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Table of Contents

Articles

Dariusz Dziadosz, The Covenants of the Patriarchs with Foreigners at Beersheba. The Historical and Legal Background of the Traditions in Gen 21:22–24, 25–33 and Gen 26:26–31 335

Bruno Clifton, A Stranger in My Own Land: Can a Sojourner Belong to the Household? 367

Jean Louis Ska, Where Does Salvation Come From? A Reading of 2 Kings 5:1–27 ... 385

Henryk Drawnel, The Literary Structure of the Flood Account in the Animal Apocalypse 395

Elwira Buszewicz, Jan Kochanowski's Psalter – a Source of Polish Poetry and Mirror of the Human Mind 419

Agnieszka Ayşen Kaim, In-between Calvinism and Islam: Ali Bey's Transcultural Translation of the Bible into Turkish in the Time of Confessionalization 439

Materials

Michał Klukowski, A Preliminary Bibliography of Polish Publications Concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls (from 1947 to the Spring of 2022) 463

Reviews

Samuel Adams – Greg Schmidt Goering – Matthew J. Goff (eds.), *Sirach and Its Contexts. The Pursuit of Wisdom and Human Flourishing* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 196; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2021) (*Marcin Zieliński*) 511

Andrzej Piwowar, *Język grecki Nowego Testamentu*. I. *Gramatyka – indeksy*. II. *Klucz do ćwiczeń – słownik – paradygmaty* (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Biblistyki 15; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2022) (*Przemysław Kubisiak*) 515

Articles

THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 335–365

The Covenants of the Patriarchs with Foreigners at Beersheba. The Historical and Legal Background of the Traditions in Gen 21:22–24, 25–33 and Gen 26:26–31

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Abstract: The author of this paper seeks the original historical context as well as the oldest form, structure and concept of the biblical records of the covenants of Abraham and Isaac with the local ruler(s) as recorded in Gen 21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31. The patriarchs, who enjoy the status of foreign/sojourner/resident in the land of the Philistine king, Abimelek, and their peaceful agreements are depicted in three biblical sources, which are very similar to each other in terms of structure and literary context. Those are compared with selected Hittite, Babylonian and Assyrian records of the royal covenants from the 2 millennium BC. The methodology adopted in the research allowed several important formal and substantive points of contact to be noted in the compared sources. Through this comparison, the paper confirms that Gen 21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31 reflects two ancient patterns of bilateral covenants between the monarch and an equal or subordinate social partner: *royal grants* and *suzerain-vassal treaties*. The paper also discusses the socio-cultural and legal spectrum of the Near Eastern royal procedures and how they were re-edited and adapted by the editors responsible for the current version of the biblical cycles about the patriarchs.

Keywords: Abraham, Isaac, Abimelek, foreign/sojourner/resident, covenant, *royal grant*, *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*, Gen 21:22–24, Gen 21:25–33, Gen 26:26–31, Levant royal texts from the 2nd millennium BC

The covenant is one of the oldest and most complex institutions of the Hebrew Bible. It appears in all its parts in various forms as well as in different literary, cultural and religious contexts. It primarily establishes and validates the bilateral relationships between biblical heroes, both individual and collective, and the God they worship. Additionally, it also defines peaceful settlements between individuals. The Old Testament highlights the antiquity and the ideological and religious background of the covenants by using specific terminology and appropriately selected literary forms and structures that mirror the successive stages of the sojourn of the Hebrew generations in Syro-Palestine and interactions with its inhabitants. When describing specific examples of economic, socio-political, military, cultural and religious covenants, the authors and editors of biblical sources are most likely to refer to the Hebrew term בְּרִית *bᵉrît*.[1] The understanding of the historical origins of this

1 The etymology of בְּרִית *bᵉrît* is still not clear. In the Hebrew Bible, the term does not occur in the plural, which emphasises the originality and permanence of the theological concept of covenant. J. Barr, "Some Semantic Notes on the Covenant," *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie* (eds. H. Donner – R. Hanhart – R. Smend) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1977) 29–31. Its extensive semantic field suggests the following motifs:

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term as well as the cultural and legal essence of the covenant, however, is seriously hindered due to the wide time span and the constantly evolving socio-religious realities within which the institution originated and crystallised and the biblical sources describing it.

For this reason, the last decades brought many academic studies on the biblical rite of covenant and its rooting in the history of the ancient Levant. Comparative studies of the forms, structures, term calques and content of Near Eastern royal treatises and edicts and their comparison with biblical texts have resulted in interesting hypotheses suggesting a formal and substantive dependence of the latter on several fundamental issues. Among ethnographers, historians and exegetes, the most influential were publications by Moshe Weinfeld,[2] who noticed significant similarities in ancient extra-biblical and biblical records of covenants. Weinfeld first identified two main patterns of the covenant in Hittite, Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian sources: the *royal grant* and the treaty/edict governing the relationship of the king and his vassals (*Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*), and then suggested their presence in the Hebrew Bible. In his opinion, the *royal grant* was a voluntary and unconditional commitment of the ruler to the subject (*promissory covenant*), followed by his benevolent action that did not require any activity on the part of the beneficiary. This royal grant was sometimes a reward for the vassal's services, other times an incentive for loyal and faithful service. According to Weinfeld, the second model of the covenant was obligatory and conditional (*obligatory covenant*). It compelled the vassal to obedience, reverence and action for the benefit of the ruler (the scope of which was specified in the settlement itself). Moreover, the permanence and nature of the king's grant/favour directly depended on the attitude of the subject.[3] Weinfeld was followed by George

1) a festive meal accompanying the conclusion of transaction/agreement; 2) election/selection (Akk. *barû* "to look/ to look for"); 3) bilateral bond, agreement (Akk. *riksu*; Hitt. *išḫiul* "clasp, bonds"); 4) covenant as a settlement based on a binding oath. M. Weinfeld, "Bᵉrît," *TDOT* II, 253–259; A. Mello, "L'alleanza sinaitica," *Parola, Spirito e Vita* 84/2 (2021) 19–21; G. McConville, "ברית," *NIDOTTE* I, 747–755; S. Linington, "The Term ברית in the Old Testament: Part I: An Enquiry into the Meaning and Use of the Word in the Contexts of the Covenants between God and Humans in the Pentateuch," *OTE* 15/3 (2002) 687–714. The extra-biblical and biblical terminology of covenant illustrates various aspects of love, brotherhood, loyalty, solidarity and commitment. M. McAffee, "The Good Word. Its Non-Covenant and Covenant Significance in the Old Testament," *JSOT* 39/4 (2015) 377–404; M. Haran, "The *Bᵉrît* «Covenant»: Its Nature and Ceremonial Background," *Tehillah le-Moshe. Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (eds. M. Cogan – B.L. Eichler – J.H. Tigay) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1997) 203–219.

2 M. Weinfeld, "The Common Heritage of Covenantal Traditions in the Ancient World," *I trattati nel mondo antico* (eds. L. Canfora – M. Liverani – C. Zaccagnini) (Rome: L'erma di Bretschneider 1990) 175–191; M. Weinfeld, "The Covenantal Aspect of the Promise of the Land to Israel," *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. Weinfeld) (LSTS 54; London: Clark 2005) 200–226; M. Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East," *JAOS* 90 (1970) 184–203; M. Weinfeld, "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East and Its Influence on the West," *JAOS* 93 (1973) 190–199; M. Weinfeld, "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. Weinfeld) (LSTS 54; London: Clark 2005) 2–44; M. Weinfeld, *The Promise of the Land. The Inheritance of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 1993) 222–264; M. Weinfeld, "Sarah and Abimelech (Genesis 20) Against the Background of an Assyrian Law and the Genesis Apocryphon," *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. Weinfeld) (LSTS 54; London: Clark 2005) 194–199.

3 According to the proponents of Weinfeld's theory, these two models of settlement also differed in the formula and function of the oath taken, reinforced by a ritual curse. In the *royal grant*, it was used against the one who wanted to violate the rights of the vassal granted to him by the suzerain, while in the *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*

E. Mendenhall[4] and other exegetes,[5] pointing in terms of metaphor or direct analogy to elements of these two models of Near Eastern settlement in the biblical concept of God's conditional covenant with Israel (cf. Exod 19–24; Deut 4–11; 27–30; Josh 24),[6] as well as in YHWH's unconditional guarantees to Abraham (Gen 12:1–3; 15:7–12; 17:1–27)[7] and David

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it was used against the subject who violated his obligations to the king. The *royal grant* covenant was to protect the vassal and referred to the present/ recent past, and the *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty* covenant was to protect the king and was oriented towards the future. Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant," 185.

4 G.E. Mendenhall, "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law," *BA* 17/2 (1954) 25–46; G.E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *BA* 17/3 (1954) 49–76; G.E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, PA: Biblical Colloquium 1955); G.E. Mendenhall – G. Herion, "Covenant," *ABD* I, 1188–1192. According to Mendenhall, the concept of Israel's covenant with YHWH was derived from the agreements of the Hittite suzerains with their vassals (14th–12th century BC), although it lacked the motif of witnesses, curses and blessings, and the deposition of a record of the settlement in a sanctuary. Others have sought parallels in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Hittite texts (cf. *Inscriptions of Barrakab*, king of Sam'al). E. Otto, "Die Usprünge der Bundestheologie im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient," *ZAR* 4/1 (1998) 38–45, 56–61; R.D., Miller, "The Israelite Covenant in Ancient Near Eastern Context," *BN* 139 (2008) 7–9, 11–15; R.D. Miller, *Covenant and Grace in the Old Testament. Assyrian Propaganda and Israelite Faith* (PHSC 16; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press 2012) 73–75; V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge. Ein Beitrag zu ihren juristischen Wertung* (Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien 60; Leipzig: Weicher 1931) 26, 29, 33–34; E. Devecchi, "Treaties and Edicts in the Hittite World," *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East* (ed. W. Gernot) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2012) 637–641.

5 D.J. McCarthy, "B^{e}rît and Covenant in the Deuteronomistic History," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (eds. G. Anderson *et al.*) (VTSup 23; Rome: Brill 1972) 65–85; E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten »Bund« im Alten Testament* (BZAW 131; Berlin: De Gruyter 1973); C. Levin, "The Origins of Biblical Covenant Theology," *Re-Reading the Scriptures. Essays on the Literary History of the Old Testament* (ed. C. Levin) (FAT 87; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2013) 245–259; L. Lepore, "La *b^{e}rît* nella duplice accezione di obbedienza e di comunione," *RdT* 42 (2001) 867–890; C. Koch *et al.*, "Covenant," *EBR* V, 897–907; G.N. Knoppers, "Ancient Near Eastern Royal Grants and the Davidic Covenant: A Paralel?," *JAOS* 116 (1996) 670–671; P.D. Hanson, "Covenant and Politics," *Constituting the Community. Studies on the Polity of Ancient Israel in Honor of S. Dean McBride Jr* (eds. J.T. Strong – S.S. Tuell) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2005) 205–233; M. Grisanti, "The Davidic Covenant," *TMSJ* 10/2 (1999) 235.

6 These are the latest leading publications on the subject: D. Bock, "Covenants in Progressive Dispensationalism," *Three Central Issues in Contemporary Dispensationalism* (ed. H.W. Bateman IV) (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel 1999) 169–226; E.H. Merrill, *Everlasting Dominion. A Theology of the Old Testament* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman 2006) 434–442; T. Frymer-Kensky, *Studies in Bible and Feminist Criticism* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society 2006) 141–142; W. Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament. Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2005) 417–420; S. Hahn, "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments: Some Current Research (1994–2004)," *CurBR* 3/2 (2005) 263–292; N. Lohfink, "The Concept of «Covenant» in Biblical Theology," *The God of Israel and the Nations. Studies in Isaiah and the Book of Psalms* (eds. N. Lohfink – E. Zenger) (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2000) 11–31; E. Aurelius, "Bundestheologie im Alten Testament. Ein Buch von Lothar Perlitt und seine Folgen," *ZTK* 111 (2014) 357–373; D. Markl, "God's Covenants with Humanity and Israel," *The Hebrew Bible. A Critical Companion* (ed. J. Barton) (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2016) 312–337; B. Levinson, "Revisiting the «and» in Law and Covenant in the Hebrew Bible: What the Evidence from Tell Tayinat Suggests about the Relationship between Law and Religion in the Ancient Near East," *Maarav* 24/1–2 (2020) 27–43.

7 C.L. Rogers, "The Covenant with Abraham and Its Historical Setting," *BSac* 127 (1970) 242–257; D.J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant. A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (AnBib 21A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press 1978); P.R. Williamson, "Covenant," *Dictionary of the Old Testament. Pentateuch* (eds. T.D. Alexander – D.W. Baker) (Downers Grove, IL: IVP 2002) 146–149; N. Lohfink, "Children of Abraham from Stones. Does the Old Testament Promise a New Covenant Without Israel?," *In the Shadow of Your Wings. A New Readings of Great Texts from the Bible* (ed. N. Lohfink) (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2003) 151–170; E.H. Merrill, "The Covenant with Abraham: The Keystone of Biblical Architecture," *Journal of Dispensational Theology* 12/36 (2008) 5–18.

(2 Sam 7:8–15; 23:1–5).[8] Soon, however, both this interpretation of the Near Eastern patterns of covenant and the fact of their biblical adaptations started to be questioned.[9] The analyses of ancient literary sources[10] and artefacts[11] made it possible to better define the administrative,

8 E.W. Nicholson, *God and his People. Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon 1986) 56–82. The texts on Abraham and David have in common the theme of God's promise, hence the exegetes are connecting them despite differences in their style and origin. M. Weinfeld, "The Davidic Covenant," *IDB-Sup*, 189, 195; G. Johnston, "The Promissory and Obligatory Features of God's Covenant with Abraham in the Light of Selected Ancient Near Eastern Royal Grants and Grant Treaties," 10–11, https://academia.edu/39993252/The_Promissory_and_Obligatory_Features_of_God_s_Covenant_with_Abraham_in_the_Light_of_Selected_Ancient_Near_Eastern_Royal_Grants_Grant_Treaties [access: 20.08.2022].

9 R.S. Hess, "The Book of Joshua as a Land Grant," *Bib* 83/4 (2002) 493–506; S.L. McKenzie, "The Typology of the Davidic Covenant," *The Land, That I Will Show You. Essays on the History and Archaeology the Ancient Near East in Honour of J. Maxwell Miller* (eds. J.A. Dearman – M.P. Graham) (JSOTSup 343; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 2001) 152–178; J.J.M. Roberts, "Davidic Covenant," *Dictionary of the Old Testament Historical Books* (eds. B.T. Arnold – H.G.M. Williamson) (Downers Grove, IL: InterVaristy Press 2005) 206–211; H. Kruse, "David's Covenant," *VT* 35/2 (1985) 139–164; G. Johnston, "A Critical Evaluation of Moshe Weinfeld's Approach to the Davidic Covenant in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Royal Grants: What Did He Get Right & What Did He Get Wrong?," 1–18, https://lisarobinsonsportfolio.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/ghj-ets-royal-throne-grants-2011.pdf [access: 13.09.2022].

10 An anthology of ancient Ugaritic, Hittite, Babylonian and Assyrian covenant records from the 2 millennium BC is offered in a three-volume publication: K. Kitchen – P. Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East*. I. *The Texts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012) 69–694; K. Kitchen – P. Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East*. II. *Text, Notes and Chromograms* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012) 17–70; K. Kitchen – P. Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East*. III. *Overall Historical Survey* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012) 31–214. The starting point in the search for the genesis of the biblical concept of covenant is the treaties concluded in Hattusa – the capital of the Hittite Empire – which over time became a model throughout Anatolia and Syro-Palestine. B. Christiansen – E. Devecchi, "Die hethitische Vasallenverträge und die biblische Bundeskonzeption," *BN* 156 (2013) 67–72; D.J. Wiseman, "Is It Peace? – Covenant and Diplomacy," *VT* 32/3 (1982) 311. Among the 29 records of these agreements found so far, only seven refer to the Hittites; the others relate to Sumer and Akkad. The covenants of the Hittite kings with the rulers of neighbouring states (e.g. Egypt) or subordinate principalities (Aleppo, Karkemish and Tarhuntassa) follow the same structure: 1) title/preamble (names, titles, genealogies of kings and their counterparties); 2) historical prologue (description of the socio-political background of the settlement); 3) covenant stipulation (*royal grant of succession for perpetuity*); 4) deposition of the record of the covenant in a sanctuary; 5) witnesses (gods/people); 6) ritual blessings; 7) ritual curses; 8) solemn oath/ceremony of conclusion; 9) epilogue (description of tablets, seals, witnesses). Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 251–654 (No. 36–80); Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, II, 253–263; C. Koch, *Vertrag, Treueid und Bund. Studien zur Rezeption des altorientalischen Vertragsrechts im Deuteronomium und zur Ausbildung der Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* (BZAW 383; Berlin: De Gruyter 2008) 19–104; R. Lopez, "Israelite Covenants in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Covenants," *CTS Journal* 10/1 (2004) 74–92; Johnston, "The Promissory and Obligatory Features of God's Covenant with Abraham," 9; J. Brinkman, "Babylonian Royal Land Grants, Memorials of Financial Interest, and Invocation of the Divine," *JESHO* 49/1 (2006) 1–47.

11 The relics of royal grants are, for example, *kudurru*, i.e. boundary stones, which were placed in Babylonia and its subordinate territories between 17th and 7th centuries BC. They were marked with a special inscription/image confirming such a grant or conclusion of a transaction giving the right to land ownership. The stones contained the names of the witnesses of the granting, invocations to the local gods responsible for protecting the land, and formulas of curses for those who dared to violate them. The *Kudurru* were placed at their respective boundary points or deposited as a certificate (deed of ownership) at local sanctuaries. From the 2 millennium BC, among other things, the *kudurru* are preserved confirming the ownership rights to lands granted by Nebuchadrezzar I (died 1103 BC) and Marduk-nādin-ahhē (1095–1078 BC) – the kings of the Babylonian second dynasty of Isin. G. Buccelatti, "The Kudurrus as Monuments," *Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en hommage à Léon De Meyer* (eds. H. Gasche – M. Tanret – C. Janssen) (Mesopotamian History and

legal and diplomatic realities in which the multiethnic communities of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Syro-Palestine created and perfected the institution of the covenant. Its structure, forms and meaning proved more complex than the two-pronged typology developed by Weinfeld. Thus, the researchers once again discussed the historical origins and structures of the oldest forms of the covenant in the Levant, setting new directions for research. As scholars unanimously acknowledged the covenant as one of the most original[12] and popular forms of civil law agreements among the indigenous and immigrant populations of the Levant, the evolution of this institution started[13] to be noticed. This recognition also prompted the need for further research into the Near Eastern texts and their influence on biblical traditions. It was noted that there is a need for further in-depth queries on the sources from the first and second half of the 2nd millennium BC as they offer valuable insights into the socio-political institutions as well as legal and administrative structures of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Syro-Palestine. Those structures may have already been encountered and applied in the Late Bronze Age by the nomadic tribes of the most ancient proto-Israelites, i.e. the patriarchs. An urgent postulate was also expressed for analogous historical, critical and intertextual research on Hebrew Bible texts that refer to official bilateral covenants concluded based on legal and customary norms that were in force in the Levant in the 2 millennium BC. At this level of research, it is important to differentiate between biblical texts that discuss a covenant made by two counterparts from the same nation or clan and those that refer to covenants concluded with partners from foreign ethnic groups or different nations.

To follow the research path thus established, that is to search for possible points of contact between the legislation and customs of the ancient Near East and the Bible, three biblical sources have been chosen for analysis in this publication. They describe the settlement that Abraham and Isaac made with Abimelek, the king of Gerar (Gen 21:22–24,

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Environment. Occasional Publications 2; Louvain: Peeters 1994) 283–287; I. Gelb – P. Steinkeller – R. Whiting, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East. Ancient Kudurrus* (OIP 104; Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1994); H.D. Baker, "Babylonian Land Survey in Socio-Political Context," *The Empirical Dimension of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Die empirische Dimension altorientalischer Forschungen* (eds. G.J. Selz – K. Wagensonner) (WOO 6; Wien: Lit 2011) 298–307.

12 The most ancient testimonies of the Levant covenants, in which at least one of the counterparties is a local ruler, date back to the 3rd millennium BC. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 1–68. The development of the procedures of these covenants and their literary record continued into the Hellenic and Roman era. E. Ben Zvi, "A Balancing Act: Settling and Unsettling Issues Concerning Past Divine Promises in Historiographical Texts Shaping Social Memory in the Late Persian Period," *Covenant in the Persian Period. From Genesis to Chronicles* (eds. R.J. Bautch – G.N. Knoppers) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2015) 109–129.

13 T. Hegg, "The Covenant of Grant and the Abrahamic Covenant," 1–5, https://academia.edu/69383366/The_covenant_of_grant_and_the_Abrahamic_covenant, [access: 20.08.2022]. In the Hittite monarchy, for example, *išḫiul* "instructions" were in use, under which the rulers encouraged sons/relatives, military officers, officials, courtiers or priests to obey and warned against insubordination under the sanction of losing grants and privileges. During the proclamation of these royal instructions, the officials took oaths and invoked the wrath of the gods upon themselves for their possible violation (formulas of curses). J.L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts* (WAW; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature Press 2013); A. Goetze, "The Beginning of the Hittite Instructions for the Commander of the Border Guards," *JCS* 14/2 (1960) 69–73; A. Taggar-Cohen, "Biblical Covenant and Hittite išḫiul Reexamined," *VT* 61 (2011) 461–488.

21:25–33 and 26:26–31). Those sources will be contrasted with the representative records documenting the conclusion of similar covenants with foreigners in Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine during the first and second half of the 2 millennium BC. The goal is to examine the form and structure of these biblical sources in the context of their socio-cultural and historical era to which the texts of Gen 21:22–24, 21:25–33 and 26:26–31 seem to relate. The aim to this confrontation of sources is to analyse the broader common historical background of the three traditions concerning the patriarchs as well as the concept of their bilateral relationship with the representatives of the Syro-Palestinian community who were foreign in cultural and religious terms. Assuming that the selected biblical texts, although finally edited in the Persian era, refer to much older traditions of Israel, it can be expected that in their own way (in historical-salvific, ideological-theological terms) they reflect certain historical socio-cultural realities of the 2 millennium BC. This is the era with which the Hebrew Bible links the time of the patriarchs, their sojourn in Syro-Palestine and their contacts with indigenous ethnic groups. Comparison of the biblical texts concerning Abraham and Isaac's covenants with Abimelek to extra-biblical records offers insights into their socio-cultural and administrative-legal origins. It also makes it possible to identify similarities and differences in the biblical and extra-biblical concept and record of the covenant and, consequently, to determine the extent of any substantive and formal borrowings by the editors of Genesis. Such an in-depth query into the historical and cultural background of the sources of Gen 21:22–24, 21:25–33 and 26:26–31 is needed because the previous studies of the application of the Near Eastern covenant formulas in the Hebrew Bible focused only on the relationship of Abraham,[14] David[15] and Israel[16] with God, and neglected the issues of the economic, commercial and socio-political bonds of the patriarchs with the local leaders of Syro-Palestine.

14 The most representative records of God's covenant with Abraham and his descendants are the traditions (Gen 15 and 17). In the prism of diachrony, their origins and editorial process are defined in various ways. They are usually considered to be two versions of one source or two completely separate narratives. Through the prism of synchrony, the same literary and thematic pattern is noted in these two traditions and it is assumed that both refer to the same historical-salvific fact, presenting it in a slightly different theological perspective. D. Bediako – E. Baidoo, "The Covenant of Abraham: Relationship between Genesis 15 and 17," *VVUJT* 2 (2012) 3–9.

15 E.T. Mullen, "The Divine Witness and the Davidic Royal Grant: Ps 89:37–38," *JBL* 102 (1983) 207–218; E.T. Mullen, "The Royal Dynastic Grant to Jehu and the Structure of the Books of Kings," *JBL* 107/2 (1988) 193–206; Z. Ben-Barak, "Meribaal and the System of Land Grants in Ancient Israel," *Bib* 62 (1981) 73–91; Y. Muffs, *Love and Joy. Law, Language and Religion in Ancient Israel* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America 1992) 134.

16 R. Oden, "The Place of Covenant in the Religion of Israel," *Ancient Israelite Religion. Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (eds. P.D. Miller – P.D. Hanson – S.D. McBride) (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress 1987) 429–447; R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel* (ThSt 68; Zürich: EVZ-Verlag 1963) 7–31; S.-T. Sohn, "«I Will Be Your God and You Will Be My People»: The Origin and Background of the Covenant Formula," *Ki Baruch Hu. Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine* (eds. R. Chazan – W.W. Hallo – L.H. Schiffman) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1999) 355–372. The covenant with God at every stage of Israel's biblical history is recognised as the foundation of the monotheistic/monolatrous faith.

1. Literary Context of the Patriarchs' Settlements with Abimelek (Gen 21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31)

In the flagship texts describing the genesis and effects of YHWH's covenant with Israel (Exod 24:1–11; 34:1–28; Deut 5:3; 7:9, 12; 9:9, 11, 15; 28:69; 29:8, 13, 20; Jer 31:33) or His chosen patriarchs and leaders: Noah, Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon (Gen 8:20–9:17; 15:1–21; 17:1–27; Josh 24:1–28; 2 Sam 7:1–29; 23:5; 1 Kgs 8:23), the בְּרִית *bᵉrît* is based on His unilateral promise/oath guaranteeing constant graciousness (cf. *royal grant model*) or makes it conditional on obedience to His will (cf. model *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*). In contrast, in the traditions according to Gen 21:22–24, 21:25–33 and 26:26–31, the Hebrew term – *bᵉrît* – has a much less visible theological overtone. This is because the parties to the agreement described therein are exclusively human beings[17] and the subject of their settlement does not concern the sphere of religion. However, even in these three texts, there are signs of the Hittite and Neo(Assyrian) model of the covenant. In the canonical order of the Hebrew Bible, these are the first records of the agreements that the proto-Israelites (patriarchs)[18] concluded with culturally and religiously foreign representatives of the local communities of Canaan, specifically with the ruler/rulers of the Philistine city-state of Gerar and its surroundings.[19]

Those three texts share similarities in their literary form, structure,[20] themes as well as historical and cultural context. This suggests that they were likely created around the same time

17 A description of the bilateral settlement between the Israelites and representatives/leaders of foreign ethnic groups, referred to as בְּרִית *bᵉrît*, can also be found in the texts of Josh 9:1–27; 2 Sam 5:11–12; 1 Kgs 5:15–32; 7:40–47; 9:10–14, 27.

18 Many exegetes suggest historical ethnic ties between the clan of the patriarchs and the Amorite and Aramaean peoples alternately inhabiting the area of Syro-Mesopotamia in the Middle and Late Bronze Age extending between the Euphrates and its tributary the Khabur (Nahr al-Khābūr) and referred to as Aram-Naharaim "Aram of the two rivers" (Gen 24:10) or Paddan Aram "the Plain of Aram" (Gen 28:2–7). The texts from Mari indicate a (semi)nomadic culture of these peoples using an early form of a West Semitic language. There are many indications that Abram's clan originated from the Amorite culture of the mid-2 millennium BC and was associated with Haran (Gen 11:31–32; 24:4, 10; 28:2, 5, 10). R.S. Hendel, *Remembering Abraham. Culture, Memory, and History in the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005) 52–54; A. Malamat, "The Proto-History of Israel: A Study in Method," *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth. Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman* (eds. C. Meyers – M. O'Connor) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1983) 306–307.

19 K.A. Kitchen, "The Patriarchal Age: Myth or History?," *BAR* 21/2 (1995) 53–54. The Bible does not emphasise ethnic differences in covenant partners, implying that bilateral settlements did not create kinship ties, but established and strengthened them. Hence, they were accompanied by the language of adoption, table fellowship (commensalism) and marriages (cf. Gen 20:1–18; 26:6–11), which were supposed to strengthen mutual relationships. F.M. Cross, "Kinship and Covenant in Ancient Israel," *From Epic to Canon. History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (ed. F.M. Cross) (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press 1998) 3–4; J.L. Wright, "The *raison d'être* of the Biblical Covenant: Assessing Mendenhall's Emphasis on Kinship," *Maarav* 24 (2020) 49.

20 The multiplicity of texts about the patriarchs' covenant with foreign rulers is the result of the editors of the book using the same sources and thematic motifs to describe Israel's proto-history in the land of Canaan. But it cannot be ruled out that they are traces of actual agreements concluded by Abraham and Isaac with the same or a subsequent ruler of the region. The Hittite archives record several such cases. Thus, for example, Kurunta, the king of Tarhuntassa concludes a similar covenant with two successive Hittite rulers, and Tudhaliya IV of Hatti between 1230 and 1210 BC with two kings of Tarhuntassa – Kurunta and Ulmi-Tesub.

and from a common source, which was successively corrected by the editorial circles responsible for the current version of the book. Unlike Hittite, Assyrian and Babylonian sources,[21] the traditions about Abraham and Isaac's settlements with Abimelek do not have, and probably never had, the form of an autonomous historical document/literary source from the period they describe.[22] Rather, they reflect much later oral or written Hebrew traditions that became an integral part of the extensive patriarchal cycles (Gen 11:27–25:18 and 25:19–36:43) over time. Due to their complex and long editorial process and the strictly defined function they play in their current literary context, they cannot be assessed according to the same substantive and formal criteria that are applied to reading and evaluating archival extra-biblical texts on ancient bilateral settlements. This is because the editors of Genesis did not intend them to be literal and complete records of ancient transactions that were drawn up to become locally binding law. Rather, they should be regarded as summaries/reports intended to record important facts from the ancient history of the clan of proto-Israelites (patriarchs), cultivated in the memory of their descendants, the socio-cultural and legal consequences of which affected relations with the indigenous inhabitants of Syro-Palestine.[23] The specific socio-cultural context, reflected in the Hebrew conceptual calque used in Gen 21:22–24, 21:25–33 and 26:26–31, does not rule out the possibility

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A similar settlement with two successive rulers of Arpad, ʼAtar-sumki and Mati ʼel, was concluded between 775 and 773 BC by King Bar-Gaʼyah. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 610–642, 911–934 (No. 73–74, 86, 87–88). Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, II, 33; Christiansen – Devecchi, "Die hethitische Vasallenverträge," 68.

21 These testimonies were usually written on rectangular stone, basalt or bronze tablets of various sizes (20/40 cm long and wide) and bearing two seals which were fixed with a bronze chain, as evidenced by two holes made in their upper or central edges.

22 Two different points of reference should be considered in this regard. On the one hand, the imprecisely defined age of the patriarchs in the Hebrew Bible (cf. 1 Kgs 6:1), which exegetes associate with the period between the 18th and 15th centuries BC. Kitchen, "The Patriarchal Age," 48–57, 88–95. On the other hand, the period of (post)priestly redaction of Genesis (5th/4th century BC), in which, in the perspective of theological retrospection, a definitive version of the earliest history of Israel was born, based on written records from the 8th century BC (source J [Jahwist]) and older pre-Jahwist oral traditions. I. Finkelstein – N. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed. Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts* (New York: Simon & Schuster 2002) 36–38. An example of such a tradition evoking the distant historical memory of the people of Israel is Amos 9:7:
הֲלוֹא כְבָנֵי כֻשִׁיִּים אַתֶּם לִי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נְאֻם־יְהוָה הֲלוֹא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל הֶעֱלֵיתִי מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּפְלִשְׁתִּים מִכַּפְתּוֹר וַאֲרָם מִקִּיר
hălô' kibnê kušiyyîm 'attem lî bᵉnê jiśrā'ēl nᵉ'um-JHWH hălô' 'et-jiśrā'ēl he'ĕlêtî mē'ereṣ miṣrajim úpᵉlištiyyîm mikkaptôr wa'ărām miqqîr "are not you Israelites the same to me as the Cushites? declares the Lord. Did I not bring Israel up from Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor and the Arameans from Kir?." The two nations referred to here: the Arameans from the Middle Euphrates area (Kir), with whom Abram's family was associated, and the Philistines (Sea Peoples) from Crete and the Aegean region (Kaptor), who were under the rule of Abimelek during the patriarchs' time, fit into the historical background proposed in Gen 21:22–24; 21:25–33; 26:26–31.

23 Such reports of the concluded covenants can be found in texts from Mari. D. Charpin *et al.*, *Archives Royales de Mari* (Paris: Édition Recherche sur les Civilisations 1988) XXVI/2, 144–145, 181–182 (No. 372). In this respect, the texts of the Bible reflect the style of the Old Babylonian covenant records. For example, four records of a peaceful covenant from the 18th century BC, which Zimri-Lim, the ruler of Mari, concluded with four vassals, the kings of the Middle Euphrates region, have been preserved. These were: Ibal-pi-el II of Eshnunna, Hammurabi of Babylon, Atamrum of Andarig and an anonymous ruler of Kurda. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 212–224 (No. 20–23). On the other hand, from the 18th century BC, there are reports written in Old Assyrian on trade and economic covenants concluded by Till-Abnu, the ruler of Apum and

that the covenant reports recorded therein may belong to a small group of texts that are rooted in the earlier culture of the Northwest Semitic languages.[24] However, today it is hidden under the language of the Jahwistic[25] and (post)priestly cycles 11:27–25:18 and 25:19–36:43 written much later. Those cycles describe the history of Abra(ha)m, Isaac and Jacob/Israel in a way that portrays their sojourn in Syro-Palestine and their relations with its inhabitants. That could be read as an archetype of the future history of the people of Israel who, under the leadership of Moses, abandoned Egypt in the last phase of the Bronze Age and managed to settle permanently in Canaan in the early phase of the Iron Age, to establish later the foundations of the monarchy in the land promised by God to the patriarchs.

The texts of 21:22–24, 21:25–33 and 26:26–31 are consistent in terms of chronology, topography and facts. They unanimously point to בְּאֵר שָׁבַע *bᵉ'ēr šāba'* Beersheba (21:31–33; 26:23–33) in the land of the Philistines (אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים *'ereṣ pᵉlištîm*; 21:32; 26:12) as the place of the patriarchs' settlement with a foreign ruler, making an allusion to the seat/residence of king Abimelek in גְּרָר *gᵉrār* (Gerar) in the Negeb (26:1, 6, 26; cf. 20:1–2). This information is difficult to verify. Apart from the Bible, there are no sources that would confirm the existence and socio-political function of these locations in the Middle Bronze Age. The most ancient extra-biblical data on the geography of southern Syria, Phoenicia, Canaan and Transjordan are provided by the royal archives of Egypt from the Twelfth Dynasty period (1976–1794 BC). They are laconic though, as they mention only a few of the leading peoples and centres of the region. They refer to Laish (later Dan) at the northern end of Canaan, as well as Hazor (cf. texts from Mari), Afek, Rehob, Shechem, Jerusalem, and Hebron. The archaeologists suggest that Canaan, Phoenicia and southern Syria were still under Egyptian control from 1550 through 1100. It is noted, however, that some ethnic groups and towns enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy at that time. Major changes in this region of the Levant began as late as in the 12th century BC, with

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Assur, with the rulers of Anatolia (e.g. Yamsi-Hadnu of Kahat). Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 225–230 (No. 24–26).

24 One can notice here, for example, the use of the long form of the pronoun אנכי (1st person singular), which in the Bible distinguishes the Yahwistic source from the priestly source (in P [priestly source] it occurs only in Gen 23:4), and which is reflected in the older North-Semitic languages (e.g. Ugaritic). R.M. Wright, *Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-exilic Date of the Yahwistic Source* (London: Clark 2005) 82; R. Hendel, "Is the 'J' Primeval Narrative an Independent Composition? A Critique of Crüsemann's *Die Eigenständigkeit der Urgeschichte*," *The Pentateuch* (eds. T.B. Dozeman – K. Schmid – B. Schwartz) (FAT 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2011) 201–202; M. Majewski, "Klasyfikacja języków semickich," *Studia Leopoliensia* 4 (2011) 140–144.

25 The concept of a Yahwistic source, with which exegetes usually associate the oldest parts of the biblical texts about the covenants of Abraham and Isaac in Genesis, is still widely discussed to this day. The best-known, and at the same time extremely opposite, approaches to this issue are the classical theory of Julius Wellhausen which supports the early origin of the Yahwist, and the hypothesis of John Van Seters (*Abraham in History and Tradition* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1975] 311) who shifts its final redaction to the period of the Babylonian captivity, calling it the pre-priestly corpus of the Pentateuch. The text of Gen 21:25–26 together with Gen 20:1–17 and 21:28–30, however, is linked by Van Seters to the Elohist source. An extensive analysis of these issues is proposed by Tadeusz Brzegowy ("Najnowsze teorie na temat powstania Pięcioksięgu – próba oceny," *CT* 72/1 [2002] 11–44).

the arrival of the Philistines (Sea Peoples)[26] and the Hebrew tribes that gradually superseded the weakening indigenous population of the Canaanites. According to the chronology of the Bible and archaeological artefacts (the Tel Dan stele and the Mesha stele from the 9th century BC), the Israelites did not take control of this region until the 10th century BC, when King David laid the foundations for monarchical structures, defeated the Philistines (2 Sam 5:1–25) and extended political influence to significant areas of Syro-Palestine.[27]

One of the introductory issues is the problem of the identity of the partner of the covenant with Abraham and Isaac. In all cases, it is a king named אֲבִימֶלֶךְ *'ăbîmelek* "my father is king" who, according to the Bible, lives permanently/resides with his court and army in Gerar and extends authority over the city-state in the land of the Philistines (אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים *'ereṣ pᵉlištîm*; 21:32, 34).[28] To provide further context, the Bible presents Abraham's and Isaac's settlements with Abimelek against the background of deception/fraud[29] committed by them and the dispute over the wells in and around Beersheba (21:25–31 and 26:32–33). It takes place in the atmosphere of their striving for their own land and during a time of famine in the area (26:1; cf. 12:10). The origin and literary structure of the description of Abimelek's covenant with Abraham (21:22–34) and its connection with the analogous text about Isaac's settlement with Abimelek (26:26–33) is the subject of lively debate among exegetes. The proponents of a diachronic[30] and synchronic[31] reading of these passages offer various reconstructions of their editorial process and an unequal reading of their final version.

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26 L.E. Stager, "The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185–1050 BCE)," *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (ed. T. Levy) (London: Leicester University Press 1995) 332–348.

27 N. Na'aman, "The Conquest of Canaan in the Book of Joshua and in History," *From Nomadism to Monarchy. Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (eds. I. Finkelstein – N. Na'aman) (Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society 1994) 231–280.

28 The identification and location of this biblical topos is the subject of discussion. Most commonly, the Hebrew גְּרָרָה *gᵉrārāh* is associated with Tell Abu Hureyra/Tel Haror, located about 18 kilometres southeast of Gaza. The archaeologists suggest that Gerar was one of the largest fortified towns of Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age (about 16 ha of surface area). E.D. Oren, "Tel Haror," *NEAEHL* II, 580.

29 Both patriarchs claim that their wives are their sisters, which triggers a conflict with a local Philistine ruler, in the resolution of which YHWH God is involved (20:1–18; 26:1–33; cf. 12:9–20).

30 To explain terminological and thematic discrepancies and repetitions in 21:22–34 and 26:26–31, exegetes usually propose two distinct oral traditions, two separate written sources, or two successive versions (version A related to 26:1–33:21, 22–24, 27[31],32 and B related to 20:1–18, 21:25–26, 28–30 [31 or 32–33]) behind these analogous texts. Scholars differ significantly in their definition of their scope and nature. W. Zimmerli, *1 Mose 12–25. Abraham* (ZBK.AT 1/2; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag 1976) 105–106; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (AB 1; New York: Doubleday 1978) 159–160; C. Westermann, *Genesis*. II. *12–36* (BK.AT 1/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1981) 423–425. Some argue for the secondary nature of the message about Abraham, others about Isaac. Not everyone associates the covenants of Abraham, Isaac and the Philistine king with the motif of the well, and consequently, with the aetiology of the place (Beersheba). They unanimously recognise only that the text of 26:26–31 contains a more complete version of the covenant than the text of 21:22–34 and that none of its three biblical versions today is an autonomous tradition, but an integral part of a larger narrative (11:27–25, 18 and 25:19–36:43), without which it would be incomplete and incomprehensible.

31 The proponents of synchrony suggest reading 21:22–34 in the context of 20:1–18 and in light of the text of 26:26–33, which also includes two structural components (26:26–31, 32–33). Some believe that all these messages were originally part of one collection "Abraham/Isaac in Gerar" (20:1–18; 21:22–34; 26:1–33), which was divided and integrated into cycles 11:27–25, 18 and 25:19–36:43 to emphasise the continuity of

2. Structure of the Two Traditions about Abraham's Covenant with Abimelek (Gen 21:22–24, 25–33)

The current form, structure and content of verses 21:22–33 make it possible to distinguish two short reports on the conclusion of one or two different settlements between Abraham and Abimelek: 21:22–24 and 21:25–33.[32] In its current version, 21:22–34 is an independent pericope separate from the preceding (21:1–21) and following (22:1–19)[33] contexts, which focus on the theme of God's promise of offspring and blessing and God's verifications of the patriarch's fidelity and obedience. This part of the cycle about Abraham (21:1–22:19) is an illustration of his covenant with YHWH based on His unconditional (15:1–21) and conditional (17:1–27) guarantees and gifts, to which the patriarch responds with heroic loyalty and faith. The pericope 21:22–34 is editorially and thematically related to 20:1–18. The text reveals why Abimelek went to Abraham and the circumstances of the patriarch's residence in Beersheba. The fact of the bilateral covenant contained in 21:23–24 can be read in the light of the invitation to settle in the king's land, mentioned in 20:15, sent by the king to Abraham who had the status of a sojourner/foreigner (גור *gwr* in 21:23). The course of the ritual of covenants from 21:22–24, 25:33 is in line with the *royal grant* and *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty* procedures, well-known in this region of the Levant, recorded in the Hittite, Babylonian and Assyrian royal archives.[34] To illustrate this thematic and structural convergence, it is first necessary to determine the oldest form of these sources that would be temporally closest to the events described.[35] It can be done based on the criteria of textual criticism and the history of the development of the Hebrew text.

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the narrative about the patriarchs. K.A. Mathews, *Genesis 11:27–50:26* (NAC 1B; Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman 2005) 276–277.

32 The themes of 21:22–24 and 21:25–33 are heterogeneous. Both sources mention the relationship between Abraham and Abimelek, but only in 21:22–24 do they mention the patriarch's oath of loyalty, and only in 21:25–33 their covenant (21:27, 32). In 21:25–33, new themes appear: the well (21:25–26, 27a, 31a, 31b?, 32a, 32b?), the gift of sheep and cattle (21:27a) and the seven lambs (21:28–30), while in 21:31, Abraham's oath is no longer mentioned (21:23–24), but the mutual oath of the two partners to the agreement. These arguments suggest that verses 21:22–33 should not be regarded merely as a description of a single covenant, but should instead be seen as two traditions that speak unequivocally of a single bilateral settlement or of two independent agreements.

33 The literary distinctiveness of 21:22–34 is confirmed by the Masoretic petucha markers after 21:21 and 21:34.

34 According to these patterns, in the middle of the 2 millennium BC, covenants were concluded by Hittite rulers, e.g. Arnuwandas I with the People of Ismirika or Suppiluliuma I with Shattiwaza of Mitanni. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 348–354, 365–406.

