the food brought to the temple and stored there in the state of ritual purity so that it can later be eaten inside the temple; in this sense it is an equivalent of the biblical terms קדש or קדשים.

39 This also applies to the Dead Sea Scrolls, see H.K. Harrington, “Semantic Field of the Lexemes טהר and טמא in the Dead Sea Scrolls?,” *RevQ* 24/1 (2009) 97–114.

40 Tzvi Novick, wanting to reconcile the interpretations of the Temple Scroll and 4QMMT, rightly points out that the prohibition of the blind from entering the temple city, i.e. Jerusalem (11Q19 XLV, 12–14), is something other than the ban on contact with sacred food as the blind could potentially contact food destined for the temple outside Jerusalem (cf. 11Q19 XLVII, 2–8). According to T. Novick (“Overt Acknowledgement of Practical Considerations in Legal Texts from Qumran,” *DSD* 21 [2014] 71–72), this ban could not be so much

The consent of the authors of 4QMMT to allow the deaf and blind to eat the sacred food appears peculiar,<sup>41</sup> which makes it difficult to assume that the texts of 4QMMT and the Community Rule are works of the same community. Consequently, the phrase ולטהרה ולמשפט לתורה (1QS VI,22) does not necessarily constitute a proper comparative material to the phrase חוק ומשפט וטהרה (B 52 = 4Q394 8 IV,2; 4Q396 1–2 II,3–4) in the context of the division of Jewish law *as understood by the Qumran community*.

Secondly, the tripartite division of the law is questionable even in the text of 1QS VI, 22 itself,<sup>42</sup> which for E. Qimron is a point of reference. So, in the syntagm ולטהרה ולמשפט ולתורה the term משפט may also refer to the issue of “judging, deciding” (cf. VI,23; VIII,25), while the term טהרה to eating ritually pure food (cf. V,13; VI,16–17; VII,3; VIII,17. 24). Even if we follow E. Qimron and recognise that the noun תורה refers to the Law of Moses, משפט to civil law and טהרה to the law concerning ritual purity, it should be noted that the preposition ל seems to mark a fourfold division (לתורה ולמשפט ולטהרה ולערב את הונו), in which all the four categories are strictly connected with the internal life of the Qumran community and correspond to the context of the entire text. Since on the one hand, the communal life is about “every affair involving the Law, property and judgment” כול דבר לתורה ולהון ולמשפט (V,3; cf. VI,24–25), and on the other hand, an expression of its unity is a communal feast with ritually pure food.

Thirdly, the expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה from 4QMMT evidently refers to the phrase משפטי ישראל, “the ordinances of Israel,” which was used in the same context concerning the deaf and blind (cf. B 52 [= 4Q394 8 IV,2; 4Q396 1–2 II,3–4] and B 53 [= 4Q394 8 IV,3; 4Q396 1–2 II,4]). The very expression משפטי ישראל seems to be a reference to the Law of Moses since the authors of 4QMMT show their views exactly in relation to the Law of Moses, most likely to the text of Lev 21:16–24. Furthermore, the syntagm שמעו משפטי ישראל, whose subject is the deaf and blind, to a certain extent recalls Deut 4:1; 5:1; 7:12; 26:17, referring to the law Moses received from God. If we are to look for a parallel with חוק ומשפט וטהרה in the texts of the Qumran community, it would rather be the expression כל משפטי התורה “all the regulations of the Law” (CD XIV,8 [= משפטות התורה in 1QSa I,11?]) than the phrase from 1QS VI,26 (לתורה ולמשפט ולטהרה ולערב את הונו), which seems to be much closer to the expression משפטי היחד, “the precepts of the community” (1QS VI,15), since the latter refer to the laws regulating the communal life of *yahad*.

Fourthly, in the light of the legal section of 4QMMT, the expression משפטי ישראל is most probably a reference to the Law of Moses as the precepts of this Law are explained by the authors of 4QMMT; the possibility to interpret the term משפט in relation to civil law in the phrase חוק ומשפט וטהרה should be excluded. Moreover, my above and brief

about the fear of making sacrificial food unclean on the basis of its contact with the blind and deaf, but rather a fear that due to their deformation “the blind and deaf cannot keep the food apart from more severe forms of impurity.”

<sup>41</sup> See n. 10.

<sup>42</sup> The whole text: ואם יצא לו הגורל לקרבו ליחד יכתובהו בסרך תכונו בתוך אחיו לתורה ולמשפט ולטהרה ולערב את הונו (1QS VI,22).

analysis of the expression חוק ומשפט excludes the interpretation of the very term חוק as referring to the Torah, as seen by E. Qimron, especially that the term חוק itself is not attested in the meaning of the Torah, the Law of Moses, and in those places where it concerns the precepts included in the Law of Moses it usually occurs in the plural form.<sup>43</sup>

Fifthly, the authors of 4QMMT undoubtedly follow the Book of Deuteronomy, faithfully using the Deuteronomist's language.<sup>44</sup> This allows us to assume that also חוק ומשפט is an expression of reaching for the language of the Deuteronomist, with the only difference that in the Book of Deuteronomy this expression appears in the plural,<sup>45</sup> but this difference – as previously shown – does not seem to be reflected in the very semantic field of this expression. In this context, the entire expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה would not testify to the threefold division of the law but rather to the use of the Deuteronomist's expression חוק ומשפט, to which the term וטהרה was added<sup>46</sup> for reasons that will be discussed later.

Sixthly, no set division or classification of Judaic laws into some category is attested in Second Temple Judaism. In fact, one can find a classification of the biblical law in Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* (Books 3 and 4) and its thematic division in the Temple Scroll, but as David Altshuler proves, in both works the classifications are selective and completely subjected to the goals of the works, and thus they do not reflect any existing classification of Judaic laws from that period.<sup>47</sup>

Elisha Qimron, however, referring to *m. Hag.* 1,8, states: "The use of טהרה to denote a special class of laws suits the centrality of this realm in early halakha."<sup>48</sup> Indeed,

43 See Ringgren "חוק", 143–147.

44 For the relation between the Book of Deuteronomy and the text of 4QMMT, see: H. von Weissenberg, "4QMMT – Towards an Understanding of the Epilogue," *RevQ* 21 (2003) 29–45; H. von Weissenberg, "Deuteronomy at Qumran and in 4QMMT," *Houses Full of All Good Things. Essays in Memory of Timo Veijola* (eds. J. Pakkala – M. Nissinen) (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society 2008) 520–537; H. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT. Reevaluating the Text, the Function and the Meaning of the Epilogue* (STDJ 82; Leiden: Brill 2009) 120–143, 169–218; R.G. Kratz, "Mose und die Propheten: zur Interpretation von 4QMMT C," *From 4QMMT to Resurrection. Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (eds. F. García Martínez – A. Steudel – E.J.C. Tigchelaar) (STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill 2006) 151–176; R.G. Kratz, "The Place which He Has Chosen: The Identification of the Cult Place of Deut. 12 and Lev. 17 in 4QMMT," *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007) 57–80.

45 See n. 25.

46 In this context one should note that out of the seventeen usages of the phrase חוקים ... ו... משפטים in the Book of Deuteronomy (4:1. 5. 8. 14. 45; 5:1. 13; 6:1. 20; 7:11; 8:11; 11:1. 32; 12:1; 26:16. 17; 30:16), five is accompanied by a third element, i.e. the term עדה "testimony" (4:45; 6:20) or the term מצוה "commandment" (5:31; 6:1; 7:11; 8:11; 11:1; 26:17; 30:16). However, in no case are חוקים and משפטים interchangeable with another term; the two concepts are inseparable from each other, which proves that they constitute a fairly well coined expression, perhaps even a merism defining the law as a whole. As for the noun מצוה "commandment," which at times goes together with the phrase חוקים ... ו... משפטים, in the light of Neh 10:30 it seems tantamount to this phrase. Thus, like the terms עדה and מצוה do not semantically violate the expression חוקים ... ו... משפטים, so in 4QMMT the accompanying term טהרה does not seem to violate the expression חוק ומשפט, which has equally well been attested (Exod 15:25; Josh 24:25; 1 Sam 30:25; Ezra 7:10; Ps 81:5; 4Q184 5,5; 4Q365 6a11+6c,11 [= Exod 15:25]).

47 D. Altshuler, "On the Classification of Judaic Laws in the *Antiquities* of Josephus and the Temple Scroll of Qumran," *AJSR* 7/8 (1982/1983) 1–14.

48 Qimron – Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4*, 140.

the cited text of *m. Hag.* 1,8 includes the laws concerning what is “ritually pure and impure,” הטהרות והטמאות, in the “essence of the Torah” – גופי תורה. Also, in the Amoraic period there were laws concerning ritual impurity (טומאה), and later Maimonides, dividing Jewish law in *Mishneh Torah* and *Sefer ha-Miṣwot*, distinguishes laws concerning “what is ritually impure and pure” – הטמא והטהור.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, the term טהרה alone does not represent any known classification of the regulations pertaining to ritual cleanliness or uncleanness. It is true, however, that the concept of the tripartite division of law appears already in the Amoraic era, in which civil law is distinguished from religious law, including laws relating to ritual purity,<sup>50</sup> but reading the phrase חוק ומשפט וטהרה in the same spirit at the pre-Tannaic stage seems to be an unauthorized imposition of a later pattern of thinking on the authors of 4QMMT.

Considering the aforementioned objections, E. Qimron’s hypothesis about the alleged tripartite division of the Jewish law, reflected in the phrase חוק ומשפט וטהרה from 4QMMT, seems to be poorly established in the light of the literature of Second Temple Judaism. Nonetheless, the rejection of this hypothesis inevitably leads to the previously asked question: as the expression חוק ומשפט is already well attested in the legal context at the time of the creation of 4QMMT (second half of the second century BC), what is the relation between the noun טהרה and this expression? That is, what is the significance of the term טהרה in the whole expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה, and consequently, what is its syntactic function?

## 5. The Significance of חוק ומשפט וטהרה in 4QMMT

It is worth recalling once again that the expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה appears in the context of the deaf and blind who, due to their deformation, are unable to observe the regulations of the Mosaic Law relating to ritual purity. The deaf cannot hear the content of the regulations, while the blind, although they can hear them, cannot see and do not know whether they have had contacts with a person or items which are ritually unclean or not. The laws that the deaf are unable to hear and observe are expressed in חוק ומשפט וטהרה. Observ-

49 ומשני הגמרות ומן התוספות ומספרא וספרי (ומן התוספות) מכלום יתבאר האסור והמוותר הטמא והטהור החיוב והפסור הפסול והכשר כמו שהעתיקו איש מפי איש מפי משה רבינו מינינו: “From the entire [body of knowledge stemming from] the two Talmuds, the Tosefta, the Sifra, and the Sifre, can be derived the forbidden and the permitted, the impure and the pure, the liable and those who are free of liability, the invalid and the valid as was received [in tradition], one person from another, [in a chain extending back] to Moses at Mount Sinai.” [trans. E. Touger], Moses ben Maimon, *Mishneh Torah* (ed. E. Touger) (New York: Moznaim 2000, 1 ed. 1180); [https://www.chabad.org/library/article\\_cdo/aid/901656/jewish/Introduction-to-Mishneh-Torah.htm](https://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/901656/jewish/Introduction-to-Mishneh-Torah.htm) [access: 13.07.2021]. Cf. the similar expression “טמא וטהר” also used in the context of the division of the Judaic laws; see Moses ben Maimon, *Sefer ha-Miṣvot* (Warsaw: Goldman 1883, 1 ed. 1497) 3; [https://www.sefaria.org/Sefer\\_HaMitzvot?lang=bi](https://www.sefaria.org/Sefer_HaMitzvot?lang=bi) [access: 13.07.2021].

50 “During the Amoraic period the notion of a threefold division of the law appears, namely: the ceremonial law (איסורא), the laws of impurity (טומאה), and jurisprudence (ממונא).” B. Cohen, “The Classification of the Law in the Mishneh Torah,” *JQR* 25/4 (1935) 523.



ing חוק ומשפט וטהרה is shown to be key in assessing the permit for contact with the sacred food. As mentioned at the beginning, the authors of 4QMMT still admit the deaf and blind to the sacred food,<sup>51</sup> but here the key issue for us is the fact that חוק ומשפט וטהרה should be understood in the context of the precepts on ritual purity, and therefore, in strict relation to the Mosaic Law as the source of these regulations.

Since there is no doubt that the authors of 4QMMT rely heavily on the language of the Book of Deuteronomy, it can be assumed that חוק ומשפט reflects the phrase משפטים ... חקים, frequently used in it (see Deut 4:1. 5. 8. 14. 45; 5:1. 13; 6:1. 20; 7:11; 8:11; 11:1. 32; 12:1; 26:16. 17; 30:16), pertaining to the laws Moses received from God at Mount Sinai. As previously mentioned, one cannot see that the meaning and understanding of this phrase depend on the number used, be it singular or plural. Both the expression חוק ומשפט and חקים ומשפטים could have referred to the Mosaic Law, which is chiefly confirmed by the above observation that in the closer context חוק ומשפט in the singular form is rendered with the parallel plural expressions related to the laws given by God (cf. Exod 15:25 and 15:26; Josh 24:25 and 24:26; Ezra 7:10 and 7:11). The same applies to 4QMMT, where in the next line the phrase חוק ומשפט (B 52 = 4Q394 8 IV,2; 4Q396 1–2 II,3–4) is translated as the parallel phrase משפטי ישראל – “the ordinances of Israel” (B 53 = 4Q394 8 IV,3; 4Q396 1–2 II,4). This can allow us to assume that the syntagm חוק ומשפט וטהרה should be interpreted in the relation to the already coined and well-attested expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה.<sup>52</sup>

As the attention of the authors of 4QMMT in the context of the deaf and blind is focused on maintaining the ritual purity of the sacred food,<sup>53</sup> it can be thought that they wanted to emphasize this category of law. However, since the entire legal section of 4QMMT deals with laws referring to the Mosaic Law, especially to the Book of Leviticus, Book of Numbers and Book of Deuteronomy,<sup>54</sup> the mention of the law of ritual purity, טהרה, must take place *within the framework* of the Mosaic Law, and not alongside it. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why the authors of 4QMMT should cite the threefold division of Jewish law, including its civil law, משפט, since the halakhic context regarding the deaf and blind concerns the Mosaic Law itself. Further, if according to E. Qimron, the term חוק in the whole expression חוק ומשפט וטהרה would refer to the Torah, תורה,<sup>55</sup> the term טהרה could not

51 See n. 10.

52 See n. 46.

53 Aharon Shemesh (“The Holy Angels Are in Their Council,” 201, n. 60) interprets the whole halakha along this line, “Clearly, in this case, it is not the deformation which disqualify the blind and the deaf but rather the fear that the blind and the deaf, who cannot be precise in their observance of the laws of impurity, will accidentally desecrate the Temple and its holy offerings.”

54 See J.M. Baumgarten, “The ‘Halakha’ in Miqṣat Ma’ase ha-Torah,” *JAOS* 116 (1996) 512–516; Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations,” *Reading 4QMMT. New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (eds. J. Kampen – M.J. Bernstein) (SymS 2; Atlanta, GA: Scholar Press 1996) 29–51; Brooke, “The Explicit Presentation of Scripture in 4QMMT,” 67–88. R.A. Kugler – K.S. Baek, *Leviticus at Qumran. Text and Interpretation* (VTSup 173; Leiden: Brill 2017) 75–78.

55 Qimron – Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4*, 140. It should be noted that E. Qimron consequently translates the term תורה in 4QMMT as “the Torah” (C 24, 27, 28) and even when it lacks the article (C 24, 28), which allows us



constitute an equal category of the law within its threefold division because the laws regarding ritual purity are part of the Torah.

## Conclusion

How should then the syntagm *חוק ומשפט וטהרה* in 4QMMT be interpreted and translated? In the context of the concern of the authors of 4QMMT about the sacred food, the term *טהרה* seems to be best understood as a regulation or a set of regulations concerning ritual purity within the Mosaic Law,<sup>56</sup> which was expressed by the merism *חוק ומשפט*. Adequately, the aim of the added phrase *וטהרה* was to emphasise the regulations concerning ritual purity, related to the undertaken halakha. In this context, in *חוק ומשפט וטהרה* the conjunction *waw* before the noun *טהרה* would have an emphatic function (“*and especially/particularly* the laws concerning ritual purity”), or possibly an alternative function (“*neither the laws ...*”). Obviously, the expression *חוק ומשפט* does not necessarily constitute a merism, and the conjunction *waw* may well be treated in a combined function as a common “and.” Nonetheless, even in such a case the term *טהרה* appears as a precept concerning ritual purity or at most a category of law *within* the Mosaic Law. However, it is certainly not part of the alleged tripartite division of Jewish law – both religious and civil – about which nothing is known in the light of the literature of Second Temple Judaism.

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to think that in his opinion the term *חוק* factually represents the Torah as the Mosaic Law in the alleged tripartite division.

<sup>56</sup> Thus similarly to the case of *משפט הטהרה* “precept concerning ritual purity” in 4Q514 1 I,6. When the authors want to specify an item of ritual purity within a given regulation, the noun *טהרה* is the *nomen regens*, like in the expressions included in 4QMMT, e.g. *טהרת המקדש* “ritually pure sacred/temple food” (B 54 = 4Q394 8 IV,4; 4Q396 1–2 II,6), *טהרת הקודש* “ritually pure sacred food” (B 65 = 4Q396 1–2 III,5; 4Q394 8 IV,15; B 68 = 4Q396 1–2 III,8; 4Q397 6–13,8).

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## A Great Sign Appeared in the Sky. Audience-Oriented Criticism of Revelation 12:1-6

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**ABSTRACT:** Revelation 12:1-6 recounts two signs that appear in heaven. The first sign is a woman and the second one is a dragon with seven heads, ten horns and seven diadems on its seven heads. The somewhat unusual description of the two signs has its grand finale in 12:4-6 which tells about the interaction between the woman and the dragon, as well as her child. The dragon, aware that its power must last for only a short period, a symbolic ten days, tries to swallow the child to whom the woman is about to give birth. In this way, the dragon wants to thwart and frustrate God's plan. The newborn child is caught up by God to his throne in heaven. The reference to the OT helps the audience to identify the newborn child as the Messiah who will shepherd all the nations. The presentation of the child's mission to shepherd all the nations assures the audience that God's plan will be realized. This vision assures the audience that God is almighty, and that he is the 'hidden actor' in the entire vision. The reader-oriented exegesis of the passage discloses how the audience respond to the author's rhetorical arguments and presentation.

**KEYWORDS:** Revelation, great sign in heaven, audience

The vision of the two signs in the sky (12:1-6) has always been an important part in the studies of Revelation. This passage has been subject to different approaches. Many different interpretations have been proposed, yet the passage continues faithfully to conceal its mysteries.<sup>1</sup> While in recent years, biblical studies have seen a tangible proliferation of articles, monographs and studies written on this most mysterious book of the New Testament, none of them seems to employ the audience-oriented approach to decode the signs of the woman and dragon that appear in Revelation 12.<sup>2</sup> Hence, the following study is wanted inasmuch as it aims to fill that lacuna and engages the audience-oriented method in order to understand the mysterious signs and their meaning.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1 According to Saint Jerome (*Ep.* 53,8), "Apocalypsis Joannis tot habet sacramenta, quot verba. Parum dixi pro merito voluminis. Laus omnis inferior est: in verbis singulis multiplices latent intelligentiae."
  - 2 For an overview of various methods used by modern scholars to interpret the Book of Revelation, see R.S. Morton, *Recent Research on Revelation* (RRBS 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2014).
  - 3 The methodology of this paper employs the tools of audience-response or audience-oriented criticism, (also known as reader-response or reader-oriented criticism or theory). For examples of this method used to read the biblical texts see E.V. McKnight, *Postmodern Use of the Bible. The Emergence of Reader-Oriented Criticism* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon 1988); R.M. Fowler, *Let the Reader Understand. Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1991); W. Carter – J.P. Hail, *Matthew's Parables*.

## 1. Revelation 12:1-6 in the Previous Biblical Studies

Revelation 12 has been at the center of scholarly debate for some time on account of its unusual form introducing the two signs, and of important questions regarding the exact meaning of these signs.<sup>4</sup> It is not surprising that many have started to call chapter 12 the heart of Revelation,<sup>5</sup> or at least a key to unlock the meaning of the entire book.<sup>6</sup> The great sign that appeared, followed by another sign, evidently differs in form from the preceding context where the visions were introduced by the simple, yet significant, construction “and I saw.” The dragon, one of the central figures in this passage, is a mythical creature and indeed not a heavenly one. It is found in fairy tales, myths and legends, not in the New Testament.<sup>7</sup> Scholars have put a lot of effort into answering these questions and grasping the meaning of the two signs, especially the sign of the woman.<sup>8</sup> Ancient tradition had always interpreted the sign of the woman as a reference to the Church and its members who have to suffer persecution and are subjected to hatred and misunderstanding by the world.<sup>9</sup> This ecclesiastical interpretation was subsequently replaced, starting already by the end of the fifth century, by Marian interpretations. In this new perspective, the great sign was understood as a presentation of Mary and of the birth of the Messiah. Recently, many commentators have expressed the opinion that this sign is suited better to the former, ‘collective’ interpretation.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, there are still some commentators who prefer to follow the ‘individual’ interpretation.<sup>11</sup>

Aside from the question of correct interpretation, individual or collective, scholars have struggled with questions regarding the relationship between Revelation 12 and some

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*Audience-Oriented Perspectives* (CBQMS 30; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America 1998) 12–13; P.J. Rabinowitz, “Whirl Without End: Audience-Oriented Criticism,” *Contemporary Literary Theory* (eds. G.D. Atkins – L. Morrow) (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press 1989) 81–100; J.P. Tompkins, *Reader-Response Criticism. From Formalism to Post-Structuralism* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University 1980); M.A. Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1990).

- 4 P. Prigent, *Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse* (BGBE 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1959); P. Farkaš, *La «donna» di Apocalisse 12. Storia, bilancio, nuove prospettive* (TGST 25; Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana 1997); D. Kotecki, “Kryteria interpretacji Apokalipsy,” *BPTb* 5 (2012) 15–34.
- 5 J.L. Kovacs – C. Rowland – R. Callow, *Revelation. The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (Malden, MA: Blackwell 2004) 134–135.
- 6 In this way Prigent, *Apocalypse 12*, 136–147; G.K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Paternoster 1999) 621.
- 7 In the New Testament, the noun *δράκων* is found exclusively in Revelation, thirteen occurrences, of which eleven are in Revelation 12–13. It is quite frequent in LXX, 36 occurrences, where it is used to designate evil and to symbolize the sea monsters that oppress Israel.
- 8 An abridged version of this long quest is found in Kovacs – Rowland – Callow, *Revelation*, 134–146.
- 9 M.C. Paczkowski, “La Lettura cristologica dell’apocalisse nella chiesa prenicena,” *SBFLA* 46 (1996) 187–222.
- 10 U. Vanni, “Dalla maternità di Maria alla maternità della Chiesa: Un’ipotesi di evoluzione da Gv 2,3–4 e 19,26–27 ad Ap 12,1–6,” *RdT* 26 (1985) 28–47.
- 11 E. Testa, “La struttura di Ap 12,1–17,” *SBFLA* 34 (1984) 225–238; B. Buby, “The Story-Tellers of Mary,” *Emmanuel* 105 (1999) 298–307.



evident similarities found in extra-biblical legends and myths.<sup>12</sup> In the twentieth century scholars proposed four different answers: 1) John used the Greek myths of Apollo, Leto and Python; 2) he was influenced as well by Egyptian sources representing the story of Isis, Osiris, Horus and Typhon; 3) he might have adopted a Babylonian myth of the battle between Damkina, Marduk and Tiamat; 4) or built upon the biblical tradition found in Gen 3:15.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, the extended attempt to answer these source-critical questions raised another one: any assumption that John used pagan legends and myths has to be confronted with his constant exhortation not to compromise with this present world (Revelation 2–3).

Scholars generally agree that Revelation 12 can be divided into three parts.<sup>14</sup> This universal agreement, however, seems to end there. In fact, many commentators disagree on the precise nature of these presupposed parts, and as a consequence end the first part in different places. Wilfred J. Harrington starts the first part in 12:1 and ends in 12:4a.<sup>15</sup> David E. Aune starts the division in 11:19 and runs through 12:6<sup>16</sup> François Martin recognizes that the story starts in 12:1 but sees it ending in 12:5. The reason for dividing in this way is the evident movement from heaven to the wilderness (the earth).<sup>17</sup> Finally, Gregory K. Beale prefers to consider chapter 12 as one vision with various parts, where verses 10–12 serve as a heavenly interpretation.<sup>18</sup> This consideration does not stop him from identifying the first part to be 12:1–6.<sup>19</sup>

12 P. Busch, *Der gefallene Drache. Mythenexegese am Beispiel von Apokalypse 12* (TANZ 19; Tübingen – Basel: Francke 1996).

13 An extended presentation of these legends and their evaluation is found in D.E. Aune, *Revelation 6–16* (WBC 52B; Nashville, KY: Nelson 1998) 665–675; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 625; F.J. Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon. The Revelation to John* (NTC; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press 1998) 279–282.

14 J.M. Ford, *Revelation* (AB 38; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1975) 187–188; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 624; J.L. Resseguie, *The Revelation of John. A Narrative Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker 2009) 169; Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon*, 277; J.R. Yeatts, *Revelation* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald 2003) 218; H. Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Regensburg: Pustet 1997) 270–271.

15 W.J. Harrington, *The Apocalypse of St. John. A Commentary* (London: Chapman 1969) 164.

16 David E. Aune (*Revelation 6–16*, 665–675) followed by many others, notes that the noun “sign” becomes a marker to distinguish a new part of the book. In fact, in chapters 4–11 this noun is never used.

17 F. Martin, *L'apocalypse. Lecture Sémiotique* (Lyon: Profac – Cadir 2004) 192.

18 Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 622–624.

19 Many other scholars share this division. Resseguie, *The Revelation of John*, 169; Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon*, 277; Yeatts, *Revelation*, 218; Giesen, *Die Offenbarung*, 271.

## 2. The Disposition of the Audience and Their Response

Revelation 12:1-6 is one of the crucial passages in the third section of the Revelation given to John on the island of Patmos.<sup>20</sup> So far, the audience<sup>21</sup> have heard the inaugural vision, which John saw on the Lord's Day (1:1-20). They have heard the series of seven symbolic oracles to the seven churches in Asia Minor (2:1-3:22).

The oracles to the seven churches (with praise, recommendations and exhortations) were followed by a vision of heaven opened, where John saw the One sitting on the throne (4:1-5a). He also saw heavenly worship (4:5b-11), and a scroll, whose seals nobody could open (5:1-5) except the Lamb that had been slain (5:6-10). The audience heard that the breaking of the seven seals of the mysterious scroll unleashed a series of horses. The riders of these horses received power to harm the earth. The prayer of the souls under the altar (6:9-11), the vision of 144,000 servants of God sealed on the forehead (7:1-8) as well as the vision of a great crowd dressed in white robes and worshiping God (7:9-17) served as an interlude between the series of the seals.

The audience then heard that the opening of the seventh and last seal (8:1-5) was followed by a great silence, after which came a vision of seven angels trumpeting their trumpets (8:6-11:19). Inside this section, the audience heard the announcement of three woes (8:6-13), the release of four angels (9:13-21), and then how a mighty angel had ordered John to devour a little scroll (10:1-11).

The immediate context preceding 12:1-6 is the description of the martyrdom and vindication of two prophetic witnesses (11:1-14), who were killed on the streets of that great city spiritually called Sodom and Egypt. The immediate context following 12:1-6 is the presentation of the heavenly battle between Michael and the dragon in 12:7-12. This battle is followed by the persecution of the woman in 12:13-18. The presentation of the two signs in the sky, the heavenly battle, and the persecution of the woman are followed by visions

20 There are certainly many different ways to divide the book of Revelation. In this paper, I have chosen to follow this division: 1) the inaugural vision and account of what John saw in 1:1-20; 2) John, 'in the Spirit,' is shown what soon must happen in 2:1-3:22; 3) John, in the Spirit, is shown what must happen after these things in 4:1-16:21; 4) John, carried in the Spirit, is shown the prostitute, and 'the bride of the Lamb' in 17:1-21:8; 5) John, carried in the Spirit, is shown the Holy City in 21:9-22:21.

21 Here and throughout the paper I take the noun "audience" as a collective noun. The plural form corresponds better to the Greek text where plural nouns are used for the audience. The audience are most likely to be understood as a group of Gentile-Christians living in Asia Minor as the letters to the seven churches may suggest (Rev 2-3). The use of many biblical and extrabiblical references suggests that the audience are well versed in the OT traditions as well as have an extensive knowledge of the pagan myths. Thus, contrary to Gregory K. Beale (*The Book of Revelation*, 81-86) who suggests that the readers of Revelation most likely came from an illiterate pagan Greek background and would have been unable to understand the OT traditions. The text of Revelation itself indicates that the implied audience of Revelation have a good knowledge of the OT, its background with all its nuances. Moreover, the implied audience of Revelation have to face all kind of difficulties and oppressions (most likely the persecution under Domitian A.D. 81 to 96) which lead them to cry out and ask for retribution (Rev 6:10). Finally, one cannot forget that the author found himself on the island of Patmos "on account of the Word of God and testimony of Jesus" (Rev 1:9). At the same time the author of Revelation assures the audience that their penitence, faithfulness and endurance will have an eternal reward (Rev 7).

of two beasts, which form a sort of diptych: the first rises from the sea (13:1-10), whereas the second comes out of the earth (13:11-18).

### 3. Chiasmus as the Rhetorical Device<sup>22</sup>

Revelation 12 has a chiastic structure A B A'. The elements A (12:1-6) and A' (12:13-18) recount the story of the woman and the dragon, while the central element B focuses on the description of the war between Michael and the dragon (12:7-12).<sup>23</sup> The first element in this chiasm, 12:1-6, the object of this study, also has its own chiastic structure, described as A B C B' A' where C is the pivot or turning point of the story. In fact, Rev 12:3c is the only place of the passage where "ten horns" (κέρατα δέκα) of the dragon are mentioned which makes it unparallel element of the whole structure.

#### A (12:1-3a)

- a) <sup>1a</sup>And a great sign appeared in the sky,
- b) <sup>1b</sup>a woman clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet <sup>1c</sup>and on her head a crown of twelve stars,
- b') <sup>2</sup>and she is pregnant, and cries out, laboring and being tormented, to give birth.
- a') <sup>3a</sup>And there appeared another sign in the sky,

#### B (12:3b)

<sup>3b</sup>and behold, a great red dragon having seven heads

#### C (12:3c)

<sup>3c</sup>and ten horns

#### B' (12:3d)

<sup>d</sup>and on his heads seven diadems,

#### A' (12:4-6)

- a) <sup>4a</sup>and its tail swept a third of the stars of heaven and threw them to the earth. <sup>4b</sup>Then the dragon stood in front of the woman who was about to give birth,
- b) <sup>4c</sup>so that when she gave birth, he might devour her child.
- c) <sup>5a</sup>And she gave birth to a son, a male child, who is about to shepherd all the nations with an iron staff.
- b') <sup>5b</sup>And her child was caught up to God and his throne
- a') <sup>6</sup>and the woman fled into the wilderness, where she has a place prepared by God, so that they nourish her for one thousand two hundred and sixty days.

The above diagram illustrates that the first unit of chiasm A (12:1-3a) opens and closes with the appearance of a sign in the sky. Both signs are introduced with the verbal form (ὡφθη) and are called in the same way (σημείον). The detailed description of the first sign

<sup>22</sup> For the chiasm and other rhetorical devices used by the biblical authors, see J. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament. An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2005) 41–79.

<sup>23</sup> Resseguie, *The Revelation of John*, 169.

constitutes the pivot (b b') of the unit. The detailed description of the second sign is found in units B (12:3b), C (12:3c), and B' (12:3d). These units draw the attention of the audience to the abnormality of the second sign. The description starts with the dragon's seven heads in B (12:3b), passes to its ten horns in C (12:3bc) and finally ends with the seven diadems on its seven heads in B' (12:3d). The reason to divide them in this way is the parallel reference to the seven heads of the dragon in B and B' and the description of its ten horns in unit C. The passage ends with the interaction between the two signs. In this way, the initial presentation of the two signs in A (12:1-3a) finds its continuation in a short description of the dragon's hostility toward the woman and her child in A' (12:4-6). Also, this final unit has some sub-units where the description of the birth of the *child who is about to shepherd all the nations with an iron staff* is the pivot of the unit.

#### 4. Reader-Response Analysis of the Passage

##### 4.1. A Great Sign Appeared in the Sky (Rev 12:1-3a)

a) *And a great sign appeared in the sky* (12:1a). The audience note that this vision opens in a different way than all the others. John is not the only one who is able to see it. The use of the aorist passive 'appeared' (ᾤφθη) indicates that this 'great sign' (σημεῖον μέγα) is visible to all. Moreover, the sign appeared in 'the sky' and involves astral bodies. The audience are therefore aware that the sign is different, and that it has a universal meaning.

Since 'sign' in 12:1 is the first use of this noun in the whole book, it certainly draws the attention of the audience. The audience can easily anticipate the meaning of this sign, for this noun has frequently, if not exclusively, a religious connotation and may imply an intervention by God.<sup>24</sup> Normally, the noun σημεῖον is used in reference to a sign, or distinguishing mark, whereby something that is known (Gen 1:14). It can also be used as reference to an event that is an indication or confirmation of divine innervation (Isa 7:14). The audience heard in the opening vision that the time is near (1:3) and the visions pertain to what is about to happen (1:19b). In this perspective, the audience can interpret σημεῖον as a forewarning sign or portent. The sign is therefore an anticipation of what has to happen soon. The adjective 'great' makes it clear that the sign is not ordinary, but rather important, and previously unknown. The response of the audience must therefore be to prepare themselves for the content of this great sign.

b) *A woman clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet and upon her head a crown of twelve stars* (12:1bc). The audience hear that the general introduction of the sign is followed now by its detailed description. First of all, the sign is universal, both in its visibility and its destination. It is not hidden from the sight of the audience. So far, the audience had

<sup>24</sup> Ford, *Revelation*, 195. According to Frederick J. Murphy (*Fallen Is Babylon*, 277) the noun σημεῖον points beyond itself, for it indicates heavenly power at work. Heinz Giesen (*Die Offenbarung*, 276) interprets in the same way. See also H. Gollinger, *Das «Grosse Zeichen» von Apokalypse 12* (SBM 11; Stuttgart: Echter 1971) 80–83.

heard the noun 'woman' twice (2:20 and 9:8). However, none of the previous occurrences seem to be comparable to this one. In fact, in the first case, the community in Thyatira was reproached for having tolerated the works of the woman Jezebel who called herself a prophetess. The audience were also beseeched not to follow Jezebel, for her teaching deceived God's servants. In the second case, the audience heard about women's hair. It was used to depict the locusts that came out of the abyss to harm people who did not have the seal of God on their forehead.

Based on these two occurrences the audience have a rather negative connotation of this sign. However, if well acquainted with biblical and extra-biblical parallels, the audience correct the first impression and understand the true meaning of this sign. In fact, in the biblical tradition, 'woman' is a frequent symbol for Israel, for the Holy City of Jerusalem, and for the community of the faithful.<sup>25</sup> The Prophets have frequently used the image of a woman to designate the special relationship of God with his people (Hos 2:16-17). It was used to represent people crying out to God for salvation (Isa 26:17), or to portray Zion giving birth to children, a symbol of rebirth after exile (Isa 66:7-8).<sup>26</sup>

At this point the audience are already able to identify the woman, but the description of her dress will be a further guide. The woman is dressed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and she wears a crown of twelve stars. The audience already heard about the sun previously (6:12; 7:2; 7:16 and 8:12). The most significant passages are those where the sun is associated with Christ whose face shone like the sun shining at full strength (1:16), or with the angel whose face was like the sun (10:1). Based on these two passages the audience perceive the heavenly identity and protection of the woman.<sup>27</sup>

The second element of the woman's heavenly attire is the moon. For the audience, this element is an evident allusion to her power and dominion. The moon is under her feet; hence it is subject to her power. The moon can also be a symbol of her exaltation and glory. Furthermore, according to the OT, a double interpretation is possible: the moon is both a symbol of stability (Ps 89:37 LXX 88:38) and a symbol of beauty (Cant 6:10).

The third element is a crown composed of twelve stars.<sup>28</sup> At this stage, the audience are already well acquainted with stars and crowns since they were frequently used in

25 As it has already been pointed out, some have also proposed the Marian interpretation. However, this allusion is not as evident as the former, and presumes that the audience knew the Fourth Gospel. The former interpretations are testified in the OT and are hence better known to the audience. Vanni, "Dalla maternità di Maria," 28-47; Testa, "La struttura di Ap 12,1-17," 225-230; Farkaš, *La «donna» di Apocalisse 12*, 90-100; G. Biguzzi, *Apocalisse. Nuova versione, introduzione e commento* (LB.NT 20; Milano: Paoline 2005) 250-252.

26 Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon*, 282. Also, Diane Tracy-Cole ("Woman in the Wilderness. Rereading Revelation 12," *Wilderness. Essays in Honour of Frances Young* [eds. F.M. Young -R.S. Sugirtharajah] [Library of New Testament Studies 295; New York: Clark 2005] 45) justly argues that there is no need to look for support in extra biblical sources for the OT provides a variety of good examples.

27 Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 627.

28 According to Hildegard Gollinger (*Das «Grosse Zeichen» von Apokalypse 12*, 83) "mit der Anordnung der zwölf Sterne in einem Kranz ist ihr siegreicher, überirdischer Triumph ausgesprochen." In a similar way Francisco Contreras Molina ("La mujer en Apocalipsis 12," *EphMar* 43 [1993] 373) "la corona representa una muestra de Victoria y pose un alcance escatológico".

the previous visions of the Revelation. The crown, one of the crucial elements in the presentation of the twenty-four elders (4:4), is a reward that Christ will give to those who are faithful (2:10). The crown, which is life itself, will not be taken away, for it is a synonym of triumph. The crown is also a symbol of power and authority. The rider on a white horse was given a crown in order to go and conquer, and likewise the locusts had crowns as they went to harm men (6:2; 9:7). On the other hand, the stars on the crown remind the audience of the seven stars in the hand of the one like the Son of man (1:16), which are the seven angels of the seven churches (1:20). Combining these two interpretations, the audience understand that the crown of stars on the woman's head has a positive meaning. It is a reward, a sign of protection, sign of her victory, and sign of being close to God, that no one can take from her.<sup>29</sup>

The number twelve, another frequent element in Revelation, implies the idea of completeness. This number unites the heavenly number three with the earthly number four. In the OT the image of twelve stars reminds the audience of Joseph's dream (Gen 37:9-11)<sup>30</sup> whereas in Revelation it also recalls the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve Apostles.<sup>31</sup>

b') *And she is pregnant, and cries out, laboring and being tormented, to give birth* (12:2). A detailed description of the heavenly attire worn by the woman in unit b (12:1bc) is followed by a detailed description of her and her situation in b'.

The present participle ἔχουσα and the whole expression ἐν γαστρὶ is a technical phrase for a pregnant woman in LXX (cf. Gen 16:5; Isa 7:14).<sup>32</sup> The audience, aware of the OT prophecies, especially the prophecy in Isa 7:14, identify the woman of the vision with the mother of Emmanuel.<sup>33</sup>

The shift from the aorist passive 'appeared' (ᾤφθη) to the present form 'cries out' (κράζει) strikes the audience, but it is not an error that has to be corrected.<sup>34</sup> The present tense confers vividness to the story, and it serves better to capture the attention of the audience. The present form builds up the expectations of the audience and points to what is about to happen. Since the image of the woman who is about to bear a child or suffer the pains of

29 Giesen, *Die Offenbarung*, 277.

30 Some commentators have also suggested that twelve stars and the number twelve might be an allusion to the zodiac. Yeatts, *Revelation*, 219. Aune (*Revelation 6–16*, 682) gives an example of the synagogue in Bet Alpha, Israel. However, it has to be noted that this splendid mosaic representation of the zodiac comes from a later period and does not seem to give any clear support to the point.

31 Yeatts, *Revelation*, 220.

32 Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 683.

33 Although both texts, Isaiah 7 (LXX) and Revelation 12 use the same expression ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα and both use σημεῖον, the Isaiah prophesy uses a different noun for woman which is παρθένος and not γυνή.

34 The 27th edition of Nestle-Aland opted for the present form κράζει. This *lectio* is well testified in P<sup>47</sup>, codex Sinaiticus, 1006, 1841, 2053 and some others manuscripts. *Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus*, the Majority text, syriac version *Harklensis* along with manuscripts 046 and 2351 have the imperfect form ἔκραζεν. The form κράζει is a historical present, therefore it might be the original reading which should be preserved. In the same way, verse 4 preserves the present form σύρει for the historical present.



labor, frequently alludes to Israel in distress (Ps 48:7; Isa 13:8; 21:3),<sup>35</sup> to the forthcoming period of salvation (Isa 26:17), and to deliverance from the Babylonian exile (Mic 4:9), the audience understand that the woman's distress is a call for God's intervention. Thus, they expect that the birth of the child will bring salvation.

The audience previously heard the verb 'cries out.' The souls under the altar cried out, asking the Sovereign Master, holy and true, how long before he will judge those who live on the earth and avenge their blood (6:10). The angel ascending from the east of the sun cried out to the four angels who had been given permission to damage the earth and the sea (7:2). The audience also remember that this verb was frequently associated with a 'great sound' (φωνῆ μεγάλη) or 'strong sound' (ισχυρᾶ φωνῆ). At this point, the audience realize that the verb 'to cry out' has here a special and important role. It not only serves to draw the attention of the audience—the passive form (ᾠφθῆ) has this function—but also to show that what follows is of great importance: it heralds a solemn proclamation just as the other occurrences of this verb will indicate (18:2; 19:17).

a') *And there appeared another sign in the sky* (12:3a). Having heard a twofold description of the woman, her attire and her situation, the audience now hear of 'another sign' that appears on the scene. The use of the same noun 'sign' (σημείον) and same passive form (ᾠφθῆ) serves as connectors, which put the two signs in relation. The sub-unit a' (12:3a) reiterates the first sub-unit a (12:1a). The audience notice that the signs share at least some characteristics, for both are in the sky and both can be interpreted as portents, forewarnings of what has to happen. Nevertheless, the audience are also aware that there is a noticeable difference between these two signs. Two adjectives accompanying the nouns help to emphasize the difference. The first sign is called 'great' (μέγα), while the second is being called 'another' (ἄλλο). Besides this, the audience do not have any more details to identify the second sign.

#### 4.2. Red Dragon Having Seven Heads (Rev 12:3b)

*And behold a great red dragon having seven heads* (12:3b). A simple and limited description of the second sign, the great dragon in B (12:3b) evidently contrasts to the long, elaborate and meticulous description of the woman's attire and her situation in A (12:1-2). Thus, the audience perceive that that there is an evident difference between the two signs.

The attention of the audience is caught by the interjection (ἰδοῦ). So far, an interjection was quite often used to draw the attention of the audience to what had been said or what had been seen. It was used to introduce something new or unusual – for example, the open door in heaven (4:1), the vision of the throne in heaven (4:2) or the black horse (6:5). Since the interjection in 12:3b is used without a finite verb, it serves as a marker of strong emphasis.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> C.D. Bergmann, *Childbirth as a Metaphor for Crisis. Evidence from Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, and 1QH XI, 1–18* (BZAW 382; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2008).

<sup>36</sup> L. Thompson, *Revelation* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon 1998) 133.

The other sign is described as a dragon, a creature that until now was unknown to the audience. Although unknown, the audience are able to identify some of its characteristics. In fact, since the outer appearance should reflect some inner characteristic, red identifies the dragon as an instrument of destruction.<sup>37</sup> In fact, the audience have already heard about the red horse and its rider, who had received permission to take peace from the earth so that people would butcher one another (6:4). Since these two are the only occurrences where the color red has been mentioned, its meaning for the dragon must be seen in light of its previous, clearer occurrence.<sup>38</sup>

The audience can also understand the meaning of this sign based on the OT traditions where the dragon's image is involved. LXX makes frequent use of the noun 'dragon.' There are more than thirty places where the noun is used. Some of them translate the rare and poetic Hebrew noun 'leviathan' (Job 40:25) and the other more frequent noun 'tannin' (Job 7:12). In the poetic and prophetic books of the OT, these nouns are used to describe types of creatures evocative of the primordial chaos: the sea-monsters, the serpent that was fashioned by Moses, as well as other desert creatures. There is no need to look for support in Greek, Babylonian or Middle-Eastern legends or myths.<sup>39</sup> Based on biblical traditions, the audience can identify the dragon of the vision with the sea-monster, a destroying power and opponent of God (Isa 27:1; 51:9; Job 7:12). The dragon represents Egypt – the enemy *par excellence* of Israel at the time of Exodus (Isa 51:9). The dragon's red color makes this connection even clearer.<sup>40</sup>

The seven heads of the dragon are the first expression of this kind in Revelation. The audience once again notice that the number seven is a perfect number, a union of the heavenly and the earthly numbers. The audience heard previously the number seven. The oracles were sent to the seven churches, which represented the universal community of the believers in Christ (2:1–3:32). So far, all occurrences of the number seven give the audience the idea of universality, completeness and power (1:4; 16; 4:5; 5:1, 6). The audience can therefore imagine that the seven heads of the dragon represent the completeness and universality of its power.

#### 4.3. Ten Horns of the Dragon (Rev 12:3c)

*And ten horns.* A limited description of the dragon in B (12:3b) is further developed in the next sub-unit. The audience hear that this 'other' sign, the red dragon, has not only

37 Resseguie, *The Revelation of John*, 171–172.

38 Aune (*Revelation 6–16*, 683–684) argues that for Greeks and Egyptians the color red might have had also a positive meaning, or even some protective powers. Here however, in the present context, the color red has evidently a negative connotation.

39 It is certainly possible that the audience was familiar with the ancient legends and myths including dragons and other creatures. Since John, however, exhorts the communities not to compromise with the present world (Rev 2–3), it is rather difficult to maintain the idea that he used those legends or myths in this context, unless one assumes that he restored to it in order to make evident that the forces of evil either way, sooner or later, lose against true and only God.

40 Resseguie, *The Revelation of John*, 172; Giesen, *Die Offenbarung*, 279.

seven heads, but is also equipped with ten horns. It is certainly difficult to imagine how ten horns are distributed on the seven heads of the dragon. However, in the text there is no allusion to any kind of pause for the audience to stop and ponder this strange sign, as there was in 8:1 when the Lamb opened the scroll “there was a silence in heaven for about half an hour.” The expectations of the audience are certainly growing, for this sign is indeed ‘another’!

Although the ‘ten horns’ of the dragon is the first expression of this kind in Revelation, the audience have heard previously the number ten. In the message to the church in Smyrna, the audience were encouraged not to fear the suffering which was to come. Satan was going to throw some of the community’s members into prison, but this would last for only ten days, a rather short period of time.<sup>41</sup> Based on these occurrences, which are the only previous ones including the number ten, the audience understand that the mysterious ten horns imply something short and ephemeral that will not last long.

The audience understand that the ten horns of the dragon are also an allusion to the ten horns of the strong and powerful beast in Daniel 7:7. In Daniel’s vision the ten horns were an attribute of a very strong, fearful and terrifying beast that crushed its victims and had great teeth like iron. According to Daniel’s vision, these horns veiled the idea of the ten kings that were to come (Dan 7:24); in other words, the totality of the kingdoms that would come to oppress.

These two images help the audience to understand what they hear. The ten-horned dragon is very strong, powerful and terrifying. Although very strong and powerful, the audience do not have to fear the dragon, for its power and strength are only ephemeral and will not last longer than it will have to.

#### 4.4. Seven Diadems on His Seven Heads (Rev 12:3d)

*And on his heads seven diadems.* Having heard the description of the dragon with its seven heads and ten horns, the audience hear that the dragon also wears seven diadems. The audience realize that just as the woman was wearing a crown so also does the dragon wear a similar attribute of seven diadems. At this point the audience realize that they have already heard the number seven in the description of the dragon. In fact, the number seven reiterates the seven heads of the dragon in unit C (12:3c). Having made this connection the audience realize that the ten horns of the previous unit—indicating that the dragon’s strength was to last for only a limited time—was the pivot, the turning point in the story.

However, the seven *diadems* in the description of the monstrous dragon is a new element for the audience. So far, they had not heard of it in any context. The image is

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<sup>41</sup> There have been different attempts to uncover the meaning of the number ten. It has been proposed that the number ten refers to the ten fingers of the hand, the sum of the numbers between 1 and 4, or might be an idiomatic expression for ‘two terrible horns.’ None of these interpretations, however, have any support in the context of the book. It is better to interpret on the basis of what the audience heard so far and what they know from the OT, although some authors consider ten most likely a synonym of great power. Yeatts, *Revelation*, 221.

unknown, but the audience have some idea what the image of the diadem implies. In fact, the noun 'diadem' (διάδημα) is quite frequent in LXX, where it is part of the royal attire worn by Queen Esther (Esth 2:17) and any other person holding a royal position, for example Antiochus (1 Macc 11:54). The audience notice that a diadem is similar to a crown, which has been mentioned before. The last time, it was used in the detailed description of the woman (Rev 12,1b). The dragon wearing the diadems has royal power, but his power differs from the power of the woman. She is crowned with a crown, the reward that Christ will give to those who are faithful. The dragon wears only diadems. At this point the audience comprehend that the two nouns, although similar, have slightly different meanings.<sup>42</sup> Since a crown is the award given to the winner, the audience are clearly told who is the most important figure in this diptych.

#### 4.5 Signs Combined, Dragon Weeps a Third of Stars and Dstands in Front of the Woman (Rev 12:4-6)

a) *And its tail swept a third of the stars of the sky and threw them to the earth. And the dragon stood in front of the woman who is about to give birth* (12:4ab). At this point the audience have been introduced to two signs: the two protagonists of the vision. A new unit opens with the image of the dragon throwing down a third of the stars. That the audience are introduced to a new unit is evident in the repetition of the words 'sky' and 'woman,' both echoes of unit A (12:1-3a).

The fraction of the stars that are thrown down is a sign of the limited power of the dragon. Although the dragon is great and terrifying, his ability to destroy is limited. The dragon completes this demolishing action with its tail. The audience heard previously the noun 'tail' in the context of the seven trumpets (8:9–11:19). Tails like those of scorpions or like those of snakes were part of the destroying equipment worn by the locusts (9:10) and by the horses (9:19). In their tails resided the ability and power to destroy and to inflict injuries (9:10; 9:20). Since these two are the only occurrences of the noun 'tail' in the whole previous context, the audience are invited to associate the dragon's tail with destroying power. There is no need to look for support in the OT traditions. The image is clear enough and speaks for itself.<sup>43</sup>

Hearing about the dragon that cast down those stars, the audience remember not only the seven stars in the hand of the one who is like the son of man (1:17; 1:20; 2:1; 3:1) or the morning star, but also remember the falling stars that followed the opening of the sixth seal (6:13) and the trumpeting of the third (8:10), fourth (8:12) and fifth trumpet (9:1). The audience also recollect that the stars are part of the heavenly attire worn by the woman (12:1). The following image of the dragon that 'stood' in front of the woman who is about to bear a child leaves no doubt. The audience make the connection. The dragon will surely try to destroy the child just like it destroyed a third of the stars. The suspense is growing and

<sup>42</sup> Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 686.