35 Unfortunately, neither the original record of this covenant nor a copy of it, which would come from the time of the patriarchs or a period close to them, has been preserved. In order to recreate the oldest possible form of the Hebrew text behind the current version of Gen 21:22–24 (cf. 21:25–33; 26:26–31), the Masoretes' punctuation dating back to the 8th/9th century AD was first removed. Then, in parentheses, there are the full-length vowels (matres lectionis) used by scribes probably from the 9th/8th century BC, as well as the final ה (*hē*) in feminine nouns, which replaced the original ת used in early and late Canaanite and Proto-Hebrew (13th century BC). Also, the original form of the accusative written with the particle אֵת (*'et-*), which linguists associate with the 11th/10th century BC, has been put in parenthes. The process of leading linguistic transformations in the area of the southern Levant is reconstructed in: Na'aman, "The Conquest of Canaan," 219–221.

The following is a hypothetical record of the oldest textual form of the biblical version of the first tradition about Abraham's settlement with Abimelek; it allows distinguishing its original structure and identifying parallels with the Near Eastern covenants:

Narrative framework of the first covenant rite in Beersheba (21:22–24)

21:22 ויה(י) בעת (ה)ה(ו)א ויאמר אב(י)מלך ופ(י)כל שׂר צבא(ו) אל אברהם לאמר אלה(י)ם עמך בכל אשׁר את(ה) עשׂ(ה)

So, then, Abimelek and Phicol his troop-commander spoke to Abraham, saying: "God is with you in all that you do.

Oath

21:23a ועת(ה) השׁבע(ה) ל(י)

And now, swear (on oath) to me

Reference to God

21:23a באלה(י)ם הנ(ה)

by God, herewith.

Covenant stipulation

21:23b אם־תשׁקר ל(י) ולנ(י)נ(י) ולנכד(י) כחסד אשׁר עשׂ(י)ת(י) עמך תעשׂ(ה) עמד(י) ועם (ה)ארץ אשׁר גרת(ה) בה

You shall (surely) not betray me, or my offspring, or my posterity, according to the kindness that I have shown you, you shall deal with me, and with the land in which you have stayed."

Oath + possible formula of ritual self-curse

21:24 ויאמר אברהם אנכ(י) אשבע

Then said Abraham: "I do (so) swear!"

The first report on the patriarch's settlement with the local ruler (21:22–24), in whose territory "he resides as a foreigner, sojourner, guest" (גור *gwr* in 21:23), is brief and laconic. In fact, it only outlines its general conditions and the main objective, which is to create/recreate (cf. 20:1–18) conditions for lasting peaceful coexistence[36] between partners from different cultural, religious and social spheres. The text of 21:22–24 and its current literary expansion – 21:25–33[37] – cause many problems of interpretation. They contain no chronological or thematic link to their immediate context. Also, they do not have a coherent internal structure, which suggests that they were originally two independent traditions: two accounts of one or two separate or successive settlements between Abraham and Abimelek.[38] The immediate context preceding the account of the birth of Isaac, the son of promise,

36 The model biblical concept of a peaceful pact is contained in the tradition of Gen 9:1–17. B.F. Batto, "The Covenant of Peace: A Neglected Ancient Near Eastern Motif," *CBQ* 49/2 (1987) 190–191.

37 The diachronic analysis of 21:22–34 leads the exegetes to different conclusions about the origin and form of the sources that comprise these verses. In this fragment, some find one source (E) with elements of J (21:33), others two (J, E) or more sources, attributing to them the forms: covenant/oath, account of a dispute or aetiology explaining the meaning of the name Beersheba oscillating around the number "seven" (Abraham and Abimelek are mentioned seven times each; the motif of seven sheep) and "oath." G. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50* (WBC 2; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1994) 90–91.

38 The exegetes who do not consider the structure of the Near Eastern covenants, find in 21:22–33 a single message/scene consisting of three interventions by Abimelek (21:22b, 23, 26b, 29b) and two responses by

and the distancing of the firstborn Ishmael (21:1–21), does not in any way foreshadow them. At the same time, the formula וַיְהִי בָּעֵת הַהִוא *waj^ehî bā'ēt hahiw'* in 21:22 defining their chronology is so ambivalent as to make it impossible to answer the question of to which stage of the previously described past the editor of the cycle wishes to link Abraham's settlement(s) with Abimelek. There are many indications that both accounts of the agreement(s) (21:22–24, 21:25–33) are related to the tradition of 20:1–18, in which Abimelek plays a leading role, and to the motif of the dispute that arose during his first meeting with the patriarch[39] as a result of hiding Sarah's true identity and status.[40] The same motif returns in the twin narrative of Isaac, Rebekah and Abimelek (26:6–11), where, by way of editorial calque, it provides a further context for a similar compromise between the two previously conflicted parties (26:26–31). It is possible that both reports on the covenant between Abraham and Abimelek were introduced by the editor of the cycle (successively) to illustrate the wording of verse 21:34, informing about the length and status (גור *gwr*) of his sojourn in the land of the Philistines.

In a manner typical of the Near Eastern covenant records, the text of 21:22–24 first sets the historical/narrative framework of the reported events, briefly defining its chronology (וַיְהִי בָּעֵת הַהִוא *waj^ehî bā'ēt hahiw'*) and providing the names of all the heroes (21:22). Their location, Beersheba, is given only in 21:31 (cf. 21:32, 33) against the background of the two-pronged aetiology of its name. However, it is foreshadowed from the beginning by the stem שׁבע *šb'* appearing simultaneously in two meanings ("oath" in 21:23, 24, 31; "seven" in 21:28, 29, 30). None of the three biblical accounts (21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31), which are so similar in structure and theme, define/mention Abimelek's function and place of his rule. His royal position in the settlements with Abraham and Isaac is only suggested by the presence of the commander of his forces – Phicol (21:22, 32; cf. 26:26) and the mention of his return to the land of the Philistines (21:32; 26:31). This, however, does not affect the message of the biblical texts. Their context clearly states that Abimelek was a king (20:2; 26:8), which makes it possible to read his agreements with Abraham and Isaac in the light of the Near Eastern covenant institution (*royal grant* and *Suzerain-Vassal*

Abraham (21:24b, 30b) interspersed with short comments by the narrator (21:22a, 24a, 25–26a, 27–29a, 30a, 31–33). K&D I, 157.

39 The verse 20:1 specifies the topographical framework of an event that will result first in a conflict and then in a settlement between a local ruler and a nomad temporarily residing in his territory (in the Negeb between Kadesh and Shur). It all takes place during Abraham and Sarah's sojourn in Gerar, the seat of Abimelek (no note of his origin; cf. 21:32; 26:1). The absence of the term בְּרִית *b^erît* (cf. 21:27, 32; 26:28) and the motif of an oath (to God/YHWH; cf. 21:23, 31; 26:31) does not allow Abimelek's settlement with Abraham in Gerar (20:1–18) to be given the status of a covenant (in the form of a *royal grant* or a treaty of loyalty – *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*).

40 This theme in the cycle about Abraham appears earlier in 12:9–20 in a similar topographical context: the motif of the patriarch's journey through the lands of the Negeb (cf. 12:9 and 20:1), then belonging to the Philistines. In the tradition about Isaac, this issue returns again (26:6–11) and, as in the cycle about Abraham, provides an indirect introduction to the climate of the peaceful covenant with the Philistine king Abimelek (26:26–33).

Treaty).[41] In 21:22, Abimelek initiates the settlement and demands that Abraham residing in his territory as a sojourner/resident recognise his hereditary authority in and around Gerar (21:23a). By the king's will, this recognition takes the form of a loyalty oath (niph. imperative plus paragogic *he*) made to the patriarch's professed God,[42] which could suggest a type of covenant: *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*. According to the ruler, it is God who guarantees the prosperity Abraham enjoys in his land (21:22b). He should also act as a witness to guarantee the reliability and irrevocability of Abraham's oath on which the covenant is based (21:23a). In accordance with religious, cultural and diplomatic standards of the Levant of the 2 millennium BC, the oath made in a bilateral covenant emphasised its fraternal and at the same time binding character. It also contained a warning to anyone violating its conditions (the principle of divine retribution for perjury). For theological reasons, this solemn oath stands at the centre of the first report (stem שׁבע *šb'* in 21:23, 24) and is closely linked to its first element (21:22), which recalls the circumstances of the settlement and specifies its religious basis. By taking an oath of loyalty to the local ruler, Abraham must be aware that if it is broken, God's blessing on Abimelek's land, as well as the king's kindness, will be in question.

The essence of the covenant is expressed in verse 21:23, albeit laconically, unlike in the records of analogous Hittite, Babylonian or Assyrian covenants. The verse focuses on the idea of loyalty which, in the whole of pericope 21:22–34, can be read in the context of reciprocation to the king (כַּחֶסֶד אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי עִמָּךְ *kaḥesed 'ăšer-'āśîtî 'imm^{e}kā*) of brotherhood and fidelity (*royal grant*), but also of obedience and full availability (*Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*). Indeed, it was expressed in a strong negative form, i.e. using a vow excluding betrayal, revolt, rebellion or insubordination towards the covenant partner.[43] In this sense, the stem שׁקר *šqr* appears in 21:23, meaning "to act deceitfully, swear/accuse falsely, spread false news, lie, slander, betray, fail" (Exod 20:16; 23:7; Lev 5:22; Deut 19:18; 2 Sam 18:13; 1 Kgs 22:22–23; Ps 7:15; 27:12; 31:19; 38:20; Prov 12:19; Isa 59:3; Jer 8:10).[44]

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41 The biblical sources are too fragmentary to precisely determine the type of covenant described in them. They only make it possible to note terminological and structural similarities with the legal procedures and their archival records used by the Near Eastern monarchies. The verses 21:22–24, 25–33 can be read both in the light of a *royal grant* type settlement (21:25–33) and a *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty* (21:22–24).

42 Such an oath invoking the name of the professed God is contained in the records of bilateral covenants from the first and second half of the 2 millennium BC, concluded by the rulers of Mari, Kanesh, Assur, Babylon, Assyria and many Hittite kings. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 251–654 (No. 36–80); Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, II, 257–262.

43 Similar themes and terminology appear in the records of covenants concluded by the Hittite rulers: the anonymous king of Hatti and Paddatissu of Kizzuwatna (15 BC, tablet from Bogazköy, Middle Babylonian language), Tudkhalia II of Hatti and Sunassura I of Kizzuwatna (1400/1380 BC, Hittite language), Suppiluliuma of Hatti and Sunassura of Kizzuwatna (1400/1380 BC, Middle Babylonian language) or Arnuwandas I of Hatti and People of Ismirika (14 BC, tablet from Bogazköy, Middle Hittite language). Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 295, 319, 327–331, 349–353 (No. 39, 50, 51, 53).

44 This negative formula of the oath is not only a reflection of the Near Eastern legal terminology, but also fits into the context of Abraham's reprehensible attitude towards Abimelek in 20:1–18 (cf. 26:6–11).

The sojourner/foreigner's commitment to loyalty is reinforced by the Philistine ruler who recalls the kindness previously shown to him (חֶסֶד *ḥesed* in 21:23b). In his view as well as in accordance with the procedure of entering into bilateral relations valid at the time, it demanded an adequate response from the beneficiary of the royal grant and respect for the social position and rights of the suzerain. In this context, the patriarch's oath is not merely an exclusion of betrayal or rebellion, but it has a thoroughly positive connotation, becoming a commitment to lasting fidelity and loyalty in return for the graciousness already obtained from the king (20:14–16). Abraham declares a practice of חֶסֶד *ḥesed* adequate to Abimelek's earlier actions, the beneficiary of which will be the king and his close and distant offspring, as well as the land/its inhabitants where he currently resides as a sojourner/foreigner (21:23). This is the wording of the last two elements of the summary report from 21:22–24, i.e.: the covenant stipulation (21:23) and the oath sanctioning it (21:24).[45] Thus, the relations with the local ruler, tensioned through Abraham's fault, are finally regulated, which opens the prospects for peaceful coexistence. The patriarch recognises the authority of Abimelek and his family (dynasty)[46] in the land where he currently resides with his clan and possessions, and thereby declares availability and loyalty. The procedure of the bilateral settlement presented in 21:22–24 corresponds largely to the structure of the Near Eastern covenant records, especially Hittite covenants from the 2 millennium BC. In the scheme presented in the Bible, the only significant difference is in the formula of Abraham's oath. In the Near Eastern texts, this element is given much more attention and, in practice, both counterparties repeat the full formula of the required oath. The absence of a bilateral oath in 21:22–24 is probably due to the specific ideological and theological aims of the editor of the book. Another reason is perhaps the fact that those verses are not a record of the covenant, but only a narrative report of its conclusion.

Furthermore, there is a hypothetical reconstruction of the most primary record of another covenant between Abraham and Abimelek, or another version of it. In the present biblical context, it is an expansion of verses 21:22–24, although, as indicated above, it belongs to a different source. And this record reflects the structure of the Near Eastern agreements:[47]

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45 In many Near Eastern records of a bilateral covenant such as *royal grant* or *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*, the oath is associated with the formula of curse/self-curse, which expressed the will to voluntarily bring misfortune upon the counterparty and oneself in the event of a violation of the agreement.

46 This issue distinguishes many Hittite *royal grants*. An example is the guarantee made by Tudhaliya IV of Hatti to a ruler named Ulmi-Tesub of Tarhuntassa (about 1210 BC): "[The land of Tarhuntassa] which I have given [to] you – that shall your son and grandson retain, (and) none shall take it from them. If any son and grandson of yo[urs] is disloyal (sins), then the King of the Hatti-land shall judge him, and if he is tainted by a(ny) disloyalty, then as he (himself) is inclined shall the King of the Hatti duly deal with him. So if t(he) (man) is (deserving) of execution, then shall one execute him. But his house and land shall not be taken from him, and shall not be assigned to (someone) of another family. Only to a descendant of Ulmi-Tesub shall it be given (§2.8–11)." In Gen 21:23, Abimelek demands such respect and loyalty from Abraham for himself and his descendants, but he does not punish him for breaking his oath, as is the case with the model of *suzerain treaties*. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 633.

47 The text of 21:25–33 would be in line with the model of a *royal grant* type settlement given by a local ruler.

Narrative framework of the second covenant rite in Beersheba (21:25–33)

21:25 וה(ו)כח אברהם (את) אב(י)מלך על־אד(ו)ת באר (ה)מים אשׁר גזל(ו) עבדי אב(י)מלך

Now, Abraham reproved Abimelek, about the water-well that Abimelek's servants had seized.

21:26 ויאמר אב(י)מלך לא ידעת(י) מ(י) עשׂ(ה) (את) (ה)דבר (ה)ז(ה) וגם את(ה) לא הגדת ל(י) וגם אנכ(י) לא שׁמעת(י) בלת(י) (ה)י(ו)ם

But Abimelek replied: "I don't know who did this thing, and neither did you tell me, nor did I hear (of it), until today."

21:27 ויקח אברהם צאן ובקר ויתן לאב(י)מלך ויכרת(ו) שׁנ(י)הם בר(י)ת

Then Abraham took sheep and cattle, and gave them to Abimelek, and the two of them made a treaty/covenant.

21:28 ויצב אברהם (את) שׁבע כבשׂת (ה)צאן לבדהן

And Abraham put aside seven lambs of the flock.

Testimony/witnesses

21:29 ויאמר אב(י)מלך אל־אברהם מ(ה) הנ(ה) שׁבע כבשׂת (ה)אל(ה) אשׁר הצבת לבדנ(ה)

Then, Abimelek said to Abraham: "What's this (about), these seven lambs that you have put aside?"

21:30a ויאמר כ(י) (את) שׁבע כבשׂת תקח מיד(י) בעב(ו)ר תהי(ה) ל(י) לעד(ת)

And he then spoke thus: "These seven lambs you shall receive from my hand, so that this shall be a witness for me

Covenant stipulation

21:30b כ(י) חפרת(י) (את) (ה)באר (ה)זאת

that I have dug this well!"

Editorial gloss

21:31a על כן קרא למק(ו)ם (ה)ה(ו)א באר שׁבע

Thus he called that place «Beer-Sheba»

Oath + possible formula of ritual self-curse

21:31b כ(י) שׁם נשׁבע(ו) שׁנ(י)הם

for there the two of them swore (on oath).[48]

21:32 ויכרת(ו) בר(י)ת בבאר שׁבע [ויקם אב(י)מלך ופ(י)כל שׂר צבא(ו) וישׁב(ו) אל־ארץ פלשׁת(י)ם]

And they made a treaty/covenant at Beersheba. [Then Abimelek and Phicol his troop-commander arose and returned to the Philistine land].[49]

Symbolic religious ceremony closing the covenant

21:33 ויטע אשׁל בבאר שׁבע ויקרא שׁם בשׁם יהוה אל ע(ו)לם

So he planted a tamarisk at Beersheba, and there called upon the name of YHWH, Eternal God.

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48 The whole verse is a late expansion integrated into the covenant record in the form of an etymology of place.

49 The text in [] is an editorial gloss, which was certainly not in the original covenant record.

Compared to 21:22–24, in the description of the bilateral settlement in Beersheba in 21:25–33, the roles and objectives of the (same) partners are reversed. This time it is Abraham who seeks an agreement with Abimelek, who by conscious or unconscious action has provoked the conflict. The negotiation concerns the right of ownership/use of the well. The right, violently denied by the king's anonymous servants (21:25), is sought by the patriarch who is concerned about water for his flocks. The text of 21:25–33, similarly to 21:22–24, is not a literal record of the covenant made according to the standard scheme of ancient historiography (cf. extra-biblical texts), but a narrative report of its conclusion. It describes the course of events more accurately than the source of 21:22–24. It is initiated by an extensive presentation of the event that became the direct cause of the covenant stipulation (introductory frame-narrative: 21:25–28).[50] The biblical editor reconstructs the course of the dispute, which was resolved by the settlement. The patriarch complains about the king's subjects who forbid him access to the well that he dug (21:25; cf. 21:30b). During the negotiations, the king informs the patriarch, with whom he had previously concluded a general non-aggression agreement (21:22–24), of his ignorance in this regard (21:26). The material grant that Abraham provides to Abimelek from his livestock (21:27) seems to be the turning point in the negotiations. This generous grant (צֹאן וּבָקָר *ṣō'n ûbāqār*) referring to the analogous gift of the Philistine king in Gerar (20:14–16) was intended, in the spirit of the negotiating practices of that time, to settle the dispute over the well and, at the same time, to give the patriarch a title to claim Abimelek's favour in the future. The patriarch's gift opened the way to a bilateral covenant (וַיִּכְרְתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם בְּרִית *wajjikrᵉtû šᵉnêhem bᵉrît*) based on the procedure of a *royal grant* obliging the beneficiary to respond adequately. In the biblical source, generosity is symbolised by the seven sheep/lambs given by Abraham (21:28–30a). This is the main reference point in the act of covenant stipulation (21:30b), and at the same time, it constitutes one of the two bases (stem שׁבע *šb'*) for the aetiology of its place, Beersheba (cf. 21:31).

Verses 21:28–30 provide further detail and examples of the covenant made at Beersheba, which, in the form of inclusions, is mentioned twice in 21:27b and 21:32a. Abraham offered seven lambs[51] as a gift in the settlement concluded with the king in exchange for the right to the well. If the Philistine ruler accepted the gift, it would be the evidence that Abraham dug the well and has the right to it (21:30). In response to the gift, the local ruler should acknowledge the claim of the resident of his land and award a permanent royal grant (the right to the well), putting an end to forceful attempts to take it over (21:25–26). This

50 The narrative introductions outlining the historical background of the covenant can be seen, for example, in the records of the settlements concluded by the Hittite rulers: Arnuwandas I and the Kaskeans (14 BC, tablet from Bogazköy, Middle Hittite language), Suppiluliuma I and Shattiwaza of Mitanni (14 BC, tablet from Bogazköy, Middle Babylonian language) or Shattiwaza of Mitanni and Suppiluliuma I of Hatti (14 BC, tablet from Bogazköy, Middle Babylonian language). Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 233, 359, 367–371, 389–395 (No. 29, 54, 55A, 56A).

51 Animals were part of the possessions of nomadic and semi-nomadic clans engaged in shepherding in the Near East, but also of the property of royal palaces and temples, hence they were also a subject of negotiation. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, III, 69.

particular issue of land ownership is at the heart of the covenant at Beersheba and earns the respect of the king. He recognises the validity of Abraham's claim, which thus becomes the subject of a special royal grant. By taking a bilateral oath (21:31b)[52] and making an official covenant (21:32a; cf. 21:27b) supported by mutual gifts (cattle and sheep, the right to a well), Abraham and Abimelek finally mitigate the second/next dispute that arose between them in Beersheba.[53] According to the epilogue of the biblical report (21:33), the settlement is crowned by Abraham's planting of a tree. This, like the gift of the seven sheep (21:29–30), serves as a symbolic testimony (seal) to the concluded settlement and a visible reminder about the validity of the settlement in the future.

The analysis of the content, form, structure and literary context of 21:25–33 demonstrates that the text is not a duplicate of the description/report of 21:22–24. On the contrary, it offers a reference to a different existential and legal situation associated by the editor of the book with the era of Abraham and Abimelek and a different way of documenting it. In this case, it is the attitude of the Philistine king that is inappropriate and triggers a dispute and, consequently, negotiations with the patriarch. Those are finalised only with the conclusion of an official bilateral covenant. Under the agreement at Beersheba (21:25–33) and the earlier agreements with Abimelek (20:15; 21:23–24), Abraham is allowed to reside freely in the Philistine land where he temporarily settled. In both covenants 21:22–24 and 21:25–33, Abimelek is accompanied by Phicol, the commander of his forces (cf. 26:26).[54] Although neither Phicol nor his forces are active in either covenant, the information about their arrival in 21:22 and departure in 21:32, can be seen as a thematic bracket that closes the pericope into a narrative whole. It can also refer to the negotiating practice of that time, according to which the presence of military officers/forces provided additional arguments in reaching the final settlement. Although the biblical texts do not suggest any influence of Phicol and his forces on the course of the negotiations, and verses 21,25 and 26,27 additionally emphasise the firmness and courage of Abraham and Isaac in confronting Abimelek and his commander,[55] the friendly attitude of Abra-

52 The text of 21:31b (cf. 21:24) does not communicate the wording of the oath and does not mention the blessings/self-curses associated with it as practised in the Near Eastern records. In contrast to 21:22–24, the religious overtones of the oath (reference to God, cf. 21:23a) are not emphasised. It is said, however, that it was made by both counterparties in order to publicly confirm the status and indissolubility of the settlement concluded by them.

53 V.H. Matthews, "The Wells of Gerar," *BA* 49/2 (1986) 118–126.

54 There is no Phicol or a note about Abimelek's forces in 20:11–18, although this text presents the most serious confrontation between the two counterparties of the covenant. Phicol at the king's side reappears in 26:26 during negotiations with Isaac, which, as in the case of Abraham, take place in the context of the recent incident with the patriarch's wife who claimed to be his sister, and the conflict over wells near Gerar (26:1–24). These discrepancies and similarities must be explained by the complex process of editing these traditions, which were subject to literary and theological elaboration.

55 This motif is particularly evident in Abimelek's words to Isaac in 26:16, 28–29, in which he emphasises the superiority, prosperity and strength of the patriarch interpreted by him as the fruit of YHWH's blessing (cf. 20:3–7, 17–18).

ham and Isaac towards the local ruler manifested by submissiveness and gifts (cf. 21:24, 27–30; 26:30) could to some extent be dictated by the presence of the forces, which is implicitly assumed by the presence of Phicol. Nevertheless, in 21:22–24, 25–33, the patriarch reveals peaceful intentions, although he also had some military force at his disposal (cf. Gen 14:14–17). Indeed, at each stage of the negotiations he attempts to mitigate the dispute (21:23–24) with a generous gift (21:27–29),[56] a symbolic planting of a tree (וַיִּטַּע אֶשֶׁל *wajjiṭṭa' 'ešel*), a religious celebration in honour of God (וַיִּקְרָא־שָׁם בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה אֵל עוֹלָם *wajjiqrā'-šām bᵉšēm JHWH 'ēl 'ôlām*) and perhaps a feast (21:33; cf. 26:30).

3. Structure of Isaac's Covenant with Abimelek (Gen 26:26–31)

The text of Gen 26:26–31 is the third and last biblical record of a bilateral settlement that the patriarch of Israel concludes with the local ruler of Syro-Palestine. And this time it involves Abimelek, the Philistine king of Gerar (cf. 20:1–18; 21:22–34), although it is not clear whether he is the one who negotiated with Abraham or his successor of the same name. His covenant partner is already Isaac, Abraham's son. This is the hypothetical proposal of the original biblical source, which, in the present context of cycles about the patriarchs, is a literary and thematic parallel for 21:22–24, 25–33, although it belongs to a different tradition. And this record is kept in the trend of the Near Eastern covenants,[57] which can be seen in its structure:

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56 The beginning of bilateral negotiations with generous gifts to the covenant partner is in line not only with the *modus operandi* of the patriarchs (cf. Jacob's attitude towards the angry Esau in 32:2–24; 33:16), but also with the negotiation strategy of the peoples of the Levant.

57 The verses 26:26–31 bear the hallmarks of the *royal grant* and *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty* settlement models present in the Hittite, Babylonian and Assyrian royal archives as illustrated by the record of the covenant made by Suppiluliuma of the Hittites and Niqmad II of Ugarit (mid-14th century BC, the Babylonian language). The epilogue of the description of its stipulation reads as follows: "[8][Th]us Suppiluliuma, the Great King, King of Hatti, the hero, [9]has (signed and) sealed these (borderlands)], towns, and mountains to Niqmad, [10][King] of Ugarit, as well as to his sons, and [11]grandsons forever. «Niqmad is thus [12]foe of my foe, friend of my friend». [13]Now, towards the Sun-king, the Great King, his master, he has been wholly true, [14]and he has kept the treaty of friendship with Hatti. [15]Thus, the Sun-king, the Great King, has recognized the loyalty of Niqmad." Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 460–463 (No. 60. §6.8–15). This trend includes a Hittite document from the mid-13th century BC confirming the settlement of the king of the Hittite, Hattusili III, with his vassals from the town of Tiliura in Ugarit. Under this document, the king could freely distribute lands and possessions to loyal partners, officials, military officials and members of the court, but also take them away. He also had the power to raise the socio-economic status of residents or sojourners residing in his territory. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 1052–1054. P. Vargyas, "Stratification sociale à Ugarit," *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1500–1000 B.C)* (eds. M. Heltzer – E. Lipiński) (OLA 23; Leuven: Peeters 1988) 111–123. Hittite texts from the New Kingdom period (1400–1200 BC), on the other hand, show that the king, when offering a grant to his vassals, usually imposed taxes on them, and even when he exempted them from taxes in a document, he expected material support or specific actions (military support, cultivation of the entrusted land) in return. Knoppers, "Ancient Near Eastern Royal Grants," 688–689.

Narrative framework of the covenant rite in Beersheba (26:26–31)

[26:26] ואב(י)מלך הלך אל(י)ו מגרר ואחזת מרעה(ו) ופ(י)כל שׂר צבא(ו)

Now Abimelek went to him [Isaac] from Gerar, with his friend Ahuzzath and troop-commander Phicol.

[26:27] ויאמר אלהם יצחק מד(ו)ע באתם אל(י) ואתם שׂנאתם (את)(י) ותשׁלח(ו)נ(י) מאתכם

And Isaac said to them: "Why have you come to me, as you hate me, and dismissed me from your presence?"

Oath

[26:28] ויאמר(ו) ראו(ו) ראי(י)נ(ו) כ(י) הי(ה) יהוה עמך ונאמר תה(י) נא אל(ת) ב(י)נ(ו)ת(י)נ(ו) ב(י)נ(י) נ(ו) וב(י)נך ונכרת(ה) בר(י)ת עמך

Then they said: "We saw clearly that YHWH is with you, so we say/said: Let an oath be between us – between us (people) and you, And let us make a treaty with you.

Covenant stipulation

[26:29a] אם תעשׂ(ה) עמנ(ו) רע(ת) כאשׁר לא נגענ(ו)ך וכאשׁר עשׂ(י)נ(ו) עמך רק ט(ו)ב ונשׁלחך בשׁל(ו)ם

That you will do us no evil, just as we have not harmed you, and just as we have done you only good, and have sent you off in peace

Testimony of God

[26:29b] את(ה) עת(ה) בר(ו)ך יהוה

- you, now, (are) one blessed by YHWH!"

Solemn ceremony/ritual feast closing the covenant

[26:30] ויעשׂ להם משׁת(ת) ויאכל(ו) וישׁת(ו)

Then he [Isaac] made a feast for them, and they ate and drank (together).

Oath + possible formula of self-curse

[26:31] וישׁכ(י)מ(ו) בבקר וישׁבע(ו) א(י)ש לאח(י)ו וישׁלחם יצחק וילכ(ו) מאת(ו) בשׁל(ו)ם

Then they arose early in the morning, and they swore (on oath), with each other. Then Isaac sent them off, and they left him peacefully.

This biblical report begins with an introduction showing the historical background of the covenant (26:26–27), which is comparable in terms of content, form and volume to the similar introductions in traditions in 21:22–24 and 21:25–33. It presents all participants to the negotiations,[58] their location, Beersheba (26:23, 33; cf. 21:31, 32, 33; 26:1, 6, 26) as well as the direct and indirect reasons for the peaceful settlement. As in the case of Abraham, the bilateral negotiations follow an earlier conflict that had arisen between Abimelek and Isaac who had come to the king's land. This time, too, the dispute was triggered by the patriarch claiming his wife, Rebekah, to be his sister (26:7–11; cf. 20:1–18), and exacerbated by the Philistine king allowing the economic persecution of a wealthy neighbour during a famine that broke out in the Gerar region (26:12–22; cf. 26:1). Following these events,

58 In addition to Abimelek, king of Gerar, the text mentions Phicol, troop commander (21:22, 32), and the king's friend Ahuzzath, who acts as an advisor and intermediary. The presence of two official witnesses/officers on the side of the Philistine king reflects the tense situation that had arisen between him and Isaac, but also emphasises the diplomatic value of the settlement they made, which in time becomes a non-aggression pact.

Isaac was deprived of his right to reside in Gerar (26:16) and forced to settle in the nearby Beersheba. There, with the help of YHWH (26:24), he soon lived a prosperous life and gained independence from the local ruler.[59] This course of events provoked peaceful negotiations between Abimelek and Isaac, which end in the conclusion of a bilateral covenant (*royal grant* type).

The purpose for the king coming to Isaac in Beersheba is revealed only in the last part of the historical/narrative introduction to the covenant report (26:27). The reason for this conciliatory initiative (26:28–29) is his intention to quell Isaac's anger provoked by the deceitful, jealous and hostile activity of the Philistines filling up the wells built by him and Abraham and expelling him from Gerar and the nearby valley (26:12–22). Abimelek, Ahuzzath and Phicol, afraid of the righteous wrath of YHWH for the harm done to the foreigner/sojourner residing in their land, as well as fearing retaliation by Isaac himself, who is growing in material strength due to God's constant graciousness, wish to persuade the patriarch to reconcile (26:28) by declaring the readiness to take an oath (אָלָה *'ālāh*)[60] and to conclude a covenant (בְּרִית *bᵉrît*).[61]

According to the standards of royal covenants in this region of the Levant in the 2 millennium BC, the essence of the settlement between Abimelek and Isaac is defined immediately after a presentation of its historical realities, participants and witnesses (26:26–27). Its legal status and social importance are emphasised by the double collateral proposed by one of the parties, in this case by the Philistine king (26:28). It involves a solemn oath (אָלָה *'ālāh*) sanctioning the peaceful nature and indissolubility of the concluded settlement[62] and the proposal of an official agreement (בְּרִית *bᵉrît*), which bears the hallmarks of Hittite, Babylonian and Assyrian royal covenants of the *royal grant* and *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty*[63] types. The ruler and notable of Gerar (27:28) strive to obtain a guarantee of non-aggression from the patriarch who has an increasing social authority over the area, which they directly associate with the kindness of God YHWH (26:28a, 29b). They also demand requital for the help previously provided to the patriarch (26:28–29a). Their words reflect

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59 The symbols of the existential situation of Isaac and his clan in the land of the Philistines are the terms: מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbēaḥ*, אֹהֶל *'ōhel*, בְּאֵר *bᵉ'ēr* in 26:25, which stress his religious, social and economic autonomy, and at the same time provide the context for the covenant with Abimelek described in 26:26–31.

60 This element appears in all types of Near Eastern covenants from the 2 millennium BC. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 69–694 (No. 10–81); Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, II, 256–263.

61 By emphasising Abimelek's strenuous (double) attempt to conclude a peaceful settlement, the biblical editor stresses the wisdom and prudence of Isaac, who by his patient and peaceful attitude towards the Philistines, earned the graciousness of his God (26:24) and their recognition (26:28–29), the ultimate result of which was the covenant at Beersheba.

62 The source 26:28–31 does not suggest a religious nature of the oath (cf. reference to God in 21:23), but such a possibility is suggested by the context of events to which Abimelek refers in 26:28a, 29b. A comparison of 21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31 with extra-biblical covenant reports from the 2 millennium BC could imply that the biblical texts deliberately omitted the element of blessings/(self-)curses.

63 Due to the fragmentation of the biblical source and the unclear socio-legal status of Isaac in relation to the local ruler, it is difficult to precisely define the model of the covenant described in 26:26–31.

the procedure and terminology of Near Eastern covenants, although they do not correspond to the historical realities referred to in the introduction to the report on the settlement at Beersheba (26:27) and its preceding context (26:12–22).[64] The status of the settlement is raised by the invocation by the Philistines of God YHWH, who blesses the patriarch, and in the procedure of the covenant, acts as a witness and addressee of the oath made by both parties (26:28a, 31a).[65]

The epilogue of the biblical report on the covenant informs that Isaac accepts a favourable offer of a peaceful settlement with the local ruler, which is in line with the signs of favour already received by him (26:29). It also becomes the guarantee and basis for a harmonious existence. Henceforth, Isaac and his clan would be allowed to reside within the boundaries of the Philistine land ruled by Abimelek and enjoy the status of foreigner/sojourner giving them socio-economic and religious autonomy.[66] According to the local custom, both parties finalise the covenant with a ritual feast (26:30),[67] which probably lasted until the following day and ended with an additional oath combined with a rite of blessings/self-curses attributed to it, closing the negotiations and sealing the peaceful settlement (26:31). Thus, the source of 26:26–31 also reproduces key elements of the covenant ritual known from the archives of the 2 millennium BC: the historical introduction (26:26–27), the (mutual) oath of the counterparties (26:28, 31a) and the covenant stipulation (26:29a), the testimony of God and the people (26:26, 29b), and the festive meal (וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ *wajjō'kᵉlû wajjištû* in 26:30).[68] In the cycles about Abraham and Isaac, these components are appropriately

64 These words can only be justified by the case of Rebekah, in which Abimelek, under the influence of God's special intervention, treats Isaac with exceptional indulgence and kindness (26:8–11; cf. 20:1–18).

65 The role of God/gods as the witness of the covenant and the addressee of the oath, and thus the avenger of any violation of it, is emphasised by the Near Eastern records of royal settlements, including the Ancient Assyrian agreements of an anonymous ruler Kanesh with the local merchants from the 19th century BC. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 187–195 (No. 15–16).

66 The king and his courtiers twice invoking the patriarch's God – YHWH (26:28b, 29b) meant in practice consent to His worship in the land of the Philistines and was an expression of the monarch's kindness. A. Ross, *Creation and Blessing. A Guide to the Study and Exposition of Genesis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books 1998) 468.

67 P.A. Kruger, "Symbolic Acts Relating to Old Testament Treaties and Relationships," *Journal for Semitics* 2/2 (1990) 162–163.

68 An example of such a covenant is the *land grant* concluded by king Abba-AN/EI of Aleppo and Yarim-Lim of Alalakh (18/17 BC, Alalakh tablet No.*456, Old Babylonian language): [40]*Ab-ba-AN a-na Ya-ri-im-li-im ni-iš ilāni* [41]*za-ki-ir ù ki-ša-ad l immeriḿ iṭ-bu-uḫ* [42]*šum-ma ša ad-di-nu-ku-um-mi e-le-eq-qú-[ú].* [40]Abba-AN swore to Yarim-Lim the oath of the gods, [41]and cut the neck of a lamb, (saying): [42]("May I be cursed) if I take back what I gave you." Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 233 (No. 29. §3.40–42). The document refers to the rebellion of the inhabitants of the town of Irridu ruled by Yarim-Lim, which was quashed by Abba-AN. After the fighting ceased, the two rulers concluded a peaceful settlement and took an oath in the presence of witnesses. As compensation, Yarim-Lim receives Alalakh and Murar from Abba-AN, and during the symbolic rite of killing of a lamb, Abba-AN makes an oath not to take back the granted lands. The gesture of grasping/releasing the hem of the king's robe from his hand, meaning the entry into, or abandonment of, the covenant relationship, had a similar meaning. E. Greenstein, "«To Grasp the Hem» in Ugaritic Literature," *VT* 32/2 (1982) 217–218; Kruger, "Symbolic Acts," 160–161; A. Altman, *The Historical Prologue of the Hittite Vassal Treaties* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Illan University Press 2004) 568. The archives of Kanesh and Mari offer a similar pattern of the king's covenant with sojourners on his land. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 187–196, 209–223 (No. 15–16, 20–24).

integrated into the context of the narrative, including through an editorial gloss on God's blessing for the patriarch (26:28a).

Conclusions

The comparison of Gen 21:22–24, 25–33, and 26:26–31 with representative Near Eastern covenant records from the 2 millennium BC makes it possible to notice some contextual, structural and thematic similarities. However, it must also be remembered that the sources being compared represent different cultural-religious backgrounds and have different functions within the traditions they establish at a particular moment in history. In contrast to the quoted extra-biblical sources, the texts about the settlements of the patriarchs with the local rulers of Syro-Palestine are short, laconic and do not have the form of a strictly historical/historiographical record. Their purpose is to illustrate one important aspect of the (post)priestly conception of the age of the patriarchs of Israel, in which an attempt is made to emphasise their permanent place and growing authority within the multiethnic monarchical structures of Syro-Palestine given the subsequent acquisition of the lands of Canaan.

In their form and structure, the descriptions of the covenants of Abraham and Isaac with Abimelek resemble some records of the Near Eastern *royal* (land) *grants* and *Suzerain-Vassal*[69] *Treaty* (loyalty oath). However, there are also significant differences between them.[70] This fact does not allow the conclusion that they are directly based, in terminologi-

69 Such agreements were practised in the Kassite monarchy in Mesopotamia (1595–1155 BC) and by the kings of the Hittite Second Dynasty of Isin (1155–1025). On their basis, the scope and nature of royal grants were defined, the taxes were abolished or the rules of trade between towns, clans and temple personnel were determined. J.N. Postgate, *Neo-Assyrian Royal Grants and Decrees* (StPohl. Series Maior 1; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press 1969) 2–3; J.A. Brinkman, "Provincial Administration in Babylonia under the Second Dynasty of Isin," *JESHO* 6 (1963) 233–241; B. Porter, "Conquest of Kudurru's? A Note on Peaceful Strategies of Assyrian Government," *Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (eds. M.E. Cohen – D.C. Snell – D.B. Weisberg) (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press 1993) 194–197. A representative text could be the *royal grant* of Ashurbanipal offered to his vassal named Balṭāya: *"Bul-ṭa-a-a* [...] [13] *lib-bu-šu gu-um-mu-ru a-na bêli-[šu]* [14] *i-na maḫ-ri-ja i-na ki-na-a-ti i-zi[zu-ma]* [15] *it-tal-la-ku šal-me-[iš]* [16] *[k]i-rib êkalli-ja i-na šumi dam-ki ir-bu-[u-ma* [17] *iṣ-ṣ]u-ru ma-ṣar-ti šarrû-ti-ja"* "Balṭāya [...] whose heart is devoted to his master, who stood before me with truthfulness, walked with integrity, grew up in my palace with a good name, and kept the charge of my kingship" (K 211 = J 647, 15, 13–17); quoted after J. Koehler – A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer 1913) 15. The texts of 21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31 consider the patriarchs to be people of the East, hence the legal procedures applicable within that geographical area should also apply to them. In the settlements between the patriarchs and Abimelek, for example, there is no contrast resulting from the difference of origin, language or faith present in deuteronom(ist)ic or priestly theology which perceived the relations of the Israelites with foreigners against the background of a struggle over land and religious/cultic distinction (monotheism/monolatry). Hence, in 21:22–24, 25–33, 26:26–31 one can even see positive feelings towards the local ruler.

70 They result from the multiculturalism of the Levant and the wide time span of the era in which the institution of the covenant evolved formally and substantively. In the 2nd and 1st millennia BC, the structure of the two covenant models was essentially constant, although one can see some discrepancies between Hittite *vassal treaties* and Assyrian *vassal oaths*. S. Parpola – K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAA 2; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press 1988) XXXV–XLIII; K.A. Kitchen, "Genesis 12–50 in the Near

cal, formal or structural terms, on much more ancient Hittite, Assyrian or Babylonian models. The comparative analysis of these thematically related sources, on the other hand, strengthens the hypothesis that both types of the covenant were conditional, containing implicit commitments to strictly defined actions and attitudes of loyalty from the vassal to the suzerain.[71] The texts about the patriarchs and Abimelek confirm that the Hittite and Assyrian patterns of concluding covenants in this part of the Levant were known in the era from which the oldest (oral/written) versions of the Abraham and Isaac traditions come. At the same time, the texts of Gen 21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31 suggest that the formal and substantive side of the covenants concluded at that time was more complicated than Weinfeld and his proponents suggest.[72] There are many indications that the settlements described in 21:22–24, 25–33 and 26:26–31 refer to the procedure of the royal grant, which, however, was conditional. On the basis of the conducted analyses, it can be assumed that the original versions of the biblical records of the patriarchs' settlement emphasised more strongly that Abimelek, in return for his declared kindness to the patriarchs, demanded from them a lasting (for generations) relationship based on loyalty and respect for the office he held. The editors of the final version of 21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31, however, revised those sources so that the records of the settlement with Abimelek do not bear the hallmarks of a unilateral and authoritative royal initiative towards the proto-Israelites (patriarchs), offering them the right of access to land, wells and his kindness in return for recognition of the king's authority, but take the form of a bilateral commitment to peaceful coexistence.[73] After all, the verses of 21:31 and 26:26–31 and their immediate context

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Eastern World," *He Swore an Oath. Biblical Themes from Genesis 12–50* (eds. R.S. Hess – P.E. Satterthwaite – G.J. Wenham) (Cambridge: Tyndale 1993) 68–74. The Yahwist and post(priestly) narrative about the covenant of the patriarchs with Abimelek lacks the formulas of subordination and dependence typical of the *Suzerain-Vassal Treaty* (loyalty oath). Instead, traces of this Assyrian pattern of loyalty from the 8th/7th century BC can be found in the deuteronom(ist)ic texts expressing the dependence of David (the dynasty) and all Israel on YHWH God (cf. formulas: "to walk before JHWH with wholeness and righteousness," "to love JHWH," or "with all the heart and with all the soul" in Deut 4:29; 6:5; 10:12; 11:11, 13, 22; 13:4; 19:9; 26:16; 30:6; Josh 22:5; 23:14; 1 Sam 7:3; 12:20, 24; 1 Kgs 2:4; 3:6; 8:23, 25; 9:4; 14:8; 15:3). W.L. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy," *CBQ* 25/1 (1963) 82–83.