<sup>43</sup> Yeatts, *Revelation*, 221.

the audience listen carefully for what will happen to the mysterious yet unborn child. Will the powerful dragon destroy it or not? Will the child be kept safe (as were the majority of the stars)?

b) *so that when she gave birth, he might devour her child* (12:4c). It is the second time when the audience hear that the woman is about to give birth (12:1c and 12:4b). What the audience already anticipated; the following presentation makes clear. There is no doubt. The dragon's intention is to 'devour' her child (τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς) 'when' – or, 'as soon as' – it is born. The audience had already heard the verb ἐσθίω four times, and three times its compound κατεσθίω. As the compound verb, the audience first heard it in the command which was given to John, when the Angel ordered John to devour the scroll (twice in 10:9-10), and then in connection to the two olive trees and two lamps-stands standing in front of the Lord of the earth (11:4), ready to devour anyone who wanted to harm them. Usage of the verb κατεσθίω along with the previous presentation of the extraordinary power of the dragon speaks for itself.<sup>44</sup> The audience can only await the unfolding of the plot and are anxious over the life of the unborn child.

c) *she gave birth to a son, a male child, who is about to shepherd all the nations with an iron staff* (12:5a). The audience already heard twice before that the woman was about to bear a child. The first time, in unit A, it was said that the woman was pregnant (12:2b), then at the beginning of the unit A' the audience heard that the woman was about to give birth (12:4c). Now in the middle of the unit A' the audience are finally told that the pregnancy of the woman came to end and she gave birth to a son (υἶὸν ἄρσεν).

The audience were expecting with anxiety this event, for the dragon was plotting and waiting to devour the child as soon as it was born. Here, however, the expectations and the questions of the audience about what will happen next have to be held. The audience hear what seems to be a grammatical error. It catches the attention of all. The neuter accusative adjective (ἄρσεν) is used in apposition to the masculine accusative noun (υἶός).<sup>45</sup> Hearing this grammatical incongruity, the audience not only pay close attention to what follows, but also recall similar constructions taken from the book of the prophet Isaiah 66:7 (ἐξέφυγεν καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν) and from the Prophet Jeremiah 20:15 (ἐτέχθη σοι ἄρσεν).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Josephine M. Ford (*Revelation*, 200) notes that there might be an allusion to Nebuchadnezzar who tried to swallow Jerusalem (Jer 51:34). For Aune (*Revelation 6–16*, 688) the verb κατεσθίω anticipates the following vision where the earth defends itself and swallows the river spewed from the dragon's mouth (12:16). Thus, the earth's *defense* meets the dragon's *offense*.

<sup>45</sup> There are some textual variants for this construction. Usage of the accusative masculine ἄρσενα or ἄρρσενα in, codex Sinaiticus and Majority text seems to be an attempt solve the problem of the more difficult reading of the accusative neuter ἄρσεν. In the same way, the omission of the whole apposition in *Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus*, 051, 1006, 1841 and 2053 might have been another attempt to remove the difficulty completely. Based on the principle *lectio difficilior potior* the accusative neuter ἄρσεν should be preserved. Finally, the variant ἄρσενα could be an attempt to harmonize with 12:13. All these variants, each one in its different way, seem to be attempts to correct the more difficult reading.

<sup>46</sup> For Aune (*Revelation 6–16*, 688), the strange construction is intentional. Ugo Vanni (*L'apocalisse, ermeneutica, esegesi, teologia* [RivBSup 17; Bologna: Dehoniane] 245) suggests that ἄρσεν goes beyond the idea of υἶός by making it a universal synonym of strength, domination and importance. John R. Yeatts (*Revelation*, 221)

This unusual construction might be intentional since the child ‘is about to’ shepherd all the nations with an iron staff. Hearing this last expression, the audience recall Psalm 2, which they had heard in the oracle to the church in Thyatira (2:27). The only, yet striking, difference is the change ‘them’ for ‘the nations.’

Starting from the very beginning of the unit in 12:1 there have been many indications that this vision is universal. It was introduced by the aorist passive (ᾠφθη) and it included a series of cosmic elements visible to everybody. The woman and her child remain unnamed throughout the whole story, just as the identification of the venue, or place of the action, remains general. Considering these elements, the audience perceive the slight change of quotation as the universalization of the child’s mission. It is destined to shepherd all the nations and not only one ethnic group, or select group of people. At this point the audience realize that the birth of this child constitutes a pivot, or turning point of this unit. The central part of this sub-unit is a description of the newborn child’s mission. It is destined to shepherd all the nations.

b’) *And her child was caught up to God and his throne* (12:5b). That the previous sub-unit, and description of the child’s mission, was the pivot is confirmed at the beginning of this new sub-unit. The child is once again called ‘her child’ (τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς) just as it was called in the b’ unit (12:4c).

Questions of the audience whether the child or the dragon will emerge victorious and, in the end if the child will be saved, find their answers in this sub-unit. The audience hear that the child is not only saved from the dragon but is also mysteriously caught up and taken to the throne of God. The aorist passive, ‘caught up’, understood as a form of *passivum divinum*, euphemism for God’s actions, clearly indicates that God is the ‘hidden actor’ in the whole story.<sup>47</sup> God is invisible and seems to be absent, yet he intervenes at the most significant moment and protects the child, the Messiah.<sup>48</sup>

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interprets repetition as emphasizing the child’s royalty. According to Ford (*Revelation*, 200), the redundant ἄρσεν stresses manliness in the son. For Giesen (*Die Offenbarung*, 281), the Hebrew pleonasm serves as a guide, helping the audience to easily identify the child from the prophecies in Isa 7:14 and Isa 66:7.

47 The concept is borrowed from Resseguie, *The Revelation of John*, 172.

48 Scholars suggest that the ‘catching up’ of the child may be used to depict Christ’s glorious ascension. According to K. Huber (“Jesus Christus – der Erste und der Letzte: Zur Christologie der Johannesapokalypse,” *Die Johannesapokalypse. Kontexte – Konzepte – Rezeption* [eds. J. Frey – J.A. Kelhoffer – F. Tóth] [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2012] 467), “mit der Verwendung von harpazō für die Entrückung (vgl. Apg 8,39; 2 Kor 12,2.4; 1Thess 4,17) werden wahrscheinlich Himmelfahrt und Erhöhung Jesu angedeutet.” The only problem with this interpretation is the lack of any reference to Christ’s ministry on earth or to his death. However, it is possible to propose the following solutions to this enigma: 1) John frequently shortens the content of Christ’s life (John 3:13; 8:14; 16:5); 2) Ancient Middle Eastern stories tend to focus only on the beginning and the end of the story; 3) John is interested in presenting Christ not as suffering but as glorious. Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 689; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 639; A. Pataki, “A Non-Combat Myth in Revelation 12,” *NTS* 57 (2011) 258–272. If such is the case, we would have here included the entire earthly mission of Jesus, from his birth to his ascension.



The audience have heard several times the noun 'throne,' which almost exclusively refers to God who sits on it.<sup>49</sup> Hearing that the child was caught up and taken to God's throne, the audience recall the promise that was directed to the church of Laodicea. Anyone victorious would be allowed to share the throne of God just as Christ conquered and would sit down on the throne (3:21). The audience also heard about the Lamb, who was slain, standing in the middle of the throne of God (5:6). Finally, the audience heard that the Lamb, who was at the heart of the throne, would be their shepherd guiding them to springs of living water (7:17). This last occurrence of the noun is more striking for the fact that the child's mission is to shepherd all the nations. Thus, the audience identify the child with the Lamb who appeared as slain. He is the shepherd who will guide them to the springs of living water.

a') *And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she has a place prepared by God, so that they nourish her for one thousand two hundred and sixty days* (12:6). The grand finale, the liberation of the child from the snares of the dragon that started in the previous sub-unit, finds its completeness in the final sub-unit of A.' The repetition of the noun 'woman' clearly echoes the first sub-unit in 12:4a and closes the whole chiasm started in unit A (12:1-3a). At the same time the audience realize that the woman's fleeing into the desert contrasts with her heavenly appearance and description at the beginning of the vision (12:1-3a).

The audience heard that the child was already safe. It was caught up from harm's way and found its place at the throne of God. At this stage, all attention of the audience is focused on the fate of the woman. The woman fled into the desert. Until now the audience did not hear about the desert. At first this place seems to be an inhospitable region, far from anybody and any means of support. However, the audience must correct this first impression in light of what follows. The perfect participle 'prepared' clearly shows that the place has been made ready beforehand. It was prepared 'by God' himself, and therefore it is clearly a place of protection and security where no harm can be done to her.<sup>50</sup>

The audience recall the desert, which plays a very important role in the OT particularly as one of the central settings in the story of the Exodus. Surely it is a place of drought, famine, demonic powers and dangerous animals.<sup>51</sup> It is also a place of temptation where the Israelites started to murmur against God and his servants Moses and Aaron (Exod 16:2; Num 14:2; 21:5), as well as a place where God stipulated the Covenant with his people (Exodus 19–20). In the book of the prophet Hosea (2:16-17), the desert became a place of hope to restore the previous relationship with God. Hearing about the fleeing into the wilderness or into the desert, the audience recall also the story of the prophet Elijah

49 In Revelation 1–12 there are only two cases where the throne is not associated with God. The first is found in 2:13, where the church in Pergamum dwells where Satan has his throne. The second, in 11:16, presents twenty-four elders seated on thrones around God's throne, and who fall down and worship him.

50 Beale (*The Book of Revelation*, 642) also suggests that although the preposition *ἀπὸ* is best taken instrumentally, it may imply the idea of derivation from God. In the same way Giesen, *Die Offenbarung*, 284 and Tracy-Cole "Woman in the Wilderness," 49.

51 Thompson, *Revelation*, 133.

(1 Kgs 17:1-7). These images are very suggestive for the fact that both the chosen people of God and the prophet Elijah not only escaped into the wilderness, but also were nourished by God. The chosen people were nourished with quails and manna (Exod 15:22–17:7), while the other with portions of bread and water (1 Kgs 19:6-8).<sup>52</sup>

The vision of the woman fleeing into the desert, along with all the richness of the biblical traditions connected to the desert, assure the audience that the fate of the woman is as secure as the fate of her child. The predetermined period of her sojourn in the wilderness, one thousand two hundred and sixty days, is one more reason to believe that God prepares all. He not only prepared everything, but he is truly the ‘hidden actor’ and director of the whole story. Nothing occurs by chance, and everything that happens has its purpose. Just as God protected the child, now he protects the woman – and in the same way, he will also guide and protect the audience.

The audience had already heard the mysterious ‘one thousand two hundred and sixty days,’ in the context of the two witnesses who will have the power to prophesy (Rev 11). This predetermined time is similar to the twenty-two months given to the nations to trample over the Holy City of God. Since in both cases the time is predetermined, the audience are assured that the mysterious period is a time established by God.<sup>53</sup>

## 5. Summary Statement

Having reached the end of the project that was proposed at the beginning of this paper, it is time to gather the fruits of the research. It has been shown that an unusual way to introduce a vision is for the audience a clear indication that a new section starts. As the vision unfolds, the attention of the audience is caught by some returning expressions that become keywords. In this way, the audience are able to distinguish three major units.

The first, unit A, presents two signs appearing in heaven. Although the signs are two, the audience realize that the first sign – that of the woman – is the most important. In fact, a detailed, two-fold description of the first sign, her attire and her situation, constitutes the pivot of the unit. Having been introduced to the first sign the attention of the audience is caught by the abnormality of the second sign. This description starts with the dragon’s seven heads, unit B (12:3b), passes to its ten horns, unit C (12:3bc), and finally ends with

52 In this list, it is imperative to mention Hagar, slave-girl of Sarah and the mother of Ishmael (Gen 21). Since the most likely date for the composition of Revelation is the second half of the 1st century it is also possible that the audience might recall the fleeing of the Jerusalem mother-community into the wilderness of Pella. However, we cannot presume that the audience made this connection. W. Barclay, *The Revelation of John* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2004) 90; Giesen, *Die Offenbarung*, 283.

53 It has been proposed that the concept of a determined period of tribulation, presented once as *forty-two months* (11:2), twice as *one thousand two hundred sixty* (11:3; 12:6), and once as *time two times and half a time* (12:14), may be built upon Daniel’s vision of the tribulation which will come upon the People of God in the future (Dan 7:25; 9:27; 12:7): Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 642. For Giesen (*Die Offenbarung*, 284) it is clearly the time leading to the Parousia.

the seven diadems on its seven heads B' (12:3d). It has been seen that the reason to divide the description in this way is the parallel reference to the seven heads of the dragon in B and B' and the description of its ten horns in unit C. The pivot unit, the presentation of the great dragon that has ten horns, is a clear sign for the audience that the power of the dragon is great, but at the same time its dominion will be short. It will last only ten days, a short, determined period. The theme of its power constitutes the pivot of this second unit B. The audience realize that the second sign evidently contrasts with the first one.

The presentation of the signs has its grand finale in the last unit A'. In this unit, the audience are told about the hostility of the dragon towards the woman. The dragon, aware that its power lasts for only a short period, a symbolic ten days, tries to swallow the child to whom the woman is about to give birth. In this way, the dragon wants to thwart and frustrate God's plan. The dragon, God's opponent *par excellence*, tries to destroy the child, but fails. Its great strength does not serve to oppose God's will. The newborn child is caught up by God to his throne in heaven. The reference to the OT helps the audience to identify the newborn child as the Messiah who will shepherd all the nations. The presentation of the child's mission to shepherd all the nations constitutes the pivot of this last, third unit. This pivot assures the audience that God's plan will be realized. This vision assures the audience that God is almighty, and that he is the 'hidden actor' in the entire vision.

At the end of the vision the audience realize that the heavenly presentation of the woman seems to contrast with her fleeing into the wilderness. The woman, the mother of the Messiah, has to flee into the wilderness, but at the same time the audience are assured that it is a safe place. It is not a place of isolation or an inhospitable region, but is rather a place of secure protection and encounter with God. Moreover, it is a place prepared by God, who is the only one capable of providing secure protection. Just as he saved his Messiah from the dragon, he also guides the woman and protects her. Thus, the audience are encouraged not to fear, for no harm can be done to her.

Frequent allusions to the OT stories and traditions such as Joseph in Egypt, the subsequent liberation from Egypt, the wandering in the desert during the Exodus, the story of Elijah, and of Jonah, along with the prophetic visions from Isaiah and Daniel, remind the audience that God has always protected his chosen ones. At the same time, all these allusions are a guarantee that God will always protect and guide his people. Neither the dragon nor any other creature or earthly power and kingdom can harm them.

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## The Symbol of the Phoenix in the Catacombs of Priscilla in Rome and Its Transformation in Early Christianity

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**ABSTRACT:** The presented study deals with the oldest Christian depiction of a phoenix found in the Catacombs of Priscilla in Rome. Since catacomb art is a narrative depiction of biblical stories, it is important to incorporate the motive of phoenix into historical context. The study performs analysis and comparison the links and connections of the phoenix symbol in pagan and Christian thought. As Christian iconography is associated with allegorical symbols, the intention is to anticipate the meaning, origin and etymology of the phoenix symbol. The article therefore summarizes how the symbol and position of the phoenix found in the catacombs evolved from Egyptian myths through Greek and Roman culture to the transformation in Christian literature and Christian thought, especially in the Gospel of John, which connects the symbol of the phoenix with the palm and Lazarus.

**KEYWORDS:** phoenix symbolism, catacombs of Priscilla, mythology, Early Christianity art

Introducing the issue, it is necessary to keep in mind that the space in the catacombs was shared by pagans, Jews and Christians. They could have been Jews or pagans who, on the contrary, later became Christians. Both artistic and literary sources provide us with two different interpretations, which refer to their “authors” as well as to the addressees. On one hand, there are Christians who longed to understand the signs that carried the Christian faith. On the other hand, the Romans, who perceived it as traditional art, objects and art forms, that defined their identity and culture. In the catacombs we can find images of Greek-Roman gods, plants, animals and a lot more. The value and specifics of these symbols go back a long way. The Christians of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, living in Rome in the company of pagans, were hated, persecuted and murdered after the accusations of Emperor Nero. The religion of Christians was considered illegal, and in a sense, considered a Jewish sect, even a dangerous superstition. Christianity represented something new because it was based on the eschatological mission of the resurrected Messiah filling the time of preparation for repentance between glorification and parousia. Because of its distinctive Christology and soteriology,

it had to come into controversy with Palestinian Judaism as well as Hellenism. Christianity is the new movement of the history of religion, based on the eschatological universalism of the Old Testament prophets; it had no parallel in the ancient world. However, the establishment of Christianity was preceded by a complicated process of separation from the synagogue, which was marked by fierce polemics on the part of Judaism (both Temple and nascent rabbinic). It was a process of forming one's own religious identity, accompanied by the persecution and martyrdom of Jesus himself and his followers (disciples).<sup>1</sup>

As Christians could not openly profess their faith, they used symbols as evidenced by the images on the walls of the catacombs and even often tombstones with epitaphs<sup>2</sup> that sealed the tomb. The walls of the Christian catacombs are decorated with motives painted using the fresco method, which they got their name after. Among other things, these frescoes represent biblical scenes from the New and Old Testaments, which carry a certain symbolic meaning. Christians used symbols as a visible reminder of their faith in the idea.<sup>3</sup> They express a summary of the Christian faith as experienced by Christians<sup>4</sup> at the time.

## 1. Phoenix in Early Christian Art

In the study, we focus on the analysis of the symbol of phoenix in early Christian art. The phoenix appears in various frescoes, mosaics and paintings as early as the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. His depiction in Christian art was under the auspices of the teachers of the faith, as a symbol of their teaching and as an image of Christ. All his depictions were in accordance with the ideas of rebirth, resurrection or rediscovery, victory and martyrdom. Perhaps, the most important legacy of the phoenix in Christian art is his reference to the image of Christ rising from the dead and triumphing over death. In some images, the phoenix appears on a palm tree. According to Martigny, the phoenix is depicted on

1 Based on the available Christian sources, the relationship between the Synagogue and the Church has been marked by polemics and apologetics from the beginning. The origins of the relationship are complicated by the fact that Synagogue and Church, Judaism and Christianity are not homogeneous entities from their inception, and this pluralism has had an impact on the nature of the relationship. M.S. Wróbel, "Motywy i formy żydowskich prześladowań pierwotnego Kościoła (I–II w. po Chr.)," *Bib.An* 3 (2013) 421–423. See more: M. Rosik, "Zarzewie konfliktu między Kościołem a Synagogą (do 135 roku)," *Jezus i chrześcijaństwo w źródłach rabinicznych* (eds. K. Pilarczyk – A. Mrozek) (Estetyka i Krytyka 27; Kraków: Antykwa 2012) 69–103; S.T. Katz, "The Rabbinic Response to Christianity," *The Cambridge History of Judaism. The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (ed. S.T. Katz) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006) IV, 259–297; J.T. Sanders, *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants. The First One Hundred Years of Jewish-Christian Relations* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International 1993).

2 Marble tombstones with epitaphs engraved with the name and period in which the survivor lived (for example, Livia Primitiva, lived for 24 years and 9 days), depicted together with a fish, anchor or dove (we can also find the Good Shepherd, dolphin or even depictions objects as a symbol of the profession (e.g. pliers – when he was a medic or dentist, a boat – when he was a fisherman, etc.).

3 Istituto Salesiano San Callisto, "The Symbols," *The Christian Catacombs of Rome. The Catacombs of Saint Callixtus*, <https://www.catacombe.roma.it/en/simboli-cristiani.php> [access: 15.07.2020].

4 Istituto Salesiano San Callisto, "The symbols."

a palm tree behind the apostle Paul,<sup>5</sup> because Paul was an ardent preacher of the doctrine of Christ's resurrection.<sup>6</sup>

In early Christian art, the phoenix is depicted on a mosaic in the dome of the Church of S. Giovanni in Ponte in Naples (around the 4<sup>th</sup> century), on a sarcophagus in the Vatican museums<sup>7</sup> (Pio Cristiano, inv. 150A, the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century). In pictorial form, the palm tree is associated with a phoenix on a mosaic in the Basilica of St. Cosmas and Damian (526–530 AD).<sup>8</sup> In mosaics dating from about the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The phoenix still appears in a villa in Piazza Armerina – Sicily and near Aquileia.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. Phoenix in the Catacombs of Priscilla<sup>10</sup>

The phoenix in Christian iconography first appears on the walls of the catacombs of St. Priscilla in Rome. A catacomb painting appears on the wall of the Cappella Greca chapel, which dates to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, but currently its dating is shifted about a century later.<sup>11</sup>

The Catacombs of Priscilla are located on the Via Salaria in Rome, and the first two levels (3 to 8 metres below the surface) of the catacombs were probably named after the Priscilla of Acili. Priscilla belonged to a senatorial family, whose name appears on one of the inscriptions in the Acili hypogeum.<sup>12</sup> These catacombs differ from other catacombs<sup>13</sup> in their origin, as they grew into an *arenarium*.<sup>14</sup> Christians did not begin to use these catacomb

5 Mosaic in the Basilica of St. Cosmos and Damian.

6 L. Charbonneau-Lassay, *The Bestiary of Christ* (New York: Parabola Books 1991) 447–449.

7 For example. Passion sarcophagus, which depicts a military trophy to the symbol of the resurrection in the central emblem.

8 Cf. J. Royt – H. Šedinová, *Slovník symbolů. Kosmos, příroda a člověk v křesťanské ikonografii* (Praha: Mladá Fronta 1998) 176.

9 See: F.E. Romer, “Another Incarnation of the Phoenix,” *Classica et Mediaevalia* 54 (2003) 237.

10 For more information on what these catacombs really look like, we offer a link where you can move around virtually to take a tour of the Catacombs of Priscilla: <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Catacombs+of+Priscilla/@41.9293271,12.5090897,2a,75y,108.66h,116.7t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1s8e7NvV1afAAAAQJOCIaFQ!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!4m5!3m4!1s0x132f614730819a3f:0x6ac5a8c1e54625b18m2!3d41.9296856!4d12.5086347> [access: 12.05.2020].

We also recommend you to look at the fresco of the phoenix (this particular link will take you directly to the Greek Chapel and is directed to the fresco of the phoenix) in the Greek Chapel, as well as other frescoes of early Christian art that adorn the walls of the catacombs and which have been preserved.

11 See Romer, “Another Incarnation of the Phoenix,” 237.

12 *Hypogeum* – an ancient underground burial room.

13 For more information on the origin of the catacombs and catacomb art, see: M. Kardis – D. Tlučková, “Historicko-religionistická analýza typológií pohanských symbolov v křesťanských katakombách v Ríme [Historical-Religious Studies of Typologies of Pagan Symbols in Christian Catacombs in Rome],” *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10/2 (2019) 14–38, [https://www.unipo.sk/public/media/34840/historia\\_ecclesiastica\\_02\\_2019\\_WEB.pdf](https://www.unipo.sk/public/media/34840/historia_ecclesiastica_02_2019_WEB.pdf) [access: 27.8.2020].

14 *Arenarium* – sandpit or quarries from pozzolan (fine-grained tuff). See image: <https://www.istockphoto.com/vector/secret-stairway-to-arenarium-gm1045929180-279878024> [access: 15.03.2021].

galleries<sup>15</sup> until the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, where they built and created about 20 tombs and niches and dug hundreds of *loculus*<sup>16</sup> (graves) into the gallery walls. These *loculi* were bricked with a burial plate (tombstone) to prevent, among other things, the walls from falling. At this first level are logically the oldest graves, including the hypogea of the Acili family (Acili Glabriones) and the so-called Greek chapel. The Greek chapel is heading towards the so-called *Cryptoporticus*.<sup>17</sup> On the niche at the top is a fresco of three magicians<sup>18</sup> – Adoration of Magi (Matt 2), a symbol of the founding of the church. At the same time, this picture is one of the oldest frescoes depicting the Virgin Mary with a child. Right opposite, on the entrance wall, on the right, is a fresco of three bachelors in a burning furnace (Dan 3:15-24.43-50) as a symbol of faith. Above is a fresco of Moses, which brings water from the stone using a stick (Exod 17:6) as a symbol and archetype of baptism. Furthermore, there are frescoes as the healing of the paralyzed, which is a symbol of repentance (Matt 9:2, Mark 2:2-6, Luke 5:18-20). The following is the story of Zuzana (Dan 13), which symbolizes faith in God in times of persecution and suffering. There is also a fresco of the funeral<sup>19</sup> feast,<sup>20</sup> which is located in the center of the second niche in the back of the chapel. Joseph Wilpert theorized that the Greek Chapel was a church cemetery based on the depicted eucharistic interpretation of the banquet/funeral scene (*fractioplanis* – breaking of bread). After examining Wilpert Joseph's theory, the researchers believed that the room was also used for funerals, based on some graves and a brick seating bench. As for the chapel in the chronology of the paintings, scientists currently date them back to the period of Emperor Gallienus<sup>21</sup> (253–268 AD).

15 *Galleries* – it is a name for underground corridors, walls (arcosolia, hypogea, loculi, cubiculum). These corridors (galleries) could have been several meters long, had flat or vaulted ceilings. They were usually 1 m wide and about 2–3 m high. (Author's note).

16 *Loculus/sepulcro and fossa* – horizontal, oblong niche in the wall, rectangular in shape. Usually the loculi were placed on top of each other and arranged in vertical rows (it depended on the height of the gallery walls), mostly the *loculi* were used to bury one person, but there were also cases where two bodies were buried. See image: <https://www.gettyimages.com.mx/detail/ilustración/loculi-open-and-closed-ilustraciones-libres-de-derechos/1045929420> [access: 08.06.2020].

17 The decorations from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century consist of ornaments and biblical frescoes that cover the vaulted ceiling and the top of the walls. Stucco panels with marble imitation are drawn and shaped below.

18 Magi are depicted as three characters, each with a different color (diversity).

19 This fresco depicts seven figures sitting at a table, including a veiled woman. On the far left is a bearded person wearing a tunic and a pallium, stretching out his arms to break bread. On the table in front of them are goblets of wine, a plate with two fish and one with five loaves of bread. The location of the fresco is bounded by seven baskets of bread, three of which are on one side and four are on the other. See: F. Mancinelli – U.M. Fasola, *Guide to the Catacombs of Rome* (Trevi: Scala – Tecnostampa 2015) 51–52. To preview the fresco or other frescoes from the catacombs: [https://www.google.com/maps/place/Catacombs+of+Priscilla/@41.9293392,12.5090929,2a,60y,1.85h,113.27t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sTeIW\\_-IUbKAAAQJOCHy-Ig!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!4m5!3m4!1s0x132f614730819a3f:0x6ac5a8c1e54625b!8m2!3d41.9296221!4d12.5085324](https://www.google.com/maps/place/Catacombs+of+Priscilla/@41.9293392,12.5090929,2a,60y,1.85h,113.27t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sTeIW_-IUbKAAAQJOCHy-Ig!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!4m5!3m4!1s0x132f614730819a3f:0x6ac5a8c1e54625b!8m2!3d41.9296221!4d12.5085324) [access: 12.05.2020].

20 Mancinelli – Fasola, *Guide to the Catacombs of Rome*, 52.

21 R. Giuliani – B. Mazzei, *The Catacombs of Priscilla* (Vatican City: Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archaeology 2016) 39.

Next to the entrance hall on the right side of the wall is a phoenix pictured dying in flames (Figure 1). According to oriental myths, which were also accepted by the local culture, this fairy-tale bird lived a long time, then perished in burning flames and then was finally reborn from the ashes. Therefore, it became a symbol of eternity and a symbol of new birth, renewal<sup>22</sup>. The Christian community, its art and literature have taken over the myth of the phoenix to express the mystery of the renewal of the body, virginity and purity – which is why the phoenix is depicted in frescoes with the story of Zuzana. However, the depiction of the phoenix style in the Catacombs of Priscilla is really rare, as the phoenix is on fire, his chest and head are surrounded by a halo, pink light and blue rays (Figure 2). The phoenix therefore looks like a point of self-immolation. In 1951, this fresco of the phoenix was restored by the Benedictine Annunziata Maruffi (Figure 3).<sup>23</sup>

### 3. Phoinix vs. Phoenix (Palm vs. Phoenix)

*Phoinix* (Gr. φοίνιξ, ὁ; Lat. *phoenix*)<sup>24</sup> is a word that denotes the so-called palm tree. Specifically, these are palm leaves (Gr. τὰ βᾶϊα τῶν φοινίκων), which John, as the only one of the four evangelists, specifies when describing Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, in which they are placed before Jesus on the path (compare Luke 19:28-40; Matt 21:1-17; Mark 11:1-11; John 12:1-19) more identical than John, who is the only one who specifically mentions palm leaves, the branches of the leaf. Specifically the palm leaf is actually a multi-meaning word that clearly designates the palm tree and the mythical bird. Frank E. Romer in his study *Another incarnation of The Phoenix* analyzes and explains that John's specification of the branches refined to palm leaves (Hebr. *lulavim*) is not accidental, just as there is no accidental passage of the resurrected Lazarus<sup>25</sup> before Jesus entered Jerusalem (John 12:1-11). He explains that this is an important motive in fragments (stories) that refer to immortality

22 *παλιγγενεσία* – the future as the restoration and renewal of the world *new age* (Matt 19:28); as spiritual and moral renewal of an individual *new birth, regeneration* (Titus 3:5). See: T. Friberg – B. Friberg – N.F. Miller *Analytical Lexicon of the Greek New Testament* (BibleWorks 10).

23 Giuliani – Mazzei, *The Catacombs of Priscilla*, 42–43.

24 designations of the word – *palm tree*, date palm John 12:13; *palm branches, palm leaves* Rev 7:9; *Phoenician*. Frank E. Romer explains the denotative meaning of the words *Phoenician, Phoenicians* and *Phoenician red*. It was a dye that was produced along the Levantine coast. The production of this paint was very expensive, which meant that the paint was associated only with the rich, powerful and strong people. Phoenician red is a color that is purple, magenta, also known as Tyrian purple. Another connotation of the meaning of the word *phoenician red* is that Pliny the Elder in his book *Naturalis historia* X. In the 10<sup>th</sup> book and the 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph he writes about the species of birds. Among other things, he also mentions a phoenix, whose color is purple (*purpureus*). A closer description of the phoenix by Pliny the Elder is given in the paragraph on *phoenix*, or depending on the fact that the word *phoenix* meant unique in Arabic. In: Friberg – Friberg – Miller, *Analytical Lexicon*; Romer, "Another Incarnation of the Phoenix," 231.

25 We do not encounter this in other evangelists. Matthew and Luke are followed by a passage in which Jesus expels the sellers and merchants from the temple, and Mark continues with the story of a withered fig tree.

and resurrection.<sup>26</sup> He tries to show that the Evangelist John was not just making a random choice, but was concerned with the actual symbolism of the resurrection – whether to point to the resurrected Lazarus with whom Jesus dined or to the palm branches which had their symbolic meaning in Judaism (during the celebration of Sukkot as a symbol of joy and thanksgiving). Thus, Jesus entered Jerusalem in triumph, with the crowd greeting him with words and waving palm branches that symbolized victory, the triumph of the king and his very messianic promises (John 12:13). The palm tree is thus a familiar Jewish symbol of victory, and therefore stands out as a symbol of victorious immortality in the Jewish catacombs in Rome. This explains why later Christian art depicts the palm branch in the hands of martyrs. The Christian meaning of the palm leaf signifies victory and joy.<sup>27</sup> This symbolism is narratively associated with the victory of Jesus, and the revival of Lazarus (John 11:1-5) is a sign of the promised resurrection. In his Gospel, in the context of Lazarus' revival, John further describes (John 11:25) Jesus' answer to Martha: "I am the resurrection and the life ..." Jesus, the Son of God, through faith in Him, gives a person life that will never be extinguished, a gift of participation (partaking) in the life of God Himself (John 6:50-51; 8:51; 5:24-25). These texts are characterized by the negation of death in the Semitic sense of man's destruction in the darkness of Sheol. John gives prominence to the hope of resurrection that is realized in Christ. Through his coming, the prospect of eternal life has been opened before man.<sup>28</sup> Both of these stories, the solemn entry of Jesus into Jerusalem and the resurrection of Lazarus, thus become a sign of resurrection and eternal life.

The story of the resurrection of Lazarus in John presents Jesus not only as the one who performs miracles, but as the one who is the resurrection itself (John 11:25-26; 6:40.54). Christology has direct implications for ecclesiology. "Resurrection" was a familiar theme in ancient texts, but most often it was only the apparent resurrection from apparent death, and John seems to have been responding primarily to the spread of the Christian story (rumor). This story is crucial to John's plot development.<sup>29</sup> Keener opines that, "In John's scheme it is the climactic and most miraculous episode in the series of signs he presents. Whereas in Mark Jesus dies because he challenges the municipal aristocracy of Jerusalem by his prophetic act in the temple, in John Jesus dies most immediately because he has given life to a disciple (11:14-16.50-52; 12:9-11)."<sup>30</sup> That Jesus dies to give life, even on a symbolic level, is the essential soteriological message of John (3:16-17).

26 Romer, "Another Incarnation of the Phoenix," 223–229.

27 Romer, "Another Incarnation of the Phoenix," 231–232.

28 S. Mędala, *Ewangelia według świętego Jana. Rozdziały 1–12* (Nowy Komentarz Biblijny 4/1; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2010) 803–805, 816. Ježiš, ktorý sa zjavuje ako život v Jn znamená večný život. Večný život vo význame kvalitatívne rozdielnej existencie od tej dočasnej.

29 Throughout the text, the crucial point is that Jesus is the one who gave Lazarus (physical) life as a sign of his power to give eternal life on this earth (realized eschatology) and also the promise that he will rise from the dead on the last day (final eschatology). See R.E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John, I–XII* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1966) 436–437; C.S. Keener, *The Gospel of John. A commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2012) 282–283.

30 See Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 837.



John's Gospel cannot be understood without early Judaism, since its chronology is constructed according to the Jerusalem festivals, conducts a polemic with the Jewish elite, and employs various Jewish symbols. The significant influence of this gospel is manifested mainly after its adoption among Gnostics and other writers, at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. In the following century, this manifested itself mainly in catacomb art – when frescoes are created as the encounter of Jesus with the Samaritan woman at the well (in Kalixt's catacombs in Rome) and a little later, a fresco of the resurrection of Lazarus (the first in the Catacombs of Priscilla) is depicted. At the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. they brought the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, a paraphrase of the Gospel of John in a fragment on the resurrection of Lazarus as an indicator of a general resurrection. This also had an impact on the fact that frescoes of Lazarus' resurrection appear from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century in the catacombs throughout their history up to 63 times,<sup>31</sup> more than any other New Testament scene. The catacomb inscriptions show that at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, the Christian community in Rome spoke Greek, although the emphasis has shifted to Latin. As we pointed out at the beginning, F.E. Romer analyzes the connection between the palm twigs, the phoenix, and the story of Lazarus. They all come from and point to the same symbolic element of resurrection and victory (even over death), and therefore we identify with the idea that all of them intentionally refers to their symbolism. The palm trees, like evergreen cedars, symbolize eternal life, but the idea of eternal life refers only indirectly to the resurrection, which is the central tenet of Jesus' teaching and the pathway to eternal life. In this literary context, the phoenix symbolize rebirth and immortality, which are the central ideas of the Lazarus story, and it is in this context that they are related to the phoenix bird, which explicitly in Greek, Roman, and Egyptian mythology is the embodiment of rebirth and renewal.<sup>32</sup>

In this literary context, *phoinikes* symbolize rebirth and immortality, which are the main motive in Lazarus' story and these characteristics are also embodied by the phoenix bird in Greek, Roman and Egyptian mythology.

Compared to John's synoptics, the context is significantly different. The palm branches (12:13; only in John) suggest a ceremonial entrance for a military triumph or royal acclamation (1 Macc 13:51; 2 Macc 10:7; 14:4). John may have added palm branches simply to heighten the symbolism of the messianic exclamation; palm branches are meant to symbolize victory or triumphal entry (Rev 7:9). John greets the beginning of the scene with palm branches and the exclamation from Ps 118:25. Against this background, the crowd appears to have a political subtext and welcomes Jesus as the national deliverer. The confirmation is 12:13 that the crowd came to meet him as the king of Israel. The gesture of greetings with palm branches evokes the symbol of Maccabean nationalism (also the palm tree was on the coins of the Second Rebellion (AD 132–135). The exclamation "Hosanna!"

31 For more information, see the article, where there is a table of catacomb paintings with their classification into each century and the number of individual frescoes. Kardis –Tlučková, "Historicko-religionistická analýza," 14–38.

32 Romer, "Another Incarnation of the Phoenix," 230–231, 242.

is associated in Jewish tradition with the greeting of kings (2 Sam 14:4; 2 Kgs 6:26), in conjunction with the palm branches, suggests that the crowds hoped for him as a king or national deliverer.<sup>33</sup>

The fact that there is a connection between the palm tree and the phoenix – phoinix and phoenix, is again recorded by Pliny the Elder in his books *Natural History*.<sup>34</sup> These are not just similar-sounding words, but also their properties.<sup>35</sup> In this work describes that the Phoenician palm /a palm tree/ is found in Chora and is the only one of its kind with which is associated with a remarkable story that it dies and then comes to life again on its own. Pliny writes that it shares this peculiarity together with the *phoenix*, which is why, according to him, this palm tree was also named. At the time of publication and writing of his book, this tree had large, hard and prickly fruits, and its aroma was different from other fruits because it resembled the smell of pork.<sup>36</sup> The etymology of word similarity is present only in Greek, because latin *Palma* = Gr. *Phoinix*.<sup>37</sup> Egyptian words<sup>38</sup> for phoenix and palm have a common etymological origin. For the word *phoenix*, the Egyptian name is *benu* (rise) and *benert* for a palm tree. These words have the so-called superficial similarity. In both words, *benben pyramidion* – a mythical hill on which the deity settled. *Benben* is also the top stone of the pyramid. This is one of the reasons why benu-phoenix was often depicted on top of the *benben pyramidion*.<sup>39</sup>

The Greeks and Romans considered the palm tree to be the tree of Apollo. According to Aristotle, Aulus Gellius and Plutarch, the palm tree was a symbol of immense strength, resilience and victory. Therefore, it was customary to give the winners of various competitions as a sign of victory palm wreaths. This custom was originally adopted by the Romans from the Greeks.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, the equivalent of Lat. the word “*palm*” is a sign of *personal victory* or *winner*, or *general victory*.

#### 4. Mentions of Phoenix in Roman and Greek Culture

The phoenix is mentioned in a Greek epic from the 8<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century BC from Hesiod, where the longevity of the phoenix is discussed: „...while the phoenix survives nine ravens, but we Nymphs....we survive ten phoenixes...”<sup>41</sup> According to inaccurate and unconfirmed data,

33 Keener, *The Gospel of John*, 868–869; Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 461–462.

34 Pliny, *Natural History* XIII, IX, 39–42 (Pliny, *Natural History*. IV. *Libri XII–XVI. With an English Translation in ten Volumes* [trans. H. Rackham] [London: Harvard University Press –Heinemann 1960] 121–123).

35 Romer, “Another Incarnation of the Phoenix,” 232.

36 Pliny, *Natural History* XIII, IX 42 (Pliny, *Natural History*, IV, 122).

37 Romer, “Another Incarnation of the Phoenix,” 232–233.

38 We discuss this more in the description of the phoenix in Egyptian mythology, see paragraphs below.

39 Romer, “Another Incarnation of the Phoenix,” 232.

40 Compare Royt – Šedinová, *Slovník symbolů*, 103–104.

41 Hesiodos, *Precepts of Chiron Fragment 3* [from Plutarch de orac. Defectu. 2.415C], <https://www.theoi.com/Thaumasios/Phoinix.html> [access: 27.8.2020].

the phoenix should live up to 972 years, not 500 years. In any case, although we cannot determine the exact age of the phoenix from this, we have the evidence that this bird was already known in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.

The first detailed description of the phoenix in Greek can be found in Herodotus' *The Histories*, from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. Herodotus was in Egypt and visited Heliopolis, where he heard about the phoenix and whom he saw on papyrus and carved in stones or hieroglyphs. It is more than certain that this description left canonical traces in later authors. He mentions the phoenix as a sacred bird, which he never saw except in pictures, and that he does not find the Egyptian descriptions of this bird very convincing. He further writes that this bird arrives in Egypt, Heliopolis, when its father dies. "If the picture really shows its size and appearance, its plumage is partly gold and partly red. It has the shape and size of an eagle. What is being said about this bird is unbelievable to me. He flies from Arabia to the temple of Helios (sun) and transports his father wrapped in myrrh and buries him in the temple of Helios. First he forms as heavy an egg of myrrh as he can carry, then he tries to pick it up and when he tries it, he carves an egg and puts his father in it. With another myrrh, he tapes a hole in the egg in which he put his father. The egg weighs the same even though my father lies in it and passes it to the Temple of the Sun in Egypt (Egypt)."<sup>42</sup>

Publius Papinius Statius, poet from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, wrote his work *Silvae*, in which he mentions a phoenix: "a long-lived phoenix is preparing for his death on the altar in Egypt."<sup>43</sup>

Five centuries after Herodotus, a description of this mythical animal is provided by Pliny the Elder in *Natural History. Book X*. He writes that it is said among the people that Ethiopia and India have a phoenix. An exceptionally colorful and indescribable bird from Arabia, which has a famous color, is the only one in the world and it is very difficult to see it. According to stories, he is as big as an eagle and has shiny gold around his neck<sup>44</sup> and the rest of his body is purple. He has a blue tail with a pink feather, he has tufted tufts on his throat and his head is decorated with a comb. Manilius was the first to talk about him, saying that there had never been anyone who had seen one of his feedings, that he was dedicated to the sun god in Arabia, he had lived for 540 years. As he ages, he builds a nest with twigs of wild cinnamon and incense, filling his place with a scent in which he lies down until he dies. Subsequently, his bones and body flesh form a kind of worm that grows and looks like a chicken. Here the funeral rites for the former bird begin to apply and the whole nest is transferred to the city of the Sun near Panchai, where it is placed on the altar. He further states that the period of the Great Year coincides with the life of this bird – then the same data about the seasons and the stars are returned. It begins around noon on the day the sign enters the sign of the Aries. The year of that period was 215, which was stated in the consulate by Publius Licinius and Gnaeus Cornelius. Cornelius Valerianus states that

42 Herodotus, *Histories* 2.73, <https://www.theoi.com/Thaumasios/Phoenix.html> [access: 27.8.2020].

43 Statius, *Silvae* 3.2.101. Available on: <https://www.theoi.com/Thaumasios/Phoenix.html> [access: 27.8.2020].

44 The color is meant – that is, the gold color on the neck.

the phoenix flew from Egypt to the consulates of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius. According to the writings, he was transported to Rome during emperor Claudius' reign. The phoenix was also to appear in the *Comitium*.<sup>45</sup> This fact has been confirmed by records, although no one doubts that this phoenix was made-up.<sup>46</sup>

In the *Acta Diurna*<sup>47</sup> it was recorded that the phoenix flew to Egypt in 36 AD and in 47 AD was brought to Rome and exhibited at the earlier mentioned Comitium.<sup>48</sup>

The Egyptian *benu bird* seems to have been a prototype of the phoenix myth. The differences between the phoenix by Herodotus or other classical authors and the benu bird from ancient Egyptian sources are so serious that many scientists wondered why they were related. They consider that all the evidence and documents submitted to Herodotus in Egypt could have confused him. The bird he saw in the pictures didn't have to be a phoenix, but it could have been an Egyptian vulture or Hor as a falcon. The mention of incense adds authenticity, as it was highly valued in Egyptian temple rituals. Nor does anyone know the position of the informants who gave this information to Herodotus in the priestly hierarchy. They could have belonged to the highest stratum of the priesthood and thus have come to know the whole Heliopolitan theology well, or they could have belonged to novices who had just begun to master it. It is also about the skills of translators. The main common feature of the phoenix and the ben bird is that both are related to the Temple of the Sun in Heliopolis.<sup>49</sup>

Further mentions are found in Tacitus. Tacitus mentions the phoenix in the work *The Annals* 6. 28.<sup>50</sup> He writes that in 34 AD under the consulate of Paullus Fabius Persicus and Lucius Vitellius, after many years, a phoenix came to Egypt, about which many identical but also controversial things were said. The creature is dedicated to the sun, and the artists who depicted its appearance agree that its appearance and colorful color are different from other birds. However, they differ in the number of years. The most acknowledged period is 500 years, with some claiming that 1461 years<sup>51</sup> will pass in the meantime

45 Comitium – an open space in ancient Rome for public meetings that had religious and prophetic significance. Place of political and judicial activity Rome, place of assembly (author's note).

46 Pliny, *Natural History* X (Pliny, *Natural History*. III. *Libri VIII–XI. With an English Translation in ten Volumes* [trans. H. Rackham] [London: Harvard University Press – Heinemann 1967] 292–295).

47 Also known as *Acta Populi* or *Acta Publica* – short news, announcements and information that have been carved in stone or metal and displayed in public places. Something like the then form of today's newspaper (author's note).

48 Romer, "Another Incarnation of the Phoenix," 233.

49 G. Hart, *Egyptské mýty* (Praha: KMa 2006) 16–17.

50 Romer, "Another Incarnation of the Phoenix," 233.

51 This is not the length of one of the phoenix cycles, but the length of the period (κυνηκός κύκλος) *Sothic* (name of Sirius – Dog Star – in the ancient Egyptians) and *Canicular* (rise of the Dog Star or the star itself), at the end of which an error occurred from the difference between 365 days and the sunny year with 365 ¼ days. This period is associated with the beginning of each cycle, when the rise of the Dog Star, which occurred on the first day of Thoth – the day when the year opened. Such a cycle is also mentioned by the Roman writer Censorinus, who was to end in 139 AD (for more information see: Tacitus, *Annals. Books 4–6, 11–12* [trans. J. Jackson] [LCL 312; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1937] [https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Tacitus/Annals/6B\\*.html](https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Tacitus/Annals/6B*.html) [access: 27.8.2020]). According to some sources, August 29<sup>th</sup> is the first day

and that earlier birds flew to the city of Heliopolis (ancient Egypt), accompanied by other birds, during the reigns of Sesodius, Amadis a Ptolemy III Euergetes (the third king of the Macedonian family). However, less than 250 years have passed between Ptolemy III Euergetes (ruled in 247–222 BC) a Tiberius (ruled in 14–37 AD), and that is why some think that this phoenix was false, did not come from Arabia, and that he did not do what was written at the time. After completing a certain number of years, when his death is approaching, he begins to build a nest in his homeland and pours his fertile force into it, from which the young hatch. While the cub is growing up, his first task is to bury his father. It takes off with a load of myrrh and tries to go for a long journey. As soon as he manages to do so, he is supposed to take on his father's corpse, take it to the altar of the Sun and burn it there. Tacitus adds that it is uncertain and exaggerated by fables, but he does not doubt that the phoenix was seen in Egypt in that time.<sup>52</sup>

*The Annals* were published shortly after Clement of Rome (1<sup>st</sup> century AD) wrote a Letter to the Church of Corinth. Although Tacitus wrote in Latin not in Greek, the use and meaning of the phoenix was accepted by the imperial audience (pagans) as a powerful symbol of immortality and rebirth. An important feature of the bird is that after a long time (variously recorded as the years 257, 500, 540, 1000, 1461, etc...) it dies and reincarnates itself from the ashes, and although this method of reincarnation is not explained in all ancient period descriptions, it was the most famous element of his life.<sup>53</sup>

The period of Roman emperor Hadrian (117–138 AD) is also worth mentioning. The phoenix shows on Hadrian's coins<sup>54</sup> during his reign the special interest the emperor had in the phoenix and in the heliopolitical cult. The analysis of the presence of the phoenix symbol on the Hadrian's coins and scales offers several possibilities to clarify the religious and ideological system. The analysis of the presence of the phoenix symbol on the Hadrian's coins and vase,<sup>55</sup> offers several possibilities to clarify the religious and ideological system. This system is built into the Hadrian's environment, which does not seem to lack an intercultural relationship, a heterogeneous origin of the population and a connection with the pharaonic world. The Roman Hadrian coins, intended for their distribution, aim to convey the themes of Egyptian origin, the connection with Egypt, and with special emphasis on the regeneration and rebirth of the monarch and the individual in the universe, as well as in the case of the Pharaonic tradition. We also find in them the symbolism for

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of the month of Thoth. This time was associated with the annual floods of the Nile, on which the fertility of the soil depended. (for more information see: J.J. Mark, "Thoth," *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, <https://www.ancient.eu/Thoth/> [access: 27.8.2020]).

52 Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales* 6.28 (*Letopisy* [Praha: Svoboda 1975] 248–249).

53 Romer, "Another Incarnation of the Phoenix," 233–234.

54 The phoenix also appears on coins and medals with other emperors, such as the coins of Constantine II. Augusta with the inscription AETERNITAS. AVG. TEMP.REPARATIO [eternity of Augustus, happy renewal of time]. Some sources state that it is on the coins of Constantine II. See more Charbonneau-Lassay, *The Bestiary of Christ*, 448.

55 Known as: Large bell-shaped crater alebo Egyptianizing crater from hadrian's Villa \ is located in the Museum of History in Rome, the so-called *Capitoline Museums*.

the occurrence of cyclic time, astral references and Hadrian's attention to astronomy, which was also reflected in other monuments.<sup>56</sup>

The work, in which there is another mention of the phoenix, comes from Claudius Aelianus, in his work *De Natura Animalium* (the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD). For example, he writes about the phoenix: “the phoenix knows how to count five hundred years without the help of arithmetic, because he is a student of all kinds, so he does not need fingers or anything else to help him understand numbers...”<sup>57</sup>

Another author is Lucius Flavius Philostratus with the work *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, which was written in the years 217–238 AD. The work says: “The phoenix is a bird that visits Egypt every five hundred years, but the rest of the time it flies in India, and it is unique in that it emits sunlight and shines with gold. In terms of size and appearance, it is like an eagle and sits on a nest at the springs of the Nile...”<sup>58</sup>

The famous Roman poet Publius Ovidius Naso also writes about the phoenix, and mentions him in his most famous epic composition *Metamorphoses*, which talks about the transformation of people into mythical animals or plants and things.<sup>59</sup> The Slovak version, the text is translated as follows:

Now these I named derive their origin  
from other living forms. There is one bird  
which reproduces and renews itself:  
the Assyrians gave this bird his name—the Phoenix.  
He does not live either on grain or herbs,  
but only on small drops of frankincense  
and juices of amomum. When this bird  
completes a full five centuries of life  
straightway with talons and with shining beak  
he builds a nest among palm branches, where  
they join to form the palm tree's waving top.

As soon as he has strewn in this new nest  
the cassia bark and ears of sweet spikenard,  
and some bruised cinnamon with yellow myrrh,  
he lies down on it and refuses life  
among those dreamful odors.—And they say  
that from the body of the dying bird

56 G.C. Vittozzi, “Emperor Hadrian and Egypt. Remarks on The Mythical and Religious perspectives,” *Arys* 16 (2018) 267–288, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335775928\\_Emperor\\_Hadrian\\_and\\_Egypt\\_Remarks\\_on\\_the\\_mythical\\_and\\_religious\\_perspectives\\_El\\_emperador\\_Adriano\\_y\\_Egipto\\_Observaciones\\_sobre\\_las\\_perspectivas\\_miticas\\_y\\_religiosas](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335775928_Emperor_Hadrian_and_Egypt_Remarks_on_the_mythical_and_religious_perspectives_El_emperador_Adriano_y_Egipto_Observaciones_sobre_las_perspectivas_miticas_y_religiosas) [access: 9.9.2020].

57 Aelian, *On Animals* 6.58 [Greek Natural History], <https://www.theoi.com/Thaumasios/Phoenix.html> [access: 27.8.2020].

58 Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 3.49 [Greek Biography], <https://www.ancient.eu/Thoth/> [access: 27.8.2020].

59 Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 15. 385ff. [Roman epic], <https://www.theoi.com/Thaumasios/Phoenix.html> [access: 27.8.2020].



is reproduced a little Phoenix which  
is destined to live just as many years.

When time has given to him sufficient strength  
and he is able to sustain the weight,  
he lifts the nest up from the lofty tree  
and dutifully carries from that place  
his cradle and the parent's sepulchre.  
As soon as he has reached through yielding air  
the city of Hyperion, he will lay  
the burden just before the sacred doors  
within the temple of Hyperion.

There is a poem coming from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD about a phoenix by Claudius Claudianus (370–404) called *Phoenix*, he also mentioned phoenix in his unfinished epic *De Rapti Proserpinae*.<sup>60</sup> A poem called *Phoenix* prosaically describes the life of a phoenix, the way he feeds and what he eats. He also deals with his appearance, about which he writes, that a mysterious fire flashes from his eyes and his head is enriched by a flaming halo and that his ridge glows with its own sunlight. It is also described that by self-destruction he will regain his lost youth and regain his life and be more exuberant than ever before. He will take his father to Egypt, accompanied by birds, where he will place him on the altar and is dedicated to the worship of the Sun.<sup>61</sup>

## 5. *Phoinix* and *Phoenix* / Palm and phoenix in Jewish tradition

In Jewish tradition, the word branch, or palm branch associated with the word “*lulav*” (pl. *lulavim*). This branch is associated with the feast of Sukkot – the feast of stalls, which are associated with the joy of liberation and the end of wandering in the desert.<sup>62</sup> The use of the symbolism of palm leaves and green branches is nothing special for Jews. In 1 Macc 13:51 is written about palm branches, we can read from the text that palm leaves symbolize victory. The same is true of the purification of the temple from the pagan desecration described in 2 Macc 10:1-9, with the palm leaves described associated with the symbolism of joy and celebration. Romer describes that the *lulav* is a Jewish symbol of victory, used as a triumph of immortality in the Jewish catacombs in Rome and Venus. Among other things, the symbol of the palms was used to greet the victorious generals and kings,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> The abduction of Proserpine.

<sup>61</sup> Claudius, *The Phoenix*, <https://www.theoi.com/Thaumasios/Phoinix.html> [access: 27.8.2020].

<sup>62</sup> This holiday is connection with the harvesting of the autumn harvest (Lev 23:34-43). So the branches of the palm tree, the myrrh, the willows tied together, and their names were called for this feast. Etrongs (cedar fruits) were especially brought for this purpose. See more: F. Trstenský, *Svet Nového Zákona* (Svit: Katolícke biblické dielo 2008) 94–95.

<sup>63</sup> Romer, “Another Incarnation of the Phoenix,” 229.

where we can see a parallel with Jesus' triumphant entry into Jerusalem. In both Jewish and Christian traditions, the palm tree identifies with the tree of life. In the desert environment, palm trees are a sign of water and thus a symbol of life. The fact that the palm does not lose its green leaves symbolizes eternal life and in the psalms it is associated with deliverance from the enemy and the reward for righteousness (Ps 92:13).<sup>64</sup>

The palm is also a symbol of peace in the Old Testament. The palms were therefore depicted together with cherubs and flower wreaths. The palm tree had a similar symbolism in Babylon.<sup>65</sup> In the Jewish Encyclopedia, the palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) is described as an evergreen tree that grows in tropical climates and dry atmospheres. The name common to Aramaic, Ethiopian and Hebrew is *tamar*. The Arabic term *tamr* means mainly the fruit of a palm tree. Aramaic also use the term *dikla* and the feminine form *diklela*. In ancient times, this tree was very widespread and abundant in Palestine, but now it is found only on Lake Gennesaret, near Jericho and around the Dead Sea. The palm tree is mentioned quite often in Jewish tradition. For example, in Joel 1:19 describes how joy in humans disappeared when palms and other trees dried up. In addition to the Feast of Tabernacles, palm trees were also used for sacrifices and worship in the temple (Lev 23:40, Neh 8:15). The palm tree was also used as a decoration in the *Temple of Solomon* (1 Kgs 6:29). Palms are also associated with the construction of the temple in the book of Ezekiel (Ezek 40:16-37). The abundance of palm trees is also evidenced by various names in the Old Testament. Jericho, for example, is called the city of palm trees (Judg 1:16; 3:13). We also find connections with the word Tamar such as *Asasontamara* (2 Chr 20:2) or *Baltamar* (Judg 20:33), naming three women named *Tamar* (Gen 38:6, 2 Sam 13:1; 14:27). The Book of Judges mentions Deborah, who sat under a palm tree<sup>66</sup> and judged Israel Judg 4:5.<sup>67</sup>

Phoenix plays a minor role in the Hebrew tradition. It also occurs in apocalyptic literature and intertestamental literature. However, F.E. Romer thinks that the bird in Ps 103:5<sup>68</sup> is probably not a phoenix.<sup>69</sup> Consideration should be given to the translation of the Septuagint, where the word *phoinix* was interpreted or translated as *phoenix*, and confused in some modern translations, somewhere as "sand" (Job 29:18).<sup>70</sup>

64 A.R. Fausset, "Definition for Palmtree," *Fausset's Bible Dictionary*, <https://www.bible-history.com/faussets/p/palmtree/> [access: 29.06.2020].

65 Royt – Šedinová, *Slovník symbolů*, 104.

66 That is also why the palm was called Deborah.

67 The fruit served as food and a drink was also distilled from it. The sheets were used as roofing, trunk and branches for construction purposes or for fuel. Some parts of the stems were used for weaving ropes. According to some Talmudic writers, a certain type of honey was also pressed from the flame. In: E.G. Hirsch – B.G. Levi, "Palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*)," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11873-palm> [access: 13.8.2020].

68 "[...] he fills your years with good things, therefore your youth is renewed like an eagle [...]."

69 In the *Dictionary of Biblical Culture*, however, we encounter this explanation of Ps 103:5: "Although the Psalm speaks of an eagle, it clearly refers to the myth of the phoenix." (In: *Slovník biblické kultury* [Praha: Ewa 1992] 62).

70 Romer, "Another Incarnation of the Phoenix," 232.

However, it was believed that in Jewish folklore there was a bird named *Hoyl*.<sup>71</sup> This bird was the only creature that refused to eat the forbidden fruit when Adam had it to be eaten by all the animals after tasting it with Eve. *Hoyl*, therefore, does not know death, and when he is about to die, he will be burned by divine fire in the nest. All that is left is an egg that hatches the new full-fledged *Hoyl*.<sup>72</sup>

## 6. Phoenix / Palmin Christian Tradition

In Christian catacombs, we encounter the palm tree as a commonly used Christian symbol. Probably most often we meet it on frescoes or tombstones. They appear either in the form of trees separating martyrs or as a branch in the hands of deceased martyrs. The Christian emblem of the palm tree is also a symbol of victory and joy (Rev 7:9). The palm tree becomes a common attribute of the martyrs and signifies their spiritual victory. As a symbol of victory, palm branches often decorated the graves of the first martyrs. Christian artists depicted a laurel crown and palm branch in connection with the Christian victory over sin and death.<sup>73</sup>

Likewise, Christ was likened to a palm tree, e.g. in Song 7:8-9, where the text is interpreted by biblical exegetes as a prediction of Christ's ascension to the cross. A palm cross appears on the ampoule from the treasure of the Monza temple, which clearly symbolizes the Christian significance of the cross as Christ's instrument of victory over death. In the apocryphal *Pseudo-Matthew Gospel* and *the Golden Legend*,<sup>74</sup> there is a legend about a palm tree that refreshed the holy family as they fled to Egypt. In the story, angels bow their palm trees to the holy family to rest.<sup>75</sup> According to the legend, Archangel Michael brought a palm branch from paradise to the Virgin Mary as a harbinger of impending death and at the same time spiritual triumph. This branch was then carried in the funeral procession of the Virgin Mary by St. John.<sup>76</sup>

## 7. Phoenix in Christian Tradition

The first mention of the phoenix the Christian tradition comes from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Specifically, he was mentioned by the already mentioned St. Clement of Rome

71 It is sometimes referred to as Milcham or Chol; [www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Phoenix\\_\(mythology\)](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Phoenix_(mythology)) [access: 19.9.2020].

72 A.S. Mercatante – J.R. Dow, *The Facts on File Encyclopedia of World Mythology and Legend*, 3 ed. (New York: Fact On File 2009) 186.

73 For more information: "Palm Branch and Crown," *A Guide to Christian Iconography. Images, Symbols, and Texts*, <https://www.christianiconography.info/palmCrown.html> [access: 19.9.2020].

74 Jakub de Voragine, *Legenda aurea* (Praha: Vyšehrad 1984).

75 The theme of the frequent depiction of this motive in the late Middle Ages.

76 Royt – Sedínová, *Slovník symbolů*, 103–104.

in The first Epistle to the Corinthians, in chapters 25 and 26. Clement (about 88–97/101 AD) was a bishop of Rome, whose St. Irenaeus named the fourth Roman bishop in the years of office 92–101 AD. Although there are several uncertainties about the person of Clement and the authorship of the first Epistle to the Corinthians (as the file itself is not signed and does not make any special reference to the author and authorship), this letter is called Clement's letter and the period of its origin is about 95–100 AD and consists of 65 chapters. It is preserved in the Greek original and in the Syrian, Latin and Coptic translation. However, it is clear from the letter that it was written by a person who had very high recognition in Rome, as he expressed himself and intervened in the internal problems and conflicts of the church there. This work can also be understood as a church-political document, as it is known that there was ungodly strife and conflicts in the removal of priests in Corinth.<sup>77</sup>

Clement tells the story of a phoenix and does not doubt its symbolic meaning:

[...] a bird called a phoenix lives in the countries of the Arabian Peninsula and lives for 500 years. As he approaches death, he turns incense, myrrh, and other fragrant plants into a sanctuary into which, when his time comes, he enters and perishes. A worm is born from a crumbling body and feeds on the body of a dead animal. Then his wings will grow. And when he is strong, he shall lift up the sanctuary where the bones of his ancestor are. He takes these bones and flies with them from Arabia to Egypt to Heliopolis. During the day, everyone can see how he lays bones at the solar altar and flies away again [...]

In Chapter 26 he continues: “What does true faith allow? He even shows the validity of his promise with the help of a phoenix bird. After all, the Scriptures also point this out somewhere: you will raise me up and I will glorify you...”<sup>78</sup> It is more than obvious that the description of the phoenix preserved by Herodotus was translated until the time of Clement of Rome and later. We can notice considerable to the same similarity of descriptions in individual authors.

Another document is *Physiologus*, which is one of the key texts of medieval teaching, and the predecessor of the book (or as one of its versions) *Bestiarium* (*Physiologus* is the oldest known *Bestiarium*, whose authorship is unknown). *Physiologus* was later supplemented by Isidore of Seville and St. Ambrose about passages from the Bible and the Septuagint, and therefore presents a Christian version of the accumulated knowledge of natural historians of the ancient world. The original Greek text *Physiologus* was compiled in Alexandria, between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. This work was very popular, it was translated into Latin, Ethiopian, Arabic, Armenian, Syriac as well as other languages.<sup>79</sup> It was an attempt

77 For more information Š. Mordel, *Diela Apoštolských Otcov* (Spišské Podhradie: Nadácia Kňazského seminára biskupa Jána Vojtaššáka 2007) 18–56; english version of text: <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/1clement-lightfoot.html> [access: 29.06.2020].

78 Mordel, *Diela Apoštolských Otcov*, 36–37; <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/1clement-lightfoot.html> [access: 29.06.2020].

79 This is how different versions of the *Bestiarium* were created – French, English, Latin American. Some of them are very different in content and description, which means that each transcript added or took something over, or threw it out, or even misinterpreted or misunderstood the idea (author's note).

to redefine the natural world in the Christian sense. The material was drawn from Greek philosophers and their Latin followers, especially Aristotle, Pliny and smaller personalities such as C. Julius Solinus and Lucan.<sup>80</sup> Among other things, these books as well as Beštiáre were enriched with beautiful paintings and drawings of these described mythical animals.

*Physiologus* (I, 7) places the origin of the phoenix in India and says that the phoenix is even more beautiful than the peacock, whose wings are ligated with greenery and gold. Its wings shine with hyacinths, emeralds and other precious stones, and it has a crown on its head. Every 500 years, the phoenix goes to the Lebanese cedars, where he fills his wings with scent. From there he will fly to the sunny city of Heliopolis. The priest to whom the arrival of the phoenix has been announced will make a high border of vinewood at the altar. When a bird flies, it will stand on the altar and be engulfed in fire, and it will burn itself. The next day, when the priest searches and inspects the altar, he finds a worm in the ashes. The next day, the wings will grow and it will become a young bird. On the third day, the priest discovers that the phoenix is as it was before. He solemnly greets the priest, takes off high, and flies to his old places.<sup>81</sup>

Another christian work that mentions the phoenix and its symbolic significance for Christians is in *the Constitutiones Apostolorum*.<sup>82</sup> The file is dated in the years 375–380 AD and the author of the file is unknown.<sup>83</sup> This work can also be found under other variations of names such as *The Apostolic Constitutions* or *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*. The meaning and symbolism of the phoenix bird is mentioned specifically in V, 7 (Book 5. Concerning Martyrs and its Chapter 7 [*Several demonstrations concering the resurrection, concering the Sybil, and what the Stoics say concering the bird called the Phoenix*]).<sup>84</sup> The author uses a similar argument to describe the phoenix bird to the Gentiles to better understand christian thought and the significance of the resurrection. In this book, the author explains the meaning and belief that Jesus' resurrection is the promise of our resurrection. He appeals to Christians to whom the pagans laugh and do not believe their Scripture, that he also informs the Sibyl about the resurrection (*Orac. Sibyl. B. IV.*) The author further writes that if the prophethess herself confesses the resurrection and does not deny the restoration of all things and does not distinguish the pious from the wicked, it is futile for pagans and other people to deny the Christian doctrine. Pagans also believe that there is a bird, the only one of its kind, without a partner and that provides rich evidence of resurrection. They call

80 R. Barber, *Bestiary. Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 1999) 8–11.

81 Compare Royt – Šedinová, *Slovník symbolů*, 175.

82 *The Apostolic Constitutions* – the collection of ecclesiastical laws by an unknown author written in Greek in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It consists of 8 books that deal with church discipline. *Didaché* is also included in one of the books.

83 Somewhere the author is mentioned under a pseudonym as Clement, bishop and inhabitant of Rome.

84 I. Chase, *The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, Including the Canons. Whiston's Version, Revised from the Greek, with a Prize Essay, at the University of Bonn upon Their Origin and Contents* (Boston, MA: Damrell & Moore 1848) 27. For more information: <https://ldsfocuschrist2.files.wordpress.com/2012/03/apostolic-constitutions-wilp-liam-whiston.pdf> [access: 19.9.2020] or [https://books.google.sk/books?id=xQ8aAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=sk&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&cf=false](https://books.google.sk/books?id=xQ8aAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=sk&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&cf=false) [access: 19.9.2020].

him a phoenix and claim that every 500 years he comes to Egypt for the so-called the altar of the sun, where it brings with it a large amount of cinnamon, cassia and balsamic wood. He turns to the east, prays to the sun, burns down from his own free will, and becomes dust. A worm emerges from the ash and transforms into a newborn phoenix. When he is able to fly, he heads to Arabia, which is beyond the borders of Egyptian countries. The author goes on to say that if the resurrection manifests itself in the form of an irrational bird for the Gentiles, why do they despise it so in vain and do not know how to accept the Christian faith.<sup>85</sup>

The phoenix primarily symbolized Christ and his resurrection.<sup>86</sup> Such an interpretation is also admitted by other Christian writers, such as Tertullian (*De carnis resurr.* 13, CCSL 2, 936), Lactantius (*De ave Phoenix*, CSEL 27, 135) and Honorius of Autun (*Spec. Eccl.* 19, PL 172, 935). In *Defensorium inviolatae virginitatis beatae Mariae*, Franz von Retz symbolizes the phoenix of the Virgin Mary. Thomas of Cantimpré (*De natura rerum*) states that the phoenix, who has lived without a friend for 300–400 years, symbolizes a living soul with faith in the Holy Trinity and the four cardinal virtues. The size of the phoenix points to holy contemplation, the beauty of his head to the purity of the soul, and the tuft at his neck to the multiplied sense of contentment in prayer. The golden neck of the phoenix symbolizes the hope that comes from love, the purple feathers point to the suffering of Christ.<sup>87</sup>

In *Latin Bestiary*<sup>88</sup> from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the phoenix is also cited as evidence of resurrection.<sup>89</sup> In this *Bestiary*, it is written that the phoenix is a bird from Arabia, which is called like that either because its color is like a dye from Fenicia or because it is unique in the world. He lives 500 years, and when he feels that he is aging, he begins to collect twigs from aromatic plants and creates a border on which he sits with outstretched wings turned into the rays of the sun and sets himself on fire. The next day, a new phoenix rises from the ashes. It goes on to say that: it is a symbol of our Lord Jesus Christ, who says:

I have the power to lay down my life and I have the power to take it back again. If the phoenix has the power to kill himself and bring him to life, why are you, a fool, angry at God's word, which is the true Son of God. Because our Savior descended from heaven and unfolded His wings, which were filled with the sweet fragrance of the Old and New Testaments. He sacrificed himself to God the Father on the cross of the altar and rose from the dead on the third day.

85 Chase, *The Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, 27.

86 In the Renaissance, the phoenix became a symbol of permanence, hope and purity. For more info: Royt – Šedinová, *Slovník symbolů*.

87 Royt – Šedinová, *Slovník symbolů*, 176–178.

88 See T.H. White, *The Bestiary – A Book of Beast* (New York: Capricorn Books 1960) 123–128.

89 The term 'bestiary,' as genre, to refer to the medieval Latin texts that are based on the Physiologus, with additions from other classical, patristic, and medieval authors and that were written between the late tenth century and the early fourteenth. Mercatante – Dow, *The Facts on File Encyclopedia*, 785.



This bird, in its example, teaches us to believe in the Resurrection, because the Resurrection is an event that is unparalleled and does not benefit from any reason. *The phoenix produces all the symptoms of the resurrection; for the birds are here to teach man, not man to teach birds.* Furthermore, *Bestiary* describes the cocoon and the cocoon of a phoenix in an egg made of myrrh as a cocoon of faith to be filled with the scent of good deeds. And as it is written, “I protected you with my wanderer.” (Iza 49:2) *At the end of your life, you should be clothed in this faith to enter your cocoon like a true phoenix and fill it with the scent of your martyrdom.*<sup>90</sup>

## Conclusion

The presented study deals analysis of the concept of phoenix symbolism. It was introduced its origin and etymology, from myths through Greek and Roman culture to its Christian transformation. We have analyzed with the meaning of the phoenix symbol in individual myths, and we have also incorporated it into Greek, Roman and Christian authors and their writings, which in some way describe or characterize the phoenix. We have found that by incorporating the symbol into individual cultures and quoting different writings, we can see a clear parallel and mutual influence, or the adoption of ideas about the phoenix. We also described the meaning and symbol of the phoenix in the Jewish and subsequently the Christian tradition and pointed out the basic motives and features of the phoenix, which were transformed in Christian thought. The oldest Christian fresco of the phoenix has been preserved in the Catacombs of Priscilla, which is very different from others early Christian depictions of the phoenix.

The main characteristic is its symbolic meaning, which resonates in almost all myths, religions and alchemies that it is reborn from its own ashes after voluntary burning and cremation. This unusual custom is variously understood and explained in different cultures. For dharmic religions, this means the victory of the soul over the body and the subsequent reincarnation. For others, it means destruction by fire, catharsis, or cleansing from death. For Christians, this is a reminder of the sacrifice made by Christ, the resurrection and eternal life, or life after death.<sup>91</sup> His depiction in Christian art was under the auspices of the teachers of the faith, as a symbol of their teaching and as an image of Christ. All his depictions were in accordance with the ideas of rebirth, resurrection or rediscovery, victory and martyrdom. Perhaps, the most important legacy of the phoenix in Christian art is his reference to the image of Christ rising from the dead and triumphing over death.

<sup>90</sup> Barber, *Bestiary*, 141–144, password: *Phoenix*.

<sup>91</sup> A. Nozedar, *Element Encyclopedia of Secret Signs and Symbols. The Ultimate A–Z Guide from Alchemy to the Zodiac* (London: HarperElement 2008) 790–793.



Figure 1: Phoenix dying in flames

Source: Archivio Pontificia Commissione Di Archeologia Sacra: Catacomba di Priscilla, Cappella Greca. STO – Pri, C, 14, [https://media.xdams.org/dm\\_0/PCAS/PCASST02/low/foto/PRI/PRI\\_C/PRI\\_C\\_014.jpg](https://media.xdams.org/dm_0/PCAS/PCASST02/low/foto/PRI/PRI_C/PRI_C_014.jpg) [access: 09.07.2020].



Figure 2: Phoenix on fire

Source: Archivio Pontificia Commissione Di Archeologia Sacra: Catacomba di Priscilla, Cappella Greca. *STO – Pri, C, 17*, [https://media.xdams.org/dm\\_0/PCAS/PCASST02/low/foto/PRI/PRI\\_C/PRI\\_C\\_017.jpg](https://media.xdams.org/dm_0/PCAS/PCASST02/low/foto/PRI/PRI_C/PRI_C_017.jpg) [access: 09.07.2020].



Figure 3: Restored fresco of the phoenix dying in flames

Source: Catacombs of Priscilla, Virtual Tour, Capella Graeca. <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Catacombs+of+Priscilla/@41.9293271,12.5090897,2a,75y,108.66h,116.7t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sYe7NvV1afIAAAAQJOClaFQ!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!4m5!3m4!1s0x132f614730819a3f:0x6ac5a8c1e54625b!8m2!3d41.9296856!4d12.5086347> [access: 09.07.2020].



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## Modele edytorskie XIX-wiecznych polskojęzycznych wydań Nowego Testamentu – próba identyfikacji

Editorial Models of 19th-Century Polish-Language Editions of the New Testament –  
An Attempt at Identification

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**ABSTRACT:** The presented article reviews publications of 19th century Polish New Testament in order to find editorial models upon which subsequent editions were based. The work considers 68 editions published between 1815–1900. The first half of them were based on the translation adopted in the Danzig Bible and the second half on the translation by Jakub Wujek. Among the analyzed editions, 27 were identified, according to which subsequent Polish New Testament were published (in the 19th century). In addition to the editorial models indicated, the work also proposes 7 editing lines.

**KEYWORDS:** Bible, New Testament, Holy Bible, editions of the New Testament list, editorial models, Bible translations into Polish, Wujek Bible, Gdansk Bible

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** Biblia, Nowy Testament, Pismo Święte, spis wydań Nowego Testamentu, modele edytorskie, polskie przekłady Pisma Świętego, Biblia Wujka, Biblia Gdańska

Prezentowane opracowanie jest kontynuacją wcześniejszych badań autora, zaprezentowanych w artykule nt. modeli edytorskich XIX-wiecznych polskich Biblii (opisano w nim wydania, które zawierały zarówno księgi Starego Testamentu [ST], jak i Nowego Testamentu [NT])<sup>1</sup>. Wybór wieku XIX uzasadniono we wspomnianym artykule. Przedstawienie modeli edytorskich edycji całościowych (ST+NT) nie wydawało się autorowi kompleksowym ukazaniem problematyki, na którą składają się z jednej strony różnorodność, z drugiej – podobieństwo ukazujących się polskojęzycznych publikacji tekstu Pisma Świętego w badanym okresie. Należy zauważyć, że w XIX wieku ukazały się przynajmniej 62 całościowe wydania Biblii, podczas gdy edycji NT było co najmniej 84<sup>2</sup>. Przyczyny są następujące: łączny druk ST i NT był często zbyt drogi dla uboższych warstw społeczeństwa (np. chłopów); ST dla wielu odbiorców mógł się wydawać zbyt trudny, dlatego nie odczuwano potrzeby

1 Ł. Zakonnik, „Modele edytorskie XIX-wiecznych polskich Biblii – próba identyfikacji”, *BibAn* 11/2 (2021) 327–374.

2 Zestawienie wszystkich odnalezionych wydań XIX-wiecznych zostało przedstawione w artykule: Ł. Zakonnik, „Biblie w języku polskim wydane w latach 1801–1945”, *ABMK* 116 (2021) 483–532.

jego całościowego czytania<sup>3</sup> (poza Księgą Psalmów, często dołączaną do NT i traktowaną jako kluczową w wielu praktykach religijnych<sup>4</sup>); wydanie kompletnej Biblii wiązało się z większym prawdopodobieństwem odrzucenia takiego druku przez władze różnych denominacji chrześcijańskich (argumentujących swe działania błędami tłumaczenia lub niekompletnością tekstu)<sup>5</sup>. W związku z powyższym nie dziwi fakt ukazywania się różnorodnych i licznych edycji samego NT (ewentualnie z dołączoną Księgą Psalmów). Jak wspomniano, badania autora pozwoliły zidentyfikować łącznie 84 (a właściwie 82)<sup>6</sup> takie publikacje w języku polskim. Część z nich (10 druków) oferowano zazwyczaj do nabycia wraz z oddzielnym wydaniem ST. Edycje te omówiono przy okazji wydań łączonych ST+NT. W artykule uwzględniono więc głównie 72 publikacje, choć w pełni opisano 68 (4 wydania uznano za zaginione). Ponadto w artykule poruszono kwestie nieukończonych edycji NT (udało się zidentyfikować trzy takie druki). Zasadniczym celem prezentowanego opracowania jest przegląd poszczególnych wydań NT w języku polskim, które ukazały się w wieku XIX, i określenie możliwych modeli edytorskich. W przypadku znacznego podobieństwa między poszczególnymi modelami wyodrębniono i opisano główne linie edytorskie. W artykule jako materiał badawczy wykorzystano dostępne w Internecie kopie cyfrowe<sup>7</sup> wydań oraz druki z kolekcji prywatnych<sup>8</sup>.

3 Przykładowo w XIX wieku ukazała się aprobowana przez Kościół katolicki w Polsce edycja ST, która nie tylko pomijała całe fragmenty tekstu poszczególnych ksiąg, ale nawet całe księgi (uznano je za zbyt trudne do zrozumienia lub po prostu niezalecane do czytania). Chodzi tu o edycję ST wydaną w Poznaniu w 1891 r. (por. M. Kossowska, *Biblia w języku polskim* [Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1969] II, 117).

4 Rola Księgi Psalmów, jako uprzywilejowanej formy modlitwy, rosła w Kościołach chrześcijańskich już od pierwszych wieków – por. I. Bodrožić, „Proces nastanka liturgije časova i kršćansko poimanje vremena u kontekstu benediktinske duhovnosti i pravila”, *Slovo* 71 (2021) 1–25.

5 Problem akceptacji konkretnych wydań Biblii jest dość złożony. Z jednej strony niektóre z powstających towarzystw biblijnych nie chciały drukować żadnych dodatków do Biblii (np. komentarzy) ani ksiąg wykraczających poza kanon hebrajski ST (zob. B. Enholc-Narzyńska, „Teksty biblijne w przekładzie ks. Jana Jakuba Wujka, ich wydania i rozpowszechnianie przez Towarzystwo Biblijne w Polsce w XIX i XX wieku”, *Jan Jakub Wujek tłumacz Biblii na język polski* [red. M. Kamińska] [Łódź: Archidiecezjalne Wydawnictwo Łódzkie 1994] 138). Z kolei Kościół katolicki w Polsce nie aprobował innych przekładów poza Biblią Wujka z 1599 r. i umieszczonymi tam komentarzami (choć tu wykazują pewną elastyczność), a także zwracał uwagę na imprimatur (zob. W. Smereka, „Zarys bibliograficzny ważniejszych wydań Biblii ks. Jakuba Wujka (1593–1950)”, *RBL* 3 [1950] 73–74).

6 Dwa spośród 84 wydań wykluczono, ponieważ najprawdopodobniej ukazały się już w XX wieku (nie podano w ich przypadku dokładnej daty publikacji) (zob. Zakonnik, „Biblie w języku polskim”, 510).

7 Hiperłącza do kopii cyfrowych zaprezentowano w załączniku.

8 Opisując każdy model, autor starał się porównywać przynajmniej 2 egzemplarze każdego wydania. Czasami między egzemplarzami pojawiały się pewne różnice typograficzne, jednak o minimalnym znaczeniu.

## 1. Opis podstawowych modeli edytorskich

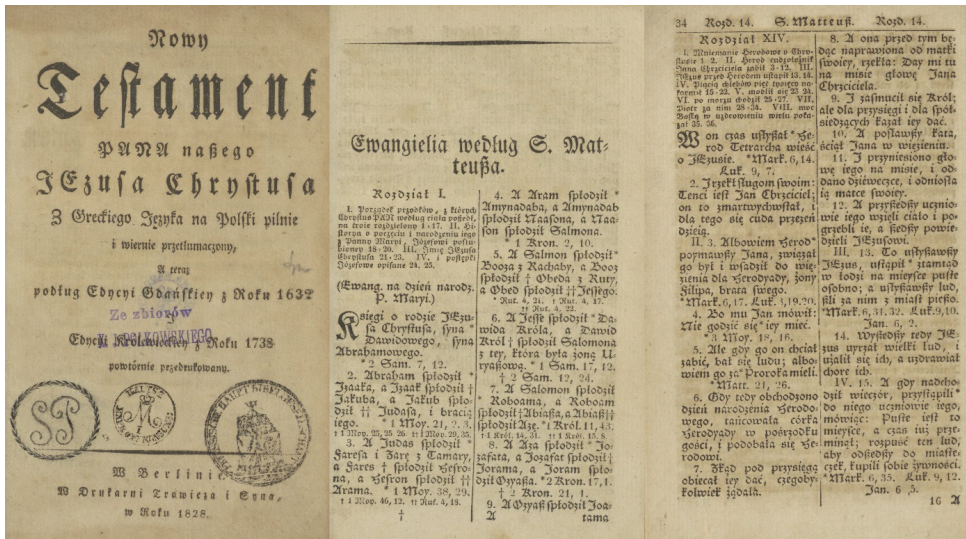
Opisując poszczególne modele edytorskie, autor zdecydował się przyjąć układ wykorzystany we wcześniejszej pracy, poświęconej całościowym wydaniom Biblii. Początkowo zaprezentowano – w ujęciu chronologicznym – informacje o kolejnych, uznanych za wzorcowe wydaniach NT. Przedstawiane zestawienie zostało podzielone na dwie części. W pierwszej opisano edycje NT opierające się<sup>9</sup> na tłumaczeniu zawartym w Biblii Gdańskiej (NTBG), w kolejnej – druki oparte na tłumaczeniu ks. Jakuba Wujka (NTBW)<sup>10</sup>. W przypadku Biblii Gdańskiej wliczono do niej wydania związane z tzw. rewizją warszawską (umieszczono je jednak w oddzielnych podpunktach). Twórcy wspomnianej rewizji odwoływali się do Biblii Gdańskiej, aczkolwiek obydwie tłumaczenia cechuje odmienność<sup>11</sup>. W związku z tym, że poszczególne modele są często zbliżone pod względem edytorskim, w opisie nie zaprezentowano wszystkich szczegółów. Zebrano je w formie tabelarycznej w kolejnym punkcie pracy (tab. 1). W zestawieniu zrezygnowano z omawiania wydań NT bezpośrednio powiązanych z wydaniem całościowym Biblii. Jeżeli wydanie ukazywało się jako wyraźnie wydzielone w stosunku do ST (np. w innym roku), wzmianka o nim pojawia się w artykule. W zestawieniu zasygnalizowano też wydania nieodnalezione. Wspomniano również o znanych wydaniach zaplanowanych, które nie ukazały się w całości.

### 1.1. Edycje NT Biblii Gdańskiej

#### 1.1.1. Berlin 1828 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „Nowy Testament PANA naszego Jezusa Chrystusa Z Greckiego Języka na Polski pilnie i wiernie przetłumaczony, A teraz podług Edycyi Gdańskiej z Roku 1632 I Edycyi Królewieckiej z Roku 1738 powtórnie przedrukowany.”

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- 9 Użyto sformułowania „opierające się” w związku z tym, że zarówno pierwotne tłumaczenie zawarte w BG, jak i w BW ulegały z czasem większym bądź mniejszym modyfikacjom. Tematyka ta, choć sygnalizowana, jest jednak poza zakresem prezentowanego opracowania.
- 10 Zastosowanie takiego układu ułatwia wykazywanie podobieństw między edycjami. Listę rozpoczęto od BG, ponieważ pierwsza wydrukowana polska Biblia w XIX wieku ukazała się według tłumaczenia BG (Berlin 1810). Poza wydaniem całościowym ukazał się oddzielnie NT (łącznie z Księgą Psalmów). Ze względu na przyjętą w artykule zasadę sam druk z 1810 r. nie został uwzględniony w tym opracowaniu (omówiono go w: Zakonnik, „Modele edytorskie”, 330–331).
- 11 Tzw. rewizja warszawska (dotycząca jedynie tekstu NT), według twórców, była nowym tłumaczeniem, jedynie porównanym z tekstem BG (informację taką umieszczano np. na kartach tytułowych poszczególnych wydań). Szczegółowa analiza przekładów potwierdza ten stan rzeczy (zob. *BibliePolskie.pl* <http://bibliepolskie.pl/przeklady.php?tid=23> [dostęp: 25.09.2021]). Warto jednak zaznaczyć, że już wcześniej miały miejsce pewne modyfikacje tekstu obydwu przekładów Biblii. BG miała być pierwotnie korektą Biblii Brzeskiej (por. T. Sznajderski, „Reformacja i polskie przekłady Biblii”, *ZRL* 60/4 [2017] 79–81), a XVIII wiek przyniósł zmiany w tekście, tzw. rewizja królewiecka. W przypadku Biblii Wujka zauważalne różnice wystąpiły między tekstem, który ukazał się w 1593 (1594) r., a tekstem z 1599 r. (por. R. Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum. I. Od początku do 1638 roku* [Poznań: Pallottinum 2016] 458–459).



Rys. 1. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1828

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Pierwszy z przedstawianych modeli nawiązuje jeszcze do XVIII-wiecznych założeń edytorskich<sup>12</sup>. Zawiera on stosunkowo bogaty zestaw elementów dołączonych do tekstu głównego: wyróżnienie zapisu nomina sacra, konkordancje, streszczenie przed każdym rozdziałem, wykaz ewangelii i lekcji oraz – z czym spotkamy się bardzo rzadko w wydaniach XIX-wiecznych – wskazanie na „najprzedniejsze wyroki i sentencje”<sup>13</sup>. Na dole strony umieszczono kustosz (później już nieużywany). Dwukolumnowy druk w czcionce gotyckiej pozbawiony jest elementów graficznych, poza inicjałami na początku każdego rozdziału (co staje się standardem dla wydań NT w XIX wieku). Do żywej paginy (nagłówka) trafia tytuł książki w języku polskim, numer rozdziału i strony. Strona tytułowa informuje o zgodności z BG z 1632 r., ale w tzw. rewizji królewskiej (jest to najczęściej wykorzystywana modyfikacja tłumaczenia BG w drukach XIX-wiecznych). Warto zwrócić uwagę na zapis słów: „ewangelia” oraz imienia Jezus (pisanego przez J). Numeracja rozdziałów wykorzystuje rzymski zapis cyfr. Analizowana edycja nie doczekała się wznowień w identycznej postaci.

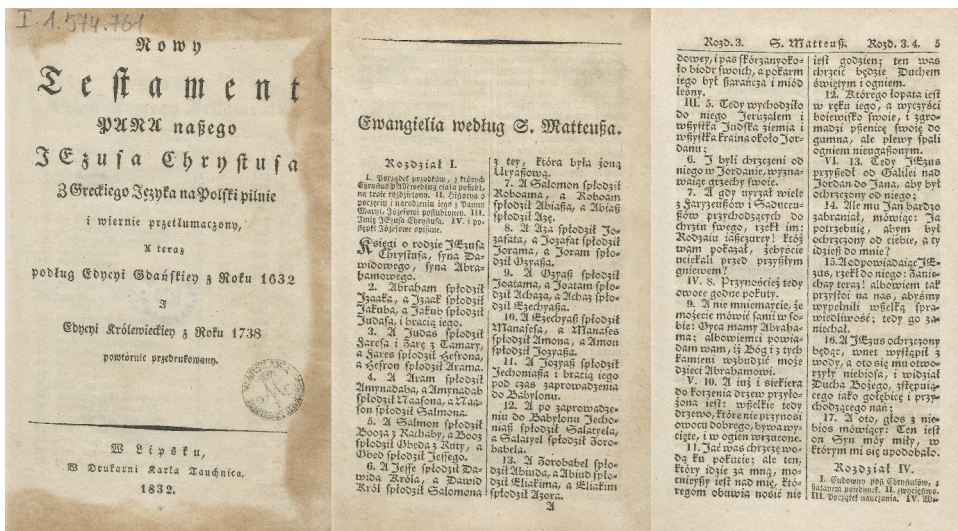
12 Podobny układ można zaobserwować np. w wydaniu NT z 1728 r. z Lipska (por. Google Books, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=nyEVAQAA&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl#v=onepage&q&f=false> [dostęp: 12.06.2021]). Jest to jednak podobieństwo stosunkowo odległe, ponieważ samo tłumaczenie uległo pewnej korekcie w Królewcu w 1738 r. (tzw. rewizja królewiecka).

13 W analizowanych drukach oznaczane albo specjalnymi znakami (np. symbolem rączki i listka), albo pogrubioną czcionką. Wskazywano w ten sposób na najistotniejsze lub najbardziej znane fragmenty Pisma Świętego.



## 1.1.2. Lipsk 1832 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „Nowy Testament PANA naszego JEZUSA Chrystusa Z Greckiego Języka na Polski pilnie i wiernie przetłumaczony, A teraz podług Edycji Gdańskiej z Roku 1632 I Edycji Królewieckiej z Roku 1738 powtórnie przedrukowany.”



Rys. 2. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1832

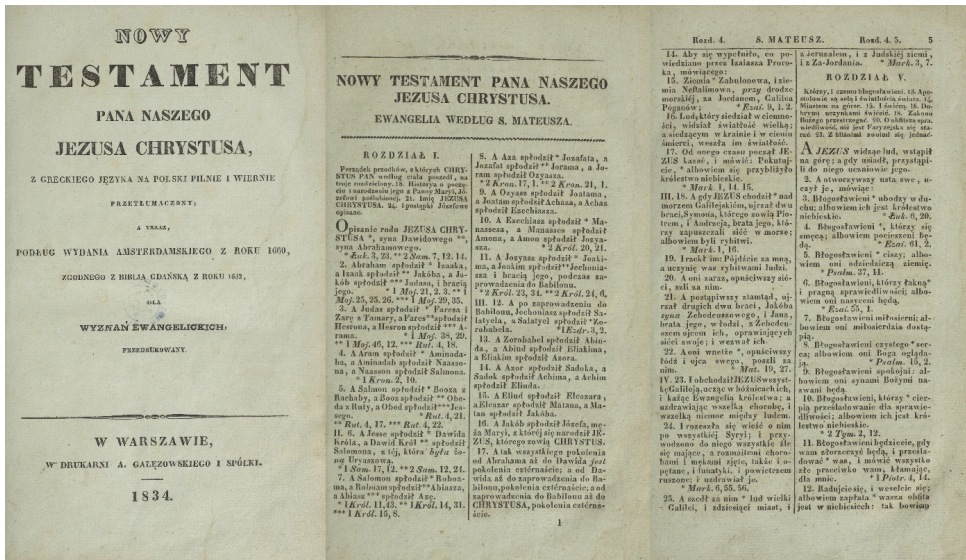
Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Wydanie z 1832 r. czerpie z rozwiązań zastosowanych w modelu poprzednim, m.in. opiera się na BG w tzw. rewizji królewieckiej i zostało wydrukowane przy użyciu czcionki gotyckiej. Jest jednak drukiem zdecydowanie uboższym. Pominięto w nim elementy dodatkowe (brak „najprzedniejszych wyroków i sentencji”, spisu ewangelii i lekcji czy konkordancji) – pozostawiono jedynie wyróżnienie nomina sacra. Zapewne celem tego wydania było ograniczenie kosztów i przekonanie do kupna jak największej liczby polskich niekatolików (warto zaznaczyć, że istniała już edycja tego samego wydawcy z roku 1830 – i lat późniejszych – kierowana do katolików). Cel zapewne został osiągnięty, gdyż publikacja doczekała się pięciu wznowień<sup>14</sup>.

14 Dаты i miejsca kolejnych edycji wskazano w tabeli 1.

## 1.1.3. Warszawa 1834 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA, Z GRECKIEGO JĘZYKA NA POLSKI PILNIE I WIERNIE PRZETŁUMACZONY, A TERAZ, PODŁUG WYDANIA AMSTERDAMSKIEGO Z ROKU 1660, ZGODNEGO Z BIBLIĄ GDAŃSKĄ Z ROKU 1632 DLA WYZNAŃ EWANGELICKICH, PRZEDRUKOWANY.”



Rys. 3. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1834

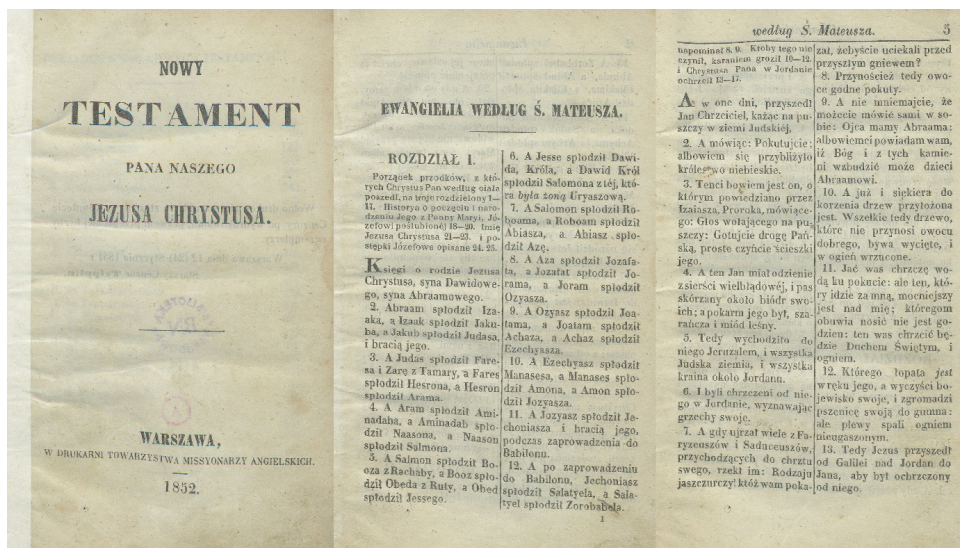
Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

NT wydany w Warszawie w 1834 r. jest w kilku aspektach wyjątkowy. Został wydrukowany przy pomocy antyki (prawdopodobnie po raz pierwszy w całej historii NTBG). Po raz pierwszy w XIX wieku nagłówek przyjmuje – często stosowaną później – postać, gdzie na stronie *recto* umieszczono tytuł książki po polsku, a na stronie *verso* po łacinie (jest też miejsce na numer rozdziału i strony). Warto też odnotować, że na stronie tytułowej znajduje się nawiązanie do BG, ale w edycji amsterdamskiej z 1660 r. (a więc tekst opiera się na pierwotnym tłumaczeniu, a nie na popularnej już w tamtych czasach „rewizji królewieckiej” – ma to miejsce tylko jeden raz w XIX wieku). Słowo „ewangelia” zapisane jest zgodnie z dzisiejszą normą językową (w XIX wieku w takiej formie występuje tylko w dwóch modelach NTBG). Sama książka jest prawie największą wśród analizowanych w tym opracowaniu (22,5 x 14 cm). Druk nie doczekał się kolejnych wznowień. Gdyby pominąć Gdańsk (szczególnie biorąc pod uwagę jego specyficzną pozycję w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów), edycja ta byłaby pierwszym znanym drukiem BG ukazującym się na ziemiach polskich (a minęło ponad 200 lat od pierwodruku).



## 1.1.4. Warszawa 1852 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA.”.



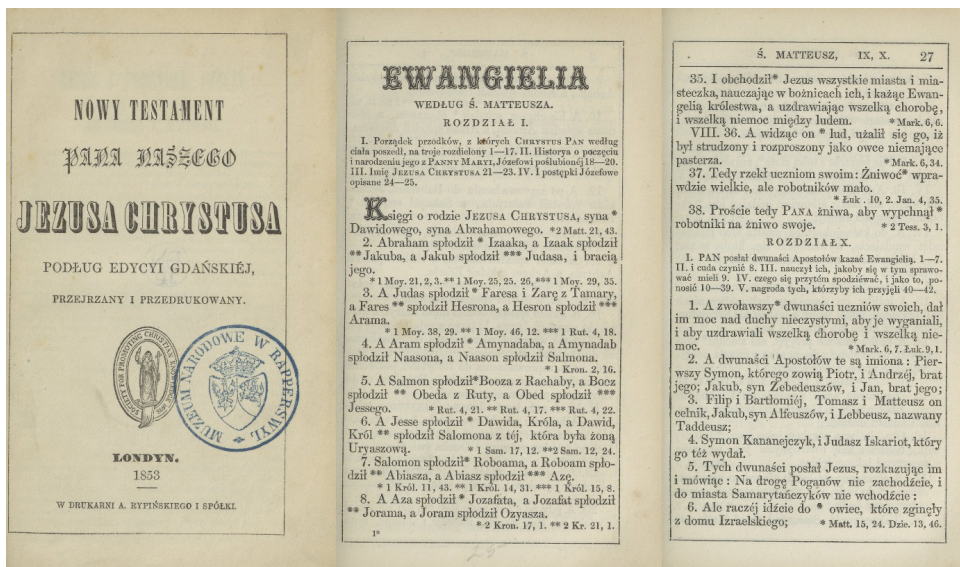
Rys. 4. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1852

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Analizowany model ma pewne cechy wspólne z poprzednim: było tylko jedno takie wydanie, miejscem publikacji była Warszawa, użyto antykwy oraz zastosowano podobny układ tekstu. Brakuje natomiast wielu elementów dodatkowych, zarówno w tekście głównym, jak i poza nim (występuje tylko streszczenie przed rozdziałem oraz spis treści). Nagłówek zawiera jedynie tytuł książki po polsku i numer strony. Również sam układ strony tytułowej jest dość prosty – nie ma na niej żadnej wzmianki, która mogłaby sugerować wariant tłumaczenia. Sam tekst można jednak zidentyfikować jako NTBG oparty na „rewizji królewickiej”. W tekście głównym ponownie wrócono do zapisu słowa „ewangelia”.

## 1.1.5. Londyn 1853 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA PODŁUG EDYCJI GDAŃSKIEJ, PRZEJRZANY I PRZEDRUKOWANY.”



Rys. 5. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1853

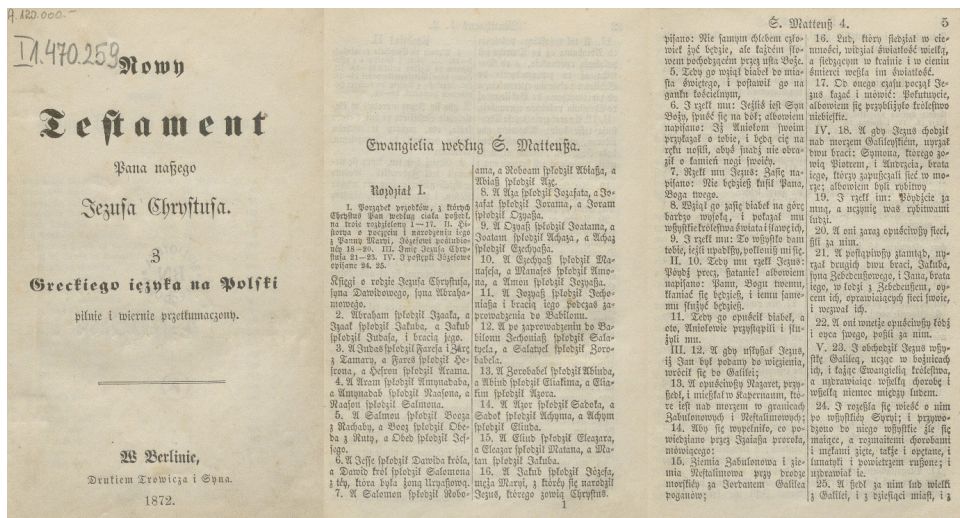
Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Opisywane wydanie zamyka listę trzech druków, które ukazały się tylko raz i prezentowały dość niepowtarzalny układ edytorski. O ile jednak obydwie wydania warszawskie nawiązują – w większym lub mniejszym stopniu – do ogólnych wzorców stosowanych w XIX wieku, o tyle analizowane wydanie znacznie od nich odbiega. Tekst znajduje się w 1 kolumnie otoczonej ramką (taką formę miały wydania NTBW z XVI i XVII wieku). Pojawia się sygnet drukarski. Na stronie tytułowej znajduje się fraza: „podług edycji gdańskiej przejrzany i przedrukowany”, choć sam tekst bazuje na „rewizji królewieckiej”. W wydaniu zamieszczono bardzo rozbudowany spis treści. Druk antykwą wykorzystuje ozdobne inicjały (jednak tylko na początku każdej księgi, czego nie stosowano w innych wydaniach NTBG aż do ostatniego dziesięciolecia XIX wieku). Wyróżniono zapis nomina sacra i użyto słowa „ewangelia”. W tekście pojawiają się uwagi dotyczące innych możliwości tłumaczenia konkretnych słów (oznaczone literą G). Co ciekawe, formy te zostały wprowadzone później do tekstu głównego w tzw. rewizji warszawskiej<sup>15</sup>.

15 Można tu postawić pytanie, czy analizowane wydanie nie wpłynęło na przygotowywanie wspomnianej rewizji (porównaj punkty 1.1.12 i 1.1.13)? Zagadnienie to jednak wykracza poza ramy tego opracowania.

## 1.1.6. Berlin 1862 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „Nowy Testament Pana naszego Jezusa Chrystusa. Z Greckiego języka na Polski pilnie i wiernie przetłumaczony”.



Rys. 6. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1862

Źródło: Zdjęcie wydania z 1872 r. – Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

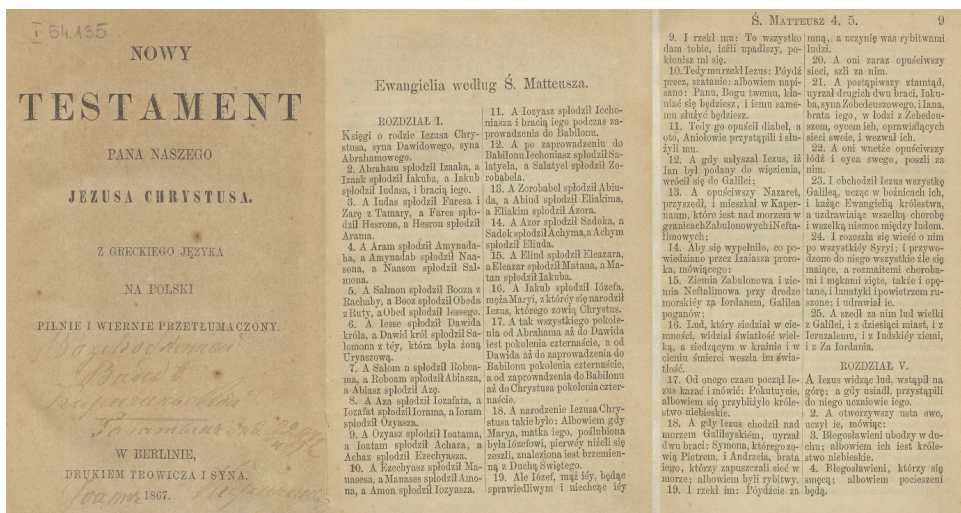
Model berliński zapoczątkowany wydaniem z 1862 r.<sup>16</sup> ukazał się w czcionce gotyckiej. Ze wszystkich drukowanych tym typem czcionki był najmniejszy oraz najprostszy pod względem edytorskim. W dwukolumnowym układzie tekstu zabrakło miejsca na jakiegokolwiek elementu dodatkowego, poza streszczeniem przed każdym z rozdziałów. Pewnym *novum* dla wydań z czcionką gotycką było umieszczenie polskiej nazwy księgi na stronie *recto* i łacińskiej na stronie *verso* (obok numeru rozdziału oraz strony). Jako element wyróżniający w tekście pozostał tylko bardzo mały inicjał na początku każdego rozdziału. Wydanie to zapoczątkowało – często stosowaną później – praktykę umieszczania na stronie tytułowej informacji o tłumaczeniu „z greckiego języka” jako jedynej mogącej wskazywać na pochodzenie przekładu. Jednocześnie nie zamieszczono jakiegokolwiek informacji wskazującej na BG. Po raz kolejny zastosowano leksem „ewangelia”. Wydanie doczekało się 4 wznowień.