71 The mutual obligation to cultivate peaceful relations is referred to in the settlement concluded by king Hattusili II of Hatti with Ramesses II of Egypt. This text, written in the Middle Babylonian language, is dated to 1259 BC. Kitchen – Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant*, I, 610–642. Christiansen – Devecchi, "Die hethitische Vasallenverträge," 71–72.

72 Gen 21:22–33 and 26:26–31, for example, lack the terminology and idea of adoption in the sense of afather-son relationship, which can already be found in the texts of Sumer and Akkad, documents dating from the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia, as well as some traditions of the Davidic monarchy (cf. 2 Sam 7:14–16; Ps 89:21–28). The ideas of allegiance, unconditional terminology and eternity/irrevocability typical of the Near Eastern models of covenant are also not noticed (cf. Gen 17:1–9; 2 Sam 7:13–16). Instead, there is a motif of dynasty (Gen 21:23a), although not in the form of a promise to be kept, as in 2 Sam 7:13, 16; Ps 89:31–38. L. Eslinger, *House of God or House of David. The Rhetoric of 2 Samuel 7* (JSOTSup 164; Sheffield: JSOT Press 1994) 57–63; M. Cassuto Morselli – G. Maestri, "Le alleanze mai revocate. Una prospettiva ebraica," *Parola, Spirito e Vita* 84/2 (2021) 93; A. Botta, "How Long Does an Eternal Covenant Last? עולם in the Light of Aramaic-Egyptian Legal Documents," *BT* 59/3 (2008) 158–161; J.J. Krause, *Die Bedingungen des Bundes. Studien zur konditionalen Struktur alttestamentlicher Bundeskonzeptionen* (FAT 140; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020) 10–11.

73 Knoppers, "Ancient Near Eastern Royal Grants," 692–693.

speak of the activity of both parties to the covenant,[74] which is finalised by a mutual oath. That significantly reduces the social disproportions between the Philistine ruler (suzerain status) and patriarchs (vassal status).[75] The biblical sources also suggest that the settlements between the Philistine king and the patriarchs of Israel are firmly rooted in the recent past and, at the same time, clearly oriented towards the future.[76] Thus, in their final and universal theological perspective, they encourage the Israelites to open up and create conditions of peaceful coexistence with the ethnic groups of Canaan, but at the same time emphasise that it was their kings (Abimelek) who sought a covenant with the patriarchs and treated them as equal partners. This is, certainly, the result of a rather late ideological and theological elaboration of sources 21:22–24, 25–33, 26:26–31, which aims to strengthen the social and cultural status of the patriarchs in the land of Canaan in the context of its future acquisition by their offspring (cf. Gen 13–14). However, the very fact of the bilateral relations of Abraham and Isaac with Abimelek described in biblical sources is still an open and unresolved issue. In the absence of extra-biblical sources that could confirm the active presence of the patriarchs in Syro-Palestine in the late Bronze Age, the texts of 21:22–24, 21:25–33 and 26:26–31 remain the only valuable testimony of their socio-economic contacts with the culturally and religiously foreign inhabitants of Syro-Palestine. The traditions suggest that one should look a little more broadly at the origins and conventions of the covenant in the Bible and note certain points of contact with civilisation and legislation of the ancient Levant. According to their content, the relations of the Israelites with the authorities and representatives of the indigenous social groups of Canaan go back to the deepest roots of the age of the patriarchs and take the form not only of subordinate covenants governing the most important sectors of their military and socio-economic activity but also of bilateral official agreements of peaceful cooperation based on a solemn and binding mutual oath.

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74 Some believe that the guarantee of loyalty and commitment to the covenant was initially declared by only one party (suzerain/partner/vassal) P. Kalluveettil, *Declaration and Covenant. A Comprehensive Review of Covenant Formulae from Old Testament and the Ancient Near East* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press 1982) 34–51. It was only over time that the covenant records began to emphasise the mutual commitment of the parties. M. Weinfeld, "Covenant Terminology," 255. However, many researchers contest this view. Knoppers, "Ancient Near Eastern Royal," 672; K.A. Kitchen, "Egypt, Ugarit, Qatna and Covenant," *UF* 11 (1979) 453–464; H. Tadmor, "Treaty and Oath in the Ancient Near East. A Historian's Approach," *Humanizing America's Iconic Book. Society of Biblical Literature Centennial Addresses 1980* (eds. G.M. Tucker – D.A. Knight) (Chico, CA: Scholar Press 1982) 127–152.

75 Thanks to these ideological and theological elaborations, the patriarchs do not appear as vassals of the local rulers of Syro-Palestine, especially the uncircumcised Philistines (this is how they are referred to in the deuteronomist texts; cf. 1 Sam 14:6; 31:4). In 21:22–24, 25–33; 26:26–31, the patriarchs are presented as equal partners with Abimelek, who justifies his declared kindness by the blessing of God, while at the same time seeking their loyalty and brotherhood.

76 S.J. Foster, "A Prototypical Definition of ברית, 'covenant' in Biblical Hebrew," *OTE* 19/1 (2006) 39–41.

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THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 367–383

A Stranger in My Own Land: Can a Sojourner Belong to the Household?

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Abstract: Occasionally, the biblical term גר has been taken to refer to a "dependent worker" or "client" based on the thought that household membership can be gained through work provided to the household. Mention of household membership tests the identity of the sojourner in the ancient world as stranger or foreigner; a social category listed with widows and orphans—whose status is also defined by the household—as deserving of protection. Given its centrality as a basic social unit in the ancient Near East, we might expect that purchase in a household would grant a status that dissolves the social distance and attendant consequences (fragility of income, lack of patrimony, object of suspicion) thought to be borne by גרים. In what sense, then, is a "dependent worker" who secures membership in the household a גר? This article reconsiders how distant a person must be from the society within which he resides to make him a גר, shifting the semantic emphasis of this term away from origin and towards social integration.

Keywords: stranger, ger, client, dependent worker, household, social structures, biblical law, foreigner, sojourner

People are strange when you're a stranger...
Jim Morrison, 1967

Jim Morrison's truism expresses the subjective relativity of being a stranger. Anyone can feel strange if another makes them so, just as anyone can be regarded as a friend. It is a conceptual not a geographic horizon. This subjectivity makes attempts to grasp the varied biblical terminology for the stranger—תושב, גר, נכרי, זר—challenging.[1] Such a challenge is especially present in attempts to define גר, with each description insufficient for capturing the range of nuances at work in the texts. It is an expression that has received particularly intense scholarly scrutiny, especially its appearance in biblical law codes, in search of ancient Israel's policies towards the migrant. But while biblical uses of גר/גרים do seem to share a sense of the referents' relocation, the variety of contexts for which the term is employed produces an ambiguity surrounding the estrangement that גר is supposed to imply: to whom is the גר a stranger, in what way, and for how long?

1 See, for example, P.D. Miller, "Israel as Host to Strangers," *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology. Collected Essays* (ed. P.D. Miller) (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 2000); P. Pitkänen, "Ancient Israelite Population Economy: Ger, Toshav, Nakhri and Karat as Settler Colonial Categories," *JSOT* 42/2 (2017) 139–153.

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This article takes a different approach to the גר by looking at Israel's social organization. By examining the social structures and values by which someone is judged to be a stranger or outsider, the range of social distance attributed to גר as a sojourner within Israel may be better understood. Following a discussion of Israel's socioeconomics, this perspective will then be brought to bear on etymology, revisiting a century-old rendering of גר as "client," still offered in many lexicons, in order to locate this status in Israel's society.[2] This comparison will suggest a different semantic emphasis to account for the term's varied connotations. Finally, a brief review of some rhetorical devices in the biblical texts that employ גר will test whether the proposed social location elucidates the term's literary location. My proposal is that גר/גרים was one of Israel's terms for institutional dependents or clients and semantically it is *separate from questions of origin*. The connotations of relocation and being a stranger become attached to the term because of the outsider status that such dependency implies in a society organized around family membership. Before examining this social organization, however, a brief word on how scholarship has approached defining גר to illustrate the difficulty in accounting for the term's nuances and the need for a new approach.

1. Definitions of גר

This term attracts an assortment of lexical classifications, a fact that John Spencer understates: "there is some variation in the way lexicographers have tried to capture the meaning of גר."[3] Attempts to cover the meaning in all biblical occurrences lead to sweeping definitions. Markus Zehnder's effort is typical: "Broadly speaking, the word גר designates a person of foreign origin who has settled permanently among the Israelites, or perhaps an internally placed person or migrant from within the territories covered by Israel and Judah."[4]

This seems so broad that it risks dissolving the definition. גר means either a foreigner, or perhaps not a foreigner, is not far from being the conclusion, and this equivocation is not surprising given the range of contexts and occurrences of this word and its cognates in the Hebrew Bible. The term has resisted univocity when interpreted simply with reference to origin. Drawing the line between Israelite and non-Israelite fails to account for the admittedly few occasions when Levites are found "sojourning" (גור) among fellow Israelites (Judg 17:7, 9; 19:1). Proposals that the meaning of גר has changed over the course of Israel's history appeal to some measure of circular reasoning to date biblical texts and

2 W.R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. First Series The Fundamental Institutions* (Edinburgh: Black 1889) 75–76; G.F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1895) 385; cf. L.E. Stager, "Archaeology, Ecology, and Social History: Background Themes to the Song of Deborah," *Congress Volume Jerusalem 1986* (ed. J.A. Emerton) (VTSup 40; Leiden: Brill 1988) 229–230.

3 J.R. Spencer, "Sojourner," *AYBD* VI, 103.

4 M. Zehnder, "Literary and Other Observations of Passages Dealing with Foreigners in the Book of Deuteronomy: the Command to Love the גר Read in Context," *Sepher Torath Mosheh. Studies in the Composition and Interpretation of Deuteronomy* (eds. D.I. Block – R.L. Schultz) (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2018) 192.

could equally suggest that the term has not been fully understood.[5] And distinguishing uses of the verb from the noun of the legal material to account for the apparent range of referents seems like special pleading.[6] Finally, attempts to tackle an atmosphere of hostility towards the גר and an associated social inferiority implied by some texts has led to overstated translations—"immigrant," or even "refugee"—which seems to claim too much socially and politically for this label.[7] As David Baker admits, "there is no single word in English that adequately covers the semantic range of this Hebrew word."[8]

These discussions operate under the assumption that the term גר/גרים expresses an outsider relationship to Israelite society. But how extensive are the circles of intimacy dividing insider from outsider? In the decentralized, locally structured socioeconomic landscape of Iron Age Israel, the dividing horizons between family and stranger were narrower than a simple Israelite/non-Israelite dichotomy.[9] The dominance of these patrimonially defined social contours is underappreciated in discussion of the stranger in the Hebrew Bible, an omission that contributes to the difficulty in understanding the גר's referents. If being a גר is about who belongs and how within Israelite society, then an assessment of the values and norms of this society is required to find a way through the גר's referential ambiguity.

2. Circles of Intimacy

Being a stranger is about who belongs in a society. And so, discussion of the stranger in Israel can be informed by some sense of the social structures by which Israel lived its life;

5 C. Bultmann, *Der Fremde im antiken Juda. Eine Untersuchung zum sozialen Typenbegriff "ger" und seinem Bedeutungswandel in der alttestamentlichen Gesetzgebung* (FRLANT 153; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1992); R. Martin-Achard, "גר sojourner," *TLOT* I, 309; C. van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law* (JSOTSup 107; Sheffield: JSOT Press 1999) 20.

6 J.E. Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel. The [ger] in the Old Testament* (BZAW 283; Berlin: De Gruyter 1999) 130.

7 F.A. Spina, "Israelites as *gērîm*, 'Sojourners' in Social and Historical Context," *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth. Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (eds. C.L. Meyers – M.P. O'Connor) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1983); M.D. Carroll, "Welcoming the Stranger: Towards a Theology of Immigration in Deuteronomy," *For Our Good Always. Studies on the Message and Influence of Deuteronomy in Honor of Daniel I. Block* (eds. J.S. DeRouchie – J. Gile – K.J. Turner) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2013) 441–461; R. Boer, *The Sacred Economy of Ancient Israel* (LAI; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2015) 119.

8 D.L. Baker, *Tight Fists or Open Hands? Wealth and Poverty in Old Testament Law* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2009) 181–182; see also M.A. Awabdy, *Immigrants and Innovative Law. Deuteronomy's Theological and Social Vision for the* גר (FAT 2/67; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2014) 1–2.

9 I have presented this landscape in more detail when looking at the implications of social identity for the book of Judges: see B.J. Clifton, *Family and Identity in the Book of Judges* (Studies in Cultural Contexts of the Bible 7; Paderborn: Brill Schöningh 2022) esp. 41–56; see also D. Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible. History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2012); B.C. Benz, *The Land Before the Kingdom of Israel. A History of the Southern Levant and the People who Populated It* (HACL 7; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2016).

the principles, in other words, by which people recognized to whom they owed loyalty and support and from whom they could expect it.[10] As social circles recede from this intimacy, the potential for being a stranger increases, for strangers are primarily those from whom loyalty cannot be expected. What produces, it seems, the confusion when preferring "stranger" as the meaning of גר is that for the Near East this circle of intimacy is small, limited even to the family or lineage. In which case, a stranger can be anyone outside the familial circle, notwithstanding shared social, cultural, or territorial claims. And, because lineages were largely coresident in the socioeconomic landscape, strangers could simply be those from other settlements.[11] Gary Beckman explains.

> In third-millennium B.C.E. Sumer, whose city-states shared a common language and religious system, the inhabitants of the city of Umma nonetheless held even the men of neighbouring Lagash to be foreigners, if not so alien as the people of the Zagros mountains to the east.[12]

As Beckman suggests, even if you share something comparable to "nationality," a stranger can be anyone outside of your familial and/or residential network. This is because the social bonds by which life operates are much stronger and more cogent within family obligations.[13] Commitments to more extensive associations such as tribe or nation are less compelling, often temporary, and even overlap.[14] Such larger groups assembled only briefly in response to pressing situations, such as labour for a harvest, for building projects, or mustering for conflict.[15] These alliances of ordinarily independent groups did not constitute an enduring network of solidarity and security as the coresident family did. When the principal circle of intimacy is so restricted, the conceptual horizon beyond which one is foreign is not far away.

This assessment has two related implications for understanding the גר. First, the reduced circle of intimacy must mean that the stranger cannot be limited to national or ethnic distinction. On the above account, Spencer's broad description of גר as "not native to

10 C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Sociology of the Middle East. A Stocktaking and Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill 1971) 389.

11 Cf. L.E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," *BASOR* 260 (1985) 20.

12 G. Beckman, "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East," *JAOS* 133/2 (2013) 203.

13 S.E. Grosby, *Biblical Ideas of Nationality. Ancient and Modern* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2002) 205.

14 C.H.J. de Geus, *The Tribes of Israel. An Investigation into some of the Presuppositions of Martin Noth's Amphictyony Hypothesis* (SSN 18; Assen: Van Gorcum 1976) 133, 145; S. Bendor, *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel. The Institution of the Family (Beit 'Ab) from the Settlement to the End of the Monarchy* (Jerusalem: Simor 1996) 31; Benz, *The Land*, 109.

15 On a tribe assembling for a harvest see C.L. Meyers, *Rediscovering Eve. Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013) 51; J.D. Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol. Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the ancient Near East* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 2; Leiden: Brill 2001) 140; on building projects see L.G. Herr, "The House of the Father at Iron I Tall al-'Umayri, Jordan," *Exploring the Long Durée. Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager* (ed. J.D. Schloen) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2009) 197; on military musters see E.J. van der Steen, "Judha, Masos and Hayil: The Importance of Ethnohistory and Oral Traditions," *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future. The New Pragmatism* (ed. T. Levy) (London: Equinox 2010) 174; Fleming, *Legacy of Israel*, 233.

the area" is as likely to mean another settlement as it is another people.[16] What is more, the concepts of nationality and ethnicity are wont to carry modern connotations inappropriate for the ancient Near East's complex social horizons. Secondly, if the circle of intimacy need not extend beyond coresident lineages or households, the composition and dynamics of this household and its interaction with wider society must play a part in identifying the stranger. It is thus worth looking further at this household and at what part those outside the circle play in the larger story, attempting to locate the גר in the social landscape.

3. Socioeconomics

Israel's fondness for family structures as the most cogent and enduring social circle of security and loyalty continued throughout the Iron Age even in the presence of wider socio-polities as monarchic systems emerged.[17] So influential, in fact, is this perspective in the ancient Near East that administrative structures from tribe and temple to king and emperor, employed kinship nomenclature to describe these further-reaching institutions.[18] Preference for family has a lot to do with the socioeconomics of an agrarian pastoral society.[19] Ownership of land (or at least use of it) was vital for raising crops and grazing livestock, a patrimony safeguarded by households across generations (cf. 1 Kgs 21:3).[20] This subsistence strategy also brought generations together to work and protect their land with a resultant influence on settlement patterns: villages and residential communities were largely composed of lineages.[21] We can see how the principles of social organization—production and trade, security and stability, institutions such as marriage or hospitality with their attendant customary and legal obligations—these principles would be governed by a familial, localized perspective.[22] Developing and protecting this microcosm, in turn, would demand that this attitude of solidarity *not* be replicated towards those outside the extended family who represent a potential threat to patrimony and who pursue their own interests.[23] Households

16 Spencer, "Sojourner," 103.

17 Grosby, *Nationality*, 205; Fleming, *Legacy of Israel*, 68.

18 F.M. Cross, *From Epic to Canon. History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press 1998) 3; Schloen, *House of the Father*, 1; C.R. Chapman, *The House of the Mother. The Social Roles of Maternal Kin in Biblical Hebrew Narrative and Poetry* (AYBRL; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 2016) 20–21.

19 See D.I. Kertzer, "Household History and Sociological Theory," *ARS* 17/1 (1991) 155–179.

20 Baker, *Tight Fists*, 76.

21 Stager, "Archaeology of the Family," 20; K. van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Ugarit and Israel. Continuity and Changes in the Forms of Religious Life* (Leiden: Brill 1996) 204; Schloen, *House of the Father*, 150.

22 P.M. McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel* (LAI; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 1999) 70; J. McCorriston, *Pilgrimage and Household in the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2011) 135; Meyers, *Rediscovering Eve*, 103.

23 J.K. Campbell, "Honour and the Devil," *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society* (ed. J.G. Peristiany) (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1965) 142; H.A. McKay, "Lying and Deceit in Families: the Duping

form little worlds, shaping social interaction with reference to their own locus of security and meaning, while beyond the kinship circle people are approached with a measure of mistrust.[24] Protection of patrimony draws lines of social vigilance. It is important to note too that kinship circles in the ancient Near East seemed not to be limited by biology.[25] Despite, or perhaps, because of the ubiquity of family terminology for social structures, relationships could be formed by consent, enabling outsiders to be drawn into the family.

These structures seemed to operate throughout the Iron Age whether life is regarded as urban or rural and whether settlements are considered to be grouped within a ruling administration such as a territorial kingdom or governed by an empire.[26] And there is no reason to assume that this socioeconomic pattern did not continue to be recognizable beyond the Iron Age, particularly considering the presence of such patterns in more recent times.[27] In this way, discussion of the semantics of גר in light of this context can surely begin without relying on conclusions regarding each biblical texts' literary history.[28]

Drawing on this context, then, it appears likely that membership of a household (or at least its protection) was important for securing prosperity, safety, and legacy in ancient society.[29] Moreover, household affiliation could be *sought* since kinship could be fictive; an organizing principle rather than a biological datum.[30] The concern for the *personae miserae*—the widow and orphan—in ancient Near Eastern legal material confirms that lack of patrimony constitutes a problem for recognition and rights, rendering those members of society without land or family inheritance in need of protection and mercy.[31] If society operates with reference to patrimonial socioeconomics, then status becomes related to having a stake in the land.[32] As Laura Culbertson reviews the ancient Near East, "if there

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of Isaac and Tamar," *The Family in Life and in Death. The Family in Ancient Israel. Sociological and Archaeological Perspectives* (ed. P. Dutcher-Walls) (LHBOTS 504; London: Clark 2009) 28.

24 F.S. Frick, "Ecology, Agriculture and Patterns of Settlement," *The World of Ancient Israel* (ed. R.E. Clements) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989) 90.

25 P. Kalluveettil, *Declaration and Covenant. A Comprehensive Review of Covenant Formulae from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East* (AnBib 88; Rome: Biblical Institute Press 1982) 204–205; Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 7.

26 For scepticism regarding an urban/rural dichotomy, see Schloen, *House of the Father*, 63, 135; Meyers, *Rediscovering Eve*, 42; for the endurance of local structures within kingdoms, see Fleming, *Legacy of Israel*, 33.

27 Campbell, "Honour and the Devil"; Kertzer, "Household History"; Nieuwenhuijze, *Sociology*; Schloen, *House of the Father*, 150, 183; R.R. Wilk – W.L. Rathje, "Household Archaeology," *American Behavioral Scientist* 25/6 (1982) 627–629.

28 Cf. Clifton, *Family and Identity*, 55–56; Bendor, *Social Structure*, 39.

29 Stager, "Archaeology, Ecology," 230; R.A. Di Vito, "Old Testament Anthropology and the Construction of Personal Identity," *CBQ* 61/2 (1999) 223; McCorriston, *Pilgrimage*, 15–16.

30 McNutt, *Reconstructing*, 76.

31 F.C. Fensham, "Widow, Orphan, and the Poor in Ancient near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," *JNES* 21/2 (1962) 139; Baker, *Tight Fists*, 188–189. It is, of course, relevant that, in Israel, the גר is also one of these *personae miserae*.

32 R. Westbrook, "Patronage in the Ancient Near East," *JESHO* 48/2 (2005) 212–213.

is any meaningful dichotomy to society it involves household affiliation versus no household affiliation."[33]

Culbertson's dichotomy, however, warns us not to expect that everyone could lay claim to an inheritance. Notwithstanding the commonplace usage of household terminology to describe all manner of social institutions, membership of a patrimonial household by descent or lineage was not universal. Not everyone could be heirs to hereditary landed property. Thus, while the social ideal of an ancestral estate may have been normative for the ancient Near East's agrarian societies, we should not assume that this aspiration was universally achieved.[34] The point of Mic 4:4, for example, seems to be that *not* everyone had their own vine and fig tree.[35] Personal ownership of viticulture is an eschatological aspiration, demonstrating both the desirability of patrimony in the land but also that this desire was still a dream for many.

It is hardly surprising that many people in the ancient Near East were not landowners or heirs to an estate. For one thing, agrarian subsistence strategies are dependent upon ecology and climate, effecting resources that either allow family groups to grow or force them to contract.[36] There can be external economic and political influences, not to mention internal interests, that effect a household's size and composition.[37] Landless people were a constituent part of a landed society.[38] But given the ubiquity of the household as a form of social structure, what place did these household-*less* people find in a society nominally organized at least around estates and lineages?

David Schloen notes that because Iron Age Israel was (mostly) a nonmonetized agrarian society where debts were paid in kind or through labour, there was no economic market independent of production to support survival. He explains, "landless persons survived not as wage labourers but as dependent household workers (slaves or clients) who joined complex-family sharecropping households by adoption or in some form of servitude."[39] The landless could join a household, but as a client.[40] Building on Culbertson's social dichotomy that contrasts household affiliation with the *lack* of affiliation, a further descriptive

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33 L. Culbertson, "Slaves and Households in the Near East," *Slaves and Households in the Near East* (eds. L. Culbertson – I. Chatterjee) (Chicago, IL: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2011) 13.

34 C.L. Meyers, "Women and the Domestic Economy of early Israel," *Women in the Hebrew Bible. A Reader* (ed. A. Bach) (New York: Routledge 1999) 35; Schloen, *House of the Father*, 120.

35 "They will sit, each man under his vine and under his fig tree, and they will not be afraid because the mouth of Yhwh Sabaoth has spoken" (Mic 4:4). A similar promise is found in the parallel texts 2 Kgs 18:31 // Isa 36:16 as an enticement from Assyria to abandon Jerusalem.

36 Wilk – Rathje, "Household Archaeology," 627.

37 Schloen (*House of the Father*, 117–120) provides a detailed account of such households' demographic fluidity; see also Stager, "Archaeology of the Family," 20; G.C. Chirichigno, *Debt-Slavery in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (JSOTSup 141; Sheffield: Sheffield University Press 1993) 138; Bendor, *Social Structure*, 37; Herr, "House of the Father."

38 W. Domeris, *Touching the Heart of God. The Social Construction of Poverty among Biblical Peasants* (LHBOT 466; London: Clark 2007) 69.

39 Schloen, *House of the Father*, 120.

40 Cf. Zehnder, "Literary," 197.

layer appears that allows us to distinguish between a role as a servile dependent *within* a household and household membership.[41] Kristin Kleber has looked at the ubiquity and yet multiplicity of dependent labour in the Near East.

> In almost every society of the ancient world, one finds distinct categories of the servile population who live as institutional dependents but are not slaves. At the same time, no society created a collective designation for this group comparable to the broad term "slave"; different groups bore different status terms.[42]

To summarize this social landscape, Iron Age Israel was socially structured with reference to its basic socioeconomic unit, the coresident household, rendering affiliation to a household a major requirement for status, security, and prosperity. Because of the minimally monetized economy, for those who were landless, a major method of benefiting from the agrarian subsistence strategy was to live as workers dependent on an institution or household. Institutional dependency seems to be a phenomenon of great variety in the ancient Near East with no collective designation for these relationships or social ranks in any society's lexicon. A lack of collective terminology may explain why this sector of society is not so evident in textual witnesses and must rather be identified through inferences drawn from the socio-culture.

I suggest that the subject under discussion – the Hebrew Bible's "stranger" or גר—is a term describing an institutional dependent or client in Israel's idiolect, with the idea of estrangement only contingently implied. This is not far from Cynthia Chapman's understanding, who explains that "when a גר is listed as a member of a *bayit*, he is usually found as a labourer, someone whose membership in the household is secured through work he provides to the household."[43] In light of the social landscape, moreover, it is evident from this description whence connotations of relocation and of estrangement arise in uses of גר. If institutional dependency mainly results from the absence of household patrimony, then a settler moving away from his coresident lineage would face this situation. And stepping outside the circle of intimacy that protects and sustains you is to become a stranger. Looking at the biblical terminology with Israel's socioeconomic context in mind, then, it seems that there is a significant overlap between the dependent worker and the גר. Can this term's etymology support such a proposal?

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41 It is not impossible that membership could develop out of servitude, a process that may be described in Exod 21:6; Deut 15:16–17; cf. Culbertson, "Slaves and Households," 11. There is no space to discuss this possibility here.

42 K. Kleber, "Neither Slave nor Truly Free: the Status of the Dependents of Babylonian Temple Households," *Slaves and Households in the Near East* (eds. L. Culbertson – I. Chatterjee) (Chicago, IL: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2011) 108.

43 Chapman, *House of the Mother*, 236–237, n. 21.

4. The גר as Dependent Worker or "client"

The overlap of the above description of a dependent worker with that of a גר has been observed by scholars before.[44] More than a century ago, W. Robertson Smith thought that the operative sense behind גר is the need for protection in the absence of family.[45] George Moore followed Smith to explain the perplexing status of the Judahite Levite in Judges 17:7.[46] He developed Smith's suggestion of dependence by glossing the verbal form גור found in vv. 7–9 to mean becoming a "client" of a new household (cf. 17:8–10).[47] While this language appeals to the vocabulary of patronage, more familiar from the classical world, the mechanism of clients and patrons nevertheless seems to have existed within ancient Near Eastern institutions.[48] And as Roland Boer remarks, "the step from the head of the kinship-household to the patron is small" (cf. Judg 17:11).[49]

More recently, Mark Awabdy has noted the etymological support for "client" as a translation for גר drawn from cognate semitic languages.[50] The verbal root *ʾgr* "hire, engage, pay wages" appears in Northwest Semitic epigraphy, comparable with Akkadian *agāru* and Arabic *aǧara*, with the meaning of hiring people for labour.[51] Thus, the noun *gr* in Northwest Semitic carries the sense "protégé, client," namely, those who have been hired—the landless, in other words.[52] This connotation also seems to be behind the Ugaritic noun *ảgrt* "mistress" or "she who hires."[53] The Ugaritic verb *g-r* "lodge, take refuge, be protected, settle," on the other hand, seems to take its meaning rather from the activity of those *being* hired, whence connotations of migration begin to arise.[54] This Ugaritic verb seems to relate to another Akkadian root *gurru* with the interesting nuance "allot (fields to settlers)."[55] The sense of "settling" or "taking refuge" found in Ugaritic *g-r* is interesting in light of the apparent dependency of the landless on the landed in the ancient Near East's socioeconomics. Finally, the Ugaritic noun *gr* "protected; guest, foreigner" draws broadly on this context, suggesting connotations of dependency within the notion of migration.[56] The idea of hiring labour, of protection and refuge in these words' semantic fields could well arise from a social landscape that developed a protective, albeit servile system of institutional dependency

44 Cf. Stager, "Archaeology, Ecology," 229–230; Bultmann, *Der Fremde*.
45 Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 75–76.
46 "There was a young man from Bethlehem of Judah from the family of Judah (משפחת יהודה) and he was a Levite and he sojourned (גר) there" (Judg 17:7).
47 Moore, *Judges*, 385.
48 Cf. Westbrook, "Patronage"; Kleber, "Neither Slave nor Truly Free."
49 Boer, *The Sacred Economy*, 105.
50 Awabdy, *Immigrants*, 2.
51 *CAD* I, 146–148; *DNWSI* I, 10–11; E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (ed. S. Lane-Poole) (New York: Ungar 1955) I, 23.
52 *DNWSI* I, 232
53 *DULAT* I, 27.
54 *DULAT* I, 302.
55 *CAD* V, 140.
56 *DULAT* I, 302–303.

for those falling outside family support. Taking גר to be a term for such a labourer also in biblical Hebrew aligns with this etymology.

The meaning "client" certainly remains in lexical discussions of גר.[57] Despite its persistent presence, however, tracking this meaning in the lexicons reveals that it is quickly lost in the ensuing article, much in the way that, although acknowledged, the nuance recedes in exegetical treatments. Yet, in light of the likely socioeconomic context that was current over the course of the biblical texts' production, revisiting this sense when examining the texts seems warranted. It is time to review a few biblical uses of גר, cognizant of the nuance "client" or "dependent worker."

5. Review of Biblical Texts

Each passage in which גר appears is worthy of discussion, in light of the social perspective argued above. There is no space here to be so comprehensive, thus three rhetorical devices in which the term גר operates in conjunction with a comparable term will be briefly examined: first, three texts in which גר appears with אזרח as a *merism* (Lev 18:26; Josh 8:33; Ezek 47:22); secondly, an example of a *hendiadys* employing גר and תושב (Gen 23:4); finally, two psalms using גר metaphorically in poetry (Ps 15:1; 61:5). Through the rhetoric and the context of these occurrences, it should be possible to clarify the meaning for which the term has been employed. It must be said, however, that the translations given in each case are glosses for the purpose of discussion. They may even be overstated in order to draw out the social nuances and these glosses are not necessarily offered as English lexical equivalents for the reviewed terms.

Merism: גר and אזרח

Fourteen times גר appears in conjunction with אזרח, the latter often rendered as "native" or "citizen."[58] The Hebrew terms are most often found together in laws requiring that the same action or conditions be applied to both groups.[59] In these legal passages it seems that the use of both terms constitutes a *merism*, an expression in which a whole spectrum is indicated with reference to its polarities. גר and אזרח would thus be antonyms, allowing further conjecture on their nuances in light of this rhetoric. Although defined as "native" in BDB, the lexicon groups the noun under its verbal cognate, זרח "arise," and so poetically

57 In addition to the above dictionaries and lexicons, see *HALOT* I, 201; Martin-Achard, "גר," 307; Spencer, "Sojourner" 103. BDB (I, 158) nuances גר as one with "no inherited rights," a gloss that also supports the notion of dependency due to lack of household affiliation.

58 *HALOT* (I, 201) gives "protected citizen" for גר, in contrast to its gloss "full citizen" for אזרח (II, 28); see also *DULAT* I, 302–303. Such a liberal deployment of "citizen" overstretches the semantic field, confuses the merism, and draws in unnecessary political connotations (cf. *DCH* II, 372 which gives גור "sojourn" in contrast to אזרח "native").

59 For further discussion see R. Rendtorff, "The *gēr* in the Priestly Laws of the Pentateuch," *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. M.G. Brett) (Leiden: Brill 1996) 81–84.

glosses אזרח as "one arising from the soil"; Ps 37:35 is also referenced in this lexical discussion, which describes a tree "growing in its natural soil."[60] For the merism to work, אזרח must be held to be the opposite of גר, in which case the latter term would broadly refer to one who does not arise from the soil. A גר in other words, is one who has no land, an inference we have already drawn from the socioeconomic landscape. The common connotation "citizen" for the one arising from the soil (אזרח) also supports the idea that some stake in the land is necessary to have a purchase in society, although "citizen" carries anachronistic politico-national connotations. In light of its etymology, I suggest that we might employ "landed" for אזרח, which avoids implications of a political system and is nearer to the socioeconomics, while using "landless" for גר allows the merism full expression. I give as an example Lev 18:26:

> ושמרתם אתם את חקתי ואת משפטי ולא תעשו מכל התועבת האלה ה**אזרח** וה**גר** הגר בתוככם
>
> Keep my statues and my ordinances and do not do all these abominations – the **landed** and the **landless** [who lives] among you.[61]

Any sense of relocation or estrangement implied by the use of גר follows from this primary sense of landlessness/dependency, and given the restricted circles of intimacy, this strangeness need not imply national or ethnic difference anyway. Drawing the contrast along patrimonial lines avoids these implications.

Twice these terms appear together outside the Pentateuch. One is another merism in Josh 8:33 describing "all Israel" in more detail "as גר and as אזרח."

> וכל ישראל וזקניו ושטרים ושפטיו עמדים מזה ומזה לארון נגד הכהנים הלוים נשאי ארון ברית יהוה כ**גר** כ**אזרח**
>
> All Israel, its elders, officers, and its judges stand this side and that of the ark, opposite the priests, Levites who carry the ark of the covenant of Yhwh – both **landless** and **landed.**

Again, the common English translation for כגר כאזרח , "alien as well as citizen," seems to overstate the politics, carrying unwanted connotations of the nation state, although it does express the sort of purchase in society afforded by inheritance. The "landless and landed" reflects the socioeconomics better and accommodates the small circles of intimacy that characterize Israel's society.

The other occurrence found outside the Pentateuch of גר and אזרח together is in Ezek 47:22. Here the terms are not a merism, but rather highlight the patrimonial difference between these groups through the vision of return from exile.

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60 BDB, II, 280.

61 The definite substantive participle הגר [who lives] towards the end of Lev 18:26 is also worthy of discussion, for which there is no space here. But the participle might be summarily glossed "who serves [*as a dependent*]" (see discussion of the psalter's poetic rhetoric below).

והיה תפלו אותה בנחלה לכם ולה**גרים** הגרים בתוככם אשר הולדו בנים בתוככם והיו לכם כ**אזרח** בבני ישראל אתכם יפלו בנחלה בתוך שבטי ישראל

It will happen – you will allot it as a patrimony for you and for the **landless** [who live] among you who have born sons among you, and they will be for you like **landed** among the sons of Israel – with you they will allot a patrimony among the tribes of Israel.[62]

Like in Mic 4, in Ezek 47 we have a vision of restoration. The dream that those without land (גרים) will now receive patrimony and become landed (אזרח) much more clearly expresses the eschatological aspiration of exiled Israel than a distinction between "alien" and "citizen."

Hendiadys: גר and תוֹשָׁב

These terms appear together nine times in the Hebrew Bible, five of them in Lev 25, a set of laws dealing with protection of the vulnerable in times of poverty.[63] While both terms seem to be as nebulous as each other, they are taken to cover the same semantic field.[64] In Ps 39:13 גר and תוֹשָׁב occur in semantic parallel, suggesting some overlap in meaning, although in Num 35:15 they seem to refer to different groups. Jacob Milgrom considers the combination of גר and תוֹשָׁב in Leviticus to be a *hendiadys*, "resident alien."[65] A hendiadys is a rhetorical device in which a modifier is nominalized creating an expression using two nouns, which are nevertheless grammatically independent. If תוֹשָׁב is thus the modifier of גר as in the translation "resident alien," then we might expect that the sense of dwelling or settlement brought by תוֹשָׁב is not ordinarily to the fore in the term גר when used on its own, needing such qualification to bring this aspect out, otherwise the rhetoric would be more like a tautology than a hendiadys. On this view, the regular emphasis of גר would remain rather that of dependency or landlessness as observed above: a "resident dependent" or "landless resident" perhaps might give the sense. This rhetoric is on display in Gen 23:4. By means of the hendiadys, Abraham attempts to persuade the Hittites to give him land by presenting his situation as an ironic paradox.

גר ו<u>תו</u>שב אנכי עמכם תנו לי אחזת קבר עמכם ואקברה מתי מלפני

A **landless resident** I am with you. Give me landed property of a grave with you and let me bury my dead from before my face.

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62 Again, a definite substantive participle הגרים [who live] appears, which could be glossed "who serve [*as dependents*]" (see discussion below).

63 In Lev 25:6, תוֹשָׁב is in parallel with שָׂכִיר "wage labourer" collectively referred to as גרים. There is no space here to discuss the etymology of שָׂכִיר, nor the merits of the translation "wage labourer," nor how this sector compares with גרים. Briefly, though, I note that the idea of labour (שָׂכִיר) and that of settlement (תוֹשָׁב) both resonate with the status that being a גר seems to afford in Israel's society.

64 Cf. *HALOT* I, 1713; *DCH* VIII, 616.

65 J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3B; New York: Doubleday 2001) 2187–2188; also B. Wells, "The Quasi-Alien in Leviticus 25," *The Foreigner and the Law. Perspective from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (eds. R Achenbach – R. Albertz – J. Wöhrle) (BZAR 16; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011); Rendtorff, "The *gēr*," 79–81.

The irony seems to be that Abraham has no land, specifically, no *patrimony*, in which to bury his dead, despite his apparent wealth (Gen 13:2).[66] Prosperity seems not to bring the "landed property" (אחזה) that Abraham seeks (23:4).[67] On this reading, what is surely rhetoric on Abraham's part becomes clearer as he compares his settled position with that of a landless dependent.[68] The hendiadys has rhetorical force by juxtaposing dependent status (גר) with residential status (תושב) through the combined use of both terms.

Poetic rhetoric – service in God's house

Landlessness is not the only connotation conveyed by גר but also the way the landless make their way in patrimonial society, namely service in a household. It is possible that the verbal form גור can be considered to refer to this servitude.[69] Granting the nuance, this particular type of household affiliation appears to be used as a metaphor in the psalms for the desire of the righteous to be part of Yhwh's household. In Ps 15:1, devotion is expressed through rhetorical questions.

יהוה מי **יגור** באהלך מי ישכן בהר קדשך

Yhwh, who shall **serve** [*as a dependent*] in your tent? Who shall reside on your holy mountain?

And in Ps 61:5 the psalmist's prayer is to be forever affiliated to God's household.

אגורה באהלך עולמים אחסה בסתר כנפיך

Let me **serve** [*as a dependent*] in your tent forever; let me take refuge in the shelter of your wings.

Recognizing the semantic parallel in this bicolon, the sense of protection afforded by client status (אגורה) is clearly brought out through its counterpart, the *refuge* of God's wings.[70] By recognising the social nuances, the verb גור nicely expresses the devotional desire for affiliation—having some stake—in God's household, even if it is as a serving dependent. Finally, it is worth noting that in these examples from the psalter, the sense of strangeness or foreignness seems inappropriate for the context, supporting the idea that estrangement is a secondary connotation.

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66 Lack of patrimony also resonates with the narrative theme of relocation, promised land and descendants that dominates Abraham's story (cf. Gen 12:1–3, 7; 13:14–17; 15:2–4).

67 Cf. *HALOT* II, 32; *DCH* I, 187–188.

68 The Hittites' response stresses the irony of Abraham's landlessness: "a mighty prince you are among us" (נשׂיא אלהים אתה בתוכנו) (Gen 23:6).

69 I alluded to this nuance above when the verb's participle occurs alongside the noun in Lev 18:26 and Ezek 47:22.

70 See the etymological discussion above; cf. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 75–76; Moore, *Judges*, 385; Stager, "Archaeology, Ecology," 229–230.

Conclusions

Beginning with the relativity of the stranger, it was noted how the narrow circles of intimacy in the ancient Near East's social structures could make even those from neighbouring cities strangers. Such a proximate horizon brought the challenge of grasping the biblical terminology into focus. Suggestions such as "foreigner," "immigrant" or "refugee" to render the term גר were rethought to avoid anachronistic connotations and to account for the range of uses found in the Hebrew Bible. For example, the subtext of immigration seemed inappropriate for occurrences such as found in the Psalms. The same socioeconomics that produced small circles of familiarity formed a system in which affiliation to a household was desirable for operating in society. Returning to the notion of גר as "client" opened a space in this social landscape that allowed for the nuance of landlessness or dependency to come to the fore, detaching the primary semantic emphasis of this word from questions of origin, a connotation perhaps more present in other vocabulary, such as זר or נכרי. This is not to say that a sense of relocation is entirely absent from the term גר. But in cases where foreignness is implied, the emphasis expressed by the term is not placed on origin or motivation for movement but rather in the life found having moved. This I suggest is the primary sense of גר. It is not where you've come from but how you've arrived. How are you to fit in Israel's patrimonial landscape? And this is why in many uses of גר/גור the question of origin does not arise.

Since many studies of the biblical stranger, particularly in the bible's legal material, have as a stated goal the development of a perspective or theology for the treatment of migrants today, it is perhaps appropriate to draw from my analysis the briefest concluding remark on this as a contemporary issue. At the beginning of the paper, I described strangeness as a conceptual horizon that can be dissolved in friendship. As we encounter people who have relocated in our societies today, we may need to focus less on their origin and more on how we address their arrival.

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THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 385–394

Where Does Salvation Come From? A Reading of 2 Kings 5:1–27

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Abstract: 2 Kings 5:1–27 describes the healing of a foreigner, Naaman the Syrian, a high officer of the King of Damascus, by Elisha, a prophet in Israel. Naaman the Syrian suffers from a kind of skin disease called "leprosy" in the Bible. He thinks that, being rich and powerful, he is in possession of the means to get healed. He has to change his mind and his behaviour, though. He is healed when he agrees to listen to an Israelian maidservant, a slave, to the prophet Elisha, and to his own servants. When he bathes in the Jordan, he symbolically enters the Promised Land because he is healed and, at the same time, he acknowledges that Yhwh is the only Lord of the universe.