16 Istnieje pewna wątpliwość, czy takim drukiem pierwotnym nie była nieodnaleziona publikacja z 1858 r. – patrz punkt 1.1.9.



## 1.1.7. Berlin 1866 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA Z GRECKIEGO JĘZYKA NA POLSKI PILNIE I WIERNIE PRZETŁUMACZONY.”



## Rys. 7. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1866

Źródło: Zdjęcie wydania z 1867 r. – Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Analizowana edycja wydaje się być dość prosta, powtarza bowiem rozwiązania wykorzystane w modelu omawianym wcześniej. Posiada jednak pewne cechy nowatorskie. Po pierwsze, ukazała się w antykwie (było to więc pierwsze wydanie NTBG wydrukowane w krajach niemieckich tą czcionką). Po drugie, nie zawierała streszczeń przed rozdziałami. A po trzecie, imię Jezus zapisano przy użyciu litery I. W obydwu ostatnich przypadkach miało to miejsce pierwszy raz w XIX-wiecznych wydaniach NTBG. Ze względu na niezbyt rozbudowaną strukturę (a przez to niską cenę zakupu) wydanie doczekało się dwóch wznowień.

## 1.1.8. Wiedeń 1867 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA. Z GRECKIEGO JĘZYKA NA POLSKI PILNIE I WIERNIE PRZETŁUMACZONY.”

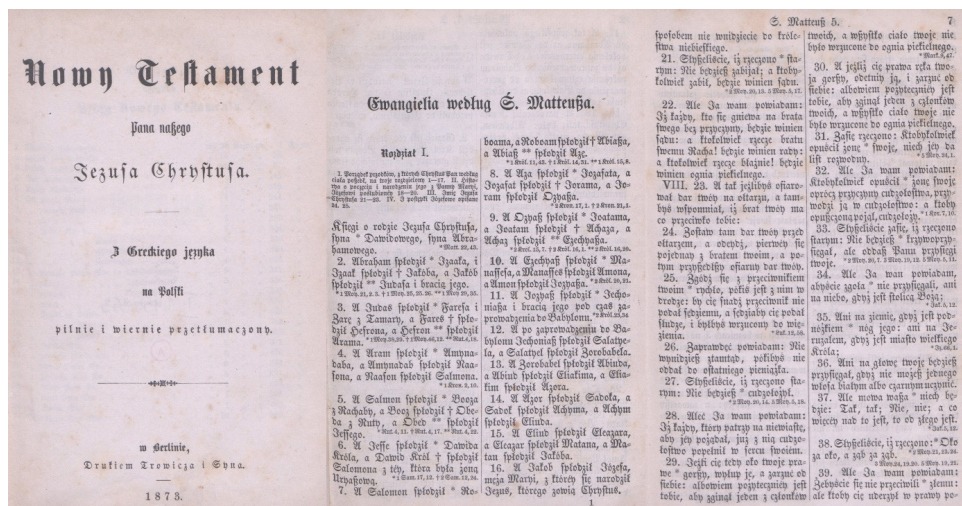
Edycja ta<sup>17</sup> jest wiedeńską kopią wcześniej omawianego wydania berlińskiego. Wyróżnia ją mały rozmiar (jeden z najmniejszych) – 11,5 x 7 cm. Druk cechował się też pewnymi nowatorskimi rozwiązaniami: po raz pierwszy w XIX-wiecznym wydaniu NTBG użyto

17 Elektroniczna wersja dostępna jest w usłudze Google Books, zob. <https://books.google.pl/books?id=WFGJ-6Cj119gC&pg=PP1&dq=Nowy+Testament+Pana+naszego+Jezusa> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

cyfr arabskich do numeracji rozdziałów, a po raz drugi – leksemu „ewangelia”. Wydanie nie doczekało się wznowienia.

1.1.9. Berlin 1873 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANANASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSYTA. Z GRECKIEGO JĘZYKA NA POLSKI PILNIE I WIERNIE PRZETŁUMACZONY.”



Rys. 8. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1873

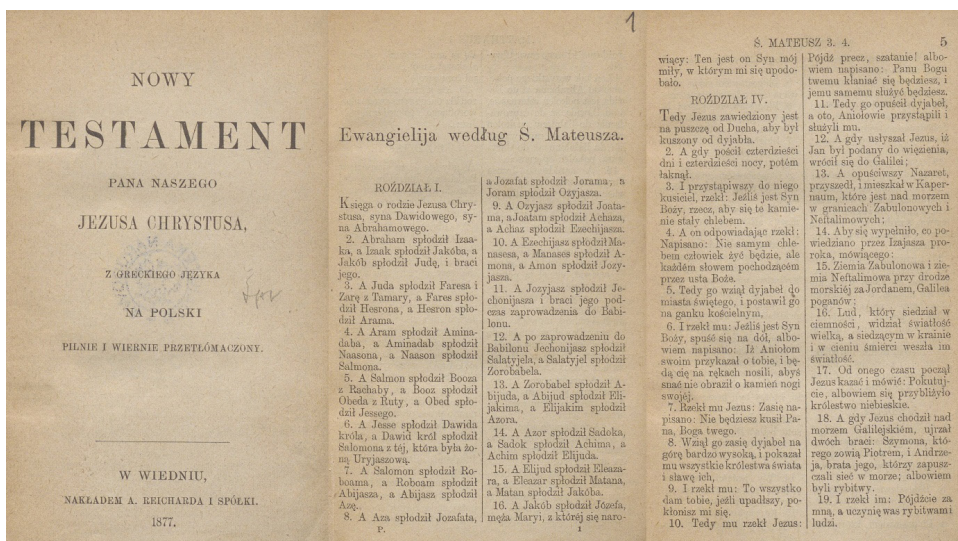
Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Opisywana edycja przypomina wydanie berlińskie z roku 1862, jednak w odróżnieniu od niego umieszczono w niej konkordancje. Taką samą liczbę stron ma wydanie z 1858 r.<sup>18</sup> – niestety tego druku nie udało się odnaleźć. Gdyby jednak były to wydania tożsame, to oczywiście rocznik 1858 stałby się wzorcem dla opisywanej edycji (jak i pośrednio dla wydania z 1862 r.). Kolejnych wznowień nie odnotowano.

1.1.10. Wiedeń 1877 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANANASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSYTA, Z GRECKIEGO JĘZYKA NA POLSKI PILNIE I WIERNIE PRZETŁUMACZONY.”

18 Wspomina o nim Karol Estreicher (*Bibliografia polska XIX. stulecia* [Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński 1870] IV, 501–502). Wydanie to pojawiło się także w 2016 r. na aukcji internetowej portalu Allegro.pl (zob. <https://archiwum.allegro.pl/oferta/nowy-testament-i-psalmy-1858-biblia-pismo-swiete-i6331251770.html> [dostęp: 12.06.2021]).



Rys. 9. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1877

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Model wiedeński, zapoczątkowany drukiem z 1877 r., opierał się na „rewizji królewickiej” i był prawdopodobnie najczęściej wykorzystywanym dla wydań NTBG w historii (6 wznowień w XIX wieku i kolejne – przynajmniej 25 – w pierwszej połowie XX wieku)<sup>19</sup>. Model jest wierną kopią wydania berlińskiego z 1866 r. Zwraca jednak uwagę inny układ tekstu, czego konsekwencją jest zmiana liczby stron w wydaniu (446 stron w porównaniu do 416). Inne są również formy zapisu słowa „ewangelia” (w analizowanym przypadku „ewangelija”) oraz imienia Jezus (pisanego standardowo przez J, a nie I). Należy zaznaczyć, że w druku z 1877 r. paginacja biegnie od 1 do 446, ale od drugiej reedycji zmieniła się: rozpoczyna się od 5 i kończy na 450.

#### 1.1.11. Berlin 1898 r.

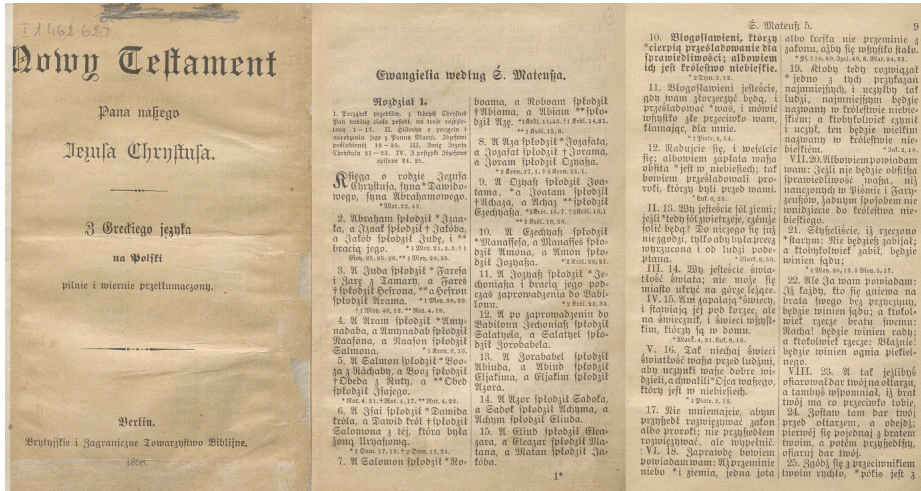
Pełny tytuł brzmi: „Nowy Testament pana naszego Jezusa Chrystusa. Z Greckiego języka na Polski pilnie i wiernie przetłumaczony.”

Rozpatrywany model nie różni się znacznie od edycji z 1873 r. Zwraca jednak uwagę wyróżnienie tzw. najprzedniejszych wyroków i sentencji (co miało miejsce wcześniej tylko raz – w przypadku wydania z 1828 r.). Pozostałe różnice dotyczą użycia inicjałów wyłącznie na początku każdej z ksiąg oraz wykorzystania cyfr arabskich w numeracji rozdziałów. Edycja nie doczekała się wznowienia w XIX wieku (jedno pojawiło się w wieku XX)<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Por. Zakonnik, „Biblie w języku polskim”, 488–521.

<sup>20</sup> Zakonnik, „Biblie w języku polskim”, 513.





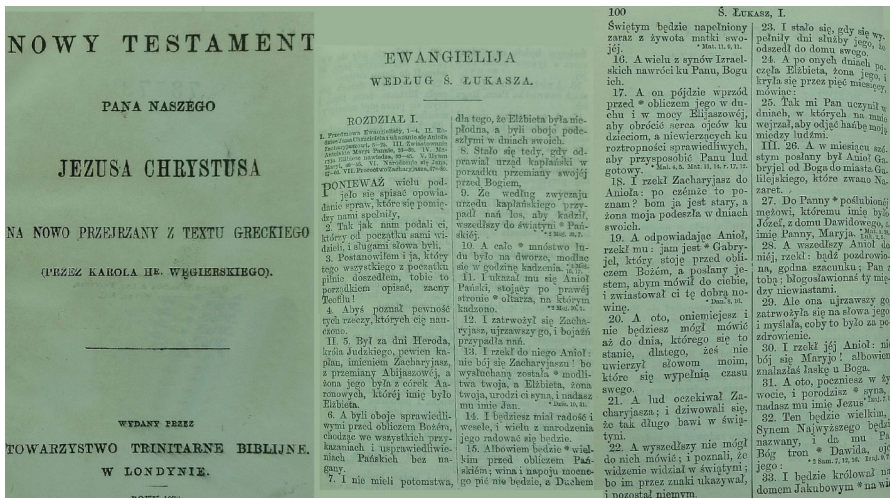
Rys. 10. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1898

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Dwa kolejne punkty przedstawiają wydania NT związane z powstaniem tzw. rewizji warszawskiej. Ich wydzielenie wynika z dostrzegalnych różnic w tekście tłumaczenia.

1.1.12. Londyn 1876 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSYUSA NA NOWO PRZEJRZANY Z TEXTU GRECKIEGO (PRZEZ KAROLA HR. WĘGIERSKIEGO)”.  
100



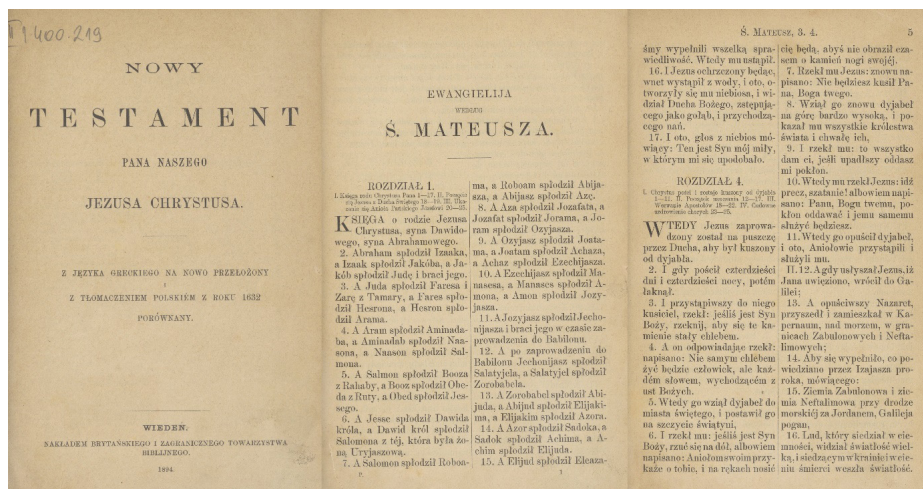
Rys. 11. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1876

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <http://bibliopolskie.pl/przeklady.php?tid=101> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Analizowany druk prezentuje dość unikalny układ typograficzny (podobnie było w przypadku wydań warszawskich [1834, 1852] i londyńskiego [1853]). Zostały do niego wprowadzone również poważne zmiany w tłumaczeniu tekstu<sup>21</sup>, które następnie wykorzystano – z pewnymi modyfikacjami i uzupełnieniami – w tzw. rewizji warszawskiej (kolejne wydania od 1881 r.)<sup>22</sup>. Druk, który przypomina wydania berlińskie (1866) i wiedeńskie (1867), różni się od nich pod wieloma względami. W nagłówku zrezygnowano z używania łacińskich tytułów ksiąg NT, wrócono do stosowania streszczeń przed kolejnymi rozdziałami, przywrócono wykaz miejsc paralelnych. Wprowadzono również zapis pierwszego wyrazu rozdziału wersalikiem (z zachowaniem inicjału) oraz użyto leksemu „ewangelija”. Edycja, dokładnie w takiej postaci, nie ukazała się już ponownie.

### 1.1.13. Wiedeń 1881 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA. Z JĘZYKA GRECKIEGO NA NOWO PRZEŁOŻONY Z TŁUMACZENIEM POLSKIM Z ROKU 1632 PORÓWNYANY.”



Rys. 12. NTBG, wydanie z roku 1881

Źródło: Zdjęcie wydania z 1894 r. – Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Ostatni z opisywanych modeli NTBG nawiązuje do druku londyńskiego z 1876 r. Jednak to właśnie on został uznany za punkt odniesienia dla „rewizji warszawskiej”.

21 Należy zauważyć, że pewne korekty tłumaczenia w formie uwag do tekstu zawarto już w wydaniu londyńskim z 1853 r. (patrz punkt 1.1.5).

22 Tekst hr. Węgierskiego i „rewizji warszawskiej”, choć mają tę samą genezę, nie są ze sobą bezpośrednio wiązane. Kwestia ta została opisana w artykule: G. Manitius, „Historia rewizji warszawskiej Biblii Gdańskiej [1881] i przekładu NT hr. Węgierskiego [1876]”, [http://bibliepolskie.pl/zzartykuly.php?art\\_id=15](http://bibliepolskie.pl/zzartykuly.php?art_id=15) [dostęp: 12.06.2021]].

Do dostrzegalnych różnic, od strony edytorskiej, należy zaliczyć: zrezygnowanie z koncordancji, dołączone mapki oraz zastosowanie w numeracji rozdziałów cyfr arabskich. Dodatkowo na stronie tytułowej – obok wzmianki o wykorzystaniu języka greckiego jako źródłowego – pojawiła się znamienna informacja o tłumaczeniu jedynie „porównanym” z rokiem 1632 (a więc jest to „na nowo przełożone” tłumaczenie NT). Edycja była wznawiana jeszcze wielokrotnie (4 wznowienia w XIX wieku i przynajmniej 7 w pierwszej połowie XX wieku). Stanowi ona tym samym pewną alternatywę dla NTBG wydanego w Wiedniu w 1877 r. oraz kolejnych jego wznowień.

#### 1.1.14. Wydania nieodnalezione oraz informacje dodatkowe

Na podstawie różnych źródeł można wskazać jeszcze przynajmniej dwa wydania, których jednak autorowi nie udało się odnaleźć:

- wydanie wydrukowane we Wrocławiu w 1855 r. (wydawca Gras, Barth i Komp); ma liczyć 434 strony<sup>23</sup>;
- wydanie wydrukowane w Berlinie w 1858 r. (wydawca Trowicz i Syn); ma liczyć 421 stron<sup>24</sup>.

W zestawieniu zrezygnowano ze wskazywania wydań NT, które pojawiały się równocześnie jako samodzielne edycje oraz jako część całości Biblii. W ten sposób były publikowane praktycznie wszystkie wydania BG, przynajmniej do połowy XIX wieku.

### 1.2. Edycje NT Biblii Wujka

#### 1.2.1. Petersburg 1815 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO IEZUSA CHRISTUSA. EDYCJI WULGATY TŁUMACZENIA X. IAKUBA WUYKA z WĄGROWCA THEOLOGA SOCIETATIS IESU.”

NT wydany w Petersburgu stanowi materialny dowód prężnej, choć krótkotrwałej działalności Towarzystwa Biblijnego na terenach Rosji<sup>25</sup>. Pierwszy raz katolickie tłumaczenie Wujka zostało wydane przez organizację niekatolicką. Sytuacja taka będzie miała miejsce jeszcze wielokrotnie w XIX wieku, co powoduje pewnymi komplikacjami w powszechnej akceptacji dzieła. Druk – w celu zachęcenia katolików do zakupu – został zaopatrzony

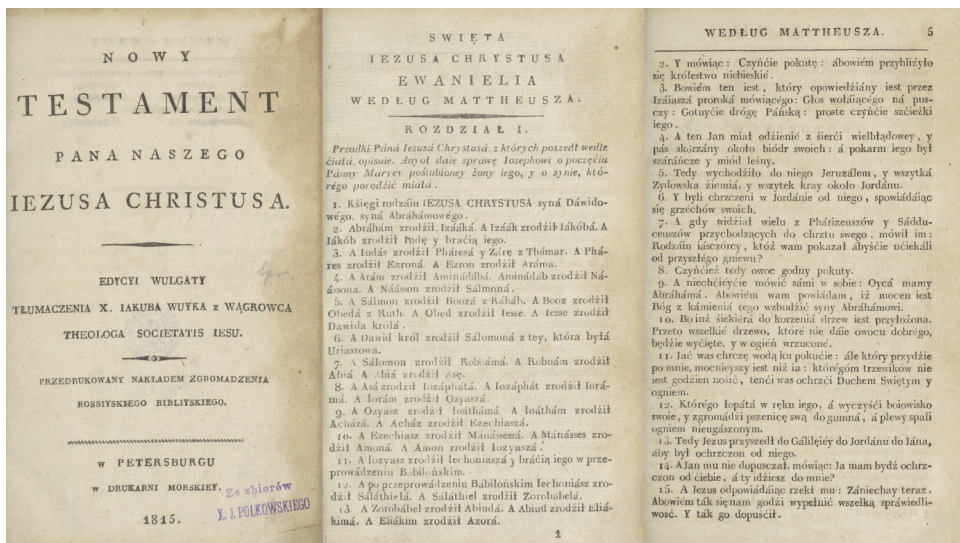
23 W katalogu Biblioteki Narodowej pod tym rokiem wspomniany jest tylko druk NT z wydania całościowego BG (z odmienną liczbą stron). Uwzględniony on został jednak np. w katalogu Worldcat (zob. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-v-greckiego-jezyka-na-polski-pilnie-i-wiernie-przetumaczony/oclc/1090947683> [dostęp: 12.06.2021]).

24 Informacje o tym wydaniu i jego potencjalne pokrewieństwo z wydaniem berlińskim z 1873 r. opisano w punkcie 1.1.9.

25 Towarzystwo Biblijne w Rosji rozpoczęło swą trzynastoletnią działalność w roku 1813, uzyskawszy istotne wsparcie cara Aleksandra I (zob. G. Pelczyński, „Ewangeliczni chrześcijanie-baptyści w Rosji i Związku Radzieckim”, *Sensus Historiae* 4/3 [2011] 79).



w kartę z biskupią aprobatą<sup>26</sup>, a sam tekst opierał się na tłumaczeniu z roku 1599<sup>27</sup> (po raz pierwszy w historii samodzielnych edycji NTBW). W wydaniu wykorzystano antykwę (co stało się standardem dla kolejnych publikacji tego typu) i jednokolumnowy układ tekstu (stosowany przed XIX wiekiem, ale raczej już nie w wydaniach XIX-wiecznych). W nagłówku umieszczono zapisany po polsku tytuł książki oraz numer strony. Wyróżniono zapis nomina sacra. Brak jest wskazania na „najprzedniejsze wyroki i sentencje” (podobnie zresztą jak we wszystkich NTBW)<sup>28</sup>. Wstawiono streszczenie przed każdym z rozdziałów (czego nie praktykowano w nierosyjskich wydaniach NTBW). Publikacja zawiera także kartę z listą błędów (erratę zawierającą również kolejne druki rosyjskie NT, nie ma jej jednak w drukach z innych regionów). W tekście zastosowano słowo „ewanielia”, a imię Jezus zapisywano przez I. Edycja jest pozbawiona elementów ilustracyjnych – zabrakło nawet inicjałów rozpoczynających kolejne rozdziały. Publikacja nie została już wznowiona w identycznym układzie.



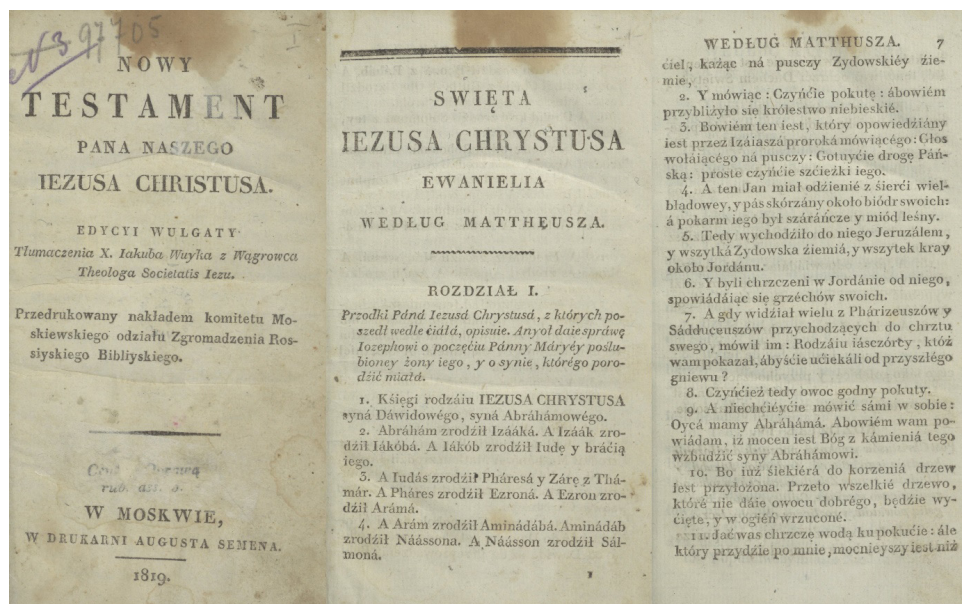
Rys. 13. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1815

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

- 26 Biskupem tym był Stanisław Bohusz Siestrzeńcewicz (1731–1826). Aprobata została wydana samowolnie i była mocno krytykowana – zob. Smereka, „Zarys bibliograficzny”, 74.
- 27 Czyli po korekcie komisji jezuickiej oraz domniemanej akceptacji papieża i synodu piotrkowskiego z 1607 r. Pogląd zakładający, że aprobata papieska oznacza brak zgody na jakkolwiek rewizję tekstu czy nowy przekład Biblii dla polskich katolików bez ponownej zgody papieża, panował praktycznie do końca XIX wieku (por. R. Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum. V. Biblia Tysiąclecia (1965–2015)* [Poznań: Pallottinum 2015] 76–77).
- 28 W druku (podobnie jak to ma miejsce w wydaniu moskiewskim z 1819 r., ale nie z 1821 r.) można zauważyć kilkadziesiąt wierszy oznaczonych gwiazdką (Łk 1,47–80).

## 1.2.2. Moskwa 1819 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO IEZUSA CHRISTUSA. EDYCJI WULGATY Tłumaczenia X. Jakuba Wuyka z Wągrowca Theologa Societatis Iezu.”



Rys. 14. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1819

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

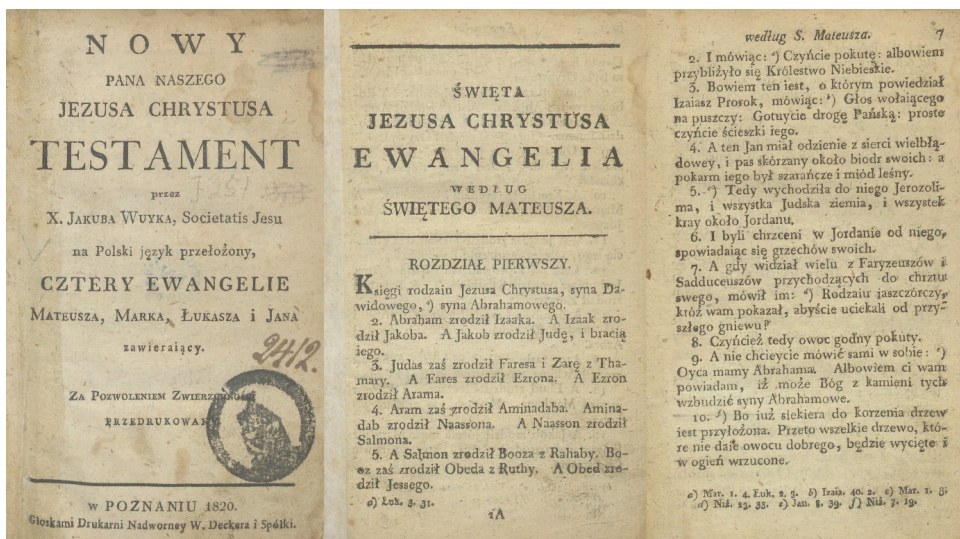
Wydanie moskiewskie z 1819 r. i petersburskie z 1815 r. ukazały się praktycznie według identycznego wzorca. Zasadniczą różnicę stanowił rozmiar publikacji – w omawianej (mniejszej) było zdecydowanie więcej stron (868 w stosunku do 585). Druk nie doczekał się wznowienia.

## 1.2.3. Poznań 1820 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSTUSA TESTAMENT przez X. JAKUBA WUYKA, Societatis Jesu na Polski język przełożony, [...]”

Analizowane wydanie stanowi przykład bardzo wiernego nawiązania do wydań NTBW z poprzednich wieków (szczególnie do wydania chełmińskiego z 1772 r.). Warto zauważyć (a miało to miejsce jeszcze tylko raz w XIX wieku), że składa ono się z 2 tomów. W pierwszym zawarto Ewangelie, w drugim – pozostałe księgi NT. Nagłówek ma podobną postać jak w omawianych wyżej wydaniach rosyjskich, natomiast w stopce wskazywano miejsca paralelne. Tekst został ułożony w jednej kolumnie, a każdy rozdział rozpoczyna się inicjałem,

brak natomiast wyróżnionego zapisu nomina sacra. Znalezione miejsce dla karty z wykazem ewangelii i lekcji, ale już nie dla karty ze spisem treści. Co ciekawe, numer pierwszego rozdziału zapisywano słownie, podczas gdy kolejne numerowano cyframi rzymskimi. Słowo „ewangelia” zapisane zostało według dzisiejszych zasad, podobnie jak imię Jezus. Druk nie ma żadnej oficjalnej aprobaty, jedynie na stronie tytułowej wskazano, że wyszedł „za pozwoleniem zwierzchności” i że jest tłumaczeniem Wujka (ale według wydania z roku 1593/1594, jak wykazuje analiza tekstu). Konwencja strony tytułowej będzie utrzymywana dla kolejnych druków NTBW aż do lat 70. XIX wieku (nie biorąc pod uwagę nieopisanych w tym artykule niektórych wydań NT łączonych ze ST). Druk nie doczekał się wznowienia.



Rys. 15. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1820

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

W roku 1821 w Moskwie, w drukarni Sieliwanowskiego, ukazał się NT liczony jako trzecia edycja w Rosji. W identycznej formie (choć z podmienioną stroną tytułową) został dołączony do całościowego wydania Biblii z roku 1822. W związku z powyższym został omówiony we wcześniejszym artykule autora.

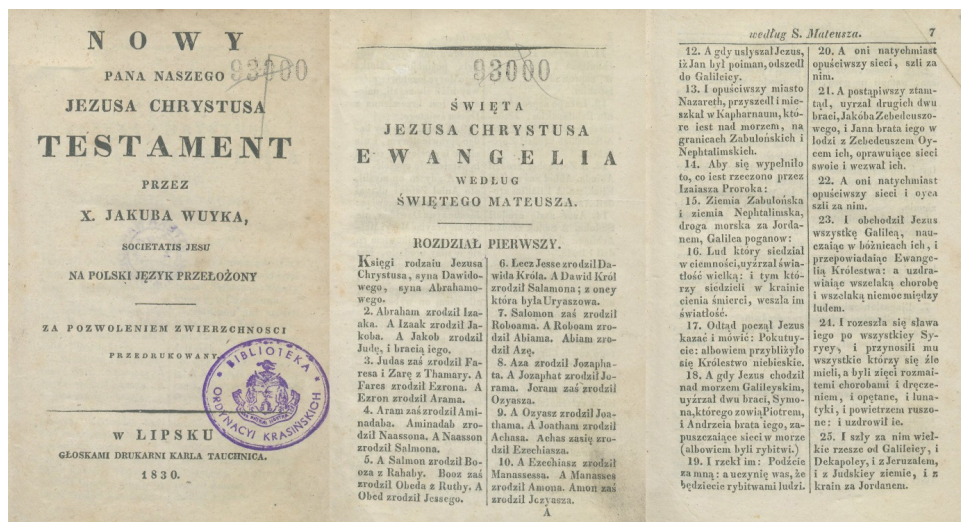
#### 1.2.4. Lipsk 1830 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSTUSA TESTAMENT PRZEZ X. JAKUBA WUYKA, SOCIETATIS JESU NA POLSKI JĘZYK PRZEŁOŻONY.”

Opisywany model różni się od poprzedniego dwukolumnowym układem, jednotonowym wydaniem oraz brakiem konkordancji. W rzeczywistości obydwie wydania mają dużo cech wspólnych: wariant tłumaczenia (według tekstu Wujka z 1593/1594 r.), układ



nałówek, sposób oznaczania numerów rozdziałów, inicjały, brak wyróżnienia nomina sacra, a w końcu podobne informacje na stronie tytułowej. Nie zmienia to jednak faktu, że publikacja z drukarni Tauchnitza jest jedną z uboższych, zarówno pod względem składu, jak i aparatu pomagającego analizować tekst (po raz pierwszy w drukach NT poza tekstem głównym dołączono jedynie stronę przedtytułową i tytułową). Ta dość skromna struktura wydania wpłynęła z pewnością na akceptowalną cenę zakupu. Ukazało się aż 14 kolejnych wydań, co stanowi rekord dla samodzielnych publikacji NT w XIX wieku (opartych na BG i BW)<sup>29</sup>. Warto dodać, że to właśnie z niektórych wydań lipskich korzystać mieli Adam Mickiewicz i Juliusz Słowacki<sup>30</sup>.



Rys. 16. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1830

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

W roku 1838 w Lipsku, w drukarni Baumgaertnera, ukazał się NT, który został połączony z wydawanym osobno ST z 1839 r., tworząc całościowe wydanie Biblii. Wydanie

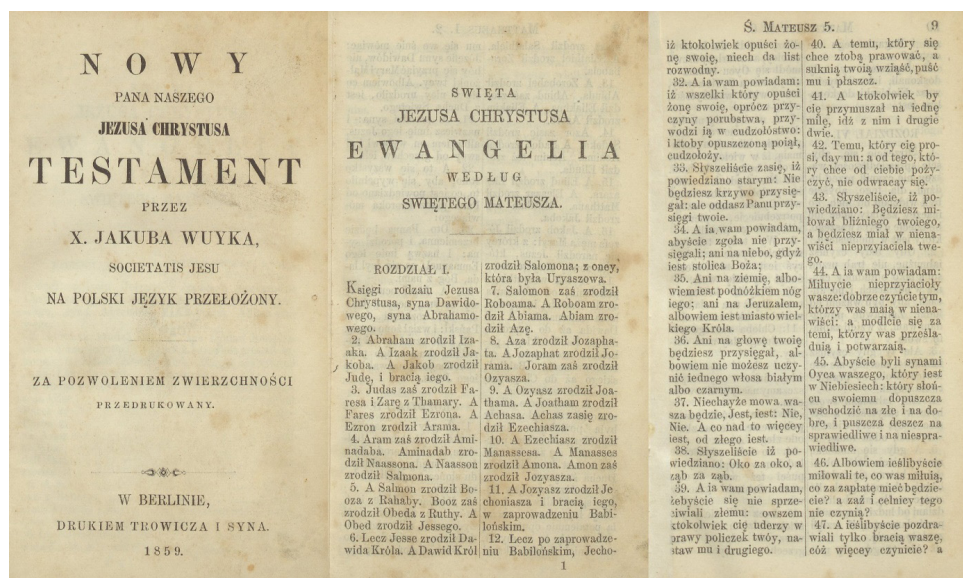
- 29 Liczba podawanych tu wydań nie jest jednak w pełni potwierdzona. Ze względu na fakt, że kolejne edycje ukazywały się często rokrocznie, istnieje podejrzenie, że były to jedynie warianty tytułowe (czyli wydanie z roku wcześniejszego sprzedawane z nową kartą tytułową). Co więcej, aż pięciu wydań (1833, 1837, 1844, 1845, 1848) nie odnaleziono w katalogach bibliotecznych, choć ich istnienie potwierdzać mają źródła (patrz np.: M. Ptaszyk, „Okoliczności wydania Biblii Wujka z 1821 roku”, *PaL* 87/3 [1996] 133; R. Gustaw, „Polskie przekłady Pisma Świętego”, *Podręczna encyklopedia biblijna* [red. E. Dąbrowski] [Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1959] II, 313; Smereka, „Zarys bibliograficzny”, 75).
- 30 O korzystaniu z tego wydania wspomina Mirosław Wróbel („Biblijne inspiracje w twórczości Juliusza Słowackiego”, *Biblia kodem kulturowym Europy* [red. S. Szymik] [ABL 9; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2013] 137–139). Wpływ tłumaczenia Wujka (choć trudno jednoznacznie wskazać tu konkretne wydania) dostrzegany jest w twórczości innych wybitnych polskich pisarzy, np. Cypriana K. Norwida, Stanisława Wyspiańskiego czy Leopolda Staffa (zob. S. Koziara, „Biblia Wujka w języku i kulturze polskiej”, *Konspekt* 14–15 [2003] 131–133).

z 1838 r. przeszło znaczącą korektę tekstu w roku 1844 (dołączono komentarze pod tekstem, a także wykorzystano tłumaczenie z roku 1599), a od strony graficznej zostało dodatkowo zmienione w roku 1888 (wydanie poznańskie). Wszystkie 3 wersje (które doczekały się jeszcze swoich reedycji) zostały omówione we wcześniejszym artykule autora.

NT ukazał się także we Lwowie, w drukarni Jabłońskiego, w roku 1839 i był sprzedawany łącznie z wydaniem ST z roku 1840.

### 1.2.5. Berlin 1859 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSYSTUSA TESTAMENT PRZEZ X. JAKUBA WUYKA, SOCIETATIS JESU NA POLSKI JĘZYK PRZEŁOŻONY.”



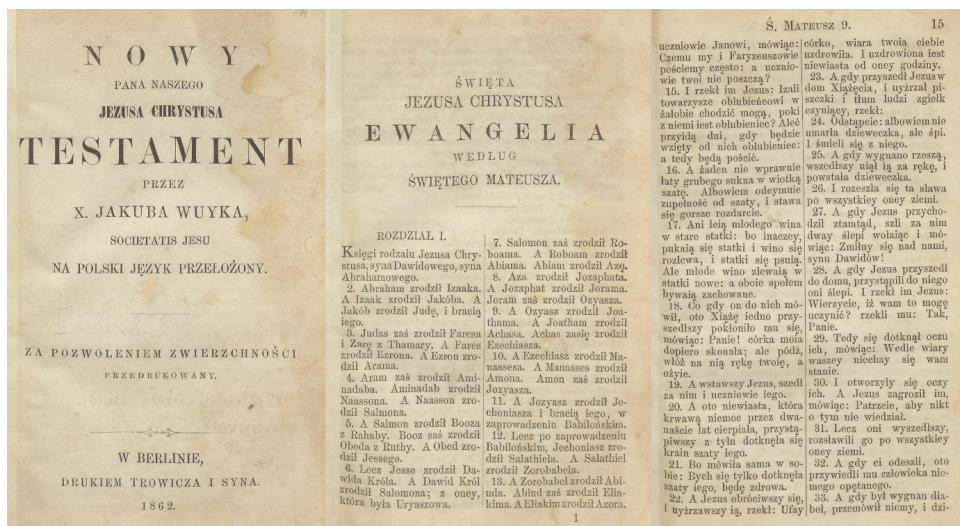
Rys. 17. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1859

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Berlińska edycja z 1859 r. zapoczątkowała serię czterech praktycznie bardzo podobnych modeli edytorskich NTBW (sam wzorzec pod względem technicznym jest zresztą zbliżony do wydań berlińskich NTBG). Analizowane wydanie nawiązuje pośrednio także do rozwiązań opisanych w poprzednim punkcie. Wyróżnia je bardziej skomplikowany nagłówek (po raz pierwszy w NTBW w XIX wieku zawarto w nim polski tytuł książki na stronie *recto* i łaciński na stronie *verso*) oraz uproszczony zapis numeracji rozdziałów (za pomocą cyfr rzymskich). Należy przypomnieć, że i w tym wydaniu oparto się na tłumaczeniu Wujka z 1593/1594 r. Edycja nie doczekała się wznowienia dokładnie w takiej samej postaci.

## 1.2.6. Berlin 1862 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSYSTUSA TESTAMENT PRZEZ X. JAKUBA WUYKA, SOCIETATIS JESU NA POLSKI JĘZYK PRZEŁOŻONY.”



Rys. 18. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1862

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

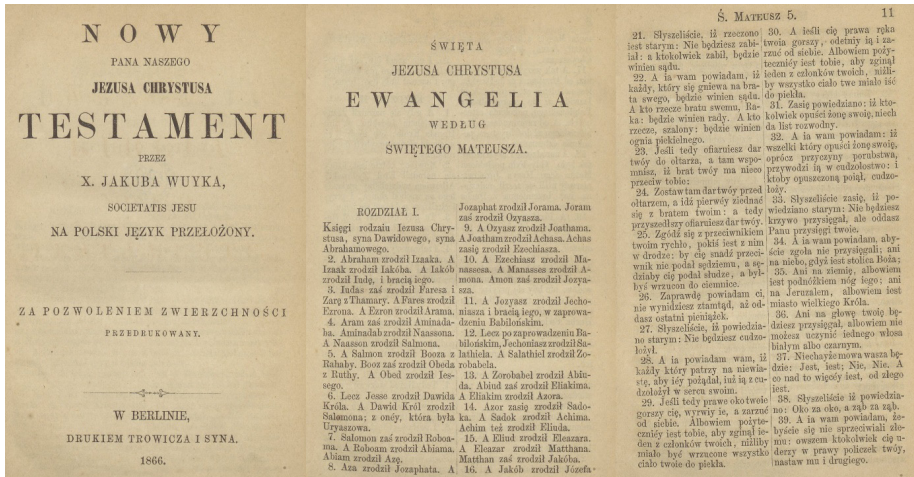
Przedstawiany model wydania jest niemal identyczny jak poprzedni. Jest jednak zdecydowanie mniejszy, ale dzięki zastosowaniu innego układu, posiada także mniej stron.

## 1.2.7. Berlin 1866 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSYSTUSA TESTAMENT PRZEZ X. JAKUBA WUYKA, SOCIETATIS JESU NA POLSKI JĘZYK PRZEŁOŻONY.”

W analizowanym wydaniu po raz kolejny mamy do czynienia z modelem powielającym wzór poprzedni. Tym razem różni go głównie inne rozłożenie wyrazów w wierszu i rozmiar książki. Zwraca uwagę forma zapisu imienia Jezus (z wykorzystaniem litery I). Wydanie doczekało się jednego wznowienia.



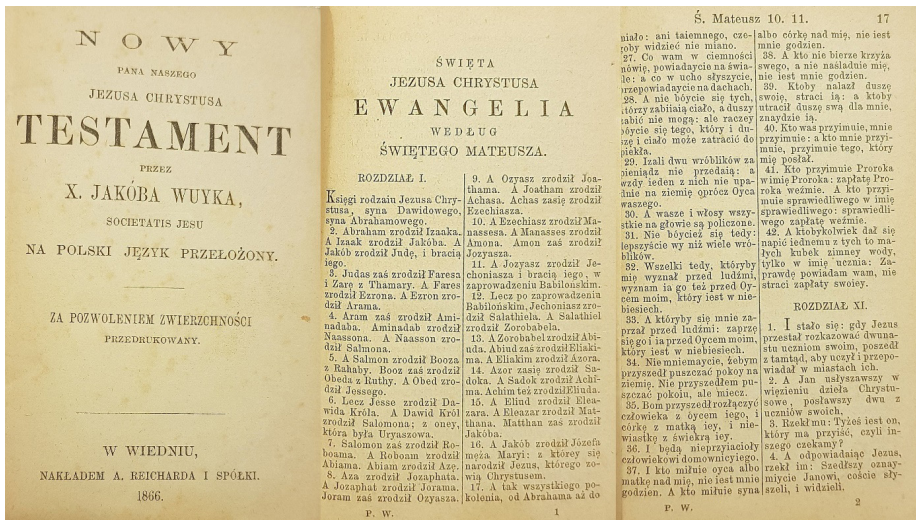


Rys. 19. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1866

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

1.2.8. Wiedeń 1866 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA TESTAMENT PRZEZ X. JAKÓBA WUYKA, SOCIETATIS JESU NA POLSKI JEZYK PRZEŁOŻONY?.”



Rys. 20. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1866

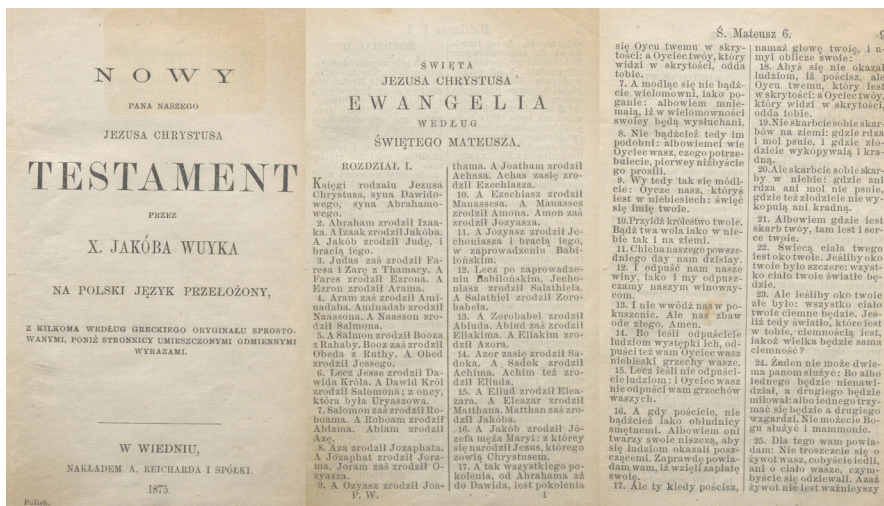
Źródło: Zbiory własne autora.

W wydaniu wiedeńskim powtórzono rozwiązania edytorskie zastosowane w poprzedniej edycji. Tym razem wrócono do zapisu imienia Jezus przez J. Wyróżnia je również rozmiar. Wraz z wydaniem NT z roku kolejnego (także wiedeńskim, ale dotyczącym NTB)

jest najmniejszym ze wszystkich wydań XIX-wiecznych (11,5 x 7 cm). Publikacja nie doczekała się wznowienia.

### 1.2.9. Wiedeń 1875 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA TESTAMENT PRZEZ X. JAKÓBA WUYKA NA POLSKI JĘZYK PRZEŁOŻONY, Z KILKOMA WEDŁUG GRECKIEGO ORYGINAŁU SPROSTOWANYMI, PONIŻ STRONNICY UMIESZCZONYMI ODMIENNYMI WYRAZAMI.”



Rys. 21. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1875

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

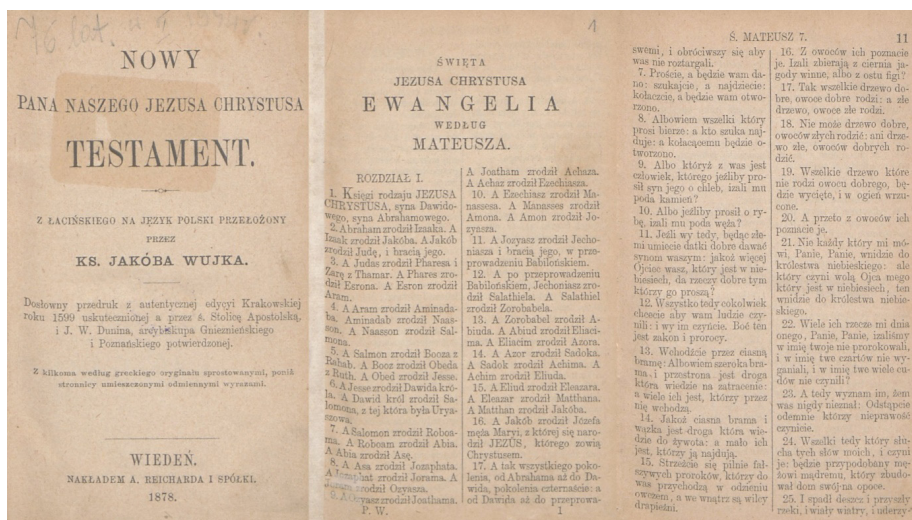
Analizowany model, choć nie odbiega znacznie od poprzednich (różni się segmentacją treści w wersach), zasługuje na uwagę. Stanowi pewne rozwiązanie przejściowe. Po raz ostatni wydawca wykorzystał tekst Wujka w tłumaczeniu z 1593/1594 r. Na stronie tytułowej pominięto używany od dawna zwrot „za pozwoleniem zwierzchności” i wprowadzono informację o zmianie pewnych słów „według greckiego oryginału”. Zmiany te – jak potwierdza analiza tekstu – nie zostały wprowadzone do tekstu głównego, ale zamieszczone w przypisach. W ten sposób omawiana edycja stanowi pierwszą od wieku XVI zrealizowaną<sup>31</sup> próbę modyfikacji tłumaczenia Wujka. Należy zauważyć, że jej celem nie było jednak unowocześnienie tekstu, ale zamiar dostosowania tekstu katolickiego do tłumaczeń protestanckich. Druk nie doczekał się wznowienia.

31 Pewne drobne zmiany – jednak tylko w zapisie poszczególnych wyrazów – można było zaobserwować już w wydaniu NTBW z 1647 r. Z kolei w NTBW z 1772 r. odnotowano pierwsze minimalne zmiany w samym tekście. Wynikały one raczej z błędnej korekty aniżeli z intencjonalności wydawcy (zob. H. Duda, „...każdą razą Biblią odmieniać” *Modernizacja języku przedruków Nowego Testamentu ks. Jakuba Wujka* [Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 1998] 98–100, 164–166).



## 1.2.10. Wiedeń 1878 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA TESTAMENT. Z ŁACIŃSKIEGO NA JĘZYK POLSKI PRZEŁOŻONY PRZEZ X. JAKÓBA WUJKA. Dosłowny przedruk z autentycznej edycji Krakowskiej z r. 1599 potwierdzonej przez Ś. Stolicę Apostolską i J. W. Dunina Arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego i Poznańskiego. Z kilkoma odmiennymi wyrazami sprostowaniami według oryginału greckiego a u dołu stronicy umieszczonemi.”



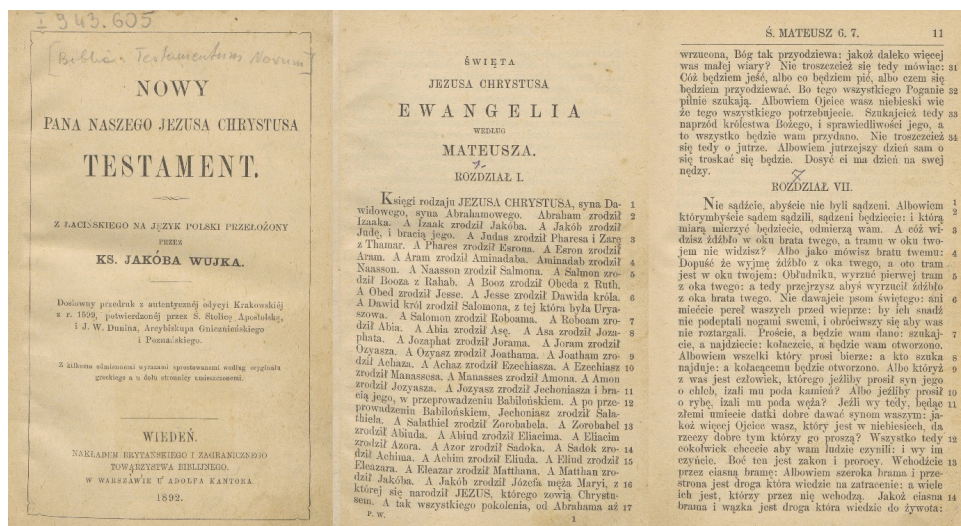
Rys. 22. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1878

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Model wiedeński z 1878 r. kontynuuje główne założenia wypracowane w poprzednich edycjach. Widoczne są jednak istotne zmiany. Po raz pierwszy w niemieckich wydaniach NTBW (poza wydaniem Baumgrtnera z Lipska, które, jak wspomniano, często tworzyły całość z ST) wykorzystano tłumaczenie Wujka z 1599 r. Strona tytułowa zawiera skróconą aprobatę wydania (sformułowanie, że jest to „dosłowny przedruk z autentycznej edycji Krakowskiej roku 1599”), mającą zapewne zachęcić katolików do kupna tego właśnie wydania. Zawiera również wzmiankę o odmianie słów „według greckiego oryginału”. Podobnie jak w poprzednim wydaniu, w przypisach umieszczono zmiany dotyczące tłumaczenia poszczególnych wyrazów, wynikające z doktryny protestanckiej. Wrócono do stosowanej niegdyś reguły wyróżniania nomina sacra, a także przywrócono kartę ze spisem treści. Analizowane wydanie doczekało się 3 wznowień.

## 1.2.11. Wiedeń 1892 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA TESTAMENT. Z ŁACIŃSKIEGO NA JĘZYK POLSKI PRZEŁOŻONY PRZEZ X. JAKÓBA WUJKA. Dosłowny przedruk z autentycznej edycji Krakowskiej z r. 1599, potwierdzonej przez Ś. Stolicę Apostolską, i J. W. Dunina, Arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego i Poznańskiego. Z kilkoma odmiennymi wyrazami sprostowanymi według oryginału greckiego a u dołu stronicy umieszczonemi.”



Rys. 23. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1892

Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

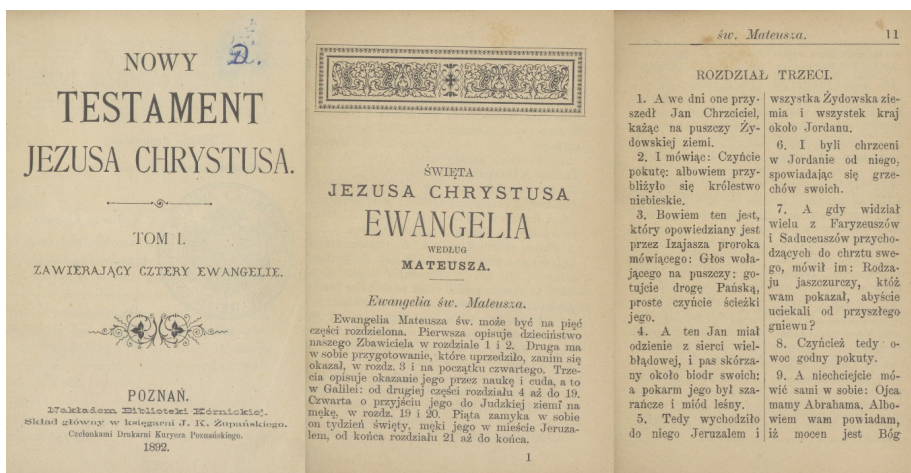
Wydanie wiedeńskie z 1892 r. cechuje jedna, ale zasadnicza zmiana w stosunku do modelu omawianego wcześniej, mianowicie układ jednołamowy. Znamienne, że dostępne są egzemplarze o odmiennych stronach tytułowych (z obramowaniem lub bez) i różnych miejscach wydania – w Wiedniu lub Wiedniu – Warszawie<sup>32</sup>. Edycja doczekała się jednego wznowienia.

W roku 1892 w Warszawie, w drukarni Orgelbranda, ukazał się bogato ilustrowany NT, który jednak był tylko wznowieniem części Biblii wydanej w 1889 r.

32 Trudno stwierdzić, czy poprzednie wydania wykazywały podobne różnice. W trakcie analizowania źródeł nie zostały one wychwycone przez autora.

## 1.2.12. Poznań 1892–1893

Pełne tytuły brzmią: „EWANGELIE JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA WEDŁUG ŚW. MATEUSZA – MARKA – ŁUKASZA I JANA” oraz „NOWY TESTAMENT JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA.”



Rys. 24. NTBW, wydanie z lat 1892–1893

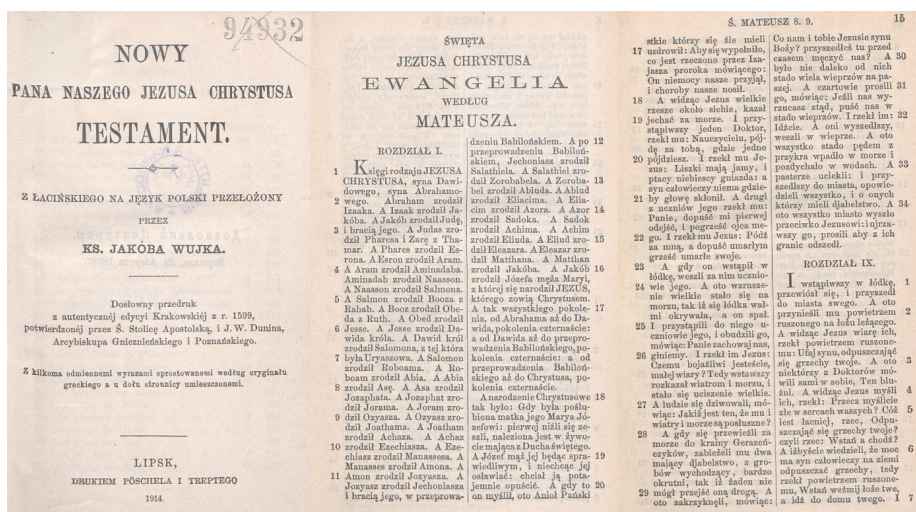
Źródło: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Wydanie poznańskie (niekiedy nazywane „kórnickim” z racji publikacji przez Bibliotekę Kórnicką) uzmysławia, jak długo polscy katolicy musieli czekać na poręczne wydanie NT w pełni aprobowane (umieszczono imprimatur) i sygnowane przez władze Kościoła katolickiego (takiej pełnej aprobaty, jak już wspomiano, nie miały wydania rosyjskie z początków wieku). Publikacja znacznie różni się od dotychczas omawianych. Co prawda ma ona układ dwukolumnowy (co jest standardem dla tamtych czasów), ale składała się z dwóch tomów (podobnie jak wydanie poznańskie z 1820 r.). W nagłówku znajdujemy dawno niestosowane zestawienie nazwy księgi w języku polskim z numerem strony. Inicjały pojawiają się jedynie na początku księgi. Numery rozdziałów są zapisywane słownie. Użycie leksemu „ewangelia” jest zgodne z dzisiejszymi normami. Na dole strony pojawiają się komentarze będące modyfikacją i skróceniem oryginalnych komentarzy Wujka. Publikacja opatrzona została wstępami – ogólnym do całego wydania oraz poszczególnymi do prawie każdej z ksiąg. Zastosowano w niej elementy graficzne (np. na karcie tytułowej). Na stronie tytułowej brak informacji o wersji tłumaczenia (wątpliwości rozwiewa zarówno imprimatur, jak i lektura wstępu). W publikacji dokonano pewnych modyfikacji związanych z pisownią dawnych form wyrazów występujących w tłumaczeniu Wujka z roku 1599. Wydanie nie było już wznawiane, ale dla formalności należy dodać, że oddzielnie ukazały się zarówno poszczególne Ewangelie, jak i Dzieje Apostolskie (w tych samych latach co cały NT).



## 1.2.13. Lipsk 1896 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSYTA TESTAMENT. Z ŁACIŃSKIEGO NA JĘZYK POLSKI PRZEŁOŻONY PRZEZ X. JAKÓBA WUJKA. Dosłowny przedruk z autentycznej edycji Krakowskiej z r. 1599, potwierdzonej przez Ś. Stolicę Apostolską, i J. W. Dunina, Arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego i Poznańskiego. Z kilkoma odmiennymi wyrazami sprostowaniami według oryginału greckiego a u dołu stronicy umieszczonemi.”



Rys. 25. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1896

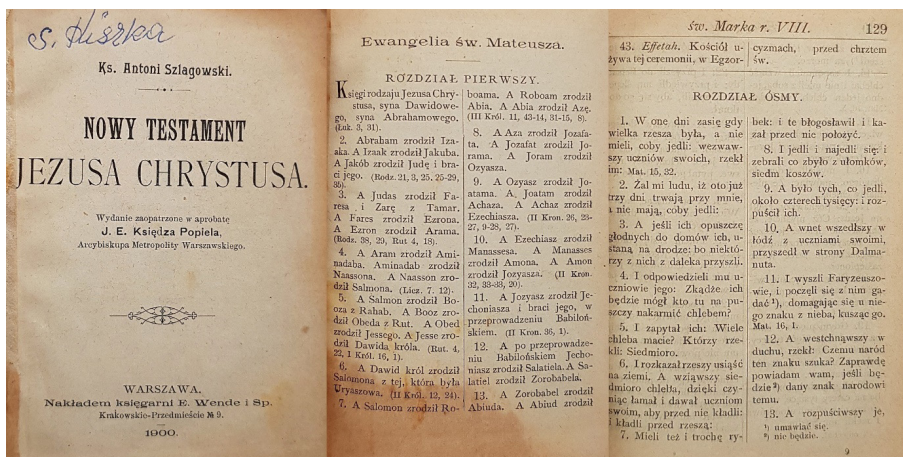
Źródło: Zdjęcie wydania z 1914 r. – Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

Analizowany model stanowi ostatnie z niekatolickich wydań NTBW w XIX wieku. Jest on podobny do poprzednio omawianych wydań niekatolickich (berlińskich i wiedeńskich). Różnicę stanowi rozmieszczenie wierszy na stronie i rezygnacja z łacińskiej nazwy ksiąg w nagłówku. Interesujący jest fakt, że niektóre egzemplarze zawierają swoisty kolorowy frontyspis i mapki. Wydanie doczekało się jeszcze dwóch edycji w XIX wieku (i przynajmniej czterech kolejnych w pierwszej połowie wieku XX<sup>33</sup>). Co więcej – podobnie jak to miało miejsce w przypadku poprzednio opisywanego wydania katolickiego – oddzielnie ukazywały się poszczególne Ewangelie (w roku 1898, ale i niejednokrotnie w XX wieku).

## 1.2.14. Warszawa 1900 r.

Pełny tytuł brzmi: „NOWY TESTAMENT JEZUSA CHRYSYTA. Wydanie zaopatrzone w aprobatę J. E. Księdza Popiela, Arcybiskupa metropolity Warszawskiego.”

33 Por. Zakonnik, „Biblie w języku polskim”, 488–521.



Rys. 26. NTBW, wydanie z roku 1900

Źródło: Zbiory własne autora.

Edycja warszawska z 1900 r. stanowi ważny druk w historii NTBW. Swoim wyglądem przypomina publikację poznańską z lat 1892–1893, ale zawarto w niej elementy dodatkowe. Część z nich dotyczy tekstu głównego (wyróżnienie nomina sacra<sup>34</sup>, umieszczenie konkordancji), pozostałe umieszczone poza nim (karty obejmujące zastosowane skróty, prowidz, prorocstwa, typy biblijne, spis ewangelii i lekcji, mapki i dodatek do map). Brak w nim natomiast sum przed każdą z ksiąg (zamieszczone zostały przed grupami ksiąg), ale – co unikalne – każda księga zaczyna się od nowej strony. Znaczenie omawianego wydania wiąże się też z faktem dokonania pewnych zmian (autorstwa ks. Antoniego Szlagowskiego) w samym tekście, polegających na przereferowaniu niezrozumiałych archaizmów – zmiany te umieszczano jednak tylko w komentarzach na dole stron. Analizowane wydanie nie mogło się doczekać wznowienia w XIX wieku, niemniej tekst udoskonalony przez ks. Szlagowskiego (choć w innym już modelu edytorskim) ukazał się ponownie trzy razy w wieku XX i stanowił ważne źródło dla polskich katolików aż do modyfikacji tekstu Wujka w 1935 r. (w mniejszym stopniu do ukazania się Biblii Tysiąclecia).

### 1.2.15. Wydania niekompletne

Trzykrotnie w XIX wieku pojawiły się niedokończone edycje NTBW, których redaktorami byli księża katolicki:

- wydanie drukowane w Krakowie w 1872 r. (Drukarnia „Czasu”) ks. Stanisława Stojalowskiego. Ukazał się tylko jeden tomik *Nowy Testament x. Jakóba Wujka T.J. z komentarzami błędem wieku odpowiednemi wydał x. St. Stojalowski T, J., Święty Mateusz Tomik 1. Część Isza* (stron: XL, 271)<sup>35</sup>. Według niektórych źródeł<sup>36</sup> miał się ukazać też drugi

34 Tylko w niektórych miejscach (np. Łk, 2,21).

35 Źródło cyfrowe: Biblioteka Jagiellońska, <https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/publication/880859/edition/845908/content> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

36 Zob. Smereka, „Zarys bibliograficzny”, 81–82.



tomik (z Ewangelią Marka). Część NT, która została wydrukowana, miała być później w dużej mierze zniszczona, zapewne z powodu niepełnej zgodności z tłumaczeniem Wujka (ks. Stojalowski miał zmienić pisownię pewnych wyrazów, choć wskazywano także na nieortodoksyjne komentarze)<sup>37</sup>.

- wydanie drukowane w Lublinie w 1890 r. (Drukarnia M. Kossakowskiej) ks. Franciszka Jaczewskiego. Ukazały się Listy Apostolskie i Apokalipsa: *PISMO ŚWIĘTE. (NOWY TESTAMENT.) LISTY POWSZECHNE I APOKALIPSA Ś. JANA APOSTOŁA. PRZEKŁAD KS. JAKÓBA WUJKA T.J. wolnym przekładem, uwagami wstępnymi i przypisami objaśnił Ks. F. Jaczewski Kan. Kat. Lubelskiej.* (stron: 109 [s. 1])<sup>38</sup>. Nie wiadomo, czy plany obejmowały wydanie całości NT.
- wydanie drukowane w Warszawie w 1893 r. (wydawca Leppert & Comp., Drukarnia „Kupiecka”) ks. Tomasza Kowalewskiego. Ukazały się cztery ewangelie: *PISMO ŚWIĘTE. NOWY TESTAMENT PANA NASZEGO JEZUSA CHRYSZTUSA. CZĘŚĆ PIERWSZA. CZTERY EWANGELIE ŚW. Wydanie popularne dla wiernych z tekstem Ks. J. Wujka i komentarzem Ks. Alliolego* (stron: 254, IV [s. 2])<sup>39</sup>.

#### 1.2.16. Wydania nieodnalezione

Na podstawie różnych źródeł można wskazać jeszcze przynajmniej dwa wydania, do których jednak autorowi nie udało się dotrzeć:

- wydanie wydrukowane w Warszawie w 1852 r. (wydane przez Towarzystwo Misjonarzy Angielskich); ma liczyć 506 stron<sup>40</sup>;
- wydanie wydrukowane w Kolonii w 1895 r.<sup>41</sup>

## 2. Kształt polskich edycji NT w XIX wieku – zestawienie

Poniżej (tab. 1) zgromadzono najważniejsze informacje o polskich wydaniach NT w XIX wieku. Informacje te są podsumowaniem, ale i uzupełnieniem rozważań zaprezentowanych w poprzednim punkcie pracy.

<sup>37</sup> Smereka, „Zarys bibliograficzny”, 81–82.

<sup>38</sup> Źródło cyfrowe: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/pismo-swiete-nowy-testament-listy-powszechne-i-apokalipsa-s-jana-apostola,MTIwNjUwMzk4/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

<sup>39</sup> Źródło cyfrowe: Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/pismo-swiete-nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chryztusa-cz-1-cztery-ewangelie-sw,ODk3NDM1MDc> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

<sup>40</sup> Wydanie wymieniane przez Barbarę Enholc-Narzyńska („Teksty biblijne”, 146) jako NTBW ze wskazaniem na Estreicher, *Bibliografia*, 501. Estreicher jednak nie precyzuje, że jest to NTBW. Biorąc pod uwagę fakt, że w 1852 r. ukazało się wydanie NTBG (ten sam wydawca, miejsce i różnica jednej cyfry w zapisie liczby stron) – opisane w 1.1.4 – można przypuszczać, że jest to błąd w identyfikacji tej pozycji.

<sup>41</sup> W przypadku tego wydania brak jest jakichkolwiek dodatkowych informacji, wspomina o nim jednak np. Smereka, „Zarys bibliograficzny”, 84.

Tab. 1. Polskie wydania NT w XIX wieku – zestawienie modeli edytorskich

Rok wydania	Miejsce	Tłumaczenie <sup>2</sup>	Wydawca	Stron	Nagłówek <sup>3</sup>	Stopka <sup>3</sup>	„Najprzedniejsze wyroki i sentencje” <sup>3</sup>	Nomina Sacra	Krój czcionki <sup>4</sup>	Grafika (ilość elem.) <sup>5</sup>
<b>Wydania NTBG</b>										
1828	Berlin	GK	Trowicz i Syn	[s. 4] 606	P,R,S,L	K,A	T	T	G	N
1832	Lipsk	GK	Tauchnitz	[s. 4] 546	P,R,S,L	A	N	T	G	N
1834	Warszawa	G	Gałęzowski	[s. 6] 377	PR,ŁV,R,S,L	A	N	T	Z	N
1852	Warszawa	GK	Towarzystwo Misjonarzy Angielskich	[s. 4] 596	P,S,L	A	N	N	Z	N
1853	Londyn	GK	Rypiński i sp.	[s. 2] XXX, 779	P,R,S,L	A	N	T	Z	1
1862	Berlin	GK	Trowicz i Syn	[s. 4] 413	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	G	N
1866	Berlin	GK	Trowicz i Syn	[s. 4] 5–416	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1867	Wiedeń	GK	Reichard i sp. <sup>18</sup>	[s. 4] 436	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1873	Berlin	GK	Trowicz i Syn	[s. 4] 421	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	G	N
1876	Londyn	GW	Towarzystwo Trinitarne Biblijne	[s. ?] 475	P,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1877	Wiedeń	GK	Reichard i sp.	[s. 4] 446 (5–450)	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1881	Wiedeń	GW	Brytańskie i zagraniczne TB	[s. 4] 456	P,R,S	A	N	N	Z	R
1898	Berlin	GK	Brytyjskie i zagraniczne TB	[s. 2] 3–465	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	T	N	G	N

	Inicjały <sup>6</sup>	Kolumny <sup>7</sup>	Wiersze <sup>8</sup>	Nowa strona dla ksiąg <sup>9</sup>	Dodatki <sup>10</sup>	Informacje na stronie tytułowej <sup>11</sup>	Miejsca paralelne	Komentarze <sup>12</sup>	Streszczenie	Wydzielone grupy ksiąg <sup>13</sup>	Oznaczenie rozdziału <sup>14</sup>	Zapis imienia Jezus i słowa Ewangelia <sup>15</sup>	Format <sup>16</sup>	Kolejne wydania (tylko XIX wiek) <sup>17</sup>
	TR	2Z	39	N	E,S	K,G,J	T	R	T	N	R	E1,J	16x11 (18)	-
	TR	2Z	40	N	S	K,G,J	N	R	T	N	R	E1,J	15,5x10 (18)	L37, L40, L45, L50, L57
	TR	2Z	51(52)	N	S,Y	A,G,J	T	R	T	N	R	E2,J	22,5x14 (8)	-
	TR	2Z	34(35)	N	S	-	N	R	T	N	R	E1,J	16x10 (18)	-
	TK	1R	34(35)	N	RS	G	T	O1,R	T	N	R	E1,J	16,5x10,5 (18)	-
	TRM	2Z	39(42)	N	S	J	N	R	T	N	R	E1,J	14x9,5 (32)	B64, B66, B71, B72
	TRM	2Z	42	N	S	J	N	R	N	N	R	E1,I	15x10 (18)	B67, B72
	TR	2Z	43(44)	TE	S	J	N	R	N	N	A	E2,I	11,5x7 (48)	
	TR	2Z	41	N	S	J	T	R	T	N	R	E1,J	20x13,5 (12)	
	TC	2Z	42	T?	S	J	T	R	T	N	R	E3,J	21x? (8)	
	TR	2Z	39(41)	TE	S	J	N	R	N	N	R	E3,J	12x8 (48)	W78, W82, W83, WW90, W95, N96
	TC	2Z	39	N	S	J, G	N	R	T	N	A	E3,J	20x13,5 (12)	WW82, W94, WW97, W98
	TK	2Z	44	N	S	J	T	R	T	N	A	E1,J	20x12,5 (16)	

Rok wydania	Miejsce	Tłumaczenie <sup>2</sup>	Wydawca	Stron	Nagłówek <sup>3</sup>	Stopka <sup>3</sup>	„Najprzedniejsze wyroki i sentencje” <sup>3</sup>	Nomina Sacra	Krój czcionki <sup>4</sup>	Grafika (ilość elem.) <sup>5</sup>
<b>Wydania NTBW</b>										
1815	Petersburg	WJ	Drukarnia Morska	[s. 4] 585 [s. 3]	P,S,L	A	N	T	Z	N
1819	Moskwa	WJ	Semen	[s. 4] 868 [s. 2]	P,S	A	N	T	Z	N
1820 <sup>1</sup>	Poznań	W	Decker i sp.	[s. 4] 396 [s. 2] 483 [s. 12]	P,S	A, E	N	N	Z	N
1830	Lipsk	W	Tauchnitz	[s. 4] 586	P,S,L	A	N	N	Z	N
1859	Berlin	W	Trowicz i Syn	[s. 4] 503	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1862	Berlin	W	Trowicz i Syn	[s. 4] 448	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1866	Berlin	W	Trowicz i Syn	[s. 2] 422	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1866	Wiedeń	W	Reichard i sp.	[s. 4] 428	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1875	Wiedeń	W	Reichard i sp.	[s. 4] 423	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	N	Z	N
1878	Wiedeń	WJ	Reichard i sp.	[s. 4] 428	PR,ŁV,R,S	A	N	T	Z	N
1892	Wiedeń	WJ	Brytańskie i zagraniczne TB	[s. 4] 436	PR,ŁV,R,S,L	A	N	T	Z	N
1892-1893 <sup>1</sup>	Poznań	WK	Biblioteka Kórnicka	VII, 509 + [s. 4] 619	P,S,L	A	N	N	Z	P
1896	Lipsk	WJ	Poschel i Trepte	[s. 4] 5–352	P,R,S	A	N	T	Z	L
1900	Warszawa	WS	Wende i Sp.	[s. 2] V, III, II, 15–874 [s. 4]	P,R,S,L	A	N	T	Z	W

Inicjały <sup>6</sup>	Kolumny <sup>7</sup>	Wiersze <sup>8</sup>	Nowa strona dla ksiąg <sup>9</sup>	Dodatki <sup>10</sup>	Informacje na stronie tytułowej <sup>11</sup>	Miejsca paralelne	Komentarze <sup>12</sup>	Streszczenie	Wydzielone grupy ksiąg <sup>13</sup>	Oznaczenie rozdziału <sup>14</sup>	Zapis imienia Jezus i słowa Ewangelia <sup>15</sup>	Format <sup>16</sup>	Kolejne wydania (tylko XIX wiek) <sup>17</sup>
N	1	38	N	A,L,S	WW	N	G,R	T	N	R	E4,I	25x14 (8)	
N	1	32	N	A,L,S	WW	N	G,R	T	N	R	E4,I	17,5x10,5 (18)	
TR	1	31	TE	E,Y	PZ, W	T	R	N	T1	SR	E2,J	15,5x9,5 (18)	
TR	2Z	35(36)	N	Y	PZ, W	N	R	N	N	SR	E2,J	15,5x10 (18)	L31, L32, L33?, L36, L37?, L43, L44?, L45?, L47, L48?, L51, L54, L56
TR	2Z	42	N	Y	PZ, W	N	R	N	N	R	E2,J	18x10,5 (18)	
TR	2Z	42	N	Y	PZ, W	N	R	N	N	R	E2,J	14,5x9,5 (32)	
TR	2Z	42	N	-	PZ, W	N	R	N	N	R	E2,I	18x13,5 (12)	B71
TR	2Z	44	N	Y	PZ, W	N	R	N	N	R	E2,J	11,5x7,5 (48)	
TR	2Z	48	N	Y	SG, W	N	O1,R	N	N	R	E2,J	13x8 (32)	
TR	2Z	41	N	AS, S	WJ,SG	N	O1	N	N	R	E2,J	12,5x7,5 (32)	WW83, W90, W96
TR	1	40	N	AS, S	WJ,SG	N	O1	N	N	R	E2,J	17,5x11 (18)	W94
TK	2Z	26(27)	TE	I,W, K,Y	-	N	WJ	N	T	S	E2,J	13x9 (32)	
TR	2Z	48	N	AS, S	WJ,SG	N	O1	N	N	R	E2,J	14,5x8,5 (32)	L97, L98
TK	2Z	33	N	W, I, ZS, SK, P, T, DM, E, AS	AP	T	W, O2	N	T	S	E2,J	12,5x9 (32)	



- (1) Wydanie składało się z 2 tomików.
- (2) G – tekst BG w wersji z 1632 r., GK – BG w „rewizji królewieckiej”, GW – „rewizja warszawska”, W – tekst BW z wydania 1593/1594 r., WJ – tekst BW z wydania 1599 r., WK – tekst BW z wydania 1599 r. z korektą pisowni (przedmowa Zygmunta Celichowskiego), WS – tekst BW z wydania z 1599 r. z odmianą słów (przedmowa A. Szlagowskiego).
- (3) A – sygnatura arkusza, E – miejsca paralelne, K – kustosze, L – oddzielenie linią od tekstu głównego, Ł – tytuł księgi po łacinie (ŁV – na stronie *verso*), P – tytuł księgi po polsku (PR – na stronie *recto*), R – numer rozdziału, S – numer strony.
- (4) G – czcionka gotycka, Z – antykwa.
- (5) L – niektóre wydania mają kolorowy „frontysepis” i mapki, P – 8 finalików, 7 rozet, 2 herby, R – wydania zawierają 2 mapki, W – 4 finaliki, 5 rozet, mapki.
- (6) TC – każdy pierwszy wyraz rozdziału pisany wersalikiem z inicjałem, TK – inicjał na początku poszczególnych ksiąg, TR – inicjał na początku każdego rozdziału, TRM – inicjał na początku każdego rozdziału (bardzo mały).
- (7) 1R – 1 kolumna z ramką, 2Z – 2 kolumny z linią rozdzielającą.
- (8) Wskazywano liczbę wierszy na stronie – w niektórych edycjach ilość wierszy była zmienna (podawano więc liczbę w nawiasie).
- (9) TE – tak dla ewangelii.
- (10) A – aprobaty, AS – aprobaty skrócone na stronie tytułowej, DM – dodatek do map, E – wykaz ewangelii i lekcji, I – imprimatur, K – suma przed każdą księgą, L – lista omyłek, P – prorocтва, R – rozbudowany spis treści, S – spis treści, SK – skorowidz, T – typy biblijne, W – wstęp, Y – strona przedtytułowa, ZS – zastosowane skróty.
- (11) A – BG według wydania amsterdamskiego 1660 r., AP – aprobaty abp. Popiela, G – informacja o wydaniu zgodnym z edycją gdańską 1632 r., J – informacja o tłumaczeniu z języka greckiego, K – BG według wydania królewieckiego 1738 r., PZ – druk za „pozwoleniem zwierzchności”, SG – sprostowania tekstu w zgodności z j. greckim, W – tłumaczenie Wujka, WJ – tekst BW z wydania 1599 r., WW – wydanie z Wulgaty w tłumaczenie Wujka.
- (12) G – część wierszy oznaczono gwiazdką, nie jest znany cel tego zabiegu, O1 – odmiana pewnych słów według „oryginału greckiego”, O2 – odmiana pewnych słów – korekta A. Szlagowskiego, R – część wierszy umieszczono w nawiasach – zapis ten stosowano już zarówno w Biblii Brzeskiej z 1563 r., jak i w NT Wujka z 1593 r. (ale nie w Biblii Wujka z 1599 r.), W – komentarze Wujka wybrane przez A. Szlagowskiego, WJ – zmodyfikowane komentarze Wujka (przez Augustyna Jaskulskiego).
- (13) T1 – tomy wydzielają Ewangelie oraz część pozostałą.
- (14) A – numer rozdziału zapisany cyframi arabskimi, R – numer rozdziału zapisany liczbami rzymskimi, S – numer rozdziału zapisany słownie, SR – numer pierwszego rozdziału zapisany słownie, kolejne liczbą rzymską.
- (15) E1 – ewangelia, E2 – ewangelia, E3 – ewangelija, E4 – ewanielia, I – Iezus, J – Jezus.
- (16) Rozmiary niektórych pozycji zostały podane za serwisem polona.pl. W nawiasach podano format drukarski.
- (17) Podano inicjał miasta wydania (B – Berlin, L – Lipsk, N – Nowy Jork, W – Wiedeń, WW – Warszawa i Wiedeń) i dwie końcowe cyfry daty.
- (18) Druki nakładem Reicherda i sp. ukazywały się w drukarni A. Holzhausena.

Na schemacie poniżej (rys. 27) przedstawiono zależności edycyjne kolejnych wydań NT w XIX wieku, tworzące swoiste linie modeli edytorskich. Uwzględniono w nim: zastosowany krój czcionki, podobny skład tekstu (np. elementy zawarte w żywej paginie), zakres materiału dodatkowego oraz zawarte narzędzia wspomagające analizę tekstu właściwego (streszczenia, konkordancje itp.). Wydania NT oparte na BG mają belkę z ciemnym kolorem tła, a te oparte na BW – kolor biały. W belkach górnych umieszczono liczbę edycji w ramach poszczególnych gałęzi.

### 3. Główne linie modeli edytorskich

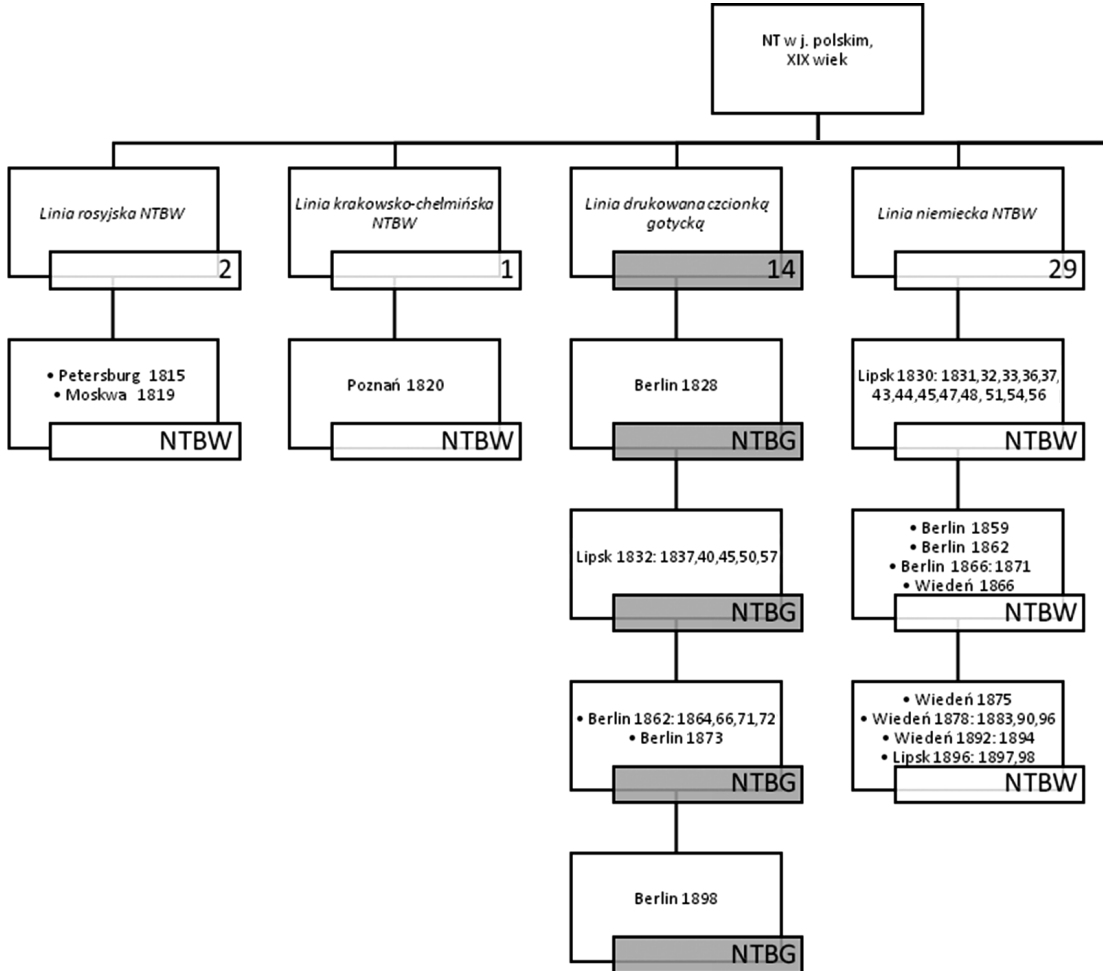
#### 3.1. Linie edytorskie – wprowadzenie

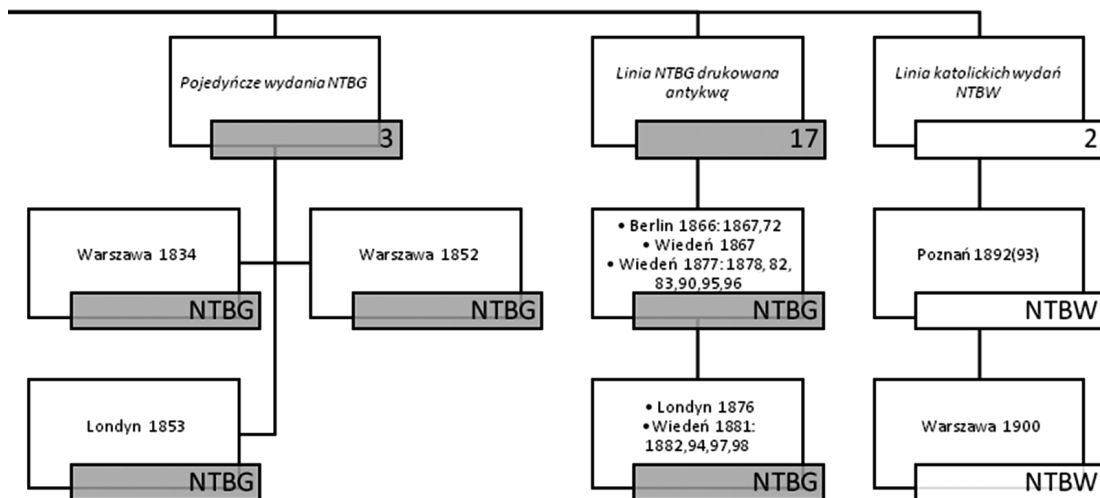
Na prezentowanym schemacie (rys. 27) przedstawiono kilka linii modeli edytorskich dla wydań NT w języku polskim w XIX wieku. Przyjęto podobne założenie jak w artykule nt. całościowych wydań Biblii. Jednak w obecnym opracowaniu autor zdecydował się na bardziej elastyczne podejście i włączenie do poszczególnych linii modeli o podstawowych cechach wspólnych (ogólna koncepcja układu tekstu, rodzaj tłumaczenia, region pochodzenia). Starano się wykazać zarówno związki między konkretnymi modelami, jak i ukazać pewną ewolucję stosowanych rozwiązań. W przypadku gdy poszczególne modele edytorskie były bardzo podobne (wspominano o tym przy okazji ich omawiania w punkcie 1), umieszczano je w jednym elemencie schematu, poprzedzając miejsce ich wydania symbolem kropki.

##### 3.1.1. „Linia rosyjska NTBW”

Omawiana linia uwzględnia dwa modele edytorskie, opierające się na tekście Wujka z wydania z 1599 r. (co dla samodzielnych edycji NT jest nowością, gdyż wydania sprzed XIX wieku opierały się na wariancie tłumaczenia z 1593/1594 r.). Wydania mają zamieszczoną aprobatę biskupa oraz wzmiankę o tłumaczeniu z Wulgaty (oba elementy zawarte na stronie tytułowej). Układ tekstu jest jednokolumnowy (co jest rzadkością dla samodzielnych edycji NT w XIX wieku). Zastosowano antykwę (co z kolei jest normą dla wydań opartych na tłumaczeniu Wujka). Nagłówek jest uproszczony (zawiera tytuł księgi i numer strony). Wykorzystano numerację rzymską rozdziałów. Występuje słowo „ewangelia” oraz zapis imienia Jezus przez I (całe nomina sacra jest wyróżnione w tekście). Co do zasady brak elementów dodatkowych w tekście głównym (np. komentarzy czy konkordancji), występują jednak streszczenia przed każdym rozdziałem (co jest cechą unikalną dla edycji NT opartych na tłumaczeniu Wujka). Dostępny jest: spis treści, lista omyłek i wspomniana wcześniej aprobatą wydania. Zasadniczą różnicą omawianych modeli w linii rosyjskiej jest rozmiar, a co za tym idzie, liczba stron.

Rys. 27. Linie modeli edytorskich polskich wydań XIX-wiecznych NT





### 3.1.2. „Linia krakowsko-chełmińska NTBW”

Prezentowana linia ma co prawda tylko jednego przedstawiciela w XIX wieku – druk poznański z 1820 r. – ale można zaliczyć do niej również wydanie z Chełmna z 1772 r. Z kolei wydanie z 1772 r. nawiązuje wyraźnie do serii NT wydrukowanych w Krakowie pięciokrotnie (1594, 1605, 1617, 1621, 1647). Obydwa druki – poznański i chełmiński – składają się z 2 tomów (Ewangelie i oddzielnie pozostała część NT), a sam układ tekstu jest niemal identyczny. Wydania te opierają się na tłumaczeniu Wujka z roku 1593/1594. Analizowana linia jest pod pewnymi względami zbieżna z poprzednio omawianą. Układ tekstu drukowanego antykwą jest jednokolumnowy (co praktycznie kończy taką formę dla NT w XIX wieku), a sam nagłówek ma równie prosty układ. Zasadniczą różnicą (oczywiście poza samym wariantem tłumaczenia) jest zastosowanie pewnych elementów typograficznych (inicjał rozpoczynający każdy rozdział, słowny zapis numeru pierwszego rozdziału), a także lepszy „aparatus naukowy” (występują konkordancje, pewne formy grupowania ksiąg). Warto wspomnieć o użyciu, po raz pierwszy w stosunku do modeli NT w XIX wieku, słowa „ewangelia”. Pozostałe cechy charakteryzujące wydanie poznańskie zostały opisane przy omówieniu tego konkretnego modelu (punkt 1.2.3).

### 3.1.3. „Linia drukowana czcionką gotycką”

W schemacie omawianej linii wyróżniono cztery grupy. Łączy je: zastosowanie czcionki gotyckiej, tłumaczenie oparte na BG w tzw. rewizji królewieckiej, układ dwukolumnowy, zamieszczenie streszczenia przed każdym rozdziałem, inicjał na początku każdego rozdziału (poza ostatnią grupą), brak komentarzy (co jest jednak standardem dla tłumaczeń opartych na BG), konsekwentne stosowanie słowa „ewangelia”, pisanie imienia Jezus przez J oraz rozbudowany nagłówek, w którym umieszczono tytuł księgi, numer strony i rozdziału. Co więcej, rozpoczynając od trzeciej grupy, strony *recto* i *verso* zawierają odpowiednio: tytuł księgi po polsku i po łacinie. Poza wspomnianymi podobieństwami w omawianej linii można wskazać pewne różnice w jej poszczególnych grupach. Pierwsza grupa (a właściwie wydanie berlińskie z 1828 r.) posiada zestaw wielu przydatnych dodatków do tekstu. Elementów tych nie mają zazwyczaj kolejne grupy (poza ostatnią). Ciekawie wygląda strona tytułowa, gdzie w przypadku dwóch pierwszych grup widać wyraźne odwołanie do BG jako źródła tłumaczenia, podczas gdy w kolejnych grupach od zasady tej odstąpiono, wspominając jedynie o tłumaczeniu z języka greckiego.

### 3.1.4. „Linia niemiecka NTBW”

Omawiana linia doczekała się największej liczby edycji – aż 29. Proponowana nazwa linii wiąże się z miejscem wydania – na ziemiach niemieckich (wliczając w to wydania wiedeńskie czy wiedeńsko-warszawskie). Tak duża liczba wydań oznacza też większą różnorodność grup modeli edytorskich (w analizowanym przypadku były to 3 grupy). Konkretnie model cechuje dostrzegalne podobieństwo, ale daje się też zauważyć istotne różnice. Większy wpływ miała na nie swoista ewolucja sposobów publikacji NT niż przypadkowość.



Wszystkie omawiane grupy wykorzystują tłumaczenie Wujka, jednak początkowo publikacje ukazywały się według tłumaczenia z roku 1593/1594, a od roku 1878 zaczęto konsekwentnie stosować tekst z 1599 r. W związku z tym zmieniają się też z czasem informacje zawarte np. na stronie tytułowej. Pierwotnie zamieszczano tam wzmiankę, że wydanie wydrukowano „za pozwoleniem zwierzchności”, aby od wydania z 1878 r. wyraźnie zaznaczać, że są to przedruki z „autentycznej edycji Krakowskiej roku 1599”. Pomimo tego zapewnienia na stronie tytułowej znajduje się też nota o korekcie pewnych słów „według greckiego oryginału”, co skutkowało pojawianiem się swoistych komentarzy w przypisach. Do roku 1878 widać daleko posunięty minimalizm i brak umieszczania jakiegokolwiek materiału dodatkowego – nawet spisu treści. Wraz z chwilą pojawienia się spisu treści te „protestanckie wydania wujkowe” NT zaczęły także stosować specjalne wyróżnienie formy *nomina sacra*. Wydania łączył: rozszerzony układ nagłówka (tytuł książki pisany po polsku na stronie *recto*, łaciński na stronie *verso*, zamieszczony numer rozdziału oraz strony), druk dwukolumnowy (poza wydaniem wiedeńskim z 1892 r.), rzymska numeracja rozdziałów (dla wydań lipskich Tauchnitza użyto zapisu słownego dla pierwszego rozdziału), antykwę, występowanie małego inicjału na początku każdego rozdziału, stosowanie leksemu „ewangelia” oraz brak konkordancji, komentarzy i streszczeń. Wydania zasadniczo cechował brak grafiki, poza niektórymi egzemplarzami wydania lipskiego Poschela i Treptego.

### 3.1.5. Pojedyncze wydania NTBG

Jak może sugerować sama nazwa, trudno w rozważanym przypadku zakładać w pełni jednolitą linię edytorską. Cechą charakterystyczną uwzględnionych tu wydań jest wykorzystanie tłumaczenia opartego na BG i dość incydentalny charakter wydania (konkretni wydawcy tylko jeden raz zaistnieli jako podmiot publikujący polski NT). Ciekawostką może być też fakt, że każde z wydań wyróżniało się pewnymi osobliwościami tłumaczenia BG. Wydanie z 1834 r. jako jedyne odwoływało się do tłumaczenia BG z wydania amsterdamskiego z 1660 r. (nie uwzględniało więc późniejszej „rewizji królewieckiej”). Wydanie z 1852 r. na stronie tytułowej nie umieściło nawet najmniejszej wzmianki o wariacie tłumaczenia. W końcu wydanie z 1853 r. jako jedyne odwoływało się do oryginału tłumaczenia BG (przywołany rok 1632, choć sam tekst był po „rewizji królewieckiej”). Konkretnie wydania zostały opisane w punktach 1.1.3–1.1.5.

### 3.1.6. „Linia NTBG drukowana antykwą”

Analizowana linia jest podobna do niektórych grup uwzględnionych w linii opartej na czcionce gotyckiej oraz w linii niemieckiej wydań NTBW. Sytuację taką tłumaczy fakt, że każdą z tych trzech linii wydawali w podobnym czasie praktycznie ci sami wydawcy. Jak to zaznaczono w jej nazwie, cechą charakterystyczną jest stosowanie przez wydawców niemieckich antykwę (dzieje się tak dopiero od roku 1866). Linia ta dzieli się na dwie grupy, różniące się pewnymi szczegółami. Pierwszą stanowią wydania NT oparte na „rewizji królewieckiej”. Cechuje ją układ dwukolumnowy (drugą grupę również) oraz stosowanie bardziej rozbudowanego nagłówka z tytułem książki po polsku na stronie *recto* i po łacinie na stronie

*verso* (dołączono także numer rozdziału i strony). W tekście brak jakichkolwiek elementów dodatkowych (nawet typowego streszczenia przed rozdziałem). Poza tekstem głównym zawarto jedynie spis treści i kartę tytułową, na której znajduje się informacja o tłumaczeniu z języka greckiego. Z elementów urozmaicających skład tekstu można wyróżnić inicjały na początku każdego rozdziału. Co ciekawe, w ramach grupy aż na trzy sposoby zapisywano słowa „ewangelia” – zgodnie z aktualną normą językową, jak i w formach: „ewangielia” oraz „ewangielija”. Brak też konsekwencji w zapisie imienia Jezus (pisanego przez J i przez I). Podobnie niekonsekwentnie postępowano ze sposobem numeracji – używając cyfr arabskich lub rzymskich. W drugiej grupie wykorzystano tłumaczenie związane z tzw. rewizją warszawską. W tym przypadku w nagłówku nie używano nazwy księgi po łacinie. Nie stosowano również jedynie inicjałów – każdy pierwszy wyraz rozdziału zapisywano wersalikiem (co stanowiło *novum* dla wydawnictw NT w XIX wieku). Ponadto umieszczono streszczenie (w wydaniu z 1876 r. także konkordancje), a na stronie tytułowej dodano odwołanie do wydania BG z 1632 r. (poza publikacją z 1876 r.). Konsekwentnie natomiast stosowano leksem „ewangielija” i zapis imienia Jezus przez J.

### 3.1.7. „Linia katolickich wydań NTBW”

Jak sama nazwa wskazuje, w podpunkcie rozpatrywane są dwa, stosunkowo bliskie modele edytorskie zredagowane w ramach Kościoła katolickiego (jeden dotyczy wydania poznańskiego z lat 1892–1893, drugi – warszawskiego z 1900 r.). Łączy je wiele cech wspólnych: poręczny rozmiar książeczki (13 x 9 cm), dwukolumnowy układ tekstu, inicjał w przypadku rozpoczynania każdej księgi, brak streszczeń przed kolejnymi rozdziałami, stosowanie zapisu „ewangelia” i pisownia imienia Jezus przez J. Ponadto wydania posiadają wiele cech niespotykanych w XIX-wiecznych edycjach NT: zapisywanie numeracji wszystkich rozdziałów słownie, zastosowanie stosunkowo bogatego materiału ilustracyjnego, charakterystyczny zestaw elementów dodatkowych (np. rozbudowany wstęp), komentarze wyjaśniające treści NT, w końcu wydzielenie wybranych grup ksiąg i komentarz do nich. W obydwu wydaniach widoczne są również różnice. Publikację warszawską wyróżnia w tekście zapis *nomina sacra*, wskazanie konkordancji, a w nagłówku numeracja rozdziałów. Dodatkowo obydwa wydania próbują – w odmienny sposób – modyfikować tekst tłumaczenia Wujka z 1599 r. Wydanie poznańskie ogranicza się raczej do korekty pisowni form archaicznych, a w wydaniu warszawskim w komentarzach pojawiają się propozycje użycia innych słów w miejsce przestarzałych.

## 3.2. Podsumowanie

Na podstawie przeprowadzonej analizy linii edytorskich można konstatować, że w omawianym okresie ukształtował się standard wydawniczy, który w pewnej mierze bazował również na rozwiązaniach edytorskich wypracowanych w poprzednich stuleciach. NT generalnie publikowany był w jednym tomie w formacie między 16° a 32°. Tekst drukowany był

w układzie dwukolumnowym z linią między kolumnami. Żywa pagina zawierała: tytuł rozdziału (często dwujęzyczny), numer rozdziału oraz numer strony. Do numeracji rozdziału stosowano liczby rzymskie. Nie dołączano żadnych ilustracji, jedynie każdy kolejny rozdział zaczynał się niewielkim inicjałem. W publikacji nie zamieszczano materiału dodatkowego (poza tekstem głównym była dostępna tylko karta tytułowa oraz spis treści). Ograniczono stosowanie wszelkiego rodzaju komentarzy (choć w wydaniach NTBG występują streszczenia przed każdym z rozdziałów). Tekst NTBWi zawsze drukowany był antykwą.

## Zakończenie

Podobnie jak miało to miejsce w przypadku całościowych wydań Biblii, również w przypadku edycji NT można wyodrębnić nie tylko określone modele edytorskie, ale i całe linie edytorskie. Zaprezentowanie ich stanowiło zasadniczy cel artykułu. Interesujące wydaje się spojrzenie na aspekt liczbowy, płynący z opracowania. W XIX wieku można zidentyfikować 13 wzorców, na których opierały się wydania NTBG, i 14 wzorców dla wydań NTBWi. Zidentyfikowano 4 linie edytorskie NTBWi i 3 NTBG. Są to bardzo podobne wartości. Co więcej, po zliczeniu konkretnych edycji okazało się, że w artykule uwzględniono (w ramach analizowanych wzorców) 34 druki NTBG i dokładnie tyle samo druków NTBWi. Jest to zdecydowanie inna sytuacja niż w przypadku całościowych wydań Biblii<sup>42</sup>. Wskazane wcześniej dane mogą zaskakiwać, zważywszy na wyraźną przewagę wiernych języka polskiego wyznania katolickiego nad wiernymi różnych odłamów protestanckich. Z drugiej strony, należy pamiętać o minimalnym udziale wydań NT, które zatwierdził Kościół katolicki lub był zaangażowany w druk (w opracowaniu odnotowano tylko dwa takie przypadki). Taki stan rzeczy można spróbować tłumaczyć w różny sposób. Po pierwsze, można uwzględnić aspekt praktyczny – wydawcy, przewidując, że potencjalnych odbiorców NTBWi będzie więcej niż NTBG, wybierali ten pierwszy rodzaj tłumaczenia. Po drugie, można założyć, że różne towarzystwa biblijne wydawały NT zgodnie z przyjętą misją ewangelizacyjną, ale kierowaną do różnych odbiorców (unikając w ten sposób oskarżeń o prozelityzm). W końcu można także założyć, że przekład Wujka był na tyle znany, nawet wśród niekatolików, że jego styl w naturalny sposób dominował nad stylem przekładu BG.

Na zakończenie można postawić pytanie, czy przegląd wydań całościowych Biblii, jak i samego NT, wyczerpuje temat analiz edytorskich związanych z publikacjami tekstów natchnionych w języku polskim w XIX wieku? Czy jako dopełnienie cyklu nie należałoby dokonać jeszcze przeglądu np. edycji psalmów? Analizując materiał publikacyjny związany z tekstem Pisma Świętego w analizowanym okresie, można stwierdzić, że choć

<sup>42</sup> W XIX wieku całościowych wydań BG było ponad dwa razy więcej niż wydań BW (zob. Zakonnik, „Modele edytorskie”, 369).

sama identyfikacja wydań psalmów jest interesująca<sup>43</sup>, to jednak czytelnicy, którzy chcieli korzystać z Psalterza do codziennych praktyk religijnych, zostali już w niego zaopatrzeni przy okazji nabywania poręcznych wydań NT (nie wspominając już o całej Biblii). Doszukiwanie się więc pewnych wzorców byłoby tu najczęściej skazane na powielanie wniosków zaprezentowanych w niniejszym i poprzednim opracowaniu. Być może bardziej interesujące byłoby zebranie informacji o osobnych edycjach Ewangelii lub Ewangelii i Dziejów Apostolskich? Wydaje się jednak, że rozkwit tych wydań nastąpił dopiero po XIX wieku<sup>44</sup>. Odrębną kwestią wydaje się natomiast analiza publikowanych w XIX wieku zbiorów kazań czy opowieści biblijnych, zawierających często obszerne perykopy biblijne, a czego przykłady dla wieków poprzednich można odnaleźć w literaturze<sup>45</sup>.

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43 W XIX wieku ukazało się kilka nowych prób tłumaczeń Psalterza, np. prace: Franciszka Karpińskiego (jeszcze z XVIII wieku, ale licznie wznawiane właśnie w XIX wieku), Bazylego Popiela, Pawła Byczewskiego, Franciszka Pawłowskiego, Kazimierza Buczkowskiego, Kazimierza Bujnickiego czy Izaaka Cylkowa.

44 W katalogu Biblioteki Narodowej trudno się doszukać takich wydań dla XIX wieku.

45 Por. M. Komorowska, „Kształt edytorski postylli polskich XVI i XVII wieku – w poszukiwaniu staropolskich konwencji wydawniczych”, *Terminus* 17/3 (2015) 317–367.

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## Załącznik

W załączniku wskazano cyfrowe źródła skanów NT, z których korzystał autor podczas pisania artykułu. Pierwsze z hiperłącz w przypadku każdej edycji odnalezionej w Bibliotece Narodowej stanowi źródło ilustracji prezentowanej w tekście (licencja – domena publiczna).