Keywords: healing, monarchy, prophecy, conversion, *peripeteia*, *anagnorisis*, Jordan

"Go, bathe seven times in the Jordan: thy body shall return unto thee sound, and thou shalt be cleansed" (2 Kgs 5:10). The account of the healing of Naaman the Syrian in 2 Kgs 5 contains more than one unusual feature and one of them is precisely the decisive role played by the river Jordan.[1] People discussing the story seldom dwell on this detail, which – nevertheless – has its significance in the economy of the text.[2] The purpose of this short paper

1 For a *status quaestionis* on this text, see A. Rofé, *The Prophetical Stories. The Narratives about the Prophets in the Hebrew Bible. Their Literary Types and History* (Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Jerusalem: Magnes Press 1988) 126–131, espec. 126–127; C. Conroy, "Riflessioni metodologiche su recenti studi della pericope di Naaman (2 Re 5)," *Luca-Atti. Studi in onore di P. Emilio Rasco nel suo 70. Compleanno* (eds. G. Marconi – G. O'Collins) (Commenti e Studi Biblici; Assisi: Citadella 1991) 46–71; S.L. McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16* (IEKAT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2021) 346–369, espec. 346–347. For a full analysis of the chapter from a narrative point of view, see N.C. Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel. Eine synchrone und diachrone Auslegung der Naamanerzählung und ihrer Gehasiepisode (2 Kön 5)* (ETS 68; Leipzig: Benno 1994). For a first essay of the same kind, see R.L. Cohn, "Form and Perspective in 2 Kings V," *VT* 33 (1983) 171–184. For a recent commentary, see McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 346–355. Some interesting insights can also be found in the seminal work by Hermann Gunkel, *Geschichten von Elisa* (Meisterwerke hebräischer Erzählungskunst 1; Berlin: Curtius 1925).

2 See, however, I. Cranz, "Naaman's Healing and Gehazi's Affliction: The Magical Background of 2 Kgs 5," *VT* 68 (2018) 540–555. She lists several parallels between our narrative and the magic practices well-known in Ancient Near East. If colours are similar, the picture is nonetheless often different. She mentions the Jordan's purifying function (*ibidem*, 547–549) and similar rituals, especially in Mesopotamia. The role of the Jordan in the OT is also mentioned (*ibidem*, 549) but without insisting on its unique value in Israel's history in Josh 3–4. Hugo Gressmann ("Die Heilung des Aussätzigen," *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie*

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will be precisely to demonstrate the validity of this first intuition. Why must the healing take place in the Jordan (2 Kgs 5:14)? And why does Naaman's conversion immediately follow his purification in the river (2 Kgs 5:15)? In more technical terms, the *peripeteia*, i.e., the reversal of the situation and the healing, and the *anagnorisis*, i.e., the change of knowledge, from ignorance to knowledge of the one true God, the God of Israel, have the Jordan as their backdrop.[3] The waters of the Jordan are precisely the effective tool for solving the problems in the story. Moreover, the narrative insists that Naaman be healed in the Jordan and not elsewhere. His reaction in 2 Kgs 5:12 makes this clear: there are also rivers in Damascus and it was therefore not necessary to come to Israel to find water to bathe. However, the healing can only take place in the Jordan.[4] The account does not explain the reason for the choice and the question therefore remains open. We will try to find a satisfactory answer in the biblical background of the story. It is therefore necessary to reread the chapter carefully in order to gather the elements useful for the interpretation of the above-mentioned detail.

1. Obstacles to Be Overcome to Reach the Jordan

At first, it will be useful to retrace the route taken by Naaman to reach the Jordan.[5] In fact, there are at least two moments when the Aramean general finds himself in a dead end and could very well never reach the river and, therefore, never recover.[6] Furthermore, one must ask why and how it happened that Naaman set out for the land of Israel and not for another destination. Indeed, each narrative takes a precise direction in its first sentences, and makes a choice from the countless possibilities that are available to each narrator before the narrative begins. In the case of 2 Kgs 5 specifically, everything is decided in vv. 1–2.[7] The first verse presents the problem: a famous officer of Syria, who enjoys an enviable situation at the top of the hierarchy – and the crucial point appears in the last word of the verse – suffers

Israels [von Samuel bis Amos und Hosea] [Die Schriften des Alten Testaments 1/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1910] 297) already defends the idea that 2 Kgs 5 expunges all magic elements from the narrative.

3 For the vocabulary of narrative analysis see, among others, J.L. Ska, *"Our Fathers Have Told Us". Introduction to the Analysis of Hebrew Narratives,* 2 ed. (SubBi 13; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute 2000) 27–28.

4 See Cranz, "Naaman's Healing," 548.

5 According to recent studies, the text is homogeneous, with the exception of a few small, punctual, additions of minor importance. See especially H.-J. Stipp, *Elischa – Propheten – Gottesmänner. Die Kompositionsgeschichte des Elischazyklus und verwandter Texte, rekonstruiert auf der Basis von Text- und Literaturkritik zu 1 Kön 20.22 und 2 Kön 2–7* (Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 24; St. Ottilien: Eos 1987) 300–319. Marvin A. Sweeney (*I & II Kings. A Commentary* [OTL; London – Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2007] 297–298) is of the same opinion: "Consequently, the depiction of Gehazi's punishment works together with Naaman's recognition of YHWH to promote recognition of YHWH and just behavior as the Israelite audience knows that YHWH requires." Cf. McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 355–356, for a slightly different opinion.

6 See, among others, Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 118–119, 120.

7 See, for instance, Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 117.

from a skin disease. Better to speak of a skin disease than of leprosy because, certainly, it is not Hansen's disease. Naaman does not have to be isolated, he can live with his family, he can see his ruler, he can travel with a large retinue, he is not shunned by anyone and, finally, he can attend worship with his ruler (2 Kgs 5:18).[8]

Nevertheless, this must be a severe problem because he seeks healing. Verses 2–3 offer the solution or, at least, a possible solution which lies in the hands of the prophet in Israel. The proposed solution, and this is an essential point, comes not from above, but from below, and from the lowest, from a maiden, a foreigner and a slave, brought to Damascus by Naaman after a raid on the kingdom of Israel. Naaman and the servant girl stand at the two extremes of the society at the time. One element, however, is of foremost importance in the story, namely that the maidservant is a member of the people of Israel while Naaman is an Aramean, a non-Israelite, a "pagan" to use the traditional vocabulary in this context.[9]

The news is passed from the handmaid to her mistress and, we must fill in the missing link, from Naaman's wife to her husband who, in turn, turns to his ruler (2 Kgs 5:4).[10] We climb the social hierarchy as the information given by the maidservant reaches the top of the social ladder, the king of Damascus. Naaman turns to his ruler for permission to go to Israel. Here begins the long journey that ends in the waters of the Jordan, but only after some vicissitudes that are essential to understand the story.

Before leaving, Naaman gathers belongings he is going to take with him, including a number of gifts, silver, gold and clothes. Why this detail? We find the mention of gifts twice. The first time, after the healing, Naaman wants to offer gifts to Elisha in gratitude, but the prophet refuses (2 Kgs 5:15–16). The second time, in the final part of the story, Elisha's servant Gehazi runs back to Naaman to get a part of the gifts and is chastised for this very reason (2 Kgs 5:20–27). The motif thus plays a significant role in the different parts of the story and contributes to its substantial homogeneity.[11] Alongside the theme of power, embodied by the king, the theme of wealth appears here. How will healing be achieved? Through the power of kings or the wealth of the powerful? Or will there be another way? These are some of the possibilities open to the reader at this point.

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8 For more on this disease, see, for instance, McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 343, n. 3, with bibliography, and 348–349.

9 See Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 116–117, who, however, does not say much on the topic. Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 174–175, is more explicit: "[…] ironically, the lowest of the low, a female Israelite captive, is heeded by the great king of Syria" (*ibidem*, 175).

10 Several scholars noted the fact. See, for instance, Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 174; Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 117. The LXX has a different version in v. 4: Naaman's wife reports the maid's suggestion to her husband and the reader must assume that Naaman then spoke to the king.

11 This is an important argument against the division of the narrative in three redactional layers as, for instance, in Hans-Christoph Schmitt, *Elisa. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur vorklassischen nordisraelitischen Prophetie* (Gütersloh: Mohn 1972). See the opinion of Charles Conroy ("Riflessioni metodologiche," 58–59). Schmitt was followed by several authors, with some nuances, and even by Steven L. McKenzie (*1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 355–356) who identifies a "prophetic legend" supplemented by a "prophetic narrator" with some later additions. See his translation with different fonts (*ibidem*, 341–342).

The following scene closes the first door (2 Kgs 5:6–7). Naaman arrives with a letter entrusted to him by the king of Damascus for the king of Israel, knocks on the door of the latter's palace, who reads the letter and tears his clothes.

The reaction of the king of Israel is a clear manifestation of impotence: "Am I God to give death or life, that he should command me to deliver a man from his leprosy? Recognise and see that he evidently seeks excuses against me" (2 Kgs 5:7). It is not in his power to give death or life, a theme we find elsewhere, e.g., in Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 2:6. Only God has power over life and death, over health and sickness. In fact, God belongs to a different category than power and wealth and, therefore, it is important to find the way to the divine sphere.[12] We are, however, at a dead end and, if it were not for outside intervention, Naaman could return home with his illness.[13]

This outside intervention comes from Elisha who, we do not know how, learns of the reaction of the king of Israel. In 2 Kgs 5:8 a path completely different from the one followed by Naaman so far opens to him. He has gone from one king to another and, now, he is addressed by a prophet. The change of direction is essential because the "royal way" turns out to be unsuccessful while the "prophetic way" is the right one, the one that leads to healing. The final lesson is clear as salvation does not come from monarchy, but from prophethood. This may seem like an obvious statement, but it is not. In ancient Israel, as well as in the cultures of the ancient Near East, the privileged link between divinity and humanity was the person of the king.[14] The analysed story challenges this ideology to substitute the prophet for the ruler. This seems like a minor detail, but it is a hallmark of the biblical tradition that affirms, after all, that salvation does not come from the ancient monarchical institution that failed and disappeared forever with the fall of Jerusalem in 586 BC. It is the prophets who saved Israel and Elisha is one of them. The contrast between king and prophet becomes increasingly blatant. Where the king is powerless, the prophet is not.[15]

Another element that needs to be highlighted: Elisha's response initiates a cognitive process that adds to the initial, situational plot. In effect, the reader expects a change of condition, i.e., the transition from illness to healing. Elisha, when he sends word to the king of Israel, anonymous as in many folk tales, "Why have you torn your clothes? Let that man come to me and he will know that there is a prophet in Israel" (2 Kgs 5:8), gives hope for a "revelation," a change of knowledge on the part of Naaman who should recognise in

12 See McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 350.

13 See, among others, Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 175.

14 On this topic, see the classical study by Aubrey R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955; 2 ed., 1967). See also G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament und im Judentum* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1955); P. Merlo, "Il re mediatore di Dio nell'Israele antico. Lineamenti alla luce del contesto storico-religioso," *«Multifariam multisque modis» (Eb 1,1). Necessità e vie della mediazione divina nell'Israele biblico. Atti del XIX Convegno di Studi Ceterotestamentari (Napoli, 7–9 Settembre 2015)* (RStB 27; Bologna: Dehoniane 2017) 67–95.

15 Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 175: "Though the king is powerless, the prophet is powerful [...]."

Elisha a prophet of Israel.[16] A path of recognition begins at this moment, and reaches its culmination in v. 15, with Naaman's confession of faith. The prophet will not be the one spoken of – it will be the God of Israel. This is one of the many examples of "double causality" because recognising God means recognising the prophet as God's agent. Verse 8 sets the scene for vv. 15–18, another argument in favour of the essential homogeneity of the passage.

2. The Point of Arrival

With Elisha, the journey that will lead to the solution of Naaman's problem can be resumed. It is he who shows the way to follow: "Go, bathe seven times in the Jordan: your body will return to you healthy and you will be cleansed" (2 Kgs 5:10). The circumstances in which the information was given to Naaman are surprising. Elisha, having been informed of Naaman's arrival with all his mighty retinue, in his chariot and with his horses, signs of his power, does not even go out to meet his guest.[17] He sends him an anonymous messenger. Why? The answer suggested by the context is simple. Naaman makes a show of his power, and Elisha is not impressed. Moreover, sending a messenger focuses attention precisely on the content of the message, eliminating all elements that might distract the reader. The message, in fact, is centered on the role of the Jordan. It is there that Naaman will be healed and not by a direct intervention of the prophet. According to some scholars, this account is intended to avoid suggesting the almost magical power of Elisha, something emphasised in other accounts.[18]

We then find ourselves at a second dead end for the moment. Naaman actually rejects Elisha's proposal because he sees it as contrary to his expectations. In fact, Naaman desired a classic miracle according to the criteria of the culture of the time, a "magical" gesture, something that Elisha intentionally excludes, it seems.[19] Moreover, Naaman contrasts the qualities of the rivers of Damascus with those of the Jordan and wonders about the reasons for Elisha's choice. What are the qualities of the Jordan that other rivers do not possess? We may be stuck if Naaman's question is not answered and if the Damascus official is not convinced to change his mind.[20]

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16 Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 36–37, 79–85. For a similar expression, see Ezek 2:5; 33:33; cf. 1 Kgs 18:36.

17 On the symbolism of the horse, see D. Cantrel, *The Horsemen of Israel. Horses and Chariotry in Monarchic Israel* (HACL 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2011). On Elisha's behaviour, see Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 176–177: "The author implicitly contrasts the impotent king with the confident prophet who, unlike the king, actually exercises royal authority" (*ibidem*, 177).

18 Rofé, *Prophetical Stories*, 128; McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 358. See especially Cranz, "Naaman's Healing," 540–555.

19 Rofé, *Prophetical Stories*, 128 and *passim*. For a contrary opinion, see Cranz, "Naaman's Healing," 550 and *passim.* The latter author, however, does not insist enough on the special qualities of the Jordan in a biblical context, and therefore also in 2 Kgs 5.

20 McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 351–352.

The answer comes, once again, from below, as several authors have noted.[21] Just as the initial move came from a servant girl, another move comes from servants who manage to convince their superior to do as the prophet suggested. Again, the hierarchy of that time is reversed.[22] Let us recall, for example, the words of the Roman centurion addressed to Jesus of Nazareth in Matt 8:8–9:

> But the centurion replied: "Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof, but only say the word and my servant will be healed. Though I too am an underling, I have soldiers under me, and I say to one, 'Go!', and he goes; and to another, 'Come!', and he comes; and to my servant, 'Do this!', and he does it."

In the case we are analysing, the exact opposite happens, since the leader complies with what his subordinates tell him. This is no small matter, because Naaman's recovery depends on his submission to the advice of his servants, just as it depended on the suggestion of the Hebrew servant passed on to him by his wife. By acting in this way, Naaman shows discernment and intelligence. He leaves aside his pride and arrogance to accept the very reasonable proposal of his servants: "My father, if the prophet had commanded you a great thing, would you not have carried it out? All the more now that he has said to you: 'Bask and you shall be cleansed'" (2 Kgs 5:13). You lose nothing by trying, say the servants, and Naaman listens to them.

3. Solution and Resolution of the Story[23]

Naaman listens to his servants and thus we arrive immediately at the resolution of the story, described, as often, in very few words: "He then went down and plunged into the Jordan seven times, according to the word of the man of God, and his body became like the body of a boy again; he was cleansed" (2 Kgs 5:14). Many scholars have noted the inclusion of this verse in verse 2: Naaman's body became like that of a "little boy" again, which evokes the "little girl" of 2 Kgs 5:2, and the detail contrasts with the description of Naaman in v. 1, presented as a "big man."[24] Equally important seems to me the allusion to a "rebirth," because Naaman comes out of the Jordan "rejuvenated." Ablutions, bathing, always have this meaning. One goes into the water and comes out different. In some cases, it is even a matter of dying and being resurrected.[25]

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21 See McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 352, according to whom the servants make a proposal just as the maid servant did in v. 3.

22 Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 177, the "great" man (v. 1) expected a "great thing" (v. 13).

23 See Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 195–196; Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 177–178; McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 351–352.

24 See Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 177.

25 See the symbolism of baptism in Rom 6:1–14.

In his commentary on this passage, Alexander Rofé insists on the particular character of the tale and characterises it as an "ethical legend," precisely because it excludes any possible reference to magic:

> Since the purpose of the miracle was to demonstrate the greatness and uniqueness of the Lord God of Israel – whose uniqueness lay in that no other god possessed His power of deliverance – the miracle could not be accomplished through magical means, usual in the legends.[26]

His view was recently challenged by Isabel Cranz in the following passage:

> As the comparative material will illustrate, the water of the Jordan attains its power through the same principles as water used in Assyro-Babylonian rituals which also draws its efficacy from sacred space and proximity to the gods. To substantiate this claim, I turn to a Standard Babylonian cultic commentary which states that an individual suffering from skin disease is to be immersed in the river.[27]

Without getting into a lengthy discussion on the subject, it seems to me that there are two elements that distinguish the miracle of 2 Kgs 5 from other purification rituals. First, the narrative intentionally contrasts Naaman's expectation of an effective ritual performed by Elisha on his behalf (2 Kgs 5:11) with the simple act of bathing in the Jordan without the prophet's presence.[28] The contrast is intentional, and the message is clear, as the efficacy is due to the waters of the Jordan alone. That there are parallels to the ritual of purification in the waters is not surprising. The culture of Israel is part of the culture of the ancient Near East.

The particularity of 2 Kgs 5 lies in its sobriety, but not only that. A second element is indispensable to healing, namely the "conversion" of Naaman, who will only be healed if he changes his attitude and listens instead of commanding. Healing is not only physical, it also has an ethical and behavioural dimension.[29] Naaman cannot be healed unless he changes his attitude, and this element is emphasised at crucial points in the story, particularly in vv. 11–13. Rofé is certainly right to speak of an "ethical" legend for this reason, but above all because the "moral" aspect is much more difficult to find in Mesopotamian rituals. The God of Israel is not only omnipotent, he is also an "ethical" God.

Naaman's inner transformation manifests itself again with all the intended clarity in his reaction after the healing.[30] The narrative continues, which means that there are elements essential to its understanding in vv. 15–19, after achieving what seemed to be the main purpose of the narrative, the healing of Naaman in 2 Kgs 5:14. We witness, in effect, a conversion, with a confession of faith (*anagnorisis*): "He returned with all his retinue to the man of

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26 Rofé, *Prophetical Stories*, 128 ("The Ethical *Legenda*"). See also Gressmann, "Die Heilung des Aussätzigen," 297.

27 Cranz, "Naaman's Healing," 550.

28 Rofé, *Prophetical Stories*, 128: "Naaman only expected a magical feat [...]."

29 Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 196–200, speaks of a "change of personality" (*ibidem*, 199: "Veränderung des Charakters").

30 Cf. Baumgart, *Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 198; Cohn ("Form and Perspective," 177–178) speaks of a "spiritual transformation of Naaman." Now, Naaman can "stand before the prophet" (cf. vv. 3 e 15) (*ibidem*, 178).

God; he went in and stood before him, saying, 'Behold, now I know that there is no God in all the earth except in Israel'" (2 Kgs 5:15). Naaman enters the Jordan as an Aramean, a pagan and a sick man, and leaves as an Aramean, but healed and a believer in the God of Israel. The transformation is radical.

Naaman's conversation with Elisha confirms the reader's first impression. To show that the miracle is not obtained with money and cannot be bought, but is conditioned by a change of attitude, Elisha refuses the gifts offered by Naaman (2 Kgs 5:15b–16). Instead, Naaman asks if he can take some "holy land" home with him. Here is his speech: "[...] let [...] thy servant be permitted [...] to load here as much earth as a couple of mules carry, for thy servant no longer intends to perform a burnt offering or a sacrifice to other gods, but only to the Lord" (2 Kgs 5:17).[31] The underlying idea is that Naaman wants to be from now on a faithful worshipper of the God of Israel, Yhwh, and only of this God. Therefore, he wants to bring with him a load of "holy land," because according to the mentality of the time, a god can only be worshipped in his own territory.[32] The gesture allows us to identify a fundamental element of the story that, perhaps, has not been emphasised enough in ancient and recent commentaries. By bathing in the Jordan, Naaman retraces the path of the people of Israel when they crossed the Jordan under the leadership of Joshua to enter, for the first time, the Promised Land (Josh 3–4). The two chapters of the book of Joshua describe the event in great detail to emphasise the solemnity of the moment. With the entry of the people into the Promised Land, we reach one of the most important goals of Israel's ancient traditions. One more element may be meaningful in this context. During the forty years in the wilderness, the generation that God brought out of Egypt and rebelled in the desert disappeared completely (cf. Num 14:27–35; Deut 1:35–36; 2:14). A new generation, grown in the wilderness and educated by God, crossed the Jordan under the leadership of Joshua. The crossing of the Jordan is the result of a process of education and the final step of a long purification for the people of Israel as for Naaman.

The function of the Jordan is also illustrated in 2 Kgs 2:1–18, the account of Elijah's ascension.[33] Elijah first and Elisha later are able to part the waters and cross the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:8, 14) that separates the "land of the living" from the rest of the world.[34]

Now, to return to our story, Naaman makes a similar gesture that enables him, in his own way, to join the people of Israel as fully as possible because he too enters the Promised Land. His confession of faith in the God of Israel, his determination to worship one God, the only God of the whole earth (2 Kgs 5:15), and the fact that he takes with him a load of

31 McKenzie, *1 Könige 16 – 2 Könige 16*, 353.

32 See Gressmann, "Die Heilung des Aussätzigen," 296; Rofé, *Prophetical Stories*, 128–129. On this point, see S. Hart, *From Temple to Tent. From Real to Virtual World (Exodus 24:15–Numbers 10:28)* (Hindmarsh, Australia: ATF 2019); B.M. Gittlen (ed.), *Sacred Time, Sacred Place. Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press 2021).

33 Cranz, "Naaman's Healing," 549.

34 The land of the living: Job 28:13; Pss 27:13; 52:7; 116:9; 142:6; Isa 38:11; 53:8; Jer 11:19; Ezek 26:20; 32:23–27, 32.

"holy land" to worship the God of Israel, are signs of a transition from his status as a "pagan" to that of a "believer," in a way similar to that of the members of the people of Israel.[35]

The narrative, in other words, describes the journey of a proselyte. It is therefore possible, according to this account, to belong – to an extent not clearly defined – to the people of Israel without being born an Israelite, without being a descendant of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. It is possible to cross the boundary that separates Israel from other nations; it is possible for a "foreigner" to change his condition in order to gain a type of belonging to the chosen people.[36]

What is the condition, though? In short, Naaman had to renounce his wealth and power in order to be healed. He also had to show humility in order to listen to a simple foreign servant girl and his own servants. Finally, he silenced his pride and awareness of his position to listen to the voice of reason. In this way, and only in this way, could he be healed in the Jordan by the God who can bring about life and death (cf. 2 Kgs 5:7).

4. The Stand-in for Gehazi (2 Kgs 5:20–27)

The final episode, unexpectedly, caused quite a few problems in the exegesis of the passage. In two words, Gehazi acts as a foil of Naaman when he tries to cunningly seize precious goods. The narrative makes him the perfect foil of Naaman because, in the end, the Israelite, Elisha's servant, is a victim of the disease that affected Naaman. In short, Naaman the pagan becomes a believer like the Israelite, and the covetous Israelite becomes like the pagan Naaman. If a pagan, following the path of humility and discernment, agrees to bathe in the Jordan in order to enter the Promised Land, the believing Israelite may lose his privileges because of his behaviour and become like the sick stranger. The narrative suggests that the boundary between Israel and other nations are certainly geographical borders, linked to birth, but that they are also ethical frontiers, linked to people's conduct. As Marvin A. Sweeney says: "Thus, the narrative emphasises that YHWH's moral character as G-d of all creation entails expectations of Israelites and Arameans."

Conclusion

In conclusion, the tale describes two intersecting paths: Naaman the Syrian succeeds in entering the Promised Land and Gehazi, an Israelite, loses most of his privileges to become similar to the foreigner Naaman because of his deplorable behaviour. Being a foreigner is, in this tale, not only a matter of birth and residence, but also of conduct.

35 See Cohn, "Form and Perspective," 178.

36 See the observations of Norbert C. Baumgart (*Gott, Prophet und Israel*, 141–142) ("Zwischen Aram und Israel" – "Between Aram and Israel") who, however, does not elaborate on the topic much beyond the question of vocabulary.

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THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 395–417

The Literary Structure of the Flood Account in the *Animal Apocalypse*

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Abstract: This article discusses the literary structure of the flood account (*1 En.* 89:1b–9) in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 85–90). Since the Qumran Aramaic text of the story (4Q206 frags. 8 I and 9) has preserved a shorter text than that found in the ancient Ethiopic version, the study of the literary additions found therein is also undertaken. Although the Aramaic text of the flood account is not free from some redactional elaborations of the literary structure of the story, the literary additions in the Ethiopic version expand the shorter structure, especially in the first part of the account (strophes 2–4). The insertion of new cosmic elements into the story (heavenly roof and earthly enclosure) creates a well-circumscribed space where the punishment of humanity, sons of the Watchers and animals by the waters of the flood takes place (strophe 4). Thus, the Ethiopic longer recension of the flood account is far more distant from the shorter text of 4Q206. The last part of this study takes a closer look at the literary context of the flood story that closes the first part of the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 85:3b–89:9) and preannounces its second section (*1 En.* 89:10–90:19) marred by the shedding of blood and violence between the nations and Israel.

Keywords: pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, *1 Enoch*, *Animal Apocalypse*, flood, Noah, literary structure

Dated to the early period of the Maccabean wars,[1] the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 85–90) is part of the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 83–90), the fourth largest literary section of *1 Enoch*.

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1 Józef T. Milik (*The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [with the collaboration of M. Black] [Oxford: Clarendon 1976] 44) identifies the military situation described in *1 En.* 90:16, the last reference to an identifiable historical period, with the year 164 BCE. Hence, he claims that the *Animal Apocalypse* was composed during that year, more precisely, after the Battle of Beth-Zur. Patrick A. Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch* [EJL 4; Atlanta, GA: Scholars 1993] 61–82), who has extensively dealt with the date of the composition of the *Animal Apocalypse*, arrives at the conclusion that the events narrated in chapter 90 correspond well to 175–163 BCE, with *1 En.* 90:9–16 describing the career of Judas Maccabeus. Extensively discussing the relationship between *1 En.* 90:13–15 and 90:16–18 (19), he identifies the events of *1 En.* 90:13b–14 with the Battle of Beth-Zur (early 164 BCE) and *1 En.* 90:15 with the Battle of Carnaim, dated to the summer of 163 BCE. Thus, the original work was composed between 165 and 160, rather nearer 165, with *1 En.* 90:13–15 added after 163. George W.E. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2001] 8) agrees with Tiller, suggesting that a prior form may date to the end of the third or beginning of the second century. He probably takes into consideration the tradition of the fallen Watchers (*1 En.* 6–11) used in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 86:1–89:1a) and commonly dated to the third c. BCE; yet it is not clear what he means by "a prior form" of the allegorical account.

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It contains the history of humanity and of Israel, mostly based on biblical tradition, from the moment of creation to the eschatological times of the final restoration. The main human actors and nations of the unfolding drama of increasing violence and sinfulness are vested in an allegorical garb of diverse types of animals, with angels depicted as men and fallen Watchers as stars. Human history is divided into two periods, one ending with the coming of the flood (*1 En.* 85:3b–89:9) and the other stretching from the multiplication of humanity after the flood to the early years of the Maccabean revolt (*1 En.* 89:10–90:19). There follows the final period of the last judgment (*1 En.* 90:20–27) and the inauguration of the eschaton with renewed humanity in it (*1 En.* 90:37–38). Enclosed within the literary framework of a vision (*1 En.* 85:1–2; 90:39–42), the allegory, in various ways, reworks the biblical texts or historical events in order to create a comprehensive vision of the history of humanity and its relationship with the heavenly world.[2] It also adopts the myth of the fallen Watchers from *1 En.* 6–11 within the history of the origins (Gen 2; 4–5; 6–8 ≈ *1 En.* 85:3–89:9), inserting an abbreviated version of the angelic sexual prevarication (*1 En.* 6–7; 10:1–15 ≈ *1 En.* 86:1–89:1a) immediately before the flood account (*1 En.* 89:1b–9).[3]

The account of the flood (*1 En.* 89:1b–9) is set in the context of the angelic fall (86:1–87:1; 87:2–89:1a) and the history of post-diluvian humanity (*1 En.* 89:10–12). Since Józef T. Milik's publication of the Aramaic manuscripts of *1 Enoch* from Qumran, it has become evident that the Aramaic text of the flood account, partly preserved in 4Q206 frags. 8 I and 9, is shorter than the Ethiopic (*Gəʿəz*) version.[4] Hence the reader is today in

2 John J. Collins ("Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Apocalypse. The Morphology of a Genre* [ed. J.J. Collins] [Semeia 14; Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature 1979] 14) has classified the Enoch's second, allegorical vision in the *Book of Dreams* as a "historical" apocalypse with no otherworldly journey, together with Dan 7–12, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, *Jub.* 23, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*; for a form-critical study of this literary genre in *1 Enoch* and Daniel, see S.B. Reid, *Enoch and Daniel. A Form Critical and Sociological Study of the Historical Apocalypses* (BIBAL.MS 2; Berkeley, CA: Bibal 1989). What distinguishes, however, the second Enoch's dream from the cited apocalyptic works is the use of animal allegory throughout the whole composition, the presence of symbols and myths to understand and the fictitious account engrained in the inherited biblical myth and history that reaches beyond the historical experiences of Israel into the eschaton; for the use of allegory in the *An. Apoc.*, see Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 21–60. Subjecting the *Animal Apocalypse* to the synchronic, narrative analysis, Daniel Assefa (*L'Apocalypse des animaux [1 Hen 85–90] une propagande militaire? Approches narrative, historico-critique, perspectives théologiques* [JSJSup 120; Leiden: Brill 2007] 55–117) studies the text as a narrative, subjecting the order, duration, and frequency of the events as well as the main heroes of the story to his analyses. In his diachronic section of the monograph, he explores the notion of allegory as a literary genre in the *An. Apoc.* (*ibidem*, 163–189) and reflects on the myth, metaphor, symbolism of the apocalypse as a literary genre, and brings the question of the literary genre closer to the notion of a fable. He concludes by saying that "L'AA est à la fois un songe, une vision, une apocalypse, une allegorie et une fable" (*ibidem*, 188).

3 The author of the allegorical history substitutes Gen 6:1–4 with an abbreviated and modified myth of the Watchers' fall (*1 En.* 6–11). This is only one example of redactional activity within the structure of Gen 1–11. The complex nature of the allegorical retelling of the antediluvian biblical and non-biblical material calls for a separate study dedicated to that topic.

4 In Milik's edition (*The Books of Enoch*, 238), the two fragments containing the flood account were published as 4QEn^{e} 4 i 13–21, and 4 ii 1–5. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (*The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* [Leiden: Brill 2000] 426) label the fragments differently: 4Q206 frag. 5 I–II. In the present study, references to the Aramaic text of the flood account follow the edition by Henryk Drawnel *Qumran Cave 4. The Aramaic Books of Enoch. 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212* (in consultation with É. Puech) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019) 370 (4Q206 8 I 13–21 [89:1–6]) and 380 (4Q206 9 1–5 [89:7–9]). The manuscript is paleographically dated to the middle of the first c. BCE.

a privileged position of having partial access to an earlier form of a tradition preserved in the later, expanded form found in the Ethiopic text. While the Aramaic version tells the story of a white ox that, together with three other oxen, survives the flood, the Ethiopic version additionally informs the reader about the transformation of the white ox (Noah) into a man (angelic status) and its departure after the flood. A lofty roof from which the spouts or water pipes verse the waters into an enclosure is an additional piece of information not found in Aramaic. The darkness and mist at the beginning of the flood, together with the departure of darkness and the advent of light at its end, may also have been introduced only in the Ethiopic version, but since the Aramaic text remains fragmentary, the evidence remains ambiguous.

Since the water pipes or spouts (מרזבין), a cosmographic element that brings the water from above, do exist in the Aramaic version,[5] there might arise a doubt as to which textual form is original. One possibility is that the Aramaic version found at Qumran may contain a truncated story with the remnants of the cosmographic elements (water pipes) preserved in the Ethiopic version.[6] Alternatively, the Aramaic text underlying the Ethiopic one expands the original, shorter story with new cosmographic information about the lofty roof, the enclosure, darkness, mist, light, and the transformation of the white bull.[7] While the lofty roof and darkness-light dichotomy are not attested elsewhere in the *Animal Apocalypse* (henceforth *An. Apoc.*), the transformation of a lamb into a man is (4Q204 15 10 [89:36]); hence the scribal redactor of the longer version may have drawn on the literary material found elsewhere in the *An. Apoc.* The literary motif of an enclosure (*ʿaṣad*) as a cosmographic element of the earth (89:2, 3a, 3b, 4) where the animals die may have been modelled on the Aramaic דיר – "dwelling, sheepfold" found later in the allegory (4Q207 1 3 [86:2]; 4Q204 15 6 [89:34], 8 [89:35]).[8]

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5 See 4Q206 8 I 16c (89:2); 4Q206 9 1b (89:7).

6 Matthew Black (*The Book of Enoch or I Enoch. A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* [SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill 1985] 263) adopts an unusual solution, considering both the shorter Aramaic text and the longer Aramaic recension behind the Ethiopic as original; his is a logical conundrum – he does not explain how it is possible to have the two of them "original." Although he opts for the Aramaic text as the original (see the next note), Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 261) observes that the Aramaic term מרזבין "waterspouts" is used in Targumic Aramaic and in Syriac for the spouts that carry water from roof gutters. Therefore, he suggests that the Aramaic redactor, who removed the references to the roof and enclosure, inadvertently left the waterspouts in place so that it no longer made any sense in the context. Taking into consideration the literary structure of the Aramaic fragments (cf. section 1 of this study), Tiller's proposal can hardly be accepted – all the references to the roof and enclosure are additions that expand the literary structure of the shorter, Aramaic text.

7 Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, 239) affirms that the Ethiopic version contains a reworked form of the original text as found in 4Q206 8 I. He also suggests that the reworking followed the outline of a more systematic symbolism. Noting a more developed allegory in the Ethiopic text, Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 128–129) affirms that the shorter Aramaic version is closer to the original. In the notes on 89:1–9 (*ibidem*, 258–268), he adds that the *An. Apoc.* does not have symbols for the sky, the earth, or water, hence the longer recension may contain a set of later interpolations to set the allegory more thorough-going (*ibidem*, 258). In this respect, Tiller follows Milik, which points to a more systematic symbolism in the longer recension. On the other hand, Tiller does not exclude the priority of the longer Ethiopic text; see the preceding note. The reason for the expansions in the longer recension, however, should be sought for especially in strophe 4 of the flood account where a long addition (4D in the literary structure, cf. Table 1) stresses the death of the animals in the enclosure – the latter being a central element in the expanded narrative.

8 Daniel C. Olson (*A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch. "All Nations Shall be Blessed". With a New Translation and Commentary* [SVTP 24; Leiden: Brill 2013] 161) notes the alleged ironic contrast

The scholarly discussion about the two recensions of the flood in the *An. Apoc.* pays hardly any attention to the literary structure of the story. The present study intends to fill that gap by taking a closer look not only at the literary motifs that distinguish the two textual traditions but also at the whole phrases or clauses wherein these motifs are found. Although only one side of the Aramaic column is preserved in the Qumran fragments containing the flood story, the reconstructed column width and line length of the manuscript are known.[9] The reconstruction of the Aramaic text proposed in the lacunae is of secondary nature and is included in this study for illustrative purposes only. The division of the Aramaic text into strophes considers the formal literary markers, paratactic clause succession and thematic changes in the flow of the narrative. Except for traces of one letter, the Aramaic text of strophe 7 is non-existent; hence its structure can hardly be reconstructed, and the information about that strophe primarily relies on the Ethiopic text.

The comparison of the Aramaic text with the extended Ethiopic version in section 2 of this study confirms the secondary nature of the extended recension. Moreover, traces of textual elaboration of the flood narrative are already tangible in the Aramaic text, which proves that the reworking of the Aramaic version must have started early in the history of the text transmission of the *An. Apoc.* Some notes in the comments attempt to clarify the function of the literary changes[10] in the Ethiopic text and their influence on the meaning of the longer recension.

1. The Literary Structure

Considering the literary markers and content of the Aramaic text, the narrative can be divided into seven strophes, with four (strophes 1, 3, 4), five (strophes 2, 5, 7) or six clauses in each strophe, with expansions present in the Ethiopic, redacted text. Strophe 1 contains information about the white ox (Noah) building the ship and dwelling in it with three other

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between the enclosure of the flood narrative where the animals die and the enclosure in 89:24–36, a place of peace and safety for the flock. The proposed interpretation, though, does not explain the transformation of the enclosure into a cosmic element, and the flood account hardly betrays any trace of irony in comparison with the generations yet to come. Moreover, Olson's subsequent attempt to link the enclosure in the flood story with the trapping of Judas' enemies in their own fortress towers (1 Macc 5:4–5; 2 Macc 10:32–36) is speculative, without any connection with the Aramaic/Ethiopic text.

9 Letters per column: 42–47; width of the reconstructed column: ca. 9.5 cm. Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 227; Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 370.

10 Compared with the Aramaic, the shorter text, additions, and, in some cases, word substitutions in the Ethiopic version are witness to a different stage in the transmission of the flood account in the *An. Apoc.* Since, in most cases, they considerably alter the form and content of the story found in the Qumran Aramaic manuscript, they should be considered literary variants rather than "interpolations," a term that in textual criticism has a much more restricted meaning (exegetical or grammatical explanation, modification of the text), cf. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3 ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2012) 260. These literary additions are attested in the Ethiopic version only and presumably they were present in the Aramaic form of the text translated later on into Greek and then into ancient Ethiopic. From this perspective, in most cases, the Ethiopic version has preserved the final form of the flood account that goes back to its Aramaic *Vorlage*. However, the Greek version is not extant and the influence of the intermediate stage on the form of the Ethiopic text cannot be substantiated.

white oxen (Ham, Seth and Japhet). Strophe 7 depicts the denouement of the situation sketched in strophe 1: exit from the ship of the whole family, with the accent now being placed on the colour of the three oxen that symbolically refers to the first human generation (85:3b) and may denote the post-diluvian fate of humanity. The departure of the white ox is the concluding mark in the history of antediluvian humanity.[11]

The narration about the flood is enclosed in strophes 2–6. The narrative thread of the story leads the reader from the opening of the cosmic sluices and chambers/fissures (strophe 2) through the flooding of the whole earth (strophe 3). The death of the animals (strophe 4) is followed by the closing of the water sources (strophe 5) and the drying of the whole earth (strophe 6). The climax of the whole story is reached in strophe 4, the central one in the literary structure, where the death of the oxen, together with that of the camels, white asses and elephants, is contrasted with the ship that moves swiftly on the waters. Noting the central character of the strophe, the redactor of the text underlying the Ethiopic version expanded it with a universalizing reference to the death of all the animals/livestock (*ʾənsəsā*, 4D; 89:6). That same tendency is tangible at the beginning of strophe 4, where the redactor inserted "all" (*kʷəllomu*) in the syntagm "all the cattle" (*kʷəllomu ʾalhəmt*), absent in Aramaic. The information about the ingathering of the cattle in the enclosure (4A, *ʾella weʾetu ʿaṣad tagābeʾu ʾeskana reʾikewwomu*), an evident expansion of the Aramaic, results from the insertion of the "enclosure" (*ʿaṣad*) in the preceding context (2B.D; 3A.C).

Table 1. Literary Structure of the Flood Account (*1 En.* 89:1b–9)

Strophe subdivision	Verses	4Q206 frags. 8 I + 9[12]	*Gəʿəz* version[13]
frag. 8 I: The Fourth Angel: Teaching a Mystery[14]			
A	13b	And one of the fo]ur went to one of the [white] oxen	[89:1a] And one of the four went to <one of> those white bulls

11 For the preceding and following context of the flood narrative, see section 3 in this study.

12 For the reconstructed Aramaic text and translation, see Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 371–372 (4Q206 frag. 8 I) and 382–383 (4Q206 frag. 9).

13 The translation is cited according to Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 256–258; for the Ethiopic text, see *ibidem*, 161–165.

14 For the discussion of the whole literary structure of the *An. Apoc.*, see Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 59–60. In his opinion, the flood account does not end in 89:9 but in 89:12, which can hardly be correct; see section 3 of this study. In his introductory notes on the *An. Apoc.*, Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*) does not pay much attention to the literary features of the Ethiopic text, and his subdivision into chapters is mostly based on the content of the narrative. Although overall, his proposal appears more detailed and nuanced than those of other scholars, much additional work must be done on the literary features of the overall literary structure and its shorter sections. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 354–356) follows the tripartite division of the text found in Tiller but with his own modifications, while Assefa (*L'Apocalypse des animaux [1 Hen 85–90]*) does not discuss the literary structure of the *An. Apoc.* at all. Olson (*New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse*, VI–VII, 145–231) divides the history into two larger sections: Genesis through Kings (85:2–89:58) and Exile to Eschaton (89:59–90:42). Just as in the case of Tiller, his division into smaller units is based on the content, not formal elements, of the *An. Apoc.*

Strophe subdivision	Verses	4Q206 frags. 8 I + 9[12]	*Gəʿəz* version[13]
B	14a	[and taught it a mystery.]	and taught it a mystery **without his trembling. That one was born a bull but became a man.**
The Flood: Salvation and Punishment			
1. Introduction: Building the ship and dwelling in it			
A	14b	89:1b [And it ma]de for itself a ship,	89:1b And he hewed for himself a large vessel
B	14c	and dwelt inside it. *vacat*	and dwelt upon it,
C	15a	[*vac.* And the three oxen enter]ed with it into the ship,	and three bulls **dwelt** with him in that vessel,
D	15b–16a	and the ship was coated[15] and covered [over them. *vac.*]	and this vessel was covered over them.
2. Opening the water sources			
A	16b	89:2 [And I was] looking,	89:2 And again **I raised my eyes toward heaven, and I saw a high roof**
B	16c–17a	and behold, seven sluices were pouring out [much water.]	with seven torrents **on it; and those torrents** were pouring out much water **into a certain enclosure.**
C	17b	89:3a [And I looked again],	89:3a And I saw again
D	17c	and behold, chambers were opened within the earth,	and behold, **fissures** were opened upon the earth **in that large enclosure**,
E	17d–18a	and [waters] began [to go up on the earth.]	and that water began **to boil up** and to rise upon the earth.
3. Waters cover the earth			
A	18b	89:3b [And] I was looking	89:3b And I kept seeing **that enclosure**
B	18c	until the earth was covered by the waters,	until the **whole** earth was covered with water.
C	19a	89:4 [and the waters increased upon it,]	89:4 And the water **and darkness and mist** (?) became abundant upon it. **And I kept seeing the height of that water, and that water rose up over the enclosure**
D	19b	[and] were standing upon it,	and stood upon **the earth.**
4. Destruction of the animals			
A	19c	89:5 and the oxen were sinking and drowning	89:5 And all the cattle **of that enclosure assembled until I saw them** sinking and being swallowed
B	20a	[and perishing in these waters.]	and perishing in that water.