### Wykorzystane egzemplarze cyfrowe NTBG:

#### 1828 r., Berlin:

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-grec-jezyka-na-polski-a-te-raz,ODcyNTg2MTM/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1832 r., Lipsk:

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-greckiego-jezyka-na-polski-pilnie-i,NjU1ODQ3NjI/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].
- wydanie z 1845 r., <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-grec-jezyka-na-pol-pilnie-i-wiernie,ODcyNTg1OTA/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1834 r., Warszawa:

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-grec-jezyka-na-pol-pilnie-i-wiernie,ODcyNTg1OTM/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1852 r., Warszawa:

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa,NjU5OTUxNTU/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1853 r., Londyn:

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-podlug-edycyi-gdanskiej-przejrzany-i,ODcyNTg1ODk/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1855 r., Wrocław (wydanie nieodnalezione – informacja za Estreicherem):

- [https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/\\_skany/Bibliografia\\_XIX\\_wieku/01\\_I\\_Wydanie/04\\_Tom\\_IV/0507\\_0501.jpg](https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/_skany/Bibliografia_XIX_wieku/01_I_Wydanie/04_Tom_IV/0507_0501.jpg) [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1858 r., Berlin (wydanie nieodnalezione – informacja za Estreicherem):

- [https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/\\_skany/Bibliografia\\_XIX\\_wieku/01\\_I\\_Wydanie/04\\_Tom\\_IV/0508\\_0502.jpg](https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/_skany/Bibliografia_XIX_wieku/01_I_Wydanie/04_Tom_IV/0508_0502.jpg) [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1862 r., Berlin:

- wydanie z 1872 r.: <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-grec-jezyka-na-pol-pilnie-i-wiernie,ODcyNTg2NTQ/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1866 r., Berlin:

- wydanie z 1867 r.: <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-grec-jezyka-na-pol-pilnie-i-wiernie,ODcyNTg1OTI/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

#### 1867 r., Wiedeń:

- <https://books.google.pl/books?id=WFGJ6Cj119gC&pg=PP1&dq=Nowy+Testament+Pana+naszego+Jezusa&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjskuyoq6nlAhWrlYsKHhH0A4k4ChDoAQhJmAY#v=onepage&q=Nowy%20Testament%20Pana%20naszego%20Jezusa&f=false> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].



**1873 r., Berlin:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa,NjY2NDYyMTM/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1876 r., Londyn (tylko wybrane skany):**

- <http://bibliopolskie.pl/przeklady.php?tid=101> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1877 r., Wiedeń:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-grec-jezyka-na-pol-pilnie-i-wiennie,ODcyNTg2MTQ/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].
- wydanie z 1882 r., Warszawa-Wiedeń: <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-greckiego-jezyka-na-polski-pilnie-i,ODk3NTA1MDA/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1881 r., Wiedeń:**

- wydanie z 1894 r.: <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa,ODk3NTA1MDc/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1898 r., Berlin:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-z-grec-jezyka-na-pol-pilnie-i-wiennie,ODk3NTA1MDE/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**Wykorzystane egzemplarze cyfrowe NTBW:****1815 r., Petersburg:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-iezusa-christusa,ODcyNTg2MTY/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1819 r., Moskwa:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-pana-naszego-iezusa-christusa,ODcyNTg2MjM/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1820 r., Poznań:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament-cztery-ewangelie-mateusza-mar-ka-lukasza,OTI4ODc3NDI/> oraz <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament-dzieje-apostolskie-listy-swietych-pawla,OTI4ODc3Mzc/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1830 r., Lipsk:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament-przez-jakuba-wuyka-na-polski-jezyk,NjU5MjA4OTg/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].
- wydanie z 1854 r.: <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament,OTI4ODc3NDM/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1859 r., Berlin:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament-przez-jakuba-wuyka-na-polski-jezyk,ODcyNTg2MTE/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1862 r., Berlin:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament-przez-jakuba-wuyka-na-polski-jezyk,ODcyNTg2MDM/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1866 r., Berlin (brak skanu – egzemplarze odnalezione za WorldCat):**

- <https://www.worldcat.org/title/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament/oclc/883535271> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1866 r. Wiedeń (brak skanu – egzemplarze odnalezione za WorldCat):**

- <https://www.worldcat.org/title/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament-przez-x-jakoba-wuyka-na-polski-jezyk-przeozony/oclc/57012422> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1875 r., Wiedeń:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament,OTI4ODc3NDQ/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1878 r., Wiedeń:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament,ODcyNTg2NDA/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

- wydanie z 1896 r., Wiedeń: <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament,ODk3ODEyNjQ/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1892 r., Wiedeń:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament,ODk3NjQ1Mzk/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1892–1893, Poznań:**

- <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-jezusa-chrystusa-t-1-zawierajacy-cztery-ewangelie,ODk3NDM1MTc/> i <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-testament-jezusa-chrystusa-t-2-zawierajacy-dzieje-apostolskie-listy-apostolskie,ODk3NTA1MTU/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1896 r., Lipsk:**

- wydanie z 1914 r.: <https://polona.pl/item/nowy-pana-naszego-jezusa-chrystusa-testament,ODk3NjM4NTA/> [dostęp: 12.06.2021].

**1900 r., Warszawa (brak skanu – egzemplarze odnalezione za WorldCat):**

- [https://www.worldcat.org/title/nowy-testament-jezusa-chrystusa/oclc/179738152&referer=brief\\_results](https://www.worldcat.org/title/nowy-testament-jezusa-chrystusa/oclc/179738152&referer=brief_results) [dostęp: 12.06.2021].



## Did Sirach See Himself as a Prophet?

Jolanta Judyta Pudelko PDDM, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha* (Studia Bibli-  
ca Lublinensia 21; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2020). Pp. 424. 35 PLN. ISBN  
978-83-8061-854-1

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**ABSTRACT:** The article reviews J.J. Pudelko's book-length study titled *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha* [Prophetism in the Book of Sirach]. Following an initial presentation of the book, the author focuses on its methodological aspect and offers an assessment of its merit before discussing the main thesis of Pudelko in the context of other scholarly opinions on the issue. Based on her meticulous analysis of prophetism in the works of the Jerusalem sage, Pudelko concludes that Sirach saw himself as an heir to the Old Testament prophets, as his role of a sage corresponded to the tasks fulfilled earlier by prophets. Although this argument is questioned by most contemporary analysts of the Book of Sirach, still Pudelko's book constitutes an important intervention in the debate on Sirach's prophetic self-awareness.

**KEYWORDS:** prophetism, prophet, the Book of Sirach, sage-prophet

Jolanta Judyta Pudelko is a well-known Polish biblical scholar who published one scientific<sup>1</sup> monograph and thirty-one scientific articles and chapters in multi-author monographs. A specific field of her research interests is the Book of Sirach, to which she devoted as many as fifteen out of her thirty-one scientific articles,<sup>2</sup> not counting the mentioned monograph

- 1 In chronological order: J.J. Pudelko, *Wierny przyjaciel lekarstwem życia (Syr 6,16). Koncepcja przyjaźni w Księdze Syracydesa* (RSBibl; Warszawa: Vocatio 2007).
- 2 In chronological order: J.J. Pudelko, "Czym jest utrata przyjaciela? O problemach krytyczno-tekstualnych Księgi Syracydesa," *CT* 77/3 (2007) 43–62; J.J. Pudelko, "Przyjaźń w świecie starożytnym i w Księdze Syracydesa," *Przybliżyło się Królestwo Boże. Księga pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Romana Bartnickiego w 65. Rocznice urodzin* (ed. W. Chrostowski) (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Bibliotów Polskich 2008) 433–450; J.J. Pudelko, "(Nie)obecność kobiet w *Pochwale ojców* (Syr 44–49)," «*Niewiastę dzielną kto znajdzie?*» (*Prz* 31,10). *Rola kobiet w biblijnej historii zbawienia* (eds. A. Kubiś – K. Napora) (ABL 14; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2016) 195–211; J.J. Pudelko, "The (Apparent) Absence of Women in the *Praise of the Ancestors* (Sir 44–49)," *BibAn* 6 (2016) 107–126; J.J. Pudelko, "Powołanie kobiety według Syracydesa," *VV* 19 (2011) 89–109; J.J. Pudelko, "Wychowanie według Syracydesa," *VV* 21 (2012) 83–107; J.J. Pudelko, "Aaron jako nauczyciel świadectw (Syr 45,17)," *VV* 28 (2015) 133–153; J.J. Pudelko, "Geneza Samarytan a ich obraz w Syr 50,25-26," *WST* 28/1 (2015) 168–188; J.J. Pudelko, "Od pogardy do idealizacji – obraz kobiet w Księdze Syracha," *BPTb* 8 (2015) 67–80; J.J. Pudelko, "Roztropna gościnność w Księdze Syracha," *BPTb* 9 (2016) 87–98; J.J. Pudelko, "Dawid jako organizator kultu w *Pochwale Ojców* (Syr 47,8-10)," *BPTb* 10

and the habilitation thesis reviewed in this article. The above statistical summary clearly shows that the Warsaw biblical scholar is one of the best experts in the work of Sirach, also referred to as the sage from Jerusalem, not only in Poland but also in the world. Considering the fact that the Book of Sirach, belonging to the deuterocanonical books, is not a center of research interest, though it must be admitted that in recent years the interest in this biblical book has increased significantly in Poland as well. The latest scientific monograph written by Jolanta Judyta Pudelko was accepted with even bigger contentment and interest. The monograph titled *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha* [Prophetism in the Book of Sirach] was reported by her as the basis for habilitation proceedings. This article is devoted to the assessment of the thesis, and especially to its main thesis, which the author presented as a summary of her research on the phenomenon of prophetism in the Book of Sirach. This article will consist of a general presentation of the discussed habilitation thesis, methodological comments, substantive assessment, and a discussion of the main research conclusion of the presented monograph. The formal assessment of the discussed thesis will be omitted, as it does not present any major reservations (only a small number of typos can be noticed, there are also a few stylistic errors, in two places the division of the Greek text and its translation into stichoi has not been preserved), so it does not require more attention.

## 1. General Presentation of the Book

Monograph by Jolanta Judyta Pudelko titled: *Prophetism in the Book of Sirach* was published by the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin in the scientific series *Studia Biblica Lublinensia* in 2020 as the 21st volume of this series. Its main body consists of four chapters that fully correspond to the title of the monograph: chapter I: “Profetyzm w okresie Drugiej Świątyni i judaizmu rabinicznego jako kontekst Syrachowego nauczania o prorokach i prorocत्वie” [Prophetism in the Period of the Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism as the Context of Sirach’s Teaching on Prophets and Prophecy] (pp. 31–66), chapter II: “Prorocy i prorocत्वo w Księdze Syracha (*Prolog*; Syr 1 – 43)” [The Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Sirach (*Prologue*; Sir 1–43)] (pp. 67–132), chapter III: “Prorocy i prorocत्वo w Pochwale ojców. Mojżesz i Prorocy Wcześniejsi (Syr 44,3 – 48,14)” [Prophets and Prophecy in the Praise of the Ancestors. Moses and the Earlier Prophets (Sir 44:3–48:14)] (pp. 133–279) and chapter IV: “Prorocy i prorocत्वo w Pochwale ojców. Prorocy Późniejsi (Syr 48,20 – 49,25)” [Prophets and prophecy in the Praise of the Ancestors. Later Prophets (Sir 48:20–49:25)] (pp. 281–347). They were preceded by a Table of Contents in Polish (pp. 7–10) and English (pp. 11–14), a List of abbreviations (pp. 15–18), and

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(2017) 263–283; J.J. Pudelko, “Dlaczego Adam zamyka *Pochwałę Ojców* (Syr 44–49)?,” *Bib.An* 7 (2017) 441–457; J.J. Pudelko, “Mędzrec – ideał dla wybranych? Tożsamość mędrca w Księdze Syracha,” *WST* 31/1 (2018) 94–106; J.J. Pudelko, “Obecność anioła w opowiadaniu o najeździe Sennacheryba na Jerozolimę w Syr 48,21,” *Bib.An* 9 (2019) 269–284; J.J. Pudelko, “Periodyzacja dziejów Izraela w Pochwale ojców Księgi Syracha (Syr 44–49),” *IV* 35 (2019) 37–74.



an Introduction (pp. 19–29). The whole work is summed up in an Ending written in Polish (pp. 349–356) and English (pp. 357–364), followed by a Bibliography (pp. 365–387), an Index of authors (pp. 389–394), and an Index of sources (pp. 395–424).

The title of the monograph under review is precise and clearly indicates the research problem (prophetism) which the thesis by Pudelko addresses and the scope in which it will be examined and analyzed (The Book of Sirach). The title is fully consistent with its content, which is confirmed by the titles and content of individual chapters of the reviewed scientific thesis.

The bibliography is extensive (pp. 365–387) and includes the most important publications relating to the analyzed research problem. It needs to be highlighted that the author used not only foreign literature (especially publications in English, but also German, Italian, French, and Spanish) but also Polish studies. This might be surprising to a reader, but in recent years a disturbing trend has been observed – especially among young scientists – consisting of authors referring to foreign literature on the issues and topics analyzed and researched by them, often omitting publications in Polish, making thus useless the hard work of Piotr Ostański, who has received the degree of doctor habilitatus and who has been publishing a bibliography of Polish biblical<sup>3</sup> studies for many years, as well as the achievements and contribution to the development of research on the Holy Scriptures of Polish biblical scholars. It can be seen that *The Book of Sirach. Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language; Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language – Shrine of the Book 1973), concordance to the Hebrew text of Dominique Barthélemy and Otto Rickenbacher<sup>4</sup> and the Greek text of Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath<sup>5</sup> as well as references to the website [www.bensira.org](http://www.bensira.org), where all excerpts from the original Book of Sirach are published, along with their English translation were not included in the Bibliography. Of course, the author of the thesis was not obliged to use the above-mentioned Book of Sirach's Hebrew text publication or the website, because the fragments of original texts were quoted after Pancratius C. Beentjes.<sup>6</sup> However, since she referred to the publications of Norbert Peters<sup>7</sup> and Rudolf Smend from the beginning of the<sup>8</sup> 20th century, it would be expected that she would enrich her study also with the above-mentioned publications. Also, in the Bibliography two most important – fundamental for

3 See P. Ostański, *Bibliografia biblistyki polskiej*. I–II. 1945–1999. III–IV. 2000–2009. V. 2010–2013/2014. VI–VII. 2014–2017 (Series Bibliographica 1–4; Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza. Wydział Teologiczny. Redakcja Wydawnictw 2002, 2010, 2015, 2019).

4 See D. Barthélemy – O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach mit syrisch-hebräischem Index* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1973).

5 See E. Hatch – H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, 2 ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books 1998).

6 See P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew. A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1997).

7 See N. Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus, untersucht, herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit kritischen Noten versehen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder 1902); N. Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus. Übersetzt und erklärt* (EHAT 25; Münster: Aschendorff 1913).

8 See R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer 1906).

Greek LXX – Greek-English dictionaries by Johan Lust – Erick Eynikel – Katrin Hauspi<sup>9</sup> and Takamitsu Muraoki<sup>10</sup> were not included. It seems that Pudelko has given the meanings of Greek words using the dictionary developed by Zofia Abramowiczówna (only that dictionary of the Greek language is given in the Bibliography),<sup>11</sup> which is a good dictionary of the Greek language, but in the field of classical, not biblical, Greek. When it is possible, in research on the biblical Greek text, biblical Greek dictionaries should be used first, because they take into account the specificity of biblical *koine*, and only if necessary, use dictionaries based on classical Greek. As for the dictionaries for the biblical Hebrew language, the author of the reviewed monograph refers to the two most important and best dictionaries by David J.A. Clines (in the Bibliography, however, reference is made only to the first five volumes of this dictionary, while it has nine volumes with indexes)<sup>12</sup> and Ludwig Koehler – Walter Baumgartner – Johann J. Stamm.<sup>13</sup>

The Bibliography has not been divided into parts traditionally adopted in Polish scientific literature: sources, commentaries, detailed studies, general studies as well as dictionaries and lexicons. The author of the thesis adopted the increasingly spreading trend of compiling a bibliography in alphabetical order. Of course, there is no obligation to divide the bibliography into the parts indicated above,<sup>14</sup> but using it makes the bibliography itself clearer and certainly shows what kind of publications the author of a given scientific work mainly relied on (scientific articles, monographs, dictionary and encyclopedic entries).

## 2. Methodological Notes

In the Introduction (pp. 28–29), Pudelko described in detail the research method that she adopted in her thesis in order to perform an exegetical-theological analysis of selected fragments from the Book of Sirach that concern prophetism and prophets. In the beginning,

9 See J. Lust – E. Eynikel – K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. I. A – I. II. K – Ω (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1992).

10 See T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2009).

11 See Z. Abramowiczówna (ed.), *Słownik grecko-polski* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1958–1965) I–IV.

12 See D.J.A. Clines (ed.), *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press – Sheffield Phoenix Press 1993–2011) I–IX.

13 See L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner – J.J. Stamm (eds.), *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1994–2000) I–V = L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner – J.J. Stamm (eds.), *Wielki słownik hebrajsko-polski i aramejsko-polski Starego Testamentu* (ed. [Polish Edition] P. Dec) (Warszawa: Vocatio 2008) I–II.

14 “Individual items are listed in accordance with the Polish alphabet [...] The division of bibliography, especially when it comes to doctoral dissertations and books, is agreed upon with the supervisor or publisher. The usual division is split into two parts. There is ‘source literature’ that contains studies and their analysis on which the work puts focus, and ‘auxiliary literature’ where texts on the subject are mentioned. In any case, it is better to avoid numerous divisions” (S. Bazyliński, *Wprowadzenie do studium Pisma Świętego [Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures]*, 2 ed. [Kielce: Jedność 2019] 288).

she noted that there is no single version of the text of the sage from Jerusalem and even the critique of the text is not able to establish the text that would be the original text or similar to it. "This work was written in Hebrew, but it is the Greek version of this work that is fully preserved and canonical. For this reason, the main, but not the only, research text in this monograph will be the Greek version of the Book of Sirach."<sup>15</sup> In the further part of the presentation of the research method, the author of the thesis declares that she will treat the Hebrew version of Sir as an auxiliary text (p. 28). Pudelko, writing about the original work of the sage from Jerusalem, states that, unfortunately, the Hebrew text is very often damaged and incomplete, therefore in the footnotes, she will cite contemporary reconstructions of the Hebrew text, but she will treat them only as research hypotheses. In footnote no. 36 on p. 29 she declares to refer to the works of the Hebrew text published by Charles Mopsik<sup>16</sup> and Víctor Morla.<sup>17</sup> However, she did not take into account the reconstructions of the Hebrew text proposed by Hebrew-language researchers such as Elia S. Hartom<sup>18</sup> or Moshe Z. Segal.<sup>19</sup> Personally, I would omit these modern reconstructions of the Hebrew text in exegetic-theological analysis, because, as the author of the thesis notes, they are research hypotheses.<sup>20</sup> They are hypotheses, i.e., only more or less probable recreations of the alleged original text, based mainly on the Greek and Syriac versions. Certainly, these proposals are very interesting from the point of view of text criticism and techniques of its reconstruction, but since the purpose of the analysed monograph is completely different, Pudelko could simply not refer to them, and therefore it was not necessary in her work.

Unfortunately, the Hebrew text we currently know does not contain the entirety of the Book of Sirach. To this day, only or as much as  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the sage of Jerusalem's works have been discovered. This is why Pudelko writes: "Where the Hebrew text is not available, the ancient Syriac translation was proposed for comparison. It is the early Semitic translation of the original Hebrew. It's also a valuable resource in instances where the Greek and Hebrew texts vary."<sup>21</sup> The author is well aware of how difficult and complex the relations between the various versions of the Book of Sirach's text known today are, since she writes: "[...] the presence of the Hebrew text of the Book of Sirach also sheds new light on the Greek text, as it allows us to understand the concept of a translator who was after all the interpreter of the Hebrew text."<sup>22</sup> On this canvas arises the methodological question of why the author of the thesis referred to the Syriac version (in a particularly extensive way

15 J.J. Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha* (Studia Biblica Lublinensia 21; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2020) 28.

16 See C. Mopsik, *La Sagesse de ben Sira. Traduction de l'hébreu, introduction et annotation* (Les Dix Paroles; Lagrasse: Verdier 2003).

17 See V. Morla, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira* (Asociación Bíblica Española 59; Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino 2012).

18 See E.S. Hartom, סִירָא בֶן, 3 ed. (Tel Aviv: [s.n.] 1969).

19 See M.Z. Segal, הַשְׁלֵם סִירָא בֶן סַפֵּר, 3 ed. (Jerusalem: Bialik 1973).

20 Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 28–29.

21 Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 29.

22 Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 29.

in the analysis of Sir 24:30-34, the original version of which is unknown), since it is a late translation of the Hebrew text which was most likely made by a Christian and includes references to the Greek text, which greatly diminishes its value as a witness to the original text?<sup>23</sup>. One could get the impression that Pudelko puts significantly too much value on the meaning of the Syriac version.<sup>24</sup> This problem can be noticed in paragraph 3 chapter IV, where despite the fact the author of the thesis previously declared that she would refer to the Syriac version only in the analysis of the Greek text, which is unknown in the Hebrew version, whereas the original text, i.e., Hebrew, Sir 49:8-9 is known. The question arises, that since in paragraph 3.2 the author references the Syriac version, why doesn't she reference it in paragraph 3.4, where she did the exegetic analysis of Sir 49:8-9?

Since none of the main language versions of the Book of Sirach (neither Greek,<sup>25</sup> nor Syriac much less Latin) is a translation of the original text in today's sense (faithful rendering of the original in another language),<sup>26</sup> it is therefore necessary to consider whether attempting to "create – recreate" the text of the original work of the sage of Jerusalem in order to reach his original thought and message makes sense. In my opinion, one should focus on only one version of the text and possibly compare it to others. However, a general rule should be adopted, perhaps too simplifying of the complex relations between the individual versions of the Sir text, that priority should be given to the Greek text (as Pudelko did in her habilitation thesis), because we know it in its entirety, and it is the canonical version of the Book of Sirach.

In the aforementioned habilitation thesis, the author was for the majority of the analysed texts of Sir faithful to the primacy she accorded to the Greek text and to making it the main version of the work of Sirach on which she based her analysis. However, in some cases, one can notice a deviation from this adopted initial methodological assumption. Although only in a few cases, it can be noticed in the reviewed monograph, that its author begins her analysis with the Hebrew version, not the Greek one, which was supposed to be the main

23 See N. Caldach-Benages – J. Ferrer – J. Liesen, *La sabiduría del escriba* (Biblioteca midrásica 26; Estella: Verbo Divino 2003) 39–41; H. Langkammer, *Księga Syracha. Wstęp – przekład z oryginału – komentarz – ekskursy* (PST 8/5; Poznań: Pallottinum 2020) 40; J. Marböck, *Jesus Sirach 1–23* (HTHKAT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2010) 26; M.D. Nelson, *The Syriac Version of the Wisdom of Ben Sira Compared to the Greek and Hebrew Materials* (SBL 107; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1988) 6–7, 131–132; M.C. Palmisano, *Siracide. Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Nuova Versione della Bibbia dai Testi Antichi 34; Cinisello Balsamo: Edizioni San Paolo 2016) 21; W.T. van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation in the Syriac Text of Ben Sira* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden. Studies in the Syriac Versions of the Bible and Their Cultural Contexts 16; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2007) 37; A. Piwovar, "Storia testuale del libro del Siracide," *Roczniki Teologiczne* 55/1 (2008) 43–47; P.W. Skehan – A.A. Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York – London – Toronto: Doubleday 1987) 57.

24 "Sir is a free, sometimes imprecise or even incorrect translation from a Hebrew source text. This indicates that the translator knew Hebrew, but this knowledge appears to be limited, because more than once he misinterpreted his Hebrew source" (van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation*, 73–74).

25 See A. Minissale, *La versione greca del Siracide. Confronto con il testo ebraico alla luce dell'attività midrásica e del metodo targumico* (AnBib 133; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 1995).

26 See B.G. Wright, *No Small Difference. Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text* (SBL. Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 26; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1989).

one. For example, in paragraph 6.1 chapter III she based the delimitation of Sir 48:1-11 on the Hebrew text (p. 235). Moreover, it can be noticed that she sometimes refers to Hebrew words or syntagmas first, not to Greek ones, in the exegetic analysis. These are, of course, minor methodological inconsistencies that could be easily ignored, but in a scientific paper at the habilitation level, one should expect “iron rigorism” in approaching various versions of the work of the sage of Jerusalem.

In the reviewed monograph, one can notice yet another kind of methodological inconsistency concerning the scope of the carried-out analyses. In paragraph 1.3 chapter IV the author unnecessarily discusses the structure of the entire pericope of Sir 48:47-25, i.e., the presentation of King Hezekiah and the prophet Isaiah (p. 286), since earlier, i.e., in paragraph 1.1 she wrote: “This analysis is intended to present only the prophet Isaiah” (p. 284). In paragraph 1 chapter IV the author of the thesis analysed only the verses referring to the prophet, i.e., Sir 48:20cd-25, rightly omitting the text concerning King Hezekiah, with which the description of the figure of Isaiah is connected. However, in paragraph 2 chapter IV, which discusses the figure of Jeremiah, she no longer adhered to this rule and also analysed Sir 49:4-6 on the last kings, and not just Sir 49:7, which directly describes Jeremiah.

Defining the research method on which the exegetic-theological analysis will be based, Pudelko writes:

The exegetic procedure in the analysis of the texts will use both a diachronic and a synchronic approach. In the diachronic approach, elements of the historical-critical method, such as the history of text transmission, will be used. It will appear in the comparative analysis of the Hebrew and Greek texts, which, on the basis of the differences between the texts, will present its historical and theological development. The synchronic approach will be expressed in the analysis of the literary context of the pericopes, their delimitation, and finally the analysis of texts in terms of literary values. Another important element of these analyses will be their intertextuality.<sup>27</sup>

By making the research method described in such a general way more specific, the author of the thesis describes in great detail the individual research stages of the texts, which she will analyse in the following way: 1. showing the closest context, 2. translating the Greek, Hebrew and possibly Syriac versions into Polish, showing the differences between textual variants, 3. literary analysis (rhetorical figures, syntactic issues, repetitions, and thematic changes) and 4. exegesis of a given text-based on semantic and intertextual analysis. The research method adopted by Pudelko is correct. It should be emphasized that she applied it in an almost exemplary way (with minor shortcomings – as will be discussed in point 3. Substantive assessment – and methodological inconsistencies, which do not significantly affect the assessment of the entire monograph). In an almost exemplary way, because one can notice in the exegetic-literary analyses the lack of syntactic analysis declared in the description

<sup>27</sup> Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 29.



of the research method, especially in the Greek text, which due to its specificity requires much more attention to syntactic problems than the Hebrew language.

An important aspect of the reviewed monograph is its intertextuality, to which the author referred especially in chapter III and IV, where she discusses earlier and later prophets. By referring to the texts of other biblical books of the Old Testament (the Pentateuch, historical and prophetic books), the analysis of the individual characters presented in the last two chapters of the thesis is more complete and deeper. It also makes it possible to show successive prophets in relation to the accounts of them in other inspired books, and through this research procedure to make a comparison between the source text to which Sirach referred and the interpretation of the sage prophet in question. It should be emphasised that the comparative analysis is deep and solid, which allows us to somewhat understand the mind of the sage of Jerusalem and to not only learn about the sources he used in his study of individual characters, but also know how he presented them, i.e., what he highlighted in their activities, what he omitted, and what role he assigned to them in the history of Israel.

In the part devoted to the presentation of the research method she will use in her work, Pudelko states:

The Greek text and the verse numbering used in this work come from the Göttingen Septuagint, a scientific study of the Greek text of the book, edited by Joseph Ziegler. This means that the verse numbering in several marked places will differ from the one present in the Millennium Bible (MB), to which the Polish reader is used, and which is based on the LXX edition prepared by Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart.<sup>28</sup>

The author of the monograph adapted to the trend visible in scientific research on the Greek version of the Book of Sirach, represented by many scientists who prefer and use in their publications the numbering proposed by the aforementioned editor of the critical edition of the Greek text of the Book of Sirach – Joseph Ziegler.<sup>29</sup> Certainly, as the author noticed herself, in some cases it will cause problems with finding the correct text translated into Polish and it may cause quite a lot of confusion. Shouldn't the numbering used in the translations of Sir into Polish be preserved so as to avoid aforementioned issues and difficulties that may lead to confusion and chaos, especially if the reader isn't familiar with the changed numbering system? The sheer number of issues the numbering of individual verses in different versions of Sir translations can cause is best demonstrated by Friedrich V. Reiterer's synopsis of the numbering of the most important versions and translations of Sir.<sup>30</sup> The issue regarding the verses' numbering can be observed in the thesis in relation to the numbering (recording) of the stichoi in Greek and Hebrew in the case of Sir 48:12efGH

28 Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 28.

29 See J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum 12/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1980).

30 See F.V. Reiterer, *Zählsynopse zum Buch Ben Sira* (FSBP 1; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2003).

(pp. 267 and 273) where there are no stichoi ef in the Greek text. Stichoi Sir 48:12cdG correspond to Sir 48:12efH.

### 3. Substantive Assessment

The introduction covers all of the elements that should be included in this part of the scientific monograph (the subject and purpose of the study, *status questionis*, overview of the structure of work, and discussion on the research method used for the development of the topic or the research question). The author of the monograph, however, has not presented precisely the semantic fields of prophecy, especially these related to the Greek language, because she focused solely on words derived from the Greek root *προφη-*, i.e., the verb *προφητεύω* and the noun *προφητεία* (see pp. 20–21), but she omitted the noun *ὄρασις* which is the Hebrew equivalent of מראה (Sir 49:8) and חזוה (Sir 46:15). However, she presented the Hebrew semantic field ‘prophecy’ in a more accurate and exhaustive way, because she mentioned words derived from the root נבא (verb forms נבא and the nouns נביא and נבואה) and the nouns מראה, חזון, and חזוה (see pp. 21–22).<sup>31</sup>

In the Introduction to her habilitation, Pudelko did not define prophetism, nor did she describe in more detail what it is exactly. She did not specify how it should be understood either. She only explained ‘prophecy’ in one sentence, which may go unnoticed by the reader, on the basis of the Greek semantic field and she mentioned how to understand the role and tasks of prophets, “These terms appear in Greek literature dated back to the 5th century BC. They denote a man who proclaims something openly, a speaker, an early announcement, an ability to express God’s will, an oracle, a proclamation of God’s will, a response to an oracle, a prophetic office.”<sup>32</sup> The context of the quoted sentence may suggest that the description of prophetism refers solely to the Greek sphere with no connection to the biblical one. Moreover, if we apply this ‘definition’ of prophetism to the Bible, it should be noted that it greatly limits the biblical prophecy, as it narrows the definition down to just the announcement of God’s will. The author of the monograph adjusts this initial and imperfect description – the definition of prophetism in the summary of chapter I, by writing: “The prophet can foresee the future, he leads other people and oversees the rulers’ governance, he is the writer, he is the one who interprets God’s word, and he is the mediator between God and the people.”<sup>33</sup> On p. 145 she states,

Even though various qualities of famous figures are mentioned in it, the entire scripture of Sir 44:3 can be applied to biblical prophets, because they had very important roles – not only religious, related to the preaching of God’s word, but also political, military and social. All of it is related to

<sup>31</sup> See Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 20–22.

<sup>32</sup> Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 20–21.

<sup>33</sup> Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 64.

the broad understanding of the prophetic identity that is present in the Bible itself, which describes prophets as people who mediate between God and the people on many different levels.

It would have been better if the author of the thesis had given and had emphasized clearly the definition of prophetism already in the Introduction. She could have also presented in a descriptive way what exactly was prophetism and how a prophet should be understood – his role and tasks both in the religious and socio-political context.

The structure of the paper is logical, coherent and fully corresponds to the topic of the thesis. However, it is problematic to discuss the *Prologue* of the Book of Sirach in chapter II, and not in chapter I. The author herself rightly recognizes that the *Prologue* is not an actual part of the work of the sage from Jerusalem, but it is the work of his grandson, who translated from Hebrew into Greek a book written by his grandfather – Sirach.<sup>34</sup> It seems more logical to put the references to prophetism found in the *Prologue* in chapter I than in chapter II because the *Prologue* focuses on both the role and importance of prophetism during the Second Temple period. The author emphasizes that the prophetic books were already greatly recognized back then because they are equated and placed on the same level as the Law. The *Prologue* seems to explain the reason why Sirach gave attention to the prophets and their activity in his work. However, the very opinion of the sage from Jerusalem about prophecy and the prophets is only explained indirectly.

If the aforementioned doubt regarding the *Prologue* of the Book of Sirach seems controversial and open to discussion, then paragraph 3 chapter I introduces a much more important and explicit substantive issue. Chapter I named “Prophetism in the period of the Second Temple and rabbinic Judaism as the context of the Sirachic teaching about prophets and prophecy,” according to the author of the thesis, aims to introduce the historical and theological context of the teachings of the sage from Jerusalem about prophets and prophecy, as an essential comparative material to observe the specificity of the research question in his own scripture.<sup>35</sup> In this chapter, Pudelko first analyzed the texts in the Hebrew Bible (paragraph 1) that refer to prophets and prophecy (Ps 74:9; Zech 1:4a; 13:2-3; references to the research question contained in Mal and Joel 3:1-2 and in the Chronicle). Next, she discussed references to prophets and prophecies in the LXX, i.e., 1 Macc, Dan ( $\theta'$ ), and Wis (paragraph 2), and then she introduced ancient extra-biblical Jewish interpretations (paragraph 3) that consist of the works of Philo of Alexandria, Titus Flavius Josephus, the writings of Qumran, the apocalyptic writings and wills, and the rabbinic literature. The sequence in

<sup>34</sup> See Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 69.

<sup>35</sup> “[...] The first chapter of this study will be dedicated to the reality of prophetism during the Second Temple period and in the writings of rabbinic Judaism. This chapter will therefore present the historical and theological context of Sirach’s teachings on prophets and prophecy, which is an essential comparative material for understanding the specificity of the research question posed by the author of the Book of Sirach. [...] In the first chapter, which provides the background for the research, the answers for the question about the existence and shape of the prophecy in the time of Sirach will be researched. The beliefs that were prevalent could have influenced the perception of this phenomenon by the sage from Jerusalem” (Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 26–27).

which individual authors and literature are discussed in the last paragraph is quite surprising. One would expect a chronological order, i.e., the writings of Qumran, the apocalyptic writings and wills, Philo of Alexandria, Josephus, and the rabbinic literature. One should also consider whether the writings of Philo of Alexandria, Titus Flavius Josephus (the same applies to The Book of Sirach as well), and the rabbinic literature could be part of “the historical and theological context of Sirach’s teachings on prophets and prophecy” (p. 26) because these works are more recent, and it is possible that the Wisdom of Sirach influenced them. On p. 48 the author in the introduction to paragraph 3 chapter I states “Although in the case of the latter [the writings of the rabbinic literature – the author’s annotation] even though their transcription goes beyond AD 70, the ideas in them arose much earlier and can illuminate the understanding of prophecy in the Hellenistic period.”<sup>36</sup> However, it is only a guess. This statement is too far-fetched. There is no certainty that these writings retained ideas that might have shed light on how the Jewish approached prophetism in Hellenistic times. The above statement may be a reasonable supposition only in respect of the scriptures from Qumran and the Book of Enoch, but not to the works of Philo of Alexandria, Titus Flavius Josephus, 2 Baruch (written at the end of the first century AD) and the writings of the rabbinic literature. Discussing the works of Philo of Alexandria, Titus Flavius Josephus and rabbinic literature as the context of Sirach’s views on prophetism is methodologically and substantially unjustified and erroneous. The ending of paragraph 3.5 chapter I, in which the author ends her discussion about the rabbinic literature with reference to Christianity, is surprising.<sup>37</sup>

In the monograph, Pudelko does not include that many interpretations of the analyzed texts that may be deemed problematic. I do not agree with her statement that 1 Macc 4:45d-46 does not preach “about the complete absence of prophets but about the necessity of waiting for the right prophet to appear in the future” (p. 42). The Greek text of 1 Macc 4:46 preaches about a right place where the stones of the destroyed altar are to be laid (ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ), not about the appropriate prophet. In the interpretation of 1 Macc 9:27, one should rather agree with David L. Petersen’s opinion rather than the statement of the author of the thesis that, “1 Macc 9:27 indicates the temporary absence of the prophet, which is subject to change, rather than the permanence of this absence” (p. 43). The conclusion of Pudelko appears to be rather based on 1 Macc 14:41 and 4:46, the texts which she quotes as last references from the Book of Maccabees about prophets and prophecy, rather than from 1 Macc 9:27.

In the conclusion of chapter I the author, after discussing David E. Aune’s four models of prophetism of the Second Temple period (Apocalyptic, Eschatological, Priestly, Wisdom; pp. 64–66) she writes: “In such a diverse space of Second Temple Judaism, finally appears Sirach and his reflection on prophecy, understood as a reflection on history and the present” (p. 66). The quoted sentence suggests that the sage from Jerusalem lived at

<sup>36</sup> See Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 27.

<sup>37</sup> See Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 62–63.

a time when previously mentioned four forms of prophetism were already developed and coexisted side by side. It seems rather logical to assume that Sirach could have possibly contributed to the creation of the wisdom model of prophetism.

The translations of some Greek texts into the Polish language, which the author of the reviewed dissertation included in her publication, are debatable. It should be emphasized that she independently translated the analyzed texts of the Book of Sirach into Polish, which proves her good knowledge of biblical languages, and at the same time, it is an important and positive aspect of the reviewed monograph. Translation of biblical texts, especially the Greek ones, is a very difficult task, because it requires from a translator to have not only good knowledge of the vocabulary, but also perfect knowledge of the syntax and content of the work, which is translated into the modern language. In the dissertation by Pudelko, there are only a few texts that were translated in a debatable manner. One of them is the translation of *Prolog* 1–3 because the genitive words were translated as if they were nominatives in the Greek text. Based on the remarks related to the translation of *Prolog* it can be noted that Pudelko did not devote enough space and attention in her thesis for syntax analysis of the analyzed texts. This observation applies especially to the Greek version of Sir, because the Greek language, due to its specificity, allows much more often for different syntactic interpretations than the Hebrew language, and thus also for different translations of the Greek text. In the entire thesis, there is a visible lack of syntactic analysis of the discussed Greek texts and its elements, even where they are implicitly expressed, e.g., in relation to the *participium* δεδομένων, which the author rightly treats as *passivum theologicum*, but without explaining why she claims that the law and the prophets “were given” by God. On p. 193 the form πηκηκσεν πηκσεν needs to be recognized as complex aorist. In the interpretation of Sir 46:7 one should have considered the possibility of translating infinitives in this verse as expressing effect, not only the goal (pp. 170, 194 and 197).

In paragraph 1 Pudelko inconsistently translates one of the key Old Testament Greek words for the Sir and Wisdom Tradition. One of these words is παιδεία, which on p. 70 is translated as “instruction,” whereas, on pp. 73, 77 and further, it is translated as “teaching.” On p. 88 the author translates the Greek syntagma from Isa 41:18 (ἐν ὑδραγωγοῖς) inconsistently with the meaning of the Greek noun appearing in her work, which meaning of ‘waterworks’ she had given earlier, since she took the translation ‘in water fountains’ from the Millennium Bible. Sir 36:22b was improperly translated because the noun εὐδοκία does not mean “benignancy,” but “preference,” which is confirmed by the translation of Ps 106:4 (p. 112) and analysis of this word on p. 112. In Sir 36:22 Pudelko translates a form of past tense (γνώσονται) as the imperative of the aorist (“[let them] know”), pp. 110 and 113. The verb καταπαύω (see Sir 45:3a) does not mean “to speed up,” but “to withhold,” which the author writes about on p. 155 as another possible meaning of this verb. The doctor habilitatus candidate inaccurately translated the text Sir 46:3 as “Who will oppose him?” (pp. 170 and 183), Sir 46:5b “when surrounded by enemies, he was in danger” (pp. 170 and 187), Sir 46:6a: “he struck a war into the nation” (pp. 170 and 190). While the above-mentioned reservations regarding the translation of the Greek text into



Polish can be discussed, the translation of Sir 48:5-10 raises more serious objections. In the Greek version of the text, there is a series of six participles, five of which are substantiated. The author of the reviewed monograph translates them without any explanation of the syntactic nature as adjectival forms (see pp. 237–238).<sup>38</sup> When justifying her translation, she stated that each of the verses discussed constitutes an anaphora (p. 248). It should be noted, however, that the actual anaphora is definitely only Sir 48:4. The preposition ὑπό in combination with the form of the verb in the passive voice expresses the ultimate acting factor, so the preposition in Sir 48:12cG should be translated “by” and not “because of” (p. 273).

In paragraph 2.1 chapter II the author presented the literary context of Sir 24:30-34, but did not perform a delimitation of the pericope she will be analyzing. Showing the structure of the text which Sir 24:30-34 is a part of, is not synonymous with delimiting this literary unit.

In chapter III the paragraph 1.3 title (similarly in paragraph 1.1) should not contain the word ‘pericope,’ but instead, it should contain ‘verse,’ because in this paragraph only one verse was analyzed, which does not constitute a separate pericope or a part of a pericope. It belongs, however, to Sir 44:3-6, as the author correctly pointed out on pp. 136 and 140. There is a visible methodological inconsistency here, because Pudelko analyzes only one verse in this paragraph – the one which includes a reference to prophecy, not the entire literary unit, as she did so far in chapter II.

In paragraph 4.4.2 chapter II verses Sir 46:17-18 were quite briefly discussed (pp. 219–221), as well as Sir 48:4b in paragraph 6.4.2 (p. 247; only five lines of text, specifically one sentence of commentary, not counting the reference to Greek and Hebrew text of this stichos).

Objections are raised by the interpretation of Sir 48:6b (p. 251), especially the statement that this stichos is about a death in bed.

It is untrue that Sir 48:21H omits the action of an angel in saving Jerusalem from Sennacherib’s hands (p. 293), because in version H of this verse the second stichos is missing, which in G talks about the action of the angel/messenger. The author probably based her opinion on the S version, but this is only a supposition. It is also difficult to agree with the statement that the messenger of God in Sir 48:21bG is Isaiah (p. 294). Similarly (on p. 294), it is uneasy to agree with the statement that God in Sir 48:21bG acts through his word because the text of this stichos says nothing about the word of God and his action.

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<sup>38</sup> See W. Kraus – M. Karrer (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2009) 1157; A. Pietersma – B.G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint. And the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007) 759.

#### 4. Main Thesis

In the Conclusion, Pudelko, summarizing her considerations on the prophecies and prophets in Sir, makes a thesis that Sirach continues the activity of earlier prophets through inspired interpretation and updating of the Torah, the prophets and the scriptures. Just like prophets did, he passes the will of God to his contemporaries and guides them along the paths of fidelity to the Covenant, thus becoming a prophet–sage (p. 356). The author of the thesis describes the work of Sirach itself as a “wisdom prophecy” (p. 356). The above conclusions are reasonable and appropriate, although based only on Sir 24:30–34. I would suggest taking into account also Sir 51:13–30 and Sir 39:1–11 (the author of the thesis partially discusses this text in her work [paragraph 4 chapter II, pp. 115–132]). In addition, Pudelko should highlight and emphasize more the thesis she presented in the Conclusion, which is the result of her analysis and reflection on the prophecy in the Book of Sirach.

It should be emphasized that the above conclusion (thesis) of the author on the *Prophetism in the Book of Sirach* it is not novel or new. It was first formulated in 1906 by R. Smend: “Denn die Identifikation der Weisheit mit der jüdischen Religion ist gegen den Hellenismus gerichtet, in dessen Bekämpfung der Schriftgelehrte sich als sein Nachfolger der Propheten weiss.”<sup>39</sup> This idea was somewhat returned to in 2002 by Josef Schreiner, who claims that Sirach placed himself among the learned prophets teaching the Law.<sup>40</sup> In 2005 Leo G. Perdue referred Sirach to prophets but in a different, less unequivocal and clear, way:

Ben Sira identifies himself neither as priest nor as prophet. Rather, he sees himself in his inspired state to be ‘like’ a prophet. Thus, for Ben Sira, there was Moses and the Tora, then the priests, then the prophets, and finally the chosen sages who continued to be the vehicle of inspiration for theocracy of the new Jerusalem.<sup>41</sup>

The analysed issues are treated similarly by John G. Snaith,<sup>42</sup> Alexander A. Di Lella<sup>43</sup> and Maria C. Palmisano.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, Gerhard Maier, O. Rickenbacher and

39 See Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt*, 215.

40 “Er stellt sich in die Reihe schriftgelehrter Propheten (vgl. Prolog), welche die Torah auslegen (vgl. Jos 17<sup>8</sup> und Mal 3<sup>22</sup> als bestimmenden Rahmen um das Corpus der »früheren« und »späteren« Propheten)” (J. Schreiner, *Jesus Sirach 1–24* [NEchtB Altes Testament; Würzburg: Echter 2002] 134).

41 See L.G. Perdue, “Ben Sira and the Prophets,” *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit. Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O. F. M.* (CBQMS 38; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America 2005) 138.

42 “[...] he feels that his inspiration is as compelling as that of the prophets before him” (J.G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach* [Cambridge Bible Commentaries on the Apocrypha; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1974] 126).

43 “Finally, Ben Sira says he will ‘pour out [...] instruction like prophecy’ (v 33a), i.e., he is aware of his own inspiration from God, as the prophets of old were of theirs (See Jer 1:7,9); and like them, he utters his wisdom for the benefit of others” (Skehan – Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 338).

44 “Sembra che Ben Sira, usando come termine di confronto della propria opera l’attività profetica, consideri che il proprio lavoro abbia un valore analogo ad essa, ritenendosi compositore autentico e quindi ispirato” (Palmisano, *Siracide*, 237–238).

Johannes Marböck reject the possibility of associating Sirach with prophets.<sup>45</sup> Ralph Hildesheim in his monograph on the prophets in the Book of Sirach does not refer to the issue of Sirach identifying with the prophets,<sup>46</sup> because in his study he only analysed the texts about the prophets contained in The Praise of the Ancestors. On the other hand, Helge Stadelmann does not conclusively and unequivocally resolve the question of whether Sirach identified himself with the earlier prophets and whether he saw his activity as a continuation of the activity of the prophets.<sup>47</sup> Georg Sauer on the basis of Sir 24:33 claims that the teachings of the sage of Jerusalem merely exist within a prophetic context,<sup>48</sup> whereas Luis Alonso Schökel states that Sirach's teachings can be compared to prophecy.<sup>49</sup>

The above very briefly presented the analysis of the development of the problem whether Sirach considered himself a continuator of the prophets clearly indicates that this issue is quite known and discussed by other researchers of Sirach's work. As such, it is not *novum*, however, it should be noted that Pudelko has made a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the prophetism phenomenon in the Book of Sirach, which has not yet been done with such great accuracy and in relation to the entire work (and even beyond – analysis of the references to prophetism contained within the *Prologue*). Rudolf Smend, like other researchers whose opinions have been cited above, based his statement only on a simple conclusion, which he drew from the text of Sir 24:33. The author of *Prophetism in the Book of Sirach* supported her conclusion with a thorough analysis of the entire work and all references therein to prophecy and prophets. For this reason, she is an important and significant, though not ultimately conclusive, voice in the discussion of the prophetic self-awareness of the sage of Jerusalem.

## Summary

Jolanta Judyta Pudelko's habilitation thesis, despite the methodological inconsistencies mentioned in the previous points of the review, should be assessed very highly. It is an exegetically mature work, although there are a few methodological inconsistencies in it that many probably will not notice. The reason they appeared in the reviewed thesis is that

45 See G. Maier, *Mensch und freier Wille. Nach den jüdischen Religionsparteien zwischen Ben Sira und Paulus* (WUNT 12; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1971) 42; J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* (BZAW 272; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1999) 80; O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheits Perikopen bei Ben Sira* (OBO 1; Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag Freiburg/Schweiz – Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Ruprecht 1973) 170–171.

46 See R. Hildesheim, *Bis daß ein Prophet aufstand wie Feuer. Untersuchungen zum Prophetenverständnis des Ben Sira* (Trier theologische Studien 58; Trier: Paulinus 1996).

47 See H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. Eine Untersuchung zum Berufsbild des vor-makkabäischen Söfer unter Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zu Priester-, Propheten- und Weisheitslehrertum* (WUNT 2/6; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1980) 177–188.

48 See G. Sauer, *Jesus: Sirach / Ben Sira* (ATD. Apokryphen 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2000) 185.

49 See L.A. Schökel – J.M. Valverde – J. Mateos, *Proverbios y Eclesiastico* (Colección Los Libros Sagrados 15; Madrid: Cristiandad 1968) 232.

the author in her monograph used three different language versions (Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac) of the Book of Sirach, which on the one hand caused the aforementioned inconsistencies, and on the other hand enormously enriched the exegetical analysis of the texts. Even the other aforementioned inconsistencies in the translation of texts (especially Greek) and sometimes objectionable interpretations cannot affect the high rating of the reviewed book, because, on the one hand, they are marginal, and on the other hand they are discussable and probably explainable in direct confrontation with the author of the monograph. In her habilitation thesis, Pudelko proved her very good exegetic and linguistic preparation (both in relation to biblical and modern languages) as well as scientific maturity and reliability. Her monograph is the first full and complete study of prophetism in the Book of Sirach and a significant contribution to biblical literature, not only in Polish but also worldwide. The final thesis of the thesis could have been given more prominence in the Conclusion, so as to be a clearer conclusion of the conducted exegetic analyses. It is not new, but it is the first time it has been developed so extensively and supported by very detailed analyses of texts relating to the prophets and prophecy in the works of the sage of Jerusalem.

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Zdzisław J. Kapera – Alexander Schick (red.) „When the Sun Rises Over the Earth, They Shall Bless” (4Q503). Professor Claus-Hunno Hunzinger Memorial Volume, *The Qumran Chronicle* 28–29 (2020–2021) (Kraków: The Enigma Press 2021) Ss. 392. PLN 80. ISBN 978-83-952021-9-3

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W sierpniu 1990 r. ukazał się pierwszy zeszyt polskiego periodyku poświęconego archeologii Chirbet Qumran i rękopisom znalezionym w pobliskich grotach. Od tego czasu *Kronika Qumrańska*, pod redakcją jej założyciela Zdzisława Kapery, zdobyła znaczny rozgłos w świecie naukowym. Jest ona drugim po *Revue de Qumran* czasopismem specjalistycznym poświęconym wyłącznie odkryciom w Qumran. Najnowsze dwa roczniki, połączone w jeden tom, stanowią księgę pamiątkową ku czci zmarłego niedawno (3 I 2021) profesora Clausa-Hunno Hunzingera.

Hunzinger należał do zespołu pierwszych badaczy zwojów znad Morza Martwego. Zespół ten (tzw. scrollery team) powołał o. Roland de Vaux (w porozumieniu z ówczesnym dyrektorem Departamentu Starożytności Królestwa Jordanii Geraldem L. Hardingiem). W skład zespołu weszli trzej księża katolicy (Józef T. Milik z Polski, Patrick W. Skehan ze Stanów Zjednoczonych oraz Jean Starcky z Francji), amerykański prezbiterianin Frank M. Cross, brytyjski anglikanin John Strugnell oraz inny Anglik, John M. Allegro, uznający się za agnostyka. Do tego zespołu dołączył w końcu roku 1954 niemiecki luteranin C.-H. Hunzinger, liczący zaledwie 25 lat.

Ponieważ nazwisko Hunzingera jest najmniej znane spośród pionierów prac nad zwojami, postanowiono uczcić jego pamięć osobną publikacją. Na apel Kapery odpowiedziało kilkunastu uczniów i przyjaciół zmarłego Profesora. Dzięki tej publikacji młodszy bibliści mogą się zapoznać z fascynującą historią odkryć oraz wkładem Hunzingera w początkowe badania nad treścią zwojów. Słowa cytowane w tytule księgi pamiątkowej pochodzą ze zbioru modlitw codziennych, odmawianych we wspólnocie qumrańskiej (4Q503). Dokument ten, złożony z 225 pergaminowych fragmentów, został wydany dopiero w roku 1982 przez Maurice'a Bailleta, który zastąpił Hunzingera po jego odejściu z zespołu.

Omawiana tu księga pamiątkowa składa się z 15 artykułów, zgrupowanych w pięciu rozdziałach tematycznych. Rozdział wstępny (s. 3–34) obejmuje cenne wspomnienia o Profesorze oraz jego bibliografię (James H. Charlesworth, A. Schick, Uwe Glessmer, T. Schramm). Dowiadujemy się z tych wspomnień o okolicznościach przyłączenia

Hunzingera do zespołu badaczy zwojów z Qumran. Wzruszające są świadectwa o jego pasji naukowej i jeszcze większej miłości do Małgosi, którą poznał właśnie w Jerozolimie i dochował jej wierności aż do śmierci.

Pierwszy dział księgi nosi tytuł „Manuskrypty z Qumran” (s. 35–154) i obejmuje trzy artykuły renomowanych badaczy, nawiązujące do prac Hunzingera. Najpierw Kenneth Atkinson pyta kolejny raz o związek zwojów z pobliską osadą Chirbet Qumran („Are the Dead Sea Scrolls from Khirbet Qumran?”, 35–59). Różnorodność tego zbioru pism, porzuconych w okolicznych grotach, każe mu raczej przypuszczać, że tylko część zwojów powstała w tutejszej osadzie esseńskiej; większość dokumentacji wskazuje na inne wspólnoty, podzielające podobne przekonania. Nadchodząca inwazja wojsk rzymskich sprawiła, że ich księgozbiory ukryto w grotach z nadzieją ich odzyskania po powstaniu żydowskim.

Inny charakter ma obszerny artykuł Uwe Glessmera o kolejnych rekonstrukcjach Wielkiego Zwoju Psalmów („Reconstructions of the Great Psalms Scroll 11Q5”, s. 61–136). Rozpoczyna od nawiązania do pierwszych oględzin zwoju, jakich dokonał Hunzinger w roku 1957 w Ammanie. Następnie omawia kolejne próby zrekonstruowania zwoju 11Q5 – od Jamesa A. Sandersa (1965) do Ulricha Dahmena (2003) – i podaje własną propozycję odtworzenia treści dokumentu w 28 kolumnach. Co więcej, wyróżnia dwie fazy destrukcji zwoju: „stojącą” i „leżącą”. Momentem przełomowym miało być splądrowanie grot w IX wieku, poświadczane w ówczesnych źródłach.

Cennym dopełnieniem tego działu jest zestaw bibliograficzny najnowszych prac (2010–2020) nad identyfikacją i klasyfikacją rękopisów z Pustyni Judzkiej. Annette Steudel i Eibert Tigchelaar zawarli w tym zestawie informacje o mniejszych fragmentach – hebrajskich i aramejskich – które nie zmieściły się w oficjalnym wydaniu tekstów (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 1–40). Ten krótki artykuł (s. 137–154) ułatwia młodszym badaczom dotarcie do aktualnych badań nad wieloma fragmentami zwojów, które dotąd uważano za „niezidentyfikowane”. Apendyks do tego artykułu traktuje nadto o fragmentach, które trafiły do rąk prywatnych kolekcjonerów, a które częściowo okazały się „podróbkami”.

Trzy następne artykuły tego festschriftu umieszczono pod wspólnym tytułem: „Esseńczycy”. Brian Capper podjął temat związany z Nowym Testamentem: „Men of Perfect Holiness: Essene Religious Virtuosity in Jerusalem and the Crowd Converted at Pentecost (Acts 2)” (s. 151–199). Hermann Lichtenberger zestawia teksty źródłowe o esseńczykach, zachowane w dziełach Filona i Józefa Flawiusza (s. 201–226). Wreszcie Rainer Riesner podejmuje szczegółowy temat „Bramy Esseńskiej” w Jerozolimie (s. 227–237), wspomnianej przez Flawiusza (*De bello Iudaico* 5,145).

Kolejny dział książki to „Archeologia Qumran”, zawarta w treści trzech artykułów. Claud de Cohen-Matlofsky podjęła temat: „The Qumran Cemetery (-ies?) in Context”. Podtytuł wyjaśnia, że chodzi tu o praktyki pogrzebowe w hellenistycznej i rzymskiej prowincji Judaea–Palestina, w porównaniu z analogicznymi zwyczajami Nabatejczyków (s. 239–274). Drugim autorem w tym dziale jest Jacek Konik, polski archeolog z Warszawy. Podjął on ciekawy temat, ujęty w pytaniu: „A Vibrant Place or a Remote CE” (s. 275–293). Okazuje się, że dzięki zaopatrzeniu w słodką wodę miejsca te były oazami życia.

Ostatnim tekstem w dziele archeologii jest komunikat J. Randalla Price’a „The Mysterious *massebot* of Qumran” (s. 295–310). Wychodzi on również od wstępnych prac Hunzingera na terenie osiedla Qumran. W swoich własnych badaniach amerykański archeolog zwrócił uwagę na stojące kamienie, które przypominają kształtem biblijne *maceby*. Dokładne ich przeznaczenie nie jest na razie znane; w każdym razie stanowią one anomalie w praktykach esseńskich.

Ostatni dział tej interesującej książki nosi tytuł „Historia badań qumrańskich”. Zamieszczono tu dwa przyczynki polskich badaczy. Dariusz Długosz, kustosz z Musée du Louvre, omawia historię badań nad tajemniczym „Zwojem miedzianym” (3Q15). Oryginał zwoju, przechowywany w zbiorach Muzeum w Ammanie, został poddany konserwacji we Francji; jego faksimile natomiast znalazło się w Luwrze, w Dziale Starożytności Orientalnych, pod troskliwą opieką Długosza. Jego przyczynkę, zamieszczony na końcu książki pamiątkowej (s. 311–332), jest kopalnią wiadomości o Miedzianym Zwoju, od chwili jego odkrycia w trzeciej grocie aż po najnowszą rekonstrukcję jego treści.

Inny charakter ma wspomnienie Z.J. Kapery o archeologu izraelskim współczesnym Hunzingerowi. Magen Broshi (1929–2020), podobnie jak Kapera, zajmował się badaniem cmentarzy qumrańskich, toteż w artykule znajdziemy wiele ciekawych informacji o spotkaniach z tym niezwykłym człowiekiem, który odszedł z tego świata podczas „wielkiej pandemii”, równie cicho i niezauważenie jak Hunzinger (s. 333–358).

Ostatni artykuł festschriftu, bogato ilustrowany, dotyczy „ossuariów w zbiorach niemieckich” (s. 359–383). Jego autor, Wolfgang Zwickel, profesor Uniwersytetu Gutenberga w Moguncji, od lat był związany z Hunzingerem, który zawsze akcentował rolę środowiska materialnego w badaniach nad Nowym Testamentem. Zwickel omawia tu szczegółowo dziesięć ossuariów, które z antykwariatów trafiły do Niemiec w latach 60. i 70. ubiegłego stulecia. Wszystkie one datują się z czasów Nowego Testamentu i stanowią ilustracje zwyczajów grzebalnych tej epoki. Końcowy indeks autorów (s. 385–392) ułatwia korzystanie z książki, która stanowi swoiste kompendium „qumranologii”.

Na koniec należy wyrazić serdeczną wdzięczność Z.J. Kaperze zarówno za staranne opracowanie omawianej książki, jak i za trzydzieści lat redagowania unikalnego periodyku naukowego, jakim jest *Qumran Chronicle*. Mam wrażenie, że czasopismo to jest bardziej znane za granicą niż w Polsce, gdzie ciągle brak należytego zainteresowania zarówno archeologią Chirbet Qumran, jak i rękopisami z pobliskich grot. Postulatem piszącego te słowa jest to, aby *Qumran Chronicle* znalazła stałe miejsce w bibliotekach wszystkich ośrodków teologicznych w Polsce, szczególnie na uniwersyteckich wydziałach teologicznych.






John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus. V. Probing the Authenticity of the Parables* (New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 2016). Pp. 464. \$ 65. ISBN 978-0-300-21190-0

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John Paul Meier, Professor Emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, is a renowned exegete and one of the leading figures in the study of historical Jesus. He is also a Catholic clergyman. Meier's research interests, apart from the figure of historical Jesus, include the Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of John, Second Temple Judaism and Christology of the New Testament. He is the author of several articles and many books. In applying critical-historical methods, he remains a student of Raymond Brown, with whom he wrote the highly regarded book *Antioch and Rome. New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press 2004). Meier's greatest achievement, however, is the monumental, multi-volume work *A Marginal Jew*, the first volume of which was published in 1991, and the next ones are still being written ([New York: Yale University Press 1991–2009] I–IV). This powerful book is one of the most important reference points for all Jesus Quest researchers. Meier's work is simply impressive with its panache and at the same time scientific solidity, reliability and meticulousness, so that one must agree with Benedict XVI, who, in his *Jesus of Nazareth. I. From the Baptism in the Jordan to the Transfiguration* (New York: Doubleday 2007), pointed to Meier's work as a model example of the historical-critical method.

The newest, fifth volume of *A Marginal Jew* deals with the parables of Jesus. This issue is not a flashpoint in the discussion of historical Jesus. Many scholars take it for granted that most of the parables in the canonical Gospels come from Jesus. It is even believed that they are almost the surest source that can be used to reach His authentic teaching. Both more conservative scholars and members of Jesus Seminar, led by John Dominic Crossan, agree that parables are key and reliable material in reaching the message of historical Jesus. They only differ in interpretation of their meaning. No wonder that in the last century exegetes devoted much attention to parables, analyzing them in detail, and – at least in their own opinion – thus reaching the authentic message of Jesus. Meier's book does not lack references to this rich exegetical tradition, including the works of two of the most famous exegetes of the parables, Joachim Jeremias and Charles Dodd. However, for all those who expect parables to provide some revolutionary material for reaching the historical Jesus, John Paul Meier has a truly bitter answer. In his opinion the parables, firstly, do not constitute the key

material that would add much to the historically reconstructed image of Jesus, and secondly, in many cases it is impossible to say whether they come directly from Jesus at all. Of the many parables in the synoptic Gospels, Meier mentions only four that can be attributed with a high degree of certainty to Jesus.

Before we get into what these four parables are and why there are so few of them, let us examine the structure of the book. It consists of an introduction, four extensive chapters and a summary. Each chapter ends with an extensive set of footnotes, which – despite some inconvenience – are worth reading. As usual in *A Marginal Jew*, they are stuffed to the brim not only with bibliographic references, but also with interesting analyzes carried out, as it were, next to the main thread of the chapter. The book ends with an Appendix in the form of an extensive bibliography on the parable of Jesus. In addition, the reader receives maps of Palestine and Galilee from the time of Jesus, the family tree of the Herods, a list of Roman emperors from the 1st century, and relevant indexes.

In the introduction (pp. 1–29), Meier introduces the reader to his basic assumptions that accompany him in writing a multi-volume work on historical Jesus. The author also initially sketches the problem of parables and their role in Jesus' Quest. Meier's strategy is as follows: first he presented some general framework for Jesus' life and mission (v. 1), then he focused on the fundamental dimensions of his public life, i.e. on preaching the kingdom and performing miraculous signs, also grounding Jesus' ministry in the mission of His master and predecessor, John the Baptist (v. 2). In the third volume, Meier focused on the attitude of various groups of people to Jesus, ranging from His disciples to various groups of His opponents. The fourth volume of the work examines Jesus' relationship to the Jewish Law. Only after all this, says Meier, can we move on to the parables. Otherwise, according to the author, their exegesis remains in a void and is prone to wishful thinking, as in Marxist, liberal or feminist interpretations, but also in mocking preaching (at which Meier laughs several times). It is worth paying attention to the presentation of the criteria that constitute the backbone of the author's methodology. Although the criteria themselves have been known since the publication of the first volume, it is worth refreshing this issue once again. And find out that, according to Meier, in the vast majority of cases it is difficult to apply any criterion other than multiple attestation to the parable. It is also worth noting that Meier understands the concept of a parable quite narrowly and precisely. They are therefore narrative stories, not mere metaphors or comparisons used by Jesus.

Chapter 37 (numbering begins with the first volume) is a collection of Meier's seven theses on the parables (pp. 30–81). The author describes his theses as unfashionable, wanting to emphasize that in assessing the sense of the parables, their context and historical origin, he differs from the vast majority of contemporary researchers of the issue. The first thesis is that no one knows for sure how many parables are in the Gospels. The very concept of a parable is blurred, and in addition there is the way of counting these stories that appear in several Gospels (e.g. if the parables of mines and talents are two or one parable). Contrary to common "obviousness," Meier states: "scholars generally do not agree on what constitutes a parable of Jesus" (p. 35). In the second thesis, Meier rejects the belief that

Jesus' parables fit Him in the wisdom tradition of the Old Testament. It is the way of teaching in parables that some scholars use to conclude that Jesus was, above all, a sage, and perhaps even a philosopher. Meier, meanwhile, states that there is no strong analogy between the wisdom literature and the parables of the Master of Nazareth. So what is the real context of Jesus' parables? It is the prophetic tradition (and this is the third thesis). Also, in telling parables, Jesus remains first and foremost a prophet of Israel. The fourth thesis is therefore straightforward: "The Synoptic Jesus who tells narrative parables stands primarily not in the sapiential but in the prophetic tradition of the Jewish Scriptures" (p. 40). The fifth thesis is that it is impossible to give a specific definition of a parable that would suit every case. The sixth thesis says that the Gospel of Thomas is not, contrary to what many scholars say, an independent source of sayings of Jesus, including the parables, but is completely dependent on the Synoptics. Finally, the seventh thesis states that very few parables can be attributed with high probability to the historical Jesus. A clear lecture in the form of seven theses undoubtedly gives the reader a good starting point for further reading. Meier remains a master of systematization and scientific rigor. It is also worth paying attention to the addition to the chapter, in which the author explains the meaning of the concept of allegory and its connection with the concept of a parable – all based on George Orwell's *Animal Farm*.

In chapter 38 (pp. 89–188) Meier extensively analyzes the question of the parables in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. Such a reliable treatment of this issue results from the context of contemporary trends in research on historical Jesus. As we know, sometimes great importance is attached to the *Gospel of Thomas*, even trying to date it to the times of the creation of the synoptic Gospels. Researchers from the circle of Jesus Seminar are even inclined to believe that it is in Thomas that we can refer to the authentic words of Jesus, which in the Synoptics are already more strongly modified. Meier distances himself from such views. However, it does not stop at a simple denial, but takes into account specific texts of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* – both those containing parables and others. He patiently proves that Thomas, despite his truly unique role among the apocrypha, cannot be a purer source of historical research on Jesus than the canonical Gospels. The text of Thomas depends at every step on the Synoptics, whose material he works through in his own proto-Gnostic spirit. Ultimately: "In every single case, both inside and outside the parable tradition, no matter what the literary genre or content, we have found it more likely than not that Thomas displays sings of some sort dependence on the Synoptic material" (p. 146). It is impressive how reliable and thorough analysis Meier carried out to prove this.

Since the *Gospel of Thomas* has fallen aside as an independent source of the parable, what is left for us? Meier goes in chapter 39 (pp. 189–229) to analyze all parables in search of candidates for the title of a parabola that certainly comes from Jesus himself. This does not mean, however, that the author analyzes in detail the content of each of several dozen parables. The entire chapter is structured in the key of the multiple attestation criterion, as, according to Meier, it is the most fruitful for the search for the authentic parables of Jesus. So we have first the parables from the Gospel of Mark listed and discussed, then with Q,

then the parables from Matthew's own sources and finally Luke. What conclusions does Meier draw from this comparison? First, we see that Mark's parables, not surprisingly, also appear in Matthew and Luke. The same is true, which is basically a truism, with the parables of Q. So it is difficult to speak of these texts being based on several independent sources. On the other hand, the own parables of Matthew and Luke do not appear anywhere else, and they are endowed with a strong outline of the style and theology of the Evangelists (and some of them are directly created by them, as Meier states about the parable of the Good Samaritan). All of this does not mean – as Meier emphasizes many times – that these parables certainly do not come from the historical Jesus. Most often it means that it is simply impossible to prove it, nor can the opposite be proved. Most of the parables end up in Meier's *non liquet* sphere. But what are the exceptions? Meier lists four parables which are worth considering as having, let's call it, potential for authenticity. These are: the parable of the Mustard Seed (as it appears in both Mark and Q), the parable of the Evil Tenants of the Vineyard (under the criterion of embarrassment), the parable of the Great Supper and the parable of Talents/Pounds (as derived from various sources of Matthew and Luke).

The climax of Meier's analysis we found in chapter 40 with the telling title "The Few, The Happy Few" (pp. 230–362). John Paul Meier examines in more detail the four parables that claim to be authentic. As for the Mustard Seed (Mark 4:30-32; Matt 13:31-32; Luke 13:18-19) the matter is relatively simple. The decisive criterion here is multiple attestation. The story of a seed that, although small, produces a large plant, can be found in both Mark and Q, a version of which is used by the other Synoptics. The meaning of the parable is, according to Meier, very simple: In the near future the spectacular kingdom of God will come, but it is present in the seed right now, in the ministry and teaching of Jesus (p. 239). The case of the parable of the Evil Tenants of the Vineyard is interesting (Mark 12:1-11; Matt 21:33-43; Luke 20:9-18). It comes from only one source, which is Mark. Nevertheless, Meier considers it authentic, referring to the criterion of embarrassment. What is so scandalous about this parable that it cannot be attributed to any of the Post-Easter Christians? Well, Meier proves that the ending of the parable in the form of Jesus' dialogue with his listeners, about the retaliation of the vineyard administrator and the fact that the rejected son will become the cornerstone, is a later addition, which does not belong to the parable in a strict sense. Thus, the original version of the parable ends with a poor fate of a butchered son sent to a vineyard. According to Meier, Jesus tells this parable about himself, anticipating his possible fate. The negative ending, without reference to the resurrection, allows us to estimate according to the exegete that the parable actually comes from the mouth of Jesus himself. Two subsequent parables, i.e. the one about the Great Supper (Matt 22:2-14; Luke 14:16-24) and the one about Talents/Pounds (Matt 25:14-30; Luke 19:11-27) meet the criterion of multiple attestation, for, as Meier argues, their versions differ so much that it must be recognized that each of the Evangelists used their own separate sources. Both parables fit well with the overall context of Jesus' teaching, as Meier reconstructs it.

At the end (pp. 363–376), Meier briefly presents his conclusions, referring once again to his seven theses presented at the beginning of the volume. So we read that parables are

not a sure path to reach the words of the historical Jesus. It is true that many of them may come from him, but only in four cases it can be argued. The polemic with the “aesthetic” argument, which often works in relation to the parable, seems to be right and accurate. Some people think it is enough to say that they feel that a parable suits Jesus because it is somehow particularly beautiful and touching. That kind of argument has no place in scientific research. This is one of the reasons why Meier dealt so ruthlessly with the parable of the Good Samaritan, beloved for many, revealing it as a construct of Luke.

In the end, the author leaves us without any satisfaction if we expected spectacular discoveries after the next volume of *A Marginal Jew*. It turns out that the parables are of less historical value and constitute a very shaky ground when it comes to discovering the details of Jesus’ historical message. Meier, in his ruthless research integrity, does not care whether we like this conclusion or not. He remains true to his critical assumptions because, as he states, “trying to be just a little bit critical is like trying to be just a little bit pregnant” (p. 230). Is Meier’s radical skepticism a bit of an exaggeration at times? The author can be accused of focusing very strongly on only one of his criteria, i.e. on the criterion of multiple attestation. One would like to read detailed analyzes of other parables than the four selected parables, look for something in terms of different criteria. Meier, however, goes constrained and decides that we won’t find anything. The parables of Jesus in the Gospels resemble those of biblical prophets, then they are continued in rabbinical parables. It cannot be shown that their character proves their descent from Jesus himself. In most cases, guesswork and premonitions remain – but this is no longer a scientific space. Meier’s reflection is bitter and hard to accept, because one would like more positive conclusions and discoveries. To all those who would very much like the known parables of the kind about the Prodigal Son to come from Jesus, Meier replies by shaking his head. Jesus was teaching his disciples in parables – that’s for sure. But He certainly taught them also how to teach in parables. So, do the parables we read in the Gospels come from Him or from them? In the vast majority of cases we simply do not know that.

For people who appreciate revolutionary and “unmasking” Jesus Quest propositions, Meier may seem tiresome with each volume more and more. However, his scientific rigor, meticulous diligence and maximal criticism and skepticism make it very difficult to argue with him. Although *A Marginal Jew* will never reach the popularity of sensational, sometimes para-scientific books about “real” Jesus, it is Meier’s work that will influence an authentic research on the historical Jesus for decades. Readers who prefer reliability over controversy can only hope that age and health will allow the author to publish the promised two remaining volumes – about the Christological titles in the Gospels and, last but definitely not least, about the death of Jesus.





Sergio Rotasperti, *Metaphors in Proverbs. Decoding the Language of Metaphor in the Book of Proverbs* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 188; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2021). Pp. XVIII+227. €109.00. ISBN 978-90-04-46410-0 (Hardback), 978-90-04-46605-0 (E-Book)

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The *Metaphors in Proverbs* by Sergio Rotasperti is a revision of his doctoral thesis. The original dissertation was written in Italian and submitted in 2014 to the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. It has been already published “almost entirely” as «*Sorgente di vita è la bocca del giusto*». *L'arte della metafora nel libro dei Proverbi* (Collana Studi biblici 75; Bologna: Dehoniane 2016). The English version is shorter; in fact, when compared with the Italian edition, the omission of some paragraphs and bibliographic entries is conspicuous. The monograph comprises front matters, an introduction, five chapters, a conclusion, a bibliography and an index of modern authors (Aristotle included).

In the short (pp. 1–9) introduction, the author briefly presents the history of research on metaphor (“Metaphorical Language”), the poetic nature of Proverbs (“Metaphorical Language in Proverbs”) and the method applied in the study (“Metaphorical Process”). The last one draws attention as Rotasperti explicitly states that he does “not apply any specific theory of metaphor” (p. 8), instead uses “– on a case-by-case basis – contemporary rereadings of Aristotle’s thought on metaphor” (p. 9). This approach predictably leads to “a loose analysis of figurative language” noticed already by Walter J. Houston in his brief review of the Italian publication (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 42/5 [2018] 103). The introduction also lacks an explicit statement regarding the goal of the study, which, instead, is found in the conclusion: “The aim of the present study has been twofold: firstly, to account for the phenomenon of the metaphor in Proverbs by means of lexical enquiry. The second, more complex aim was to launch a process of analysis of the metaphors by applying a suitable methodology” (p. 189). The author’s actual methodology is presented below.

The first chapter (pp. 10–30) is introductory and covers three thematic areas. The first (“The Textual Fabric of the Metaphor”) is an overview of the Book of Proverbs regarding the interconnection between orality and writing as well as its literary composition as a “collection of collections”. The second (“Contextualizing Metaphors”) describes the poetic nature of Proverbs, its cultural (Near Eastern and Hellenistic) and social (“family, court and scholastic”) context, as well as the possible dating of the book. Finally (“Unveiling

Metaphors”), Rotasperti provides a *status quaestionis* regarding metaphors in Proverbs and a survey of metaphorical elements in the book, conveniently organized into six categories: (1) the human body and its parts, (2) the animal world, (3) the urban environment, (4) natural elements, (5) preciousness and value and (6) utensils and objects of daily use. Interestingly, the fifth category disappears already in the summary of the first chapter (p. 30), while in the further study, only four first categories persist.

Four subsequent chapters are dedicated to the analysis of four thematic areas of metaphors in Proverbs. Their structure is identical, reflecting what the author considers “a suitable methodology” for the study. Each chapter begins with a survey of the respective lexical field (subchapter 1), organized in two stages: first (section 1.1), an extensive (although rarely comprehensive) catalogue of the relevant terms with their collocation in the structure of Proverbs and principal semantic associations; in the second (1.2), Rotasperti assesses the same terms more generally, especially in their relation to the human world and metaphoric force. The second subchapter is an analysis of five metaphors from the respective semantic field. The author is clear that his selection is subjective, although not random (p. 6). For each example, the entire verse is analysed. In many cases, the selection corresponds to the extension of the proverb under consideration, although often only a part of the proverb (or instruction) is studied in detail. Consequently, for any selected example, more than one metaphor is examined crossing the thematic boundaries proposed by Rotasperti. Thus, an index of the metaphorical terms would be more than welcome, as it is not self-explanatory that one interested in the raven and the eagle/vulture metaphor should look primarily into chapter 2 (dedicated to the human body), where Prov 30:17 is considered.

For each verse, Rotasperti applies a method he calls “metaphorical process” (the term seems to apply also to the metaphor understood as a process, as well as to the activity of the author of the metaphor). First, the Hebrew text along with an English translation and subdivision of the verse is presented. The proposed translation is not always apparent, and the author usually does not provide any explanation for it. Moreover, the translation (sometimes even the verse subdivisions) is not always maintained in the analysis that follows. In the second step, Rotasperti briefly argues for the metaphorical nature of the verse.

The third is gathered under the heading “The Text and Its Composition.” It opens with a survey of text-critical issues, in particular concerning LXX. The author clearly states that “the preference is to preserve the reading of the Masoretic Text” (p. 84) and this part serves primarily to establish the literal meaning of the verse, often with syntactic and semantic considerations. It also explains the continuous swap between the terminology: this section is said to deal with “textual” or “philological” issues. Next, the structure of the verse is usually presented, although in some cases this part is simply omitted without any explicit rationale. Besides the semantic and syntactic aspects, sometimes the proposed structure is based also on the assonances in the Hebrew text. This section concludes with a very brief remark on the context of the verse. It is noteworthy that in the Italian version this part of the analysis is significantly more elaborate for each metaphor.

In the fourth step (“Analysis of the Metaphorical Elements”), Rotasperti individuates and analyses “the lexical and syntagmatic elements that constitute the metaphorical expression” (pp. 7–8). The analysis is based mainly on the terms’ occurrences in the Book of Proverbs and the entire Hebrew Bible (sometimes with a reference to the LXX correspondences). Second domain often considered is the real-life experience available in the biblical context. It covers vast range of subjects from the natural (especially animal) world to ancient technologies. Comprehensiveness is not possible in such a broad thematic range; nevertheless, Rotasperti provides valuable insight into the terms under consideration. The reader must remain careful, as some statements are apparently unfounded. It does not necessarily mean they are wrong; however, due to absent (or incorrect) references, verifying the author’s claim is difficult. Moreover, there are several misinterpretations, both of the Hebrew source and the secondary literature.

The final step is called “Interpretation of the Metaphor” and “is intended to ‘rework’ all the elements previously examined” (p. 8). In fact, it is significantly ampler. Besides the creative reworking the earlier results, Rotasperti (in a somewhat haphazard manner, sadly) provides meaningful parallels from other sources, primarily Ben Sira and later Jewish tradition. Moreover, he very often refers to the Hebrew cantillation of the analysed verses and its impact on the interpretation of the text. The interpretations are meaningful, although sometimes far-fetched (once or twice, perhaps even difficult to accept). However, this freedom seems to be an intended feature of Rotasperti’s method, as he concludes his introduction with Luis Alonso Schökel’s warning: “Both the reader and the specialised exegete must be extremely careful not to let their own imagination be numbed when they read or study biblical poetry. What was written creatively must be received creatively” (Rotasperti’s translation on p. 9; originally L. Alonso Schökel, *Manuale di poetica ebraica* [Biblioteca biblica 1; Brescia: Queriniana 1989] 130).

The methodology described above is applied in four main chapters (2–5) of the monograph. Chapter 2 (pp. 31–68) deals with the metaphors relating to the human body, including the hand, palm, foot, heart, mouth, lips, tongue, eye, pupil and eyelid. The verses analysed in the second stage are Prov 10:11; 15:4; 25:19; 27:9 and 30:17. Except for the third one, each can be readily appropriated to another category of metaphors. Noteworthy, the summary of this chapter contains not only a recapitulation of the earlier analysis but also some more general observations that concern the metaphors in Proverbs. Their influence on the general conclusions of the study is difficult to miss. In the third chapter (pp. 69–109), the urban and extra-urban elements surveyed encompass agglomerations (like city and town), structures (e.g., house and palace), urban details (tower, city square etc.) as well as various terms referring to roads. The verses selected for the analysis are Prov 10:29; 15:19; 18:19; 23:27 and 30:26. Chapter 4 (pp. 110–151) is entitled “In the World of Nature” and comprises various botanical terms, fruits of the earth, meteorological phenomena, as well as terms from the domain of geography, hydrography and geology. The classification is not always self-explanatory (e.g., “milk” in “The World of Botany”), although the coverage is vast and thus impressive. For a closer study, Prov 5:3; 11:22; 19:12; 26:9 and 26:23 have

been chosen. In the final chapter (pp. 152–188), Rotasperti analyses the animal metaphors. The lexical field comprises “All Creatures Great and Small” and the second part focuses specifically on Prov 6:5; 15:17; 23:32; 26:11 and 28:15.

In the conclusion (pp. 189–197), the author states the twofold aim of the study and provides some more general assessments organized in two categories: “The Art of Metaphor in Proverbs” and “The Metaphor and Its Hermeneutical Implications.” In the former, he observes linguistic, compositional and intertextual characteristics that became more evident as the result of the study. The latter category seems to be more problematic, as Rotasperti attempts to formulate more theoretical implications of his study along three axes: theological, epistemological and pedagogical. The lack of precise methodology (including, for example, the definitions of crucial terms like “metaphor” or “lexical element”) and of comprehensiveness renders those conclusions prone to dismissal. The theological implication possibly arises from the choice of metaphors and comparative material; the epistemological broadly corresponds to the cognitive definition of the metaphor, and the pedagogical may be well taken as a premise rather than the conclusion of the entire study.

Significant timespan between the submission of the original thesis (2014) and the publication of the book raises a question of the book’s up-to-dateness. The author seems to be aware of the issue as he updated the bibliography and consequently the content of the monograph. Sadly, only two publications (Wilma Mancuello González from 2018 and Isabel Cranz 2020) have been added to the bibliography, which does not reflect accurately scholars’ work regarding the Book of Proverbs and the metaphor in the Bible in the relevant period. Apparently these two books did not significantly influence the content of the work as the index indicates only one reference of each author. In fact, the reference to I. Cranz, *Royal Illness and Kingship Ideology in the Hebrew Bible* (Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020) on page 50 (note 79) has only a loose association with the main text (typology of sickness in ancient Israel) and the preceding content of the note (Ben Sira’s attention to medicine). This is surprising because the cited book has a specific excursus on Ben Sira’s attitude to the physicians (pp. 152–162).

The great advantage of publication in English is the opportunity to bring Italian-language scholarship (not only of Rotasperti but also the numerous authors cited) to a broader audience. On the other hand, references to the Italian translations of the books written originally in English (of John M.G. Barclay, George B. Caird and Robert H. Robins) are a rather inconvenient reminder of the original language of the thesis. Less awkward, though still not the most practical, are references (that sometimes include retranslation of quotations) to Italian translations of books written in other languages where the English translations are easily available.

Without any doubt, the biggest advantage of the study is its vastness. First, the author performed an analysis of the entire Book of Proverbs, which overflows with metaphors. The list of the lexical terms surveyed is enormous. In the detailed study, he analysed not only the Hebrew text (the Masoretic but also from 4QProv<sup>b</sup> wherever available and relevant) but



also the Hebrew cantillation and virtually all relevant ancient versions: primarily LXX but also Peshitta, Targum and Vulgate. Second, the comparative material comprises not only the Book of Proverbs and the entire Hebrew Bible but also Near Eastern and Hellenistic context, Ben Sira (both Hebrew and Greek manuscripts) and later Jewish tradition. Finally, the vastness is perceptible not only in the range of the source material but also in the bibliography, which lists numerous studies in at least six modern languages.

On the other hand, its vastness is also one of the study's biggest disadvantages. It was impossible to render the study comprehensive. Numerous lexical terms had to be omitted, no lexical field could be analysed thoroughly, and the metaphors chosen for in-depth analysis do not represent all the collections in the book. Similarly, the comparative material is used inconsistently, often via secondary studies. Finally, in such a wide lexical field, it is not possible to maintain comprehensiveness regarding the studies that illuminate the real-life experiences relevant for the analysed metaphors. The incomprehensiveness together with the lack of precise methodology, requires caution if biased conclusions (especially due to overgeneralization) are to be avoided.

To sum up, the monograph is an inspiring study. Due to its structure, it is difficult to take it as a reference point in the general studies regarding the metaphor, the Book of Proverbs or both, although it surely can become an interesting conversational partner. On the other hand, it is a valuable resource regarding the particular metaphors and verses analysed in-depth, when it provides not only an ample survey of the text and its semantic associations but also creative and thought-provoking interpretations.




## **Działalność Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II w roku akademickim 2020/2021**

**Academic Activities of the Institute of Biblical Studies  
at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin in the Year 2020/2021**

**Tomasz Bartłomiej Bąk**

Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II  
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### **I. Sprawy personalne**

W roku akademickim 2020/2021, podobnie jak w roku ubiegłym, Sekcja Nauk Biblijnych KUL działała w ramach czterech katedr:

#### **1. Katedra Egzegezy Ksiąg Historycznych, Prorockich i Sapiencjalnych**

Kierownik – ks. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz, prof. KUL

Pracownicy:

- ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL
- ks. dr Krzysztof Naporę SCJ
- ks. dr Arnold Zawadzki

#### **2. Katedra Filologii Biblijnej i Literatury Międzytestamentalnej**

Kierownik – ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel

Pracownicy:

- ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB
- ks. dr Tomasz Bąk

#### **3. Katedra Egzegezy Ewangelii i Pism Apostolskich**

Kierownik – dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL

Pracownicy:

- ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik MSF
- ks. dr hab. Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL

#### 4. Katedra Teologii Biblijnej i Proforystyki

Kierownik – ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Witczyk

Pracownicy:

– ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL

– ks. dr Marcin Zieliński

25 stycznia 2021 r. Stolica Apostolska opublikowała listę dziewięciu nowych członków **Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej**. Wśród nich jest także pracownik Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL **ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski**. Jest on szóstym jej członkiem powołanym z Polski od początku istnienia komisji (ustanowiona w 1902 r. przez papieża Leona XII). Zastąpi ks. prof. dr hab. Henryka Witczyka, który brał udział w pracach komisji od 2009 r. W przeszłości członkami Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej byli również profesorowie pracujący w Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim: ks. prof. dr hab. Stanisław Łach (1965–1971), o. prof. dr hab. Augustyn Jankowski OSB (1979–1989)<sup>1</sup>, ks. prof. dr hab. Lech Stachowiak (1990–1997) oraz ks. prof. dr hab. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz SDB (1998–2007).

28 stycznia 2021 r., w 91. roku życia, 71. roku życia zakonnego, 66. roku kapłaństwa odszedł do Pana **o. prof. dr hab. Hugolin Helmut Langkammer OFM**, członek Zakonu Braci Mniejszych Prowincji Wrocławskiej, profesor zwyczajny Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II, dziekan Wydziału Teologii KUL w latach 1987–1993, wybitny biblista i teolog. Uroczystości pogrzebowe miały miejsce 3 lutego 2021 r. w parafii pw. św. Antoniego we Wrocławiu.

26 kwietnia 2021 r. w kościele akademickim KUL została odprawiona Msza Święta z okazji 10. rocznicy śmierci **śp. ks. prof. dr hab. Ryszarda Rubinkiewicza**, wieloletniego dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL. Podczas tej Mszy Świętej zostały także włączone intencje za zmarłych w tym roku **śp. Władysława Piwowara**, ojca ks. dr hab. Andrzeja Piwowara, oraz **śp. Jolanty Wróbel-Sobonovej**, siostry ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosława S. Wróbla. Mszy Świętej przewodniczył ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Sitarz, prorektor KUL, a homilię wygłosił ks. prof. dr hab. Przemysław Kantyka, dziekan Wydziału Teologii. Msza była także transmitowana na żywo na stronie internetowej kościoła akademickiego KUL.

Postanowieniem Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z 22 kwietnia 2021 r. **ks. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB** z Katedry Filologii Biblijnej i Literatury Międzytestamentalnej otrzymał tytuł profesora nauk teologicznych.

Kapituła 74. **Nagrody Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia „Civitas Christiana” im. Włodzimierza Pietrzaka** przyznała tegoroczną nagrodę **ks. prof. Mirosławowi Stanisławowi Wróblowi**, kierownikowi Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL, kapłanowi archidiecezji lubelskiej, za naukowe dokonania w dziedzinie nauk biblijnych oraz apostołskie dzielenie się słowem Bożym, szczególnie z młodzieżą. Nagroda Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia „Civitas Christiana” im. Włodzimierza Pietrzaka przyznawana jest za doniosłe osiągnięcia w działalności

1 Ojciec Augustyn Jankowski był pracownikiem KUL-u w latach 1962–1963.

formalnej, kulturalnej, społecznej oraz edukacyjnej. Celem Nagrody jest uhonorowanie osób bądź instytucji, które łączą merytoryczny i artystyczny walor aktywności społeczno-kulturalnej ze świadectwem wierności wartościom chrześcijańskim i patriotycznym.

## II. Ważniejsze wydarzenia naukowe i organizacyjne

W listopadzie 2020 r. ukazała się nowa książka w serii **Studia Biblica Lublinensia**, prowadzonej przez Sekcję Nauk Biblijnych KUL: J. Pudelko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha* (SBL 21; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2020).

9 lutego 2021 r. czasopismo *Verbum Vitae*, redagowane przez pracowników Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL, otrzymało 100 punktów na liście czasopism naukowych, opublikowanej przez Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego. Treść kwartalnika indeksowana jest m.in. w bazach: SCOPUS, EBSCO oraz ATLA, co gwarantuje szeroki dostęp do tekstów publikowanych w czasopiśmie<sup>2</sup>.

Kilka dni później, 18 lutego, również czasopismo *The Biblical Annals*, prowadzone przez Sekcję Nauk Biblijnych KUL, otrzymało 100 punktów na nowej liście ministerialnej. Rozszerzono także zakres docelowych dyscyplin czasopisma, które oprócz artykułów o tematyce biblijnej, będzie publikować teksty z archeologii, historii, literaturoznawstwa, nauk o kulturze i religii oraz nauk teologicznych.

Od 8 do 12 lutego 2021 r. trzech doktorantów Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych: s. Dorota Chwiła FMA, ks. Jakub Altman i ks. Łukasz Biełusz MSF, uczestniczyło w warsztatach z translatoryki tekstów biblijnych, organizowanych przez prestiżowy amerykański ośrodek badań nad Biblią – **NIDA Institute**. Naukowe seminarium „Translating the Bible as Literature: Translating Biblical Poetry” odbyło się po raz pierwszy na platformie MS Teams. Wśród prowadzących zajęcia byli: ks. prof. Andrzej Gieniusz, prof. Lénart de Regt, prof. Daniel Fitzgerald, prof. Pasquale Basta, prof. Giovanni Rizzi oraz prof. Philip Towner.

1 czerwca 2021 r. odbył się **egzamin licencjacki**, do którego przystąpili następujący studenci Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL:

1. ks. mgr Jakub Altman,
2. ks. mgr Łukasz Biełusz MSF,
3. o. mgr Marcin Karwacki OP,
4. mgr Przemysław Kubisiak,
5. ks. mgr Adrian Stępień.

Komisja egzaminacyjna w składzie: ks. dr hab. Marcin Składanowski, prof. KUL (przewodniczący), ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław S. Wróbel (kierownik Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL), ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik MSF, ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB oraz dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL, pozytywnie oceniła odpowiedzi studentów Sekcji

<sup>2</sup> Szczegółowe informacje na temat czasopisma oraz warunki współpracy znajdują się na stronie <https://czasopisma.kul.pl/vv> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].



Nauk Biblijnych KUL, uznając, że spełniają oni wszystkie warunki, aby uzyskać licencjat kościelny.

27 września 2021 r. w Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II miała miejsce publiczna **dyskusja nad rozprawą doktorską** doktoranta Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL **ks. Michała Powęski**, pochodzącego z diecezji sandomierskiej. Praca *Sapiencjalne tło chrystopologicznych metafor wina, wody i chleba w Ewangelii Janowej. Studium intertekstualne* została napisana pod kierunkiem promotora ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla oraz promotora pomocniczego ks. dr. hab. Adama Kubisia. Recenzentami rozprawy byli: ks. prof. dr. hab. Mariusz Rosik z PWT we Wrocławiu oraz ks. prof. dr. hab. Andrzej Najda z UKSW w Warszawie. Obronie przewodził ks. dr. hab. Tomasz Moskal, prof. KUL. Po obradach i tajnym głosowaniu komisja pozytywnie oceniła przebieg i wynik obrony rozprawy doktorskiej i postanowiła wystąpić do Rady Instytutu Nauk Teologicznych KUL o nadanie ks. Powęscie stopnia doktora nauk teologicznych w zakresie bibliistyki. Obroniona praca doktorska na wniosek recenzentów i całej komisji uzyskała wyróżnienie.

Od 27 września do 1 października 2021 r. nasze studentki: s. Dorota Chwiła FMA oraz Justyna Horbowska, wzięły udział w warsztatach z translatoryki biblijnej organizowanych przez Papieski Uniwersytet Urbaniana wraz z **NIDA Institute**. Seminarium „Translating the Bible as Literature: Translating Narrative and Rhetorical Discourse” odbywało się w formie hybrydowej: część studentów uczestniczyła w zajęciach stacjonarnie w Rzymie, a pozostali łączyli się poprzez platformę MS Teams. Wśród prowadzących zajęcia byli: ks. prof. Andrzej Gieniusz, prof. Lénart de Regt, prof. Daniel Fitzgerald, prof. Giovanni Rizzi, prof. Philip Towner, prof. Valdo Bertalot oraz prof. Simon Crisp.

### III. Sympozja naukowe organizowane w Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL

#### Międzynarodowe Sympozjum Biblijne

W dniach 20–22 października 2020 r. odbyło się Międzynarodowe Sympozjum Biblijne „**From the Books of Enoch to Genesis Apocryphon: Aramaic Manuscripts of 1 Enoch and Related Aramaic Traditions from Qumran**”. Sympozjum zostało zorganizowane przez ks. prof. dr. hab. Henryka Drawnela i było poświęcone aramejskim manuskryptom apokryficznej *Pierwszej Księgi Henocha* z Qumran oraz powiązanim z nią tradycjom. Szczegółowy plan sympozjum przedstawiał się następująco:

Wtorek, 20 października

Introductory Remarks – Henryk Drawnel, Loren Stuckenbruck, and Gabriele Boccaccini

**Session I – The Book of Watchers (I)** [Chair: Lawrence H. Schiffman]

- Mirjam Bokhorst, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany – “The Vision of the Heavenly Temple (1 En 14:8-25) Reconsidered”

- Henryk Drawnel, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin, Poland – “The Work of the Heaven and Earth (1 En. 2:1–5:2) in Its Context (1 En. 1:9; 5:4)”
- James VanderKam, Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, IN, USA – “But What About the People?”

**Session II – Aramaic Context of 1 Enoch** [Chair: Kelley Coblenz Bautch]

- Shlomi Efrati, KU Leuven, Belgium – “On Angels and Mountains: Notes on the Levantine and Aramaic Background of the Fallen Angels”
- Ida Fröhlich, Péter Pázmány Catholic University, Budapest, Hungary – “Behind the Name: *yryn*, *gbryn*, *nplyn*, Protagonists of the Earliest Tradition concerning the Watchers”
- Helen Jacobus, University of Manchester, Manchester, Great Britain – “A Comparative Look at the Lunar Fractions in the Aramaic Fragments of 4QAstronomical Enocha-b ar (4Q208–4Q209)”

**Session III – Redaction, Scribal Work, and Slavonic Enoch** [Chair: Matthew Goff]

- Kelley Coblenz Bautch, St. Edwards University, Austin, TX, USA – “More than One Recension? The Evidence from Aramaic Book of the Watchers”
- Eibert Tigchelaar, KU Leuven, Belgium – “The Scribes Who Copied the Works of Enoch”
- Florentina Badanalova-Geller, University College London, London, Great Britain – “1st and 2nd Enoch Compared and Contrasted”

Środa, 21 października

DAY 1 Recap [Chair: Gabriele Boccaccini] – Lawrence H. Schiffman, Matthew Goff

**Session IV – Genesis Apocryphon and the Book of Giants** [Chair: James VanderKam]

- Jaap Doedens, Pápa Reformed Theological Seminary, Pápa, Hungary – “Rehabilitating the Heroes: Exegetical Exoneration of Biblical Protagonists in the Genesis Apocryphon”
- Matthew Goff, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, USA – “The Qumran Book of Giants and Aramaic”
- Itai Kagan, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel – “‘Righteous Plant’ or ‘Rightful Plant’? Unlocking a Key Term in 1 Enoch and Genesis Apocryphon”

**Session V – Enochic Astronomy and the Ancient Near East** [Chair: Mirjam Bokhorst]

- Jonathan Ben-Dov, Tel-Aviv University, Israel – “The Nebuchadnezzar Reliefs from Brisa (Lebanon) as Inspiration for the Myth of the Watchers”
- Eshbal Ratzon, Ariel University, Israel – “The Role of the Calendar in the Sectarian Dispute in Light of a New Reconstruction of 4Q318”
- John M. Steele, Brown University, Providence, RI, USA – “Mesopotamian Astronomy in the so-called ‘Astronomical Book’ of Enoch: A Reappraisal”

**Session VI – The Aramaic Books of 1 Enoch and the Qumran Community** [Chair: Henryk Drawnel]

- Kenneth Atkinson, University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, IA, USA – “What the Book of First Enoch and the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls Reveal about the History of the Qumran Community”,
- Corrado Martone, University of Turin, Turin, Italy – “The Teacher of Righteousness and the Scribe of Righteousness: Scribal Activity between Qumran and Enochism”,
- Lawrence H. Schiffman, New York University, New York, NY, USA – “Divine Appellations and Concepts of God in the Enoch Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls”.

Czwartek, 23 października

DAY 2 Recap [Chair: Gabriele Boccaccini] – James VanderKam, Mirjam Bokhorst, Henryk Drawnel

**Session VII – Philology and Linguistics** [Chair: Eibert Tigchelaar]

- Mathias Coeckelbergs, Université libre de Bruxelles – KU Leuven, Belgium – “From Clustering to Interpretation. Lexical Differences in Light of Linguistic Features in the Enochic Texts from Qumran”,
- Edward M. Cook, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., USA – “The Language of Enoch in its Social and Historical Setting”,
- Steven Fassberg, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel – “The Language of the Qumran Aramaic Fragments of Enoch Revisited”.

**Session VIII – Modern Forgery and Ancient Apocalyptic Authority** [Chair: Ida Fröhlich]

- Torleif Elgvin, NLA University College, Oslo, Norway – “Three Forged Fragments of 1 Enoch in the Schøyen Collection: How Were the Texts Designed by a Scholar, and How Did we Detect the Forgery?”,
- Jesper Høgenhaven, Melissa Sayyad Bach and Kasper Siegismund, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark – “Apocalypticism and Authority in the Visions of Amram”.

**Session IX – Summary & Conclusions** [Chair: Henryk Drawnel]

Gabriele Boccaccini, Lawrence Schiffman, James VanderKam, and Participants.

Po każdej sesji przewidziany był czas na dyskusję i zadawanie pytań prelegentom.

**Wiosenne Sympozjum Biblijne**

17 marca 2021 r. odbyło się **Wiosenne Sympozjum Biblijne**, zorganizowane przez ks. dr. hab. Adama Kubisia. Tematem przewodnim były „**Relacje homoseksualne a zamysł Stwórcy wobec mężczyzny i kobiety**”. Ze względu na obostrzenia pandemiczne sympozjum odbyło się na platformie MS Teams. Szczegółowy program przedstawiał się następująco:

Sesja I: Kontekst kulturowy (przewodniczył ks. Henryk Drawnel):

- Maciej Münnich (KUL), „Homoseksualność w starożytnej Mezopotamii”.
- Andrzej Ćwiek (UAM), „Homoseksualność w starożytnym Egipcie”.

- Łukasz Laskowski (Instytut Teologiczny w Częstochowie), „Homoseksualność w tradycjach grecko-rzymskich. Reinterpretacje i polemiki”.

Sesja II: Stary Testament (przewodniczył ks. Tomasz Bąk):

- Janusz Lemański (USz), „Człowiek jako mężczyzna i kobieta. Fundamenty antropologii biblijnej, ich źródła i konsekwencje”.
- Krzysztof Napora (KUL), „*Mieszkańcy Sodomy byli źli...* (Rdz 13,13). Na czym polegał występki mieszkańców Sodomy?”.
- Barbara Strzałkowska (UKSW), „Homoseksualizm w świetle przepisów Tory”.
- Dariusz Dziadosz (KUL), „Braterstwo Dawida i Jonatana. Obraz męskiej przyjaźni na podstawie 1–2 Samuela”.

Sesja III: Nowy Testament (przewodniczył Krzysztof Mielcarek):

- Janusz Kręcidło (UKSW), „Jezus a homoseksualizm”.
- Marcin Kowalski (KUL), „Co Paweł, apostoł Ewangelii wolności, mówi o relacjach homoseksualnych?”.
- Dorota Muszytowska (UKSW), „Kwestia homoseksualna w Listach Apostolskich i Apokalipsie Janowej”.

Sesja IV: Życie Kościoła (przewodniczył ks. Stefan Szymik):

- Bogdan Czyżewski (UAM), „Akty homoseksualne w ocenie Ojców Kościoła”.
- Maciej Olczyk (UAM), „Moralne aspekty homoseksualizmu w świetle wypowiedzi Magisterium Kościoła po Vaticanum II”.
- Adam Rybicki (KUL), „Męskość – homoseksualizm – duchowość: refleksja w świetle teologii duchowości”.
- Jan Miczyński (KUL), „Towarzyszenie duchowe osobom homoseksualnym według Daniela Ange’a”.

Po każdej sesji uczestnicy sympozjum mieli możliwość zadawania pytań prelegentom. Zapis dźwiękowy wszystkich referatów wygłoszonych podczas Wiosennego Sympozjum Biblijnego został umieszczony na kanale YouTube pod adresem: [https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL1Dq8OXH3ITV\\_4N-8d88MMJ-aw18y01mz](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL1Dq8OXH3ITV_4N-8d88MMJ-aw18y01mz) [dostęp: 19.12.2021].

#### **IV. Działalność naukowo-dydaktyczna pracowników Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL**

Prezentację działalności naukowo-dydaktycznej rozpoczyna osoba kierownika Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL. W dalszej kolejności przyjęty został porządek alfabetyczny. Pod hasłem „Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL” należy rozumieć wykłady wykraczające poza obowiązkowe zajęcia prowadzone przez pracowników SNB KUL

## 1. Ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel

### Monografia

*Biblijna ikona św. Józefa* (Lublin: Gaudium 2021).

### Książki pod redakcją

1. J.B. Łach (oprac.), *Księgi Nowego Przymierza. Ewangelie, Dzieje Apostolskie, Listy, Apokalipsa, Ujęcie teologiczno-chrystopologiczno-praktyczne* (Pismo Święte Nowego Testamentu 13 [tom uzupełniający]; Poznań: Pallottinum 2020).
2. A. Tronina, *Targum Neofiti 1. Księga Kapłańska* (Biblia Aramejska 3; Lublin: Gaudium 2021).