15 For this translation, see E.M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2015) 89.

Strophe subdivision	Verses	4Q206 frags. 8 I + 9[12]	*Gəʿəz* version[13]
C	20b	[89:6] And the ship floated above the waters,	[89:6] And that vessel was floating on the waters;
D	20c–21	but all the oxen [and camels and wild asses] and elephants were decay[ing] *vacat*	but all the cattle and the elephants and the camels and the asses **sank to the earth as well as all the animals. And I could not see them and they were unable to come out, and they perished and sank in the depths.**
	frag. 9:	5. Closing the water sources	
A	1a	[89:7] [And again I watched in] my [drea]m	[89:7] And again I saw in the vision
B	1b	until those s[luices were closed,	until those cataracts receded **from that high roof,**
C	1c–2a	and the clefts of the earth became level,]	and the fissure<s> of the earth became level,
D	2b	[and] the chambers were closed,	
E	2c	but[other depths were opened.]	and other abysses were opened.
		6. Waters recess and landing of the ship	
A	2d–3a	[89:8] [And the waters began] going down into the midst of these	[89:8] And the water began to go down into them
B	3b	until they came to an end.	
C	3c	[..... and the earth appeared,]	until the earth was uncovered
D	3d–4a	[and the ship] settled o[n] the earth	and that vessel settled upon the earth;
E	4b	[and the darkness passed away]	and the darkness withdrew
F	4c	[and it became light.]	and it became light.
		7. Conclusion: Exit from the ship	
A	4d–5	[89:9a] [And the white ox and the th]r[ee oxen with him came forth from the ship...]	[89:9a] And that white bull **that had become a man** came out from that vessel with the three bulls that were with it;
B		?	[89:9b] and one of those three bulls was white, resembling that bull,
C		?	and one of them was red like blood,
D		?	and one was black.
E		?	[89:9c] And that one, that white bull, departed from them.
		The descendants of the three bulls	
A			[89:10] And they began to beget wild beasts and birds
B			and there came from them species of every sort:
C			Lions, tigers, hyenas, etc.

The structure of strophe 2 is marked off into two parts by the repetition of the verb for seeing (2A; 2C) and the particle "behold" (2B; 2D). The verb of seeing opens strophe 3 (A) and strophe 5 (A). Strophe 4 begins with a reference to the oxen (A) repeated at its end (D), additionally marked in the Aramaic text by the *vacat.* There is but a thematic divide between strophes 5 and 6: the latter notes the removal of the sluices and the levelling off of the fissures of the earth as well as the closing of the chambers (Aramaic) and opening of the abysses, that is the end of the flooding of the earth that began in strophe 2; the former describes the results of the cosmic actions related in the preceding strophe, namely the disappearance of the waters, the appearance of the earth and landing of the ship. Strophe 7 opens with the exit from the ship of the white bull and the three oxen (A), a reference to the content of strophe 1 (A–C).

The opening of the sluices and the chambers (Eth. fissures) in strophe 2 corresponds to their closing in strophe 5, which precludes the reader from finding a chiastic disposition in the whole seven-part structure of the narrative (I–II–III–IV–III′–II′–I′). In a similar move, the author of the flood account contrasts the mounting of the waters on the surface of the earth in strophe 3 with their gradual descent and uncovering of the earth in strophe 6A–C. The additional information about the landing of the ship in 6D anaphorically refers to 4C, where the ship is said to float on the waters. Since the Aramaic lacuna in 3C (4Q206 8 I 19a) is very short, it is doubtful whether it contained a reference to darkness and mist, an addition made perhaps by the same redactor responsible for the insertion of the enclosure in 3A; note that the Ethiopic text in 3C expands the text further with the addition of two clauses about the height of the waters. On the other hand, the lacuna in 6E–F (4Q206 9 4b–c) is large enough to contain the Ethiopic content about the withdrawal of darkness and the advent of light. Perhaps in the case of 3C (Eth.), we are dealing with a redactional expansion of the darkness-light motif influenced by the text in 6E–F (Eth.).

Thus, the structure of the flood narrative (strophes 1–7) forms the following succession of thematic and literary elements: I–II–III–IV–II′–III′–I′. The redactional additions in the Ethiopic version, which expand the structure of strophes II–III–IV, do not derange the overall division into seven strophes. The central stage takes the destruction of humanity (oxen; 4A–B) as well as that of the descendants of the Watchers (camels, wild asses, elephants; 4D), while the salvation of Noah (white ox) and his three sons (oxen) is strongly accented in 4C in the image of the ship floating on the waters. The opening strophe 1 introduces Noah as the maker and dweller of the ship with his three sons who enter the ship. Strophe 7 accentuates again the same people (oxen) who survive the flood. Thus, the position of the four main positive characters in the literary structure at the beginning (strophe 1), in the middle (the ark, strophe 4) and at the end of the passage (strophe 7) focuses on the survival of humanity and prepares the ground for the post-diluvian history in the rest of the allegory.

By mentioning the death of the elephants, camels and wild asses (Eth.; in Aram. elephants are the last on the list) in strophe 4D, the narrative anaphorically refers to the same list in 86:4 and 88:2 of the antediluvian story where the author explains the mythic origin

of these animals and their fratricidal war. Yet, the rest of the story, that is, their violence against the cattle, has to be taken into account in order to understand the punishment that befell the descendants of the Watchers. The dependence on the myth of the fallen Watchers is additionally palpable in 89:1a, where one of the white men teaches the white bull the mystery that most probably concerns the announcement of the coming destruction of the earth as well as the way how to escape it (cf. 10:2–3).[16]

Thus, strophe 4 builds an antithesis between the salvation of the oxen that dwell in the ship and the tragic destiny of the perpetrators of violence (oxen, camels, wild asses, elephants, all the animals [Eth.]). It is worthy to note that the death of the camels, wild asses and elephants in the waters of the flood (4D) is not present in *1 En.* 10, where the sons of the Watchers are destined to die in a fratricidal war (10:9, 15). In contradistinction to Gen 6:5, reasons for the destruction of humanity (oxen; 4A) are not expressly stated but must be inferred from 85:4 (Cain-Abel enmity), perhaps from 86:2 (exchange of pastures and calves?), or more appropriately from 86:4 (sexual commingling with the Watchers, birth of elephants, camels and asses; cf. *1 En.* 7:2 (Sync.).

2. Literary Additions in the *Gəʿəz* Version

There are several differences between the fragmentary Aramaic text and the Ethiopic version of the flood account.[17] The latter preserves several additions that result from the expansion of the shorter text in a form close to the one we have now in 4Q206 frags. 8 I and 9. While the Ethiopic manuscript tradition firmly confirms the longer text, the literary structure of the Qumran fragments as well as the length of the lacunae, demonstrate that the

16 Given the reinterpretation of the fall of the Watchers in the *An. Apoc.* account of the primaeval, mythic story of humanity, it is noteworthy that 4Q205 and 4Q206 preserve the fragmentary text of the *Book of the Watchers* (4Q205 1–5; 4Q206 frag. 1–6) as well as that of the *An. Apoc.* (4Q205 frag. 6–8; 4Q206 frag. 7–12). The scribes responsible for the transcription of the Aramaic text saw literary and thematic links between the two parts of today's *1 Enoch*. Since no Qumran fragments of the first visionary dream (*1 En.* 83–84) have been preserved, it is not certain whether the *Book of Dreams* (*1 En.* 83–90) had the same form attested today in ancient Ethiopic.

17 The Aramaic text of the *An. Apoc.* is extant in 4Q204 15 (89:31–37); 4Q205 6 (89:10–15), 7 (89:29–31), 8 (89:43–44); 4Q206 7 I (88:3), 7 II (89:10–15), 8 I (88:3–89:6), 8 II (89:12–15), 9 (89:7–9), 10 (89:15–16), 11 (89:26–29), 12 (89:28–30). For a general overview of text relationship with the classical Ethiopic version, see H. Drawnel, "5.5.2 The *Book of Dreams*: Aramaic," *The Textual History of the Bible*. II. *The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*. 2B. *Baruch/Jeremiah, Daniel (Additions), Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira, Enoch, Esther (Additions), Ezra* (eds. A. Lange – F. Feder – M. Henze) (Leiden: Brill 2019) 349–354; for more detailed discussions, see Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, *passim*. In most cases, there are only minor differences between the Aramaic text and the *Gəʿəz* version, in stark contrast to the flood account discussed in more detail in this section of the article. In some cases, the Aramaic manuscripts containing the *An. Apoc.* overlap with each other, see *ibidem*, 5. The reconstructed text of 4Q205 6 2–3 seems to be shorter in relation to 4Q206 7 II 10–11 (89:11); the same can be said about the lacunae in 4Q205 6 5–6 and 4Q206 8 II 1; cf. *ibidem*, 331–332. These differences, however, established with the help of the reconstruction of the missing text, cannot be considered as witnesses to two recensions of the whole *An. Apoc.* among the Qumran manuscripts, as tentatively proposed by Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 128).

expansions are literary additions inserted into the shorter recension. Their insertion must have taken place in the text of the Aramaic *Vorlage* that underlies the Greek and then the Ethiopic version.[18]

The first six strophes of the flood account in Aramaic have four (strophes 1, 3, 4) or five (strophes 2, 5, 6) clauses each, with the text expanded in Ethiopic, especially in strophes 2–4 (the beginning of the flood and the destruction of the animals). A literary addition containing the transformation of the white bull is also found in the immediately preceding context (89:1a), while the reconstruction of the beginning of strophe 7 (4Q206 9 4c–5; 89:9a) shows a different text, where the information about the same transformation might have been missing. Nothing certain can be said about the date of the creation of the longer form underlying the Ethiopic text; yet, it may be assumed that the scribe responsible for the expanded recension must have been active before the demise of the Qumran community as well as that of the whole nation during the anti-Roman rebellion (66–73 BCE).[19] The notes that follow shortly discuss the additions to the Aramaic text found mostly in the middle or at the end of the sentences.

Additions at the Beginning or within the Sentence

a. I raised my eyes toward heaven, and I saw a high roof with seven torrents **on it; and those torrents**

The first literary addition within the flood narrative modifies the Aramaic text as attested in 4Q206 8 I 16b–17a (89:2; 2A–B). Since the Aramaic text opens up with one verbal clause without any complement (4Q206 8 I 16b; 2A), the redactor of the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic expands the line ("[I was] seeing, and behold") with a more formal opening ("I raised my eyes toward heavens and I saw," 87:2; cf. 86:1, 3) that prepares the introduction of the lofty roof (*nāḥs lə ʿul*), a new cosmographic element in the account supplemented by the addition of a "large enclosure" (*ʿaṣad ʿabiy*) at the end of the verse. The additional information about the roof causes the modification of the Aramaic clause about the seven sluices (4Q206 8 I 16c–17a; 2B) with two syntagms added within the clause: "on it; and those torrents" (*dibēhu wa ʾəlleku ʾasrāb*).

18 The fragmentary papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2069 (85:10–86:2; 87:1–3) and a short extract in the *Codex Vaticanus Gr.* 1809 (89:42–49) demonstrate that the *An. Apoc.* was first translated from Aramaic into Greek and then from Greek into classical Ethiopic. For the text of the papyrus, see J.T. Milik, "Fragments grecs du Livre d'Hénoch (P. Oxy. XVII 2069)," *CdE* 46 (1971) 321–343; Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 32–40, pl. XVIII–XIX; the text of *Codex Vaticanus Gr.* 1809 can be consulted in *ibidem*, 40–46, pl. XX. For a brief study of the relationship between the Greek and Ethiopic versions, see D. Assefa, "5.5.1 The *Book of Dreams*: Greek," *The Textual History of the Bible*. II. *The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*. 2B. *Baruch/Jeremiah, Daniel (Additions), Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira, Enoch, Esther (Additions), Ezra* (eds. A. Lange – F. Feder – M. Henze) (Leiden: Brill 2019) 343–347.

19 The Qumran manuscripts of *1 Enoch* are the only witnesses of the text in Aramaic. Given a redactional work seen both in the Aramaic fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran and in the text underlying versional evidence, both Greek and Ethiopic, the interest in the study and edition of this Jewish apocalyptic tradition might have continued within Judaism well after 70 CE. Considering the lack of Aramaic manuscript evidence dated after the demise of the Qumran community, little can be said about that topic.

The introduction of the "high roof"[20] was probably meant to give architectural support to the Aramaic מרזבין – "spouts, water pipes"[21] that are located on it (89:2; 2A) and "recede" (*sassalu*) from it (89:7; 5B); hence they do not belong to the permanent structure of the "roof." From this perspective, the seven Aramaic "spouts" can hardly correspond to the "windows" or "hatches" (ארבת) in the firmament, through which the rain falls from the sky in the biblical flood account (Gen 7:11; 8:2).[22] It also remains unclear why the spouts are seven[23] and to which extent their number should be interpreted symbolically.

The considerable intervention into the structure of the clause in strophe 2A–B at the very beginning of the flood description is witness to the conscious work of the redactor, who continues his work in strophes 3–4, leaving strophes 5–6 immune to his work. The exception is the note about the high roof (89:7; 5B), an evident synchronism with 89:2, added to the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic (Greek) version. A particular characteristic of the additions is the fourfold use of the verb "to see" (2A; 3C; 4A.D) in the central part of the flood narrative (strophes 2–6). The same verb in the section without any addition (2A.C; 3A; 5A) is also used four times and plays a literary function of structuring the account into smaller units (strophes, division of the strophes). Such a functional use of the verb is not extant in the added section, and its presence there seems to denote the willingness of the redactor to make the additions look rooted in the authority of the main narrator of the whole Apocalypse, namely Enoch (cf. *1 En.* 85:1–2, 3a; 87:3).

b. and darkness and mist

The length of the lacuna in 4Q206 8 I 19a (89:4; 3C) can contain one short sentence; hence it is questionable whether there remains enough space for two additional syntagms "and darkness and mist" (*waṣəlmat wagimē*). The presence of these two nouns in 89:4,

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20 The metaphor may denote the firmament (רקיע; cf. Gen 1:6, 7, 8, etc.), yet the location of the waterspouts on it disturbs the comparison.

21 For the meaning of the Aramaic term, see Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, 148; for its use in JBA, cf. M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, 2, expanded ed. (Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum 3; Ramat Gan – Baltimore, MD: Bar Ilan University Press – John Hopkins University Press 2020) 667a; in Syriac, cf. M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN – Piscataway, NJ: Eisenbrauns – Gorgias Press 2009) 830b. Note that in the 1st millennium CE, the lexeme is found in Eastern Aramaic dialects.

22 For the Hebrew term, see also Mal 3:10; 2 Kgs 7:2, 19; Isa 24:18; cf. Isa 60:8; Eccl 12:3. Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 261) explains the discrepancy between the meaning of the Aramaic term and the Ethiopic *ʾasrāb* "torrents" by the influence of the LXX οἱ καταρράκται that translates the Hebrew ארבת (Gen 7:11; 8:2). The Ethiopic term is in fact found in the Ethiopic version of Gen 7:11 and 8:2.

23 The number seven, being quite popular in Enoch astronomy (4Q208–4Q209; 7 in fraction denominator), appears here together with a cosmic element; cf. also seven mountains (77:4), seven rivers (77:5), seven large islands (77:8). According to *Jub*. 5:24, there are seven flood gates (*manbaḥbāḥta*) of heaven and seven openings of the great deep; see J.C. VanderKam, *Jubilees*. I. *A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees. Chapters 1–21* (ed. S.W. Crawford) (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2018) 293–294. The redactor in the *An. Apoc.* uses a different terminology concerning the water sources above and below, but the seven spouts in the flood context are quite close to the tradition found in *Jubilees*.

which speaks about the waters that already cover the earth, increases the dramatic description of the earth where all life begins to perish (strophe 4). While darkness is interpreted as a mythic phenomenon stemming either from Gen 1:2 (a return to primordial chaos?)[24] or from the Mesopotamian flood account,[25] mist as an associated meteorological phenomenon recalls the *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.* 76:11, North-West gate) and suggests the meteorological provenience of darkness.

The motif of darkness returns in the concluding section of strophe 6, which describes the departure of darkness and the return of light[26] (89:8; 6E.F) at the end of the flood. The lacuna in 4Q206 9 4b–c is large enough to accommodate the two clauses; hence one can cautiously assume that the darkness motif belongs to the shorter recension here. As no text is preserved in the Aramaic fragment, little can be said about the content of the verse in the Qumran recension.

c. And I kept seeing the height of that water, and that water rose up over the enclosure and stood upon **the earth.**

The length of the lacuna in 4Q206 8 I 19a (89:4; 3C) accommodates no more than one short clause, which precludes the reader from accepting the long Ethiopic sentence as making part of the shorter recension of the text. The intrusion here results from the earlier insertion of the "enclosure" (*ʿaṣad*; 2.B.C.; 3.A.) into the structure of the flood narrative. Its purpose is to demonstrate the height *(malʿəlt*) of the rising waters reaching the height (*malʿəlt*) of the enclosure and pouring over it in order to stand on the earth. The last clause attested in Aramaic (4Q206 8 I 19b; 89:4; 3D) reads the pronominal suffix "it" changed by the redactor to "the earth" – a necessary adjustment resulting from the insertion of the two clauses. The standing of the waters upon the earth is the point of arrival in the flow of the narrative up to this point: the culminating moment when the waters cover the whole earth, a necessary precondition for strophe 4. The separation between the dry land and the sea, an element of the creation process in Gen 1:9, ceases to exist.

The waters of the flood not only fill the enclosure in this literary addition but also rise above it, dividing the earth into two parts. The enclosure is the place of death for the animals (all the cattle, 89:5 and 4D), but nothing is said about the regions outside it. The redactor concentrated on the destiny of those found within the enclosure and was manifestly not interested in the fate of the mythic regions without any human population. In the Book of Watchers, the mythical reaches of the earth inaccessible to the mortals are penetrated by Enoch in his travels (chs. 17–19; 21–36).[27]

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24 Cf. A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig: Vogel 1853) 256.

25 Cf. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 263.

26 François Martin (*Le livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien* [Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1906] 205) observes that the return of light in 89:8 ("and it became light") is reminiscent of Gen 1:3.

27 See *1 En.* 19:3: "No one among humans has seen as I saw"; cf. also *1 En.* 34–36, where Enoch travels around the horizon, acquiring arcane knowledge of basic tenets of horizon-based astronomy; H. Drawnel, "Enoch at the Ends of the Earth: Horizon-Based Astronomy and the Stars in 1 Enoch 33–36," *Science in Qumran*

d. all the cattle **of that enclosure assembled until I saw them**

The noun "all" can be considered an explanatory interpolation added under the influence of the following addition to the Aramaic clause in the form found in 4Q206 8 I 19c (89:5; 4A). The information about the ingathering of the cattle of the enclosure before their sinking and perishing hardly corresponds to anything either in Gen 6–8 or in the myth of the fallen Watchers (*1 En*. 6–11).[28] It is also difficult to interpret the coming together of all the bulls (humanity) as an attempt to escape the waters of the flood by climbing together to higher grounds, for the earth is already covered by the waters (89:3b; 3A) that stand upon it (89:4; 3D). The motif of the congregation of all sinful humanity before their death should be read in the context of the final ingathering before the execution of the punishment takes place. This interpretation imposes itself in the context of the whole strophe 4, in which the righteous few are saved in the ship that moves swiftly on the waters of the flood while the rest of humanity and the sons of the Watchers perish.[29]

Instead of the Aramaic טבע "to drown" (4Q206 8 I 19c), the Ethiopic text translates a different verb, "(the cattle) were swallowed" (*yətwaḫḫaṭu,* 89:5; 4A), a metaphor meaning the waters of the flood are engulfing them. The use of the verb in the context of the flood reminds the reader of *1 En.* 86:5, where the bulls begin to swallow (*wəḫṭa*; no direct object)[30] and of 87:1, where the sons of the Watchers swallow (*wəḫṭa*) one another.[31] Thus, the verb in the text translated by the Ethiopic alludes to the prevarication of the sons of the Watchers and to that of human beings. It seems that in the eyes of the redactor responsible for this literary addition, the crime in the last resort falls upon the culprits.

e. from that high roof

The reconstruction of the lacuna in Q206 9 1b (89:7; 5B) suggests that the syntagm already absent in the Aramaic clause in 89:2 (2A) was also missing in the Qumran manuscript. The redactor introduced this new cosmic element only in these two places as material support for the "water channels, spouts" he found in the Aramaic text. This is also his last

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Aramaic Texts (ed. I. Fröhlich) (Ancient Cultures of Sciences and Knowledge; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2022) 143–172.

28 Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 264) suggests that the cattle assembled in order to enter the ark and be saved, just as the sinners attempted to do, according to rabbinic sources. The distance of the gathering in the narrative from the entrance of the white bull into the ship (strophe 1) and the beginning of the flood (strophe 2) precludes one from accepting such an explanation.

29 For the gathering of all the nations in the valley of Josaphat for judgment, see Joel 4:2; Isa 66:18, both of which use the aorist infinitive of *συνάγω* "to gather together." The Ethiopic text in *1 En.* 13:9 renders the Greek perfect passive participle of the same verb with the G passive participle of *gabʾa*, and the Lt (or Glt according to T. Lambdin) form of *gabʾa* is found in addition here: *tagābəʾu*. About the gathering of the nations, see also Zeph 3:8; Isa 43:9; Matt 25:32.

30 The subject of the verb is contested: either the bulls (= stars = Watchers, cf. 86:3) or the sons of the Watchers; since the elephants, camels and asses do not have horns to gore, Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 241) opts for the bulls, although the *Book of Watchers* does not speak about the violence of the Watchers.

31 Cf. *1 En.* 7:5: κατεσθίεν (G^{C-1}), Eth. *yətbāllaʿu*; see also 85:6 where the giants consume (*yəbəllaʿəwwomu*) the cattle, cf. *1 En.* 7:4: κατησθίοσαν (G^{C-1}), Eth. *yəballaʿəwwomu*.

intervention in the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic flood account. The enclosure mentioned in the first part of the flood narrative (2A.D; 3C; 4A) does not appear in the second (strophes 5–6), which again suggests that its introduction served the purpose of having the extermination of the bulls, elephants, camels and asses happen within a well-defined spacial perimeter. The last allusion to it is found in 4D (89:6), where the animals are not able to come out (sc. from the enclosure) and therefore perish.

f. that had become a man

Although the reconstruction of 4Q206 9 4c–5 (7A) is based on the reading of one letter only, it demonstrates a different word order at the beginning of 89:9a. The short clause added in the middle of a sentence may be an addition for the first reference to the white bull becoming man found in 89:1a is not present in Aramaic. Since the first reference to the transformation occurs before the flood, its repetition stresses the identity of the white bull – he enters the ark as a man (an angelic being?) and exits/leaves it as a man.

Additions at the End of a Clause

g. without his trembling. That one was born a bull but became a man

The length of the lacuna in 4Q206 8 I 14a (89:1a) leaves enough space for no more than one short sentence (14 letter spaces) properly filled out by the retranslated clause "and taught it a mystery." The omission of the Ethiopic phrase by the error of homeoteleuton or homeoarcton is implausible. The subject in the circumstantial clause "without his trembling" (*ʾənza ʾiyərəʿʿəd*)[32] most probably denotes the teacher (Sariʾel)[33] of the white bull who does not fear the coming flood, contrast the trembling of the falling Watchers before the coming judgment in *1 En.* 1:5 (G^{C-1}).

The information about the white bull that becomes a man may denote the acquisition of the capacities to build the ship, just as in the case of the lamb (Moses) that becomes a man and builds a house for the Lord of the sheep and makes them stand in that house (4Q204 15 10 [89:36]).[34] Having found a similar context in the flood account (construction of the ark,

32 The reading preferred by Robert Henry Charles (*The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch. Edited from Twenty-Three Mss. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions* [Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series 11; Oxford: Clarendon 1906] 167, n. 22) and Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 161, n. 7); cf. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, 203; Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 364, 368) reads the non-negated clause, "trembling as it was" equally well attested in the manuscripts (ms. *m, t, β*). Hence, he thinks Noah is the subject of the circumstantial clause as the one who trembles because of the theophany or of the slaughter of the giants in 86:6 (*ibidem*, 375). His proposal is not convincing – nowhere else is Noah represented as trembling, and it is easier to accept the same subject in the main sentence in 89:1a ("one of the four") and in the subordinate clause. Additionally, he argues for the longer, Ethiopic text as original on the basis of the combination of "became man" in Ethiopic and "built" in Aramaic (*ibidem*, 368, n. to 89:1b). The mingling of the two independent text witnesses militates against such a solution, and the conclusion is hardly acceptable.

33 Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 172.

34 See Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 257; Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, 203; Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 259, 295–296) objects and notes that since all humans in the *An. Apoc.* represent angels; the

dwelling in it), the redactor added the third motif probably borrowed from 89:36: the transformation of the white bull.[35] The interpretation is strengthened by the verb *ṣaraba* – "to hew" in "he hewed for himself a large vessel" (1A; 89:1b), where the Ethiopic verb denotes the work of a carpenter,[36] differently from the more general "[it ma]de" (4Q206 8 I 14b [89:1b]) in Aramaic.

The information about the bull becoming a man is incompatible with the rest of the allegory in the flood account, where the three sons of Noah function as three bulls until the end of the story (89:9a–b; 7A–B). Moreover, the allegory of the white bull returns unchanged at the end of the account (89:9a.c.; 7A.E), with a qualifying clause (89:9a; 7A) about the white bull becoming a man, an anaphoric reference to the expanded section that introduces the flood account (89:1a).

h. into a certain enclosure ... in that large enclosure ... that enclosure

A short lacuna at the end of 4Q206 8 I 16c–17a (89:2) cannot contain the Ethiopic adverbial expression "into a certain enclosure" (*bȁaḥadu ʿaṣad*) that restricts the flow of the flood waters to an enclosure, an addition repeated with the demonstrative pronoun in 89:3a (*bawəʾətu ʿaṣad ʿabiy*) but absent in 4Q206 8 I 17c. The third case is 89:3b (3A), where the Ethiopic *wəʾətu ʿaṣad* "that enclosure" is as well conspicuously absent at the end of the clause in 4Q206 8 I 18b (3A). In the last two cases, an omission by the error of homeoteleuton or homeoarcton in the Aramaic text is hardly possible.

These additions introduce a new cosmographic element which in 89:5 becomes the place of the ingathering of the cattle and that of its death. The Ethiopic *ʿaṣad* "circumscribed area, enclosure, pen, stall, sheepfold" translates the Aramaic דיר "sheepfold"[37] in 4Q204

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transformation of the white bull into a man symbolizes its elevation to the angelic state. Moses's transformation into a man (89:36) would be based on his privileged contact with God (see Exod 33:11, 18–21; 34:29–35), while the transformation of Noah imitates that of Moses. However, taking the context into account, August Dillmann's interpretation retains its validity – the transformation precedes the building of a physical construction in both cases. The metamorphosis of all the wild animals in the eschatological times into white bulls (90:38) symbolizes the return of humanity to the primordial, Adamic status, without disobedience and violence.

35 Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 259) is convinced that Noah's transformation is secondary, for it is missing in the Aramaic text, while the transformation of Moses is found both in Aramaic and Ethiopic.

36 W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic). Ge'ez-English / English-Ge'ez with an Index of the Semitic Roots* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2006) 563.

37 In the *Apocalypse of Weeks,* a law and an enclosure will be given to the holy ones (*1 En.* 93:6). Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch*, 295) proposes to read the statement in light of 89:2 so that in this case, the term *ʿaṣad* "enclosure" would mean the land of Canaan inherited later by Israel. This is the interpretation preferred by Robert Henry Charles (*The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text* [Oxford: Clarendon 1912] 230, n. to v. 5). On the other hand, considering 89:34, 35, Dillmann proposes to interpret the "enclosure" as the construction of a firm reference point for the community in the Mosaic holy place (tent of meeting). Then he adds that the enclosure may symbolize the hedging in of the life of the Israelites by the Law. The Coptic text of 93:6 published by Sergio Donadoni ("Un frammento della versione copta del «Libro di Enoch»," *AcOr* 25 [1960] 198) reads CKHNH "a tent," a term that for Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 446) denotes the desert tabernacle, in consonance with the sanctuary cited in 93:7, 8; 91:13. Nevertheless, equating the meaning of the Coptic "tent" with that of the Ethiopic "enclosure" in 93:6 (*ibidem*, 446), Nickelsburg's comment does not seem to

15 6 (89:34; l. 8 – omitted in Eth. [89:35]) while in 4Q207 1 3 (86:2) the same Aramaic term is rendered by the synonymous *mə ʿəyām* "stall, pen, sheepfold." If behind the Ethiopic term in the allegory stands the same Aramaic noun, then the transformation of the earthly pen for the sheep into a cosmic entity is perfectly understandable – the redactor circumscribed the bulls and other animals within the framework of their living space which in the flood account encloses the whole habitable earth where humanity exists and can exist. Although in this way, he created a cosmic entity[38] hardly compatible with the flood cosmography both in *1 Enoch* and in Gen 6–8, the metaphor of an earthly sheepfold for the bulls, elephants, camels, asses and animals (4D; 89:6) can easily be decoded, especially when read in light of the later apostasy and punishment of Israel in *1 En.* 89:34–5.[39] The rhetorical function of the enclosure motif within the flood narrative culminates in 4A.D (89:5, 6), which stresses the congregation of all the animals within the enclosure and their death therein. Thus, the focus in the narrative on the contrast between the swift movement of the ship and the death of the animals shifts in the Ethiopic text to the extermination of all the animals, with the ship floating on the waters of the flood moving to the second plan.

i. sank to the earth as well as all the animals. And I could not see them and they were unable to come out, and they perished and sank in the depths.

The Aramaic clause in 4Q206 8 I 21 (89:6; 4D) ends with a *vacat* that marks the end of the paragraph. The strophe depicts the animals already dead and decaying[40] in the waters of the flood, contrasted with the swift movement of the ship on the waters. The redactor changes the Aramaic verb ("they were decaying") with "they sank" (*tasaṭmu*) and adds "to the earth." The next additional syntagm, "all the animals" (*kʷəllomu ʾənsəsā*), supplements

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be precise enough – the Coptic version may have preserved a Greek lesson of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, yet the Ethiopic "enclosure" witnesses to a different underlying Greek term, probably αὐλή "courtyard"; the Ethiopic "enclosure" cannot render the Greek "tent." Hence, the Ethiopic noun is a *lectio difficilior* that, without further qualifications, cannot be taken as a witness to the establishment of the cult under Mt. Sinai. Its application in 93:7 renders the Aramaic דיר "dwelling place, sheepfold" cf. 4Q207 1 3 (86:2); 4Q204 15 6 (89:34), 8 (89:35). In 93:6, the enclosure is a place prepared for all generations, and it does not entail a cultic meaning, differently from the Coptic. Loren T. Stuckenbruck (*1 Enoch 91–108* [CEJL 1; Berlin: De Gruyter 2007] 108) interprets the Coptic "tent" as a reference to the ark of the covenant that in Exod 27:9 is designated as the "enclosure of the tent" (חצר המשכן, LXX αὐλὴν τῆ σκηνῆ). Yet the Coptic CKHNH "tent, tabernacle" cannot mean "ark," just as the biblical text cited by Stuckenbruck can hardly be identified with the ark.

38 The heavenly roof in the Ethiopic additions to the flood account is a separate entity that is not linked with the "enclosure"; hence it is inaccurate to claim with Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 376) that the two depict a cosmic building within which the flood takes place. Neither the Aramaic nor the Ethiopic versions of the flood story in the *An. Apoc.* use such imagery, and in the Ethiopic additions, neither the roof nor the enclosure is part of a building.

39 In *1 En.* 89:34–35 (Exod 32), the blind and straying sheep that want to return to their folds (דיריהון) are slaughtered by the lamb (Moses) and other lambs (Levites) and then, led by the lamb, the straying flock returns to their pens (דיריהון). The text of the *An. Apoc.* presents the fold as a concrete structure that functions as a symbol for the return of Israel to the cultic faith in Yahweh and can hardly be identified with the desert camp of Exod 32:17, 26.

40 See the explanation of the verb in Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 379.

the list of the cattle, elephants, camels and asses. The reader wonders whether the syntagm stresses the death of all humanity within the perimeter of the enclosure that has become a symbol for the *oikoumenē* inhabited by the human beings and the sons of the Watchers, or perhaps the animals are here to be understood literally.[41] The rest of the addition stresses the death of all the animals listed in 4D, with the verbs "to perish" and "to sink" repeated from the preceding context (89:5; 4A.B).

3. The Flood Account within the Literary Structure of the Primeval History

Set between the punishment meted out against the Watchers and their descendants (87:2–89:1a) on the one hand and the birth of the new post-diluvian generations (89:10–12) on the other, the flood narrative concludes the primordial history with a well-defined caesura – human violence as well as that of the angelic origin was brought to an end and a human remnant was saved. The new, post-diluvian allegorical history of humanity begins in 89:10–12 with the birth of the wild animals (descendants of Sem, Ham and Japhet) and that of the white bull (Abraham) and his descendants (Isaac, Jacob and his sons). The literary introduction to the flood narrative is found in 89:1a, which at the same time concludes the preceding section retelling the mission of the four archangels to the earth, found in *1 En.* 10. References to the white bull and his three sons in the last strophe of the flood account (89:9) recall its beginning (89:1b) and mark off the flood account as one literary unit.

The literary transposition of the message directed to Noah (*1 En.* 10:2–3) before the start of the flood narrative in the *An. Apoc.* (89:1a) provides a convenient link with the preceding context on the one hand, and a smooth passage to the new topic, on the other. First of all, the phrase "one of the four (Sariel/Ouriel)" that opens up the line in 89:1a is part of the fixed expression in 88:1,2,[42] 3 describing the actions of the four angels: "one of those four who had come forth" against the first star, offspring of the Watchers and the rest of the stars. Not only stylistically, however, does 89:1a belong to the preceding context, but the rest of the sentence that describes the execution of God's commission to Noah from 10:2–3 is part of the intervention of the three white men (88:1–3) where they act just as

41 The Ethiopic *ʾənsəsā* "animals, beasts" is listed in the classical Ethiopic version of the Genesis creation story, cf. Gen 1:24, 25, 28. In the flood account, it is found in Gen 6:7 ("from man to beast"), 19; 7:2, 2, 8, 14, 23; 8:1, 17, 20. It usually translates the LXX κτῆνος (MT בהמה) "beast" or θηρίον (MT חיה) "wild animal." Here the Ethiopic noun does not denote humanity designated in 4A (89:5) with the term *ʾalhəmt* "cattle" (Aram. תוריא, 4Q206 8 I 19), hence the literal interpretation of *ʾənsəsā* must be assumed. Thus, the syntagm "all the animals" would mean that the redactor supplements the list of all the human beings and the sons of the Watchers with the third group that perishes during the flood, information drawn from the biblical account. Note in this respect the syntagm "the sons of the earth" in *1 En.* 86:6 that breaks the allegory (bulls as human beings).

42 That verse preserves a truncated form of the expression "one of these," with the omission of the numeral and the reference to the angelic coming forth from the heavenly realm.

ordered in chapter 10 of *1 Enoch*.[43] On the other hand, the mystery taught by one of the white men[44] to Noah forms the thematic link with the next sentence in 89:1b where, acting upon the information disclosed by the Angel, the white bull builds for himself a ship and dwells in it together with the other three bulls (Shem, Ham and Japhet).

The mention of the three bulls that enter the ship with Noah (1B; 89:1c) is found only here and at the end of the flood story in 7A–D (89:9a–b). The same can be said about the (white) bull mentioned in the narrative at the beginning (1A [89:1b]) and end (7A [89:9a] and 7E [89:9c]) of the story.[45] The transformation of the white bull into a man (III.6; 89:1a – IV.7A; 89:9a) is a redactional expansion that intends to enhance the role of the white bull on the one hand and to add a new, supporting element in the literary structure on the other.[46]

Thus, the fate of Noah and his three sons dominates the first and last strophe of the narrative, while the central section (strophes 2–6) stresses the destructive action of the waters in the elimination of the doers of violence. The last strophe gives prominence to the sons of Noah, who are mentioned in its four parts (7A–D), so that the departure of the main hero of the flood (7E)[47] is nothing more than a formal mark of his removal from the rest of the narrative.[48]

While the information about the departure of the white bull in the last strophe of the flood account (7E; 89:9c) can be a later addition characteristic of the larger, expanded *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version, the colours ascribed to the three bulls (7B–D; 89:9b) build

43 Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 374) notes that the four archangels from chapter 10 of *1 Enoch* correspond to the four white men in 88:1–89:1; yet he does not draw any conclusion as to the literary character of 89:1a that concludes 88:1–3 on the one hand and introduces the new topic on the other.

44 The Ethiopic text omits "one of" preserved in Aramaic, "one of the [white] oxen" (4Q206 8 I 13).

45 Since there are evident vocabulary contacts between strophes 1 and 7, strophe 7 is the last one in the whole literary structure of the flood narrative. Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 365) links 89:9 (strophe 7) with 89:10, that is, with the following period of human history but, strangely enough, notes vocabulary contacts between 89:9 and 85:3, 8. His opinion concerning the position of 89:9 within the literary structure of the section relies on the interpretation of its content: the coming out of Noah from the ark and the connection of 89:9 with the beginning of humanity (Noah and his sons parallel the first patriarchs) means for him that the verse depicts the beginning of a second creation where Noah and his sons become the patriarchs of that creation (*ibidem*, 376). There is little in the text itself to support his opinion.

46 See section 2, *sub loco*.

47 Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 268) notes that the white bull in that clause may also denote Seth, the son of Noah. Although such an interpretation cannot be excluded, Seth's departure from his father and brothers would derange the development of the story in the next verse, which speaks about the descendants of the three bulls. The use of the two demonstrative pronouns before "bull" in that clause stresses the importance of that animal in the narrative.

48 The text does not clarify whether Noah's departure from his three sons is a metaphor for his death (cf. Gen 9:29 and Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 191, n. to 89:9) or it denotes his abandoning of his sons and a passage to a different place where he continues to live. In the former case, the verb *ḫalafa* ("to depart") should be interpreted in its metaphorical application; on the other hand, the indirect object "from them" rather suggests his separation from his sons, which does not necessarily apply to his death. Milik (*The Books of Enoch*, 33) interprets the clause in light of the Mesopotamian flood accounts where the main hero, Ziusudra or Atraḫasis or Uta-napištim, went to dwell with the gods. Noah's departure, therefore, modelled after the Mesopotamian flood story, would denote his removal to paradise and the gift of eternal life.

a reference to the very beginning of the primordial story, to the first generation of the white bull and the red and black calves (85:3b–4).[49] Thus, the post-diluvian typology harkens back to the primordial situation of the bulls and calves (humanity), marred by persecution and bloodshed. Additionally, the colour distinction concerns the first human generations as well: the Sethites are represented by white cattle, while the Cainites by black cattle (85:5, 8–9), a distinction that implies a positive and negative moral evaluation. Such a correspondence shows the end of antediluvian human history, and at the same time, the colour symbols point to the next phase of human history, where white symbolizes the purity of the Sethite line, red – bloodshed, and black – prevarication and perhaps violence of the wild animals (nations).

Table 2. Bulls and Their Colours in *1 En.* 85:3b and 89:9b

Adam	85:3b And that bull was white . . .	89:9b and one of those three bulls was white, resembling that bull,	Shem
Cain	. . . two calves, and one of them was black	and one of them was red like blood,	Ham (Japhet?)
Abel	and one was red.	and one was black.	Japhet (Ham?)

Assuming the order of the presentation of Noah's sons in the biblical story (Gen 5:32; 6:10; 7:13; 9:18) is the same in the *An. Apoc.*, the white bull symbolizes Shem, the red one – Ham, and the black – Japhet. Yet, the order of the colours on the list is different from that found in 85:3b (see Table 2); hence the identification of Noah's sons might differ: white – Shem; red – Japhet; black – Ham. In the latter case, the association of Ham with black might reflect the episode in Gen 9:22, where the second son of Noah sees the nakedness of his father. Such an interpretation is less plausible, though, for Noah's curse for Ham's deed falls on Canaan (Gen 9:25).[50] Red reminds the reader of the red calf struck and pursued by the black calf over the earth (85:4), and its association with Ham at the end of the flood account is difficult to explain.[51] The syntagm "red like blood"[52] recalls God's talk with Cain

49 Since the last strophe of the story shows several vocabulary contacts with the first.

50 In 4Q252 II 5b–7, the incident with Noah's drunkenness comes immediately after his exit from the ark (II, 2, 4). The author of the Hebrew composition recalls Noah's curse that falls on Canaan (II, 6) and seizes the opportunity to explain that the curse did not fall on the actual culprit: "and he did not curse Ham but his son because God blessed the sons of Noah" (II 6–7). The blessing undoubtedly refers to Gen 9:1, where God blesses Noah and his three sons.

51 Ida Fröhlich ("The Symbolical Language of the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch," *RevQ* 14 [1990] 630) affirms that the red in the *An. Apoc.* has a neutral significance, differently from the white (positive) and black (negative), Lydia Gore-Jones ("Animals, Humans, Angels and God: Animal Symbolism in the Historiography of the 'Animal Apocalypse' of 1 Enoch," *JSP* 24 [2015] 278) links the colour red with bloodshed in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. 2 Kgs 3:22; Isa 63:2) and also adduces the example of Isa 1:18 where the red of Israel's sins is contrasted with the white of snow or wool. Yet she does not advance any convincing explanation of the red colour ascribed to the second bull.

52 Cf. the Hebrew expression אדם כדם "red like blood," in 2 Kgs 3:22 (water).

after the killing of Abel: "The voice of your brother's blood..." (Gen 4:10; cf. Gen 4:11).[53] Hence, one possible interpretation is that the colour red associated with the second bull in *1 En.* 89:9b preannounces the shedding of blood expressed in the rest of the *An. Apoc.* by biting one another (*1 En.* 89:11[54]) or by a military conflict that extends in the *An. Apoc.* until the eschatological period when a sword is given to the sheep (*1 En.* 90:19).

If the biblical order of the sons of Noah is kept, then Japhet is associated with black – a negative association that cannot be explained easily. In the story of Noah's drunkenness, Shem and Japhet play a positive role (Gen 9:23), which is later reflected in his blessing by God (Gen 9:27), according to which he will dwell in the tents of Shem and Canaan (son of Ham) will be his servant. It may be that the association of the black colour with Japhet in 89:9 symbolizes all the nations/wild beasts that fight against Israel in the rest of the *An. Apoc.*, including the Hellenistic military forces in the Ptolemaic (*1 En.* 90:1–5) and Seleucid (*1 En.* 90:6–12) periods and until the final judgment (*1 En.* 90:13–19). The proposal may appear speculative, though, for the births of the wild animals in 89:10 are ascribed to the bulls from the preceding verse without a distinction between white, red and black. Yet, the transformation of the wild beasts and birds of heaven into white cattle in 90:38 lends substantial support to the interpretation.

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53 Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 186, n. to *1 En.* 85:3, notes that red is emblematic of Abel's martyrdom.

54 Cf. 4Q205 6 2–3 (89:11) [למדבר אלן [לאלן["to take on each [other]"; the syntagm that denotes a reciprocal violent reaction is absent in ancient Ethiopic, cf. Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 328, 331. Using synonymous parallelism, the Aramaic redactor adds more information to the preceding clause where the wild animals bite each other (cf. *1 En.* 86:5). The scene reminds the reader of 85:4a–b: "that black bull struck (*gwad'o*) the red one and pursued (*talawo*) it upon (*diba*) the earth (*mədr*)." The second clause causes interpretive problems: after having stricken the red bull, what is the reason for further pursuit of the red on the earth? Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 364) marks the Ethiopic text as corrupt and proposes Abel as the subject of the verb "to pursue," which leads to an unlikely interpretation: after his death, Abel pursues his brother "across the earth like a Greek fury, seeking vengeance" (*ibidem*, 371); cf. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 227. The clause may indirectly interpret Gen 4:8, where the killing of Abel takes place in the field (MT בשדה). The text of the LXX stresses the place of aggression and killing by placing on the mouth of Cain the invitation to go out to the open field: Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον "Let us go out to the field (lit. 'plain')" (LXX; SP, *Pesh.*, Vulg., *Tg.Neof.* and *Tg.Ps.-J.*; absent in MT). Reconstructing the Aramaic substratum of the Ethiopic, one reads: "and (*wa* = ו) he pursued (רדף לה) it upon/on account of (*diba* = על) the land (*mədr* = ארעא)." The Aramaic preposition that semantically corresponds to *diba* may be interpreted as indicating the place where Cain pursues Abel ("upon the land") with evil intent and where the final blow must have been administered (coordinated clause expressing a chronologically later event); eventually, it may adduce the reason for the pursuit (על = because, on account of): the quest for the possession of the land/ground ארעא (cf. Gen 4:2, 10) (coordinated clause adducing reason for the action). In the latter case, the syntagm "on account of the land/ground" denotes the reason both for the striking of the red calf as well as for its pursuit. The clause alludes to an interpretive tradition, some elements of which might have been preserved in later sources. *Exodus Rabbah* 31.17 states that Cain owns grounds, terrains (הקרקעות) while Abel – movable propriety, which leads to a conflict that causes the killing: "When Abel was walking around on the earth (עולם), Cain pursued him (רודפו) and said 'Get off my property' (צא מתוך שלי)"; see A.Y. Kim, "Cain and Abel in the Light of Envy: A Study in the History of Interpretation of Envy in Genesis 4.1–16," *JSP* 12 (2001) 77–78. About Cain's greed, disreputable character, and criminal acquisitions of his property, see Josephus, *Ant.* 1.52–54, 60–61 and J. Byron, "The Way of Cain," J. Byron, *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition. Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the First Sibling Rivalry* (TBN 14; Leiden: Brill 2011) 207–244, at 212–213.

It remains unclear to which extent the three colours at the conclusion of the history of the antediluvian generations preannounce the distinction between the white bull (89:10, 11) that symbolizes Abraham on the one hand and the wild beasts and birds that are not associated with any colour (89:10) on the other.[55] In the development of the story, the white colour characterizes the bull (89:11; Isaac; calf in 4Q206 8 II 12) born of the white bull (Abraham) and a white sheep (89:12; Jacob; ram in 4Q205 6 4). Black is ascribed to the black wild boar, Esau, the son of Isaac (89:12), who does not inherit the father's blessings and is excluded from the chosen lineage. Red does not appear in the rest of the *An. Apoc.*, while white returns at the beginning of the eschatological period with the white men (90:31; cf. 87:3, three archangels), white sheep (90:32; Israel), the white bull (90:37; a new Adam?) and white cattle (90:38; transformed nations).[56]

Conclusion

In the literary structure of the flood account of the *Animal Apocalypse*, both in the Qumran fragments and in *1 Enoch*, the attention is centred on the extermination of humanity and the descendants of the Watchers contrasted by the salvation of the ship and, by extension, of Noah and his three sons (strophe 4, *1 En.* 89:5–6). The literary additions found in the Ethiopic version do not alter the main message of the shorter recension found in the Qumran fragments, but in the first part of the narrative (strophes 2–4, *1 En.* 89:2–6), they develop the cosmography of the universal catastrophe so as to circumscribe the death of the living beings within the bounds of a cosmic structure that in its main elements cannot be drawn from the biblical account and appear to be absent in the extant Qumran fragments as well. Within the literary structure of antediluvian history (*1 En.* 85:3b–89:9), the flood account solves the problem of violence introduced in the world by humanity, fallen Watchers and their descendants. It thus closes the whole literary section, while its last strophe prepares the continuation of human history marred by the violent conflict between the nations and Israel as well as the apostasy of the sheep.

55 *1 En.* 89:10 states that "they (sc. the three bulls) gave birth to the animals, while the white bull (Abraham) is born "among them." Hence the text of the *An. Apoc.* does not explicitly note which of the three bulls fathered which group of the animals and the white bull. This ambiguity is certainly purposive – the author of the *An. Apoc.* did not intend to be more accurate than that. Another factor might be the genealogical provenience of Abraham whose genealogical descent from Shem in Genesis 11 is not explicitly noted.

56 For the discussion of the color symbolism and the eschatological passages in the *An. Apoc.*, see Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 225–226, 380, 383–385.

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THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 419–437

Jan Kochanowski's Psalter – a Source of Polish Poetry and Mirror of the Human Mind

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Abstract: The article deals with Jan Kochanowski's *Psalterz Dawidów* [*David's Psalter*], published in 1579. This paraphrase of the biblical Psalter, intensely lyrical in its spirit, was inspired by George Buchanan's Latin poetic paraphrase of the Psalms, which is strongly Horatianising. Kochanowski's work can be seen as a presentation of humanist piety. That is to say that the borders between secular and sacred spaces, or even between Judeo-Christian and Pagan traditions, may seem blurred. The Psalter is also interconfessional (or "doctrinally neutral") and acts as a universal mirror reflecting the human mind. The author analyses three of Kochanowski's Psalms to demonstrate the intellectual and emotional space of his Psalter and its polyphonic structure: 1 (*Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum*), 19 (*Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei*) and 91 (*Qui habitat in adiutorio Altissimi*), displaying some interplays of ideas and different approaches to paraphrasing applied by the poet.

Keywords: Jan Kochanowski, poetic psalm paraphrase, Polish Renaissance, Bible translation

Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584) was the greatest Polish Renaissance poet, the "founding father" of elegant humanist Polish-language poetry.[1] Some say that "Kochanowski's Psalter did for Polish what Luther's Bible did for German."[2] Even if it is not fully true for the Polish language in general, it is certainly true for Polish poetry. Other poets drew on Kochanowski's Psalms in their own verse, imitating the vocabulary, imagery and form of stanzas.[3] Placed in a new context, these motifs and stylistic forms became poetic commonplaces, structuring not only Polish verse but also the minds of future generations. Deeply embedded

1 Some hints of this view can be found in W. Bruchnalski, "Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584)" [trans. W. Chwalewik], *The Slavonic and East European Review* 9/25 (1930) 56–78. For detailed monography, see J. Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski. Szczyt renesansu w literaturze polskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1980) [in Polish].

2 E.g. N. Davies, *Heart of Europe. A Short History of Poland* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 1984) 259.

3 See D. Welsh, "Kochanowski's 'Songs of the City of God' (1579)," *The Polish Review* 18/3 (1973) 50. The author mentions Sebastian Grabowiecki and some 17th and 18th century poets, but there were undoubtedly more poets imitating the vocabulary of Kochanowski's Psalter as early as in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, e.g. Stanisław Grochowski and Jan Jurkowski, who borrowed whole phrases and recontextualised them, even in their secular poetry, to express their own thoughts.

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in our language, they became, so to speak, "transparent" – in fact, we often do not realise that we are repeating Kochanowski's words.

David's Psalter, Kochanowski's work published in 1579 in Kraków, is undoubtedly a masterpiece. Although written in Polish, it had (along with the poet's other works) a great influence and charm that worked beyond the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,

> within the lands of its neighbours, where there was a linguistic link with the Polish language. This meant the Muscovy of the early tsars, the linguistically very close Czechs, but also the Germans with the Lusatian Slav enclaves in a German sea, the Hungarians and Rumanians, finally even the Balkan Slavs along the Adriatic coast. Influence was especially facile in all of these areas, where there was both a knowledge of the Polish language and variety of cultural links with Poland.[4]

In terms of its structure and composition, Kochanowski's Psalter is very much a child of its era. It mirrors humanist piety. That is to say that the borders between secular and sacred spaces, or even between Judeo-Christian and Pagan traditions, may seem blurred. Some say that Kochanowski "approached his task as a humanist, not a theologian."[5] However, this is true only to a certain extent. Kochanowski, a reader of Erasmus, educated in Kraków and Padua, could not have passed over the concept of *theologia poetica*, often evoked by the humanists (e.g. Coluccio Salutati, Marsilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola) and developed already in early Christian era (Clemens of Alexandria, Lactantius, Hieronymus, Augustine); this approach made it possible to consider King David's sacred odes on equal terms with the greatest achievements of the ancient poets (either the mythical ones, such as Orpheus and Linus, or the historical ones, such as Pindar, Simonides and Horace).[6] This resulted in the "sacralisation" of Pagan poetry, because of the belief that it expresses some deep theological truth, and also in the "paganisation" of some biblical poetic paraphrases, which were modelled on Horatian odes or on Roman elegies, not excluding their mythological imagery. There was no blasphemy in this, *Tonans* being a humanist equivalent of God Almighty, and *Olympus* – of Heaven. Kochanowski avoided too many Pagan ornaments in his vernacular verse, but his Psalter has also a classical garb.

David's Psalter is also the offspring of the author's mind; it reflects not only its author's classical education and humanist culture, but also his *ingenium* and poetical personality.

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4 T. Ulewicz, "The European Significance of Jan Kochanowski: From the Renaissance to the Romantics," T. Ulewicz, *Kochanowski. Świadomość słowiańska. Oddziaływanie europejskie* (trans. T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa) (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum 2006) 207.

5 Welsh, "Kochanowski's 'Songs of the City of God'," 46.

6 A. Kapuścińska, "Ad Fontes Fidei et Litterae: *In Psalmum Quinquagesimum Paraphrasis Stanislai Hosii Carmine Conscripta*," *Pietas Humanistica. Neo-Latin Religious Poetry in Poland in European Context* (ed. P. Urbański) (Frankfurt am Main: Lang 2006) 53. The author reminds it in the context of Stanislaus Hosius' Neo-Latin poetical paraphrase of Psalm 51(50), composed in dactylic hexameters, extended to 409 lines, so rendered by the poet much larger than in the Vulgate version, and including such motifs as Pluto, King Midas, Talthybius, Sirens or Circe. The paraphrase, inspired by Erasmus' commentaries on some Psalms, was written in 1528.

Being, as Janina Abramowska calls him, "a poet of concord,"[7] he also blurred the borders between confessions, making his Psalter "doctrinally neutral"[8] and "a book truly for every day and everybody, regardless of denominational references, serving Catholics, Protestant, and Orthodox alike."[9]

Although, as mentioned, *David's Psalter* was published in 1579, there is no information on how many years Kochanowski spent paraphrasing the Psalms. The poet's letter to Stanisław Fogelweder, dated 6th October 1571, may suggest some contexts in which the work was written. The poet explains nothing concerning his biblical studies, the commentaries he was reading, the editions of Bible he made use of. Instead, Kochanowski communicates to Fogelweder (a trusted royal secretary, very close to the King) that he has been translating the Psalms for some time. He mentions the "old" ones, and the new ones, i.e. those he is composing at the time. His intention is to dedicate a collection of about thirty Psalm-poems to Sigismund August. Certainly, he chose an unfortunate moment (and also an inappropriate patron). Already next year, the king's health got much worse. He "relapsed into despair and insomnia. He locked himself into his favourite Castle at Knyszyn near Białystok, and refused to receive his senators. He died on July 1572, surrounded by a motley company of quacks, astrologers and witches."[10] Kochanowski's Psalter eventually found a new patron in person of Bishop Piotr Myszkowski. His support must have been immense if the poet not only did not give up, but was even able to complete the work in some seven years.

The letter to Fogelweder also sheds some light on Kochanowski's views on the art of translating biblical poetry. As it seems, the addressee had given the poet some guidance and advice on this matter. Kochanowski accepted them, but also created his own principle. He presented himself allegorically, as standing between personified ideas: "on the one hand there is 'divine' necessity *clavos trabales et cuneos manu gestans ahena* – on the other, however, stands *poetica, nescio quid blandum spirans*."[11] That means that he hesitated between Muse and Truth – seeking balance between elegance and accuracy, between poetical ecstasy and close translation. The poet had "to navigate the tradeoffs between the necessity of remaining faithful to holy writ and the creative act of the poet-creator."[12]

Kochanowski was not the first to undertake the creation of a versified Psalter in Polish. His predecessor was Jakub Lubelczyk [Jakub of Lublin], whose Psalm collection,[13] preced-

7 J. Abramowska, "Poeta zgody – Jan Kochanowski," *Pisarze staropolscy. Sylwetki* (ed. S. Grzeszczuk) (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna 1997) II, 71–147.

8 B. Sanders, "Towards a Re-evaluation of the Sources of Jan Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów*. The Role of Jean Calvin's *In Librum Psalmorum Commentarius*," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 35/4 (1999) 436.

9 Ulewicz, "The European Significance of Jan Kochanowski," 207f.

10 N. Davies, *God's Playground. A History of Poland*. I. *The Origins to 1795* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2005) 122.

11 A. Borowski, "General Theory of Translation in Old Polish Literary Culture," *Traduzione e rielaborazione nelle letterature di Polonia, Ucraina e Russia XVI–XVIII secolo* (eds. G. Brogi Bercoff – M. Di Salvo – L. Marinelli) (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso 1999) 30.

12 A. Karpiński, "Renaissance," *Ten Centuries of Polish Literature* (trans. D. Sax) (Warszawa: IBL PAN 2004) 56.

13 I am referring here to the collections containing the entire psalter; it also seems worth noting that from the beginning of the 16th century, single psalms of various authors (with musical notes) appeared in print and were

ing Kochanowski's paraphrase by 21 years, was more confessionalised – intended to be sung at Calvinist services. It was printed in Maciej Wirzbięta's printing office (Kraków) in 1558. The paraphraser's approach, as Janusz Gruchała emphasises, was not philological, because

> the author's primary objective was to produce a psalter for ordinary, uneducated congregations. The preface warns the reader not to expect "some refined verse or subject matter, which the Holy Church does not need, since it expects from us only that we praise our Lord in the simplicity of our hearts."[14]

Since Kochanowski's approach was completely different, he had no sufficient model among the vernacular poets; instead, he read some Latin Psalm-poems. Among them was Eobanus Hessus' *Psalterium Davidis Carmine Redditum* (1537). As we learn from the letter to Fogelweder, Kochanowski criticised Hessus' paraphrases: "Bo to Hessus trzy lata robił, a przedsię źle" ("For Hessus worked on it for three years, but he did it badly"). It is easy to find a verse Psalter which gained his admiration – it was George Buchanan's *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*,[15] the work which, as Roger Green puts it, "more than any" made the author's "reputation as a poet and was one of the greatest gifts to Scottish literary and religious culture."[16] Kochanowski could have already read the first minor collection of Buchanan's 19 Psalms published in 1556 in Henri Estienne's anthology *Davidis psalmi aliquot Latino carmine expressi a quatuor illustribus poetis*,[17] containing also the Psalm-poems by Eobanus Hessus, Jean Salmon Macrin, Marcantonio Flaminio and Rapicius Iovita, beside Buchanan. It is very probable that Kochanowski knew this edition, because his Psalter is polyphonic (a point to which I will return). There is a certain polyphony in the very structure of Buchanan's work, which Kochanowski certainly appreciated. And he also appreciated his incomparable mastery, inventive approach to biblical matter, and elegance of Latin verse. As Philip Ford tells us: "Poetry was central to Buchanan's self-expression. It provided him with a voice, or rather a range of voices, through which he could define his feelings, and give vent to his views of the world."[18] We could repeat (*toute proportion gardée*) the same

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most often included in the earlier Protestant cantionals; see R. Pietkiewicz, "Edycje pojedynczych psalmów i ich zbiorów w renesansowej Rzeczpospolitej," *Patrzmy na Jezusa, który nam w wierze przewodzi. Księga pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Jana Łacha w 85. rocznicę urodzin* (eds. W. Chrostowski – B. Strzałkowska) (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Polskich 2012) 512–513.

14 J. Gruchała, "Introduction (The First Edition and Text)," J. Lubelczyk, *Psałterz i kancjonał z melodiami drukowany w 1558 roku. Polish Psalter and Hymnbook with Melodies, Printed in 1558* (eds. J. Gruchała – P. Poźniak) (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica 2010) 44–45.

15 G. Buchanan, *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica, nunc primum edita* [...] ([Geneva]: Apud Henricum Stephanum et eius fratrem Robertum 1565/1566).

16 R. Green, "The Heavens are Telling: A Psalm-Paraphrase-Poem Analysed", *George Buchanan. Poet and Dramatist* (eds. P. Ford – R.P.H. Green) (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales 2009) 75.

17 H. Estienne, *Davidis psalmi aliquot Latino carmine expressi a quatuor illustribus poetis* ([Parisiis]: Stephanus 1556).

18 P. Ford, "*'Poeta sui saeculi facile princeps':* George Buchanan's Poetic Achievement," *George Buchanan. Poet and Dramatist* (eds. P. Ford – R.P.H. Green) (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales 2009) 15.

words replacing "Buchanan" with "Kochanowski." As Wilhelm Bruchnalski gracefully put it, the Polish poet's work

> captured the element of poetry in the Psalms as it has never been captured by Polish translators before or since. The suggestion of ardent faith and of calm security, based on the trust on divine mercy and power; the language of emotions to which all humans hearts respond; the wonderful majesty of the diction, abounding of splendid similes, metaphors or abstractions; the reach variety of the stanzaic forms employed; the purity of its Polish [...],[19] all these merits of the version make it clear why it appealed at once to the whole nation and has not lost its sway over hearts even in our own day.[20]

The Polish poet expressed great admiration for Buchanan's Psalm paraphrases in his epigram *Ad Buchananum* (*Foricenium* 68):

> Solvisti cura et longo, Buchanane, labore
> Omnes qui vatum nomen habere student,
> Ne incassum certent Solymaei carmina regis
> Aptare ad Latiae fila canora lyrae;
> Nam quicumque opus hoc aggressi aliquando fuerunt,
> Tanto intervallo tu, Bucanane, praeis
> Omnibus, ut veniens aetas quoque non videatur
> Ereptura tuis hoc decus e manibus.[21]
>
> Buchanan, you disembarrassed everyone who aims to be a poet – you saved them from long labour. They may be spared the vain effort of modulating the songs of the King of Jerusalem to the songful Latin lyre – whoever undertook it, you surpass them all so far, Buchanan, that even the future era, it seems, is not able to tear this honour from your hands (trans. E.B.).

For Kochanowski, the Book of Psalms, filled with intimate *dialogues of the soul with God,* was obviously a kind of prayer-book, as it still is today. But it was also a collection of poems which are purely lyrical, expressing the full spectrum of human emotions encoded in the songs of David: from sin and rebellion, through penitence and supplication, to trust and praise of God,[22] from euphoria to faintness, fear, almost desperation.[23] For that reason, the Psalter was so important to John Calvin, who wrote the following in the preface to his Commentary on the Book of Psalms:

> Librum hunc non abs re vocare soleo *ἀνατομην* omnium animae partium, quando nullum in se affectum quisquam reperiet, cuius in hoc speculo non reluceat imago. Immo omnes hic dolores, tristitias, metus,

19 The author mentions also "the freedom from any classical reminiscences," but it is not true.
20 Bruchnalski, "Jan Kochanowski," 69.
21 I. Cochanovius, *Elegiarum libri IV, eiusdem Foricoenia sive Epigrammatum libellus* (Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa 1584) 152–153.
22 Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski*, 407.
23 E. Buszewicz, "Psałterz Dawidów," *Lektury polonistyczne. Jan Kochanowski* (ed. A. Gorzkowski) (Kraków: Universitas 2001) 34.

> dubitationes, spes, curas, anxietates, turbulentos denique motus quibus iactari solent humanae mentes, Spiritus Sanctus ad vivum repraesentavit[24]

> I have been accustomed to call this book, I think not inappropriately, "An Anatomy of all Parts of the Soul"; for there is not an emotion of which any one can be conscious that is not here represented as in a mirror. Or rather, the Holy Spirit has here drawn to life all the griefs, sorrows, fears, doubts, hopes, cares, perplexities, in short: all the distracting emotions with which human minds are wont to be agitated.[25]

Although some suppose that Kochanowski followed Calvin's commentary when translating the Psalms,[26] in my opinion, he rather found a similar approach in Buchanan, whose "David," as reflected in his Psalm paraphrases, was not only a perfect poet, but also an Everyman. This is because Buchanan does not ignore the historical sense, but creates poems "applicable to contemporary Christians, and, indeed, a comfort to himself."[27] In my opinion, Buchanan's paraphrase permitted Kochanowski to consider the Psalm-poems as a universal mirror of the human mind, with a tendency towards high stylistic diction, comparable to Horatian odes, but more religiously oriented. The possibility of expressing so many various "movements of the soul," so many nuances of feelings, seems particularly important to the humanist poet, ascribing great importance to the maxim "Know thyself." The Renaissance poets, while imitating the Psalms, followed David as a wise man who explored the order of the world, and could be represented as a 16th century mature man with a long beard – as he actually is depicted on the frontispiece of the David's Psalter, sitting in his chamber face to face with God and playing the harp.[28] But sometimes the lyrical "I" seems closer to a neo-stoic *homo honestus,* dealing rather with the conflicts between virtues and vices than between good deeds and sins.

This paper will try to demonstrate the intellectual and emotional space of Kochanowski's Psalter and its polyphonic structure through an analysis of three Psalm-poems, namely Psalm 1 (*Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum*), 19 (*Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei*) and 91 (*Qui habitat in adiutorio Altissimi*). Each of them represents a different way of translating. The first owes some solutions to Buchanan, but not many, while the second, on the contrary, is evidently inspired by his work. I am aware that the prose translation does not show Kochanowski's lyrical mastery.[29] Psalm 91, however, thanks to the incomparable

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24 I. Calvinus, *In Librum Psalmorum Commentarius* (Geneva: Estienne 1557) f.2r.

25 J. Calvin, *Writings of Pastoral Piety* (ed., trans. E.A. McKee) (New York – Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press 2001) 56.

26 Sanders, "Towards a Re-evaluation," 436–445.

27 R. Green, "George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases in European Context," *Scotland in Europe* (eds. R.D.S. Jack – T. Hubbard) (Amsterdam: Rodopi 2006) 36.

28 K. Meller, "Wstęp [Introduction]," J. Kochanowski, *Psałterz Dawidów* (Kraków: Universitas 1997) 30.

29 Kochanowski's influence on Polish poetry should also be considered in the context of versification. He made invaluable contributions to the development of regular syllabic verse. As Mieczysław Giergielewicz (*Introduction to Polish Versification* [Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 1970] 21) puts it, "the enriched rhythmic polyphony of syllabic verse required more extensive consideration of all elements concerned and prevented a mechanical repetition of uniform verse patterns.". The richness of versification manifests itself most strongly in the *David's Psalter*. One can see here the influence of Buchanan, whose lyricised (i.e. characterised by strophic variety) psalter was valued by the poet incomparably higher than the monotonous elegiac couplets

translation by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, will (hopefully) be more instructive for non-Polish readers.

Psalm 1, as an introductory one, is the key to the entire Book of Psalms. It presents two ways: of a blessed, righteous man and of a wicked one. Treated as a didactic poem, it contains a parenetic encouragement to be virtuous and wise. This is clearly demonstrated by the allegory of the path. In the Vulgate, it is written:

> Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit; [2] sed in lege Domini voluntas eius, et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte. [3] Et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo: et folium eius non defluet; et omnia quaecumque faciet prosperabuntur. [4] Non sic impii, non sic; sed tamquam pulvis quem proicit ventus a facie terrae. [5] Ideo non resurgent impii in iudicio, neque peccatores in concilio iustorum: [6] quoniam novit Dominus viam iustorum, et iter impiorum peribit.
>
> Happy is the man who has not departed in the counsel of the wicked, has not taken a position in the way of sinners, and has not sat in the pestilence; but his will is in the law of the Lord, and he will mediatate day and night. And he will be like a tree which has been planted near waters, which will give its fruit in season; and its leaves will not fall away; things that it does will be prosperous. Not so, not so are the wicked; but dust which the wind blows from the face of the earth. Therefore the wicked will not rise in the judgement, nor sinners in the council of the just. Because the Lord knows the way of the just; and the way of the wicked will perish.[30]

If compared with some Latin and vernacular paraphrases of the Renaissance, the Vulgate version seems relatively brief. In Buchanan, the rendering of Psalm 1 is majestic, composed in hexameter which (as Green suggests) constitutes a "programmatic" dignified opening, intended to communicate that his Psalter was to contain a variety of metres, including untypical ones.[31] Kochanowski, whose Psalm paraphrases are also composed in various lyrical metres, in a way follows this dignified opening of the whole collection, because he chooses an "epic" 13-syllable verse rhyming aabb, which is however broken into five four-line stanzas. Like Buchanan, Kochanowski begins his poem with an equivalent of *felix* instead of *beatus.* Both poets have in mind an image of a virtuous man guided and mastered by reason. Both expose the sensual imagery of the Psalm. Both underline that a human's ethical decisions depend on discerning possibilities and following certain paths. Kochanowski amplifies the sacred text more harmoniously – almost always one stanza renders one Bible verse, while Buchanan follows the biblical account, but there is no regularity in the length of amplifications. The Psalm starts with a description of *beatus vir* which uses negative expressions. A "man who has not departed in the counsel of the wicked" does not accept (in his mind) any advice of the ungodly, that may make him *abire,* i.e. deviate from the right path.

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of Hessus. However, these matters are difficult to explain to a reader who is not familiar with the Polish language. Thus, when analysing Kochanowski's paraphrases, the article focuses mainly on an interplay of ideas and rhetorical figures.

30 R. Green, "Classical Voices in Buchanan's Hexameter Psalm Paraphrases," *Renaissance Studies* 18/1 [Special Issue: The Renaissance in the Celtic Countries] (2004) 85.

31 Green, "Classical Voices," 87.

This allegory builds a climax: the righteous man does not *swerve* from his path of good and, consequently, does not *stay* on the path of evil, much less does it *sit* there, occupying a place devoted to the impious and sacrilegious.

In Buchanan, the image fills four hexameters:

> Felix ille animi, quem non de tramite recto
> impia sacrilegae flexit contagio turbae;
> non iter erroris tenuit, sessorve cathedrae
> pestiferae facilem dedit irrisoribus aurem.[32]
>
> Happy is he in mind, whom the wicked contagion of the sacrilegious crowd has not turned away from the right path; (who) has not held (to) the path of error, or, a sitter in the pestilent seat, given a ready ear to scoffers.[33]

Kochanowski describes it in four lines as well:

> Szcześliwy, który nie był miedzy złymi w radzie,
> Ani stóp swoich torem grzesznych ludzi kładzie,
> Ani siadł na stolicy, gdzie tacy siadają,
> Co sie z nauki zdrowej radzi naśmiewają[34]
>
> Happy the one, who did not remain in the council among the evil/ nor put his feet in the track of the sinners/ nor sat in the seat, where sit those/ who gladly mock the sane doctrine (trans. E.B.).

Buchanan reflects the climax *deviate – stood – sat* more consequently. In Kochanowski, the allegory of the path seems obliterated at the beginning, but it is made much more concrete in the second line, where the sinners "map out" a track on which the virtuous man should not step. Kochanowski's climax evokes, in fact, the same image: a wicked suggestion, walking on the path of evil and remaining on it. Contrarily, a righteous man does not listen to any wicked advice, and if by chance he has *set his foot* on the path of evil, he no longer walks it, and if he has nevertheless taken a few steps on it, he does not *sit* in this area. Both Buchanan and Kochanowski use the term *seat* of the wicked that can be correlated with the episcopal chair, which is more suggestive in Buchanan, who openly sympathised with the Reformation.[35] In Kochanowski, it is not as evident, because the same word (*stolica*) was used in the Catholic translation known as *Leopolita's Bible* (1561). But in Buchanan it is also the same as in the Vulgate (*cathedra*).

The next Psalm verse describes the righteous man using positive expressions. Buchanan does it briefly in two hexameters:

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32 Green, "Classical Voices," 85.

33 Green, "Classical Voices," 85.

34 J. Kochanowski, *Psałterz Dawidów* (Warszawa: PAX 1985) 3.

35 R. Green, "Poetic Psalm Paraphrases: Two Versions of Psalm 1 Compared," *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Budapestinensis. Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Budapest, 6–12 August 2006* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2010) 226.

sed vitae rimatur iter melioris, et alta
mente dei leges noctesque diesque revolvit.[36]

but he explores the path of the better life, and with profound mind ponders the laws of God day and night.[37]

Kochanowski expands the description into a whole stanza. The last lines of it are devoted to a classical ornament:

Ale to jego umysł, to jego staranie,
Aby na wszytkim pełnił Pańskie przykazanie;
Dzień li po niebie wiedzie, noc li swoje konie,
On ustawicznie w Pańskim rozmyśla zakonie.

But his intention, his sollicitation is/ to fulfill entirely Lord's Commandment./ Either day or night leads its horses in the sky,/ he meditates constantly on the Lord's Law (trans. E.B.).

The Polish poet evokes the chariots of the solar god Apollo or Aurora, representing the dawn (horses of the day), and of Diana, considered as the lunar goddess (horses of the night). He knew the analogical Latin images from some ancient Latin poets, e.g. from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I 748–II 400), where the narrator tells the story of Phaeton who attempted to draw the chariot of his father Sun (Helios), or from Statius' *Thebaid* (II, 129: "lucis equi"); the "horses of the night" are mentioned in Ovid's *Amores* (I 13,40: "lente currite, noctis equi") and *Tristia* (I 3,28: "Lunaque nocturnos alta regebat equos"). Kochanowski himself used similar expressions in his Latin-language poetry, for example in the *Elegies* ("Surgunt occiduo cardine noctis equi," El III 11, 30).[38] The delicately classicised imagery prepares the ground for the next description of the good man, which takes the form of a comparison. The Psalmist compares the righteous person to a tree planted by the water. Buchanan renders the comparison in almost four hexameters:

ille velut riguae quae margine consita ripae est
arbor erit; quam non violento Sirius aestu
exurit, non torret hiems; sed prodiga laeto
proventu beat agricolam;[39]

He will be like a tree which has been planted on the edge of a well-watered bank; which the Dog-star with its violent heat does not parch, which winter does not wither; but prolific with its healthy produce it makes happy the farmer.[40]

36 Green, "Classical Voices," 85f.
37 Green, "Classical Voices," 86.
38 Ioannes Cochanovius, *Elegiarum libri IV*, 85.
39 Green, "Classical Voices," 86.
40 Green, "Classical Voices," 86.

The Scottish humanist transformed the biblical imagery into a classical one. Comparing a man to a tree sounds here much more Horatian. A strong tree, not sensitive to either heat or cold, brings to mind a kind of Stoic *apatheia.* A religious perspective, however, is introduced by the metaphor *Deus Agricola* – God is viewed as a farmer "planting" humans. While the Vulgate version does not mention the owner of the tree, Buchanan seems to emphasise the teleology of human existence. Kochanowski adopts the teleological orientation, but reduces the Stoic metaphor and returns to the Vulgate version:

> Taki podobien będzie drzewu porzecznemu,
> Które przynosi co rok owoc panu swemu,
> Liścia nigdy nie tracąc, choć zła chwila przydzie;
> Temu wszystko, co pocznie, na dobre wynidzie.
>
> This one will be like a riverside tree,/ which bears fruit for the master every year,/ never losing leaves, even if a bad time comes;/ all he undertakes will produce good effects (trans. E.B.).

The Stoic character of the image is inscribed in the metaphor of the wind, understood as passion or an attack of the Fortune. The wind blows, the tree stands straight and its leaves do not fall. When a bad time comes, the righteous man does not lose his hope and is able to persevere under these conditions. Both Buchanan and Kochanowski construct an equivalent antithetic image (concerning the wicked man) in the next sections of their poems. Buchanan at first continues his allegory of the tree, presenting a fruitless one, and then creates an elaborate vision of a hurricane of passions, by which the sinners are swept like dust not only during a storm, but even a light blow:

> [...] nec, flore caduco
> arridens, blanda dominum spe lactat inanem.
> non ita divini gens nescia foederis, exlex,
> contemptrixque poli; subito sed turbine rapti
> pulveris instar erunt, volucri quem concita gyro
> aura levis torquet vacuo ludibria caelo.[41]
>
> nor does it, smiling with (only) flowers that will die, cheat its unsuspecting master with flattering hopes. Not so the race ignorant of the divine covenant, (who are) lawless, despisers of heaven: but they will be like the dust caught in a sudden swirl, which the light breeze raised by a passing eddy whirls about like a plaything, in the empty sky.[42]

Kochanowski concentrates on the abjectness and fruitlessness of the evil men who are not compared to the dust, like in the Vulgate and in Buchanan, but (according to the sense of the Hebrew original) to the chaff that lies on the ground, which is absolutely sterile and, as it weighs little, is easily carried away by the wind.

41 Green, "Classical Voices," 86.
42 Green, "Classical Voices," 86.

Ale źli, którzy Boga i wstydu nie znają,
Tego szczęścia, tej nigdy zapłaty nie mają:
Równi plewom, które się walają przy ziemi,
A wiatry, gdzie jedno chcą, wszędzie władną jemi.

But the evil, who do not know God nor decency/ never have such luck, such reward,/ equal to the chaff scattered on the ground,/ while the winds have power over them, as they please (trans. E.B.).

This stanza may testify that Kochanowski was also an attentive reader of Hessus' paraphrase, albeit he criticised it so eagerly. Hessus renders this verse:

Tam bona non capiet, non impius ista videbit
praemia: non tales talia dona decent,
Sed velut a terra paleae sparguntur inanes,
Quas quocunque volet quaelibet aura rapit[43]

The impious one will not receive these goods, will not see these rewards; such gifts are not suitable for people like them. But they are spread as the sterile chaff, which any light wind sweeps away where it likes. (trans. E.B.).

In this case, Kochanowski takes the whole image from Hessus, adding a new tune to his polyphonic work. It is possible that he also drew inspiration from Hessus in the next stanza where, like the German poet,[44] he abandons the allegory of the path of life (which is not abandoned, on the contrary, by Buchanan):

Dla czego przed sądem być muszą pohańbieni
Ani w liczbie z dobrymi będą policzeni;
Pan bowiem sprawiedliwych na wszelki czas broni,
A przewrotne, złe ludzi cicha pomsta goni.

That is why they should be dishonoured in the judgement/ and should not be counted with the good,/ since the Lord defends the just every time,/ and the perverse, evil people are pursued by a silent vengeance (trans. E.B.).

As we can see, Kochanowski, when creating his vernacular Psalter, was inspired by Buchanan's elegant Latin, but was not slavishly following his solutions. His Psalm-poems contain many voices and express his own individuality. Yet in some Psalms, he is much closer to Buchanan, as evidenced in his Psalm 19. Of course, the poems differ metrically, since Buchanan has chosen the Alcaic stanza which can hardly have an equivalent in Polish.

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43 E. Hessus, *Psalterium Davidis Carmine Redditum* (Leipzig: Steinman 1571) 2.

44 See Hessus, *Psalterium Davidis*, 2: "Ergo salutiferae nec stabit ordine turbae / Cum iusto reprobus nec sociandus erit. Novit enim Dominus iustos et vota piorum, / Quorum avida iustas percipit aure preces./ Sed cadet et poenas dabit impius omnis et horum / Omne quod instituent dissoluetur opus" ["Therefore he will not stay in line with the just people: the wicked one will be not associated with the righteous, because the Lord knows the righteous and the wishes of the pious, whose prayers He catches with eager ear. But every impious man will fall, and every work undertaken by them will fail"] (trans. E.B.).

Kochanowski has used the 11-syllable verse rhyming aabb, divided into 13 four-line stanzas. It begins as follows:

Głupia mądrości, rozumie szalony,
Gdyś na umyśle tak jest zaślepiony,
Że Boga nie znasz, tym cielesnym okiem,
Pojźrzy przynamniej po niebie szerokiem!

Jest kto, krom Boga, o kim byś rozumiał,
Żeby albo mógł, albo więc i umiał
Ten sklep zawiesić nieustanowiony,
Złotymi zewsząd gwiazdami natkniony?[45]

O stupid wisdom, reason crazy!/ If you are so blind in your mind,/ that you do not know God, use your carnal eye/ at least, and look at the wide sky!/ Is there anyone, apart from God, who, according to your understanding,/ could have been able or have known/ to suspend this inconstant firmament/ interweaved everywhere with golden stars? (trans. E.B.).

As is well known, the incipit of this Psalm reads: *Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei.* Many English versions of it begin with "The heavens are telling the glory of God."[46] However, Kochanowski's opening of the same psalm is different and may seem confusing. But Buchanan had provided his Psalm with a similar "preface":

Insanientis gens sapientiae,
addicta mentem erroribus impiis,
tot luce flammarum coruscum
cerne oculis animoque caelum:
hinc disce prudens quam fuit artifex,
qui templa olympi fornice flammeo
suspendit et terrae capacem
et pelagi sinuavit arcum[47]

Look, you race of crazy wisdom, your minds in thrall to unholy error, behold with your eyes and minds the sky that glitters with the light of so many stars; and learn from this how intelligent was the creator who suspended the temples of Olympus in a fiery arch and shaped a circle which could contain the land and sea.[48]

Buchanan's opening oxymoron is taken from Horatian ode (*Carmina* I 34),[49] where the poet describes himself as a person who "used to worship the gods grudgingly and not often, a wanderer expert in crazy wisdom"/ "parcus deorum cultor et infrequens," "insanientis [...] sapientiae consultus."[50] Kochanowski follows Buchanan, but does not walk

45 Kochanowski, *Psałterz Dawidów*, 26.
46 Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 81.
47 Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 76f.
48 Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 78.
49 See detailed discussion in Green, "The Heavens are Telling."
50 Horace, *Odes I. Carpe diem. Text, Translation and Commentary* (ed., trans. D. West) (Oxford: Clarendon 1995) 160f.

in his footsteps and does not emphasise his Horatian allusions. Moreover, he seems to have created his poem as if in dialogue with the Scottish humanist (or even trying to surpass him). For instance, at the very beginning, instead of Buchanan's Horatian oxymoron, he employs two oxymorons combined in a chiastic pattern: "O stupid wisdom, reason crazy!" Sometimes he follows some of Buchanan's sentences and logical constructions, and sometimes he does not. It is particularly visible when we compare Kochanowski's paraphrase of this Psalm to another, written by Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński – here the latter imitates many of Buchanan's constructions, evoking the "race of stupid wisdom," declaring that the world did not come into being by chance,[51] arguing similarly that "not even is a barbarian race that inhabits faraway lands in remote places,"[52] unaware of the constant law ruling the world[53] etc. Kochanowski omits many similar details. Sometimes he abandons Buchanan's way and returns to the Vulgate imagery.[54] However, there are some places in his Psalm-poem where he follows Buchanan step by step, charmed with the extraordinary harmony of his verse. Where Buchanan's paraphrase runs:

> Dies tenebras, et tenebrae diem
> Semper prementes perpetua vice[55]
>
> The day which presses hard on night, and the night which presses hard on day, in an unbroken succession,[56]

Kochanowski composes a less Horatian but equally harmonious and symmetrical expression:

> Dzień ustawicznie nocy naśladując,
> Noc także dniowi wzajem ustępując [...][57]
>
> The day constantly following night,/ The night mutually yielding to day [...] (trans. E.B.).

Continuing the same stanza, Buchanan states that by the vicissitude of night and day, the heavens "teach" us to acknowledge or "admonish" (*monent*) us for acknowledging God's existence,[58] while Kochanowski prefers to say that:

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51 Buchanan: "tells us that the transitory world moves through space with a motion that is not random" (Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 78).

52 Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 78.

53 M. Sęp-Sarzyński, *Rytmy albo Wiersze polskie* (ed. P. Buchwald-Pelcowa) (Warszawa: Czytelnik 1978 [reprinted from 1601 Kraków edition]) A3r.–A4v.

54 See detailed study in J. Ziomek, "Wstęp [Introduction]," J. Kochanowski, *Psałterz Dawidów* (Wrocław: Ossolineum 1960) LIX–LXI.

55 Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 77.

56 Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 78.

57 Kochanowski, *Psałterz Dawidów*, 26.

58 "Non fortuito res caducas/ Ire monent per inane lapsi" (Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 77); see translation above (n. 51).

Opatrzność Pańską jawnie wyznawają,
Toż i porządne nieba powiedają [...][59]

Openly confess the Lord's Providence/ and the orderly heavens tell the same thing. (trans. E.B.).

In this way he evokes the Vulgate formula *caeli enarrant*. He draws on the Vulgate text also in the next stanza, where he focuses, like the Psalmist, on the absence of sound in the heavens' "speech," while Buchanan emphasises that God's voice is more efficient than human communication.[60]

One may notice that Psalm 19 is split into two sections: the first concerns the order and harmony of the world, and the second praises God's Law. Kochanowski's transition from one section to the other is an imitation of Buchanan's solution. While the latter says:

Sed ordo rerum et conspicuus decor
Non sic tuentum lumina detinent,
Divina ut arcanis habenis
Lex animos ad honesta flectit[61]

But the good order and conspicuous beauty of the universe do not engross watching eyes so powerfully as the divine law steers minds with the guidance of its secret reins to what is honourable,[62]

Kochanowski echoes him in a slightly simplified way:

Ale porządek i ozdoba rzeczy
Nie tak za sobą ciągną wzrok człowieczy,
Jako pobożny zakon Pański snadnie
Duszę nawraca i myślami władnie.

But the good order and beauty of the universe/ are not so eye-catching to the human eye/ as the Lord's religious law easily/ converts the soul and rules the mind (trans. E.B.).

It is not difficult to notice a particular richness of this Psalm, which, rendered in verse form, creates some new possibilities of a poetic language that becomes hermeneutic; it helps generations of readers gain a broader and deeper vision of macrocosm and microcosm.

The last Psalm (91) to be examined here is still sung in Polish churches (although with some slight changes). It will be presented here in full, followed by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa's English version. As the translator applies archaisms in her translation of Kochanowski's poetry, the English-speaking readers may have a similar experience to Polish people reading Kochanowski today. It will not, of course, be the same experience. But the translator's

59 Kochanowski, *Psałterz Dawidów*, 26.
60 Cf. Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 85.
61 Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 77.
62 Green, "The Heavens are Telling," 78.

intention is to convey to her recipients "an illusion similar to the one the recipients of original are able to draw in the original language."[63] Kochanowski paraphrases the Psalm as follows:

Kto się w opiekę poda Panu swemu
A całym prawie sercem ufa Jemu,
Śmiele rzec może: „Mam obrońcę Boga,
Nie będzie u mnie straszna żadna trwoga."

Ciebie on z łowczych obierzy wyzuje
I w zaraźliwym powietrzu ratuje;
W cieniu swych skrzydeł zachowa cię wiecznie,
Pod Jego pióry ulężesz biezpiecznie.

Stateczność Jego tarcz i puklerz mocny,
Za którym stojąc na żaden strach nocny,
Na żadną trwogę ani dbaj na strzały,
Którymi sieje przygoda w dzień biały.

Stąd wedla ciebie tysiąc głów polęże,
Stąd drugi tysiąc; ciebie nie dosięże
Miecz nieuchronny, a ty przedsię swymi
Oczyma ujźrzysz pomstę nad grzesznymi.

Iżeś rzekł Panu: „Tyś nadzieja moja",
Iż Bóg nawyższy jest ucieczka twoja –
Nie dostąpi cię żadna zła przygoda
Ani się najdzie w domu twoim szkoda.

Aniołom swoim każe cię pilnować,
Gdziekolwiek stąpisz, którzy cię piastować
Na ręku będą, abyś idąc drogą
Na ostry krzemień nie ugodził nogą.

Będziesz po żmijach bezpiecznie gniewliwych
I po padalcach deptał niecierpliwych;
Na lwa srogiego bez obrazy wsiędziesz
I na ogromnym smoku jeździć będziesz.

Słuchaj, co mówi Pan: „Iż mię miłuje,
A przeciwko mnie szczerze postępuje –
Ja go też także w jego każdą trwogę
Nie zapamiętam i owszem wspomogę.

Głos jego u mnie nie będzie wzgardzony,
Ja z nim w przygodzie; ode mnie obrony
Niech pewien będzie, pewien i zacności,

63 T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, "A Brief Essay on Translation (To Those Who Do Not Believe in the Art of Archaism in Translation)," J. Kochanowski, *Kto mi dał skrzydła. Who Hath Bewinged Me* (trans. T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa) (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum 2000) 109.

I lat szedziwych, i mej życzliwości!"[64]

Whoso to the safety shall of his Lord retire,
And in Him putteth all his trust entire,
Boldly may say, "God be my defender,
"To no great peril shall I my soul surrender."

He shall thee rescue from the hunter's snare
And surely spare thee from the plaguèd air;
In His wings' shadow He shall keep thee ever
Securely nestled in His sacred feathers.

Thy shield be His constance, and thy buckler mighty,
Guarding thee safely 'gainst all terror nightly;
The venomed arrows need thou never fear
Wherewith ill fortune the bland air doth shear.

Thus, when around thee lie thousand heads a-severed
And yet more tumble, then shalt thou never
Fall to the sword which shall justly let thee
Look on the vengeance wreaked upon the guilty.

"The Lord is my hope," hast thou pledged rightly,
Thine only refuge be in God Almighty.
Thus shalt thou live then, safe from misadventure,
Over thy threshold no harm shall ever enter.

He shall send angels wherever thou shalt stray
To watch thee over and guide thee on thy way,
And as thou walkest, in their arms they'll bear thee,
Lest thou perchance on sharp stone tread unwary.

Thou shalt walk safely through the viper's nest
And vicious serpents[65] with thy foot shalt press;
The fierce lion for thy patient steed,
Thy mount the dragon,[66] who thy word shall heed.

List to the Lord: "He who Me loveth,
"And in all things My commandments doeth,
"Him shall I ever, in's most anguished need
"Protect in danger, with assistance speed."

"When he cries out, I shall always hear,
"Be by his side, in danger ever near.
"Him shall I safety and noble name accord,
"To reach old age, in the favour of his Lord.[67]

64 J. Kochanowski, *Kto mi dał skrzydła. Who Hath Bewinged Me* (trans. T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa) (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum 2000) 64–67.

65 Although the Vulgate version has a *basilisk,* in Kochanowski we find the slowworm, which is a kind of lizard that is often mistaken for a venomous snake; the Polish word for it, *padalec,* derived probably from "podlec" (a wicked one).

66 The literal meaning of the Polish text is "a huge dragon."

67 Kochanowski, *Kto mi dał skrzydła. Who Hath Bewinged Me*, 64–67.

Kochanowski does not make this Psalm-poem "Horatian" nor "Buchananian," nor clothed in any classical garb. It is possible to find a few sentences in it which do reflect Buchanan's solutions to some extent. The Scottish poet begins with "Si protegendam praesidio Dei / credas salutem, rem, sobolem, domum/ [...] securus tumultum/ despicias creperi duelli"[68] – "If you entrust your safety, your property, your progeny and your home to God's protection, you may securely contempt any muddle of uncertain war" (trans. E.B.). Kochanowski employs the second-person address later than Buchanan does, and his strategy is more generalising: *whoever* entrusts *himself* to the Lord may be free from *every* fear. Kochanowski's Psalm owes some expressions to Hessus' paraphrase, for instance: "Śmiele rzec może" ["Boldly may say"], "całym prawie sercem ufa Jemu" ["in Him putteth all his trust entire"],[69] while others come directly from the Vulgate: "Ja z nim w przygodzie" ["Be by his side, in danger ever near"]. But the poet, following the sacred text, provides it with a very suggestive rhetorical repertoire. Although all the dangers which may await the Psalmist (e.g. a fowler's snare, pestilence, enemies, vipers, basilisks, lions, dragons) are to be understood allegorically (according to the Hebrew commentators as well as the Church Fathers), Kochanowski materialises them.

A God's man represented in his Psalm-poem seems similar to a fearless and invincible knight-hero of medieval romances (although he became one by taking refuge, as a little bird, under the shadow of the Almighty's wings). This perhaps evoked knightly traditions of the Polish gentry and sounded pleasant to their ears. While the Psalmist says: "You shall tread upon the asp and basilisk, you shall trample underfoot the lion and the dragon,"[70] Kochanowski's hero not only steps on the snakes, but also mounts a *fierce* lion and *huge* dragon. Hyperbolic as it was, the battle image ("when around thee lie thousand heads a-severed/ And yet more tumble") evoked the reality that was familiar to the Polish gentry. The poet intensifies the heroic tone by enriching the poem with many epithets. The vipers are irascible, the slowworms – impatient, the stone – sharp, the air – bright. In this Psalm, it is the only way of subtle "classicisation." As David Welsh points out, Kochanowski used many forms of epithets in his Psalter: he uses a far wider range of them than anywhere else in his poems.[71] He supplies his own epithets, as demonstrated in connection with Psalm 91, and also creates some new forms, especially compound epithets, such as "great-eyed fear" (*strach wielkooki*), "wind-legged horse" (*koń wiatronogi*); he also uses negative epithets, mostly applied to God, who is "infinite," "immeasurable," "unconquered," "immortal," "uncreated" etc.[72] This way of expression enriches knowledge of divine and human things.

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68 G. Buchanan, *Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis Poetica* (Glasgow: Gillies 1790) 155.

69 Cf. Hessus, *Psalterium Davidis*, 253. We find "Śmiele rzec może" ("Boldly may say") also in Jakub Lubelczyk (*Psałterz i kancjonał z melodiami drukowany w 1558 roku. Polish Psalter and Hymnbook with Melodies, Printed in 1558* [eds. J. Gruchała – P. Poźniak] [Kraków: Musica Iagellonica 2010] 246), which may mean that Kochanowski could have known this paraphrase, given that during his studies abroad and sometime after he showed sympathy for the reform, one of his patrons was Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black, a protector of reformed faith.

70 Vulgata: "Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem."

71 Welsh, "Kochanowski's 'Songs of the City of God'," 49.

72 Cf. Welsh, "Kochanowski's 'Songs of the City of God'," 47–48.

Now it seems obvious that "The task of today's historian of literature must above all be to portray the Psalter as a work of huge significance for Polish Renaissance poetry, a pioneering work for the development of Polish lyrical language, a model that shaped Renaissance Classicism. We should accept without question the view that the Psalter is the most outstanding work of Renaissance lyric poetry in the Polish language. No other work can compare with it in terms of its multiplicity of poetic personae, the scale of the emotions and emotional tonalities it expresses."[73] Therefore, it does not seem to be an exaggeration to say that Kochanowski's Psalter is more than a religious and pious work. Not only was it sung in Roman Catholic and Reformed churches, but it also made (in certain sense) Polish poetic language more capable of expressing the most varied and deepest human feelings, and thereby opened the minds of readers to new ways of understanding the world and became a milestone in the history of Polish poetry.

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73 Karpiński, "Renaissance," 57.

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THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 439–461

In-between Calvinism and Islam: Ali Bey's Transcultural Translation of the Bible into Turkish in the Time of Confessionalization

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Abstract: Albertus Bobovius/Ali Ufkî Bey was a typical go-between of his time, a learned translator and convert who benefited from his double religious sensitivity. As a consequence, he was able to create a transcultural translation of the Bible in the 17th century. This paper brings context to these aspects of his life. Ali Ufkî Bey created his works on religion during a time of intensive confessionalization, when Istanbul was a hub for many political interests with various religious and cultural options intersecting in the Ottoman capital. The project of translating the Bible to the national languages of Islam was carried out according to the vision of an alliance between Islam and reformed Christian groups, supporting the thesis of *Calvino-Turkism*, promoted by John Amos Comenius. As oriental scholars were lacking sufficient command of Turkish, they had to commission highly qualified go-betweens. There were two competing plans: Dutch Calvinist and Anglican. Bobovius was a part of the Dutch plan, along with Yahya Bin Ishak, a Jewish dragoman. The strategies of translation chosen by Bobovius were very modern according to the present knowledge of the art of translation, but in his era, there were difficulties in choosing the right language register and the right religious imagery to find proper equivalents. Underestimated by his contemporaries, Bobovius was rehabilitated by today's linguists, and his "Turkish Bible" is still in use today. The text does not contest the religious identity of the author of this translation of the Bible but presents the hybridity of this figure against the background of the wider historical and confessional context of 17th-century Istanbul. It also provides examples of Bobovius's translation choices and an initial interpretation of his methodology of timeless transcultural translation, from the perspective of contemporary translation theories. In the light of contemporary transcultural studies, present-day scholarship may treat Ali Ufkî as a transcultural agent and a gifted go-between.

Keywords: confessionalization, Calvino-Turcism, equivalent, transcultural agent, Turkish Bible

1. The Multiple Identity of Converts

Young Wojciech Bobowski (Albertus Bobovius) captured by Tatars and sold to Turks as a slave, was one of those who, according to Metin Kunt, arrived at the Ottoman imperial Palace at an age when his mother tongue was already firmly a part of his personage, and

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his original name and family background were never forgotten.[1] The typical path for captured slaves was obligatory conversion to Islam. Albertus Bobovius, like other converts, gained a new identity after the process of acculturation, but usually, in fact, this was not a replacement of the old with the new, but a case of the two (or even more) layers of identity overlapping each other. It can be concluded that, until at least the end of the 16th century, the process of conversion did not involve a radical break from the convert's previous religious beliefs or lifestyle due to the syncretism of popular beliefs. For a long time, the act of conversion to Islam involved only the adoption of a Muslim name and headgear.

Nevertheless, the past identities of the new Ottomans were not of much significance to the state. It was the act of conversion that was considered an entry into a new life and a new framework of legal identity. For a *homo ottomanicus*, the acceptance of Ottoman rule was of rather greater importance than the recognition of the superiority of Islam.[2]

The works of Ali Ufkî as a translator of holy texts were created during the period between two employments at the Sultan's court. This is the period after he left the Seraglio having lost his job as a music teacher but before he gained the position of a dragoman. He started translating the first book of the Bible (Isaiah) in February 1662, completed his translations of the Old and New Testaments in October 1664 and of the Deuterocanonical Book – in December 1664.[3]

Bobovius' process of translating Christian texts has several dimensions. The general purpose of his work came from the confessionalization which occurred in this period, which combined the ideology and politics that were involved in this divine project, together with a second dimension, consisting of the translative skills and techniques involved in his work. How did this transcultural task work in 17th-century Istanbul, in the zone of contact between East and West, between Islam and Christianity? In this paper, the author will attempt to show the context of this translation project and present some aspects of a transcultural strategy of the translator. Additionally, a broad reference will be made to the works of other scholars, such as Hannah Neudecker, Noel Malcolm, Bruce Privratsky and Funda Toprak, who studied the history of the project of the Ottoman Turkish Bible and Bobovius' contribution to undertaking this task. However, this text does not contest the religious identity of the author of this translation of the Bible but presents the hybridity of this figure against the background of the wider historical and confessional context of 17th-century Istanbul. It also provides an initial interpretation of the methodology of Bobovsky's timeless transcultural translation, in light of contemporary translation theories.

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1 M. Kunt, "Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace," *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires. A Global Perspective* (eds. J. Duindam – T. Artan – M. Kunt) (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2011) 298, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w8h2rh.18 [access: 4.02.2020].

2 A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans. "Kisve Bahası" Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670–1730* (The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage 30; Leiden: Brill 2004) 105.

3 H. Neudecker, "From Istanbul to London? Albertus Bobovius' Appeal to Isaac Basire," *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (eds. A. Hamilton – M.H. van den Boogert – B. Westerweel) (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2005) 184.

2. Turning Turk

The 17th century was a harsh time of conflict when the slavery business run by the Crimean Tartars was widespread. New supplies of young Christian men and women were brought to the Ottoman Empire from the southern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as *esir* (slaves). One of these captives was Albertus Bobovius, also known by his Ottoman name, Ali Ufkî Bey. According to the current state of research on his origin, it can be assumed that he was probably born around 1610 in Leopolis, modern-day Lviv, in Ukraine. This city was an intellectual centre and a very important commercial hub on Fernand Braudel's "Polish isthmus,"[4] which led from Danzig (Polish: Gdańsk) to the Balkans, or even beyond, to Constantinople. In his homeland, Albertus Bobovius received an excellent education in languages and music and must have been very mature in terms of his professional background when he entered the Enderûn (literally the intimate part of the seraglio) in 1640–1650 as a captive page. He was assigned to the palace music school, the *meşkhāne*, where he was trained in singing and playing *santūr* (dulcimer).[5] His career was very impressive, similar to that of several of the famous Slavic youths brought via the recruiting system called *devşirme*, which was the Ottoman practice of abducting boys and young adults among Ottoman Christian subjects from the Balkans and then converting them to Islam. From among these converts, the most promising candidates were selected for the palace school, and after a period of education, they could become high-ranking Ottomans within the palace household and, later, in imperial administration or the military. However, their talents, skills and resources had partly been acquired prior to conversion to Islam, especially as far as the mastery of Christian-European languages and contacts in Christian Europe were concerned. Adding a long period of education in the Enderûn allowed them to develop widely educated, colourful personalities, useful for the various purposes of both Ottomans and foreigners. For approximately 21 years he was educated at the palace, also acting as a servant. Afterwards, he went to Egypt with a senior Ottoman officer, but while returning to Istanbul he was freed from slavery. Around 1650 he worked in the service of the English ambassadors to Istanbul. Between 1662 and 1664, he worked in the pay of the Dutch Resident in Istanbul, Levinus Warner. There are still some gaps in the information about his employment, but what is known is that in 1669 Bobovius was appointed as an interpreter to the Ottoman chancellery and several years later was even promoted to a high position in the office of the Chief Interpreter of the Sublime Porte, as a second interpreter. These different career paths attest to the variety of his competences as a polymath.

4 F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 1995) I, 195.

5 J.I. Haug, "Surmounting Religious, Musical and Linguistic Frontiers: 'Alī Ufqī's Translation of the Genevan Psalter (c. 1665) as a Transcultural Achievement," *La frontière méditerranéenne du XVe au XVIIe siècle. Échanges, circulations et affrontements* (eds. B. Heyberger – A. Fuess – P. Vendrix) (Turnhout: Brepols 2013) 376.

3. Go-Betweens[6]

The most recent academic approach to the phenomenon of the Ottoman renegades (Nathalie Rothman, Tijana Krstić, Tobias P. Graf[7]) offers a new perspective, according to which these outsiders, converts themselves, thanks to their "mobility," were actually instrumental in the exchange between Europeans and Ottomans. In these circumstances, instead of the category of "renegade," the more accurate term to use would be "trans-imperial subject," a category derived from Nathalie Rothman's expression describing those who: "straddled and brokered — and thus helped to shape the political, religious, and linguistic boundaries between the early modern Ottoman empire and other states ... and, by extension, Christian Europe more generally."[8]

Go-betweens were occupied with special tasks rooted in their hybrid position. They were valuable for Christians newly confronting the Ottoman Islamic culture. The first person they met was usually a convert, an interpreter, to be their guide and "porter at the gates" leading to the East. These converts were "transcultural agents," intermediaries to enable the process of transcultural transfer, as interest in the intensive exchange of knowledge was mutual. They were involved in the scientific, religious and diplomatic translation of European works into Ottoman Turkish. However, this was also the domain of those translators who combined the skills of scholar and interpreter. The famous dragomans, with their scholarly skills, involved in writing texts as Albertus Bobovius was, played a crucial role in introducing Renaissance ideas and Reformation thinking into the Ottoman Empire. This formed the foundation of the later period known as the *Lale Devri* (The Epoch of Tulips, 1718–1730) when the cultural elite of the Empire accepted a pro-European approach.[9]

The valuable expertise of captured Europeans, such as the useful skills of the young expert, Ali Bey, gained them privileged positions. To quote from Pier Mattia Tommasino, Bobovius was a typical *homo ottomanicus* who, coming from Europe with a non-Turkish linguistic and cultural background, was successful in obtaining a prestigious position in the multiethnic and multilingual framework of the Ottoman bureaucracy.[10] His merits followed two main pathways. To the Ottomans, he was a Sunni Muslim or even heterodox, a Sufi from the *halveti* order, Ali Bey or Ali Ufkî, but to Western Europeans, he was

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6 Broad reference is made to this subject of double life and double identity, transculturality and cultural transgression in the present author's book: A.A. Kaim, *Ludzie dwóch kultur. Wybrane przypadki transgresji kulturowej Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim w XVII, XVIII i XIX wieku* [People of Two Cultures – Selected Cases of Cultural Transgression of Poles in the Ottoman Empire (17th–19th c.)] (Warszawa: ISPAN 2020).

7 T.P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades. Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2017).

8 E.N. Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51/4 (2009) 773.

9 C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 1995) 71.

10 P.M., Tommasino, "Travelling East, Writing in Italian Literature of European Travel to the Ottoman Empire Written in Italian (16th and 17th Centuries)," *Philological Encounters* 2 (2015) 15.

Bobovius, the former Christian or "Christian of Allah,"[11] still susceptible to returning to "the right path of faith."[12] Anyway, his first Christian self would mean that, after converting to Islam, he engaged his previous background knowledge and contributed to protestant missionary efforts by translating religious works into Turkish. As a freelancer interpreter working in the Ottoman capital, he could simply have been involved in different projects coordinated by different confessional groups. From the point of view of the Ottoman state, dragomans with their "lid identity"[13] were both "foreign," because they served in foreign embassies or because of their roots of origin, and "local" because of their numerous relationships in the Ottoman capital and provinces.[14] They were not merely interpreters; they played multiple and instrumental roles, not just restricted to their skills in translation, and they also served as advisers on Ottoman law and experts on oriental affairs.[15]

4. Two Protestant Plans for Indoctrination of Confessional Purity

This presence of educated converts – renegades – indicates the extent to which the Ottoman Empire participated in the process of religious polarization, usually considered typical of Christian Europe in this period: in both regions, a specific religious identity came to be associated with political loyalty to one's respective rulers. Bobovius was a typical go-between, and paraphrasing Nathalie Rothman's expression, he regularly mobilized his roots "elsewhere" to gain specific knowledge, privileges, or commitments to further his current interests.[16] These connections of Bobovius lead us to the intellectual circles of the 17th-century Ottoman capital, which maintained contact with Europeans without any involvement of the state.

The numerous acquaintances of Bobovius in Constantinople, apart from Muslims, also included several Roman Catholics, such as Antoine Galland, the Polish counter-reformist

11 "Christians of Allah" – former Christians who converted to Islam but still practicing Christian rituals; term as proposed by Bartolomė and Lucile Bennassar (*Les chrétiens d'Allah. L'histoire extraordinaire des renégats XVIe et XVIIe siècles* [Paris: Perrin 2006; 1 ed. 1989]). More information on crypto-chritianity see M. Reinkowski, "Hidden Believers, Hidden Apostates. the Phenomenon of Crypto-Jews and Crypto-Christians in the Middle East," *Converting Cultures. Religion, Ideology and Transformations of Modernity* (ed. D. Washburn) (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2007) 409–433.

12 Neudecker, "From Istanbul to London?," 175.

13 A description of the "lid model" as a pattern of a complex Ottoman identity has been given by Cemal Kafadar (*Between Two Worlds*). It assumes the more or less sealed cultural identities of the various peoples (Turks, Greeks, Spaniards and Arabs), who came into contact with each other within the framework of a larger, bipolar division of equally sealed civilizational identities (East/West, Muslim/Christian, and so on). However, these identities were fluid in form, often being contradictory and ambiguous.

14 Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans," 781.

15 H. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible. Translation by Yahya Bin Ishak, Also Called Haki [1659]* [Leiden: Oosters Instituut 1994] 376.

16 E.N. Rothman, *Brokering Empire. Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2011) 11–12.

Jesuit, Teofil Rutka, Franciszek Mesgnien-Meniński and Protestants from different countries: Moravian John Amos Comenius, Dutch Leavens Warner, English Isaac Basire, Thomas Smith, Jacob Spon, Paul Rycaut, John Covel, and others.[17] And interestingly, Bobovius' works actually formed a part of some Protestant plans. Thus the power of the Word of God would be exercised on the souls of "the heathens" through the translation of Christian texts. Within the range of activities set up to endear these texts to local Muslims, there were a few projects for preparing an Ottoman Turkish version of the Bible. In the 17th century, it was intensively translated into the vernacular languages of Islam as a consequence of the demand of the Protestant Reformation for translating the Bible into "national" languages.

The initiatives of this campaign in the Ottoman Empire were coordinated from England and Netherlands. First, Bobovius was commissioned by the Anglicans and translated the text of the Anglican Catechism into Turkish in 1653. Proselytizing in the Ottoman lands required a proper collection of instructions for confessional purity and catechism. The same role, as an instrument of confessionalization to maintain the religious boundaries among "true" Muslims and local heretics, was played by the *ilm-i hal,* the Islamic manual of religious instruction. With this aim, Bobovius was engaged by Isaac Basire (1607–1676), chaplain to the English ambassador during the 1650s, who was an enthusiast of spreading the Anglo-Catholic faith throughout the East.

Afterwards, Bobovius became part of a Dutch plan and was recruited by Levinus Warner, a German-born oriental scholar and Dutch resident in Constantinople at the Sublime Porte (1655–1665). Ufkî embarked on the project of translating the Huguenot Psalter (melodies and linguist content) into the "Ottoman Psalter" and the Old and New Testament, as well as the Deuterocanonical Book /Apocrypha, during the period 1662–1664. This was not the first to be translated into the Turkish language, but the first to include these three parts. As far as can be surmised from preserved documents, the first project was inspired, financed and founded in the Netherlands with the participation of leading protestants of that time, such as John Amos Comenius himself (1592–1670). Bobovius already had experience with the works of Comenius, as previously, in 1643, he had translated his *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (The Door of Languages Unlocked). But the founder of this project was Laurens de Geer (1614–1666), the philanthropic son of the merchant industrialist and encyclopaedist, Samuel Hartlib (1600–1662), and also Jacobus Golius (van Gool) (1596–1667), professor of Oriental Languages at the Leiden University.

There was the Anglican "rival" Bible project, which was initiated by the chemist, Robert Boyle (1627–1691) and the diplomat and philosopher, Henry Oldenburg (1618–1677), with corporate and personal support from part of the Levant Company. The international rivalry between the English and the Dutch did not support the completion of these two projects. Oldenburg even tried to combine them but to no avail. Comenius, who believed that the copies could be combined, sent the proposed text to Oldenburg in 1666,

17 J.I. Haug, "Medical Knowledge in 'Alī Ufuḳī's Musical Notebook (Mid-17th Century)," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 6 (2018) 120.

accompanied by a "dedication," addressed to the Sultan, which he hoped would be printed (also in Turkish translation).

For the Anglican version, Robert Boyle commissioned the clergyman William Seaman, author of a Turkish grammar book and dictionary, who had at one point been in Istanbul with the English ambassador, Sir Peter Wyche. In December 1664, his translation (or at least its sample/fragment) arrived in Amsterdam, and Comenius asked Golius for assistance. That English-Turkish [New] Testament, in the opinion of Bobovius and another translator which will be mentioned later, Shahin Kandi, was worthless. As Comenius noted in 1667, "The errors of the translation are apparently rustic and barbarous; not one of the more educated Turks will be able to read it."[18] However, Seaman's translation of the New Testament was published in Oxford in 1666, whilst Bobovius' version had to wait another 150 years.

Nevertheless, one very interesting point is the involvement of a few expert translators in the Dutch project. The project leader, Mr Levinus Warner also recruited his personal "dragoman,"[19] the Sephardic Jew, Yahya bin Ishak, who worked on the project between mid-1658 and late 1661.[20] Bobovius was the second employee, who started his translation of *Kitab-ı Mukaddes* (Holy Book) after he had been released from slavery. These two dragomans worked hard on the holy text, using their best knowledge of the sacred scripts. The translation of Yahya ibn Haki has been kept at Leiden University since the late 17th century. Haki preserved the character of the Hebrew Bible text and translated Hebrew phrases into Turkish phrases.[21] It was probably Ali Bey, his rival translator, who made this comment on the work of Haki: "[He] translated the Holy Scriptures from Hebrew into the Turkish not in a clear and lucid way, but in an obscure and intricate way because he translated word for word and badly at that, without any correct construction, so that you almost think it is a Talmud in Turkish."[22] Nevertheless, Haki could have been presented to Warner by Bobovius, and Ali Bey might have used Haki's translation while working on his own version.[23] There is even an account of the fee paid for the written translation by Haki: "The Old Testament for 500 akces, and the New Testament for 39, 550 akces."[24]

After the rejection of Haki's translation by Bobovius, the latter completed his task within three years. Officially, Warner was mentioned as the translator, but he was the initiator of this project and responsible for its success. He commissioned "mysterious" translators, as

18 N. Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg, and the Translation of the Bible into Turkish," *Church History and Religious Culture* 87/3 (2007) 360.

19 Haki is mentioned in Warner's last will as a beneficiary who received a valuable piece of clothing: "a son drogomant agy [i.e.Haki] une veste drap" (Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible* 367).

20 Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 333.

21 Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 2.

22 According to Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 367; this is an annotation authored by Ufkî, written in Latin on the last page of Haki's translation, found in the manuscripts in Leiden University in the catalogue De Goeje Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Luguno Batavae Vol. V, 98.

23 Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 366; E.N. Rothman, "Dragomans and 'Turkish Literature': The Making of a Field of Inquiry," *Oriente Moderno* 93/2 (2013) 411.

24 H. Neudecker, "A 17th Century Jew Demanding his Due," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26/2 (2002) 157.

he was anxious about his reputation as an expert; he did not want to be judged as incompetent. In those days it was the standard practice for all translations into oriental languages to be signed in the names of the Western translators; the helpers or informants were not mentioned.[25] According to Noel Malcolm, one original (Archetypus) and two spare copies (Ectypus) of Bobovius were sent to Golius in Leiden.[26] After he disapproved the work of Bobovius, which will be referred to later, in 1666, Golius entrusted the correction to his employee, an educated Armenian from Aleppo, Şahin ibn Kandi – Shahin b. Qandi.[27]

5. Religious Polarization and *Calvino-Turcism*

The project of preparing the Turkish version of the Bible in two linked works shows that this language of a non-Christian power had great importance in theological terms, and had theological resonance in that century.[28] The interest of Bohemian, Dutch and English protestants with Turkey was inspired by their vision of Millenarianism. That vision had a cross-cultural character and spread the idea derived from the last book of the New Testament, the Revelation of John, that Christ will establish 1000 years (millennium) of God's Kingdom on earth before the Last Judgement. Before this happens, a few important events should take place, such as the conversion of Muslims and Jews to Christianity. There was also a rivalry between Catholics and Protestants for influence over oriental Christians.

In the 17th century, this idea focused on the Ottoman lands and considered an alliance of Islam and reformed Christian groups, supporting the thesis of *Calvino-Turkism* promoted by John Amos Comenius. This alliance was theologically based on common concepts, such as anti-trinitarianism and a belief in God's oneness, which has its Islamic analogue in the concept of *Tawhid*.[29]

There was also a political aspect to this alliance; it served both sides and had been planned to diminish the power of the Habsburgs and was consequently directed against the Roman Catholics. Not only Christians were engaged in the millennial movement, but it was also widespread in the history of Judaism and climaxed with the career of Shabbetai Tzevi, whose messianic message ignited the interest of Jewish communities in both Muslim and Christian lands. It is worth mentioning that, amid this atmosphere of the accusation of philo-Islamism between Catholics and Protestants, interest in Islamic studies was rapidly growing and took the form of a fascination with its culture and civilization and, as Cardini

25 Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 378.

26 Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 336. "Archetypus meus, cum Aliorum Turcarum duobus Ectypis ad Academiam Lugdunensem in gremium Ex" (*ibidem*).

27 Letter from Jacobus Golius to Laurensa de Geer, April 5, 1666. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 375, n. 28.

28 Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 328.

29 T. Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2011) 118.

states, made an important contribution to the development of oriental studies[30]. Apparently, confessionalization worked for both sides, and in the mid-16th century and later, in the 17th century, the Ottomans were also quite advanced in drawing their boundaries among religious and social groups. It so happens that the period of concern to this work was dominated by a very conservative and orthodox Muslim atmosphere in the sultan's court of the Grand Vizierate of Ahmed Fazıl Köprülü, who had received the education of the ulema. As a result, neo-fundamentalist *salafi* and conservative rhetoric affected not only Christians and Jews but also Sufis, women and other liberal circles of the empire.[31] This triggered the change from a social *milieu* formerly favouring religious syncretism to a more fundamentalist-minded one.

6. The Question of Language

To serve this divine purpose, the details of the Bible translation project were important, such as the question of which variant of language should be used in the translation to address Ottoman subjects most appropriately.

The status of Turkish as the *lingua franca* of the Ottoman Empire is debatable; yet Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and others also spoke Turkish, certain groups among them as their mother tongue.[32] Moreover, these groups used Turkish for writing, even though they used their own alphabets (which seems to have been instigated by adherence to their own religious traditions and facilitated by the lack of a uniform educational system in the empire).[33] Some cases in point might be the existence of "Turco-Christian" literature and

30 F. Cardini, *Europa a islam. Historia nieporozumienia* (trans. B. Bielańska) (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 2006) 170.

31 L. Peirce, "Polyglottism in the Ottoman Empire: A Reconsideration," *Braudel Revisited. The Mediterranean World, 1600–1800* (eds. G. Piterberg – T.F. Ruiz – G. Symcox) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2010) 85.

32 Benjamin Braude ("Introduction," *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Abridged Edition* [ed. B. Braude] [Boulder, CO: Rienner 2014] 40) denies Turkish the status of a *lingua franca*, while Philip Mansel (*Constantinople. City of the World's Desire, 1453–1924* [New York: St Martin's Press 1996] 68), speaking of Constantinople, recognizes that its lingua franca was "a form of pidgin Italian, including French, Greek, Spanish, Arabic and Turkish words." Linguistic Turkification among different non-Turkish groups was uneven, hence the plural (on Greeks and Armenians see: J. Strauss, "Is Karamanli Literature Part of a 'Christian-Turkish [Turco-Christian] Literature'?," *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books. Proceeding of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies* [*Nicosia, 11th – 13th September 2008*] [eds. E. Balta – M. Kappler] [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2010] 159). See a brief general account on the (inter)lingual situation in: Braude, "Introduction," 40–42.

33 A brief bibliography on the cases of Armeno-Turkish and Jewish-Turkish books is given by Evangelia Balta (E. Balta – M. Kappler [eds.], *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books. Proceeding of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies [Nicosia, 11th–13th September 2008]* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2010] 14–15). The volume introduced by Balta is part of a scholarly series on Karamanlis, a Turkish-speaking Orthodox population of 15th c.–1924 in Asia Minor, and its books in Turkish language with Greek characters. Parallel contributions to histories of five such literatures – Syro-Turkish, Cyrillic-Turkish, Hebrew-Turkish, Armeno-Turkish and Karamanlidika – are offered in: *ibidem*.

the translations of the Bible into Turkish executed during the Ottoman period: their typefaces are variously Arabic, Armenian, Bulgarian Cyrillic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin.[34]

The "orientalist" patrons of the project knew all the languages, such as Persian and Arabic, but none of them had been able to provide expertise on the correctness of the Turkish language required of such a translation without the support of a *native speaker*. What Jacob Golius, professor of Turkish at Leiden University, understood too late was that the translation should be into Anatolian Turkish, not the Ottoman language of the elite,[35] and should be more similar to the locally approved Arabic version. Comenius, Golius and Warner may have felt that a Turkish translation of the Bible should include all the books in the Bible of the ancient churches of the Ottoman Empire.[36]

According to specialists in Ottoman Turkish of the 17th century, Ali Bey was faithful to the sentence structures of the Turkish of his time. The literary tradition he represented was based on simple and popular Turkish.

However, Bobovius and Warner planned to go through the entire translation together, using the commentary by Théodore de Bèze who suggested polishing the style.[37]

The underestimation of the quality of translation and the choice of the proper register of language could have resulted, as assumed by Malcolm, from the Protestant belief in the divine power and self-authenticating quality of God's Word.[38] The colloquial Turkish of Istanbul was not smooth enough for the Muslim reader, whilst, at the same time, European scholars were not well versed in Anatolian Turkish. Another aspect of the project was the neglect of the importance of modification, according to the theological interpretation of divine words in the light of commentaries. It was not taken into account during the first stage of the project.

Moreover, the project was interrupted by some sudden deaths. Warner died, poisoned in 1665 in Istanbul. The sponsor – Laurens de Geer died in August of 1666. In September of 1667, Golius died, and his position at the University remained vacant for 40 years. Then, in 1670, Comenius passed away. When the idea of a Turkish Bible came to life again, Ali Ufkî's version as the first four chapters of Genesis was printed in 1739, in Leipzig. Afterwards, in 1819, the British and Foreign Bible Society published the New Testament in Paris with slight corrections. The entire Ottoman-Turkish Bible was printed there in 1827,

34 Or "Turkish-Christian"; a term advocated by Johann Strauss ("Is Karamanli Literature Part," 154–155, 158–159) to cover Greek-Turkish (Karamanli[dika]) and Armeno-Turkish literature(s). B.G. Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations. Annotated Chronology with Historical Notes and Suggestions for Further Research*, author's pre-edition (2014) 3, https://historyofturkishbible.files.wordpress.com/2014/03/turkish-bible-history-version-s-in-preparation.pdf [access: 9.12.2018].

35 Anatolian Turkish – used during the reign of the Seljuks in Anatolia (a 11th–14th century dynasty) developed in the 8th–16th centuries from Sufi terminology and took the Persian vocabulary from theological Arabic. It gained examples of other foreign, Indo-European syntax, not typical for agglutinative languages such as Turkish.

36 Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations*, 20.

37 Neudecker, "From Istanbul to London?," 183.

38 Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 367.

but without the Deuterocanonical Book/Apocrypha. From that time and throughout the 19th century, it was published in fragments or as a whole in different alphabets – Greek, Arabic and Ottoman. In Istanbul, it was printed for the first time in the year 1870. The first Turkish publication in the Latin script was done in 1932. Even in the newest version of the Turkish Bible, from the year 1988, one can read in the introduction that it is a 1941 version based on the translation by Ali Ufkî.[39]

7. The Question of Interpretation

The status of the Holy Word was exceptional; any change of grammar or structure could affect the authenticity of the message, but this changed with the European Reformation. Ali Bey's translation was the reflection of a search for the equivalent of Biblical material in Islamic culture. That is why Şahin ibn Kandi of Aleppo, an Armenian copyist of Oriental manuscripts at Leiden University, was asked for a revision of Ali Bey's translation by Golius and de Geer. Kandi was fluent in Turkish and had a command of Arabic and Persian, and he took Ali Bey's translation as a starting point. He was supposed to work on a new translation that would correspond closely to the Arabic version of the Bible (in use for many centuries), and in that way, make the text more reliable for Levantine readers. Kandi managed to re-copy and correct twelve books and corrected several others.[40]

Did Ali Bey compare his translation with the Arabic version? In fact, Ali Bey himself may not have had the chance to compare his translation with the Arabic text of the Bible, since the first modern (Catholic) version of the translation did not appear in print in Rome until 1671. He was therefore unlikely to have had access to it or to other ancient and medieval Arabic manuscripts copied in Egypt.[41] In Ali Ufkî's edition, the notation of the proper names of characters that do not appear in the Qur'an, such as Petro, Se'mun, Filipo and Pilato, indicates some links with the Christian Catholic tradition and is taken from the Italian version of the holy book.

Ali Bey's translation strategy depended on the target audience, who were Muslims, not Christians. It forced Ali Bey to use simple and colloquial language (Tur. *halk Türkçesi*), and idiomatic style[42] with the awareness of the necessity of using corresponding vocabulary from the Quranic tradition and the terminology of the imagery of Islamic mysticism, Sufism.

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39 Today, there are three versions of the manuscript of the *Kitabı Mukaddes* translated by Bobovius (two of them to be found in the Warner Collection of the University Library at Leiden and one in the Harleian collection of the British Library), and one Biblical apocryphal text in Leiden.

40 Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 338–339.

41 Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 372, n. 49.

42 A.A., Cooper, *The Story of the (Osmanlı) Turkish Version, with a Brief Account of Related Versions* (London: British & Foreign Bible Society 1901) 9, http://www.dlir.org/archive/archive/files/cbcb4c6b3a8301211a475ad-8cefc9028.pdf

According to Bruce G. Privratsky, the source text for Bobovius and Haki was probably the Latin Vulgate. In the translation of the New Testament, Bobovius followed also the Textus Receptus of the 16th and 17th centuries, one of the modern vernacular versions, based on Erasmus's Greek Testament: the Bible Olivétana, with John Calvin's preface and/or the Bible of King James I, that was used by protestant missionaries for translation purposes.[43]

When it comes to examples of later translation of the Bible into Ottoman Turkish and its sources, one can come across some passages in self-narratives on the conversion of Ibrahim Mütefferika[44] in his work *Risale-yi islamiye* (Treatise on Islam), written in 1710. The author also combines both sets of religious sensibilities in this religious-political tract. This approach points again to the vision of a protestant and Muslim union propounded by Calvino-Turkism already mentioned above. The work of Mütefferika is typical for the 18th-century understanding of the art of translation as creative mediation (*telif*) partly involving translation,[45] that contemporary language could be perceived as theological manipulation of the Holy Word in times of intensive confessionalization. In this treatise, the quotations from the Christian Bible and Torah were used with the vision of predicting the coming of the Prophet Muhammad and his religion, which he infused into the text of the Christian Bible.[46] He based his translation on the *Biblia Sacra* written in Latin in 1628 in Amsterdam with the preface of a Calvinist scholar.[47] According to Baki Tezcan's discoveries, Ibrahim referred also to the *Gospel of Barnaba*, the apocryphal text written originally in Italian by a convert to Islam.[48] As Mütefferika's work represents the polemical genre of self-narratives of conversion, in his *Risala* (Treatise), he used fragments of the Bible for the purposes of advancing the Proselyte agenda. And the fact that *Risala* was not translated into European languages can support the idea that Mütefferika was addressing Muslim readers. But his translated quotations supported the main thesis of the treatise and did not serve as a substitute for the Turkish version of the Bible.

Such a purpose was to be served by the project of Ali Bey's New Testament in Turkish, *Kitab ül-ahd el-cedid el-mensub ila Rabbina İsa el-Mesih* (The Book of the New Testament

43 Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations*, 19.

44 Ibrahim Müteferrika (1674–1724) – a Unitarian from the city of Kolozsvar in Transylvania who climbed the Ottoman honorific hierarchy to attain the title of *müteferrika* (member of the learned elite associated with the court). He remains in history as the famous founder of the first Ottoman Arabic script printing press and he gained his fame for printing books in Ottoman conservative society. To produce his works after 1729, Müteferrika had to gain the full permission of the Ottoman court and religious authorities, including fatwas. T. Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2011) 118–120.

45 Paker, S., "Terceme, te'lîf ve özgünlük Meselesi" *Eski Türk edebiyatı çalışmaları IX: metnin hâlleri: Osmanlı'da telif, tercüme ve şerh kitabı içinde* (ed. H. Koncu) (İstanbul: Klasik 2014) 38.

46 B. Tezcan, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiyye," *Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe. İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan* (eds. H. Aynur – B. Aydın – M. Birol Ülker) (İstanbul: Ülke Yayınları 2014) I, 553.

47 *Biblia Sacra sive Testamentum Vetus ab Im. Tremellio et Fr. Iunio ex Hebraeo Latinè redditum et Testamentum Novum à Theod. Beza è graeco in Latinum versum* (Amsterodami: apud Guiljel. Janssonium Caesium 1628).

48 Tezcan, "İbrâhîm Müteferrika ve Risâle-i İslâmiyye," 523.

of Our Lord Jesus Christ), which was edited by Jean Daniel Kieffer and printed at the Imprimérie Royale in Paris in 1819.[49] Kieffer – a member of the Lutheran Church of France and a professor of Turkish at the Collège de France – had his command of Turkish polished for 7 years in Istanbul. According to Malcolm, Kieffer decided to correct the translation of Bobovius by comparing it with Hebrew, Greek and other modern translations. But he made even more extensive corrections in the 1827 edition of the Turkish Bible, especially in the New Testament. The scholar changed the colloquial style of Bobovius, mimicking the Greek and European syntax and mingling it with his choice of vocabulary.[50]

The art of translating is a decision-making process, as the modern scholar Jiří Levý[51] conceptualized it. But Kieffer's correction removed the aspects of language which had been drawn from Alberto Bobovius' intercultural competency and contextualism and polished the religious pluralism of Bobovius' attempts. For instance, in the Gospel of Matthew 22:36: "Master, which is the greatest commandment in the law?,"[52] Ali Bey's translation of the word 'law' was *Tevrat* (Torah): *ey mu'allim Tevratıŋ eŋ büyük emri kangisidir*[53]; in Kieffer's 1827 edition, "Torah" was replaced by "sharia": *ey mu'allim şeri'atıŋ eŋ büyük vasiyeti kangisidir*.[54] Bobovius, who was the first to take this decision, knew perfectly well that the Muslim word "sharia" could not be an equivalent for the word "Torah." Kieffer also corrected the divine names and replaced those used by Bobovius, such as Tanrı Teâlâ, Allah Teâlâ, and Cenâb Bârî, with the simple word "Allah." Ali Bey used the other names carefully, according to his contemporary and existing religious traditions, and in Ali Bey's Bible, St John the Baptist is called by his Arabic name, Yūḥannā al-Maʿmadān.[55] This version of the name was probably taken, as were many other words, such as kifâ' ("rock")[56] from the tradition of the Syrian Orthodox Church, using Aramaic language. The Ottomans were familiar with Syrian Orthodox Christians, who were part of the social milieu of Istanbul.

Bobovius reflected Ottoman reality in his version of the Bible and translated the expression "prayer" as *namaz*, that is, the ritual prayer that a Muslim is obliged to recite five times a day. In Matthew 6:5–6, in the account of Ali Bey, Jesus spoke in Turkish as follows:

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49 J.D. Kieffer (ed.), *Kitab ül-ahd el-atik 134 (The Book of the Old Testament) and Kitab ül-ahd el-cedid el- mensub ila Rabbina İsa el-Mesih 135 (The Book of the New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ)* (trans. Albertus Bobovius or Ali Bey; revised H.F. von Diez – J.D. Kieffer) (Paris: British & Foreign Bible Society, at the Imprimérie Royal 1827) 136. Printed in two volumes, Old Testament 984 pp., New Testament 318 pp. 27 cm. Print run: 5,000 copies (known also as Biblia Turcica).

50 Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 355.

51 J. Levy, "Translation as a Decision Process," *To Honor Roman Jakobson. Essays on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, 11th October 1966* (ed. J. Levy) (Hague: Mouton 1967) II, 1171–1182.

52 KJV, https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Matthew-22–36/ [access: 2.12.2022].

53 Ali Bey 1664, as quoted in: F. Toprak, *XVII. Yüzyıla Ait Bir İncil Tercümesi. İnceleme – Metin – Sözlük* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Matbaası 2006) 166.

54 Kieffer, *Kitab ül-ahd el-atik 134*, 36.

55 Toprak, *XVII. Yüzyıla Ait Bir İncil Tercümesi*, 119, as quoted in: Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations*, 20).

56 Bobovius 1664, Y1:42, as quoted in Toprak, *XVII. Yüzyıla Ait Bir İncil Tercümesi*, 302.

> Namâz kıldığuŋ zamân mürâ'îler gibi olma zîrâ onlar keniselerde ve çarşularda ademlere görünmek içün namâza ikâmet etmegi seyverler — hakê derem size ki artuk cezâsını almışlardur — ammâ sen namâz kıldığuŋ zamân kendü odaŋa gir de kapuŋı kapa ve halvetde olan balata namâz kıl da halvetde gören Allah saŋa âşikâr sevâb bağışlaya.[57]
>
> [When you pray / recite the prayer of namaz, do not be like the hypocrites, for they like to stand out in kenesa and in the squares and pray in order to show themselves to the people. Verily I say unto you, they have already received what they deserve. And thou, when thou wilt perform thy namaz, enter into thy chamber, shut the door, and perform thy prayer to thy Father who is in solitude (halvet). And the father who seeth in his solitude shall render unto thee for thy good deeds (sevap)].[58]

The language, used in the above passage, captures the reality of the Ottoman street. The moment described is when the men close their shops, go to the mosque and, having sat down to await the imam's sermon, stand up to perform the first stage of prayer in an upright position. There was a dispute among Muslims as to whether these pious men were directing the prayer straight to Allah, or rather it is a show meant for human eyes. Ali Bey knew that many in the Muslim community would applaud such words. In this sentence, not only the word *namaz* but also the words *halvet* and *sevap* are derived from the terminology of Islamic mystical movements. Once having decided to use a particular term, the translator consistently selects subsequent phrases. *Halvet* is a Sufi term, a place of seclusion and communion with God alone. And *sevap* means a good deed, a virtue, necessary to obtain God's blessing. Perhaps Protestants would be unhappy with the use of the word *sevap* in connection with Jesus, but after all, it would be difficult for a reader raised in the Islamic tradition to interpret the term any other way.[59]

The use of Muslim terminology as a reference for religious translation is a general characteristic of Bobovius' translating style. In this particular case, the vocabulary of Sufism can be traced, which refers to folk parables, symbolism and rituals. The adherence to Sufi ideas and the activities of the brotherhoods, which fostered the development of Islamic intellectual life and strengthened the faith of the people, was a dominant feature of Ottoman religiosity for centuries. The use of the imagery and symbols of Sufism had great potential to influence potential conversion, and played an important role, for example, as a factor in the Islamisation of the Balkans, which began with Ottoman rule as early as the late 14th century.[60]

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57 Ali Bey 1664, Matta 6:5–6; Toprak, *XVII. Yüzyıla Ait Bir İncil Tercümesi*, 125.

58 KJV, https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Matthew-Chapter-6/ [access: 28.02.2023]. The English version: "Therefore when thou doest *thine* alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly."

59 This example is as quoted in Bruce G. Privratsky's *A History of Turkish Bible Translations* and illuminates the cultural context in which Bobovius' translation was consciously embedded.

60 A.A. Kaim, "Kręte drogi sufich. Turecko-bałkańskie wątki sufickiej koncepcji „drogi" we współczesnej odsłonie (na wybranych przykładach literackich) [The Twisting Paths of the Sufis – The Turkic-Balkan Motifs

The other source of vocabulary was the everyday experience of multicultural coexistence for the population of the Ottoman capital. The word *kenesa,* in Arabic, *kanīsa,* means exactly 'non-Muslim house of prayer' and Bobovius probably chose this word to remind the Muslim reader that Jesus spoke to the Jews. He consciously chose not to write "synagogue," "church" or "chapel." There was a significant Jewish population in Istanbul and they had established their own autonomous communities, including synagogues and kenesas in their own urban districts.

Translation studies also deal with words that are specific only to a particular culture and, through a process of domestication, an unfamiliar term can overcome the cultural barriers of the source text and become intelligible for the target reader: "Gerçi ben sizi tövbeye su ile ta'ammüd iderem ammâ benden soŋra gelen benden akvâdur ki ben anuŋ pâbucını tasımağa lâyık degülüm o size Ruhu'l – Kudus ve âteş ile ta'ammüd idecekdür..."[61] While *pâbuç* is a word coming from Persian, which in Ottoman fashion is used for a sort of shoe where the heel is exposed (an elegant slipper), here it stands for the equivalent of a sandal, used in the ancient Holy Land. The original Greek word was *hypodeo*, which means something bound under the feet. The other term used in this line, "Rūḥ al-Qudus," is an equivalent Quranic term used for the Holy Spirit.

Another group of vocabulary could be called formulaic, fixed phrases. The Quranic language has many expressions of exclamation, blessing or gratitude to God that are compounded with the word 'Allah,' as an apostrophic formula for glorifying or praising God, such as 'Elhamdülillah.' Bobovius used it to express the same feeling in both religions, as in Luke 13:11.

> ve işte orada bir 'avrat' var idi ki on sekiz yıl içinde cinnüŋ hastalıgı çekerdi ve hep bükülmüş idi de hiç toğrulanmadı.. Hazret-i 'İsâ dahi anı görüp yanına çağırdı ve aŋa dedi ki 'ey 'avrat sen hastalığuŋdan kurtulduŋ ve. üzerine ellerini kodı da ol anda toğruldı hem 'Elhamdülillah'dedi.[62]

We can define the domesticating choices of Ali Bey also as a "dynamic equivalent," a term proposed by Eugene Albert Nida (1914–2011), a linguist who was the translation consultant to the American Bible Society. Nida's concept of dynamic equivalence or functional

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in the Sufi 'tariqa' Concept in Selected Examples of Contemporary Literary Works]," *Slavia Meridionalis* 17 (2017) 2–3, https://doi.org/10.11649/sm.1437.

61 Ali Bey 1664, Matta 3:11, as quoted in Toprak, *XVII. Yüzyıla Ait Bir İncil Tercümesi*, 120. The English version "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and *with* fire:" (Matt 3:11 KJV: "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose..." https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Matthew-Chapter-3/#11).

62 Ali Bey 1664, L 13:11, as quoted in Toprak, *XVII. Yüzyıla Ait Bir İncil Tercümesi*, 268. "And, behold, there was a woman which had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself. And when Jesus saw her, he called *her to him*, and said unto her, Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands on her: and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God." (https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Luke-Chapter-13/#11).

equivalence was employed in biblical translation[63] and is very close to the humanistic and pluralistic spirit of Ali Bey's translation. Nida was focused on the target reader's reaction, not on the source, in order to find the closest natural equivalent, and thus to communicate, he attempted to find a natural expression and refer the receiver of the message to behaviours well-known from his own cultural context.[64]

Bobovius' bicultural and bilingual identity was very helpful in fulfilling this task. Bobovius took on the role of interpreter of the text, and to facilitate its comprehension, he adapted the sacred text to the world of the target language.[65] This approach created the illusion of translator's invisibility – quite a modern attitude for the 17th century and originally released in 1995 by Lawrence Venuti: "... Under the regime of fluent translating, the translator works to make his or her work 'invisible', producing the illusory effect of transparency that simultaneously masks its status as an illusion: the translated text seems 'natural', that is, not translated."[66]

While Bobovius was part of a missionary, Calvinist plan, according to this project, quoting Venuti, "both the missionary and the translator must find the dynamic equivalent in the translating language so as to establish the relevance of the Bible in the receiving culture and produce the illusory effect of transparency."[67]

Ishak Haki and Ali Bey were the perfect *ahl al-kitâb* (men of the Book) for this task in the eyes of their commissioner, Mr Warner. Haki was well-versed in the Judaic tradition, Ali Bey, as a former Christian and a convert to Islam, in both these traditions. Was this a coincidence in the time of the Calvino-Turkism movement that targeted Jews and Muslims for conversion?

It seems that the history of these projects shows how, in terms of the prevailing ideology at a particular historical moment, translation may become a cultural and political tool, as Lawrence Venuti notes in his contemporary theory of translation studies.[68]

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63 E. Nida, "Principles of Correspondence," *The Translations Studies Reader* (ed. L. Venuti) (New York: Routledge 2000) 153–167.

64 Nida's ("Principles of Correspondence," 159) definition of translation in the context of Biblical scholarship is as follows: "Translating consists of producing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent to the message of the source language, first in meaning and secondly in style."

65 Transparency is in the service of Christian humanism. "The task of the true translator is one of identification. As a Christian servant he must identify with Christ; as a translator he must identify himself with the Word; as a missionary he must identify himself with the people" (E. Nida, "Principles of Translation as Exemplified by Bible Translating," *On Translation* [ed. R.A. Brower] [New York: Oxford University Press 1966] 117, https://m.tau.ac.il/tarbut/tirgum/nida_tir.htm [access: 4.02.2020]).

66 L. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility. A History of Translation* (London – New York: Routledge 2008) 5.

67 Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 15.

68 Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 15.

8. The Double-Life of the "Renegade"

Ali Ufkî Bey is known as the "Man beyond the Horizon" also from his memoirs, reporting *Serai Enderum,* which is a detailed account of his life in the Ottoman palace, written in Levantine Italian, which for Istanbul was the language of diplomats.[69] Pier Mattia Tomassino describes it as a "spying report (*delazione*) by an European Muslim who was living in Istanbul, written with the intention of returning to Europe one day."[70] This desire is confirmed by information from a letter to Basire, with whom he remained in contact (in the hope of going to England) for the rest of his life. The English king had his own plans connected with Ali Bey. The former had high hopes that "Bobovius will be a good Christian, and with his knowledge of (Eastern) languages and the secrets of the Ottoman Empire, will be an asset to the (English) king."[71]

However, in 1669, soon after his letter to Basire, Bobovius was appointed interpreter to the Ottoman chancellery, and then in 1671, was promoted to the office of Chief Interpreter of the Sublime Porte, ruled by Mehmet IV the Hunter (1642–1693). His official work in the translation bureau of the Topkapı Palace coincided with the Ottoman Campaign against Poland, during which he took part in negotiations that finally came to no avail. This issue deserves in-depth research by an Ottoman historian taking into account Polish and Ukrainian sources.

The biographical story of Bobovius can be patched together from his very detailed but unemotional records of life in the Palace, but his scholarly heritage cannot be overestimated. His translation of the *Kitab-ı Mukaddes* into Ottoman Turkish can be considered as one which, in modern anthropology, is called a translation of cultures, or intercultural interpretation; from a theological viewpoint, it was set up as a kind of "dialogue of religions and cultures." His preoccupation with this field was contributed by several "lids" of his Ottoman identity and also shows that religious conversion for a former Christian was far more complex than just a change of name and a change of hats.

In this particular case of Bible translation, the "target" language was Ottoman Turkish, which was Bobovius' tongue for at least his last twenty years. It is not known how fluent in Turkish Levinius Warner (the Dutch scholar and student of Golius, a contemporary professor of Turkish at Leiden University) was, but as the leader of the project he passed on his duty to professionals. The connection between Bobovius and Warner as employee and employer can be clearly understood from the remark in Latin at the end of the Book of John, as follows:

> By reason of the phrasing and writing skill of Albertus Bobovius Leopolitanus, who hopes for an eternal reward. To the greater honour of the All-bountiful and Omnipotent God and for the edification of his fellow men, by the goodness and favour of God, and also by the care, the expense and the help

69 A. Bobovio, *Saray-ı Enderun Topkapı Sarayında Yaşamı* (trans. T. Noyan) (Ankara: Kitapyayınevi 2013).

70 Tommasino, "Travelling East," 17.

71 As quoted in Neudecker, "From Istanbul to London?," 18.

> of Mr Levinus Warner, the translation of the complete Old and New Testament has been finished in the evening of October 16th (Gregorian calendar) /6th (Julian Calendar). In the year of Human Salvation 1664. It was love, not labour. May the good works not be mingled with incorrect words and may the good gift not be defiled by distorted expressions. Let it be read first, and next, if there should be any errors, they should be well examined. For, nobody is able to judge the translation, if he himself is not a still more learned translator, but if he is not and should he condemn it, not out of discernment, but out of hatred, he appears to condemn things he is ignorant about.[72]

Although his Bible translation was used in Turkey until 2002, his contemporary, Jacob Golius or his Armenian employee, Şahin Qandi, criticized his work:

> Concerning the translation made by Mr. Bobovius [sc. Ali Bey] in Constantinople, I find in it, after scrutinizing it properly, all kinds of great imperfections and deficiencies, not only from the point of view of the elegance of the Turkish language, but also where the translations themselves are concerned.[73]

Also, Comenius, in his letter to Warner (January 4, 1663), referred to the opinions of the oriental scholars and wrote about the character of Ali Bey's translation: "I see that there are some people who would like the translation to be more free, adapted to the spirit of the language."[74]

The appreciation of Ali Bey's efforts as a linguist and transmitter of cultures came from later scholars, such as Barbara Flemming, who wrote: "Ali Bey searches for lofty and learned words to form a Turkish Biblical style, in the spirit of the original."[75] In 1814, Baron von Diez reported Bobovius' version to the Bible Society, and expressed his appreciation of this work:

> If I find, in the progress of the work, Ali Bey's version as correct as hitherto, I do not say too much when I assert that it will rank among the very best versions of the sacred volume; and in many passages even excel them. His style is truly classical. Indeed, should the Turkish language ever be lost, it might be restored from this work in all its copiousness and ease. Having made the Turkish language for thirty years my constant study, and considered it almost a second mother tongue, it is really a treat to me to sit down in order to hear the Word of God speaking to me in this language.[76]

Following the Christian European approach of religious polarization in the 17th century, many scholars have already posed the question as to which faith he was born into and raised. However, the present author would tend, as a professional interpreter herself, to make some simplifications regarding bringing Ali Ufkî Bey within the sector of translation services. Bobovius was a freelancer, who earned money through lucrative assignments that

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72 Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 372.

73 Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 337.

74 Malcolm, "Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg," 334.

75 B. Flemming, "Zwei türkische Bibelhandschriften in Leiden als mittelosmanische Spra-chdenkmäler," *WZKM* 76 (1986) 114 (English trans. Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations*).

76 As quoted in Cooper, *The Story of the (Osmanlı) Turkish Version*, 11.

at the same time were related to his general desire for learning. When it comes to the amount of his income, thanks to the meticulousness of the author, from notes on the cards of his 1665 Persian dictionary,[77] one learns that in 1664 it was 1800–2000 akça per month.[78] During his tenure as a dragoman in the Palace, he was paid a salary of about 315 akça for 2 months, at 5 akça a day, which, according to Cem Behar, provided a satisfying level of life in Pera.[79]

The efforts of Ali Ufkî Bey in works of religious translation have the background of Reformation and Counterreformation processes and also coincided with a difficult period in his homeland of Poland, which served as an example of the conservatism of Christendom, where Muslims were regarded as those who always spilt Christian blood and had an affinity with "evil."[80] In his homeland, after a long period of religious tolerance in the 16th century, when the Calvinists were the third largest confessional group after the Catholics and the Orthodox Christians, the situation changed in the second half of the 17th century. Domestic heretics such as all Protestants and Arians (Polish Brethren) were discriminated against and treated as dangerous individuals, punished with the death penalty since 1668 Apart from that, any previous connection to Islam could have been problematic. A strong accusation came from the Jesuits against the Arians, blaming them for favouring Turkey and thus its desire to conquer Poland, and thus, for political treason.[81] It is worth mentioning that, in the case of Arians, who had been a religious minority in the Polish Commonwealth and whose practices were abolished in Poland in 1658, antitrinitarian arguments and their belief in Jesus not being God's son but only a Prophet made them compatible with the Muslim faith. As a result, a large group of them eventually decided to leave Poland, among other destinations also for the Ottoman Empire, and to accept Islam. What is more, in the second half of the 16th century, one can even distinguish a pro-Muslim orientation within Polish Arianism.[82] Accounts in the Chronicle by the Polish historian Marcin Bielski (1495–1575) from the 16th century (1551), provide information about the status of Arians in the Polish Commonwealth. One passage is about an Arian called Michal Çavuş, sent by the Polish king Stefan Batory in 1583: "This Mustafa was a Christian before, and had a good command of Latin, but by the mistake of Arianism, he turned 'Turk'."[83]

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77 The Persian dictionary in which Bobovius' handwritten annotations were found is available at the BnF in Paris, Oriental Manuscripts Department (ref. Persan 199).

78 C. Behar, *Musıkiden Müziğe. Osmanlı/Türk Müziği: Gelenek ve Modernlik* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2005) 37.

79 Behar, *Musıkiden Müziğe*, 36.

80 T. Hyde (ed.), *Tractatus Alberti Bobobii de Turcarum Liturgia, peregrinatione meccana, circumcisione, aegrotarum visitatione, etc*. (Oxford: Theatrum Sheldonianum 1690) (Albertus Bobovius, "A Treatise Concerning the Turkish Liturgy," *Four Treatises Concerning the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Mahometans* [London: Printed by Darby for Lintott 1712] 105–106); English trans. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 372.

81 J. Tazbir, "Walka z Braćmi Polskimi w dobie kontrreformacji," *ORP* 1 (1956) 183.

82 S. Morawski, *Arjanie polscy* (Lwów: author's edition 1906) 22–23.

83 M. Bielski, *Kronika Marcina Bielskiego* (Sanok: Turowski – Pollak 1856) III, 962, https://www.biblioteka-cyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/36249/edition/41556/content [access: 11.02.2019].

The only facts that are known consist of the information that he became a freeman late in his forties and stayed in the Ottoman Empire until his death. But the blank canvas of this important figure's unknown past can easily be filled with different nationalisms or usurpative narratives of ideologies. It was even attempted in 1690 by English editor, Thomas Hyde, who wrote the following in his introduction to the translation of *De turcorum liturgia, peregrinatione Meccana, de circumcisione, de aegrotorum visitatione* (1658–1661), another Latin work by Albertus Bobovius on Islamic worship and religious customs: "It is highly to be deplored, that he was prematurely snatched away by death before he could return to the Christian faith, which he intended to do wholeheartedly, longing to be able to earn his bread in some honest way in England among Christians and to be removed from the pressure of the infidel."[84]

Albertus Bobovius/Ali Ufkî Bey did not return to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The reasons for this are a point of much speculation. As a matter of fact, a few interpreters of "Polish" origin, specializing in oriental languages, managed to return to their native country and continue their careers with some success. Moreover, they represented religious minorities, like the Calvinist Samuel Otwinowski (1575–1642) who, after 10 years spent in Constantinople, moved back to Poland in 1610 and worked as a translator in the court of commander Stanisław Żółkiewski (1612), and afterwards as a translator for the Polish crown. Religiously, he was connected to the Calvinist congregation in Baranow.[85]

It seems that, for a "man of wide horizons," Ufkî Bey, with his close professional connections to Western protestants, regarded other options perhaps as less attractive. However, Bobovius remained in Constantinople, serving international projects with his wide range of skills and laid the foundations for the development of many different studies, including musicology,[86] translation studies, oriental studies and studies in the history of the Ottoman Empire, to mention but a few. The double identity of Bobovius can also be considered bicultural and bi-musical,[87] not only bilingual, but multilingual and, when it comes to religion, as a hybrid.

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84 Hyde, *Tractatus Alberti Bobobii de Turcarum Liturgia* (Albertus Bobovius, "A Treatise Concerning the Turkish Liturgy," 105–106); English trans. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible*, 372.

85 Z. Abrahamowicz, "Otwinowski Samuel h. Gryf," *PSB* XXIV, 648.

86 Bobovius created the collection of Ottoman musical works; as a composer, a teacher and musician: *Mecmua-i Saz ü Söz*, British Library GB-Lbl (Sloane Collection, Z. 3114) and *Saklı mecmua* (Secret Manuscript, also called the Parisian manuscript, BNF Turc 292). His works in this field are the most important source of knowledge about Turkish classical music in the 16th and 17th centuries (C. Behar, *Saklı Mecmua. Ali Ufkî'nin Bibliothèque Nationale de France'taki [Turc 292] Yazması* [İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2008] 61).

87 Based on Bobovius' musicological and linguistic works, Judith Haug ("Being More than the Sum of One's Parts: Acculturation and Biculturality in the Life and Works of Ali Ufukî," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 33 [2016] 179–190) examines his biculturalism and biculturalism/bi-musicality, and grounds her statement on the theory of biculturalism proposed in Hood Mantle, *The Challenge of Bi-Musicality*, 1960.

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Materials

THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 463–509

A Preliminary Bibliography of Polish Publications Concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls (from 1947 to the Spring of 2022)

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Abstract: This publication presents a preliminary bibliography of material on the Dead Sea Scrolls for the years 1947–2022 (spring), which includes only Polish authors' works which were published. The bibliography has been divided into four parts. The first part gives a list of recent Polish bibliographies, the second one contains monographs and collective works, the third one comprises book chapters and articles appearing in collective works, and the fourth part – papers published in periodicals. The entire work is preceded by a list of abbreviations.

Keywords: Polish bibliography, Qumran, Dead Sea Scrolls, Discoveries in the Judean Desert

A preliminary bibliography of Polish publications concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls is one of the projects of the Center for the Study of Second Temple Judaism, which has recently been established at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. Collecting all Polish publications on the Dead Sea manuscripts is to be, on the one hand, a helpful tool for all those wishing to draw on Polish research on these texts, and on the other hand, it testifies to the contribution of Polish science to Qumranology. Until recently, only fragmentary bibliographies, i.e. ones covering particular periods (see § 1) were available. Now, after almost 75 years of discoveries in the Judean Desert, it is worth combining all the previous bibliographic efforts into one whole.

The main source has been the aforementioned bibliographic lists of works by Polish authors'. They have been completed (and corrected) drawing on on databases compiled by Polish institutions of higher education, including the database of the National Library. While these lists concerned also works by foreign authors' appearing in Polish publications, the preliminary bibliography has included only publications prepared by Polish authors regardless of whether they have been published in Polish or foreign languages, by Polish or international publishing houses or scientific centeres. One may ask whether this type of bibliography should include authors born in Poland but throughout their lives associated with different countries and nationalities (e.g. Shemaryahu Talmon, born in Skierniewice, or Ben Zion Wacholder, born in Ożarów). In any event, their works have not been taken into account in our list. Moreover, unlike the previous Polish bibliographies (see § 1), this

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bibliography comprises works whose primarly focus is on the discoveries in the Judean Desert and not those that mention them only marginally.

This new bibliography is preliminary, assuming that there are still publications that may have been omitted; the bibliography itself may require correction as well. In this context, this bibliography can serve as a kind of appeal to all authors whose works on the Dead Sea manuscript(s) have not been included in it to send their remarks, corrections or comments. We would be grateful for all of them as this would help us improve our bibliography and complete it with further references.

At this stage of developing our bibliography, taking into account the difficulty of collecting all publications, it has been decided not to distinguish between scientific and popular publications in it. Undoubtedly, it would be of value to create a factual bibliography with attached abstracts and DOI identifiers (where possible), which would allow the reader to quickly and properly select publications for their needs. The first step, however, should be collecting all publications on the Dead Sea Scrolls written by Polish authors.

The preliminary bibliography has been divided into four parts. The first part gives a list of all the recent Polish bibliographies concerning the Dead Sea discoveries (their revision led to some corrections or supplements). The second part contains monographs and collective works, including special editions of periodicals dedicated to the discoveries. The third part comprises book chapters and articles appearing in collective works, while the fourth part – papers published in periodicals. The entire work is preceded by a list of abbreviations.

List of Abbreviations

AAP	Acta Archaeologica Pultuskiensia
AB	Analecta Biblica
ABL	Analecta Biblica Lublinensia
Acad	*Academia. Nanzan University*
ACB	Archeolog Czyta Biblię
ACr	*Analecta Cracoviensia*
ADAJ	*Annual of the Departament of Antiquities of Jordan*
AK	Ateneum Kapłańskie
AMA	Ad Multos Annos
AnnalesP	*Roczniki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Paryżu*
ANYAS	Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences
Ar	*Archeologia*
ArB	Archaeology and Bible
Arg	*Argumenty*
ArsR	Ars Regia
ArŻ	*Archeologia Żywa*
ASOR	*American Society of Overseas Research*
AST	Apokryfy Starego Testamentu

AT	*Ateistična Tribuna*
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBib	*Bliżej Biblii*
BEK	*Bulletin d'études karaïtes*
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BIA	*Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*
BIATK	*Biuletyn Informacyjny ATK* (Warszawa)
Bib	*Biblica*
BibAn	*The Biblical Annals*
BibliaK	*Biblia Krok po Kroku*
BJ	Biblica et Judaica
BMB	*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*
BP	*Biblos-Press*
BPT	*Baptystyczny Przegląd Teologiczny*
BPTh	*Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia*
BTS	*Bible et Terre Sainte*
BZ.TNT	Biblioteka Zwojów. Tło Nowego Testamentu
BŻStT	*Bielsko-Żywieckie Studia Teologiczne*
Car	*Caritas*
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*
ChrSon	*Der christliche Sonntag*
CP	*Collegium Polonorum*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CT	*Collectanea Theologica*
CTO	*Colloquia Theologica Ottoniana*
CzST	*Częstochowskie Studia Teologiczne*
DialHum	*Dialectics and Humanism*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DPZG	*Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*
DŚ	*Dookoła Świata*
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DUV	Dissertationes Universitatis Varsoviensis
DzP	*Dziennik Polski*
EDA	Etudes et documents d'archéologie
Euh	*Euhemer*
Fant	*Fantastyka*
Fil	*Filomata*
FiM	*Fakty i Myśli*
FOr	*Folia Orientalia*
GazPol	*Gazeta Polska*
GKatP	*Głos Katolicki*
GośćN	*Gość Niedzielny*

HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HD	*Homo Dei*
Hen	*Henoch*
HJ	Hermeneutica et Judaica
HTR	*The Harvald Theological Review*
IOD	Ieri Oggi Domani
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JBL	*The Journal of Biblical Literature*
JiH	Judaica i Hebraica
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JOSz	*Języki Obce w Szkole*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplements
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudoepigrapha Supplement Series
Kat	*Katecheta*
KEw	*Kalendarz Ewangelicki*
Kier	*Kierunki*
KKat	*Kalendarz Katolicki Społecznego Towarzystwa Polskich Katolików*
KrągB	*Krąg Biblijny*
KulturaP	*Kultura. Szkice, Opowiadania, Sprawozdania*
ŁadB	*Ład Boży*
LASBF	*Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani*
LG	*Linea Gotica*
ŁStT	*Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne*
MdB	*Le Monde de la Bible*
MDG	*Miesięcznik Diecezjalny Gdański*
MP	*Magazyn Polski*
MŚ	*Miejsca Święte*
MThZ	*Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université de Saint Joseph de Beyrouth*
MW	*Mówią Wieki*
MyślW	*Myśl Wolna*
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NFil	*Nowy Filomata*
NJTS	*Naznan Journal of Theological Studies*
NKult	*Nowa Kultura*
NMES	Near and Middle East Series
NŻ	*Nowe Życie*
ÖBS	Österreichische Biblische Studien
OBT	Opolska Biblioteka Teologiczna
ÖKB	Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk
OL	*L'Orient Littéraire*
PCSR	Philosophy and Cultural Studies Revisited
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PFr	*Plaisir de France*

PielP	*Pielgrzym Polski*
PJBR	*The Polish Journal of Biblical Research*
PKat	*Przegląd Katolicki*
PKO.PANKr	Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej. Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie
PKTIBWTPATKr	Prace Katedry Teologii i Informatyki Biblijnej Wydziału Teologicznego Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Krakowie
PNUŚK	Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach
PP	*Przegląd Powszechny*
PrzKat	*Przewodnik Katolicki*
PrzOr	*Przegląd Orientalistyczny*
PrzRel	*Przegląd Religioznawczy*
PrzT	*Przegląd Tygodniowy*
PS	*Polonia Sacra*
PSB	Prymasowska Seria Biblijna
PŚNT	Pismo Święte Nowego Testamentu
PŚST	Pismo Święte Starego Testamentu
PU	*Przegląd Uniwersytecki*
QChr	*The Qumran Chronicle*
QM	Qumranica Mogilanensia
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RBibl	*Roczniki Biblijne*
RBL	*Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny*
ResHis	*Res Historica*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RiM	Rozprawy i Materiały
RiP	Rozprawy i Przemówienia
RiSB	Rozprawy i Studia Biblijne
RivB	*Rivista Biblica*
RN	*Revue Numismatique*
ROr	*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*
RPANKr	*Rocznik Oddziału PAN w Krakowie*
RSem	*Rocznik Seminaryjny*
RSNPAN	*Roczniki. Stacja Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Nauk*
RTK	*Roczniki Teologiczne*
RWM	*Rocznik Wolnej Myśli*
RWTK	Rozprawy Wydziału Teologiczno-Kanonicznego
SB	Series Bibliographica
SBFCM	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior
SBO	*Scripta Biblica et Orientalia*
ScrLum	Scripturae Lumen. Biblia i Jej Oddziaływanie
ScrS	*Scriptura Sacra*
SHB	Studia Historico-Biblica
SIJD	Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum
SJC	*Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia*

SłP	*Słowo Powszechne*
SM	*Sodalis Marianus*
SMWTUŚ	Studia i Materiały Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Śląskiego
SOrB	Sintesi dell'Oriente e della Bibbia
SPANKr	*Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych Polskiej Akademii Nauk*
SPAU	*Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*
SPelp	*Studia Pelplińskie*
SprBib	Sprawy Biblijne
SSHT	*Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne*
ST	*Signa Temporis*
StAl	*Studia Aloisiana*
STB	Studies in Biblical Theology
StBob	*Studia Bobolanum*
StByd	*Studia Bydgoskie*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StGd	*Studia Gdańskie*
StJ	*Studia Judaica*
STP	*Studia Theologica Pentecostalia*
StR	*Studia Religioznawcze*
StrE	*Strażnica Ewangeliczna*
STT	Scripta Theologica Thoruniensia
StTBł	*Studia Teologiczne. Białystok – Drohiczyn – Łomża*
STV	*Studia Theologica Varsaviensia*
SW	*Studia Warmińskie*
SzS	Szkoła Seraficka
SzSK	*Szczecińskie Studia Kościelne*
TD	*Theology Digest*
ThWr	*Theologica Wratislaviensia*
TiC	*Teologia i Człowiek*
TNKUL.WP	Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Wykłady i Przemówienia
TPJ	Teksty z Pustyni Judzkiej
TPow	*Tygodnik Powszechny*
TTQ	*Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*
UGd	*Universitas Gedanensis*
VD	*Verbum Domini*
VNA	*Voprosy Naucznogo Ateisma*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
VV	*Verbum Vitae*
WAG	*Wiadomości Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej*
WB	Wędrówki Biblijne
WD	*Wiadomości Duszpasterskie*
WDŁ	*Wiadomości Archidiecezji Łódzkiej*
WDL	*Wiadomości Diecezjalne Lubelskie*

WDr	*W Drodze*
WF	Wege der Forschung
WiadL	*Wiadomości* (Londyn)
WiP	Wykłady i Przemówienia
WNA	*Wiadomości. Na Antenie*
WO	*Wiara i Odpowiedzialność*
WSCLC	Warsaw Studies in Classical Literature and Culture
WspAmb	*Współczesna Ambona*
WTK	*Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolicki*
WUB	*Welt und Umwelt der Bibel*
WuD	*Wort und Dienst*
WUDO	*Wiadomości Urzędowe Diecezji Opolskiej*
WŻ	*Wiedza i Życie*
ZCz	*Znaki Czasu*
ZiP	*Za i Przeciw*
ŻL	*Życie Literackie*
ŻM	*Życie i Myśl*
ZN KUL	*Zeszyty Naukowe KUL*
ZnakŁ	*Znak Łaski*
ZNSBP	*Zeszyty Naukowe Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich*
ZNUGd	*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*
ZOW	*Z Otchłani Wieków*
ZŚ	*Ziemia Święta*
ZVSM	*Zondagse Vriend Sport Magazine*
ŻW	*Życie Warszawy*
Zwk	*Związkowiec*
ŹWŻ	Źródło Wody Żywej
ŻycieL	*Życie. Katolicki Tygodnik Religijno-Kulturalny* (London)

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Reviews

THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 511–513

Samuel Adams – Greg Schmidt Goering – Matthew J. Goff (eds.), *Sirach and Its Contexts. The Pursuit of Wisdom and Human Flourishing* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 196; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2021). Pp. 301. € 125. ISBN: 978-90-04-44733-2 (E-Book)

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The reviewed publication is a collection of biblical articles, the fruit of an international seminar held at the Union Presbyterian Seminary (Richmond, VA) and the University of Virginia (Charlottesville, VA) in 2017. The very idea of the symposium and the book was born in the context of a particular scholarly environment (Virginia–Washington), which began to bring together exegetes and scholars interested in the study of the Book of Sirach. The symposium brought together many specialists in the literature of the Second Temple period, which has been experiencing a specific renaissance of interest since the discoveries at Qumran. The post-symposium publication was prepared by editors who are particularly dedicated to the study of sapiential literature.

The book is 301 pages long and contains a series of 14 articles that are grouped into four parts of the book. The first part deals with topics related to the context and interpretation of the Book of Sirach, while the second addresses issues related to the transmission of the text and the condition of individual manuscripts. The third part focuses on selected exegetical issues, and the fourth deals with the reception of the Wisdom of Sirach in antiquity and in medieval literature, taking into account various cultural contexts. The publication includes an index of ancient sources (pp. 285–295) and an index of modern authors (pp. 296–301).

In the introduction, Greg Schmidt Goering briefly describes the context in which the publication came into being, related to a particular community interested in the study of sapiential literature. He emphasises the great increase in interest in the literature of the Second Temple period, which has not yet received as many studies as other books of the Bible. In the introduction, he also provides a brief overview of the articles presented in the publication.

The first part of the book opens with an article by John J. Collins on the genre of the Book of Sirach. The author compares it specifically with the Book of Proverbs as the prototype of wisdom literaure. He also reflects on the literary genre known as "sapiential literature" and the role of the genre in interpreting the various books included in this

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tradition. He believes that it is necessary to take into account both the ancient literature that the sapiential tradition accepts and develops, as well as that with which it disputes. Jacqueline Vayntrub's essay, on the other hand, presents a different point of view, emphasising the special role of ancient proverbs (*mashal*) in the creation of the Book of Sirach and the question of transmission and development of this particular work. Analysing the opinions of recognised authors, it briefly outlines the history of research on this topic and the relationship between the Book of Proverbs and the Book of Sirach. In the following article, Bradley C. Gregory analyses in detail the relationship between the figure of Wisdom and a foreign woman. He addresses issues related to the personification of the figure of Wisdom and the depiction of Woman Folly. He also deals with problems of the methodology of the cognitive process and its credibility and reliability. Finally, the last article in this part, by A. Jordan Schmidt, examines issues related to ancient rhetoric, showing the use of poetic *ekphrasis* in a hymn about God's glory in nature, covering Sir 42:14–43:33. It reveals the dual purpose of the hymn (to praise God and teach to contemplate the world) and the author's rhetorical devices to make the reader see reality through the author's eyes.

The second part of the book consists of three articles analysing issues related to literary criticism and the transmission of the text of the Book of Sirach, which exists in Greek, partly in Hebrew and presents many variants. In his article, Frank Ueberschaer analyses Manuscript C showing its structure and emphasising that it should be regarded as a form of a compendium of knowledge related to a happy life. It also shows how this text is reinterpreted by the writer in a specific historical context. Eric D. Reymond explores the issue of the two Hebrew consonants *waw* and *yod*, which were very often confused when the text was copied. It also deals with the difficult problem of distinguishing between an obvious copyist's error and possible intentional changes made by the ancient author-copier. Finally, Jean-Sébastien Rey's article addresses the question of doublets in the text of the Book of Sirach, attempting to identify their origin and the nature of the phenomenon. It emphasises the active role of copyists who not only made mistakes when copying but also actively and intentionally changed the text.

The third part of the publication, entitled "Sages and Their Contexts: Hellenism, Hymns, and Pedagogy," addresses issues related to the interpretative problems of the Book of Sirach related to the historical context. The article by Samuel L. Adams examines passages from the so-called "Praise of the Fathers" and analyses the issue of the omission of Ezra and other important Old Testament figures such as Joshua and Zorobabel from the biblical depiction. Citing various opinions on the failure to include the figure of Ezra, the author suggests that this may have been related to the fact that Ezra was not sufficiently important in theological reception, and only gained his prominence in the period after the Book of Sirach was written. David A. Skelton addresses the musical education of the Ancient Near East and the Greco-Roman world and attempts to identify its influence on some particularly rhythmic and musical parts of the book. It emphasises the role of musical accents as mnemonic devices in the process of learning for students and the importance of these skills for the teacher. In the final article of this part, James K. Aitken examines the problem of

the relationship of the Book of Sirach to Hellenism. He shows the influence of particular ideologies (e.g. anti-colonialism) on the way the text is interpreted, suggesting the need to situate the book precisely in its historical context. In his view, a key point in interpretation is to refer to various ancient documents, particularly on the functioning of government and administration, when undertaking an analysis of passages dealing with court and administrative relations.

The fourth part of the book, entitled "The Reception of the Book and Figure of Ben Sira in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," addresses the influence of the Wisdom of Sirach on specific historical contexts and the reception of the book in history. The first article by Benjamin G. Wright III and Eva Mroczek addresses the problem of book authorship and analyses the author's self-presentation, introducing the concept of pseudo-pseudepigraphy. In this context, there are also reflections on the memory of the author to survive after his death. Matthew Goff's article examines selected passages from the Book of Sirach and its possible influence on ancient poetic texts used particularly in the context of temple liturgy. The author shows their relationship to specific genres present in the literature of the Second Temple period, i.e. when this book was written. Finally, in a recent publication, Yonatan Binyam analyses the little-known Ethiopian commentaries on the Book of Sirach, specifically on Chapters 1 and 24, showing their Christological perspective, linked to the Johannine tradition. The author briefly presents the history of the study of this literature and introduces the reader to the issues of *andəmta.* He translates selected passages and briefly comments on them, offering the reader an interesting insight into Ethiopian interpretive traditions.

The articles in the book are meticulously edited. Each contains bibliographical references and is an interesting contribution to the study of the Wisdom of Sirach, which seems to be attracting the attention of an increasing number of scholars. Still, studies on this book are scarce if one compares their number with publications on other biblical traditions and individual books. There are also no theological studies that bring out the message of Sirach and show it in a broad biblical and extra-biblical context. The book *Sirach and Its Contexts. The Pursuit of Wisdom and Human Flourishing* contains some theological elements, but its purpose seems to be primarily to analyse some issues related to the text itself, transmission and reception. In this way, it lays a solid foundation for further research on the Wisdom of Sirach and its theological message.

THE BIBLICAL ANNALS 13/3 (2023) 515–517

Andrzej Piwowar, *Język grecki Nowego Testamentu*. I. *Gramatyka – indeksy*. II. *Klucz do ćwiczeń – słownik – paradygmaty* (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Biblistyki 15; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2022). Pp. 681 + 391 (key). ISBN 978-83-8288-058-8 (vol. 1). ISBN 978-83-8288-057-1 (vol. 2)

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The subject of this review is a textbook entitled *Język grecki Nowego Testamentu* (The Greek Language of the New Testament), which has received a new edition. The former one – *Greka Nowego Testamentu. Gramatyka* (New Testament Greek. Grammar), was a one-volume textbook published by the Biblioteka "Verbum Vitae" ("Verbum Vitae" Library) in 2010. The latest two-volume textbook has been published as Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Biblistyki (Supplementary Material for Biblical Studies Lectures) by Wydawnictwo KUL (KUL Publishing House) in 2022 and an exercise key has been added. It is worth noting at this point that both Greek studies by Piwowar serve as the foundation for learning biblical Greek not only for students of the Licentiate Theological Studies of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, but also for all those who wish to gain an understanding of the original language of the New Testament.

It has to be noted that the author of the discussed textbook has introduced several changes as compared to the first study. First of all, attention should be given to the fact that the teaching material has been arranged somewhat differently. Those changes are manifest already in the second lesson, which focuses first on introductions to verb and noun inflection before moving on to grammatical genus, the genitive and its declension, ending with the punctuation marks in Greek. A noticeable change is that in the first edition of the textbook, the second lesson began with basic information on the *indicativus praesentis* tense and the conjugation of the irregular verb of the second conjugation – εἰμί. In the new edition

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of the textbook, the conjugation of the verb 'to be' in the present tense has been moved to lesson three (p. 42). Also, the adjective and personal pronoun αὐτός is now included in the lesson on *optativus*, rather than in the material on *indicativus futuri* and the third declension of the noun as in the first study. Another noticeable change is the fourth lesson, which previously covered not only the infinitive (*infinitivus*) but also the imperative (*imperativus*), the first declension of the adjective conjugation and the *genitivus*. In the new textbook, the infinitive has been moved to the ninth lesson, where it is covered together with the *infinitivus praesentis activi* of the verb λύω, the *infinitivus praesentis* of the verb εἰμί and other infinitive-related topics. Furthermore, in the remaining lessons, the order of the material included has been changed and rearranged in such a way as to facilitate grasping and mastering the language.

Piwowar's textbook includes completely new exercises and a glossary. At the end of each lesson – in addition to a more advanced glossary than in the first study – there are also exercises, which are divided into two levels of difficulty. The basic level contains ten sentences to translate into Polish and a dozen forms to recognise. At the advanced level, in addition to translating sentences and recognising verb, noun, adjective and pronoun forms, verb forms must also be created from verbs suggested by the Author. Further lessons at the advanced level include also the passages from the New Testament to be translated. Each of the sixty lessons follows this exercise pattern, which is increasingly challenging as language proficiency progresses.

New to the second edition of the textbook is an exercise key which, together with the dictionary and paradigms, constitutes the second volume of Piwowar's biblical Greek morphology. The key contains translations of sentences together with a short syntactic explanation which helps to clarify, in the author's intention, why the Greek sentences included in the exercises should be translated in a particular way. In addition, the key also includes the identification of verb and noun forms to be recognised and identified. Unfortunately, there is no answer key for the advanced level. Paradigm tables are also included, divided into three groups. The first one is the conjugation of the genitive and nouns of all three declensions. The second one focuses on forms specific to the adjective and participle, while the last part is entirely devoted to the verb. The second volume also contains two appendices, one dealing with the spatial use of prepositions and the other devoted to irregular verbs.

The final novelty is purely visual, as the second edition of *Język grecki Nowego Testamentu* (The Greek Language of the New Testament) has been given a new layout and a larger format than before. As a result, together with the *Składnia języka greckiego Nowego Testamentu* (Syntax of the Greek Language of the New Testament), published in 2017, they now form a coherent whole.

In conclusion, the new study of *Język grecki Nowego Testamentu* by Andrzej Piwowar contains several significant changes that have improved the quality of the textbook compared to its first version. Most importantly, the layout of the material in each lesson has been slightly changed, which made it more systematic and easier to learn. Furthermore, a significant change is a completely new glossary as well as exercises at the end of each lesson, which

have been divided into basic and advanced levels. The exercise key included as a second volume is also helpful, paving the way for independent learning of biblical Greek. Thanks to all that, in the field of Polish scholarly literature, both linguistic and biblical, Piwowar's textbook is not only the latest but also an obligatory title for learning the original language of the New Testament.