### Rozdziały w monografiach:

1. „Love in Mourning: The Gospel of Love and Presence (John 11:1-45)”, *Dignity in Suffering – Closeness in Dying – Love in Mourning. Interdisciplinary Study* (red. C. Ciccarino et al.) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL – Kraków: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II – South Orange: Seton Hall University 2020) 201–210.
2. „Eucharystia w życiu wspólnoty Janowej”, *Nullum referenda gratia maius est officium. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Księdzu Profesorowi Jerzemu Pałuckiemu z okazji 65-lecia urodzin i 30-lecia pracy naukowej* (red. M. Szram – M. Wysocki) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2020) 421–430.
3. „Maryja na kartach biblijnych jako wzór kobiecości”, *Niewiaścę dzielną któż znajdzie? Jej wartość przewyższa perły (Prz 31,10). Sympozjum o kobiecie* (red. A. Kaszubowska) (Piaseczno: Zgromadzenie Służebnic Matki Dobrego Pasterza 2020) 11–24.
4. „Biblia Aramejska jako przekład słowa Bożego w liturgii wyznawców judaizmu”, *Zarzućcie sieci. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Biskupowi Zbigniewowi Kiernikowskiemu w 50. rocznicę święceń kapłańskich i 75. rocznicę urodzin* (red. P. Kot) (Legnica: Diecezjalne Centrum Edukacyjne 2021) 453–468.
5. „Historia i teologia wspólnoty Janowej wykluczonej z Synagogi”, *Kogo szukasz? (J 20,15). Księga Pamiątkowa dla ks. prof. Henryka Witczyka w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski – M. Kowalski) (Ad Multos Annos 21; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 721–740.
6. „Eschatologia w ujęciu Biblii aramejskiej”, *Dobrze jest dziękować Panu (Ps 92,2). Księga Jubileuszowa dla Księdza Profesora Waldemara Chrostowskiego w 70. rocznicę urodzin* (red. J. Kręcidło – B. Strzałkowska) (Ad Multos Annos 22; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 788–795.

### Artykuł naukowy

„Ojcowski wpływ św. Józefa na osobę Jezusa i Jego zbawcze dzieło”, *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 177/3 (2021) 436–445.

**Artykuły popularnonaukowe:**

1. „Księga Malachiasza – nazwa, treść i orędzie teologiczne”, *Krąg Biblijny* 45 (2021) 115–119.
2. „Znaczenie przymierza z Bogiem w Księdze Malachiasza”, *Krąg Biblijny* 43 (2021) 119–124.
3. „Zesłanie Ducha Świętego”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 1(109) (2021) 44–45.
4. „Darem Ducha Świętego jest mądrość”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 2(110) (2021) 54–55.
5. „Księga Zachariasza – nazwa, treść i orędzie teologiczne”, *Krąg Biblijny* 44 (2020) 115–119.
6. „Eschatologia wspólnoty z Qumran w świetle tekstu proroka Zachariasza”, *Krąg Biblijny* 43 (2020) 119–123.
7. „Darem Ducha Świętego jest rozum”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 3(111) (2021) 54–55.
8. „Darem Ducha Świętego jest rada”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 4(112) (2021) 58–59.
9. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Abraham życie i dzieło”, *Krąg Biblijny* 46 (2021) 113–117.
10. „Abraham w tradycji Starego i Nowego Testamentu”, *Krąg Biblijny* 46 (2021) 117–122.

**Realizacja grantu naukowego**

Grant Regionalnej Inicjatywy Doskonałości (RID) – „Targums between Old and New Testament”.

**Sympozja**

1. Referat: „Znaczenie Biblii Aramejskiej dla lepszego rozumienia Starego i Nowego Testamentu”, Dni Kultury Chrześcijańskiej (Chełm, 28.09.2020).
2. Cykl konferencji biblijnych: Biblia Aramejska a Nowy Testament (Ognisko Świata i Miłości, Kaliszany, 6–7.03.2021).
3. Referat: „Maryja na kartach biblijnych jako wzór kobiecości”, Ogólnopolskie Sympozjum: „Niewiastę dzielną któż znajdzie...” (Prz 31,10) (Piaseczno, 10.04.2021).
4. Referat: „Ojcostwo św. Józefa w świetle tekstów biblijnych”, Międzynarodowa Konferencja: „Wyzwania współczesnego Kościoła w kontekście listu apostołskieg *Patris corde*” (Presov, Słowacja, 22.09.2021).

**Promotor obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

Michał Powęska, *Sapiencjalne tło chrystologicznych metafor wina, wody i chleba w Ewangelii Janowej. Studium intertekstualne* (KUL; Lublin 2021).

**Recenzja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

Konrad Fedorowski, *Biblijne inspiracje obrzędowości rodzinnej mieszkańców diecezji sandomierskiej na podstawie literatury przedmiotu* (UKSW; Warszawa 2021). Promotor: ks. prof. dr hab. Andrzej Najda.



### Recenzja w postępowaniu dotyczącym przyznania stopnia naukowego

Recenzja w postępowaniu o przyznanie stanowiska profesora uczelnianego ks. dr. hab. Krzysztofowi Siwkowi (Akademia Katolicka w Warszawie).

### Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. J.B. Łach (oprac.), *Księgi Nowego Przymierza. Ewangelie, Dzieje Apostolskie, Listy, Apokalipsa, Ujęcie teologiczno-chrystologiczno-praktyczne* (Pismo Święte Nowego Testamentu 13 [tom uzupełniający]; Poznań: Pallottinum 2020).
2. K. Bardski, *Pieśń nad pieśniami. Wstęp – przekład z oryginału – komentarz* (Biblia Impulsy. Stary Testament 12; Katowice: Księgarnia św. Jacka 2021).
3. P. Łabuda (red.), *Eschatologia biblijna* (Źródło Wody Żywej; Tarnów: Biblos 2021).
4. P. Łabuda (red.), *Eschatologia w teologicznej refleksji Kościoła* (Źródło Wody Żywej; Tarnów: Biblos 2021).
5. M. Ołdakowska-Kufłowa, *Ewangelia według... współczesne powieści inspirowane Księgami Nowego Testamentu* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II 2020).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* (3 recenzje).
2. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (2 recenzje).
3. *Studia Gdańskie* (2 recenzje).
4. *Vox Patrum* (2 recenzje).
5. *Studia Elckie* (2 recenzje).
6. *Studia Theologica Varsoviensia* (1 recenzja).
7. *Studia Judaica* (1 recenzja).
8. *Ethos* (1 recenzja).
9. *Colloquia Theologica Ottoniana* (1 recenzja).
10. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

Wykłady dla Sióstr Karmelitanek w Dysie (1 godz. tygodniowo): „Przesłanie nadziei w Apokalipsie św. Jana”.

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Organizacja XIV edycji Kursu Formacji Biblijnej (I rok: Podstawowy Kurs Formacji Biblijnej; II rok: Pogłębiony Kurs Formacji Biblijnej; III rok: Wykłady monograficzne w roku akademickim 2020/2021).
2. Warsztaty biblijne dla finalistów Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Wiedzy Biblijnej: Księga Ezechiela oraz Ewangelia według św. Jana (12–14.05.2021).
3. Nagranie komentarza do Księgi Liczb i 1 Listu św. Pawła do Koryntian na dysk „Biblia Audio Młodych” (15.05.2021).

4. Organizacja Niedzieli Biblijnej w archidiecezji lubelskiej (18.04.2021).
5. Przygotowanie pytań konkursowych i przewodniczenie komisji konkursowej finału Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Wiedzy Biblijnej (Niepokalanów, 31.05.2021).
6. Szkoła Słowa Bożego w Archikatedrze Lubelskiej (1 raz w miesiącu).
7. Konferencja biblijne z cyklu W Blasku i Mocy Słowa Bożego (1 raz w miesiącu).

### **Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

1. Nagroda im. Włodzimierza Pietrzaka Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia „Civitas Christiana” za wybitne osiągnięcia naukowe i popularyzację Biblii wśród młodzieży (Warszawa, 10.06.2021).
2. Członek Senatu KUL.
3. Kierownik Sekcji Biblijnej KUL.
4. Redaktor naczelny *The Biblical Annals*.
5. Redaktor naukowy i dyrektor projektu „Biblia Aramejska”.
6. Członek Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich oraz Polskiego Towarzystwa Studiów Żydowskich.
7. Członek Lubelskiego Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
8. Członek Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego.
9. Członek Associazione ex-alumni del Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
10. Członek Society of Biblical Literature.
11. Członek Catholic Biblical Association.

## **2. Ks. dr Tomasz Bąk**

### **Monografia**

*Proto-Isaiah in the Sahidic Dialect of the Coptic Language. Critical Edition on the Coptic Manuscript sa 52 (M 568) and Other Witnesses* (Patrologia Orientalis 251 [57/3]; Turnhout: Brepols 2020) 343–660.

### **Artykuł naukowy**

„A Critical Edition and Philological Analysis of the Text of Isa 44:6–45:25 Based on the Coptic Manuscript sa 52 (M 568), Other Manuscripts Written in the Sahidic Coptic Dialect, and on the Greek Text of the Septuagint”, *Verbum Vitae* 38/2 (2020) 529–563.

### **Sprawozdanie**

„Działalność Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL w roku akademickim 2019/2020”, *The Biblical Annals* 11/1 (2021) 153–181.

**Działalność sympozjalna**

Referat: „Fajumskie glossy marginesowe w greckim rękopisie Księgi Izajasza Chester Beatty VII”, Seminarium naukowe: „Wokół «Tchacos». Kodeks Tchacos i literatura pokrewna” (Instytut Literaturoznawstwa-Wydział Humanistyczny Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice, 16.09.2021).

**Realizacja grantu naukowego**

„Edycja manuskryptu koptyjskiego” (WT-S-11/2019/0233). Projekt badawczy, finansowany przez Wydział Teologii KUL (czas realizacji do 22.12.2020 r.).

**Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

Wykłady: Egzegeza Starego Testamentu: Pięcioksiąg; Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Rzeszowie (rok III i IV, semestr I, rok akademicki 2020/2021).

**Pełnione funkcje**

Członek Zespołu ds. Umiejdzynaradawiania Szkoły Doktorskiej (Lublin, KUL, od 11.02.2021 r.).

**Działalność popularyzująca Biblię**

1. Audycja radiowa: „Uroczystość Bożego Narodzenia w świetle współczesnych badań biblijnych i archeologicznych” (Polskie Radio Rzeszów, 24.12.2020).
2. Audycja radiowa: „Męka i śmierć Jezusa w świetle współczesnych badań biblijnych i archeologicznych” (Polskie Radio Rzeszów, 1.04.2021).
3. Ocena finałowego etapu pierwszej edycji konkursu biblijnego „Bierz i czytaj” organizowanego przez Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży Diecezji Rzeszowskiej (Rzeszów, 16.01.2021).

**3. Ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB****Rozdziały w monografiach**

1. „The Reception of Genesis 6:1–4 in 1Enoch 6–7”, *Stone, Tablets, and Scrolls. Periods of the Formation of the Bible* (red. P. Dubovský – F. Giuntoli) (Archaeology and Bible 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020) 461–483.
2. „Qumran Manuscripts Seventy Years Later”, *Sacred Texts and Disparate Interpretations. Qumran Manuscripts Seventy Years Later. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, 24–26 October 2017* (red. H. Drawnel) (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 133; Leiden: Brill 2020) 1–10.

### **Książka pod redakcją**

*Sacred Texts and Disparate Interpretations. Qumran Manuscripts Seventy Years Later. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, 24–26 October 2017* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 133; Leiden: Brill 2020).

### **Artykuły naukowe**

1. „The Cairo Genizah Fragment of the Visions of Levi from the University of Manchester Library”, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 28 (2021) 75–108.
2. „Józef Tadeusz Milik and the Publication of the Qumran Fragments of the Aramaic Testament of Levi”, *Revue de Qumran* 33 (2021) 93–119.

### **Realizacja grantów naukowych**

1. Grant w ramach Regionalnej Inicjatywy Doskonałości (RID). Organizacja konferencji naukowej From the Books of Enoch to Genesis Apocryphon: Aramaic Manuscripts from Qumran in Current Research Philology, Texts and Contexts (grant realizowany w latach 2020–2022).
2. Grant Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego w ramach programu Społeczna Odpowiedzialność Nauki: „Wydanie krytyczne monografii J. Tadeusza Milika: *Le Testament de Lévi*” (grant realizowany w latach 2020–2021).

### **Działalność sympozjalna**

1. Główny organizator sympozjum: From the Books of Enoch to Genesis Apocryphon: Aramaic Manuscripts of 1 Enoch and Related Aramaic Traditions from Qumran (sympozjum on-line, 20–22.10.2020).
2. Referat: „The Work of the Heaven and Earth and its Creator: 1 Enoch 2:1–5:2 and the Astronomical Book”, sympozjum From the Books of Enoch to Genesis Apocryphon (sympozjum on-line, 20–22.10.2020).
3. Referat: „Jordan pomiędzy Eufratem a Nilem: Starożytny Izrael i jego rzeki”, konferencja Świat Wincentego Pola (Muzeum Narodowe w Lublinie, sympozjum on-line, 20.04.2021).

### **Kwerenda biblioteczna**

Praca nad redakcją monografii J.T. Milika *Le Testament de Lévi* (Le Saulchoir, 43 bis Rue de la Glacière, 75013 Paris; Institut Catholique, 21, rue d'Assas Cedex 06, 75270 Paris, Île-de-France, 01.09 – 31.10.2021).

### **Promotor obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

Michał Klukowski, *4QMMT – „Niektóre uczynki Prawa”. Rekonstrukcja tekstu – tłumaczenie – komentarz* (KUL; Lublin 2020).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Dead Sea Discoveries* (2 recenzje).
2. *Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha* (1 recenzja).
3. *Między Oryginałem a Przekładem* (1 recenzja).
4. *Seminare* (1 recenzja).

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Organizacja wyjazdu studyjnego do Grecji „Śladami św. Pawła” (29.06 – 06.07.2020).
2. Referat popularno-naukowy: „Józef Tadeusz Milik i jego wkład w odkrycia i publikację manuskryptów znad Morza Martwego” (Seminarium Polskie w Paryżu, 11 rue Jules Guesde, Paryż, 26.09.2021).

### Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Redaktor sekcji „Literatura międzytestamentalna” w czasopiśmie *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Członek Editorial Board międzynarodowego czasopisma *Dead Sea Discoveries*, wydawanego przez E.J. Brill, Holandia.
3. Nagroda Ministra Edukacji i Nauki za znaczące osiągnięcia w zakresie działalności naukowej, przyznana 19.02.2021 r.
4. Nagroda indywidualna I stopnia przyznana przez JM Rektora KUL za uzyskanie tytułu naukowego profesora, przyznana 08.06.2021 r.

## 4. Ks. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz, prof. KUL

### Rozdziały w podręcznikach

1. Autorstwo treści rozdziałów i konsultacja biblijna podręcznika do nauki religii: W. Janiga (red.), *Bóg poszukuje człowieka. Religia dla V klasy szkoły podstawowej. Poradnik metodyczny* (Lublin – Przemyśl: Gaudium 2020).
2. Autorstwo treści rozdziałów i konsultacja biblijna podręcznika do nauki religii: W. Janiga (red.), *Bóg poszukuje człowieka. Religia dla V klasy szkoły podstawowej. Podręcznik* (Lublin – Przemyśl: Gaudium 2020).

### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Ideowy i teologiczny podtekst misji «wodza zastępów JHWH» w Joz 5,13-15”, *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 13/1 (2020) 25–58.
2. „Braterstwo Dawida i Jonatana. Obraz męskiej przyjaźni w 1 Sm 18 – 2 Sm 1”, *Verbum Vitae* 39/1 (2021) 163–198.

### **Działalność sympojalna**

Referat: „Braterstwo Dawida i Jonatana. Obraz męskiej przyjaźni w 1 Sm 18 – 2 Sm 1”, Wiosenne Dni Biblijne: „Homoseksualizm – perspektywy biblijne i teologiczne” (KUL, Lublin, 17.03.2021).

### **Promotor obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

Daniela de Panfilis, *Il racconto doppio nel Libro di Samuele* (Pontificio Istituto Biblico. Facoltà Biblica; Roma 2021).

### **Promotor obronionych prac magisterskich**

1. Karol Tomaszewski, *Kontekst religijno-kulturowy ofiary przebłagalnej w rozumieniu nie-Izraelitów. Studium historyczno-krytyczne 1Sm 6,1-18* (UPJPII; Kraków 2020).
2. Jakub Pomykała, *Kontekst kulturowy i teologiczny małżeństwa Jakuba i Racheli. Studium historyczno-krytyczne Rdz 29,1-30* (UPJPII; Kraków 2021).

### **Recenzja wydawnicza książki**

A. Tronina, *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych. Księga Kapłańska. Wstęp, przekład i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska 3; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2021).

### **Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Collectanea Theologica* (1 recenzja).
2. *Biblica Patristica et Thorunensia* (1 recenzja).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykład: Księgi historyczne, prorockie i mądrościowe (Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Przemyślu).
2. Seminarium naukowe z egzegezy Starego Testamentu (Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Przemyślu).

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

1. Pomoc w organizacji konkursów biblijnych w archidiecezji przemyskiej (2 zdarzenia).
2. Serie rekolekcyjne popularyzujące Biblię dla duchownych i świeckich, młodzieży i dzieci w różnych archidiecezjach Polski (10 zdarzeń).



## 5. Ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL

### Rozdziały w monografiach

1. „Separacja – tak, rozwód – nie. Wyzwania i implikacje płynące z metodologicznego rozwoju nauk biblijnych i teologii systematycznej”, *Dogmat i metoda* (red. R.J. Woźniak) (Kraków: WAM 2020) 537–569.
2. „Meditatio of *Lectio Divina* Following upon Exegesis-Informed Lectio: The Test Case of Romans 7:7–25”, *Piercing the Clouds. Lectio Divina and Preparation for Ministry* (red. K. Zilverberg – S. Carl) (Saint Paul, MN: Saint Paul Seminary Press 2021) 82–97.
3. „Duch kognitywny i rozwój myśli Pawła w Rz 8,5-6”, *Kogo szukasz? (J 20,15). Księga Pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Henryka Witczyka w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski – M. Kowalski) (Ad Multos Annos 21; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 258–281.
4. „Antropologia Pawła – współczesne trendy i wyzwania”, *Dobrze jest dziękować Panu (Ps 92,2). Księga Jubileuszowa dla Księdza Profesora Waldemara Chrostowskiego w 70. rocznicę urodzin* (red. J. Kręcidło – B. Strzałkowska) (Ad Multos Annos 22; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 289–306.

### Książki pod redakcją

1. *Kogo szukasz? (J 20,15). Księga Pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Henryka Witczyka w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (współredaktor W. Chrostowski) (Ad Multos Annos 21; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021).
2. G.T. Montague, *Pierwszy List do Koryntian* (red. naukowa M. Kowalski) (Katolicki Komentarz do Pisma Świętego; Kraków: W drodze 2021).
3. T.D. Stegman, *Drugi List do Koryntian* (red. naukowa M. Kowalski) (Katolicki Komentarz do Pisma Świętego; Kraków: W drodze 2021).

### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Między darem Bożym a konstruktem społecznym. Wczesnochrześcijańskie rozumienie płciowości na podstawie 1 Kor 11,2-16”, *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 13/1 (2020) 59–104.
2. „The Cognitive Spirit and the Novelty of Paul’s Thought in Rom 8,5-6”, *Biblica* 101/1 (2020) 47–68.
3. „Odrzucenie praw Stwórcy i relacje homoseksualne w Rz 1,26-27”, *Verbum Vitae* 39/1 (2021) 255–280
4. „Honor i wstyd, prawo naturalne oraz Pisma. Podstawy Pawłowej argumentacji na temat żeńskich i męskich relacji homoseksualnych w Rz 1,26-27”, *Verbum Vitae* 39/1 (2021) 223–254.
5. „Katalogi wad, Dekalog i relacje homoseksualne w 1 Kor 6,9-10 oraz 1 Tm 1,8-10”, *Verbum Vitae* 39/1 (2021) 281–306.

6. „Baptism – the Revelation of the Filial Relationship of Christ and the Christian”, *The Biblical Annals* 11/3 (2021) 459–495.
7. „The Spirit of Resurrection in Romans 8 and Its Jewish Correspondences”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 44/2 (2021) 254–283.

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Eucharystia – uczta miłości braterskiej budującej Kościół (1 Kor 11,17-34)”, *Przegląd Biblijny* 13 (2021) 136–147.
2. „Chrzest daje nam wszystkie narzędzia do walki o świętość”, Portal Stacja7 (20 marca 2021) <https://stacja7.pl/rozmowy/chrzest-daje-nam-wszystkie-narzedzia-do-walki-o-swietosc/> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].

### Realizacja grantów naukowych

1. Współrealizacja grantu „Metodologiczna odnowa teologii dogmatycznej” NCN nr 2017/27/B/HS1/01634. Opracowywany temat: „Separacja – tak, rozwód – nie. Wyzwania i implikacje płynące z metodologicznego rozwoju nauk biblijnych i teologii systematycznej”.
2. Realizacja grantu Regionalnej Inicjatywy Doskonałości (RID) na tłumaczenie i publikację artykułu „The Cognitive Spirit and the Novelty of Paul’s Thought in Rom 8,5-6”, *Biblica* 101/1 (2020) 47–68.
3. Realizacja grantu RID na tłumaczenie i publikację artykułu „The Spirit of Resurrection in Romans 8 and Its Jewish Correspondences”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 44/2 (2021) 254–283.
4. Realizacja grantu RID na tłumaczenie i publikację książki *The Spirit in Romans 8. Paul, the Stoics and Jewish Authors in Dialogue* (planowane wydanie w T&T Clark).

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Antropologia Pawła z Tarsu” na symposium: „Kościół i człowiek” (UPJPiI, Kraków, 01–02.03.2021).
2. Współorganizacja symposium i referat: „Apostoł Paweł na temat relacji homoseksualnych”, Wiosenne Dni Biblijne: „Relacje homoseksualne a zamiysł Stwórcy wobec mężczyzn i kobiety” (KUL, Lublin, 17.03.2021).
3. Referat: „Chrześcijanie wobec przemocy imperium. Kościoły Pawłowe”, konferencja „Wolność religijna na świecie. Raport 2021” (UKSW, Warszawa, 23.04.2021).
4. Referat: „Changing Gender Roles and the Unchanging Message of 1 Cor 11:2–16”, „Inspiration and Truth of Sacred Scripture”, Quinn Conference (The Saint Paul Seminary, Minneapolis, US, 27–30.06.2021).
5. Referat: „Lew w starciu z orłem. Antyimperialna retoryka Pawła”, Walny Zjazd i 58. Symposium Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich (WSD, Radom, 13–15.09.2021).

6. Organizacja sympozjum i referat: „Freedom and determinism in Rom 8:16. Paul, Epictetus and Contemporary Science on Free Will”, International Online Conference „Biblical Anthropology – A Message for Contemporary People” (KUL, Lublin, 20–21.10.2021).

### **Recenzja wydawnicza książki**

Piotr Kot (red.), *Zarzućcie sieci. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Biskupowi Zbigniewowi Kiernikowskiemu w 50. rocznicę święceń kapłańskich i 75. rocznicę urodzin* (Legnica: Diecezjalne Centrum Edukacyjne 2021).

### **Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Biblica* (2 recenzje).
2. *Verbum Vitae* (2 recenzje).
3. *Collectanea Theologica* (1 recenzja).
4. *Między Oryginałem a Przekładem* (1 recenzja).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykłady z 1 Listu do Koryntian (Szkola Dabar, Korynt, 19–26.07.2020).
2. Prowadzenie dwóch kursów w języku angielskim: „Pentateuch and Deuteronomic History” oraz „The Prophets and Later Historical Books” (St. Cyril and Methodius Seminary, Orchard Lake, MI, 03.01 – 01.05.2021).
3. Wykłady z 2 Listu do Koryntian (Szkola Dabar, Korynt, 11–20.08.2021).
4. Wykład: „Życie i pierwsze listy św. Pawła” (Dominikańska Szkoła Słowa Bożego, Hermanice, 26–30.07.2021).

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

1. Udział w programie „W dobrej wierze” (TVP, Kraków, 27.11.2020) <https://krakow.tvp.pl/51063236/odc-13> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
2. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 04.12.2020) <https://siodma9.pl/> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
3. Program telewizyjny na żywo w ramach Telewizyjnego Uniwersytetu Biblijnego w Telewizji Trwam (Toruń, 12.12.2020) <https://tv-trwam.pl/local-vods/vod.57680> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
4. Od Słowa do Życia – komentarz biblijny dla Duszpasterstwa Młodzieży Diecezji Kieleckiej (17.12.2020) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bta1QqFRd4> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
5. Audycja na żywo w ramach cyklu „Szukając Słowa Bożego” w Radiu Maryja (Toruń, 18.12.2020).
6. Codzienna audycja biblijna w ramach cyklu „Słowo Życia” w Telewizji Trwam (Toruń, 3–9.01.2021).

7. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 08.01.2021).
8. Udział w programie Między Ziemią a Niebem (TVP, Warszawa, 1, 24.01.2021) <https://vod.tvp.pl/video/miedzy-ziemia-a-niebem,24012021,51633121> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
9. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 12.02.2021).
10. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 05.03.2021).
11. Komentarz biblijny na portalu Stacja7 na temat św. Józefa (18.03.2021) <https://stacja7.pl/jutro-niedziela/jutro-swieto-uroczystosc-sw-jozefa/> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
12. Tekst biblijny na portalu Stacja7 na temat sakramentu chrztu (20.03.2021) <https://stacja7.pl/rozmowy/chrzest-daje-nam-wszystkie-narzedzia-do-walki-o-swietosc/> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
13. Komentarz biblijny na portalu Stacja7 na temat Zwiastowania (25.03.2021) <https://stacja7.pl/jutro-niedziela/uroczystosc-zwiastowania-panskiego/> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
14. Komentarz biblijny na portalu Stacja7 na temat Niedzieli Palmowej (27.03.2021) <https://stacja7.pl/jutro-niedziela/jutro-niedziela-vi-wielkiego-postu-b-palmowa/> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
15. Codzienna audycja biblijna w ramach cyklu Słowo Życia w Telewizji Trwam (Toruń, 4–10.04.2021) <https://tv-trwam.pl/local-vods/vod.67261>; <https://tv-trwam.pl/local-vods/vod.67394>; <https://tv-trwam.pl/local-vods/vod.67487>; <https://tv-trwam.pl/local-vods/vod.67562>; <https://tv-trwam.pl/local-vods/vod.67644>; <https://tv-trwam.pl/local-vods/vod.67728> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
16. Audycja telewizyjna i radiowa na żywo w ramach cyklu Rozmowy Niedokończone w Telewizji Trwam i Radio Maryja (Toruń, 05.04.2021) <https://tv-trwam.pl/epg/audycja/prg.67772> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
17. Program telewizyjny na żywo w ramach Telewizyjnego Uniwersytetu Biblijnego w Telewizji Trwam (Toruń, 10.04.2021) <https://tv-trwam.pl/epg/audycja/prg.67772> [dostęp: 19.12.2021].
18. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 09.04.2021).
19. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 07.05.2021).
20. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 04.06.2021).
21. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 02.07.2021).
22. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 06.08.2021).
23. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 03.09.2021).
24. Audycja biblijna na żywo w radio Siódma – Dziewiąta (Warszawa, 01.10.2021).

### **Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

1. Redagowanie czasopisma *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Uzyskanie stanowiska profesora KUL.
3. Członek Zespołu Ekspertów KUL.

## Nagrody i wyróżnienia

1. Nominacja na członka Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej otrzymana od papieża Franciszka (15.12.2020)<sup>3</sup>.
2. Wyróżnienie Feniks 2020 dla książki *Jutro Niedziela. Rok A* w kategorii „duchowość”<sup>4</sup>.

## 6. Ks. dr hab. Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL

### Monografia

*Patmos. Geografia, historia, apokryfy* (Biblioteka „Szkoły Dabar” 2; Rzeszów: Bonus Liber 2021).

### Rozdziały w monografiach

1. „Godzina dziesiąta czy szesnasta? Wokół przekładu i interpretacji ὥρα ἦν ὡς δεκάτη w J 1,39”, *Dobrze jest dziękować Panu (Ps 92,2). Księga Jubileuszowa dla Księdza Profesora Waldemara Chrostowskiego w 70. rocznicę urodzin* (red. J. Kręcidło – B. Strzałkowska) (Ad Multos Annos 22; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 316–335.
2. „Rzymska czy żydowska rachuba godzin w Ewangelii Janowej? Przykład egzegetycznego nieporozumienia”, *Kogo szukasz? (J 20,15). Księga Pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Henryka Witczyka w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski – M. Kowalski) (Ad Multos Annos 21; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 298–328.

### Książki pod redakcją

1. F. Martin – W.M. Wright IV, *Ewangelia według św. Jana* (Katolicki Komentarz do Pisma Świętego; Poznań: W drodze 2020).
2. A. Tronina, *Księga Kapłańska. Wstęp, przekład, miejsca paralelne i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2021).
3. A. Tronina, *Księga Hioba. Wstęp, przekład, miejsca paralelne i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2021).
4. A. Tronina, *Księga Psalmów. Wstęp, przekład, miejsca paralelne i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2021).

### Artykuły naukowe

1. „The Hemorrhaging Woman and Jairus’ Daughter as Representatives of Israel. An Attempt at the Symbolic Reading of Mark 5:21-43”, *The Biblical Annals* 10/3 (2020) 355–387.

3 [https://www.kul.pl/ks-dr-hab-marcin-kowalski-czlonkiem-papieskiej-komisji-biblijnej,art\\_93182.html](https://www.kul.pl/ks-dr-hab-marcin-kowalski-czlonkiem-papieskiej-komisji-biblijnej,art_93182.html) [dostęp: 19.12.2021]. Lista nowych członków Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej opublikowana została 25 stycznia 2021 r. (zob. <https://www.vaticannews.va/pl/kosciol/news/2021-01/polak-w-papieskiej-komisji-biblijnej.html> [dostęp: 19.12.2021]).

4 [https://www.kul.pl/feniks-2020-ksiazki-pracownikow-kul-z-nagrodami,art\\_92694.html](https://www.kul.pl/feniks-2020-ksiazki-pracownikow-kul-z-nagrodami,art_92694.html) [dostęp: 19.12.2021].

2. „The Creation Theme in the Gospel of John”, *Collectanea Theologica* 90/5 (2020) 375–414.
3. „«I delight in love, not in sacrifice»: Hosea 6:6 and Its Rereading in the Gospel of Matthew”, *Collectanea Theologica* 90/5 (2020) 295–320.
4. „Roman versus Jewish Reckoning of Hours in the Gospel of John: An Exegetical Misconception That Refuses to Die”, *The Biblical Annals* 11/2 (2021) 247–280.
5. „Starotestamentowe tło Piłatowego stwierdzenia *Ecce homo* w J 19,5”, *Zeszyty Naukowe Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich* 17–18 (2020–2021) 387–420.

### Recenzja

K. Siwek, „*Powstał prorok jak ogień*” (Syr 48,1). *Droga Eliasza* (Biblijni Bohaterowie Wiary 1; Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Collegium Bobolanum 2020), *Resovia Sacra* 27 (2020) 479–482.

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Ostatnia Wieczerza i zwoje z Qumran”, *Znak Łaski* 21/1 (2020) 22–25.
2. „Wiara – dzieło Boga w nas. O rozumieniu «dzieł Boga» w J 6,29”, *Przegląd Biblijny* 12 (2020) 100–107.
3. „«Ojciec nasz» księdza”, *Pastores* 91/2 (2021) 113–121.
4. „Gody w Kanie – wesele Jezusa?”, *Galilea* 14 (2021) 40–43.

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Organizacja sympozjum krajowego Wiosenne Dni Biblijne 2021: „Relacje homoseksualne a zamysł Stwórcy wobec mężczyzny i kobiety” (KUL, Lublin, 17.03.2021).
2. Organizacja sympozjum międzynarodowego Colloquia Kolbuszoviensia. Christian and Jewish Conversations on Psalms i wygłoszenie referatu: „Wojownik czy miłośnik pokoju? Dwuznaczny obraz Boga w Księdze Psalmów” (Kolbuszowa, dawna synagoga, 22.08.2021).

### Kwerendy biblioteczne

1. Cardinal Szoka Library, Sacred Heart Major Seminary (Detroit, MI, USA, 5.02 – 23.03.2020).
2. Adam Cardinal Maida Alumni Library (Orchard Lake, MI, USA, 28.01 – 23.03.2020).

### Promotor obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej

Promotor pomocniczy dysertacji: Michał Powęska, *Sapiencjalne tło chrystologicznych metafor wina, wody i chleba w Ewangelii Janowej. Studium intertekstualne* (KUL; Lublin 2021).



### Recenzja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej

Recenzja w postępowaniu doktorskim: Michał Karnawalski SJ, *Heaven for Elijah! A Study of Structure, Style, and Symbolism in 2 Kgs 2:1-18* (UKSW, Warszawa, 22.12.2020). Promotor: ks. prof. dr hab. Waldemar Chrostowski.

### Promotor obronionych prac magisterskich

1. Jakub Dierżak, *Interpretacja terminów מִלְּפָנָיו וְתַמּוּדָה w Rdz 1,26-28 w wybranej literaturze egzegetycznej z lat 1989–2019* (WSD Rzeszów – UPJPII; Kraków 2020).
2. Mateusz Wielgosz, *Teologiczna rola metafory oblubieńczej w Janowym opisie godów w Kanie (J 2,1-11)* (WSD Rzeszów – UPJPII; Kraków 2021).

### Recenzja w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym

Grzegorz Mariusz Baran, *Bóg i Jego naród w świetle Pierwszej i Drugiej Księgi Machabejskiej oraz Czwartej Księgi Machabejskiej* (Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie, Wydział Teologiczny w Tarnowie, 10.02.2021).

### Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. J.J. Pudęłko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha* (Studia Biblica Lublinensia 21; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2020) (13.06.2020).
2. K. Siwek, „Powstał prorok jak ogień” (Syr 48,1). *Droga Eliasza* (Biblijni Bohaterowie Wiary 1; Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Collegium Bobolanum 2020) (28.09.2020).
3. I. Świątek, *Pieśń o winnicy (Iz 5,1-7) i jej reinterpretacja w tradycjach biblijnych* (Warszawa: Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II – Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW 2021) (29.05.2021).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Studia Bobolanum* (1 recenzja).
2. *Poznańskie Studia Teologiczne* (1 recenzja).
3. *Studia Gdańskie* (2 recenzje).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady: Pisma Janowe (WSD Rzeszów, 45 godzin).
2. *Visiting Professor* w SS. Cyril & Methodius Seminary w Orchard Lake, MI, USA. Dwa wykłady: Synoptic Gospels and Acts (60 godzin), Johannine Literature and Revelation (60 godzin) (28.01 – 01.05.2020).
3. *Visiting Professor* w SS. Cyril & Methodius Seminary w Orchard Lake, MI, USA. Dwa wykłady: Synoptic Gospels and Acts (60 godzin), Johannine Literature and Revelation (60 godzin) (30.08 – 15.12.2021).
4. Seria 4 wykładów na temat: „Historia i archeologia starożytnego Izraela” (Akademia Teologii Katolickiej w Warszawie, 10 i 13.10.2020).

5. Seria 2 wykładów na temat: „Hermeneutyka biblijna” (Akademia Teologii Katolickiej w Warszawie, 10.10.2020).

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

#### **Audycje radiowe:**

1. „Rozmnożenie chleba w relacji Ewangelisty Marka jako zapowiedź Eucharystii. 1: Jeszcze nie rozumiecie” (Radio Jasna Góra, 12.01.2020).
2. „Rozmnożenie chleba w relacji Ewangelisty Marka jako zapowiedź Eucharystii. 2: Kosze ułomków” (Radio Jasna Góra, 20.1.2020).
3. „Jezus, kobieta syrofenicka i Eucharystia. 1: Uzdrawieni przez wiarę” (Radio Jasna Góra, 22.03.2020).
4. „Jezus, kobieta syrofenicka i Eucharystia. 2: Jedli aż do nasycenia” (Radio Jasna Góra, 26.03.2020).
5. „Czy warto czytać Pismo Święte? Na kanwie Tygodnia Biblijnego” (Radio Via, Rzeszów, kwiecień 2020).
6. „Św. Józef w literaturze apokryficznej” (Radio Via, Rzeszów, 13.03.2021).
7. „Jak czytać Pismo Święte?” (Radio Via, Rzeszów, 17.04.2021).

#### **Działalność organizacyjna:**

1. Organizacja warsztatów egzegetyczno-archeologicznych „Paweł w Koryncie (1 Kor)”, w ramach projektu „Szkoła Dabar” (Stare Epidauros, Grecja, 18–28.07.2020).
2. Prowadzący, IV Letnia Szkoła Biblijna: „Ewangelia i Listy Janowe” (Hermanice–Ustroń, 3–8.08.2020).
3. Organizator i współprowadzący warsztaty biblijne „Korepetycje z listów św. Pawła (1 Kor)” (Rzeszów, Dom Diecezjalny „Tabor”, 18–20.09.2020). Referat: „Dar języków w NT i historii Kościoła” (19.09.2020).
4. Koordynacja działań, przewodniczenie zespołowi koncepcyjnemu i pełnienie funkcji kierownika naukowego projektu repozytorium pełnotekstowego teologii polskiej „Theo-logos” (od 2020 r.).
5. Koordynacja działań i kierowanie projektem „Biblia Lubelska” (od 2020 r.).
6. Organizacja warsztatów egzegetyczno-archeologicznych „Paweł w Koryncie (2 Kor)” w ramach projektu „Szkoła Dabar” (Stare Epidauros, Grecja, 11–20.07.2021).
7. Organizacja warsztatów egzegetyczno-archeologicznych „Apokalipsa na Patmos” w ramach projektu „Szkoła Dabar” (Patmos, Grecja, 24.07 – 3.08.2021).

#### **Pełnione funkcje**

1. Redaktor naczelny kwartalnika *Verbum Vitae*.
2. Wiceprezes Stowarzyszenia na rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
3. Członek Zespołu ds. Umieędzynarodowienia na Wydziale Teologii KUL (17.02.2021).

## 7. Dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL

### Rozdziały w monografiach

1. „Introduction”, *Signs, Wonders and Mighty Works* (red. K. Mielcarek) (Analecta Biblica Lublinensia 17; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2021) 7–9.
2. „Pieśni o miłosierdziu w Ewangelii Łukasza (kantyki Maryi [1,46-55] i Zachariasza [1,68-79])”, *Kogo szukasz? (J 20,15). Księga Pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Henryka Witczyka w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski – M. Kowalski) (Ad Multos Annos 21; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 413–424.

### Książka pod redakcją

*Signs, Wonders and Mighty Works* (Analecta Biblica Lublinensia 17; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2021).

### Artykuł naukowy

„Mary in the Apostolic Church in the Light of the Lucan Writings”, *The Biblical Annals* 10/4 (2020) 599–614.

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Jezus Chrystus – Osoba i dzieło cz. 2”, *Krąg Biblijny* 41 (2020) 111–119.
2. „Kościół Jezusa Chrystusa”, *Krąg Biblijny* 42 (2020) 103–110.
3. „Starożytna literatura żydowska: Qumran – historia osady i badań archeologicznych”, *Krąg Biblijny* 43 (2020) 131–138.

### Działalność sympozjalna

Organizacja 52. Tygodnia Eklezjologicznego: „Spory w Kościele” (2-4.03.2020).

### Promotor obronionej pracy magisterskiej

Yan Chuprynski, *Paschalny wymiar drogi ucznia Syna Człowieczego (Łk 9,18-27). Studium egzegetyczno-teologiczne* (KUL; Lublin 2021).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Verbum Vitae*.
2. *The Biblical Annals*.
3. *Collectanea Theologica*.

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

Wykłady w Kolegium Filozoficzno-Teologicznym oo. Dominikanów w Krakowie (afiliowanym do UPJPII):

1. Ewangelie synoptyczne (2 semestr, 24 godziny);
2. Pięcioksiąg (1 semestr, 24 godziny);
3. Historia zbawienia (1 semestr, 24 godziny).

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Stała współpraca z dominikańskimi instytucjami popularyzującymi teologię:
  - a. Studium Dominicanum – Warszawa: Wprowadzenie do Pisma Świętego (12 godzin);
  - b. Dominikańskie Studium Filozofii i Teologii: Wprowadzenie do Pisma Świętego (10 godzin).
2. Wykłady w ramach Kursu Formacji Biblijnej (Dzieło Biblijne Jana Pawła II, Lublin); wykład: Wprowadzenie do Tory (16 godzin).
3. Debata: „Biblia w dialogu ekumenicznym” w ramach cyklu: Lublin Ekumeniczny, z udziałem ks. prof. dr. hab. Marka Uglorza (30.06.2021).

### Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Redakcja działu Nowy Testament w kwartalniku *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Członek Rady Szkoły Doktorskiej KUL.
3. Kurator Koła Naukowego Teologów KUL.
4. Członek międzynarodowej Komisji „Wiara i Ustrój” Światowej Rady Kościołów; oficjalny delegat z ramienia Kościoła rzymsko-katolickiego.

## 8. Ks. dr Krzysztof Napora SCJ

### Rozdział w monografii

„Obraz ludzkiej starości w wybranych tekstach biblijnych,” *Blaski i cienie jesieni życia. Wybrane aspekty funkcjonowania osób starszych* (red. A. Raczkowski et al.) (Lublin: Innovatio Press 2021) 119–126.

### Artykuł naukowy

„Mieszkańcy Sodomy byli źli...” (Rdz 13,13). Na czym polegał występek mieszkańców Sodomy? *Verbum Vitae* 39/1 (2021) 119–135, <https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.12445>.

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „«Zanim nadejdą dni niedoli i lata, o których powiesz: ‘Nie mam w nich upodobania’» (Koh 12,1). Obraz ludzkiej starości w wybranych tekstach biblijnych”, IX Międzynarodowa Konferencja Naukowa Wiosna Jesieni – o jakości życia osób starszych (sympozjum on-line, 9.12.2020).
2. Referat: „*Mieszkańcy Sodomy byli źli...* (Rdz 13,13). Na czym polegał występek mieszkańców Sodomy?”. Wiosenne Sympozjum Biblijne: „Relacje homoseksualne a zamysł Stwórcy wobec mężczyzny i kobiety” (sympozjum on-line, 17.03.2021).
3. Referat: „Zadania starszych – zadania wobec starszych. Refleksja na podstawie wybranych tekstów biblijnych”. X Międzynarodowa Konferencja Naukowa Wiosna Jesieni – o jakości życia osób starszych (II edycja) (sympozjum on-line, 17.06.2021).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

Wykłady w Wyższym Seminarium Misyjnym Księży Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego w Stadnikach.

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

1. Audycje w Radio Maryja: Szukając Słowa Bożego.
2. Komentarze do Ewangelii codziennych w TV Trwam.
3. Wykłady pastoralne dla Zgromadzenia Franciszkanek Misjonarek Maryi na temat Ps 45 (Łabunie, lipiec 2020).
4. Cykl 4 wykładów na temat Księgi Rodzaju oraz spotkania Lectio divina dla uczestników kursu „Na fali wielbienia” (Licheń, lipiec 2020).
5. Cykl 4 wykładów na temat Pieśni nad pieśniami dla uczestników kursu „Na fali wielbienia” (Licheń, lipiec 2021).
6. Cykl 10 wykładów biblijno-pastoralnych na temat biblijnej historii Dawida dla seminarzystów Wyższego Seminarium Misyjnego Księży Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego (Stadniki, 6–11.09.2021).
7. Nagrania komentarzy do Psalmów 75, 76, 94 i 105 i umieszczenie na platformie Youtube.
8. Przewodnik (komentarz teologiczno-historyczno-biblijny) po Ziemi Świętej (17–25.09.2021).
9. Regularne spotkania Lectio divina w parafii pw. Dobrego Pasterza w Lublinie oraz we wspólnocie postulatu Zgromadzenia Franciszkanek Misjonarek Maryi w Lublinie.

### **Pełnione funkcje**

1. Członek europejskiej sercańskiej komisji teologicznej.
2. Skarbnik Stowarzyszenia na rzecz Wspierania Biblistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
3. Sekretarz Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL.
4. Redaktor działu Stary Testament w kwartalniku *Verbum Vitae*.

## **9. Ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL**

### **Monografia**

*Analiza składniowa greckiego tekstu Ewangelii według św. Marka. I. Rozdziały 1–5* (Biblia Lublinensia 1; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2021).

**Rozdział w monografii**

„Biblijne pojmowanie prawdy”, *Kogo szukasz? (J 20,15). Księga Pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Henryka Witczyka w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski w kwartalniku M. Kowalski) (Ad Multos Annos 21; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 469–496; *Zamieszkać w Słowie 2* (2020) 89–126.

**Artykuł naukowy**

„The Origin and Significance of Medicaments According to Ben Sira (Sir 38:4-8)”, *The Biblical Annals* 11/1 (2021) 25–62.

**Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Biblical Annals* (3 recenzje).
2. *Verbum Vitae* (3 recenzje).

**Pełnione funkcje**

1. Zastępca redaktora naczelnego kwartalnika *Verbum Vitae*.
2. Członek Wydziałowej Komisji Grantowej.
3. Członek Wydziałowej Komisji ds. Jakości Kształcenia.
4. Członek Rady Programowej dla kierunku Teologia i Nauki o Rodzinie.

**10. Ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik MSF****Rozdział w monografii**

„Być królem czy ojcem? Propozycja analizy narracyjnej i strukturalno-semiotycznej 2 Sm 18,1–19,9”, *Kogo szukasz? (J 20,15). Księga Pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Henryka Witczyka w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski – M. Kowalski) (Ad Multos Annos 21; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 653–670.

**Artykuł naukowy**

„Jesus’ Intitulation of God as Abba: Its Sources and Impact on the Idea of God’s Fatherhood in the New Testament”, *Verbum Vitae* 38/2 (2020) 485–502.

**Recenzja**

Roman Bartnicki, *Jezus w drodze do śmierci i zmartwychwstania. Komentarz do Ewangelii Marka 8,27–16,20. II. Mk 14,1–16,20* (Warszawa: Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II 2019), *Verbum Vitae* 38/2 (2020) 679–681.

**Kwerenda biblioteczna**

Fachbereichsbibliothek Theologie, Universitätsbibliothek der Universität Wien (Wiedeń 12–18.07.2021).



**Recenzja wydawnicza książki**

T. Kusz, *Ewangelia według św. Łukasza. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz* (Biblia Impulsy. Nowy Testament 3; Katowice: Księgarnia św. Jacka 2021).

**Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* (2 recenzje).
2. *The Biblical Annals* (2 recenzje).
3. *Colloquia Theologica Ottoniana* (1 recenzja).
4. *Ethos* (2 recenzje).
5. *Rocznik Teologiczny*. Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna (1 recenzja).
6. *Teologia i Moralność* (1 recenzja).
7. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

**Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykłady z Nowego Testamentu (Pisma Janowe) w WSD MSF Kazimierz Biskupi – oddział Wydziału Teologicznego UAM w Poznaniu.
2. Wykłady z metodologii biblijnej (Metody interpretacji Pisma Świętego), Kurs Formacji Biblijnej Archidiecezji Lubelskiej.

**Pełnione funkcje**

Sekretarz Zarządu Stowarzyszenia na rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.

**11. Ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Witczyk****Monografia**

*Natchnienie. Prawda. Zbawienie* (Poznań: Pallottinum 2020).

**Artykuł naukowy**

„Grzech relacji homoseksualnych w Piśmie Świętym. Medialne oskarżenia a rzeczywiste przesłanie dokumentu Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej «Czym jest człowiek?» (Ps 8,5). Zarys antropologii biblijnej (2019)”, *Verbum Vitae* 39/1 (2021) 5–24.

**Działalność sympozjalna**

Referat: „Inspiracje biblijne w nauczaniu i pasterskiej służbie bł. kard. Stefana Wyszyńskiego – Prymasa Tysiąclecia”, Sympozjum Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich (Radom, 14.09.2021).

**Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

Wykłady na temat Ewangelii według św. Jana w Telewizyjnym Uniwersytecie Biblijnym Telewizji Trwam (Katedra Teologii Biblijnej):

1. Jezus otwiera oczy niewidomego na misterium Syna Człowieczego (J 9) (13.02.2021).
2. Dobry Pasterz gromadzi wierzących w „Jedno” (J 10) (24.04.2021).

3. Wskrzeszenie Łazarza figurą zmartwychwstania Jezusa z Nazaretu (J 11) (26.06.2021).
4. Namaszczenie Jezusa w Betanii znakiem miłości Kościoła (J 12) (9.10.2021).
5. Ofiarna miłość Jezusa – Nauczyciela i Pana (J 13) (11.12.2021).

### **Pełnione funkcje**

Członek redakcji kwartalnika *Verbum Vitae*.

## **12. Ks. dr Arnold Zawadzki**

### **Artykuł naukowy**

„Padlina i sępy. Czy logion Q 17,37 jest biblijnym cytatem (*illud dictum*), przysłowiem (*pro-verbium*) czy znakiem (*signum*)? Analiza egzegetyczno-teologiczna”, *The Biblical Annals* 10/4 (2020) 536–598.

### **Promotor obronionych prac magisterskich**

1. Mateusz Maciejewski, *Uprzywilejowane miejsce Piotra w gronie uczniów na podstawie J 21,15-19* (Akademia Katolicka w Warszawie – Collegium Joanneum; 2021).
2. Paweł Patorski, *Ideał człowieczeństwa w teologii usprawiedliwienia św. Pawła (Rz 3,21-26; Ef 1,4-7; 4,17-5,2)* (Akademia Katolicka w Warszawie – Collegium Joanneum; 2021).

### **Promotor obronionych prac dyplomowych**

1. Wioletta Zarychta, *Możliwość wiary pośród cierpienia w Księdze Hioba* (Akademia Katolicka w Warszawie – Collegium Joanneum; 2021).
2. Renata Urbańska, *Przesłanie przypowieści o miłosiernym Samarytaninie w katechezie dzieci i młodzieży (Łk 10,30-37)* (Akademia Katolicka w Warszawie – Collegium Joanneum; 2021).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykłady z Pism Pawłowych (Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Ojców Franciszkanów [OFMConv] w Łodzi, semestr zimowy i letni).
2. Wykład z Pism Pawłowych (Instytut Teologiczny w Łodzi, semestr zimowy).
3. Wykład z Pism Janowych (Instytut Teologiczny w Łodzi, semestr letni).

## **13. Ks. dr Marcin Zieliński**

### **Monografia**

*La gioia e la tristezza nel Libro della Sapienza* (Studia Biblica Lublinensia 17; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2020).

### Rozdział w monografii

„Relacja mistrz – uczeń jako fundament zdobywania wiedzy”, *Kogo szukasz? (J 20,15). Księga Pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Henryka Witczyka w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski – M. Kowalski) (Ad Multos Annos 21; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2021) 741–755.

### Recenzja

*Il Salterio e il libro di Giobbe. Seminario per studiosi e docenti di Sacra Scrittura. Roma, 20–24 gennaio 2020* (@Biblicum 6; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2020), *The Biblical Annals* 11/2 (2021) 379–384.

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Wykłady w ramach Telewizyjnego Uniwersytetu Biblijnego (TV Trwam, 3 wystąpienia) oraz w audycji Szukając Słowa Bożego (Radio Maryja, 2 wystąpienia).
2. Wykłady w Kursie Formacji Biblijnej (16 godzin).
3. Organizator Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Biblijnego dla Kleryków oraz tygodniowych warsztatów biblijnych dla zwycięzców.

### Pełnione funkcje

1. Wiceprzewodniczący Dzieła Biblijnego i współorganizator Niedzieli Biblijnej oraz Narodowego Czytania Pisma Świętego.
2. Przedstawiciel Konferencji Episkopatu Polski w Catholic Biblical Federation (praca w ramach grupy Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia).

### Podsumowanie statystyczne

Podsumowując powyższą działalność w roku akademickim 2020/2021, można zauważyć, że w wyniku aktywności poszczególnych pracowników Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL powstało:

- 6 monografii naukowych,
- 12 książek pod redakcją,
- 22 rozdziały w monografiach (w tym 2 w podręcznikach),
- 24 artykuły naukowe,
- 18 artykułów popularnonaukowych,
- 16 wygłoszonych referatów na sympozjach naukowych (zarówno krajowych, jak i międzynarodowych),
- 2 obronione rozprawy doktorskie,
- 3 recenzje rozpraw doktorskich,
- 7 obronionych prac magisterskich,
- 11 recenzji wydawniczych książek,
- 52 recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych.