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The Institute of Biblical Studies

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## Articles



## L'ospitalità negata e il disfacimento di una società: i casi emblematici di Lot a Sodoma in Gn 19 e del crimine di Gabaa in Gdc 19

Hospitality Denied and the Disintegration of Society:  
The Emblematic Cases of Lot in Sodom in Gen 19 and the Crime of Gibeah in Judg 19

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**ABSTRACT:** Hospitality is a widespread practice in the ancient Near East, also regulated by written legislation. Biblical legislation protects the orphan, the widow and the foreigner; but there is also an opposite tendency of not being able to accept the presence of pagan populations in the land of the fathers. The protocol of hospitality is a practice in the biblical world which never reached the form of written legislation, and which is presented as a set of literary motifs disseminated in numerous texts, without configuring a true and proper literary genre. The stories of Gen 19:1–29 and of Judg 19:11–30 are influenced by the dialectic between the two tendencies of the biblical world; what emerges from their comparison is the warning that the violation of the protocol of hospitality is an indication of the unravelling of the society. A canonical reading of the two biblical stories proposes as an example the behaviour of Abraham, who practices unconditional hospitality without limits.

**KEYWORDS:** hospitality, protocol of hospitality, foreigner, disintegration of a society

**PAROLE CHIAVE:** ospitalità, protocollo di ospitalità, straniero, disintegrazione di una società

Le affinità tra i racconti di Gn 19,1–29<sup>1</sup> e Gdc 19,11–30<sup>2</sup> sono note da tempo, per le formule letterarie e per le analogie dei racconti. Tuttavia, vi sono differenze: per gli esiti diversi delle due narrazioni; per i contesti vitali ai quali appartengono; per il contesto letterario immediatamente precedente e susseguente dei due racconti nei rispettivi libri biblici. I due racconti, nello stesso tempo simili e diversi, si possono inserire nel tema “Lo straniero nella Bibbia e nel Vicino Oriente Antico”. Questo studio guarda al materiale biblico, dell’AT relativo alla tematica sopra indicata, limitando ai tratti ritenuti più essenziali i riferimenti specifici alla documentazione nel Vicino Oriente Antico.

<sup>1</sup> La critica moderna converge nell’indicare nel brano di Gn 19,1–29 un’unità letteraria (cfr. discussione in O.F. Adesina, *The Study of the “Hospitality Motif” and Its Violation in Genesis 19,1–29 within Its Immediate Narrative Context* [Diss. Pontificia Università Urbaniana; Roma 2008] 58–65).

<sup>2</sup> La scansione e la delimitazione della pericope è discussa in G. Rizzi, *Giudici. Nuova versione, introduzione e commento* (I Libri Biblici – Primo Testamento 7; Milano: Paoline 2012) 455–456.

Una lettura canonica dei due racconti biblici evidenzia il ruolo paradigmatico del testo e del contesto della narrazione genesiaca. Esiste una comune tradizione positiva verso la figura di Lot in ambito giudaico, cristiano e musulmano, nonostante i segnali negativi emergenti dal testo biblico.

## 1. L'ambito biblico più ampio in cui inserire i racconti di Gn 19,1-29 e Gdc 19,11-30

Il tema dello «straniero» nella Bibbia e nel Vicino Oriente è intrecciato con quello della «terra»: «straniero»<sup>3</sup> è colui che non si trova nella sua terra d'origine, nella sua area culturale, nella sua patria, o nella sua tribù, o nella sua famiglia, ma in una situazione in cui si deve adattare alle leggi e ai costumi dell'area in cui si trova inserito<sup>4</sup>. La condizione di straniero può essere temporanea, stabile, o irreversibile come nel caso dello schiavo, e così via. Il concetto di «terra» ha una valenza materiale, di territorio, patria nazionale, proprietà di una tribù, di una città, di un villaggio, o di una famiglia; ma ne ha anche una più ideale, comprendente i legami linguistici e culturali, parentali, affettivi, famigliari, sino a estendersi ai progetti e alle speranze inerenti alla vita di una persona o di un'intera popolazione. L'intreccio tematico tra «straniero» e «terra»<sup>5</sup> è coesenziale alla comprensione della letteratura biblica.

3 A «straniero» o «forestiero» nella Bibbia ebraica corrispondono principalmente i termini *zār*, *tōšāb*, *gēr*, *nok'ri*, *nēkār*, che non sono semplicemente sinonimi e che in parte sono coperti nella LXX dal termine *xénos*. Nella LXX *allogēnēs* traduce frequentemente alcuni dei termini ebraici indicati; ma il campo semantico della LXX registra anche *prosēlutos*, che interpreta molto spesso l'ebraico *gēr*. Mentre l'ebraico presenta un campo lessicale differenziato, la LXX sembra orientarsi a un'interpretazione di quel campo lessicale culturalmente successiva nel tempo. Il NT riprende il campo lessicale della LXX, ma con una ricorrenza assai più limitata dei termini in questione. È stato rilevato che la correlazione esistente tra «straniero» e «nemico» ha già un fondamento filologico nel latino *hostis* («nemico») e *hosticus* («strano», «ostile»), mentre il greco *echthros* («nemico») sembra derivare dalla preposizione *ektós*, *ek* (cfr. G. Stählin, «Xénos», *Grande lessico del Nuovo Testamento* [edd. G. Kittel – G. Friedrich; ed. it. a cura di F. Montagnini – G. Scarpata – O. Soffritti] [Brescia: Paideia 1972] VIII, 12).

4 Cfr. A. Spreafico, «Straniero/forestiero», *Migrazioni. Dizionario socio-pastorale* (ed. G. Battistella) (Cinisello Balsamo, MI: San Paolo 2010) 974.

5 Fin dai tempi biblici, la «terra d'Israele», i cui confini sono oscillanti nella letteratura biblica, è sempre stato un punto costitutivo dell'identità storica e religiosa del mondo ebraico. La «terra», che il Signore aveva intenzione di dare ad Abramo e ai patriarchi, appartiene alla vocazione alla quale il Signore stesso stava chiamando nei patriarchi anche il popolo che ne sarebbe scaturito. Fuori da quella «terra», neppure ancora realmente disegnata nei suoi precisi confini, nessuno dei patriarchi può vivere: anche se per ragioni contingenti, singolarmente i patriarchi ne sono usciti, hanno dovuto sperimentare che, al di fuori di quella «terra» che il Signore aveva in mente, non potevano vivere e avevano dovuto ritornare sui loro passi. Per la «terra d'Israele» si può parlare di «confini» in senso plurale, per le coordinate geografiche di nord e sud e così via, ma anche e soprattutto per le diverse estensioni con cui la «terra d'Israele» è caratterizzata di volta in volta nella Scrittura. Sulle fonti bibliche e non bibliche della geografia anche politica della terra d'Israele nell'AT, cfr. P.A. Kaswaller, *Onomastica biblica. Fonti scritte e ricerca archeologica* (SBFCMi 40; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press 2002) 17–37.

La questione è già tratteggiata nell'organizzazione canonica della Bibbia ebraica, fin dai capitoli iniziali della *Genesi*, nella «tavola dei popoli» (Gn 10,1–32), dove la ripopolazione del «mondo» dopo il diluvio, secondo le concezioni etnico-geografiche in possesso alla tradizione ebraica nel sec. VI a.C., avviene in base alle linee genealogiche dei «figli di Noè»<sup>6</sup>. La tradizione sull'assegnazione divina della loro terra alle varie popolazioni riemerge più esplicita in Dt 32,8–9; la versione greca della LXX Dt 32,8–9 (cfr. anche Simmaco) evidenzia, tra le altre cose, la differenza tra il «dare in eredità» la terra da parte di Dio al popolo d'Israele, e lo «spartire i territori» sempre da parte di Dio tra le nazioni<sup>7</sup>.

La documentazione addotta evidenzia un'interpretazione autorevole e consolidata sulla portata del testo fondatore genesiaco: territori e popolazioni sono abbinati non senza una disposizione divina, ma per Israele esiste un'elezione divina del tutto particolare, che lega quel popolo a una terra a lui specificamente destinata.

Le narrazioni bibliche riflettono tratti anche più arcaici sulla connessione tra popolazione e territorio<sup>8</sup>. Si è di fronte a un processo redazionale scandito nel tempo, dove sono ormai inseriti o anche sepoliti tratti più antichi.

La «storia delle origini d'Israele», così come gli studi biblici e orientalistici moderni stanno cercando di ricostruirla<sup>9</sup>, non coincide più con la «storia sacra» delle narrazioni bibliche<sup>10</sup> e ancor meno con le loro reinterpretazioni più tardive anche in ambito cristiano neo-testamentario e patristico<sup>11</sup>. Le condizioni di partenza delle stesse tribù ebraiche, poi

6 Di tradizione prevalentemente sacerdotale, ma con ampliamenti (cfr. F. Giuntoli, *Genesi 1–11. Introduzione, traduzione e commento* [Nuova Versione della Bibbia dai Testi Antichi 1; Cinisello Balsamo, MI: San Paolo 2013] 19); vi soggiace l'idea che ogni popolo ha una terra assegnata da Dio e che ha il compito di prendere possesso del paese dato da Dio (cfr. R.J. Clifford – R.E. Murphy, «Genesi», *Nuovo Grande Commentario Biblico* [edd. R.E. Brown – J.A. Fitzmyer; ed. it. a cura di F. Dalla Vecchia – G. Segalla – M. Vironda] (Brescia: Queriniana 1990) 20).

7 L'edizione critica della LXX in J.W. Wevers (ed.), *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. III/2. *Deuteronomium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1997) 346–347 reca «secondo il numero dei figli di Dio», lezione confermata anche da 4QDeut; la lezione «angeli di Dio» voleva evitare interpretazioni politeistiche, ma il ritocco successivo in epoca asmonea, o anche alla fine del sec. I d.C., volle eliminare la concezione mitologica dell'unione tra esseri angelici e persone umane, offrendo anche un aggancio alle settanta famiglie che scesero in Egitto (cfr. Gn 46,27 ed Es 1,5); cfr. Tg. Ps.-J. su Dt 32,8–9. Il tema era presente anche in *Jub.* 15,31–32.

8 Si pensa oggi a riletture di materiale tradizionale in epoca postesilica, quando l'area palestinese dipendeva politicamente da vari imperi, in particolare da quello persiano: i deportati dall'esilio nella mezzaluna fertile sono descritti nell'epopea del loro rientro nella terra promessa, soprattutto nei libri di *Esdra* e di *Neemia*, così che anche i racconti patriarcali divennero il fondamento dei nuovi eventi (cfr. Spreafico, «Staniero/forestiero», 975).

9 L'indirizzo più «radicale» si trova in M. Liverani, *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*, 13 ed. (Bari: Laterza 2018 [1988]) 566–592; la questione è ripresa dallo stesso autore con ulteriori dettagli in M. Liverani, *Oltre la Bibbia. Storia antica di Israele*, 2 ed. (Bari: Laterza 2004 [2003]) 66–68.

10 Di ciò si era già accorto H. Cazelles, *Storia politica d'Israele. Dalle origini ad Alessandro Magno* (ed. it. a cura di G. Borghonovo) (Piccola enciclopedia biblica 1; Roma: Borla 1985) 13.

11 Cfr. J.H. Hayes, «The History of the Study of Israelite and Judaean History», *Israelite & Judaean History*, 3 ed. (edd. J.H. Hayes – J.M. Miller) (London – Philadelphia, PA: SCM Press – Trinity Press 1990 [1977]) 2–21.

formanti successivamente l'Israele biblico, sono un insieme di nomadismo, seminomadismo e nomadismo di ritorno, comune a molti gruppi di popolazioni del Vicino Oriente Antico<sup>12</sup>. Di questo passato arcaico esistono nella letteratura biblica varie tracce, senza che sia possibile tuttavia ricavarvi una «storia più antica coerente». Si possono però accogliere le narrazioni o le documentazioni anche contraddittorie sugli «stranieri», così da offrire un contesto culturale in grado di inquadrare, entro una certa misura, i racconti di Gn 19,1–28 e di Gdc 19,11–30. Si possono individuare due orientamenti di fondo, all'interno dei quali, comprendere la posizione dello «straniero» nella letteratura biblica: l'elezione del popolo d'Israele; la legislazione biblica sullo «straniero».

## 2. L'elezione del popolo d'Israele comprende un legame inscindibile con una terra

Una tradizione fondamentale si radica nell'elezione d'Israele, che comprende come elemento strutturale la promessa e il dono di una terra. A sua volta, l'elezione del popolo d'Israele comprende due aspetti: la realizzazione della promessa della terra e il rapporto con le popolazioni pagane esistenti nella «terra promessa».

### 2.1. La realizzazione della promessa della terra

Nella «storia della Bibbia canonica», la tradizione radicata nell'elezione d'Israele inizia con quella del patriarca Abramo (il «ciclo di Abramo» in Gn 11,27–25,18), prosegue con Isacco<sup>13</sup>, con Giacobbe (il «ciclo di Giacobbe» in Gn 25,19–37,1), mentre la «storia di Giuseppe»<sup>14</sup> è l'ultima tappa del percorso narrativo di *Genesi*<sup>15</sup>. Due considerazioni sembrano essere particolarmente importanti in questa prima sezione dei «racconti fondatori» dell'Israele biblico: la promessa di una terra ai patriarchi<sup>16</sup>, che vi soggiornano non

12 Una buona parte della «storia del Vicino Oriente Antico» è caratterizzata dalla convivenza di popolazioni stabilizzate in territori definibili e circoscrivibili, con popolazioni nomadi e seminomadi circostanti, percepite dalle popolazioni stabili come «stranieri», che tuttavia sono state poi in grado anche di subentrare alle popolazioni stabilizzate (per l'area palestinese, ad esempio, cfr. Liverani, *Oltre la Bibbia*, 28–33).

13 Da circoscrivere tra il «ciclo di Abramo e quello di Giacobbe», senza una vera e propria identità letteraria precisa: Gn 21,1–25,26 (cfr. Giuntoli, *Genesi 1–11*, 12–13).

14 È stata definita anche come «la storia di estranei-stranieri che diventano fratelli» (Spreafico, «Straniero/forestiero», 976); si tratta di riletture sacerdotali e post-sacerdotali, con una visione anche positiva dell'esilio e della diaspora, in sintonia con le «novelle della diaspora» come in *Daniele* e in *Ester*, o con la conclusione di *Tobia* (cfr. Giuntoli, *Genesi 1–11*, 27).

15 Di stile sapienziale: Gn 37,2–50,26 (cfr. Giuntoli, *Genesi 1–11*, 14–16).

16 Ad Abramo (Gn 12,7; 13,15; 15,18; 17,8; 24,7); a Isacco (26,3–4); a Giacobbe (28,4.13; 35,12); ribadita da Giacobbe a Giuseppe (48,4). L'estensione effettiva della «terra promessa da Dio» è formalmente piuttosto vaga nelle narrazioni patriarcali. Ad Abramo (12,7; 13,15.17; 15,8; 17,8; 24,7); in 15,19 compaiono i nomi delle popolazioni che abitavano la terra di Canaan così delimitata, ma l'identità storica di queste popolazioni pagane è del tutto vaga (cfr. Liverani, *Oltre la Bibbia*, 302–304). A Isacco (26,3–4). A Giacobbe (28,4.13; 35,12; in riferimento anche al luogo sacro di Betel, cfr. F. Giuntoli, *Genesi 12–50. Introduzione, traduzione e commento* [Nuova Versione della Bibbia dai Testi Antichi 2; Cinisello Balsamo, MI: San Paolo 2013] 151–152).

ancora come eredi proprietari<sup>17</sup>, e l'impossibilità di vivere al di fuori di quella terra<sup>18</sup>. Le peregrinazioni dei patriarchi nella terra di Canaan sono già un attraversare quella terra per un'appropriazione simbolica<sup>19</sup>, ma sono anche fondamento e modello per quello che sarebbe stata l'epopea del rientro nella «terra santa» dopo l'esilio babilonese. Nei «racconti fondatori del ciclo patriarcale»<sup>20</sup> è evidente che l'essere «straniero ospite residente» nella «terra promessa» lega indissolubilmente il patriarca a quella terra, dalla quale non può vivere lontano in un'altra terra anche se geograficamente limitrofa o appartenente alla «mezzaluna fertile»<sup>21</sup>. Alla fine, Giacobbe, ormai morente in Egitto, fa promettere due volte ai suoi figli di riportare le sue ossa nella «terra promessa» (48,21–22; 49,29–32)<sup>22</sup>; anche Giuseppe fa promettere ai suoi fratelli di riportare le sue ossa, una volta morto, nella «terra che egli [= il Signore] ha promesso con giuramento ad Abramo, a Isacco e a Giacobbe», quando il Signore avrebbe visitato il suo popolo in Egitto (50,24–25)<sup>23</sup>.

A Giuseppe, riferito da Giacobbe (48,4). Sulla promessa divina ad Abramo in 13,15.17, dopo che Lot se ne era distaccato, la tradizione giudaica intorno al sec. I a.C. elabora in modo largamente midrashico in 1Q20 [=1QapGen] col. xxi, 15–19 il comando divino di Gn 13,15.17, eseguito invece in prima persona da Abramo, di girare in lungo e in largo la terra promessa, dal fiume Gihon, all'Eufrate e tornando fino al Mar Rosso, al Mare dei Giunchi e di nuovo fino al Gihon, indicando vari toponimi geografici (cfr. J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20). A Commentary* [Rome: PIB 1966] 60–63, 135–138; F. García Martínez, *Testi di Qumran* [ed. it. a cura di C. Martone] [Brescia: Paideia 1996] 392).

- 17 Abramo compra, come «straniero ospite residente» tra i figli di Het, una «proprietà di un sepolcro» (cfr. Gn 23,4) per seppellirvi la moglie Sara. Secondo Spreafico, «Straniero/forestiero», 976–978, l'icona di Abramo «straniero» affermerebbe un nuovo rapporto tra i popoli, un nuovo ordine mondiale, così che la ricerca di una terra da parte di Abramo e dei patriarchi non sarebbe ricerca di un luogo dove stabilirsi definitivamente. Tuttavia, il tema della «terra» è costante in tutta la tradizione biblica, in tutto il giudaismo post-biblico, rabbinico, in prospettiva escatologica e anche con una forma di misticismo moderno attualizzante nei confronti dello Stato d'Israele (cfr. G. Rizzi, «Misticismo e giudaismo», *Le vie della mistica. Tra ricerca di senso ed esperienza religiosa* [ed. D. Scaiola] [Città del Vaticano: UUP 2020] 195–196).
- 18 Nella «storia patriarcale» si raccontano varie situazioni di necessità per le quali un patriarca ha dovuto lasciare il territorio corrispondente alla terra promessa, o rifugiarsi presso un re pagano: Abramo (Gn 12,10–20; 20,18); Isacco (26,1–16); Giacobbe (29,1–2; 26,9–33,18; 46,1–4).
- 19 Per Abramo sino a Sichem (cfr. 12,6), a Betel (12,8), a Ebron (13,4.18), nel Negheb (20,1), al monte Moria (22,9; dove sarebbe sorto il tempio di Gerusalemme); per Isacco sino a Bersheba (26,25); per Giacobbe sino a Sichem (33,20) e a Betel (35,1.3.7).
- 20 Il materiale dei singoli racconti non è sempre omogeneo, ed è il segnale di una complessa operazione redazionale, che consente comunque di rilevare alcune costanti importanti.
- 21 Per Abramo cfr. 12,19–20; 20,9–10; per Isacco cfr. 26,1–2.14–15.20–21; per Giacobbe cfr. 29,1–2; 29,15; 46,5–27; contando anche i figli di Giuseppe si giunge alla completezza delle settanta persone della «casa di Giacobbe», che scesero in Egitto. L'allontanamento dalla «terra promessa» da parte di tutto l'Israele biblico, chiamato invece alla «terra promessa», avviene per un consenso divino: lo stesso Giuseppe, che non aveva deciso in origine di andare in Egitto, intuisce e svela che il Signore stesso aveva disposto le sue vicende in modo provvidenziale (45,5). Giacobbe ricorda che la sua vocazione non è a restare fuori dalla «terra promessa», ma che deve farvi ritorno (cfr. 28,20–22); lo ricorda allo zio Labano (30,25), poiché i legami semplicemente clanici (Giacobbe asserisce apertamente in 32,5 di aver dimorato «come forestiero» presso Labano) non sono così importanti come la vocazione alla «terra promessa» dal Signore: così il Signore stesso ricorda a Giacobbe presso lo zio Labano (31,3).
- 22 La volontà di Giacobbe è eseguita solennemente da Giuseppe (50,4–14).
- 23 La volontà di Giuseppe è eseguita uscendo dall'Egitto da Mosè stesso (Es 13,19), ed è portata a termine dai figli d'Israele in Gs 24,32.

In simile quadro complessivo coerente, pur se formato da materiale non sempre omogeneo, risulta distonica la figura di Lot: va in disaccordo con Abramo fin dagli inizi delle peregrinazioni nella terra di Canaan e, di fronte alla liberalità dello zio, non sceglie un ambito appartenente alla «terra promessa», ma un'area al di fuori di essa e malfamata (13,5–13); nonostante il castigo divino per quell'area, preferisce ancora restare ancora vicino alla terra da lui scelta (19,18–22); la conclusione della vicenda di Lot è la paternità di popolazioni malfamate (19,30–38), che non potranno entrare a far parte dell'Israele eletto dal Signore (cfr. Dt 23,4–7)<sup>24</sup>. Lot, analogamente a Esaù e a differenza delle altre figure patriarcali della «storia sacra genesiaca», non dimostra in nessun momento della sua vicenda l'impulso dell'elezione a tornare nella «terra promessa», a riallinearsi con il disegno divino.

Nei racconti fondatori delle «storie patriarcali genesiache» l'essere stranieri dimoranti nella «terra promessa» e l'impossibilità a vivere stabilmente al di fuori di essa, sia pure col consenso divino, è sempre inscindibilmente connesso alla necessità di tornare nella «terra promessa». Ciò, che accadde ai patriarchi, è profezia di ciò che sarebbe successo anche per tutti i figli d'Israele come popolo<sup>25</sup>. Già Rashi si era accorto della sorprendente somiglianza di vocabolario e di lessico della tradizione abramitica sulla tentazione dell'Egitto e la vicenda dei figli d'Israele in Egitto<sup>26</sup>. La vicenda del soggiorno di Giacobbe-Israele quali «allevatori di bestiame» con l'offerta a «risiedere nelle terra di Goshen, dal momento che sono un abominio per l'Egitto tutti i pastori di gregge» (46,34), chiarifica la condizione di un intero gruppo di stranieri all'interno di un paese ospitante, ma non in una prospettiva di integrazione con la popolazione locale.

In casi analoghi di minoranze etniche estranee al paese ospitante, alla popolazione ospitata erano richieste anche prestazioni d'opera gratuite in favore del paese ospitante. Ve ne sono accenni analoghi anche nella prassi ebraica verso piccoli gruppi di popolazione non-ebraica («pagani, indigeni locali», «stranieri») nella «terra dei padri» (cfr. Gs 9,27; Gdc 1,27.30.33.35)<sup>27</sup>.

La necessità di un clan, o di un gruppo di clan, di lasciare il territorio di ordinaria permanenza per diventare «stranieri dimoranti» presso un'altra popolazione per un tempo

24 Il nucleo storico dell'antenata moabita della linea genealogica davidica, rielaborato nel romanzo storico di *Rut*, non riguarda un ingresso di massa di moabite o moabiti, ecc., ma di una sola donna, che dà prova di autentica conversione al giudaismo, lasciando anche la propria terra d'origine per entrare nella terra d'Israele, diventando la «madre dei proseliti» (cfr. G. Rizzi, «Rut», *Migrazioni. Dizionario socio-pastorale* [ed. G. Battistella] [Cinisello Balsamo, MI: San Paolo 2010] 934–936).

25 Simile osservazione si basa sul tracciato narrativo della «storia sacra biblica», mentre la maturazione di una coscienza storica di formare un popolo da parte delle varie tribù sembra aver avuto una storia più complessa, così da emergere molto più tardi (cfr. Rizzi, *Giudici*, 28).

26 Cfr. E. Testa, *Le discese in Egitto degli ebrei e gli esodi* (dispense pro-manuscripto, Pontificia Università Urbaniana; Roma 1974) 20–22.

27 La popolazione ebraica poteva essere sottoposta a «lavoro coatto», cioè gratuito, in favore del suo re, si trattasse anche della costruzione del tempio gerosolimitano (cfr. 1 Re 5,27–30); la questione è posta come pregiudiziale per l'accoglienza di una struttura monarchica nel mondo ebraico (cfr. 1 Sam 8,10–18).



prolungato, poteva mettere a repentaglio l'identità o la sopravvivenza stessa delle persone<sup>28</sup>. Più rischiosa era la sorte di chi, come il patriarca Giuseppe, fosse stato venduto come schiavo (cfr. Gn 37,26–28.36) presso un'altra popolazione, per via di soprusi dai quali era difficile difendersi (cfr. 39,7–20)<sup>29</sup>. A proposito dello stesso patriarca Giacobbe, lontano dalla sua famiglia e vessato dallo zio Labano, una tradizione ebraica più tardiva ne ricapitolava la vicenda: «Mio padre era un arameo smarrito» (Dt 26,5)<sup>30</sup>. L'estensione dell'esperienza dei patriarchi a tutti «i figli d'Israele»<sup>31</sup> in Egitto non fa della loro condizione di «stranieri» un ideale emblematico<sup>32</sup>.

Il racconto di Gn 19,1–29 appartiene per vari aspetti alle situazioni di «ebrei» che vivevano come «stranieri residenti in modo permanente» fuori dalla loro terra, benché, le persone ospitate da Lot avrebbero dovuto passare soltanto una notte a Sodoma (cfr. 19,2); ciò comportava il genere di ospitalità limitata per uno straniero. Diverso è invece il caso di Gdc 19,11–30, sempre riguardante il genere di ospitalità limitata, ma di ebrei appartenenti a un'area geografica di una tribù, all'interno di una città di un'altra tribù ebraica.

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- 28 La mutazione delle condizioni di «stranieri ospitati residenti, ma non completamente integrati con la popolazione locale», si riflette nel cambiamento di atteggiamento della nuova dirigenza egiziana (cfr. Es 1,8) nei confronti degli «stranieri ospitati residenti nel Goshen», ormai trattati come «schiavi»; secondo il tracciato narrativo biblico, ciò sarebbe successo anche in relazione al forte aumento demografico della popolazione ospitata (1,7.9), con il rischio di implicazioni politiche (1,10). Simili trasformazioni generazionali richiedono tempi congrui e le tradizioni bibliche parlano complessivamente, ma approssimativamente, di quattrocento anni (cfr. Gn 15,13), oppure di quattrocentotrent'anni (Es 12,40); tuttavia, occorre tenere presenti anche i computi emergenti dalla LXX e così via (cfr. discussione in Rizzi, *Giudici*, 40–49). Risalta il carattere assolutamente non definitivo e negativo della condizione d'Israele come ospite residente in terra straniera.
- 29 Davide, nella condizione di braccato da Saul e costretto a rifugiarsi da solo presso una popolazione pagana, esprime apertamente il rischio di cadere nell'idolatria (1 Sam 26,19).
- 30 L'identificazione di Giacobbe nella formulazione biblica è sempre stata ben compresa nella tradizione giudaica targumica (cfr. C. McCarthy [ed.], *Deuteronomy* [BHQ 5; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2007] 73, 120\*, 121\*); cfr. S. Paganini, *Deuteronomio. Nuova versione, introduzione e commento* (I Libri Biblici – Primo Testamento 5; Milano: Paoline 2011) 365.
- 31 La qualifica di «ebrei» per i figli d'Israele in Es 1,15 ha fatto pensare all'identificazione di uno stato sociale inferiore, analogo a quello degli «hapiru» dei testi extra-biblici: nomadi, forestieri, stranieri, mercenari (cfr. Sprech, «Straniero/forestiero», 978–979).
- 32 Le concezioni anche positive della vita ebraica nella diaspora, dopo l'epopea del rientro nella «terra dei padri» secondo i racconti di *Esdra* e di *Neemia*, non prescindono mai da un rapporto con la «terra dei padri» e in particolare con Gerusalemme, nella speranza di un intervento divino per radunare i dispersi d'Israele (cfr. Tb 13,5.10–18). Per una valutazione sintetica ma articolata della diaspora giudaica, cfr. A. Paul, *Il mondo ebraico al tempo di Gesù. Storia politica* (trad. it. di P. Mariotti, rev. di S. Momigliano – P. Brugnoli) (Piccola enciclopedia biblica 6; Roma: Borla 1983) 93–101. Tuttavia, per il giudaismo rabbinico la «terra d'Israele» è l'ideale escatologico, il compimento di salvezza anche per le «nazioni», la terra a cui ha guardato storicamente tutta la tradizione ebraica lungo l'arco dei secoli, dopo che le disastrose guerre contro Roma avevano indotto la tradizione rabbinica a spostare definitivamente le attese per la «terra d'Israele» alla fine dei tempi, senza presupporre interventi bellici dei figli d'Israele, come si era pronunciato chiaramente il targum di Ct 8,4.

Con l'epopea della liberazione dall'Egitto, dell'alleanza sinaitica e della formazione di un popolo che ritorna nella «terra promessa ai padri», si delineano due orientamenti diversi<sup>33</sup>, circa il rapporto con gli «stranieri».

Il primo orientamento si fonda sull'applicazione rigorosa del principio dell'impossibile convivenza di popolazioni pagane con gli ebrei nella «terra dei padri»<sup>34</sup>, qualora anche si trattasse di popolazioni o gruppi preesistenti all'epopea della conquista della «terra promessa». Il secondo orientamento è quello emergente dalla legislazione biblica circa il rapporto con lo «straniero».

## 2.2. L'impossibile convivenza con le popolazioni non-ebraiche

L'epopea della conquista della «terra promessa» nel libro di *Giosué* come la vicenda drammatica di *Giudici* riflettono bene l'orientamento drastico di testi anche legislativi come Dt 7,1–5.16.22–26, dove è ordinata la pulizia etnica, sono proibiti i matrimoni misti e non è ammessa alcuna convivenza culturale eterogenea; se l'attività bellica d'Israele in 20,1–20 si ispira ancora a 7,1ss, la sua articolazione giuridica interna pone alcuni limiti<sup>35</sup>. La drasticità di testi similari circa i matrimoni misti, come in Esd 9,1–2 ad esempio, depone a favore di un orientamento ostile verso popolazioni non ebraiche nell'ambito della «terra promessa». È verosimile che un simile orientamento si sia fatto strada con il disastro dell'esilio del regno d'Israele e del regno di Giuda: le cause furono viste nella seduzione idolatrica verso il mondo ebraico da parte delle popolazioni pagane (cfr. Dt 7,3–4; Gs 24,20.23), nei matrimoni di mista etnia e quindi di mista religione<sup>36</sup>, che hanno favorito la corruzione della popolazione anche dei giudici stessi nell'epopea negativa di *Giudici*<sup>37</sup>. Le generazioni delle tribù ebraiche devono imparare a gestire la guerra con queste popolazioni pagane, che il Signore stesso ha lasciato in mezzo alla «terra dei padri» (cfr. Gs 11,18–20; Gdc 2,6–3,6).

33 Simile constatazione non dipende dall'indagine diacronica, ma da uno sguardo sincronico a partire dal tracciato narrativo del Pentateuco e della cosiddetta «storiografia deuteronomistica».

34 È un aspetto della tradizione «deuteronomico-deuteronomista», che anche Spreafico, «Straniero/forestiero», 982 riconosce accanto a quella più legislativa del *Deuteronomio* stesso, così da identificare un problema comune a tutte le culture: come salvaguardare la propria identità in un mondo multi-etnico, una contraddizione irrisolta.

35 Cfr. Paganini, *Deuteronomio*, 203.

36 Nelle storie patriarcali genesiache, spicca il caso di Giuseppe, che sposa Aseneth, figlia del sacerdote pagano egiziano di Eliopoli, Potifera (cfr. Gn 41,50). La tradizione giudaica peritestamentaria intorno alla metà del sec. II a.C. rielabora la vicenda di *Giuseppe e Aseneth* mettendo in risalto il cammino di conversione della donna pagana al giudaismo, dall'abbandono degli idoli e del loro culto alla fede giudaica monoteista (cfr. G. Rizzi, «L'evoluzione del rapporto fede e salvezza degli altri tra Antico e Nuovo Testamento», *La salvezza degli altri. Soteriologia e religioni* [ed. M. Gronchi] [Cinisello Balsamo, MI: San Paolo 2004] 90–94). Inoltre, per Giuseppe Flavio, le nozze tra Egiziani ed Ebrei erano esperienza frequente, non rappresentando una prassi da condannare; in *Ant.* 2,91, a proposito della storia del patriarca Giuseppe, lo storico ebreo aveva definito come nozze degnissime quelle di lui con Aseneth, figlia del sacerdote egiziano Potifera (cfr. L. Paladino, *Matrimoni interetnici nelle liste bibliche* [Diss. Pontificia Università Urbaniana; Roma 2020] 85).

37 Nel libro non si tratta di un andamento «ciclico» delle vicende delle tribù ebraiche, ma di una spirale involutiva, che porta all'abisso dell'autodistruzione anche nella «terra dei padri» (cfr. Rizzi, *Giudici*, 34–38, 547, 548).

### 2.3. La legislazione biblica circa il rapporto con lo «straniero»

Nel processo di formazione delle monarchie ebraiche nell'area palestinese, lo sviluppo sociale è condizionato dal commercio e dal potere, con il conseguente allargarsi delle fasce di popolazione più povera. In particolare, «lo straniero, l'orfano e la vedova»<sup>38</sup> sono menzionati in modo emblematico a rappresentanza di queste fasce di popolazione meno protetta<sup>39</sup>. Le tradizioni giuridiche, profetiche e la letteratura sapienziale hanno dato il loro contributo circa una progressiva opera di tutela nei confronti dello «straniero», alla luce del fatto che la costituzione di una compagine politica, civile e religiosa statuale, quale realizzazione delle promesse divine ai patriarchi e degli impegni con l'alleanza sinaitica, comportava uno specifico impegno anche verso la figura dello «straniero», come problema sociale, ma anche come memoria di un passato ebraico verso il quale il Signore si era impegnato, liberando il suo popolo dall'Egitto (cfr. Es 23,9; Dt 10,18; Lv 19,33–34).

Se si confronta la legislazione relativa allo «straniero» nei tre Codici di leggi, che caratterizzano il Pentateuco<sup>40</sup>, ci si accorge di evoluzioni nelle formulazioni giuridiche della casistica affrontata<sup>41</sup>, come anche dei principi ispiratori, fino a notare come l'ultimo dei tre Codici in ordine di tempo, sembra appartenere al genere di una progettualità non ancora effettivamente sperimentata, più che non a una formulazione giuridica propriamente detta<sup>42</sup>.

## 3. Il «protocollo» dell'ospitalità

I racconti di Gn 19,1–28 e di Gdc 19,11–30 s'inseriscono nel quadro della figura dello «straniero» o anche «forestiero», o «immigrato», in relazione a una «terra», o più

<sup>38</sup> Si vedano i testi legislativi di Es 22,20–23; Dt 10,18; 24,17–21; 26,12; 27,19; ma anche quelli profetici di Ger 7,6; 22,3; Zc 7,10; o il classico linguaggio sapienziale di Sal 146,3 e così via.

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. Spreafico, «Straniero/forestiero», 979.

<sup>40</sup> Ordinariamente si parla del «Codice dell'alleanza» (Es 20,22–23,33), oggi datato all'epoca di Ezechia; del «Codice deuteronomico» (Dt 12,1–26,15), la cui formazione comprende l'ultima fase della monarchia del sud per estendersi all'epoca postesilica; del «Codice di santità» (Lv 17–26), all'interno delle tradizioni sacerdotali ma di redazione postesilica (cfr. J.-L. Ska, *Introduzione alla lettura del Pentateuco. Chiavi per l'interpretazione dei primi cinque libri della Bibbia* [Roma: EDB 1998] 53).

<sup>41</sup> La legislazione sugli stranieri di Es 22,20–22 è ampliata in Dt 14,21.29 e in 16,11.14 (cfr. Paganini, *Deuteronomio*, 38, 271); 24,19–21; 26,11–12; tuttavia si è osservato che la legislazione sul *gēr* in Es 20,22 e in 23,9 riguarda una figura trasversale rispetto all'appartenenza etnica, potendosi trattare tanto di «stranieri», quanto di ebrei appartenenti a una diversa tribù (cfr. M. Priotto, *Esodo. Nuova versione, introduzione e commento* [I Libri Biblici – Primo Testamento 2; Milano: Paoline 2014] 439). È invece possibile che la normativa sul *gēr* in Lv 19,33–34 riguardasse lo «straniero», o forse meglio l'«immigrato» che si fosse integrato completamente nella società ebraica, così da poter essere trattato come un nativo (cfr. G. Deiana, *Levitico. Nuova versione, introduzione e commento* [I Libri Biblici – Primo Testamento 3; Milano: Paoline 2005] 217).

<sup>42</sup> Nel caso di Lv 19,33–34, il divieto e il comando non presentano le circostanze necessarie per un codice giuridico, mentre si avvicinano a principi ispiratori di carattere morale; in questo senso, si può pensare che lo «straniero», in quanto «forestiero» completamente integrato nella società ebraica, sia diventato nel «Codice di santità» il «prossimo» secondo l'accezione più ordinaria di 19,18.

semplicemente a una tribù, o a una città, rispetto alle quali coloro, che chiedono ospitalità ed eventualmente sono ospitati, non sono originari. Non si tratta dunque di un fenomeno di massa, o che riguardi lo spostamento di un'intera popolazione, o anche di una tribù, e neppure di un clan. Infatti, per quanto nel racconto genesiaco rimanga piuttosto in sospeso l'identità dei «due messaggeri», che si recano a Sodoma (cfr. Gn 19,1)<sup>43</sup>, sono soltanto due persone; anche nel caso del levita, con la sua concubina e il servo, si tratta di tre persone con due asini (cfr. Gdc 19,10.19.21).

I «due messaggeri», che si recano a Sodoma, sono indicati dagli abitanti della città semplicemente come «quegli uomini che sono entrati» (Gn 19,5), mentre Lot è definito dagli stessi abitanti come «uno che è entrato per risiedere come immigrato» (19,9).

Nel racconto di Gdc 19,11–30, il levita capo-famiglia sottolinea che la città dei Gebusei, dove il servo aveva proposto in prima istanza di passare la notte, era una città straniera; invece il levita decide di passare la notte a Gabaa, una città di Beniamino, tribù dei figli d'Israele. Il dover richiedere l'ospitalità anche solo per una notte presso una «città straniera» è considerato cosa più rischiosa.

Il termine italiano «ospitalità» deriva dal sostantivo latino *hospes*, col senso tanto di «chi ospita» e di «chi è ospitato», ma si veda anche il sostantivo latino *hospitium* («trattamento di accoglienza», «sistemazione»), o anche dall'aggettivo latino *hospitalis* («chi pratica l'ospitalità»). Nella Bibbia ebraica non compare un termine equivalente all'italiano «ospitalità»<sup>44</sup>, mentre nella letteratura rabbinica compare il sintagma *hknst 'r'hym* («accoglienza degli ospiti», «raccolta dei viandanti»)<sup>45</sup>.

Nell'Antico Vicino Oriente e in tutto il mondo mediterraneo la prassi dell'ospitalità era particolarmente rispettata, fino alla concezione della sacralità dell'ospite, benché uno «sconosciuto», o uno «straniero» potesse essere anche un potenziale pericolo per il singolo che praticasse l'ospitalità, o per il villaggio, o la città che accettassero di ospitare qualche viandante di passaggio<sup>46</sup>. L'«ospitalità» ha costituito una forma di protezione per uno

43 La loro identità nel testo ebraico rimane in sospeso fin da 18,1–33, dove inizialmente si parla di tre personaggi (18,2), che fanno visita ad Abramo; mentre due di essi sono semplicemente menzionati (18,2.16), un terzo personaggio parla (18,10.13.15.17–33); del terzo personaggio parlante emerge che si tratta del Signore stesso (18,17ss). La nota redazionale di apertura in 18,1 precisa che nella comparsa di questi tre personaggi si deve intendere che il Signore era apparso ad Abramo alle Querce di Mamre (18,1). Per un quadro complessivo delle interpretazioni giudaiche e cristiane sull'identità dei tre personaggi, cfr. M. Harl, *Bible d'Alexandrie. I. La Genèse. Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, introduction et notes* (Paris: Cerf 1986) 173.

44 Il NT ha il suo corrispondente in un vocabolo composto: *philoxenia* (col senso di amore, cura per lo straniero), che ha il suo opposto nel greco *xenophobia* (odio per lo straniero); in entrambi i casi è presente la radice nominale *xénos*, «straniero».

45 In b. Šabb. 127a l'ospitalità è più grande anche della zelante frequenza alla casa di studio, o del ricevere la Shekinah; l'ospitalità a uno studioso o a uno studente della Torah è come il sacrificio giornaliero (b. Ber. 63b; b. Qidd. 76b; Rab. 58,12. Cfr. R. Sigel – M. Strassfeld – S. Strassfeld, *The First Jewish Catalogue* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publications Society of America 1972) 273–277; A.E. Kitov, *The Jew and His Home*, 5 ed. (New York: Shengold 1963) 90–94. Si veda anche l'uso del sintagma *gmylwt hsydydym* («contraccambio/ricompensa dei pii»).

46 Cfr. J. Koenig, «Hospitality», *ER* VI, 4138–4139; J. Koenig, «Hospitality», *ABD* III, 299–301.

«straniero» di passaggio in un altro paese e in qualche caso, come nel mondo biblico, l'unica forma di protezione inviolabile, almeno in teoria, in assenza di una specifica legislazione in materia.

Nella Bibbia ebraica chi usufruiva dell'ospitalità può essere designato con vari termini, anche se ciò non si verifica necessariamente in tutti i racconti di ospitalità: col participio con valore anche sostantivato dal tema semplice della radice verbale *'rh* («viandante», cfr. Gdc 19,17, ecc.), oppure dalla radice verbale *'br* («chi è di passaggio», cfr. Nm 33,51, ecc.), oppure il sostantivo dalla radice verbale *hlk* («viandante», cfr. TM 2 Sam 12,4)<sup>47</sup>.

La prassi dell'ospitalità verso una persona, o anche verso un ristretto numero di due o tre persone, è largamente rappresentata nei racconti biblici dell'AT<sup>48</sup>, ma anche nel NT<sup>49</sup>. Tuttavia, non pare che sia mai stata codificata in forme istituzionali<sup>50</sup>.

Tuttavia, nel Vicino Oriente Antico non si tratta di integrazione di stranieri, pur presentandosi anche una legislazione sulla presenza lavorativa a tempo, così da poter configurare una tolleranza sotto controllo. Lo straniero di passaggio doveva rispettare alcune regole amministrative come albergare nel luogo di accoglienza autorizzato per gli stranieri, privati o appartenenti al corpo diplomatico. Gli stranieri così albergati godevano di alcuni diritti, specialmente se facenti parte del corpo diplomatico o se mercanti: anche i diplomatici nelle loro peregrinazioni potevano essere oggetto di violenza. I mercanti godevano di privilegi su base contrattuale, con la stipulazione di convenzioni specifiche, che garantivano i commerci carovanieri. Se i mercanti non erano tutelati da convenzioni bilaterali fra gli stati, erano trattati come semplici stranieri, senza diritti specifici. Il visitatore normale è sottoposto al potere locale, che non può attribuirgli i diritti di

<sup>47</sup> In greco *párodos*; in latino *peregrinus*; in siriano come nella radice omologa ebraica *'rh*.

<sup>48</sup> Oltre agli esempi di ospitalità già osservati nel testo ebraico di *Genesis*, la rassegna dei testi che esemplificano la pratica dell'ospitalità nell'AT è piuttosto ampia, anche senza raggiungere la completezza, si veda: Gn 24,10–61; 29,9–14 (cfr. G.J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50* [WBC 2; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1994] 43–60); Es 2,15b–22; Gs 2,1–22; Gdc 4,17–22 e 5,24–27; 6,11–21; 13,1–23; 17,7–13; 19,3–9 (con qualche insistenza fuori dai protocolli; cfr. Adesina, *The Study of the "Hospitality Motif"*, 11–16); Rt 2,3–17; 1 Sam 9,19–10,1; 25,14–27; 28,21–25; 2 Sam 12,4 (parabola di Natan); 1 Re 10,1–13 (cfr. 2 Cr 9,1–9); 1 Re 13,7–10; 13,11–24; 17,7–16; 2 Re 4,8–17; Ger 9,1; 14,8; Gb 31,32; Tb 7,1–17; 8,19–21; Gdt 12,10–20; 13,1–10.

<sup>49</sup> Il termine *philoxenia* non compare nella LXX, ma due volte nel NT: Rm 12,3; Eb 13,2; tuttavia numerosi sono gli episodi in cui si notano alcuni o vari tratti della prassi dell'ospitalità: Mt 8,14–15; 9,10–13; 22,1–14 (cfr. Lc 14,16–24); Lc 7,36–50; 9,51–56; 10,38–42 (l'ospitalità che Gesù predilige); 14,1,7–12–14; 19,5–6; 24,28–31; Gv 2,1–10; 13,1–17 (Gesù compie un tipico gesto di ospitalità verso i Dodici); At 14,27–28; 15,30–34; 21,8; 21,16; 28,1–2,7–10; 2 Gv 10–11; 3 Gv 5–8; 9–10; Ap 3,20.

<sup>50</sup> Nella documentazione letteraria del Vicino Oriente Antico, i vari «protocolli di ospitalità» esistenti (cfr. Egitto, Mesopotamia, mondo hittita, e così via) lasciano capire che si tratta di una cultura: un'istituzione socio-religiosa che facilita il viaggiare, il commercio, le migrazioni quando acqua, cibo e asilo potevano non essere facilmente accessibili, e quando guerre e migrazioni forzate erano realtà comuni. L'applicazione dei protocolli di ospitalità assicurava la reciprocità del trattamento, quando l'ospite fosse divenuto un ospitato (cfr. Adesina, *The Study of the "Hospitality Motif"*, 41–45).

cittadinanza e che è determinata solo dall'appartenenza al territorio sottoposto alla giurisdizione regale<sup>51</sup>.

Le forme legislative bibliche sullo «straniero» non scendono significativamente nei dettagli della pratica dell'ospitalità<sup>52</sup>. Né sembra che dalle narrazioni bibliche si possa ricavare un «genere letterario»: i numerosi racconti possono essere talora molto ben dettagliati nei particolari, ma sono in generale molto diseguali tra loro, così che solo in una visione d'insieme dei dettagli se ne può ricavare un quadro significativo. È invece possibile che anche sulla base della prassi dell'ospitalità, si sia forgiata qualche altra forma istituzionale nel NT, ad esempio<sup>53</sup>.

Ciò spiega come gli studiosi possano aver preferito parlare della presenza del tema dell'ospitalità, talora largamente caratterizzante anche un libro biblico come la *Genesi*<sup>54</sup>; oppure abbiano voluto circoscriverlo come «motivo letterario»<sup>55</sup>.

Sono stati raccolti i dati sulla prassi dell'ospitalità nel mondo biblico, fino a tracciarne un «protocollo»: non una legge, né un'istituzione giuridicamente formalizzata, ma una prassi caratterizzata anche da vari accorgimenti in uso. Per la letteratura biblica dell'AT è più agevole raccogliere alcuni testi meglio caratterizzati dai «motivi letterari appartenenti al protocollo dell'ospitalità» per avere un quadro abbastanza significativo appunto del «protocollo dell'ospitalità».

Un quadro complessivo abbastanza ampio sul «protocollo dell'ospitalità» nell'AT può essere desunto dalla comparazione sinottica dei motivi letterari presenti in Gn 18,1–16 (Abramo ospita i tre personaggi); 19,1–14 (l'ospitalità violata a Sodoma); 24,11.15–61 (l'ospitalità di Betuel al servo di Abramo e a Isacco); Gdc 19,3–10 (l'ospitalità del padre della ragazza concubina del levita); 19,15–30 (la violazione dell'ospitalità a Gabaa).

51 Cfr. I. Cardellini, «L'uso del concetto di straniero nell'Antico Testamento. Una nota alla luce delle emigrazioni e degli spostamenti di persone nelle società del Vicino Oriente Antico», *Studi Emigrazione/Migration Studies* 38/143 (2001) 611.

52 Compagno invece gli «imperativi / vetitivi di ospitalità», quando il Signore è colui che garantisce per eccellenza ospitalità: Es 22,20–21; Lv 19,33–34; Nm 33,9–15; Dt 10,17–19; 14,28–29; 19,4–10; 24,17–22; 27,19. Nel NT, in Mt 25,31–46; in Rm 12,13 non si tratta di una legge, ma di una raccomandazione, come in Eb 13,2; in 1 Pt 4,9 la pratica dell'ospitalità è una delle caratteristiche delle vedove.

53 Cfr. l'istituzionalizzazione della missione organizzata da Gesù per i Dodici, o anche per i settantadue discepoli: Mt 10,1–15 (cfr. Mc 6,7–12; Lc 9,1–6; 10,1–12); analogamente accade per l'evangelizzazione apostolica successiva: At 16,14–15; 16,33–34; 17,7; 18,7.

54 Anche se non si tratta di un tema dominante in modo esclusivo (cfr. discussione in Adesina, *The Study of the "Hospitality Motif"*, 13–14).

55 Il motivo letterario dell'ospitalità consiste in una caratteristica, un fatto o una situazione ricorrente, così che il tema dell'ospitalità in tutti i suoi dettagli non compare necessariamente in tutti i testi o pericopi bibliche. È invece sufficiente che anche uno solo dei motivi letterari dell'ospitalità sia presente, per poter accostare in modo talora particolarmente significativo quel testo o quella pericope al tema dell'ospitalità, dal quale riceve o al quale conferisce una certa luce.



#### 4. I motivi letterari presenti nei racconti selezionati in visione sinottica<sup>56</sup>

L'arrivo nell'area dove cominciano gli obblighi di ospitalità (Gn 18,2<sup>57</sup>; 19,1.2b; 24,11<sup>58</sup>; Gdc 19,3<sup>59</sup>; 19,15<sup>60</sup>).

Il benvenuto e l'invito agli ospiti<sup>61</sup> (Gn 18,2-5; 19,1-3; 24,23-32<sup>62</sup>; Gdc 19,3-4; 19,16-21).

Lavaggio dei piedi, rifocillamento degli ospiti e provvisione per gli animali usati come mezzo di trasporto (Gn 18,4-8<sup>63</sup>; 19,3<sup>64</sup>; 24,32-33.54; Gdc 19,5-6<sup>65</sup>; 19,21).

Soggiorno notturno<sup>66</sup> (Gn 19,2.4; 24,54<sup>67</sup>; Gdc 19,7-10<sup>68</sup>; 19,20).

Convenevoli: risposte, benedizioni, notizie da parte degli ospiti (Gn 18,9-15<sup>69</sup>; 24,33-53<sup>70</sup>).

<sup>56</sup> La sinossi proposta riprende, con vari ampliamenti e precisazioni, lo schema utilizzato in Adesina, *The Study of the "Hospitality Motif"*, 48-49.

<sup>57</sup> Abramo è un beduino, fuori da qualsiasi città e non ha nessuna restrizione nell'ospitare i viandanti.

<sup>58</sup> Il pozzo fuori città è il luogo al quale verso sera, data la calura del giorno, le donne vanno ad attingere l'acqua, così che il servo di Abramo ha buona speranza che arrivi anche Rebecca, la figlia Betuel, parente di Abramo.

<sup>59</sup> La donna è nativa di Betlemme di Giuda; in assenza di ulteriori specificazioni è ovvio pensare che suo padre fosse della tribù e nel territorio di Giuda.

<sup>60</sup> La narrazione evidenzia la sorpresa dell'anziano efraimita di fronte all'indifferenza delle gente di Gabaa.

<sup>61</sup> Si desume dal contesto la specificazione del tempo e della durata dell'ospitalità.

<sup>62</sup> Il servo di Abramo e Rebecca sanno bene che non è competenza di una donna invitare qualcuno in casa; infatti, essendo morto suo padre, è il fratello di Rebecca, Labano, che si assume il compito di ospitare il servo di Abramo, che quindi può accettare senza esitazioni l'invito a entrare in casa.

<sup>63</sup> L'ospitalità offerta da Abramo è esemplare, come anche sottolinea la tradizione rabbinica.

<sup>64</sup> Non c'è nessun accenno al lavaggio dei piedi.

<sup>65</sup> La menzione della condivisione del cibo con l'ospite compare solo il quarto giorno, anche se la si deve presupporre nei tre giorni precedenti. Il protocollo ordinario dei tre giorni è superato; l'ospite esprime col gesto di alzarsi la volontà di sciogliere il vincolo dell'ospitalità, com'era diritto di fare una volta scaduto il tempo.

<sup>66</sup> Soltanto quando necessario.

<sup>67</sup> Pur trattandosi di ospitalità per contrarre matrimonio, la preoccupazione del servo di Abramo è di ritornare al più presto con la sposa per Isacco, così che l'ospitalità comporta una sola notte.

<sup>68</sup> L'insistenza dell'ospite nel prolungare l'ospitalità può essere compresa come generosità del padre della ragazza nel vedere ricompensata l'unione familiare, ma la persona ospitata si sente forzata ad accettare, pur avendo la possibilità di rifiutare. C'è una sottile prova di forza tra il padre della ragazza e il marito ospitato che si sente costretto, contro il protocollo vigente di fatto.

<sup>69</sup> Ordinariamente una domanda dell'ospite sconosciuto sulla moglie dell'ospite sarebbe stata un'ingerenza del tutto sconveniente, contro ogni consuetudine in vigore; anche il dialogo successivo con Sara rivela l'imbarazzo della situazione, di fronte alla quale Abramo non sembra scomporsi: nella sua veste di capo-famiglia ospitante, o forse per aver intuito qualcosa dell'identità dei suoi ospiti. Per la narrazione biblica l'intervento divino è talmente importante da poter andare oltre alle regole di qualsiasi protocollo.

<sup>70</sup> L'ampiezza della condivisione tra ospite e ospitante si spiega per via della trattativa matrimoniale, che include anche la dote da consegnare da parte dello sposo alla famiglia della sposa. In questo caso il protocollo della trattativa matrimoniale s'intreccia con quello dell'ospitalità. L'ospitalità dura di fatto una sola notte.

Reazioni da parte della popolazione locale a fronte della violazione del protocollo dell'ospitalità (Gn 19,4–11; Gdc 19,22–26).

Partenza degli ospiti (Gn 18,16<sup>71</sup>; 19,12–22; 24,54–61<sup>72</sup>; Gdc 19,10<sup>73</sup>; 19,27–29).

## 5. Relazioni tra Gn 19,1–29 e Gdc 19,11–30

C'è una maggiore affinità tra Gn 19,1–29 e Gdc 19,11–30<sup>74</sup>. Un significativo rilievo emerge dal motivo letterario della violazione del protocollo dell'ospitalità a Sodoma e a Gabaa, da parte di chi ospita e di chi è ospitato, con la conseguente reazione violentissima della popolazione locale. Le analogie riguardano anche altri aspetti del vocabolario e delle espressioni, che fanno pensare a una possibile dipendenza letteraria tra i due racconti, senza far dimenticare che vi sono anche importanti differenze negli esiti diversi delle due vicende e nei rispettivi contesti vitali e letterari dei due racconti.

Diventa fondamentale una lettura canonica dei due racconti, in base alla quale il testo e il contesto genesiaco impone un superamento dell'osservanza del protocollo dell'ospitalità, a completo favore dell'ospitalità verso lo straniero<sup>75</sup>. Se ne evince un quadro di valori più ampio, fino a poter asserire che quando una città, o una società per varie ragioni rende impossibile l'ospitalità verso stranieri, si è di fronte a un segnale allarmante per un imminente crollo della stessa città o società.

## 6. Il confronto tra Gn 19,1–29 e Gdc 19,11–30 – affinità, analogie e differenze

I due racconti presentano importanti analogie ma anche notevoli differenze nel loro sviluppo interno, schematizzabile in cinque punti.

<sup>71</sup> Gli ospiti di Abramo si congedano, ma sono accompagnati per un tratto di strada da Abramo stesso.

<sup>72</sup> Il congedo avviene in tempi abbastanza rapidi: il servo di Abramo chiede di partire subito, declinando l'offerta ovvia di un'ospitalità più prolungata in ragione della combinazione del matrimonio, e anche Rebecca è d'accordo per un'immediata partenza; ma non può mancare la benedizione dei genitori di Rebecca.

<sup>73</sup> Il congedo della comitiva dalla casa paterna della ragazza è piuttosto laborioso, e finalmente dopo cinque giorni e cinque notti, il levita capo-famiglia e capo-comitiva si congeda di sera e giunge nei pressi di Gebus, Gerusalemme.

<sup>74</sup> Una sinossi tra Gn 19,1–29 e Gdc 19,11–30 è offerta in Rizzi, *Giudici*, 462, dove si aggiunge la pericope relativa all'annientamento della tribù di Beniamino (cfr. 20,29–48), come corrispondente della distruzione di Sodoma e Gomorra. Il quadro di riferimento in *Giudici* è più ampio perché non è coinvolta soltanto la città di Gabaa, ma l'intera tribù di Beniamino.

<sup>75</sup> La conclusione è avallata dall'unanime consenso positivo nelle antiche tradizioni giudaica, cristiana e musulmana sulla figura di Lot, in quanto ha praticato l'ospitalità a favore di stranieri, anche a fronte delle perplessità che l'esegesi moderna può presentare sulla stessa figura di Lot.



L'arrivo in città degli ospiti e l'offerta di ospitalità in una casa:

Gn 19,1-3 // Gdc 19,11-21

La narrazione dell'arrivo in città degli ospiti con l'offerta di ospitalità in una casa è molto lineare in Gn 19,1-3: arrivo dei due personaggi a Sodoma e saluto premuroso di Lot (19,1); offerta di ospitalità di Lot in casa sua, respinta inizialmente dai due personaggi (19,2); Lot «costringe»<sup>76</sup> i due personaggi ad accettare la sua offerta (19,3).

La narrazione dell'arrivo in città della piccola comitiva di ospiti con l'offerta di ospitalità in una casa è molto più elaborata in Gdc 19,11-21: arrivo nelle vicinanze di una città dei gebusei e proposta del servo (19,11); il levita marito-padrone rifiuta la proposta del servo e dà altre direttive (19,12-13); la comitiva arriva a Gabaa e si ferma nella piazza della città (19,14-15); l'arrivo dell'anziano efraimita, residente ospite a Gabaa (19,16); l'anziano efraimita vede il levita in piazza e gli rivolge due domande (19,17); il levita risponde alle due domande e aggiunge una precisazione sul vettovagliamento (19,18-19); l'anziano efraimita saluta il levita, lo assicura per il vettovagliamento e lo esorta a non pernottare in piazza (19,20); l'anziano efraimita fa entrare la comitiva in casa sua offrendo l'ospitalità (19,21).

Il vocabolario dei due testi presenta varie affinità: il verbo *bw'* (arrivare in città a destinazione, o entrare in casa; al causativo, fare entrare in casa: Gn 19,1,3; Gdc 19,14.15bis.17.21); la radice verbale *ysb* (starsene seduto: Gn 19,1; Gdc 19,15); il sostantivo *'rb* (sera: Gn 19,1; Gdc 19,16; cfr. anche 19,11.14); il verbo *swr* (fare una deviazione per andare in un posto particolare: Gn 19,2,3; Gdc 19,11.12.15); il verbo *lyn* (pernottare: Gn 19,2bis; Gdc 19,11.13.15bis.20); il sostantivo *byt* (casa: Gn 19,2,3; Gdc 19,15.18.21); il sostantivo *rhwb* (piazza della città: Gn 19,2; Gdc 19,15.17.20); la radice verbale *hlk* (andare, recarsi: Gn 19,2; Gdc 19,14.17.18.bis); il sintagma corrispondente a «lavarsi i piedi» (Gn 19,2; Gdc 19,21); la radice verbale *'kl* (condividere il pasto ospitale: Gn 19,3; Gdc 19,21).

Il linguaggio relativo al protocollo dell'ospitalità ha aspetti specifici in ciascuno dei due racconti: il saluto agli ospiti (Gn 19,1; Gdc 19,20); preparare per gli ospiti un banchetto e far cuocere pani azzimi (Gn 19,3); accogliere o non accogliere qualcuno in casa (Gdc 19,15.18); paglia e foraggio per le cavalcature (19,19); pane e vino per gli ospiti (19,19); non deve mancare nulla (19,19); prendersi a proprio carico quanto occorre agli ospiti (19,20); accudire alle cavalcature (19,21); condivisione delle bevande (19,21).

Nell'ambito di un quadro tra i più dettagliati del protocollo dell'ospitalità, in entrambi i racconti spiccano dettagli distonici in parte comuni e in parte specifici.

Lot, come ospite residente e non nativo di Sodoma, non avrebbe mai potuto offrire ospitalità in casa a persone sconosciute a lui come agli abitanti nativi della città; neppure l'anziano efraimita, ospite residente a Gabaa di Beniamino, avrebbe potuto offrire ospitalità in casa a una comitiva che avrebbe dovuto fare ritorno nell'area di Efraim, mentre

<sup>76</sup> La radice verbale *psr* ha il senso di operare un'insistenza tenace, anche aggressiva, ma nel testo e contesto genesiaco denota la preoccupazione di Lot per la condizione dei due personaggi che dovessero passare la notte nella piazza di Sodoma (cfr. discussione in Adesina, *The Study of the "Hospitality Motif"*, 119).

lo stesso capo-comitiva era un levita di Betlemme di Giuda<sup>77</sup>. Gli ospiti potevano restare nella piazza della città ed erano a conoscenza di questo aspetto del protocollo, come in un primo tempo si avverte nel rifiuto a entrare in casa da parte dei due personaggi di Gn 19,2. In entrambi i casi il permesso di ospitare in casa «stranieri» avrebbe dovuto essere concesso soltanto dai nativi delle due città. Eventualmente un giudice (cfr. Gn 19,9) avrebbe potuto risolvere la questione. Tuttavia, Sodoma non apparteneva al territorio delle tribù d'Israele, né la Bibbia Ebraica parla della funzione di «giudicare» in senso tecnico durante l'epopea abramitica<sup>78</sup>. L'evoluzione interna del libro dei *Giudici* evidenzia che con Sansone era cessata qualsiasi funzione di giurisdizione, mentre si ripete più volte l'affermazione che a quel tempo non c'era nessun re in Israele, così che ciascuno faceva quel che voleva (cfr. Gdc 17,6; 18,1; 19,1; 21,25).

Non essendoci alcuna legislazione specifica sulle regole dell'ospitalità nelle aree geografiche prese in considerazione nei due racconti biblici e quindi nemmeno una «polizia» che facesse rispettare le regole in vigore, qualsiasi intervento avrebbe potuto essere deciso in teoria da un'assemblea di cittadini nativi, di cui però non c'è traccia nei due racconti biblici. La natura della reazione dei nativi è successivamente qualificata in modo simile e molto negativamente in tutti e due i racconti.

Nel racconto di Gdc 19,11–21 vi sono altre anomalie rispetto al protocollo dell'ospitalità. In 19,15 si evidenzia che nessuno accoglie in casa la comitiva, che sta in piazza; la contiguità, dell'osservazione sullo starsene ad aspettare in piazza e la contrapposizione che nessuno offriva ospitalità, lascia intravedere che probabilmente il capo-comitiva, nella sua posizione di levita (cfr. anche 19,18), si sarebbe aspettata un'ospitalità più piena, nonostante le usanze del «protocollo dell'ospitalità».

La domanda, ancor prima del saluto, dell'anziano efraimita al levita sulla sua provenienza e su dove sia diretto (cfr. 19,17), non corrisponde al protocollo dell'ospitalità, secondo il quale sarebbe toccato all'ospite ragguagliare su queste cose chi lo avrebbe ospitato.

Anomala è la dichiarazione del capo-comitiva all'anziano efraimita sulle disponibilità della comitiva stessa nel provvedere alle vettovaglie per l'ospitalità (cfr. 19,19); se è palese l'intenzione di non voler essere di peso, può sottintendere una valutazione circa le difficoltà da parte del potenziale ospitante (il che sarebbe una vera scortesia), oppure è un forzare la mano per avere comunque ospitalità in casa.

L'irruzione degli abitanti della città e il diverbio con il padrone di casa:

Gn 19,4–8 // Gdc 19,22–24

La descrizione dell'irruzione dei sodomiti e del diverbio iniziale con Lot, che offre una contropartita, è più elaborata in Gn 19,4–8: i sodomiti circondano la casa di Lot (19,4)

<sup>77</sup> Non si può escludere che, nel clima di degenerazione incombente tra i figli d'Israele, la narrazione voglia mettere in risalto negativamente le differenze tribali, che di lì a poco sarebbero esplose nella guerra civile.

<sup>78</sup> L'accento all'esercizio di «esercitare la giurisdizione» in Gn 19,9 potrebbe dar ragione a quanti pensano che il racconto genesiaco possa in qualche modo dipendere nella sua redazione da quello di *Giudici*.

e chiedono a Lot di far uscire i due ospiti per violentarli (19,5); Lot esce a trattare e chiede che non facciano un simile affronto (19,6–7), ma offre la contropartita delle sue due figlie (19,8).

La descrizione dell'irruzione degli abitanti di Gabaa in Gdc 19,22–24 è simile: abitanti di Gabaa circondano la casa dell'anziano efraimita e gli impongono di far uscire il levita per violentarlo (19,22); l'anziano efraimita chiede che non facciano un simile affronto (19,23), ma propone la contropartita di sua figlia e della concubina del levita (19,24).

Il vocabolario e il fraseggiare dei due testi, messi in parallelo, presenta varie affinità: il sintagma «uomini di Sodoma/della città» (Gn 19,4; Gdc 19,22); l'espressione «circondarono la casa» (Gn 19,4; Gdc 19,22); la costruzione «e dissero a...» (Gn 19,5; Gdc 19,22); alcune ricorrenze della radice verbale *yš'*: al causativo dell'imperativo (Gn 19,5; Gdc 19,22: far uscire gli ospiti, o l'ospite); al causativo del coortativo della prima persona singolare comune (Gn 19,7; Gdc 19,22: far uscire due donne); alla terza persona singolare maschile del tema semplice (Gn 19,6; Gdc 19,23: uscire); le frasi simili: «gli uomini/l'uomo che sono entrati da te/in casa tua» (Gn 19,5; Gdc 19,22; cfr. 19,23); alcune ricorrenze della radice verbale *y'd'*: alla prima persona plurale come dell'*yiqtol* (Gn 19,5; Gdc 19,22: avere rapporti omosessuali; Gn 19,7; Gdc 19,25: avere rapporti eterosessuali); formulazioni come «No, fratelli miei, non compite del male prego» (Gn 19,7; Gdc 19,23); le frasi simili: «ho due figlie che non conoscono uomo, prego, le faccio uscire a voi» (Gn 19,8), oppure «ecco mia figlia vergine e la concubina dell'altro, prego, le<sup>79</sup> faccio uscire» (Gdc 19,24); le frasi simili: «perché facciate a loro come è bene ai vostri occhi» (Gn 19,8), oppure «perché facciate a loro<sup>80</sup> quel che è bene ai vostri occhi» (Gdc 19,24); le frasi simili «purché a questi uomini non facciate nulla» (Gn 19,8), oppure «ma a quell'uomo non dovete fare assolutamente una cosa di questa nefandezza» (Gdc 19,24).

Il linguaggio relativo al protocollo dell'ospitalità presenta nei due racconti sviluppi analoghi specifici. La violazione del protocollo dell'ospitalità in entrambi i racconti, sia da parte di chi offre come da parte di accetta ospitalità non può essere lasciata senza sanzione. Non essendoci però una legislazione in materia, la sanzione decisa dagli abitanti indigeni e la contrattazione da parte di Lot e dell'anziano efraimita sono improvvisazioni arbitrarie.

Sembrano corrispondere a una possibile prassi protocollare soltanto alcuni sviluppi delle situazioni: la convivialità dell'ospitalità: «prima che si coricassero» (Gn 19,4a), oppure «loro stavano rallegrando il loro cuore» (Gdc 19,22a); il chiamare i rispettivi padroni di casa da parte degli abitanti indigeni per infliggere una sanzione (Gn 19,5a; Gdc 19,22b); l'uscita all'esterno del padrone di casa per una contrattazione (Gn 19,6–8; Gdc 19,23–24).

Il gruppo degli abitanti indigeni che circondano la casa di chi ha offerto abusivamente ospitalità a stranieri è diversamente qualificato nei due racconti: Gn 19,4 denota

<sup>79</sup> L'attuale TM può designare anche il duale (cfr. N. Fernández Marcos [ed.], *Judges* [BHQ 7; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2012] 109\*).

<sup>80</sup> Cfr. nota precedente.

negativamente la totalità della popolazione di Sodoma<sup>81</sup>. La qualifica negativa della gente di Gabaa è esplicita: «uomini empi» (Gdc 19,22)<sup>82</sup>, ma non si tratta dell'intera popolazione della città, che risulterà più ampiamente coinvolta nella successiva guerra civile<sup>83</sup>. Il gruppo di persone, che bussano<sup>84</sup> alla porta dell'anziano efraimita, agisce di sua iniziativa, senza alcun mandato, ma con la ferma intenzione di punire l'abuso in atto.

La richiesta a Lot e all'anziano efraimita è espressa in modalità identiche: far uscire gli ospiti o l'ospite, perché li/lo si vuole «conoscere» (Gn 19,5; Gdc 19,22). La radice verbale *yḏ'* ha nel contesto il senso di avere un rapporto di stupro nei loro confronti. Il linguaggio è quello dell'omosessualità largamente praticata<sup>85</sup>, proibita come reato (cfr. Lv 18,22) e punita con la morte (20,13), ancor più grave come reato nei casi in questione, perché imposta a persone non consenzienti. Tuttavia, occorre distinguere tra la fama che si è creata nella tradizione circa il peccato di «sodomia»<sup>86</sup>, che sarebbe stato appunto caratteristico delle città di Sodoma e Gomorra, e le circostanze delle minacce lanciate. Nei racconti relativi a Sodoma e Gabaa l'intenzione è di infliggere una punizione umiliante<sup>87</sup> ai forestieri per aver infranto il protocollo dell'ospitalità, avendone usufruito da chi non aveva il diritto di concederla: una punizione destinata a terrorizzare<sup>88</sup>. In assenza di una legislazione in materia e di un'autorità legittima in grado di emanare una sentenza penale, resta evidente l'arbitrarietà e la sproporzione della pena decisa. Se per Sodoma, fuori dalla «terra d'Israele» il divieto dell'omosessualità nella tradizione biblica potrebbe non essere così vincolante, lo è invece certamente per una città appartenente alla tribù di Beniamino, per lo meno restando all'interno di una lettura canonica dei testi biblici.

Anche la reazione di Lot e dell'anziano efraimita sono molto simili, in due momenti distinti. Prima riguarda l'onorabilità della casa di chi ospita di fronte alla violazione

81 Secondo l'aspetto formale dell'espressione, si tratta della popolazione maschile, soprattutto in relazione alla punizione richiesta per i due ospiti di Lot. Non è una definizione neutrale della popolazione di Sodoma, perché richiama Gn 13,10.13 e, nel contesto immediatamente precedente, la decisione divina di indagare sulle città di Sodoma e Gomorra (Gn 18,20–21).

82 La catena costruita ebraica, nel linguaggio deuteronomistico, indica uomini «perversi»; cfr. discussione sull'etimologia di *bby'l* e sulla resa nelle antiche versioni, come nella letteratura peritestamentaria in Rizzi, *Giudici*, 465.

83 Cfr. Gdc 20,15–16 e discussione testuale in Rizzi, *Giudici*, 448.

84 La forma verbale al tema riflessivo-passivo dell'intensivo è *hapax legomenon*; il Tg su Gdc 19,22 specifica che si tratta di un bussare violento «fino a rompere la porta».

85 Secondo HALOT II, 391 si tratta di «pederastia». Dt 23,18 condanna la prostituzione maschile praticata in alcuni templi.

86 Anche Giuntoli, *Genesis 12–50*, 68 sottolinea soltanto nella gente di Sodoma un comportamento legato all'esercizio dell'omosessualità.

87 Secondo K. Stone, «Gender and Homosexuality in Judges 19: Subject-Honor, Object-Shame?», *JSOT* 67 (1995) 87–107 il codice sociale non scritto, ma soggiacente a questi comportamenti, sarebbe stato abbastanza comune nell'antica area mediterranea e nel Vicino Oriente Antico; lo stupro omosessuale sarebbe da intendere come un modo con cui un soggetto maschio avrebbe minacciato l'onore e la mascolinità di un altro maschio; la sostituzione con una donna da stuprare sarebbe un mezzo per ottenere lo stesso scopo: la violenza sessuale a una donna sarebbe in funzione di una lotta per il potere e l'onore tra uomini.

88 Cfr. Rizzi, *Giudici*, 466, con bibliografia.

della sacralità dell'ospite, poi consiste in una contropartita alle minacce lanciate (Gn 19,7–8; Gdc 19,24).

Lot offre agli aggressori la possibilità di sostituire la punizione minacciata, con la facoltà di abusare delle sue due figlie (19,8a)<sup>89</sup>: ciò pone in primo piano la sacralità dell'ospite, ma non giustifica in nessun modo la liceità di consegnare le proprie figlie a uno stupro collettivo<sup>90</sup>.

L'anziano efraimita invece offre agli aggressori la possibilità di sostituire la punizione minacciata con la consegna della propria figlia vergine e della concubina del levita ospite<sup>91</sup>: emerge il crimine nei confronti della figlia per salvare in qualche modo l'onore della casa, ma anche quello di violare la stessa sacralità dell'ospite<sup>92</sup>, attraverso l'oltraggio alla sua concubina.

Il rifiuto degli abitanti della città: Gn 19,9 // Gdc 19,25a

Il rifiuto della contropartita di Lot da parte dei sodomiti diventa un tentativo di azione violenta in Gn 19,9: i sodomiti ribadiscono quanto chiesto (19,9a); accusano Lot di voler fare da giudice a Sodoma (19,9b); minacciano di aggredire Lot e cercano di sfondare la porta della sua casa (19,9c). Il rifiuto degli abitanti di Gabaa è laconico in Gdc 19,25a.

Gli sviluppi delle due vicende non appartengono più a nessun possibile protocollo dell'ospitalità. In Gn 19,9b compare un possibile riferimento a una forma istituzionale di giudicatura per l'applicazione di una sanzione contro chi avesse violato il protocollo dell'ospitalità; la terminologia ha un linguaggio giuridico: definire Lot uno «straniero residente», che vorrebbe fare da giudice con la sua controproposta è un'ipotesi paradossale e senza precedenti<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Agli aggressori Lot dice che le sue due figlie non hanno conosciuto uomo; tuttavia, l'asserzione non sembra rispondere completamente alla realtà, poiché, nella successiva fuga concitata da Sodoma della famiglia di Lot, si parla dei due suoi generi che stavano per prendere in moglie le sue figlie (cfr. Giuntoli, *Genesi 12–50*, 69), una condizione che non sembrava escludere necessariamente i rapporti coniugali.

<sup>90</sup> Anche tenendo conto dell'autorità assoluta del capo-famiglia in una cultura patriarcale e apertamente maschilista, dove la donna non ha voce in capitolo, la contropartita di Lot è il segno di una decadenza del personaggio stesso, che ha scelto di vivere fuori dal progetto divino su Abramo e in una terra non indicata dal Signore.

<sup>91</sup> Il tema delle due donne in contropartita sembra appartenere a uno schema comune tra i due racconti biblici (cfr. discussione in Adesina, *The Study of the "Hospitality Motif"*, 149–154), così che si può pensare che in Gdc 19,24 si debba intendere un'eco di Gn 19,8 (cfr. S. Niditch, "The «Sodomite» Theme in Judges 19–20: Family, Community and Social Disintegration", *CBQ* 44 [1982] 365–378), ma anche viceversa. La maggior parte degli studiosi ritiene che Gn 19,1–11 sia il modello di Gdc 19,10–28, ma non mancano indizi per una dipendenza in qualche punto del racconto genesiaco da quello di *Giudici*. Circa la priorità cronologica tra Gn 19 e Gdc 19, la critica testuale sembra offrire indizi a favore di una lettura canonica dei testi: almeno in una fase avanzata della storia della trasmissione testuale dei testi, Gn 19 è stato considerato il paradigma testuale di Gdc 19 (cfr. Rizzi, *Giudici*, 462).

<sup>92</sup> In Vg Gdc 19,24 emerge la sottolineatura sul peccato contro natura.

<sup>93</sup> Altra questione sarebbe il dover situare effettivamente questo linguaggio all'epoca dei fatti come narrati nel contesto genesiaco. Nel caso di Tamar (cfr. Gn 38,24–26) potrebbe esserci stato una sorta di giudizio intertribale, senza una vera e propria figura di giudice. Il linguaggio di 19,9b risente dell'epopea dei *Giudici*, quando i racconti sull'istituzione mosaica dei giudici stessi furono adeguatamente elaborati, in epoca esilico-postesilica,

L'inatteso sviluppo della situazione: Gn 19,10–11 // Gdc 19,25b–c

Lo sviluppo della situazione in Gn 19,10–11 ha due momenti: gli ospiti di Lot lo sottraggono al possibile linciaggio e chiudono la porta (19,10); poi rendono cieca la folla degli aggressori (19,11).

Anche lo sviluppo della situazione in Gdc 19,25b–c ha due momenti: il levita getta la sua concubina alla gente di Gabaa (19,25b), che violenta la ragazza per tutta la notte fino all'alba (19,25c).

Nelle due sezioni dei testi a confronto si ha il rovesciamento di quello che avrebbe dovuto essere eventualmente il protocollo dell'ospitalità. Chi ospita, Lot, non è in grado di proteggere gli ospiti, mentre al contrario sono gli ospiti a salvare colui, che li aveva ospitati, da un possibile linciaggio: dapprima fanno rientrare Lot, chiudendo la porta (Gn 19,10), quindi rendono cieca la folla degli assalitori, così che non riescono più a trovare la porta da sfondare (19,11). Così inizia ormai l'inesorabile punizione degli abitanti della città.

È il levita stesso, che, per difendersi dall'aggressione inevitabile della gente di Gabaa, mette in atto (Gdc 19,25b–c) la contropartita dell'anziano efraimita, di far uscire fuori la propria concubina<sup>94</sup> alla gente, che già aveva rifiutato la controproposta delle due donne. L'anziano efraimita, padrone di casa, non è in grado di difendere i suoi ospiti. Il gesto del levita mette in discussione la riconciliazione che sarebbe avvenuta con il ricongiungimento della coppia alla casa della ragazza, e festeggiato con una prolungata ospitalità<sup>95</sup>; ma rivela anche il degrado dell'istituzione coniugale-familiare, le cui relazioni interne fondamentali sono diventate inaffidabili<sup>96</sup>. Il resoconto narrativo lascia vedere la viltà e l'assoluto disinteresse del levita per la sua concubina stuprata tutta la notte<sup>97</sup>.

Il congedo degli ospiti: Gn 19,12–29 // Gdc 19,26–30

La descrizione del congedo degli ospiti è molto laboriosa in Gn 19,12–29 e si conclude con l'abbandono di Sodoma anche da parte di Lot: gli ospiti invitano Lot con tutta la sua famiglia a lasciare la città per via della sua imminente distruzione (19,12–13); Lot cerca invano

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dovendosi progettare con quale forma istituzionale tornare nella «terra dei padri» (cfr. Liverani, *Oltre la Bibbia*, 331; Rizzi, *Giudici*, 5).

<sup>94</sup> Sulla questione discussa dello statuto della «concubina» all'interno dell'antica istituzione matrimoniale nel Vicino Oriente Antico, e specificamente nell'area palestinese al tempo supposto dalla narrazione di Gdc 19, o comunque all'epoca della sua redazione, si veda Rizzi, *Giudici*, 458.

<sup>95</sup> Cfr. Gdc 19,1–10; in generale, sia attraverso le varianti delle versioni antiche come negli antichi commentatori ebrei anche di lingua greca, non diversamente dai commentatori cristiani antichi di lingua latina, si è cercato in vari modi di denigrare il comportamento della donna, anche eventualmente nel suo mettersi in mostra (cfr. Rizzi, *Giudici*, 442, 458, 468).

<sup>96</sup> Nel libro dei *Giudici* si è di fronte a uno degli ultimi segnali della disgregazione delle tribù ebraiche all'interno della «terra dei padri» prima del tracollo finale della guerra civile e dei suoi tristi epiloghi. Le cosiddette «appendici finali» di 17,1–21,25, alla luce degli studi più recenti, fanno parte integrante del disegno del libro, che traccia un'involuzione progressiva fino all'esito finale, non in una storia ciclica, ma in una spirale di degenerazione ormai inarrestabile (cfr. Rizzi, *Giudici*, 34–38).

<sup>97</sup> Simili episodi, oltre tutto così prolungati, non avvengono senza le urla strazianti delle vittime: il silenzio del testo obbliga il lettore a esprimere un giudizio sul comportamento del levita.



di convincere i suoi due generi ad abbandonare Sodoma (19,14); gli ospiti insistono perché almeno Lot, sua moglie e le due figlie abbandonino la città (19,15); gli ospiti aiutano i fuggiaschi ad abbandonare la città, a non voltarsi indietro e a non fermarsi nell'area circostante (19,16–17); Lot chiede che gli sia risparmiata la fatica di un viaggio troppo lungo (19,18–20); a Lot è concesso di fermarsi a Soar (19,21–22); Lot raggiunge Soar (19,23); Sodoma, Gomorra e il circondario sono distrutte col fuoco dal cielo (19,24–25); la moglie di Lot si volta indietro e diventa una statua di sale (19,26); Abramo constata al mattino la distruzione di Sodoma e Gomorra e del circondario (19,27–28); Dio constata la distruzione dell'area e il salvataggio di Lot (19,29).

Per quanto i due ospiti e Lot siano ancora presenti, la narrazione si disegna soprattutto come compimento delle attese e degli impegni divini con Abramo: la punizione della città e il salvataggio almeno di Lot, come constatato da Dio stesso in 19,29 (cfr. 18,17ss). Sono gli ospiti a salvare Lot e le sue due figlie, mentre gli altri familiari di Lot si perdono con la distruzione di Sodoma e di Gomorra.

La descrizione del congedo degli ospiti in Gdc 19,27–30 è laconica: l'accasciarsi della ragazza stuprata alla soglia della porta della casa che l'aveva ospitata (19,26); il risveglio del levita marito-padrone e la constatazione della situazione della ragazza (19,27); il comando del levita alla ragazza e la partenza del levita da Gabaa con gli asini, uno dei quali trasporta la ragazza stuprata (19,28); l'arrivo del levita a casa e lo squartamento del corpo della ragazza per farne un macabro messaggio in Israele (19,29); la constatazione dell'orrore avvenuto in tutto Israele (19,30).

Il testo ebraico non esplicita formalmente che la donna stuprata per tutta la notte sia morta: la giovane si trascina sino alla porta di casa dell'anziano efraimita (19,26), dove il levita, marito-padrone, se ne è stato al sicuro per tutta la notte; quando il levita la vede esanime davanti alla porta e senza poter rispondere all'ordine ingiuntole di alzarsi per partire, il testo ebraico lascia solo decidere al lettore eventualmente se la donna sia morta, oppure no<sup>98</sup>. La certezza della morte della donna è inequivocabile soltanto con il macabro rituale, una volta raggiunta la casa, dello squartamento del suo corpo, con il messaggio senza parole per tutto Israele (19,29) e la constatazione dell'orrore (19,30). Il silenzio, o la reticenza del testo ebraico, nell'evidenziare le cause della morte della ragazza, appartiene a un disegno più ampio del libro dei *Giudici*, che comprende anche l'episodio dell'ospitalità violata a Gabaa. Infatti, lo stesso levita ha un ruolo scatenante nella deflagrazione finale della guerra fratricida con il quasi totale annientamento della tribù di Beniamino e gli squallidi epigoni successivi<sup>99</sup>. Se la punizione divina per la violazione dell'ospitalità a Sodoma può essere constatata all'interno della narrazione di Gn 19,1–29, per attendere

<sup>98</sup> Si veda la discussione sulle varianti nelle antiche versioni testuali e sulla tradizione testuale indiretta in G. Rizzi, "La morte di una donna anonima nel libro dei *Giudici*", «*Figlio d'uomo, alzati, ti voglio parlare*» (Ez 2,1). *Studi in onore del prof. Marco Nobile in occasione del suo 75° compleanno* (edd. A. Cavicchia – M. Cucca) (Roma: Antonianum 2018) 85–90.

<sup>99</sup> Cfr. Rizzi, "La morte di una donna anonima nel libro dei *Giudici*", 90–95.

un giudizio divino sulla vicenda anche di Gdc 19,11–30 occorre comprendere il terribile silenzio di Dio alla fine del libro.<sup>100</sup>

## 7. La prospettiva di una lettura contestuale

I racconti di Gn 19,1–29 e di Gdc 19,11–30 hanno in comune una situazione contestuale redazionale simile: entrambi sono preceduti ciascuno da un esempio di «protocollo dell'ospitalità» applicato positivamente. Il racconto genesiaco è preceduto dal racconto dell'ospitalità esemplare, offerta da Abramo ai tre ospiti in Gn 18,1–16<sup>101</sup>; l'episodio dell'ospitalità violata a Gabaa è preceduto da quello dell'ospitalità, anche se in parte invadente, del padre della ragazza al levita-marito in Gdc 19,1–10. Il raffronto nella sequenza dei due episodi contigui di ospitalità nei due libri biblici evidenzia un significato in parte analogo e in parte profondamente diverso tra la narrazione genesiaca e quella di *Giudici*. La prima analogia comune è la presenza dei motivi letterari relativi al «protocollo dell'ospitalità»: applicato esemplarmente da Abramo (Gn 18,1–16), ma anche dal padre efraimita della concubina (Gdc 19,1–10). Tuttavia, mentre per il beduino Abramo non vi sono restrizioni relative al «protocollo dell'ospitalità» nell'accogliere generosamente i tre ospiti sconosciuti, per Lot e per l'anziano efraimita, entrambi «stranieri residenti», rispettivamente a Sodoma e a Gabaa, c'erano almeno le consuetudini attinenti al «protocollo dell'ospitalità», che prevedeva da parte della popolazione indigena il previo consenso a ospitare in una casa della città. Nella narrazione genesiaca e nell'episodio di Gabaa gli ospiti sapevano che avrebbero potuto restare nella piazza della città, ma che non avrebbero potuto entrare nella casa di nessuno, senza il permesso degli abitanti indigeni del luogo. La seconda analogia almeno in parte comune è la tragicità della conclusione delle due vicende. La narrazione genesiaca si conclude con la distruzione delle città di Sodoma e Gomorra (cfr. Gn 19,24–29), a constatazione che il male delle due città, noto anche al Signore (cfr. 18,20–21), nonostante l'intercessione di Abramo (18,22–33), doveva essere punito. Se nella tradizione interpretativa successiva l'accento è stato messo sulla questione dell'omosessualità, il confronto delle narrazioni dei due libri biblici evidenzia il tema della violazione dell'ospitalità, almeno nella durissima decisione di tutti o di una parte della gente delle città in questione nei confronti di ospiti indebitamente accolti nelle rispettive città (cfr. 19,5,9; Gdc 19,22,25). Mentre la narrazione genesiaca si conclude con la punizione radicale di tutti i colpevoli, nel caso della narrazione del libro dei *Giudici*, bisogna aspettare la tragica fine della guerra civile

<sup>100</sup> Cfr. Rizzi, *Giudici*, 499.

<sup>101</sup> La scansione proposta da Giuntoli, *Genesi 12–50*, 58 separa il v. 16, collegandolo al tema della distruzione delle città di Sodoma e di Gomorra; ma, alla luce del «protocollo dell'ospitalità» lo stesso v. 16 può essere considerato la conclusione dell'ospitalità offerta da Abramo con il congedo degli ospiti, da lui accompagnati per un tratto di strada.



tra la coalizione dei figli d'Israele e la tribù di Beniamino, comprendente anche la gente di Gabaa (cfr. Gdc 20,4–13.14–16.20–22.25.29–44).

Vi è un'opposta visione del giudizio divino sul senso delle due vicende nei rispettivi libri biblici. Il giudizio divino negativo sulle città di Sodoma e di Gomorra è espresso all'inizio della vicenda (cfr. Gn 18,20) e nella constatazione finale del redattore (cfr. 19,29). Il giudizio divino su Gabaa e sullo sterminio pressoché totale di Beniamino<sup>102</sup> si avverte nel contesto della guerra civile intertribale, scatenatasi irrefrenabilmente come ultima manifestazione del collasso di una società, nella quale anche le guide politiche e religiose sono naufragate progressivamente insieme alla popolazione<sup>103</sup>. Le consultazioni del Signore non ottengono un assenso divino finché la coalizione dei figli d'Israele non capisce di poter punire Beniamino soltanto come un «fratello» (cfr. Gdc 20,20–23.24–29)<sup>104</sup>. Tuttavia, mentre il Signore si limita a colpire Beniamino (20,35), la coalizione dei figli d'Israele gli infligge la punizione che sarebbe stata riservata soltanto a una nazione pagana (20,36–48)<sup>105</sup>. Di fronte al tardivo e contraddittorio pentimento della coalizione dei figli d'Israele nella quarta consultazione divina a tre giorni dalla fine della guerra (cfr. 21,1–4), non v'è alcuna risposta divina, così che ultime risoluzioni alla fine del libro dei Giudici sono soltanto decisioni tragicamente umane (cfr. 21,5–25)<sup>106</sup>.

Nella narrazione genesiaca e nei fatti di Gabaa emerge che la violazione dell'ospitalità, anche nella diversità delle circostanze storiche, giuridiche e istituzionali, è un segnale significativo dell'imminente tracollo di una società.

## 8. Il «protocollo dell'ospitalità» in una lettura canonica della tradizione biblica

Circa il trattamento da riservare agli «stranieri» c'è una tendenza della legislazione biblica stessa più attenta nei loro confronti; ma esiste anche una tradizione altrettanto vigorosa sul rapporto strettissimo tra i figli d'Israele e la terra data dal Signore, che in alcune correnti teologiche non ammette la contaminazione di «stranieri pagani» nella «terra d'Israele». Il «protocollo dell'ospitalità» sembra riflettere una dialettica tra queste tendenze bibliche; i motivi letterari che lo caratterizzano riflettono situazioni, che

<sup>102</sup> L'evento scatenante della guerra civile è il crimine di Gabaa, presentato in modo gravemente falsato dal levita all'assemblea di Mizpa in Gdc 20,4–7, che s'innesta in un clima surriscaldato, precipitosamente incline alla guerra (cfr. Rizzi, «La morte di una donna anonima nel libro dei Giudici», 85–95).

<sup>103</sup> Cfr. Rizzi, *Giudici*, 471–472.

<sup>104</sup> Cfr. G. Rizzi, «Le consultazioni del Signore durante la guerra tra i figli d'Israele e Beniamino: reticenza o pedagogia divina?», *Liber Annuus* 69 (2019) 104–112.

<sup>105</sup> Cfr. Rizzi, «Le consultazioni del Signore durante la guerra», 112–115.

<sup>106</sup> Cfr. Rizzi, «Le consultazioni del Signore durante la guerra», 115–120.

sarebbero di natura giuridica, non facilmente conciliabili; fuori dal contesto di una lettura canonica della tradizione biblica, gli episodi di Sodoma e di Gabaa non sono assimilabili in modo omogeneo.

Una lettura canonica di Gn 18,1–19,29 e di Gdc 19,1–30 indica una priorità nel contesto di una dialettica di tradizioni: i racconti fondatori della Torah-Pentateuco e in particolare la tradizione abramitica, ormai divenuta strutturale, fissano come normativo il comportamento del patriarca Abramo, aperto ad accogliere viandanti sconosciuti senza alcuna restrizione giuridica o di prassi consuetudinarie. Per quanto possa essere stata dettata da ragioni contestualmente diverse, la negazione e la violazione dell'ospitalità diventa sempre il segnale del disfacimento anche irreversibile di una società.

## 9. L'inattesa rilevanza della figura di Lot

Grazie a una lettura canonica dei testi, si può comprendere come le tradizioni giudaiche, cristiane e anche musulmane abbiano per vari aspetti concordemente guardato in modo favorevole al comportamento di Lot<sup>107</sup>.

Giuseppe Flavio, *Ant.* I, 11,4,204 ricapitola la conclusione del racconto genesiaco, aggiungendovi un tratto di commiserazione negativa<sup>108</sup>.

Nella tradizione del giudaismo peritestamentario<sup>109</sup> precristiano, Sap 10,6–9, senza nominare formalmente Lot, vi allude chiaramente in senso positivo, chiamandolo anche «giusto» (10,6). La rielaborazione midrashica attribuisce alla Sapienza quanto il racconto genesiaco descrive come azione divina anche attraverso gli angeli giunti a Sodoma per liberare Lot e la sua famiglia<sup>110</sup>. Secondo il giudaismo rabbinico, Lot ha imparato da Abramo la pratica dell'ospitalità<sup>111</sup>.

107 Lot esce dal progetto divino su Abramo e sulla sua discendenza in ordine al dono di una terra, e non vi fece mai ritorno; Lot ha violato il «protocollo dell'ospitalità», per la prassi consuetudinaria che lo riguardava, e ha proposto un compromesso non omologabile con l'offerta delle sue due figlie.

108 Cfr. Giuseppe Flavio, *Antichità giudaiche* (ed. L. Moraldi) (Classici delle religioni 1; Novara: UTET – De Agostini 2013) 83–84.

109 L'aggettivo definisce meglio l'epoca di stesura e di redazione di una letteratura giudaica in varie lingue compresa la lingua ebraica, non confluita nella Bibbia Ebraica, a partire dal periodo ellenistico fino a raggiungere anche i primi due secoli dell'epoca cristiana.

110 Cfr. anche L. Ginzberg, *Le leggende degli ebrei*. II. *Da Abramo a Giacobbe*, 2 ed. (a cura di E. Lowenthal) (Biblioteca Adelphi 346; Milano: Adelphi 2004) 77, 261. In questa linea si colloca Rab. 50,9, includendo anche altri tratti midrashici.

111 Cfr. M. Pérez Fernández, *Los capítulos de Rabbi Eliezer. Versión crítica, introducción y notas* (Biblioteca midráshica 1; Valencia: Institución S. Jerónimo para la Investigación Bíblica 1984) 186; la redazione dell'opera dovrebbe essere collocata sotto la dominazione musulmana in un clima di attesa messianica, intorno al sec. IX, benché R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos (attivo tra l'80–120 d.C.) sia stato discepolo di R. Yohanan ben Zakkai. L'elaborazione midrashica di Gn 19,1ss in Rab. 50,1–4 è più ampia, evidenzia l'ospitalità di Lot in rapporto a quella più esemplare di Abramo, e la natura perversa degli abitanti della città.

Nella tradizione cristiana neotestamentaria la qualifica di «giusto» per Lot in Sap 10,6 è condivisa da 2 Pt 2,6–8, per aver praticato l'ospitalità e per il dissenso con l'immoralità degli abitanti indigeni; la sottolineatura dell'ospitalità offerta da Abramo e da Lot emerge anche nella raccomandazione di Eb 13,2. La nota sull'immoralità dell'omosessualità di Sodoma e Gomorra è evidente in Gd 7. La tradizione interpretativa midrashica sull'ospitalità è evidenziata anche nella tradizione patristica cristiana in Clemente Romano, *Cor* 10,7 e 11,1.

Nella tradizione musulmana<sup>112</sup> non ci fu mai in epoca muhammamica, né tra i successivi cantastorie ebrei convertiti all'islam, un rapporto diretto con i testi biblici dell'AT o del NT: le analogie risalgono sempre a riformulazioni musulmane attraverso tradizioni orali e non di rado con mediazioni di tradizioni di letteratura giudaica e cristiana peritestamentarie, note anche queste sempre attraverso tradizioni orali. Sono più esplicite sulla vicenda di Lot in rapporto ai testi biblici genesiaci alcuni versetti di due sure: Corano 15,68–72; 27,54–58.

Le riformulazioni midrashiche della vicenda di Lot nella letteratura giudaica peritestamentaria e rabbinica non sono interpretazioni esegetiche esaustive in senso stretto, ma forme anche diversificate di selezioni nel testo biblico e nel suo messaggio, in funzione di uditori anche molto distanti nel tempo, e a scopo edificante, se non proprio apologetico. Analogamente accade nelle riletture neotestamentarie e patristiche cristiane. Ancor più evidente è la situazione nelle riformulazioni coraniche. Si può avvertire facilmente una certa comunanza nell'ermeneutica giudaica, cristiana e musulmana sulle sottolineature riguardanti l'ospitalità di Lot e l'immoralità omosessuale degli abitanti di Sodoma e di Gomorra.

La complessità e la dialettica delle tradizioni bibliche non sono una parte semplicemente «abrogata» o «superata» della rivelazione biblica, ma appartengono a un «realismo» della rivelazione biblica stessa, capace ancora di segnalare come l'ospitalità abramitica dovrà sempre misurarsi con problemi politici, istituzionali, strutture giuridiche e rigidismi religiosi di non facile soluzione.

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<sup>112</sup> Sulla figura di Lot nel Corano si veda un possibile catalogo di riferimenti in A. Bausani, *Il Corano. Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (2 ed.; Milano: BUR Rizzoli 1990) 762: 6,86; 7,80–84; 11,70.77–83.89; 15,59.74; 21,71.74–75; 22,43; 26,160–175; 29,26.28–35; 37,133–138; 38,13; 50,13; 51,32–37; 54,33–40; 76,10.

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## La figura dello straniero nella Bibbia Ebraica: fenomenologia e teologia

The Figure of the Foreigner in the Hebrew Bible: Phenomenology and Theology

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**ABSTRACT:** The introduction of the article presents some methodological clarifications that aim to achieve a proper thematic treatment of the foreigner in the Bible. It (a) states the need to place the study of terms that indicate the foreigner in the relevant semantic field, (b) stresses the importance to be accorded to the founding narratives, and (c) indicates the value of the term “figure” as applied specifically to the immigrant. The contribution is then divided into three sections: 1. “The Phenomenology of the Foreigner in the Bible” shows the criteria for defining the foreigner, and emphasises the specific notion of the immigrant; 2. “The Biblical Theology of the Immigrant” illustrates the precariousness of the one who requests hospitality and, at the same time, makes manifest the divine blessing for the one who welcomes him. 3. “The Biblical Norms Regarding the Immigrant” show how different precepts tend to equate the immigrant with the citizen itself.

**KEYWORDS:** foreigner, immigrant, Old Testament theology, biblical law

**PAROLE CHIAVE:** straniero, immigrato, teologia dell’Antico Testamento, legge biblica

Il tema affrontato da questo nostro intervento al Convegno<sup>1</sup> è di natura generale, poiché tratta della figura dello straniero in tutta la Bibbia Ebraica, precisandone la fenomenologia e la teologia. Non avremo la possibilità di procedere con puntuali dimostrazioni esegetiche; speriamo tuttavia di offrire un contributo che abbia un profilo organico, utile soprattutto per la sua prospettiva riflessiva. Prima di sviluppare il nostro argomento intendo indicare, in una breve introduzione, alcuni principi di ordine ermeneutico e metodologico, allo scopo di inquadrare l’esposto che seguirà.

1. La decisione di dedicare un Convegno di studi al tema dello straniero nella Bibbia e nel Vicino Oriente Antico si radica, possiamo immaginare, nell’esperienza di questi ultimi decenni, in cui, specialmente in Europa, si sono prodotte ondate migratorie di enorme portata, che, da un lato, hanno suscitato in molti la paura di una presenza minacciosa, mentre,

<sup>1</sup> Il Convegno Internazionale “Lo straniero nella Bibbia e nel Vicino Oriente Antico” è stato organizzato dall’Istituto di Scienze Bibliche della Cattolica Università di Giovanni Paolo II di Lublino dal 25 al 26 ottobre 2022.

d'altro lato, le migliori coscienze hanno pure avvertito la necessità di soccorrere, con adeguati provvedimenti, le persone minacciate e vittime di soprusi<sup>2</sup>.

Se questa è la motivazione del Convegno, appare particolarmente propizia una presentazione sintetica (come la nostra), che tratteggi, almeno a grandi linee, quanto la sacra Scrittura ci indica nelle sue considerazioni valoriali (di ordine teologico, etico e istituzionale). L'approccio frammentario, su singoli libri o pericopi, così come il confronto con la letteratura del Vicino Oriente Antico, risulteranno più utili se articolati a una riflessione globale, sia per confermare, sia per precisare o correggere quanto è stato organicamente suggerito.

2. Poiché ci si interroga sullo straniero, in modo particolare a partire dai testi biblici, una prima questione che si deve porre concerne il vocabolario mediante cui il tema viene espresso. La terminologia esplicita (per la Bibbia Ebraica *nokri/nēkār*, *zār*, *gēr*, e gli equivalenti nella LXX e nel Nuovo Testamento) va certamente studiata per individuare le precise denotazioni dei singoli lessemi (per esempio *gēr* nella specifica valenza di "immigrato")<sup>3</sup>. Non va però dimenticato di inserire questo limitato gruppo di termini nel complesso del pertinente campo semantico, il che comporta sia l'analisi dei termini antonimi (come: fratello, consanguineo [carne e sangue], cittadino, residente, ecc.), sia la considerazione dei termini correlati più importanti (come: indigente, prossimo (*rēaʿ*), ma anche: risiedere, ereditare, possedere, sfruttare, soccorrere, ecc.)<sup>4</sup>. Inoltre, la nozione di straniero è esplicitata dalla stessa denominazione dei diversi popoli (Egiziani, Hittiti, Cananei, Caldei, Israeliti, ecc.), con cui si designa un'entità sociale dotata di specifica fisionomia, contrapposta a tutte le altre (che risultano quindi "straniere"); in questo caso si deve però anche essere attenti a particolari connotazioni, positive o negative, che abitualmente o almeno in certi libri, vengono a emergere dal testo biblico, perché non tutti gli stranieri ricevono identiche valutazioni (basti, al proposito, evidenziare la specificità dei Cananei nelle tradizioni della conquista di Canaan, e pure la diversità di trattamento di vari popoli nelle norme di Dt 23,2–9 e 25,17–19)<sup>5</sup>.

3. Il proposito di tratteggiare la figura dello straniero nella Bibbia Ebraica apparirebbe a qualcuno metodologicamente problematico, se non addirittura improponibile, sia a ragione dell'eccessiva estensione testuale da considerare (dalla Genesi a 2 Cronache), sia a causa della varietà di epoche e generi letterari, in cui si evidenzia una reale disparità di

2 Va ricordato che la *Dichiarazione universale dei diritti umani*, adottata dall'Assemblea Generale delle Nazioni Unite il 10 dicembre 1948, tutela, agli articoli 13–14, alcuni diritti dell'emigrante. Qualche precisazione in merito è stata poi introdotta nel *Patto Internazionale sui diritti civili e politici*, adottato dall'Assemblea Generale delle Nazioni Unite il 16 dicembre 1966, agli articoli 12–13.

3 Il sostantivo *gēr* ("immigrato") è talvolta associato al termine *tōšāb* ("residente"), allo scopo di precisare il suo domicilio "presso" (*im*, *b'tók*) il cittadino (Gen 23,4; Lv 25,6.35; ecc.).

4 Il limite metodologico dei cosiddetti *Dizionari teologici* di tipo lessicografico sta proprio nel trattamento di singoli termini senza considerazione del campo semantico, inducendo quindi una comprensione spesso distorta di un determinato motivo tematico. Al proposito si veda P. Bovati, «La paternità di Dio nell'Antico Testamento. Considerazioni ermeneutiche e sviluppi tematici a partire dal cantico di Mosè (Dt 32,1–43)», *Filiation, entre Bible et Cultures*. Hommage à Roland Meynet (edd. M. Grilli – J. Oniszczuk – A. Wénin) (Rhetorica Biblica et Semitica 17; Leuven: Peeters 2019) 55–82.

5 Va contemporaneamente studiato il perché di una simile differenziazione, motivata per lo più da supposti eventi storici.



punti di vista<sup>6</sup>. Possiamo tuttavia affermare – quale regola di un corretto procedere interpretativo – che, per la tradizione biblica (non solo quindi per il primo Testamento), la Tòrah ha una speciale valenza normativa, sia nei racconti fondatori della Genesi e dell’Esodo, sia nelle sezioni legislative (dei vari Codici). Questo assunto (cioè la rilevanza assoluta della Tòrah) è stato allora adottato per il nostro contributo, quale principio di intelligenza dell’insieme scritturistico.

4. Un’ultima annotazione. Il termine “figura” (applicato a “straniero”), che nel titolo del nostro intervento abbiamo preferito invece di “concetto” o “tema”, intende suggerire il rapporto con la storia, nella quale si determinano dei ricorsi (cioè ripetizioni del medesimo fenomeno), con mutamenti di prospettive e nuove assunzioni di senso. Con ciò intendiamo seguire il modello ermeneutico di teologia biblica “figurale” o tipologica, teorizzato da Paul Beauchamp nei suoi volumi di Teologia dell’uno e l’altro Testamento<sup>7</sup>, offrendo, tra l’altro, un ponte al trattamento dello straniero nella letteratura neo-testamentaria.

Svilupperemo il nostro argomento in tre punti:

1. La fenomenologia dello straniero nella Bibbia Ebraica
2. La teologia biblica riguardante lo straniero immigrato
3. Le norme bibliche a favore dell’immigrato

## 1. La fenomenologia dello straniero

Vogliamo qui indicare quali sono, secondo la Bibbia Ebraica (e più esattamente secondo la Tòrah), alcuni tratti distintivi che definiscono l’appartenenza di un soggetto a una determinata entità sociale, distinta dalle altre, che risultano quindi “straniere”.

La classificazione dei popoli dopo il diluvio, esposta succintamente in Gen 10, presenta – in un certo senso – la situazione “originaria”, con una sorta di “fermo immagine” su una realtà non ascrivibile a nessuna precisa epoca storica, quasi fosse il punto di partenza degli eventi successivi. In essa si afferma che, benché tutti i popoli provengano da un’unica origine (Noè: Gen 10,1), si è determinata – probabilmente a causa della proliferazione delle varie stirpi – la “dispersione” delle nazioni, ciascuna definita da tre elementi: (a) una specifica “famiglia” o clan (*mišpāhā*), (b) una lingua propria (*lāšôn*) e (c) un preciso territorio (*‘eres*) (Gen 10,5.20.31). Questi tre elementi concorrono di fatto a caratterizzare in qualche modo una nazione nei confronti delle altre.

(a) *Le genealogie* di Gen 10 (con l’elenco dei discendenti di Iafet, di Cam e di Set) non costituiscono ovviamente un dato storicamente attendibile. Esse hanno invece una duplice funzione: da un lato, quella di affermare una comune origine dei popoli, quindi una radicale fraternità fra gli esseri umani (cosa purtroppo di limitata incidenza nei rapporti

6 Cfr. C. Di Sante – F. Giuntoli, *Lo straniero e la Bibbia. Verso una fraternità universale* (Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2011) 6.

7 P. Beauchamp, *L’un et l’autre Testament. I. Essai de lecture. II. Accomplir les Écritures* (Paris: Seuil 1976–1990).

tra le nazioni, anche nel racconto biblico); d'altro lato, mediante il riferimento al progenitore di un determinato gruppo, si evocano quei tratti specifici di somiglianza somatica che esprimono la sorprendente varietà dell'unica razza umana. Tutte le famiglie dei popoli assomigliano a Noè (e ad Adamo, e quindi a Dio: Gen 1,26–27; 5,1–3), ma ognuna di esse è diversa dalle altre per una sua qualche particolare conformazione genetica. Non vi sono razze superiori o inferiori, ma solo stirpi che visivamente esprimono l'alterità, valore questo da rispettare, pena la negazione della fraternità universale, anche se è talvolta difficile riconoscere il "fratello" in un volto di "straniero".

(b) *La lingua*. Il riferimento all'antenato capostipite (come Kush per gli Etiopi o Abramo per gli Ebrei) non ha come unico riflesso quello di una specifica configurazione somatica; il «padre» è anche il principio ideale della legge, delle costumanze ancestrali e della religione, e determina così delle pratiche che differenziano i suoi «figli» da altri gruppi geneticamente simili (cfr. i Recabiti, in Ger 35). Il testo di Gen 10 fa emergere allora, in modo esplicito, l'elemento culturale che ha nella lingua propria di ogni popolo un suo tratto caratteristico. La lingua "materna", la lingua dei padri, non è fatta solo di suoni particolari e di regole grammaticali specifiche; essa è pure veicolo di preghiere, proverbi, poemi, racconti e leggi che costituiscono l'eredità culturale di un popolo. Un tale patrimonio ereditario produce fatalmente una notevole difficoltà di concordia fra i popoli; il parlare lingue diverse e l'avere abitudini comportamentali eterogenee vengono percepiti infatti come un ostacolo alla comunicazione, nel commercio, negli scambi tecnologici, nella trasmissione del sapere, nella stessa convivenza sociale. Per favorire una più facile intesa, i grandi imperi – rappresentati da Babele nel racconto mitologico di Gen 11 – hanno cercato di imporre una lingua comune, una sorta di *koiné* sovranazionale, in sostanza non solo l'idioma, ma anche il modo di organizzare la società in sintonia con l'ideologia del gruppo dominante. Questi processi di forzata assimilazione non riusciranno mai a eliminare la pluralità delle lingue e dei dialetti; anzi, la giustizia sociale, ammonisce la Bibbia, esige la varietà delle lingue, quale segno della particolarità dei singoli popoli, che nessuno deve abolire<sup>8</sup>.

(c) *Il territorio*. Infine, ogni popolo è per così dire «confinato» in una determinata porzione territoriale, delimitata da frontiere, a volte naturali, a volte fissate arbitrariamente da trattati internazionali. La definizione spaziale si sovrappone in genere a una determinata configurazione politica e amministrativa. Chi governa in un «paese» si fa allora garante della difesa dei suoi confini; non di rado però egli si ritiene autorizzato a non rispettare quelli degli altri, adducendo il pretesto di una più sicura protezione dei propri cittadini o un migliore sviluppo economico per tutti. Le frontiere risulteranno quindi, nella storia, del tutto fluttuanti.

La tavola dei popoli tracciata in Gen 10 risulta in realtà astratta e statica. Offre elementi per la definizione di un popolo rispetto a un altro (elementi utili, anche se non proprio

<sup>8</sup> Privare qualcuno della sua lingua materna, pretendendo di renderlo acculturato e più disponibile allo scambio internazionale è quindi un atto di violenza che tocca le radici dello stesso atto di parola. Questo appare essere il perentorio giudizio divino in risposta al progetto della costruzione di Babele (Gen 11,7–9).

dirimenti), e sembra postulare come bene che ciascuno dimori nel suo territorio senza sconfinamenti, che ognuno resti “a casa sua”, attaccato al suo gruppo (magari con matrimoni endogamici) e rimanga fedele alle sue tradizioni patrie e al suo specifico patrimonio culturale.

Una tale configurazione statica, in cui prevale la semplice giustapposizione delle nazioni, viene contrastata, in un primo racconto della Genesi, già evocato, con il “progetto” (ritenuto saggio) di abolizione delle differenze, mediante la soppressione dei confini e la convergenza di tutti i popoli in una sola “città”/*civitas*. Ciò viene appunto prospettato dal racconto della costruzione di Babele in Gen 11. La Bibbia (cioè Dio) condanna però il tentativo imperialistico di eliminare le diversità nazionali mediante una unificazione artificiale (anche se apparentemente consensuale). In conclusione – direbbe la Bibbia – è bene che vi sia il cittadino, ma è bene anche che, accanto a lui, permanga lo straniero, e vi sia dunque colui che si rifà a una diversa componente etnica, politica, culturale e religiosa.

Dalle considerazioni fatte finora siamo indotti, in primo luogo (1), a formulare un principio generale: vi sono elementi oggettivi che portano a qualificare un popolo come “diverso” dagli altri; tuttavia nessuno di tali elementi è veramente decisivo per la definizione dello “straniero”<sup>9</sup>. In una formula, volutamente provocatoria, diremmo che è il soggetto parlante – popolo o individuo che sia – a definirsi diverso, è lo straniero a proclamarsi straniero. Non sono infatti le caratteristiche genetiche (il padre comune), né il patrimonio culturale (la lingua), né una determinata porzione territoriale (chiamata patria) a definire con certezza chi sia cittadino o straniero, anche se ognuno di questi elementi può occasionalmente contribuirvi. Quello che è decisivo è il vissuto di ognuno, ciò che una persona, un gruppo, un popolo percepisce di se stesso, e che si manifesta proprio nella comunicazione, nell’atto con cui il “diverso” esprime la sua natura particolare<sup>10</sup>. L’Ebreo, ad esempio, è quello che si dice Ebreo (e questa figura può essere estesa analogicamente anche ad altri gruppi o nazioni), e dicendosi Ebreo (come fece Giona in Gn 1,9) chiede di essere ascoltato nella sua individualità, nella sua diversità. Diversità e ascolto (quest’ultima è la prima forma di accoglienza) costituiscono un binomio fondamentale per una corretta antropologia anche in campo sociologico; l’ascolto è indispensabile, perché nessuno sa cosa sia il diverso se non si lascia istruire, se non accoglie quello che l’altro, nella sua inassimilabile alterità, vuole manifestare. In secondo luogo (2), lo straniero si rivela nella sua propria natura quando si fa conoscere come tale “presso” gli altri, quando cioè entra nello spazio straniero e diventa un vicino, diventa prossimo. Israele ne è la figura emblematica, quale modello a valenza universale. La storia della salvezza – la storia in cui Dio si rivela, la storia della benedizione – inizia

<sup>9</sup> Sul complesso problema dell’identità etnica, cfr. K.L. Sparks, *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Israel. Prolegomena to the Study of Ethnic Sentiments and Their Expression in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1998).

<sup>10</sup> Scrive Gian L. Prato (“Straniero. Verso una definizione analogica del concetto in riferimento al territorio siriano-palestinese del TB-FI e all’Israele delle origini”, *Lo “straniero” nella Bibbia. Aspetti storici, istituzionali e teologici* [ed. I. Cardellini] [RSStB 7; Bologna: EDB 1996] 33): “È il giudizio sull’altro che lo crea come straniero o lo pone in rapporto dialettico con l’elemento dominante”.

infatti, secondo la Tòrah, quando qualcuno (un individuo o un popolo) assume proprio *la prospettiva dello straniero che entra in un'altra terra e diventa immigrato*. L'immigrato, nella sua duplice condizione di "straniero" e di "vicino" (perché venuto a risiedere nella terra altrui) è la figura fondatrice della storia biblica. Siamo perciò chiamati a scoprirne il valore.

## 2. La teologia dello straniero immigrato

Israele, nei racconti di origine, narra la sua storia di popolo diverso da tutti gli altri allo scopo di testimoniare la verità rivelatagli dal suo Dio, per far conoscere cioè a tutti come il bene scaturisca dall'*accoglienza* dello straniero, dell'altro che non mi assomiglia, non parla la mia lingua, non pratica i miei costumi, non venera la mia divinità. Alla visione statica di Gen 10, dove ogni gruppo è sistemato in una immaginaria casella, si contrappone una prospettiva dinamica e relazionale, perché è questa la via della salvezza<sup>11</sup>. E in opposizione radicale all'immagine imperialista di Babele – smentita nel suo progetto unificante dal suo clamoroso insuccesso (Gen 11) – viene contrapposta la figura di Abramo, che, da migrante, attraversa le frontiere, per diventare immigrato, facendo della sua diversità il fermento di una benedizione universale (Gen 12,1–3). Nel prosieguo della narrazione, la medesima figura dell'immigrato è assunta poi dall'intero popolo degli Ebrei in Egitto; questa storia è narrata per far ricordare all'Israelita la sua esperienza fondatrice, offerta a tutti i popoli come modello e fonte di adeguati programmi di giustizia sociale. La figura individuale dell'immigrato (Abramo) viene riproposta dunque, con specifiche connotazioni, nella dimensione collettiva di un popolo (Israele); e ciò viene presentato come la storia salvifica secondo il disegno di Dio.

### 2.1. Abramo immigrato. Figura individuale

Abramo è messo in movimento dal Signore, che gli dice: «Va' dalla tua patria [...] alla terra che io ti indicherò» (Gen 12,1). È vero che la migrazione verso la terra di Canaan era iniziata con suo padre Terach (Gen 11,31), ma tale processo diventa «vocazione» (disegno e volontà di bene da parte del Signore) solo quando viene assunto personalmente dal padre nella fede come una decisione di obbedienza religiosa. Va notato che Abramo non lascia la Mesopotamia per ristrettezze economiche; viene infatti segnalato che era ricco in bestiame e oro (Gen 13,2). Nemmeno risulta che subisse vessazioni o minacce nel paese di origine; non è quindi un profugo che fugge zone di guerra. Ed egli non abbandona la sua patria per allontanarsi dall'idolatria, dato che la terra verso cui è indirizzato è abitata dai Cananei (Gen 12,6), seguaci di divinità diverse dal Dio a cui egli obbediva (cfr. Gs 24,15). Abramo è così presentato come la figura esemplare del puro migrante, nella quale tutti i migranti possono riconoscersi al di là delle loro specifiche motivazioni; ed è figura non di miseria

<sup>11</sup> Cfr. Pontificia Commissione Biblica, «*Che cosa è l'uomo?*» (Sal 8,5). *Un itinerario di antropologia Biblica* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2019) §§ 10–11.

ma di elezione e di benedizione, così che tutti siano spinti a configurarsi con lui. Dio infatti promette ad Abramo: «Farò di te una grande nazione e ti benedirò, renderò grande il tuo nome e tu sarai una benedizione. Benedirò coloro che ti benediranno e coloro che ti malediranno maledirò, e in te si diranno benedette tutte le famiglie della terra» (Gen 12,2–3). Il destino del mondo, secondo la Bibbia, dipende dalla figura di questo prototipo di migrante, Abramo, che accetta di rinunciare al titolo di cittadino (la sua “patria”), e rischia la sua vita assumendo lo statuto dell’immigrato (cfr. Rt 2,11–12). Perché è con lui che il Signore fa *alleanza* (Gen 15,7–20; 17,1–8), con lui anzi il Signore in certo modo si identifica, così da portare, per suo mezzo, vita e benedizione alla moltitudine delle genti<sup>12</sup>.

Probabilmente qualcuno dirà che nell’antichità tutto questo risultava facile, perché l’ospitalità era una pratica consuetudinaria, riconosciuta universalmente come un dovere sacro, frutto anche di quella spontanea solidarietà che nasce quando tutti percepiscono i medesimi bisogni. La Bibbia tuttavia smentisce questa presunta condizione irenica riguardo agli immigrati. Il racconto delle origini di Israele dice infatti che i patriarchi furono ripetutamente infastiditi: i re locali prendevano le loro mogli (Gen 12,11–20; 26,1–14), i residenti si impossessavano dei pozzi scavati dagli immigrati, che venivano quindi scacciati (Gen 21,25; 26,15–25), e chi entrava in una città straniera, come quella di Sodoma, doveva subire l’oltraggio infamante della sottomissione violenta<sup>13</sup>.

Abramo è perciò chiamato ad assumere emblematicamente la figura dell’immigrato, proprio nella dimensione di precarietà, debolezza e sofferenza, per significare che Dio costantemente viene incontro agli uomini in questa condizione<sup>14</sup>. Inoltre, proprio perché ha fatto l’esperienza della necessità dell’accoglienza, Abramo ha un cuore attento, capace di ospitare il viandante che passava presso di lui. Mentre la città di Sodoma offende chi cerca rifugio (Gen 19,1–11), la tenda di Abramo si apre per ricevere, come un dono, la presenza di alcuni stranieri (Gen 18,1–8), che apportano la fecondità alla sua famiglia. Questi misteriosi personaggi verranno visti come degli «angeli» (Gen 19,1; Eb 13,2), una rappresentazione cioè del divino che visita gli uomini, apportando, da un lato, un’impensabile fecondità alla casa accogliente (Gen 18,9–14) e d’altro lato, producendo, per contrasto, la catastrofe sulla città inospitale (Gen 19,15–29).

12 Lo “straniero” è perciò una figura di inestimabile valore spirituale, perché il diverso davanti a me è il segno del mio limite creaturale; cfr. M. de Certau, *Mai senza l'altro. Viaggio nella differenza* (Magnano: Qiqajon 1993). Nella tradizione biblica, ma anche in quella di diversi popoli antichi, l’immigrato rappresenta addirittura simbolicamente la divinità nel suo rivelarsi agli uomini.

13 Cfr. Pontificia Commissione Biblica, «*Che cosa è l'uomo?*» (*Sal* 8,5), §§ 186–188. Sodoma e Gomorra sono l’emblema delle città cananee «maledette» proprio perché hanno esercitato il sopruso invece dell’ospitalità. Il medesimo crimine venne perpetrato anche dai Moabiti e dagli Ammoniti (Dt 23,4–7), e pure dagli stessi Israeliti nei confronti di fratelli provenienti da un’altra tribù (Gdc 19,11–30). Una sofferenza ancora più acuta venne sperimentata dagli ebrei immigrati in Egitto (Sap 19,13–16), e dolorosa fu la condizione degli Ebrei nella diaspora dell’esilio (come è narrato nei libri di Daniele, di Ester e di Tobia).

14 C. Di Sante, *Lo straniero nella Bibbia. Ospitalità e dono* (Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2012) 19.

## 2.2. Israele immigrato in Egitto. Figura collettiva

Non è corretto continuare a definire i patriarchi semplicemente come “nomadi”, anche se, nella Genesi, vengono descritti come pastori alla costante ricerca di pascoli, soggetti quindi a ripetute transumanze, dato che le terre non erano mai cedute permanentemente agli estranei (Gen 23). Essi sono più esattamente dei forestieri che si stabiliscono, dove e come possono, in un paese straniero (Canaan, Aram, Egitto) in qualità di *immigrati*<sup>15</sup>.

Così viene presentata l'origine di Israele, nella storia dei “padri”, che prima soggiornarono in Canaan e poi per quattrocentotrent'anni dimorarono in Egitto (Gen 15,13; Es 12,40). Non si tratta di un mero fatto di cronaca. Basti citare la dichiarazione dell'Israelita (da von Rad chiamata il “credo storico”) in occasione dell'offerta delle primizie: «Mio padre era un Arameo errante, scese in Egitto e vi soggiornò come immigrato con poca gente e divenne una nazione grande, forte e numerosa» (Dt 26,5). Chi pronuncia questa frase non ricorda semplicemente il passato, ma definisce se stesso, nella sua qualità di “figlio dell'immigrato”, riconoscendo in quella memoria la sua propria identità. Egli è figlio di uno straniero (un arameo) che, assumendo la condizione di precarietà tipica dell'immigrato – espressa sinteticamente dal participio *ʾōbēd* – diventa principio paradossale di grandezza e forza.

È precisamente questo che viene raccontato all'inizio del libro dell'Esodo (Es 1,1–7), quale compimento reale della promessa (di benedizione) fatta ad Abramo, il capostipite degli immigrati (Gen 12,2): «i figli d'Israele [scesi in Egitto con settanta persone] proliferarono e crebbero, divennero numerosi e molto forti, e il paese ne fu pieno» (Es 1,7). Al tempo stesso, nella storia del popolo di Israele in Egitto la figura dell'immigrato assume connotazioni specifiche (come è tipico del ricorso figurale); ne indichiamo qui solo alcune.

Innanzitutto, è la stessa benedizione divina (promotrice della straordinaria moltiplicazione del popolo ebraico) a costituire un problema per gli Egiziani (gli stranieri cittadini). Essi dimenticano Giuseppe, il benefattore, e nella vitalità degli Ebrei percepiscono solo una minaccia. L'oblio e la paura determinano provvedimenti di oppressione, ben più drammatici di quelli subiti dai patriarchi in terra di Canaan, poiché viene attuata una politica di schiavizzazione degli immigrati (Es 1,11–14), e programmato addirittura il loro sterminio, con il decreto della morte dei figli maschi (Es 1,15–22).

15 La tradizione dell'Antico Testamento distingue lo «straniero» (*nokri*) dall'«immigrato» (*gēr*). Il primo è colui che appartiene a una diversa entità politica, ed eventualmente passa qualche tempo in un altro territorio per svolgere attività commerciali o espletare un servizio temporaneo; il secondo è colui che si fissa in un paese con una relativa stabilità, dipendente dall'accoglienza del gruppo che lo ospita, dalle possibilità dunque che gli vengono accordate di stabilirsi fra i residenti (cittadini). Le due figure ricevono nella Bibbia un diverso statuto giuridico e una diversa significazione spirituale. Ulteriori precisazioni sulla terminologia ebraica si possono trovare in C. Di Sante, “Ospitalità/straniero”, *Temi teologici della Bibbia* (edd. R. Penna – G. Perego – G. Ravasi) (Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2010) 929; R. Achenbach, “*gēr* – *nākhri* – *tōshav* – *zar*. Legal and Sacral Distinctions regarding Foreigners in the Pentateuch”, *The Foreigner and the Law. Perspective from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (edd. R. Achenbach – R. Albertz – J. Wöhrle) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011) 29–51.



Inoltre, la storia della salvezza (degli immigrati oppressi) è operata da Mosè, non però nella veste e nel potere di figlio dell'Egitto (come figlio adottivo della figlia del Faraone), ma in quella di colui che ha fatto esperienza di essere un «immigrato in terra straniera» (Es 2,22). È dunque l'immigrato a diventare protagonista del soccorso salvifico del misero<sup>16</sup>.

E infine, il processo di “liberazione” (non solo dalla schiavitù, ma dalla minaccia mortale) non ha il suo compimento nel semplice possesso di una terra con statuti di libertà e benessere, quasi cessasse la condizione benedetta del popolo fatto di immigrati. Stando al libro del Levitico, anche quando il popolo di Dio prese possesso del paese di Canaan, venne chiamato dal Signore a concepirsi come «ospite» in una terra che Dio rivendicava come sua proprietà, perché gli Israeliti erano infatti presso di lui «immigrati e locatari (*gērīm w'tôšābīm*)» (Lv 25,23). Diceva perciò Davide, ripetendo una formula della tradizione orante di Israele (Sal 39,13; 119,19): «noi siamo immigrati davanti a te e locatari come tutti i nostri padri» (1 Cr 29,15). Il compimento della storia della salvezza avverrà dunque realmente solo quando il popolo degli immigrati attuerà nei confronti dei suoi “simili” (gli immigrati) quei gesti di accoglienza, nei quali, secondo la Legge, si compie il volere benedificante del Signore.

### 3. Le norme bibliche a favore dell'immigrato

#### 3.1. La direttiva fondamentale

La Scrittura dice che l'Israelita, giunto nella terra che diventa sua proprietà ereditaria, sarà capace di produrre gesti di giustizia se custodirà nel cuore la memoria della sua storia originaria e della sofferenza patita. Chi dunque nel volto dell'immigrato vede la sua stessa immagine comprende di essere fratello di ogni straniero che viene presso di lui. Ciò è attestato nel Codice dell'alleanza (nel libro dell'Esodo), che prescrive: «Non opprimerai l'immigrato: voi infatti *conoscete l'animo dell'immigrato*, perché siete stati immigrati in terra d'Egitto» (Es 23,9). Questa normativa generale è ripresa e sviluppata nel capitolo 19 del Levitico, qualche versetto dopo il passo che prescrive l'amore per il «figlio del tuo popolo» (Lv 19,18): «Quando un immigrato soggiognerà con te nella vostra terra, non lo opprimerete. L'immigrato che sta con voi *sarà per voi come colui che è nato fra di voi: lo amerai come te stesso, perché siete stati immigrati in terra d'Egitto*» (Lv 19,33–34). La distinzione tra cittadino e straniero non è abolita, ma esplicitata dal legislatore proprio per valorizzare la qualità dell'*amore* dell'Israelita, che rende l'altro simile a sé, nell'atto stesso della sua benevola accoglienza. Alla motivazione antropologica (la memoria della propria natura di immigrato) che invita all'amore per lo straniero immigrato, la Tòrah aggiunge una fondazione teologica, quella che afferma che il Signore “ama” l'immigrato, come leggiamo in

<sup>16</sup> Possiamo anzi ricordare che Mosè ha sperimentato nella sua prima infanzia l'accoglienza ospitale dello straniero, nella persona della figlia del Faraone (Es 2,1–10); su questo aspetto, si veda l'analisi accurata di Di Sante – Giuntoli, *Lo straniero e la Bibbia*, 27–45.

Dt 10,17–19: «il Signore vostro Dio [...] ama l'immigrato e gli dà pane e vestito. Amate dunque l'immigrato, perché anche voi foste immigrati nel paese d'Egitto», e Dio vi ha prediletto proprio in questa condizione<sup>17</sup>.

### 3.2. Normative concrete

L'antico Israele non si trovò drammaticamente confrontato con ondate di immigrati paragonabili a quelle delle grandi migrazioni storiche e contemporanee. Anche nel passato tuttavia la problematica dei migranti risultò sempre difficile, a causa della sproporzione tra la esigua popolazione residente e i gruppi consistenti di stranieri che, per diversi motivi, venivano a installarsi nelle città e nei villaggi altrui. Per quanto riguarda il popolo d'Israele, non abbiamo ovviamente delle statistiche; possiamo però intuire la rilevanza della questione a partire dalla quantità e varietà dei precetti che la legislazione di Israele ci ha consegnato, concernente il rispetto e la cura per l'immigrato. Ogni Codice<sup>18</sup> sollecita una generosa disponibilità nei confronti degli immigrati, mediante dispositivi che non prevedono sanzioni pubbliche per la loro inadempienza, ma vengono solo affidate al giudizio del Signore, difensore dei deboli. In ciò si manifesta più compiutamente l'atto libero dell'amore. La sapienza amorosa di Dio prima ha fatto fare a Israele l'esperienza della migrazione, e poi ha predisposto nella Legge una serie di utili provvedimenti a favore degli immigrati. Questa normativa biblica è legata alle condizioni socio-economiche del tempo antico; tuttavia ancora oggi essa può suggerire prospettive e iniziative di doveroso rispetto per i migranti. Non basta infatti un'estemporanea manifestazione di simpatia, accompagnata da qualche elargizione; chi vuole essere fedele al messaggio biblico è chiamato a obbedire al comandamento divino, interpretando, in modo creativo, gli spunti offerti dalla raccolta legale di Israele, così da dare ad essa pieno «compimento».

Tre ci sembrano le principali rubriche che raccolgono i numerosi precetti riguardanti gli immigrati<sup>19</sup>; senza pretesa di esaustività nel trattamento, evochiamo alcune istanze di senso che i legislatori antichi intendevano favorire con le loro norme.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. A. Rizzi, "Lo straniero nella Bibbia. Meditazione teologica", *Servitium* 77 (1991) 44.

<sup>18</sup> Nell'Antico Testamento abbiamo tre raccolte di leggi (Es 20–23; Lv 17–26; Dt 12–26), che gli studiosi assegnano a diversi periodi della storia d'Israele. Ognuno di questi codici ha un modo proprio di formulare le norme e una specifica organizzazione del materiale legale. Tutto ciò manifesta, da un lato, la necessità di adattare e migliorare la normativa, a causa delle mutate circostanze e a ragione anche di esperienze positive o negative; d'altro lato, l'abbondanza delle raccomandazioni dimostra che l'attenzione all'immigrato, nella sua condizione di bisogno, costituiva una permanente attenzione del legislatore.

<sup>19</sup> Un approfondimento in materia si può trovare in G. Barbiero, "Lo straniero nel Codice dell'Alleanza e nel Codice di Santità", *Lo «straniero» nella Bibbia. Aspetti storici, istituzionali e teologici* (ed. I. Cardellini) (RStB 8; Bologna: EDB 1996) 41–69; A. Spreafico, "Lo straniero e la difesa delle categorie più deboli come simbolo di giustizia e di civiltà nell'opera deuteronomico-deuteronomistica", *Lo «straniero» nella Bibbia. Aspetti storici, istituzionali e teologici* (ed. I. Cardellini) (RStB 8; Bologna: EDB 1996) 117–134; M. Bertrand, "L'étranger dans les lois bibliques", *L'étranger dans la Bible et ses lectures* (ed. J. Riaud) (LD 213; Paris: Cerf 2007) 55–84; M.A. Awabdy, *Immigrants and Innovative Law. Deuteronomy's Theological and Social Vision for the "gēr"* (FAT 2/67; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2014).



### 3.2.1. La condivisione in ambito economico

Nei Codici biblici l'immigrato viene sistematicamente annoverato fra le categorie economicamente sfavorite<sup>20</sup>; è spesso associato alla vedova e all'orfano (che sono la figura di chi è privo di sostentamento e di tutela), e al levita (che aveva necessità del sussidio dei fedeli perché non aveva proventi dai terreni). Inserendo l'immigrato nella lista degli indigenti israelitici, il legislatore ritiene che esso sia portatore di un identico diritto soggettivo: dunque anche il forestiero, che ha lingua e costumi differenti, essendo venuto in terra di Israele, è da considerare come il "prossimo".

La legge di Israele non prescrive l'elemosina, anche se un tale pratica è raccomandata da altre tradizioni bibliche (cfr. Sal 112,9; Sir 3,30; 29,12; Tb 12,9; Mt 6,1-4; Rm 15,26; 1 Cor 16,1-5; 1 Pt 4,8). L'urgenza del soccorso richiede certo un intervento immediato (Pr 3,28); tuttavia la Tòrah va oltre, suggerendo iniziative che soddisfano meglio la dignità del povero.

La Legge, ad esempio, sollecita a provvedere alle difficoltà dell'indigente mediante l'istituto del *prestito*<sup>21</sup>, concesso senza usura (Es 22,24; Lv 25,35-38; Dt 23,20-21; Ez 18,8.13.17; 22,12; Pr 28,8), e addirittura con la prospettiva di una totale remissione del debito (Dt 15,1-3). Mediante il prestito il povero è ritenuto persona responsabile, capace di saggezza, laboriosità e onestà, e in grado quindi di mettere a frutto il dono ricevuto.

Altre disposizioni della Tòrah chiedono che le risorse economiche del benestante siano condivise con i poveri, fra cui gli immigrati. Una parte dei *proventi* dei campi deve essere lasciata a disposizione di coloro che vengono a spigolare durante la mietitura, o a raccogliere le olive e i grappoli di uva rimasti dopo la raccolta (Dt 24,19-22; Lv 19,10; 23,22). La benedizione che Dio ha accordato al possidente deve infatti ricadere, senza degnazioni e con totale discrezione, anche sui poveri. In sintesi, c'è un «margine» di profitto che deve essere lasciato ai poveri, come insegna sinteticamente il precetto di Lv 19,9-10: «Quando mietete la messe della vostra terra, non mietete fino ai margini del campo, né raccoglierete ciò che resta da spigolare della messe; quanto alla tua vigna, non coglierai i racimoli e non raccoglierai gli acini caduti; li lascerai per il povero e per l'immigrato». La norma dell'*anno sabbatico della terra* è un altro dei provvedimenti raccomandati dalla Legge ebraica a favore degli indigenti, così che i frutti spontanei del suolo siano a disposizione di tutti, del proprietario e dei poveri, del cittadino e dell'immigrato (Es 23,10-11; Lv 25,1-7).

È soprattutto nel libro del Deuteronomio che si manifesta la più alta sensibilità a favore dei poveri e degli immigrati, mediante ulteriori prescrizioni. Il proprietario terriero viene invitato ad aprire le porte dei suoi magazzini per distribuire le sue ricchezze. La legge delle *primizie* chiede infatti che i primi proventi della terra debbano essere portati al santuario per essere distribuiti al levita e all'immigrato (Dt 26,1-11). Le "primizie" sono i migliori

20 Un immigrato può certamente fare fortuna (come Giacobbe presso Labano, o come Giuseppe entrato al servizio del faraone); tuttavia la condizione abituale dell'immigrato è piuttosto quella di un salariato costretto a lavori umili, saltuari e scarsamente retribuiti.

21 Il codice biblico ha di mira l'israelita caduto in miseria; ma riteniamo che la normativa possa, anzi debba applicarsi anche all'immigrato se quest'ultimo deve essere «amato» come si ama un fratello.

prodotti del terreno, e sono gli unici a disposizione dopo i consumi invernali; ebbene, proprio ciò che è il cibo migliore e persino ciò che sembra ragionevole trattenere per sé, viene invece liberalmente donato. C'è poi la legge della *decima*, che impone di destinare ai poveri una parte significativa del profitto; in particolare, ogni tre anni si raccoglie una decima speciale, con destinazione il levita, l'immigrato, l'orfano e la vedova (Dt 14,28–29 e 26,12–13; cfr. anche Tb 1,8). Non sappiamo se tale normativa venisse sempre praticata; ma il credente ebreo ritiene «cosa sacra» ciò che appartiene ai poveri (Dt 26,13), e si riterrebbe gravemente colpevole se non obbedisse a questa legge divina.

Queste regole hanno una matrice religiosa; suppongono la fede in Dio e nella sua provvidenza. Il legislatore biblico fa allora del Santuario il luogo propizio per la condivisione. Le offerte e i sacrifici al Signore sono l'occasione per nutrire non solo i sacerdoti e leviti, ma anche i numerosi indigenti che frequentavano i luoghi sacri (Dt 12,12). La gioia di coloro che erano stati benedetti dal Signore veniva così condivisa e amplificata da tutta la comunità, con la presenza esplicita dell'immigrato (Dt 16,11.14).

### 3.2.2. La tutela giuridica

Altre importanti norme vengono disposte dai Codici a garanzia del diritto dell'immigrato, nei vari settori del suo operare e nelle diverse esigenze della sua persona. Nell'ambito giuridico l'immigrato è equiparato al cittadino: «ci sarà per voi una sola legge per l'immigrato e per l'indigeno» (Lv 24,22; Nm 9,14; 15,15–16). Meritano di essere precisati in particolare due settori: (a) la normativa sul lavoro e (b) il diritto dell'immigrato nei tribunali.

(a) Poiché l'immigrato appartiene alla classe dei poveri, la prima garanzia che viene assicurata è quella del *salario*, dato puntualmente: «Non defrauderai il salariato povero e bisognoso, sia egli uno dei tuoi fratelli o uno degli immigrati che stanno nella tua terra, nelle tue città. Gli darai il suo salario il giorno stesso, prima che tramonti il sole, perché egli è povero e a quello aspira. Così egli non griderà contro di te al Signore e tu non sarai in peccato» (Dt 24,14–15). Fratello e straniero sono equiparati di fronte alla legge della remunerazione, perché per Dio sono soggetti di identica attenzione.

La Legge di Mosè tutela inoltre il *riposo* del lavoratore; e l'immigrato ne è beneficiario, assieme ai membri della famiglia (Es 20,10; 23,12; Dt 5,14); nella formula «affinché si riposino *come te*», vediamo ribadita l'idea dell'uguaglianza tra padre e figlio, tra padrone e servo, tra autoctono e straniero, nella memoria del Dio Creatore e del Signore liberatore.

(b) Un diritto richiede la garanzia dell'istituzione giurisdizionale. L'immigrato a cui è dovuto un giusto salario, il riposo settimanale, libertà di spostamento<sup>22</sup>, autonoma iniziativa commerciale, libera scelta matrimonio e così via, deve poter contare su una efficace difesa presso il tribunale, quando il suo diritto venisse conculcato.

Nel Codice dell'Alleanza troviamo formulazioni generiche, che condannano lo sfruttamento o la malversazione nei confronti dell'immigrato; dobbiamo ritenerle comunque direttive fondamentali che il magistrato dovrà applicare, con saggezza e determinazione,

<sup>22</sup> Al proposito, possiamo ricordare che in Israele vigeva la norma, davvero insolita nel mondo antico, di accogliere anche lo schiavo fuggitivo, lasciandogli il diritto di scegliere in quale città risiedere (Dt 23,16–17).

quando venisse portato in sede giudiziaria un caso di violazione del diritto di qualsiasi soggetto (Es 22,20; 23,9).

Più esplicitamente il Deuteronomio ribadisce la protezione del *diritto* dell'immigrato. Ai giudici viene prescritta un'assoluta imparzialità ed equità nel giudicare: «Ascoltate le cause dei vostri fratelli e giudicate con giustizia le questioni che uno può avere con il suo fratello o con il suo immigrato» (Dt 1,16). Non si tutela quindi esclusivamente il cittadino, ma chiunque abbia ragione, poiché chi giudica ha il dovere di «dare ascolto al piccolo come al grande» senza temere nessuno, «poiché il giudizio appartiene a Dio» (Dt 1,17).

### 3.2.3. L'integrazione culturale

Proprio perché persistono numerosi elementi di differenza tra lo statuto dell'ebreo (fratello) e quello dell'immigrato (straniero), la Legge prospetta delle norme che tendono a mitigare tale sperequazione, e introduce principi correttivi che favoriscono l'uguaglianza e la fraternità.

Per la Tòrah gli immigrati non sono un gruppo «marginale», confinato in ghetti separati, ma gente che abita in mezzo a Israele<sup>23</sup>. L'accoglienza raggiunge infatti la sua perfezione quando riesce ad integrare lo straniero, a incorporarlo, a renderlo parte di una medesima comunità (cfr. Dt 29,9–12; cfr. anche 31,12; Gs 8,33)<sup>24</sup>. È da supporre che gli immigrati in Israele cercassero di inserirsi nel paese mediante l'apprendimento della lingua, e accettando i costumi del popolo che li accoglieva<sup>25</sup>. Molti, secondo il racconto biblico, diventavano alleati e servitori fedeli della comunità israelitica.

Se trovava accoglienza generosa, l'immigrato tendeva perciò a sposare i valori religiosi del popolo ospite, perché vi riconosceva l'ideale morale a cui egli stesso aspirava, e perché veniva a «conoscere» un Dio a cui era bello potersi affidare. Anche se, durante la storia dell'antico Israele, non ci risulta una esplicita missione di proselitismo, alcuni stranieri, vivendo in mezzo agli ebrei, chiesero di far parte di questo popolo in maniera più stretta, con vincoli di maggiore solidarietà. Si spiega così il fatto che il termine *gēr*, che per molto tempo ha significato solamente l'immigrato, assumesse in testi tardivi il valore di «proselito», cioè di colui che ha assimilato la Legge e le pratiche degli israeliti<sup>26</sup>. Di particolare valore è l'ammissione dell'immigrato (circonciso) alla celebrazione della Pasqua (Es 12,47–49;

<sup>23</sup> L'immigrato è colui che sta «entro le tue porte» (Es 20,10; Dt 5,14; 14,29; 16,11.14; 31,12), abita «in mezzo al tuo accampamento» (29,10); è «in mezzo a te/voi/loro» (Nm 15,29; 19,10; 35,15; Dt 16,11; 26,11).

<sup>24</sup> In questa linea, si veda M.R. Glanville, «The *Gēr* (Stranger) in Deuteronomy. Family for the Displaced», *JBL* 137 (2018) 599–623. Dissentiamo invece dalle conclusioni di I. Cardellini, «Ingegnose interpretazioni di un termine scomodo: il *gēr*», «*Canterò in eterno le misericordie del Signore*» (*Sal* 89,2). *Studi in onore del prof. Gianni Barbiero* (edd. S.M. Attard – M. Pavan) (Analecta Biblica Studia 3; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2015) 73–86; questo autore ritiene che il termine *gēr* sia servito nel post-esilio per giustificare l'integrità del popolo eletto e la sua diversità rispetto alle altre nazioni.

<sup>25</sup> Pensiamo a Rut, la moabita che dichiarava a Noemi: «Dove andrai tu, andrò anch'io, e dove ti fermerai, mi fermerò; il tuo popolo sarà il mio popolo e il tuo Dio sarà il mio Dio» (Rt 1,16).

<sup>26</sup> Su questo punto, cfr. I. Cardellini, «Stranieri ed «emigrati-residenti» in una sintesi di teologia storico-biblica», *RivB* 40 (1992) 129–181.

Nm 9,14). La festa della liberazione degli schiavi, che il Signore ha liberato e a cui ha offerto una legge di libertà e dignità, è particolarmente opportuna proprio per gli immigrati.

In conclusione, l'ideale tracciato dalla Scrittura è offerto a tutti come una via di bene. Come il padre trasmette la legge ai figli perché vi sia concordia nella casa e giusto rispetto per ognuna delle diverse individualità, così, analogamente, l'ebreo trasmette la sua legge a tutti come strumento di comunione, così che colui che è stato accolto e nobilitato diventi a sua volta mediatore di accogliente benevolenza.

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## The Meaning of וַיַּעַל בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ in 2 Kgs 17:5a. The Semantic and Syntactic Study of the Phrase with Particular Interest in the Verb עָלָה and the Preposition בְּ

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**ABSTRACT:** The expression וַיַּעַל בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ in 2 Kgs 17:5a is apparently simple and devoid of semantic or syntactic difficulty. This Hebrew phrase is, however, interpreted variously by the scholars who generate a considerable plurality of its translations. The problem appears to lie in the diversity with which the meaning of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  and of the preposition בְּ, and further, their semantic and syntactic relation in 2 Kgs 17:5a, are interpreted. The examination of these lexemes' semantics and their interrelated syntax in the Hebrew text leads to the following conclusions: (1) the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  has there a technical-military meaning "to invade, attack, march against;" (2) it is used stereotypically and from the sociolinguistic perspective it denotes the nuance of an upward movement; (3) the meaning of בְּ is spatial in 2 Kgs 17:5a and marks an area moved through; (4) the syntactic relation  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}} + \text{בְּ}$  is not equivalent to  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}} + \text{עַל}$ , and consequently, the technical-military meaning of the verb does not remove the spatial meaning of the preposition. It is proposed to translate 2 Kgs 17:5a in a following way: "And then (the king of Assyria) marched up throughout the whole country." Such a rendering expresses both the Assyrian military actions, a physical movement upwards, and the area moved through. From the historical point of view, it describes the first stage of the Assyrian attack, the invasion going throughout the whole country of king Hosea (v. 5a), followed by an attack directed against its capital, Samaria (v. 5bc). Other interpretations (translations), either ignoring or highlighting one of the discussed features only, may be considered incomplete, questionable or unacceptable from the semantic and syntactic point of view.

**KEYWORDS:** semantics of  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$ , semantics of בְּ, Hebrew syntax, translation technique, fall of Samaria, Hosea (king), Shalmaneser (king), Books of Kings

The chapter 17 of the Second Book of Kings contains a kind of climax in the narrative of 2 Kings by presenting the history of the last years of the Northern Kingdom and a purposefully constructed commentary on its fate.<sup>1</sup> There are many interesting questions heatedly disputed among scholars concerning the last days of Samaria and the fate of its inhabitants. Attempts to reconstruct the chronology of events, in consequence of which Samaria became an Assyrian province, produced a lot of theories about the number of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P.A. Viviano, "2 Kings 17: A Rhetorical and Form-Critical Analysis," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 548–59. She argues that 2 Kgs 17 is a composition of historical reports (vv. 1–6 and vv. 24–33) and editor's comments on them (vv. 7–23 and vv. 34–41). Cf. T.R. Hobbs, *2 Kings* (WBC 13; Waco, TX: Word Books 1985) 224–225.

the Assyrian campaigns between 722–720 BCE, the identity of the Assyrian king(s) who invaded and captured Samaria, the sequence of events that led to that tragic end, and so forth. In fact, the biblical accounts on the fall of Samaria in 2 Kgs 17:3–6 and 18:9–10 and pieces of information drawn out from the extrabiblical sources (such as eponyms, inscriptions, reliefs, Babylonian Chronicles) do not harmonise with each other. Therefore, hypotheses put forward are often speculative and debatable.

In this paper I do not want to deal with the reconstruction of the historical events mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:3–6.<sup>2</sup> Neither do I intend to take position in the scholarly debate about harmonising biblical and extrabiblical sources. I would like to focus on the Hebrew text itself and examine the semantic and syntactic aspects of the phrase *וַיַּעַל בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ* in 2 Kgs 17:5, which appears to be problematic, in spite of an apparent simplicity of the Hebrew language.

## 1. Stating a Problem

It is noteworthy that, on the one hand, there is no research studying the Hebrew text of 2 Kgs 17:5 in detail. The commentators dealing with the above-mentioned questions usually pay little attention to the Hebrew text itself. On the other hand, the vast number of its renderings reveals that there is no consensus on its interpretation among scholars.<sup>3</sup>

The clause *וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ* is composed of a simple predicate (*וַיַּעַל*, *עלה* “to go up”), a subject (*מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר*, “the king of Assyria”) and a prepositional phrase being an adverbial modifier of place (*בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ*; literary: “in the whole land”). Nonetheless one deals here with a basic Hebrew vocabulary, the syntactic relation between *וַיַּעַל* and *בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ* leaves much space for varied interpretations. The consulted renderings of 2 Kgs 17:5a may be categorised into five groups according to the meaning that is understood. The diagram on the next page shows an increasing degree with which the military aggression of the Assyrian king is perceived by the scholars: from the most neutral one, describing the king’s coming up through the whole country, to the most expressive one, depicting his invasion of the entire land.

<sup>2</sup> We should bear in mind that the literary composition of 2 Kgs 17:3–6 is not interested in the first place in the exact reconstruction of historical events. The disproportion between the brief reports of historical events and the theological comments on them is striking, and so we may conclude that the whole chapter 17 is interested mostly in the theology of history. Cf. R. Dilday, *I, 2 Kings* (CCS.OT 9; Dallas, TX *et al.*: Word Books 1987) 419; cf. I.W. Provan, *1 & 2 Kings* (OTG; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1997) 53–54; cf. Viviano, “2 Kings 17,” 548–550.

<sup>3</sup> In another paper that is about to be published, I examine various renderings of 2 Kgs 17:5 in ancient and modern translations as well as commentaries on the Books of Kings, among which I singled out at least ten different ways in which the verse in question is rendered. Such a translation plurality indicates the semantic and syntactic difficulty underlying the Hebrew text of 2 Kgs 17:5, variously interpreted by the scholars and/or Bible translators.



| [1]                                                                      | [2]                                                             | [3]                                                                 | [4]                                                        | [5]                                                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| he went up/<br>came up<br>through(out)<br>the whole country <sup>4</sup> | he marched<br>through(out)<br>the whole<br>country <sup>5</sup> | he went up/<br>came up<br>against<br>the whole country <sup>6</sup> | he marched<br>against<br>the whole<br>country <sup>7</sup> | he invaded/attacked/<br>campaigns/made an<br>expedition against<br>the whole country <sup>8</sup> |

The first set of renderings of 2 Kgs 17:5a [1] is “the king of Assyria went up/came up through(out) the whole country/land.” It denotes a simple action of traversing (up) the land. It combines the literal meaning of the verb קָלַח “to go up” with the spatial sense of the preposition בְּ which marks an area moved through. Such an interpretation does not allude to the military attack and may be called the neutral one. In the second set

- 4 Such an interpretation of 2 Kgs 17:5a can be found in: Dilday, *I, 2 Kings*, 413; G. Galil, “The Last Years of the Kingdom of Israel and the Fall of Samaria,” *CBQ* 57 (1995) 53; H. Tadmor, “The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study,” *JCS* 12 (1958) 37. See also few Bible translations: Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem (1983), The King James Bible (1611/1769), Biblia Gdańska (The Bible of Gdansk, 1633), Nouvelle Edition Geneve (1979), The New King James Bible (1982), Die revidierte Lutherbibel (1984), Die Elberfelder Bibel (revidierte Fassung, 1993), Biblia Warszawsko-Praska (The Warsaw-Praga Bible, 1997).
- 5 Cf. B. Becking, *The Fall of Samaria. An Historical and Archaeological Study* (SHANE 2; Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1992) 48. Cf. also the rendering of the New English Translation Bible (2005).
- 6 This is the interpretation of A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige. Zweiter Halbband. Das Zweite Buch der Könige* (Münster: Aschendorff 1912) 208; of M.A. Sweeney, *I & II Kings* (OTL; Louisville, KY – London: Westminster John Knox 2007) 386; and of E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. II. 1.Kön. 17–2.Kön. 25* (ATD 11/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1984) 392. See also the Ecumenic Translation by the Biblical Society in Poland (Warsaw, 2016).
- 7 Cf. the translations of the Jewish Publication Society Tanakh (1985), of the French Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible (1988), and of Die Herder Bibel (2005).
- 8 Such a rendering of 2 Kgs 17:5a can be found in: L.M. Wray Beal, *I & 2 Kings* (ApOTC 9; Nottingham, UK – Downers Grove, IL: Apollos – InterVarsity 2014) 444; C. Conroy, *1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings* (OTM 6; Wilmington, DE: Glazier 1983) 222; M. Cogan – H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB 11; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1988) 195; T.E. Fretheim, *First and Second Kings* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 1999) 190; J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, 2 ed. (OTL; London – Philadelphia, PA: Westminster 1970) 642; Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 220; P.R. House, *I, 2 Kings* (NAC 8; Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman 1995) 338; M.P. Matheney Jr. – R.L. Honeycutt Jr., “1–2 Kings,” *1 Samuel–Nehemiah* (ed. C.J. Allen) (Broadman Bible Commentary 3; Nashville, TN: Broadman 1970) 267; P. Merlo, *Re* (Nuova Versione della Bibbia dai Testi Antichi 9; Milano: San Paolo 2020) 373; J.A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh – New York: Clark 1960) 466; N. Na‘aman, “The Historical Background to the Conquest of Samaria (720 BC),” *Bib* 71 (1990) 211; M. Nobile, *1–2 Re* (I Libri Biblici 9; Milano: Paoline 2010) 384; J. Robinson, *The Second Book of Kings* (London – New York – Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 1976) 153; A. Rolla, *Libri dei Re* (Nuovissima versione della Bibbia dai testi originali 9; Roma: Paoline 1971) 303; R. de Vaux, *Les Livres des Rois*, 2 ed. (La Sainte Bible; Paris: Cerf 1958) 199. Cf. also few Bible translations: The New International Version Bible (1984), The New Jerusalem Bible (1985), The New Revised Standard Version Bible (1989), La Nuova Bibbia Diodati (1991), La Sacra Bibbia Nuova Riveduta (1994), The New American Standard Bible (1995), Nuovissima Versione della Bibbia (San Paolo Edizione 1995), Bible en Français Courant (1997), The Complete Jewish Bible (1998), Biblia Tysiąclecia (The Millennium Bible, 5 ed., 2000), The English Standard Version Bible (2001), Biblia Poznańska (The Bible of Poznan, 4 ed., 2004), Biblia Paulistów (The Pauline Edition Bible, 2008).

of renderings of 2 Kgs 17:5a [2]: “the king of Assyria marched through(out) the whole country/land,” the meaning of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  is perceived as a military action. The English verb “to march” implies in this co-text a kind of war manoeuvres. Such a translation retains, however, the spatial sense of the preposition  $\text{ב}$ . The other one, [3]: “the king of Assyria went up/came up against the whole country/land,” expresses the literal meaning of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  and the adversative sense of the preposition  $\text{ב}$ . Some other renderings denote more explicitly a military action of the Assyrians [4]: “the king of Assyria marched against the whole country/land.” The preposition  $\text{ב}$  is interpreted there as denoting an adversative meaning. The renderings of the last group are even more explicit [5]: “the king of Assyria invaded/attacked/campaigned/made an expedition against the whole country/land.” The king’s coming in the country is interpreted there as an invasion just from the beginning of the verse.

By singling out these sets of renderings of 2 Kgs 17:5a one gains an important pointer to identify the difficulty of this text. The diagram above illustrates how different comprehension and interpretation of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  and of the preposition  $\text{ב}$  may lead to varied translations. On the one hand, the matter dealt with is the polysemy of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$ , and thus, the question arises, which meaning of this lexeme is denoted in 2 Kgs 17:5a within its co-text and context. On the other hand, the problem to solve regards the syntactic relation between the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  and its adverbial modifier  $\text{בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ}$ , or more specifically, the function of the preposition  $\text{ב}$ , whether it expresses spatial or adversative meaning. In order to respond to the above mentioned questions, a careful study of the semantic and syntactic aspects of the clause  $\text{וַיַּעַל [מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר] בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ}$  is necessary.

To find satisfactory solution to the above expressed questions, it is necessary to establish the exact meaning and syntactic function of  $\text{בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ [מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר]}$  in 2 Kgs 17:5. The detailed analysis of this phrase shall proceed in two stages: (1) at the level of its component words, the semantics of individual lexemes shall be examined, and (2) at the second level, the syntax of the sentence and its contribution to the meaning of the whole verse shall be analysed. All these levels express linguistic meaning of the phrase under examination and, being interrelated, cannot be isolated one from another. Therefore, only such a two-fold approach shall enable us to draw conclusions about the interpretation of  $\text{וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ}$  in 2 Kgs 17:5, so that the difficulty in its comprehension may be removed.

## 2. Level of Individual Words: Semantics of the Lexemes

As the first approach in the study of  $\text{וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ}$  the self-contained meaning of its component words shall be examined, namely [A] that of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$ , [B] the preposition  $\text{ב}$ , [C] the noun  $\text{כל}$ , and [D] the noun  $\text{ארץ}$ .

## [A] Semantics of עָלָה

The verb עָלָה is one of the most frequent verbs in the Hebrew Bible occurring altogether 890 times, not less than 675 times in the conjugation Qal.<sup>9</sup> Concerning its meaning, the verb עָלָה represents a wide range of semantic aspects in highly differentiated co-texts and contexts.<sup>10</sup> The multiplicity of its related senses proves the polysemous character of the verb עָלָה (in opposition to unrelated senses that are characteristic of homonymy).<sup>11</sup> It may be, however, remarked that its basic meaning relates to a movement toward an elevated goal.<sup>12</sup>

By analysing the semantic spectrum of the verb עָלָה, three semantic domains may be singled out. They reflect its usage<sup>13</sup> in the Hebrew Bible:<sup>14</sup> [I] when it describes a physical movement, [II] when it is used figuratively, [III] when it is employed in idiomatic expressions and technical terminology. Sometimes it acquires a theological significance, but since the Hebrew lexicography and not theology is discussed in this paper, the theological connotations will not be dealt here with for methodological reasons.

[I] The verb עָלָה Qal is predominantly used with its most basic meaning “to move upwards,” namely, “from a lower location to a higher,”<sup>15</sup> being an antonym of the verb יָרַד that

9 Cf. A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible*, 3 ed. (Jerusalem: Ha-Millon He-Hadash 2007) 874c–879c. The root *ʾlh* is found in all Semitic languages: Akk. *elû(m)*; Ugar. *ʾly*, Can. *ʾly*, Arab. *ʾlw/ʾly*, OSA *ʾly*, Eth. *laʾala* “to be high, prominent, superior;” cf. H.F. Fuhs, “עָלָה,” *TDOT* XI, 77. Its concentration in the narrative portions of the Hebrew Bible is remarkable, since it occurs 377 times in the so-called Deuteronomistic History Corpus (Josh – 2 Kgs).

10 By the “co-text” I mean sentences, paragraphs or chapters surrounding the text under examination and related to it, which is sometimes defined as a literary context. By the “context” I mean the sociological and historical setting of the text. Cf. P. Cotterell – M. Turner, *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 1989) 16.

11 For general observations about polysemy and homonymy, and about the question regarding a “core” meaning of words see Cotterell – Turner, *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation*, 135–139.

12 Cf. Fuhs, “עָלָה,” 77. By stating this, it cannot be claimed that the verb עָלָה has a kind of “core” sense. It should only be noticed that a movement from below upwards is an element shared in common that may produce a plurality of senses by means of semantic changes. They are due to both linguistic innovation and conservatism.

13 It should be remarked that the meaning of a word and its usages are distinct. The lexical meaning is “the range of senses of a word that may be counted on as being established in the public domain” (Cotterell – Turner, *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation*, 140). The usages of a word may not be a part of its lexical meaning, if they are not conventional. However, “if particular usage became widespread, such that it became a standard public idiom, and so conventional, we would say it was becoming, or even had become, part of the lexical meaning of the word” (Cotterell – Turner, *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation*, 140). In case of biblical Hebrew, which is a linguistically closed set, the usages of a word may be treated as a part of its lexical meaning.

14 In this analysis I follow, though with adaptations, Fuhs, “עָלָה,” 81–93. Cf. G. Wehmeier, “עָלָה,” *TLOT* II, 884–895. See also “עָלָה” BDB, 748a–750a; “עָלָה,” *HALOT* II, 828b–830b.

15 The verb עָלָה expresses [1] the ascent of Elohim/YHWH to His dwelling place in heaven (Gen 17:22; 35:13; Ps 47:6; 68:19) and Elijah’s ascension/rapture to heaven (2 Kgs 2:11; cf. 2 Kgs 2:1 in Hiphil). [2] It describes frequently migrations of persons from low place to high. The verb in question is used stereotypically to denote the route from Egypt to Canaan (Gen 45:25; Exod 12:37; Judg 11:13, 16; 1 Sam 15:2, 6; 1 Kgs 9:16; Isa 11:16), from Babylon to Canaan (with an allusion to the return of the exiles; Ezra 2:1, 59; 7:6, 7, 28;

describes the opposite direction, “to move down towards a lower location.”<sup>16</sup> The verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  refers to a physical movement from below upwards in other Hebrew verb conjugations, too.<sup>17</sup> From the geographical point of view such a movement is a stereotypical feature connected with the sociolinguistic aspects of the biblical narratives,<sup>18</sup> in which one can observe a mutual relation between the symbol/sign (a concrete word), its sense (the mental concept called up by the symbol/sign) and its referent (*significatum*) in the extralinguistic realities of the physical world.<sup>19</sup> In specialised co-texts the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  expresses an impressive wealth of nuances involving somehow a physical movement upwards, too.<sup>20</sup>

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- Neh 7:5, 6, 61) and from the desert into Canaan (Exod 33:1; Num 13:17, 21; Deut 1:21, 26). The verb under discussion describes also a physical upward movement of objects other than human, namely, [3] of animals, such as a lion (Jer 4:7; 50:44), quails (Exod 16:12), a fox (Neh 4:3), ferocious beasts (Isa 35:9), eagles (Isa 40:31; Jer 49:22); [4] of vegetation that sprouts or grows, such as plants (Gen 40:10; Isa 53:2), weeds/thorns/briars (Prov 24:31; Isa 5:6; 32:13), a cypress/myrrh (Isa 55:13), late grass (Amos 7:1); [5] of natural phenomena, such as smoke (Gen 19:18; Ezek 8:11; Josh 8:20; 2 Sam 22:9; Ps 18:8; Isa 34:10), fire (Judg 6:21), dew (Exod 16:14), flames (Judg 13:10, 20), a cloud (1 Kgs 18:44; Jer 4:13), dust (Isa 5:24), stench (Isa 34:3; Joel 2:20; Amos 4:10), water (Num 21:17; Jer 47:2), the river Nile (Jer 46:7, 8); [6] and of inanimate things, such as a course of the border (Josh 15:3; 16:1; 19:11) and of a highway (Judg 20:31; 1 Chr 26:16), a springing up bird trap (Amos 3:5), a sprouting horn (Dan 8:3, 8), shocks of grain being raised up (Job 5:26).
- 16 See an interesting discussion on cases when verbs  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{ירד}}$  are used in the opposite sense ( $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  denotes movement downwards,  $\sqrt{\text{ירד}}$  – upwards) in G.R. Driver, “On  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  ‘Went up Country’ and  $\sqrt{\text{ירד}}$  ‘Went down Country,’” *ZAW* 69 (1957) 74–77. The author evokes a theory that “ $\sqrt{\text{ירד}}$  might originally have meant ‘journeyed in hilly country,’ so  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  might occasionally have meant ‘travelled on high land,’ when the context would have shown whether such movement was upwards or downwards” (*ibidem*, 75–76). He argues, however, that “ $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  ‘went up’ may be used of going northwards, i.e. ‘up country,’ and  $\sqrt{\text{ירד}}$  ‘went down’ may be used of going southwards, i.e. ‘down country,’ without reference to heights involved” (*ibidem*, 76). An Ethiopian parallel showing the same phenomenon was discussed by W. Leslau, “An Ethiopian Parallel to Hebrew  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  ‘went up country’ and  $\sqrt{\text{ירד}}$  ‘went down country,’” *ZAW* 74 (1962) 322–323.
- 17 It occurs in Niphal with a passive meaning “to be lifted up, be led up” (Exod 40:36; Num 9:17, 21; 10:11; Ezra 1:11); in Hiphil with a causative active meaning “to cause to ascend, bring up” someone/something from one place to another (Gen 50:25; Exod 8:1; Judg 16:8, 31; 1 Sam 2:19; 2 Kgs 17:4; 2 Chr 8:11; Ps 40:3; it is regularly used, about 42 times, with reference to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt); in Hophal with a causative passive meaning “to be brought up, be taken up” (Nah 2,8) and in Hithpaal with a reflexive meaning “to raise oneself up” (Jer 51:3).
- 18 For the sociolinguistic reason, entering a city, for example, is frequently described as a “going up” to it (Gen 38:13; 1 Sam 15:34; Ezra 7:7; Zech 14:17), since cities were usually located on elevations. Such stereotypical usage of  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  is a standard feature of biblical Hebrew so that topographical data are sometimes omitted entirely (Gen 24:16; Exod 19:20; 2 Sam 24:19).
- 19 I refer here to the famous Ogden-Richard’s triangle of signification. Cf. M. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning. An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1994) 102; cf. Cotterell – Turner, *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation*, 116.
- 20 It describes a breaking a dawn (in Qal: Gen 19:15; Judg 19:25; 1 Sm 9:26; Neh 4:15; Jonah 4:7), a leaping (mating) of flocks (in Qal: Gen 31:10, 12), a mounting a horse and a chariot (in Qal: Jer 46:4; Nah 3:3; Sol 7:9), a climbing up a palm (in Qal: Sol 7:9) and rocks (in Qal: Jer 4:29), a setting up lamp(s) (in Hiphil: Exod 25:37; 30:8; Lev 24:2; Num 8:2, 3). Furthermore, the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  is used with reference to a lot that falls on someone (in Qal: Lev 16:9, 10; Josh 19:10), to a garment that is put on (in Qal: Lev 19:19; Ezek 44:17), to a yoke that is put on an animal (in Qal: Num 19:2; 1 Sam 6:7), to a razor that touches the skin (Judg 13:5; 16:17; 1 Sam 1:11), to someone that goes to a bed/couch, sometimes with an allusion to sexual intercourse (in Qal: Gen 49:4; 2 Kgs 1:4, 6, 16; Ps 132:3; Isa 57:8), to animals chewing the cud (in Hiphil: Lev 11:3, 4; Deut 4:6, 7), to a fork taking meat up (in Hiphil: 1 Sam 2:14), to buildings being raised on the wall (in Hiphil:

Concerning the variety of semantic aspects of the verb עָלָה, evidenced so far, a brief comment on the linguistic mechanisms that underlie the semantic alterations of this verb can be made.<sup>21</sup> They are frequently due to the phenomenon called “linguistic innovation.” New nuances or new meanings of the verb can be produced as a result of a semantic shift (involving relatively small changes) such as restriction (as, for example, in the case of “dawn breaking”) or generalisation (namely, that any kind of movement from below upward, performed by persons, animals, plants, and so forth, may be expressed by the verb עָלָה). Changes in the meaning of the verb are sometimes a result of metonymic transfer, based on the contiguity of related senses (for example, “going to a bed with someone” may mean by metonymy in some co-texts “to have a sexual intercourse with someone”). In the following paragraphs other types of semantic changes within the semantic spectrum of the verb in question will be observed.

It is necessary to comment now on the semantic domain to which the verb עָלָה belongs, namely, on verbs that describe a movement in general (verbs of locomotion). It is noteworthy that the verb עָלָה is quite frequently accompanied by other verbs belonging to this semantic realm, such as בָּואַ Qal “to come” (Gen 45:25; Exod 7:28; Deut 1:24), הָלַךְ Qal “to go” (Exod 33:1; Judg 11:16; 2 Sam 17:21; Isa 8:7; Mic 4:2), פָּנָה Qal “to turn around” (Deut 1:24; 3:1), יָצָא Qal “to go out” (1 Kgs 10:29), נִגַּשׁ Qal “to approach” (Josh 8:11). The following verbs should also be mentioned: עָבַר Qal “to traverse,” שׁוּבָה Qal “to return,” and יָרַד Qal “to go down” (which is, as noted before, the antonym of our verb). In attempting to proceed with a componential analysis of the lexeme עָלָה, these verbs of locomotion should be collated in order to single out “atomic” concepts that compose the sense of each of them.<sup>22</sup> In the present case, the “atomic” concepts concern the plane of movement (horizontal, vertical and rotary) and stages of a distance that is to be covered (namely, the notion of the departure point, of transition, and of the arrival point).<sup>23</sup> The table on the next page presents the component concepts (“atomic” senses) of the most frequent Hebrew verbs of locomotion.

2 Chr 32:5), to clouds being raised up (in Hiphil: Ps 135:7; Jer 10:13), to dust being thrown on one’s head (in Hiphil: Lam 2:10; Ezek 27:30), to bones being covered with flesh (in Hiphil: Ezek 37:6), to words to be included in the book (in Hophal: 2 Chr 20:34).

21 For general remarks about semantic changes in language see S. Ullmann, *Semantics. An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (New York: Barnes & Noble 1979) 198–235; Cotterell – Turner, *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation*, 131–135; Silva, *Biblical Words*, 79–86.

22 For general remarks concerning the componential analysis see Silva, *Biblical Words*, 132–135; Cotterell – Turner, *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation*, 170–174.

23 It is necessary to highlight that only the self-contained meaning of these terms is considered here, leaving apart for a moment the syntax with prepositions.

| Verbs of locomotion       | Plane of movement |                 |               | Phases of movement                      |                             |                                       |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|                           | <i>horizontal</i> | <i>vertical</i> | <i>rotary</i> | <i>notion of the point of departure</i> | <i>notion of transition</i> | <i>notion of the point of arrival</i> |
| הלך Qal<br>“to go”        | +                 |                 |               | unspecified                             |                             |                                       |
| עלה Qal<br>“to go up”     | (+)               | +(up)           |               | unspecified                             |                             |                                       |
| ירד Qal<br>“to go down”   | (+)               | +(down)         |               | unspecified                             |                             |                                       |
| פנה Qal<br>“to go around” |                   |                 | +             | unspecified                             |                             |                                       |
| בוא Qal<br>“to come”      | +                 |                 |               |                                         |                             | +                                     |
| עבר Qal<br>“to traverse”  | +                 |                 |               |                                         | +                           |                                       |
| יצא Qal<br>“to go out”    | +                 |                 |               | +                                       |                             |                                       |
| נגש Qal<br>“to approach”  | +                 |                 |               |                                         | +                           | +                                     |
| שוב Qal<br>“to return”    | +                 |                 |               | +                                       |                             | +                                     |

It can be noticed that the verbs of locomotion mentioned above are semantically related to each other but only contiguously (excluding, of course the verb ירד, which is the antonym of עלה). Their sense relations indicate their improper synonymy. All of those verbs denote at least one plane of movement, but not all of them include in themselves concepts regarding stages of such a movement. The sense of the verb עלה is built out of the concept of a vertical movement (motion upwards), which is always present when עלה expresses a physical movement. Sometimes a concept of a horizontal movement (motion ahead) is also denoted. This verb, however, does not have specified in itself any notion either of the departure/arrival point or of transition. It will be discussed in the next part of this paper that such notions may be expressed by the syntactic relation of עלה to prepositions. It may be concluded that the “atomic” sense of עלה “motion upwards” is distinctive in relation to other verbs of locomotion.

[II] Besides the sense of a physical movement, the figurative meaning of the verb עלה can also be singled out. The concept of an upward motion is sometimes transferred by metaphor to a new realm in order to produce new meaning of עלה that no longer denotes a physical movement. This is another linguistic device (metaphorical transfer) that on the basis of similarity of meanings generates figurative (metaphorical) meanings of a word. When the association between meanings is established, the result of the semantic shift



is that a word may be used in the new meaning with no implication of the primary one. A similar mechanism have already been noticed with reference to the metonymic transfer (that one, however, bases on the contiguity of meanings, not on their similarity). The verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  is used figuratively with a variety of meanings.<sup>24</sup>

[III] The verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  occurs also with an idiomatic and technical meaning. Both idioms and technical terminology, being alterations in the meaning of a word, are due to the mechanism of specification (or restriction) of the meaning, which is typical of the so-called “linguistic conservatism.” They are both characterised by a highly conventional usage serving as cultural tokens (in other words, they evoke a certain sociolinguistic context). There is, however, an important difference between them. Idiomatic expressions “are complex lexemes acting as a simple constituent,”<sup>25</sup> so that the lack of any element of the expression (by ellipsis) results in the loss of its idiomatic meaning. Technical terminology, on the other hand, being characterised by a high degree of specialisation, is less dependent on the co-text and the definite referent may be associated automatically with a word itself even if a phrase lacks some constituent (ellipsis usually does not result in a change of meaning).<sup>26</sup>

There are a few idiomatic expressions that employ the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$ .<sup>27</sup> Some expressions using the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  become technical terms in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>28</sup> The most pertinent to

24 It means [1] “to go to a significant personality” ( $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal), namely, to a high-rank person (for example, when Joseph goes to Pharaoh in Gen 46:31; see other examples: Num 16:12, 14, Hos 8:9). [2] The verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal is used also when someone goes for judgment (to Deborah in Judg 4:5; to elders in the city gate in Deut 17:8; 25:7; Ruth 4:1). In other specialised co-texts it means [3] “to prosper, become great and powerful” (Gen 49:9; Deut 28:43), and [4] “to surpass [others]” (Prov 31:29). [5] Furthermore,  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal is used figuratively in relation to varied concepts, very often abstracts: to describe anger/wrath raising up (1 Sam 11:20; 2 Chr 36:16; Ps 78:21, 31; Prov 15:1; Ezek 38:18; in Hiphil: Ezek 24:8), a raging of a battle (1 Kgs 22:35; 2 Chr 18:34), an outcry going up to heaven (1 Sam 5:12), a tumult reaching one’s ears (2 Kgs 19:28; Isa 37:19), an uproar raising up (Ps 74:23; Jer 14:2), death rising up (Jer 9:20), a number entering into account (1 Chr 27:24), repair works going forward (2 Chr 24:13; Neh 4:1; Jer 8:22; in Hiphil: Jer 30:17), a mountain rising up (Josh 11:17; 12:7; Ps 104:8), a city going up in smoke (Judg 20:40). [6] In a metaphoric sense the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Hiphil expresses God’s exaltation (rehabilitation) of the weak and oppressed (1 Sam 2:6) and [7] deliverance from the danger (Ps 30:4; 40:3; 71:20; Jonah 2:7).

25 D.A. Cruse, *Lexical Semantics* (Cambridge, UK: CUP 1986) §2.7, §2.9. Cf. more traditional definition: idiom is “an expression whose meaning cannot be inferred from the meaning of its parts” (Cotterell – Turner, *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation*, 131).

26 Silva, *Biblical Words*, 77.

27 For example, [1]  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal +  $\text{עֲלֶיֶךָ}$  (or  $\text{עֲלֵי־דָיֶךָ}$ ) “to come to mind, be minded, remember” (2 Kgs 12:5; Isa 65:17; Jer 3:16; 19:5; 32:35; 51:50; Ezek 38:10); [2]  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Hiphil +  $\text{עֲלֶיֶךָ}$  (or  $\text{עֲלֵי־דָיֶךָ}$ ), “to take to heart,” namely, “to turn one’s thoughts towards something” (Ezek 14:3, 4, 7); [3]  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal +  $\text{שָׁמַיִם}$  “to mount up to heaven” (Deut 30:12; Ps 107:26; Isa 14:13, 14; Jer 51:53; Amos 9:2), which becomes in biblical Hebrew a proverbial expression; [4]  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Niphal +  $\text{עֲלֵי־שָׁפֹט לְשׁוֹן}$  “to become an object of gossip” (Ezek 36:3).

28 For instance, [1]  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal +  $\text{קָ}$  (1 Kgs 10:29; 2 Chr 1:17) is a commercial term for an imported product reaching a certain price. Conventional usage of this expression involves the sociolinguistic context of trade between Egypt and Israel. [2]  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Hiphil +  $\text{מִסִּלְמִסִּים}$  (1 Kgs 5:27; 9:15, 21; 2 Chr 8:8) is a technical term for raising a troop of forced labourers; Cf. “עֲלָה,” *HALOT* II, 830a, 2b. [3]  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal (Ps 47:6) and  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Hiphil (1 Sam 6:21; 7:1; 2 Sam 6:2, 12, 15; 1 Kgs 8:1, 4; 1 Chr 15:3, 12, 14, 25, 28; 2 Chr 5:2, 5) is a technical term for the procession of the Ark of YHWH with the cultic (liturgical) context involved. Similarly,  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal is

the present study is the analysis of the syntagma  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal +  $\text{על}$  which is a very frequent warfare term to describe an attack/invasion<sup>29</sup> (not less than 25 times in the Hebrew Bible).<sup>30</sup> By correspondence with the Qal meaning,  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Hiphil +  $\text{על}$  means “to bring against, lead into battle” (Jer 50:9; Ezek 16:40; 26:3; 2 Chr 36:17). It is noteworthy that the technical term  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal/Hiphil +  $\text{על}$  is synonymous with other expressions, such as:  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal +  $\text{להלך}$  “to go up to fight” (2 Kgs 3:21; 2 Chr 35:20),  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal +  $\text{למלחמה}$  (or  $\text{במלחמה}$ ) “to go into battle” (1 Sam 29:9; 1 Kgs 20:26; 2 Kgs 16:5; Isa 7:1),  $\sqrt{\text{בוא}}$  Qal +  $\text{על}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{בוא}}$  Hiphil +  $\text{על}$  which mean respectively “to come against, attack” (2 Kgs 15:19; Ezek 33:3) and “to bring against” (Jer 25:9, 13; Ezek 14:17; 38:16). The antonym of our technical term is the expression  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  +  $\text{מעל}$  with a meaning “to withdraw from, cease an attack” (1 Kgs 15:19; 2 Kgs 12:19; 2 Chr 16:3; Jer 34:21).<sup>31</sup>

It should be noted that the usage of  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal +  $\text{על}$  in the technical meaning is conventional in the Hebrew Bible, involving its sociological context, namely, that a conquest of regions and an attack against cities, constructed regularly on hills, required frequently an ascent up the hillside. The technical usage of the verb  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  in specialised co-texts is thus stereotypical in biblical Hebrew that the preposition  $\text{על}$  is sometimes either omitted by an ellipsis (2 Kgs 12:18; 24:1, 10; 2 Chr 16:1), or replaced by the preposition  $\text{אֶל}$  (Num 13:31; 2 Sam 5:19; 2 Kgs 16:9; 2 Chr 18:28; Jer 35:11; 50:21). It happens also that phrases lack an object (person or thing) of an attack at all (Judg 1:4; 1 Sam 27:8; 2 Sam 5:23; 1 Kgs 22:6; 2 Kgs 18:17) with no loss in the military meaning of the term.

In addition, it should be remarked that the specialised co-texts mentioned above are identifiable by the presence of verbs that belong to the realm of warfare, that accompany

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used technically with a meaning “to go on pilgrimage” (Exod 34:24; 1 Sam 1:3; 10:3; Isa 2:3; Jer 31:6; Ps 122:4) entailing a convention based on the sociolinguistic context (geographically, sanctuaries were usually build on high places). The cultic (liturgical) context seems also to be evident. [4]  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Hiph is a very common technical term for an offering of a sacrifice. Its usage is conventional, entailing the cultic context, since its meaning may derive from either the placing of the sacrifice upon the altar or its rising in smoke. New technical meaning is then generated by means of a semantic shift of restriction (specialization); see Fuhs, “עֲלָה,” 90.  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Hiph is used frequently in this technical meaning in conjunction with the noun  $\text{עֲלָה}$  “a burning offering” (61 times out of 77 occurrences of this technical term), but it describes also other types of sacrifice (Exod 30:9; Lev 14:20; Josh 22:23; Judg 20:26; 2 Sam 6:17; 1 Kgs 9:25; Jer 14:12; Amos 5:22). Gerhard Wehmeier (“עֲלָה,” 889) argues that sometimes  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Hiph, occurring with no further modification, acquires the general meaning “to sacrifice.” Hans F. Fuhs, (“עֲלָה,” 90) opposes to his opinion by claiming that the immediate co-text of the passages cited by Wehmeier speaks clearly of burnt offerings.

29 Cf. H.A. Brongers, “Das Zeitwort *‘ālā* und seine Derivate,” *Travels in the World of the Old Testament. Studies presented to Professor M.A. Beek on the Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (eds. M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voos – Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate – N.A. van Uchelen) (Assen: Van Gorcum 1974) 32. He states: “Es hat sich gezeigt, dass *‘ālā* *al terminus technicus* ist für das Herausrücken eines Heeres oder einer Heeresabteilung, mit der Absicht sich eines bestimmten Territoriums zu bemächtigen oder mittels einer Belagerung eine Stadt zu erobern.” Cf. also Montgomery, *Books of Kings*, 477.

30 For example, Josh 22:12, 33; Judg 6:3; 1 Kgs 14:25; 2 Kgs 17:3; 18:9; 2 Chr 36:6; Jer 50:3, 21; Ezek 38:11; Joel 1:6; Nah 2:2.

31 Note that the standard antonym of  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  is the verb  $\sqrt{\text{ירד}}$ , however, the expression  $\sqrt{\text{ירד}}$  +  $\text{על}$  means “to descend against,” emphasising that the enemy is located in a lower position (2 Chr 20:16; cf. Judg 1:9; 1 Sam 26:10; 29:4; 30:24). Cf. Wehmeier, (“עֲלָה,” 887).



frequently the technical term in question. They are, as follows, *לָחֵם* Niphal “to wage war, fight” (Deut 1:41, 42; Josh 19:47; 1 Kgs 12:24; 2 Chr 11:4), *לָכַד* Qal “to capture” (Josh 19:47; 1 Kgs 9:16), *טָפַשׁ* Qal “to capture” (2 Kgs 16:9; 18:13; Isa 36:1), *צוֹרֵךְ* Qal “besiege” (1 Kgs 20:1; 2 Kgs 6:24; 17:5; 18:9; Isa 21:2), *נָכַח* Hiphil “to strike” (Josh 7:3; Judg 8:11), *חָנָה* Qal “to encamp” (Judg 15:9; 18:12; Josh 10:5; 1 Sam 11:11; 13:5), *שָׂרַף* Qal “to burn” (Judg 15:6; 1 Kgs 9:16), *יָרַשׁ* Qal “to take in possession” (Num 13:30; Deut 1:21; 9:23; Josh 19:47), *גָּדַד* Qal “to raid” (Hab 3:16), *בָּקַעַךְ* Qal “to seize” (Isa 7:6), *חָרַב* Qal “to murder” (Jer 50:21), *חָרַם* Hiphil “to execute the ban” (Jer 50:21), *שָׁדַד* Qal “to annihilate” (Jer 49:28).

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Having established semantic spectrum of the verb *עָלָה* and singled out its meanings in the Hebrew Bible, the lexical meaning of the verb in question can be now determined in 2 Kgs 17:5a. It is noteworthy that there the vocabulary characteristic of the warfare realm occurs in its co-text. It is as follows: *עָצַר* Qal “to arrest” (v. 4), *אָסַר* Qal “to imprison” (v. 4), *צוֹרֵךְ* Qal “to besiege” (v. 5), *לָכַד* Qal “to capture” (v. 6), *גָּלָה* Hiphil “to lead into exile” (v. 6). These lexemes indicate that *עָלָה* should be interpreted as a technical-military term meaning “to attack, invade” regarding both of its occurrences in v. 5. The ellipsis of the preposition *עַל* *וַיַּעַל שְׁמֶרֶן* in v. 5b (cf. the plain form *עָלָה [...] עַל-שְׁמֶרֶן* in 2 Kgs 18:9) should not give rise to any difficulty since this does not affect the meaning of the technical term. In case of *וַיַּעַל בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ* (v. 5a), however, there is still a question open to discussion whether the preposition *בְּ* is simply synonymous to the preposition *עַל* as its stylistic variation (as it happens in case of the preposition *אֶל*) or the preposition *בְּ* adds a new aspect to the meaning of the verb. This matter will be confronted in the next part of this paper.

## [B] Semantics of *בְּ*

Concerning the lexical meaning of the preposition *בְּ*, some general remarks about the semantics of prepositions in biblical Hebrew should be taken into account. It is commonly stated that prepositions are derived, historically speaking, from nouns in the adverbial (accusative) case in the construct relation to a word they modify.<sup>32</sup> Bearing this in mind,

<sup>32</sup> It is evident in case of prepositions such as, for example, *בְּעַד* “away from, through, within” (since it corresponds to the pattern of the segolates nouns), *לִפְנֵי* “in front of” (since it is a composite preposition built out of the preposition *לְ* and the construct form of the noun *פָּנִים* “on” and *אֶל* “to” (since both of them originate in III-y nouns, cf. forms preserved in poetry: *עָלִי* – Gen 49:17, 22; Job 6:5; and *אֶלִי* – Job 3:22; 5:26; 15:22). Although the origins of the preposition *בְּ* are opaque, it seems to stem from a form *\*bi*. The only preposition that does not seem to originate in a noun is *כְּ* “as, like.” For general remarks about prepositions in the historical-grammatical aspect see J. Blau, *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew. An Introduction* (LSAWS 2; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2010) 283–285.

it is indeed possible to speak about the semantics of prepositions in general and so of  $\text{ב}$  in our case as well. In fact, every single word in any language has some sense that is somehow self-contained, even if it is minimal.<sup>33</sup>

It is noteworthy that prepositions are, by their grammatical nature, relational terms in the first place and they denote their meaning through the syntactic relations to words they modify or by which they are headed. In 2 Kgs 17:5a the preposition  $\text{ב}$  is related syntactically to the verb  $\text{עלה}$  (heading the verb phrase) and to the noun  $\text{ארץ}$  (headed by the preposition). The syntactic function of the preposition  $\text{ב}$  and, in consequence, its meaning in 2 Kgs 17:5a will be examined in the next part of this paper. Let this study be limited now to pointing out possible senses that the preposition  $\text{ב}$  denotes in biblical Hebrew.

The remarkable variety of senses that the preposition  $\text{ב}$  has in the Hebrew Bible can be noticed on the diagram on the next page.<sup>34</sup> They may be categorised in four groups by types of relation they signify: [1] spatial senses (in relations of place), [2] temporal senses (in relations of time), [3] circumstantial senses (in relations of circumstances, such as origin, instrument, agent, interest, cause, and goal), [4] and senses that are more strictly connected with grammatical relations between  $\text{ב}$  and noun/verb phrases. Despite the self-contained meaning of the preposition  $\text{ב}$  (“in”) is minimal, it signifies, by linguistic economy, a remarkable diversity of senses. It may be argued, however, that the spatial senses of  $\text{ב}$  are basic.<sup>35</sup>

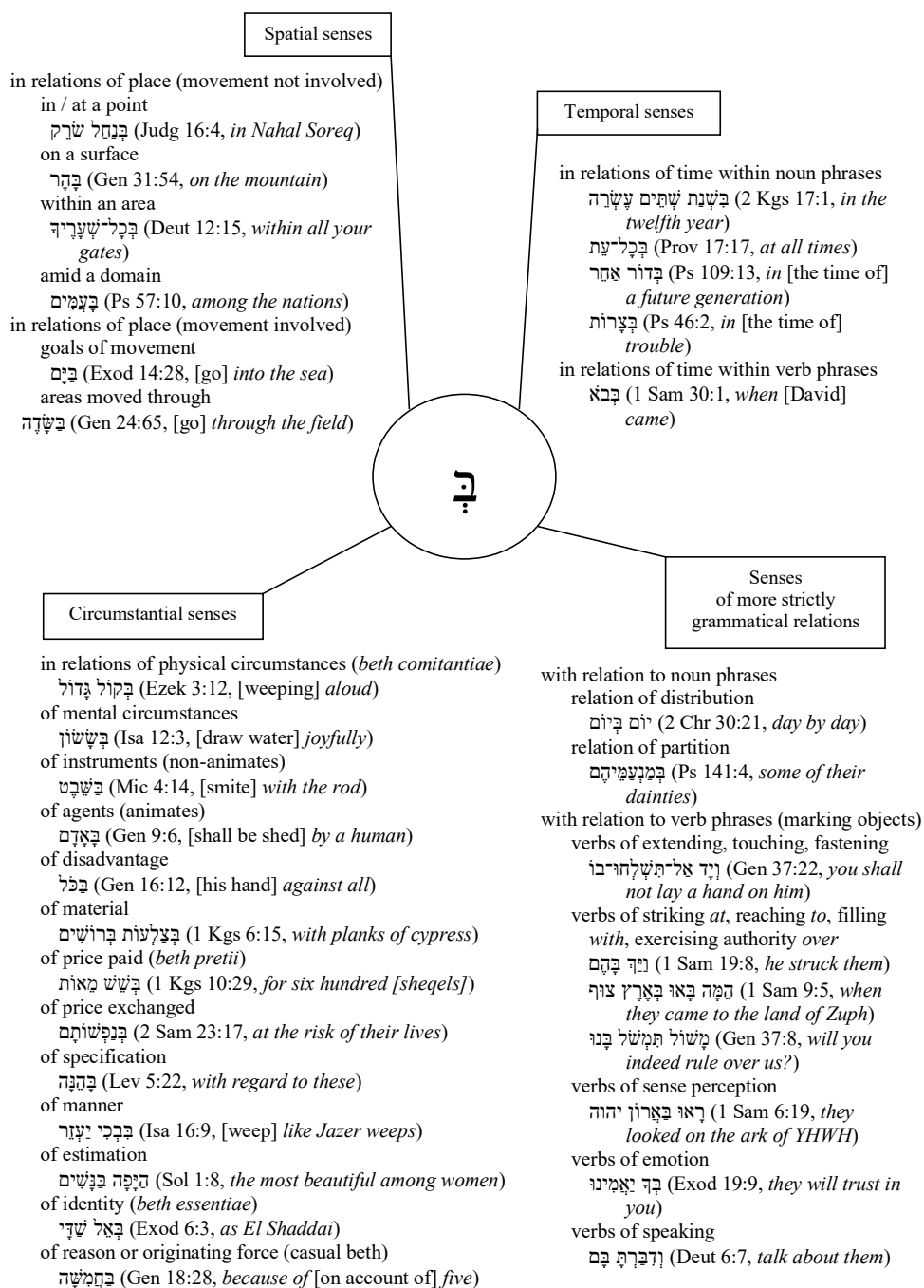
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Having singled out the chief senses of the preposition  $\text{ב}$  in the Hebrew Bible, an attempt to define its meaning in 2 Kgs 17:5a can be made. Theoretically, three possible meanings of  $\text{ב}$  may be singled out in this verse. The preposition  $\text{ב}$ , being there a modifier of the verb of locomotion ( $\text{עלה}$ ), may have a spatial sense, marking either a goal of such movement: “to go up to the whole country,” or an area moved through: “to go up through the whole country.” In the third possible sense it would express the relation of circumstance, specifically, of adversative agent with a meaning “to go up against the whole country.” In order to establish the exact sense of  $\text{ב}$  the syntax of the entire clause will have to be examined in the second part of this paper.

33 Even the definite article, which is highly functional, contains “some” meaning, namely, the concept of definiteness.

34 I rely here mostly on the study of B.K. Waltke – M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1990) 196–199, §11.2.5; and R.J. Williams – J.C. Beckman, *Williams' Hebrew Syntax*, 3 ed. (Toronto – Buffalo, NY – London, UK: University of Toronto Press 2007) 96–101.

35 For more on the preposition *beth* and its relation to other prepositions in Hebrew see, for example, N.M. Sarna, “The Interchange of the Prepositions *Beth* and *Min* in Biblical Hebrew,” *JBL* 78 (1959) 310–316; W. Chomsky, “The Ambiguity of the Prefixed Prepositions  $\text{ב}$ ,  $\text{ל}$ ,  $\text{מ}$  in the Bible,” *JQR* 61 (1970) 87–89; G. Schmuttermayr, “Ambivalenz und Aspektendifferenz: Bemerkungen zu den hebräischen Präpositionen  $\text{ב}$ ,  $\text{ל}$  und  $\text{מ}$ ,” *BZ* 15 (1971) 29–51; M.J. Dahood, “Can One Plow without Oxen (Amos 6:12)? A Study of *ba-* and *al-*,” *The Bible World. Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* (eds. R. Rendsburg et al.) (New York: Krav 1980) 13–23; T. Lorenzin, “Osservazioni sull'uso delle preposizioni *ל*, *ב*, *min*, *על*, *אל* in 1 e 2 Cronache,” *RivB* 32 (1989) 161–166.



## [C] Semantics of כָּל

The third lexeme in the phrase under examination is the noun כָּל (in the construct form כָּל־).<sup>36</sup> It is a very frequent term occurring about 5408 times in the Hebrew Bible,<sup>37</sup> stemming from the root כָּלֵל<sup>38</sup> “to be complete, make complete,” and originating historically in the form \*kull(u)<sup>39</sup> which denotes the concept of “totality.”<sup>40</sup> The examination of the usage of כָּל in the Hebrew Bible demonstrates that it occurs both [I] in the absolute meaning and [II] in the construct relation to noun/verb phrases.

[I] In absolute usage the noun כָּל expresses the aspect of entirety and means “the whole, everything, everybody, all.”<sup>41</sup> In some co-texts the noun כָּל acquires the technical-cosmological meaning “universe” describing the entire creation in relation to God, the creator of all (Jer 10:16; 51:19; cf. Ps 103:19; Isa 44:24; Job 42:2).

[II] Very frequently the noun כָּל occurs in the construct relation to noun phrases. In different co-texts it denotes a variety of semantic aspects of totality.<sup>42</sup> In some cases the aspect of totality is expressed not by the construct relation but by other syntactical features, such as the apposition,<sup>43</sup> the *casus pendens*<sup>44</sup> and the adverbial accusative.<sup>45</sup>

36 I rely on here on H. Ringgren, “כָּל,” *TDOT* VII, 135–143; S. Sauer, “כָּל,” *TLOT* II, 614–616; “כָּל,” BDB, 481a–483a; “כָּל,” *HALOT* II, 474a–475a.

37 Cf. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance of the Bible*, 534c–542c.

38 The noun in question is also very common in other Semitic languages: Ugar. *kl*, Phoen. *kl*, Aram. *kl*, *kōl*, *kōllāʾ*, Arab. *kl*, OSA *kl*, Eth. *kʾēl*, Akk. *kalū* and *kullatu*; cf. Ringgren, “כָּל,” 135.

39 Cf. J.A. Soggin, “klh – kll: osservazioni sull’uso di due radici in ebraico biblico,” *AION* 32 (1972) 366.

40 In biblical Hebrew the third radical of this term is evident only in suffixed forms such as, for example, כָּלָם “all of them,” כָּלָנוּ “all of us.”

41 It occurs both in the definitive form (for example, Exod 29:24 “you shall place everything,” Gen 16:12 “his hand [is] against everybody,” Ps 14:3 “they all have gone astray,” Eccl 3:19 “they all have the same life breath”) and in the indeterminate one (for instance, Job 13:1 “my eyes have seen everything,” Jer 44:12 “they all will meet their end”).

42 For example, [1] in relation to determinate terms expressing a unit it occurs in the quantitative meaning “whole, entire, all” (“the whole earth” in Gen 9:19; Isa 6:3; Ps 47:8; “my entire people” in Gen 41:40; “all nations” in Isa 2:2; 43:9; Ps 67:3). [2] כָּל denotes also the quantitative meaning “any, anything, all kinds of,” by governing indeterminate terms (“all kinds of trees” Gen 2:9, “all kinds of good things” Gen 24:10, “anything” Ruth 4:7, “any ransom” Prov 6:35). [3] When כָּל governs generic terms it denotes the collective meaning “all, every” (“all mankind” Gen 7:21, “all the cattle” Gen 2:20; “all men, everyone” Deut 4:3; 2 Sam 15:2, “every people” Est 3:8, “every house” Isa 24:10). [4] In relation to negations it means “no, none, nothing” (“no work shall be done” Exod 12:16, “eat nothing unclean” Judg 13:14). [5] When כָּל follows an enumeration it occurs in meaning “total, in all” (“towns [were] ten in all” Josh 21:26).

43 Cf. 2 Sam 2:9 יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּלָה “all Israel,” Isa 29:11 חֲזוֹן כָּל “entire vision.”

44 Cf. 1 Sam 2:13 כָּל־יָשׁ זָבַח “each time someone offered sacrifice,” Ps 74:3 כָּל־הַיָּמִים אוֹיֵב “[the] enemy has destroyed everything.”

45 Cf. 2 Sam 1:9 כִּי־כַל־עוֹד בִּי כָפְשִׁי “because my life still [lingers] in me.”

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With reference to 2 Kgs 17:5a it shall be noticed that it is the noun *כָּל* that heads the construct relation in the noun phrase *כָּל-הָאָרֶץ*. This syntactic feature will be examined later in this paper. For the moment it can be said that *כָּל* expresses in this verse the quantitative aspect of the noun *אָרֶץ*, and the phrase means literally “the whole of the land,” and so the realm denoted by the noun *אָרֶץ* in 2 Kgs 17:5a is meant in its entirety. In the further analysis the referent of this noun will be examined.

#### [D] Semantics of *אָרֶץ*

The term *אָרֶץ* is one of the most frequent nouns in the Hebrew Bible occurring 2504 times.<sup>46</sup> Its basic meaning may be defined as referring to the whole space “in which man thinks of himself as living.”<sup>47</sup> The vast range of semantic nuances denoted by this lexeme in biblical Hebrew proves its polysemous character. Its new meanings are generated in varied co-texts and contexts by means of semantic shifts (generalisation and specialisation), and so the following senses of *אָרֶץ* can be singled out: [I] the cosmological meaning, [II] the physical meaning, [III] the geographical and [IV] political meaning.<sup>48</sup> It is noteworthy that this term acquires a theological significance in some co-texts.<sup>49</sup> Theological implications, however, do not generate new lexical meanings of the term. They ascribe to *אָרֶץ* a pragmatic aspect (theological significance), which is, for methodological reasons, beyond our interest.

[I] In the cosmic sense the noun *אָרֶץ* means “(the) earth” as a part of creation established by God. In connection with such cosmological meaning of *אָרֶץ* several important concepts are subsequently developed.<sup>50</sup> Concerning the lexical meaning of *אָרֶץ* its cosmic sense, strictly speaking, is expressed in the Hebrew Bible with varied nuances. The meaning “earth”

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance of the Bible*, 112a–119b. This common Semitic root is well attested in Acadian (*eršetu*), in Ugaritic (*ʾrṣ*), in Arabic (*ʾard*) and in Aramaic (*אַרְקָא* and *אַרְעָא*); cf. H.H. Schmid, “*אָרֶץ*,” *TLOT* 1, 172–173.

<sup>47</sup> L.I.J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World. A Philological and Literary Study* (AnBib 39; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press 1970) 127.

<sup>48</sup> In this presentation the following studies are adopted: M. Ottosson, “*אָרֶץ*,” *TDOT* 1, 388–405; Schmid, “*אָרֶץ*,” 172–179; the entry “*אָרֶץ*,” BDB, 75b–76b; “*אָרֶץ*,” *HALOT* 1, 90b–91a. One should observe that the singular form of *אָרֶץ* is generally preferred in all senses. The plural form *אֲרָצוֹת*, occurring only in rather late texts, denotes the meaning marked with [III] and [IV] only, when particular territories are intended.

<sup>49</sup> See for example the study of S. Boorer, “The Earth/Land (*אָרֶץ*) in the Priestly Material: The Preservation of the ‘Good’ Earth and the Promised Land of Canaan throughout the Generations,” *ABR* 49 (2001) 19–33. He analyses the significance of our term for the theology of the promised land.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, God, the creator, is presented as the one who possesses the earth (cf. Isa 14:25; Ezek 36:5), who exercises his sovereignty over it as its Lord (Josh 3:11, 13; Mic 4:13; Zech 6:5; Ps 97:5), king (Ps 47:3), God (Isa 54:5) and the Most High (Ps 83:19; 97:9; 98:4; 100:1), and the one who manifests his dominion and power over the earth so that it trembles and quakes (Isa 13:3; Joel 2:10), it staggers and sways (Isa 24:19), and mourns (Isa 24:4; Hos 4:3). In such co-texts the term *אָרֶץ* acquires a theological significance for statements defining YHWH’s sovereignty over the whole earth, and for the theology of the promised land (cf. Deut 1:8, 36).

occurs to stand in an antithesis to heaven, which corresponds to a belief about the bipartite division of the universe.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes, a tripartite worldview is intended in the Hebrew Bible, namely, that the whole world consists of heaven, earth, and sea (cf. Exod 20:4, 11).<sup>52</sup> The term under examination occurs also in the meaning “underworld” which evokes just another type of worldview, namely, that the universe consists of heaven (as the dwelling place of God), earth (as the dwelling place of living creatures), sea, and underworld (as the abode of the dead) (cf. Ps 135:6).<sup>53</sup> There is also a vast range of semantic nuances expressed by the term in question in specialized co-texts.<sup>54</sup>

[II] The term under examination occurs in the physical sense “ground,” as well. At times different aspects of such a sense are accentuated. Sometimes, אָרֶץ means “surface of the ground,”<sup>55</sup> or “soil, ground” when it refers to its products.<sup>56</sup> Occasionally the term אָרֶץ is used metaphorically, too.<sup>57</sup> One can also notice an idiomatic expression כְּבֶרֶת-אָרֶץ (or

51 Heaven and earth describe the whole reality (world) created by God (cf. Gen 1:1; 14:19; Ps 89:12). The earth is a dwelling place of men (Gen 1:28; Ps 115:16; Ezek 41:16; 43:14), called sometimes “inhabitants of the earth” (Jer 25:19; Zeph 1:18; Ps 33:14), or “nations of the earth” (Gen 18:18; Jer 26:6; Zech 12:3), or “peoples of the earth” (Deut 28:10; 1 Kgs 8:43; Ezek 31:12). It is also the place where wild beasts live (Isa 18:6; Jer 15:3; Ps 79:2; Prov 30:24) and varied kinds of plants grow (Gen 1:11, 29; 7:3; Amos 7:12). From various texts, referring to אָרֶץ, further information about the form of the earth may also be read. These pieces of information correspond with the worldview beliefs held through the Ancient Near East. It is said that the earth has four corners (Isa 11:12; Ezek 7:2; Job 38:13), an edge or hem (Isa 24:16), an end (Deut 28:49; Isa 5:26; Ps 61:3; Prov 17:24) or ends (Isa 40:28; Job 28:24), sides or remote parts (Jer 6:22; 50:41) and a centre or “navel” (Ezek 38:12).

52 In such a view “earth” stands in an antithesis to sea as a “dry land,” arisen out of primal waters (Gen 1:10; Prov 8:27, 28), resting still upon columns in the water (1 Sam 2:8; Ps 24:2; 136:6) and having the vault of heaven anchored in itself (Amos 9:6).

53 The term אָרֶץ implies this sense in few expressions, such as “the nether world” (Exod 31:14; 32:18), “depths of the earth” (Isa 44:23; Ezek 26:20; Ps 63:10; 139:15). Sporadically, אָרֶץ alone involves the concept of the underworld (Exod 15:12; Ps 22:30; Isa 26:19; Jer 17:13).

54 Occasionally, the term אָרֶץ, being a part of God’s creation, denotes by metonymy an aspect of durability (Ps 78:69; Eccl 1:4). Sometimes it occurs metaphorically in the meaning of earthly existence (Eccl 5:1; 7:20; 8:14, 16; 11:2). By means of metonymy it means occasionally “the inhabitants of the earth” (Gen 11:1; 41:57; 1 Sam 17:46; 1 Kgs 10:24). The term occurs also in the idiomatic phrase הֹלֵךְ כְּבֶרֶת כָּל-אֶרֶץ (Josh 23:14; 1 Kgs 2:2) “going the way of all the earth,” which expresses the inevitability of death.

55 On such a surface people, animals and things stand (Gen 1:26; 8:19; Exod 8:12), rain and dew fall (Gen 7:4; Exod 9:33; Job 5:10), and so forth (cf. Ps 147:6; Isa 47:1; Ezek 26:16; Amos 3:5; 9:9). When the term under discussion is modified by the locative morpheme אֶרֶץ, it refers to the physical movement towards the ground. In this meaning it occurs commonly with verbs, such as אָרַץ Qal “to fall” (Gen 44:14), חָשַׁתָּף Qal “to prostrate” (Gen 24:52; 2 Sam 14:33), קָדַד Qal “to bow down” (Exod 34:8).

56 It is said that it gives, for example, fatness (Gen 27:28), increase (Lev 26:4; Deut 32:22; Judg 6:4; Ezek 34:27; Ps 67:7), fruit (Num 13:20; Deut 1:25; Jer 2:7), shoots (Isa 61:11), produce (Lev 23:39; Josh 5:12), bread (Ps 104:14; Job 28:5), and so forth.

57 In some co-texts the form אָרַץ has no direct relation to the physical movement “to the ground.” For example, the expression “no word of YHWH will fall to the ground” in 2 Kgs 10:10 means by metaphor that none of his words will remain unfulfilled. The expression “to pour out one’s liver on the ground” in Lam 2:11 means metaphorically “to be wholly in despair.” The term אָרַץ is also used in expressions such as “to be cut down to the ground” (Isa 14:12, נִפְלָא לְאָרֶץ Niphal + אָרַץ), and “to crush to the ground” (Ps 143:3, כָּדַשׁ Piel + אָרַץ) which



(כְּבִרְת־הָאָרֶץ) which refers to measurements of distance and means “some long distance” (Gen 35:16; 48:7; 2 Kgs 5:19).

[III] The term אֶרֶץ occurs in the geographical sense “land, region” with reference to a circumscribed territory.<sup>58</sup> It occurs in the geographical meaning in expressions that define individual regions.<sup>59</sup> They are, in fact, perceived as a kind of “microcosm” if one considers that the earth is conceived in the Hebrew Bible as “extended continuously through the continents.”<sup>60</sup> Rarely, אֶרֶץ means a “parcel of land” (Gen 23:15; Exod 23:10). By metonymy this term alone may refer to “the inhabitants of the land” (Lev 19:29; Ezek 14:13; 1 Sam 14:25; 2 Sam 15:23). It can also be noticed that an idiomatic use of the term is employed in the expression עַם־הָאָרֶץ (“people of the land”) which signifies “common people” in contrast to officials and princes. This idiom refers either to non-Israelites (Gen 23:7, 12, 13; Num 14:9) or to Israelites (Lev 20:4; Ezek 7:27). In some co-texts the idiom refers to the “land aristocracy” (2 Kgs 15:5; 16:15).

[IV] The term אֶרֶץ acquires in some co-texts the political meaning “country” in the sense of a governed area.<sup>61</sup> It is noteworthy that the meaning of אֶרֶץ in relation to the territory of individual tribes (for example, “the land of Ephraim/Gad/Benjamin” and so forth, cf. Deut 34:2; Judg 21:21; 1 Sam 13:7) stands on the border between the geographical and political meaning.

means respectively “to be defeated” and “to defeat” (cf. similar expressions entailing other verbs in Ps 147:6; Isa 26:5; Ezek 28:17; Obad 3).

<sup>58</sup> The lexeme אֶרֶץ means frequently a “tract of land, region” that may be further specified as, for example, a wilderness (Deut 32:10; Prov 21:19), a dry and weary land (Ps 63:2; cf. 143:6; Isa 32:2), a parched land (Isa 53:2; Hos 2:5; Joel 2:20; Ps 107:35), a dry and thirsty land (Ezek 19:13), a land of drought and darkness (Jer 2:6), a land not sown (Deut 29:22; cf. Jer 2:2), a salt land (Jer 17:6), a terrible land (Isa 21:1), and a land of darkness (Isa 45:19; Jer 2:31).

<sup>59</sup> Usually, אֶרֶץ occurring in geographical sense, is defined either [a] by an indication of direction (“the land of the north” Jer 3:18; Zech 6:6; “the land of the south” Gen 24:62; Judg 1:15; Zech 6:6; “the land of the sunset = the west” Zech 8:7; “the land of the sunrise = the east” Zech 8:7; “the land of the east” Gen 25:6); or [b] by a topographical indication (“the land of the circle = the plain of Jordan” Gen 19:28; “the valley region” Josh 17:16; “the land of the plain” Jer 48:21; “the garden land” Jer 2:7); or [c] by a name of a city or a mountain (“the land of Mizpa” Josh 11:3; “the land of Tappuah” Josh 17:8; “the land of Ararat” 2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38; “the land of Moriah” Gen 22:2); or [d] by the relation to either a person or a group (“native land” Gen 11:28; Jer 22:10; “the land of the fathers” Gen 31:3; cf. 48:21; “the land of your sojournings” Exod 6:4; Ezek 20:38; “the land of their possession” Lev 14:34; Josh 22:4; “the land of his possession” Deut 2:12; “the land of his dominion” 1 Kgs 9:19; Jer 51:28; “the land of their captivity” 1 Kgs 8:47; cf. Neh 3:36; “the land of their enemies” Lev 26:41, 44).

<sup>60</sup> Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 127.

<sup>61</sup> In such a meaning the term can be subsequently defined either [1] by a proper name of the land (for example, “the land of Israel” 1 Sam 13:19; Ezek 47:18; “the land of Egypt” Gen 41:19; Exod 5:12; Jer 44:26; “the land of Canaan” Gen 17:8; Josh 24:3; “the land of Edom” Num 20:23; Judg 5:4), or [2] by a gentilic name (for instance, “the land of the Canaanites” Exod 13:5; Josh 13:4; “the land of the Philistines” Exod 13:17; 1 Sam 27:1; “the land of the Ammonites” Deut 2:19), or [3] by a name of pertinent ruler (“the land of Sihon” Deut 4:46; “the land of Og” Deut 4:47; “the land of Ramses” Gen 47:11), or by a personal suffix referring to a ruler (Gen 20:15; Deut 4:47).



\*

The relations of meanings expressed by אֶרֶץ and by its synonyms shall be examined, too.<sup>62</sup> There are a few lexemes that occur in the synonymous meaning to אֶרֶץ. Some of them correspond to certain cosmic aspects of the lexeme under discussion: תִּבְלָה “habitable part of the world” (Isa 14:21; 24:4; Jer 10:12; Ps 19:5), הָלָל “space of the world” (besides its temporal meaning “lifetime, age” Isa 38:11; Ps 17:14; 49:2), יַבְשָׁה “dry land, ground” (Gen 1:9; Exod 4:9; 14:29; Isa 44:3) and שְׂאוֹל “underworld” (1 Sam 2:6; Ps 30:4; Isa 5:14); some others – only to the geographical ones: מִדְבָּר “wilderness” (Gen 4:20; Num 10:12; 2 Sam 17:49; Isa 41:18), עֲרָבָה “wilderness” (Isa 35:1; Jer 2:6; 50:12). The term אֶדְמָה demonstrates more complex synonymity to the term אֶרֶץ and means in varied co-texts “the entire inhabited earth” (Gen 12:3; Deut 7:6; Isa 24:21), “ground yielding sustenance” (Gen 2:5; Exod 34:26; 2 Sam 9:10), “soil, humus” (Isa 45:9; 1 Sam 4:12; 2 Sam 1:2), “a piece of ground” (Gen 47:18; Deut 5:16; Isa 14:2), “land, territory, country” (Gen 47:19; Lev 20:24; Isa 19:17). By comparing these terms with our lexeme it can be noticed that אֶרֶץ, being highly polysemous, covers a much wider semantic spectrum than other terms. Their sense relations may be defined as hyponymy (inclusion), in other words, that the specific senses expressed by the terms listed above (which should be called cohyponyms) are somehow included in much wider semantic spectrum of אֶרֶץ. Additionally, these cohyponyms themselves present sense relations either of overlapping (for example, between מִדְבָּר and עֲרָבָה, between תִּבְלָה and הָלָל, and between אֶדְמָה and יַבְשָׁה), or of contiguity (for example, between תִּבְלָה and שְׂאוֹל).

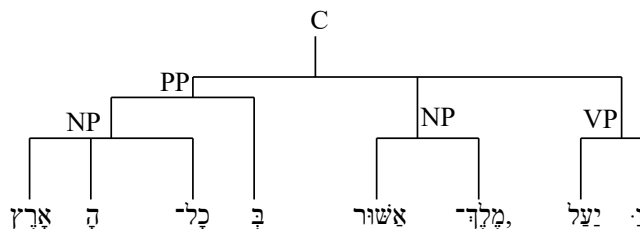
Considering the meaning of אֶרֶץ in 2 Kgs 17:5a, it occurs there in the political sense “country,” even if the term is not specified explicitly. From the narrative point of view, in the co-text of 2 Kgs 17:1–6, the expression כָּל-הָאָרֶץ is connected with the figure of king Hosea. Therefore, “the whole country” in v. 5a refers to the whole territory governed by this king.

### 3. Level of Sentence: Syntax and Semantics of the Clause

Having established the self-contained meaning of individual words of the clause under examination, the syntactic analysis of 2 Kgs 17:5a, וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ, may be proceeded with. Three successively occurring phrases can be singled out in this clause: the verb phrase (VP) וַיַּעַל, literally “and he went up,” the predicate of the clause, morphologically composed of the verb itself (יַעַל) and a conjunction ו integrated with it (the conjunction ו “and” with a “sequence morpheme”); next, the noun phrase (NP) מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר “the king of Assyria,” being the subject of the clause, and the preposition phrase (PP) בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ, literally

62 For detailed analysis of terms for earth and of their context see Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World*, 127–140.

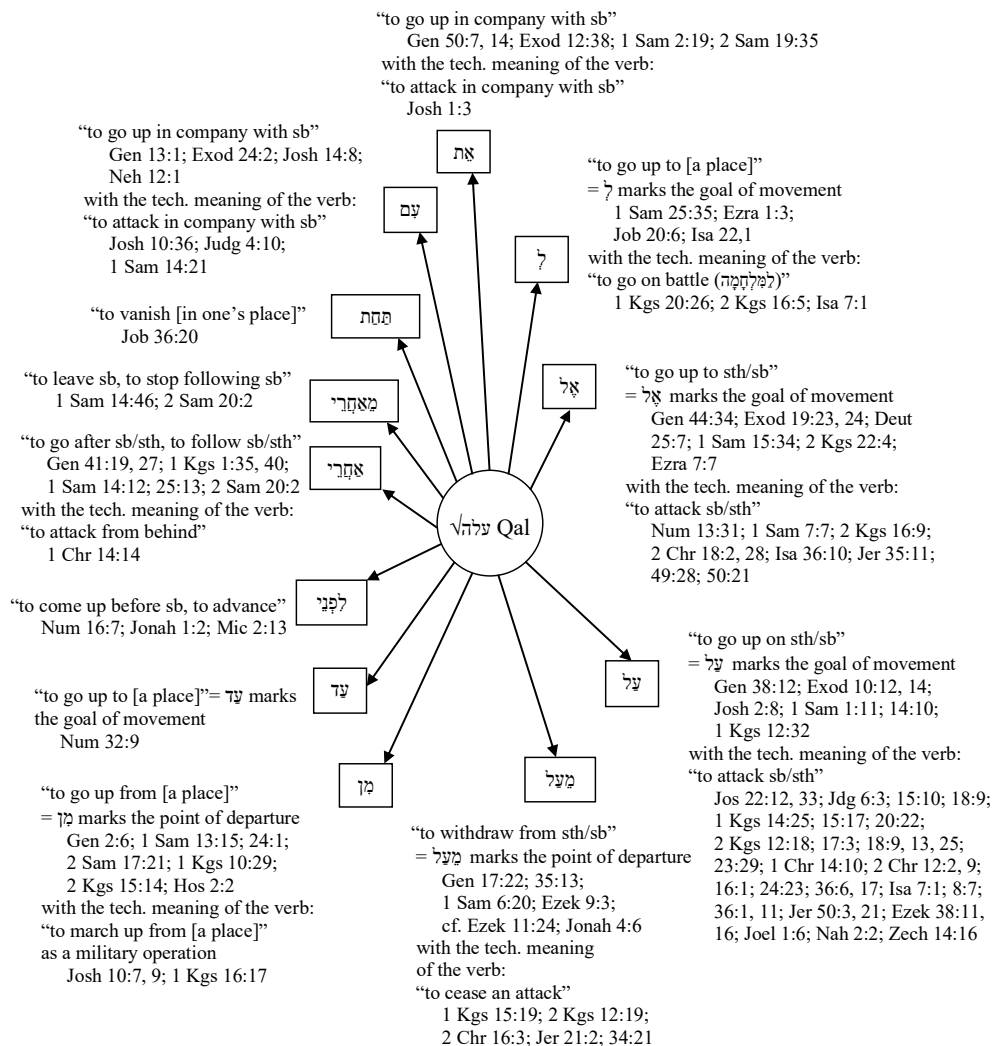
“in the whole country,” being the adverbial modifier of place, syntactically consisting of the preposition *בְּ* and the NP *כָּל-הָאָרֶץ*. The schema below presents the String Constituent Analysis of this clause.



The study of semantics at the sentence level consists of the examination of the meaning expressed by syntactic relations in the clause. In this regard, the syntactic analysis of the verb *עלה* Qal modified by various prepositions, with particular interest in its syntax with the preposition *בְּ*, is a key-tool for the interpretation of the phrase in question. The diagram on the next page presents a general overview of the syntax of *עלה* Qal when it heads various prepositions (the preposition *בְּ* will be discussed separately).

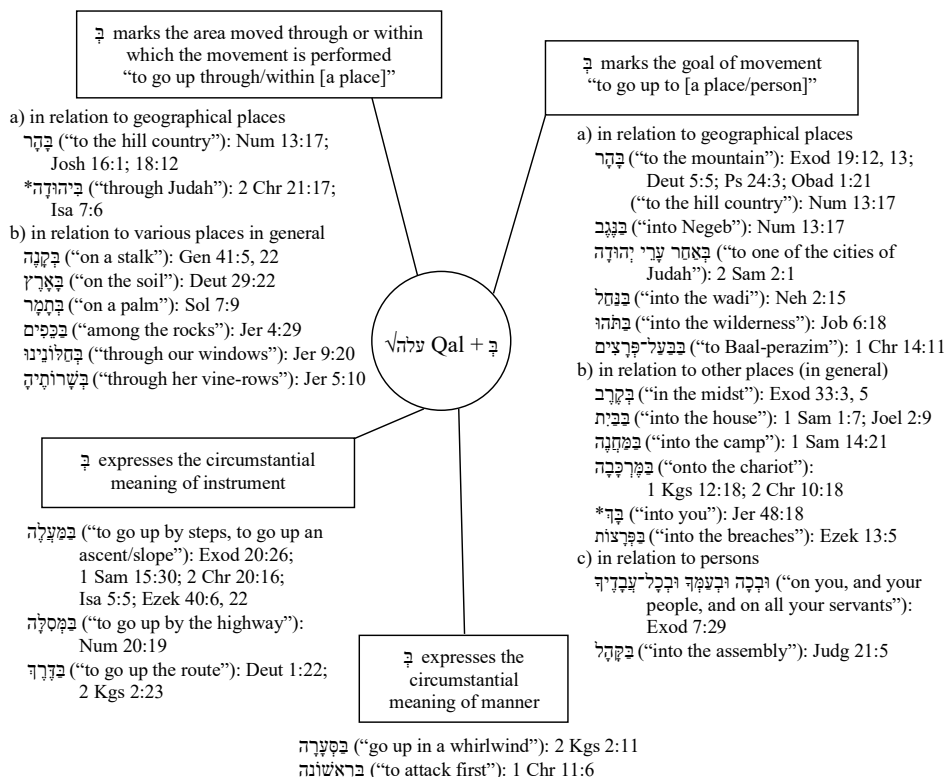
This diagram presents concisely the meaning of VPs in which the verb *עלה* Qal heads various prepositions (or more specifically, PPs being headed by various prepositions). When *עלה* Qal is used with the physical meaning (an upward movement) prepositions modifying the verb function as syntactic devices denoting the point of departure (*מִן* “from,” *מֵעַל* “from”), the point of arrival (the goal of movement: *לְ* “to,” *אֶל* “to,” *עַל* “on, upon,” *עַד* “up to”), or add other nuances to the movement described by *עלה* Qal such as, for example, the aspect of companionship (*עִם* “with,” *אֶת* “with,” *אַחֲרַי* “after”) or its antonym, separateness (*מֵאַחֲרַי* “from, without”).

With respect to the technical-military meaning of *עלה* Qal, it usually governs the preposition *עַל*, and occasionally, the preposition *אֶל* as its stylistic variation (see an obvious example in Jer 50:21). However, as already observed, the ellipsis of these prepositions does not result in the loss of the technical meaning, and thus, the verb *עלה* alone may express such a meaning as well. It means that the technical-military meaning of this verb does not depend on the syntactic relation to the prepositions, since it itself is capable enough of expressing such a sense. However, other prepositions add further nuances to such a technical meaning of *עלה* Qal, for example, they may denote the point of departure: “to march up from...” (when the verb is modified by *מִן*), or the position in attack: “to attack from behind...” (when it is modified by *אַחֲרַי*), or to point out an accomplice of an attack: “to attack in company with” (when it is modified by the preposition *עִם* or *אֶת*).



In a nutshell, it is always  $\sqrt{\text{להלך}}$  Qal that syntactically heads the VPs. It should be highlighted, however, that the relation between the verb and its preposition modifiers varies in intensity from a very strict semantic linkage (when  $\sqrt{\text{להלך}}$  Qal occurring in the technical-military meaning governs the prepositions  $\text{עַל}$  or  $\text{אֶל}$ , and  $\text{מֵעַל}$  as their antonym) to a rather loose one (when the meaning of prepositions does not depend directly on the meaning of the verb). The question to be answered is, whether the preposition  $\text{בְּ}$  in general, and in 2 Kgs 17:5a in particular, belongs to the first or to the second “category,” in other words, whether  $\sqrt{\text{להלך}}$  Qal governs objects modified by  $\text{בְּ}$  in the technical-military meaning. In order

to answer this question the syntactic and semantic relation between  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal and  $\text{ב}$  needs to be examined. The diagram below presents a concise summary of semantic nuances expressed by the preposition  $\text{ב}$  when headed by  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal.



The preposition  $\text{ב}$  when governed by  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal occurs predominantly in the spatial meaning (besides a few occurrences with the circumstantial meaning) by marking either the goal of movement, or the area moved through, or the area within which such a movement is performed.<sup>63</sup> It is true especially in relation to geographical places and topographical areas. In almost all cases it is unmistakably evident from their co-text that the preposition  $\text{ב}$  expresses spatial meaning. There are, however, three passages (marked with an asterisk on the diagram) where the adversative meaning of the preposition is sometimes argued, as if  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal in the technical-military meaning governed  $\text{ב}$ , in other words, as if  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal "to attack" +  $\text{ב}$  were a synonym of the formulation  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  Qal +  $\text{על}$ .<sup>64</sup> These passages need to be discussed in detail.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Waltke – O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 196, §11.2.5b; Williams – Beckman, *Williams' Hebrew Syntax*, 101.

<sup>64</sup> Hans F. Fuhs ("עלה", 84) classifies  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  +  $\text{ב}$  in Isa 7:6 as the technical term in addition to the classical construction  $\sqrt{\text{עלה}}$  +  $\text{על}$ .

The first passage is Jer 48:18, יִשְׁבִּי בְצִמָּא יִשְׁכַּת בְּתִדְיֹבֹן כִּי־שָׁדַד מֹאָב עָלָה בָּךְ, שְׁחַת מְבָצְרֶיךָ. Some translations (NRSV, NASV) render the Hebrew text in the following way: “Descend from glory, and sit on the parched ground, o daughter dwelling in Dibon! For the ravager of Moab has come up against you; he has destroyed your fortresses.” In such a rendering the expression עָלָה בָּךְ is understood as a technical-military expression, being an equivalent of עָלָה עֲלֶיךָ. However, by considering the inner parallelism within the verse, the PP בָּךְ corresponds with מְבָצְרֶיךָ “your fortresses,” not with בְּתִדְיֹבֹן “the daughter of Dibon,” and thus, בָּךְ should be understood as referring to “your city.” In such a case the phrase עָלָה בָּךְ expresses “entering the city” with the spatial meaning of בָּ which marks the goal of movement. Therefore, it is possible to interpret this passage in the following way: “Descend from glory, and sit on the parched ground, o daughter dwelling in Dibon! For the ravager of Moab has entered your town; he has destroyed your fortresses” (cf. the translation of JPS Tanak).

Another passage to be discussed is Isa 7:6, וְנִקְצְנָה וְנִבְקַעְנָה אֲלֵינוּ וְנִמְלִיךְ מֶלֶךְ, בְּתוֹכָהּ אֶת־בְּנוֹתְבָאֵל. The first clause, וְנִבְקַעְנָה בִיהוּדָה, is usually rendered as “let’s march against Judah” (cf. the translations of NASV, NRSV, JPS Tanak) which reveals the technical-military meaning of וְנִבְקַעְנָה Qal + בָּ perceived there. It is unequivocal that וְנִבְקַעְנָה Qal occurs there in such a sense. It is noteworthy that the clauses which follow, namely, וְנִקְצְנָה וְנִבְקַעְנָה אֲלֵינוּ, וְנִמְלִיךְ מֶלֶךְ, unfold a series of actions to be performed in consequence of the military aggression: “let us tear it apart” (וְנִקְצְנָה Hiphil), “let us conquer it for ourselves” (וְנִבְקַעְנָה Hiphil), “let us set up [the son of Tabeel] as king in the midst of it” (וְנִמְלִיךְ Hiphil). All these actions are connected with each other and fit perfectly the narrative logic if one retains the spatial meaning of the preposition בָּ, not depriving the verb וְנִבְקַעְנָה, at the same time, of its technical-military meaning. It thus appears that the passage in question may be understood better, as follows, “let us march up through Judah and tear it apart and conquer it...”

The same narrative logic may be identified in 2 Chr 21:17 where one reads וַיַּעֲלוּ בִיהוּדָה וַיִּבְקְעוּהָ וַיִּשְׁבּוּ אֶת־כָּל־הָרְכוּשׁ הַנִּמְצָא לְבֵית־הַמֶּלֶךְ. It is possible to render this text in a following way: “they marched up through Judah and conquered it and carried off all the property found, that belonged to the king’s palace.” The unfolding actions of this verse are linked with each other and form a logical chain of events, which, as can be argued, fits the narrative better if both the technical-military sense of וְנִבְקַעְנָה Qal and the spatial meaning of בָּ are understood there. It is possible, then, to state that both lexemes, linked syntactically, are connected more loosely from the semantic point of view, in other words, that בָּ is not a constituent of the technical-military term involving וְנִבְקַעְנָה Qal.

Before drawing conclusions for this part of our analysis, it is necessary to study the meaning of the PP בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ, in particular, the semantic relation between the preposition בָּ and the noun אָרֶץ. It is noteworthy that PPs consisting of בָּ and אָרֶץ, when headed by verbs of locomotion, occur in the meaning of either goals of movement or areas moved

65 The Masoretic vocalization suggests to read the consonantal writing יִשְׁבִּי as יִשְׁבִּי instead of an expected reading יִשְׁבִּי (the so-called *Qere-Ketiv*).

through.<sup>66</sup> Such PPs are frequently headed by verbs, such as *עבר* Qal: “to pass through, traverse” an area from one point to another (Gen 12:6; Exod 12:12; Deut 2:27; Judg 12:15; Josh 18:8; Jer 2:6); *הלך* Qal “to go [through the land]” (1 Kgs 18:5; Ps 73:9), in Hiphil “to bring sb/sth [through the land]” (Josh 24:3), in Hithpael “to walk [through the land] back and forth” (Josh 18:4, 8; Job 1:7; 2:2; Ps 116:9; Zech 6:7); *שוט* Qal “to traverse, to roam [through the land]” (2 Sam 24:8; Job 1:7; 2:2), *בוא* Qal “to enter, come [into the land]” (1 Sam 9:5; Ezek 11:16; it occurs sometimes in the technical meaning “to attack, invade” (Josh 2:18; Judg 6:5; 2 Kgs 6:23; 13:20; Mic 5:4, 5); in such cases *ב* is the constituent of the technical term *בוא* + *ב*. It does not occur, in my opinion, in the case of *עלה* + *ב*.

With respect to the verb *עלה*, 2 Kgs 17:5a is the only passage where the PP, built out of *ב* and *אֶרֶץ*, is headed by this verb. H.A. Brongers claims that *עלה* + *ב* means generally “to traverse [the land]” (*das Land durchziehen*), both flat and hilly regions, being a synonym of *עבר*.<sup>67</sup> Although one may concur with him about the spatial meaning of the preposition *ב* in such an expression, it should be argued that the technical-military meaning of the verb *עלה* cannot be ignored when it is evident. In conclusion, it should be highlighted that irrespective of the meaning of the verb *עלה*, the preposition *ב* occurs regularly with the spatial meaning when it refers to geographical places, areas and lands.<sup>68</sup>

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In order to draw some final conclusions, all the arguments already expressed should be collected. It has been demonstrated that *עלה* Qal with the technical-military meaning “to attack, invade” governs normally the prepositions *על* or *אֶל*, or expresses such a meaning by itself (with an elision of the preposition). With respect to other prepositions, it has been observed that they amplify in various ways the meaning expressed by the verb *עלה*. On the other hand, the preposition *ב* occurs predominantly with the spatial meaning both in relation to the verb *עלה* Qal and to the noun *אֶרֶץ*. The biblical passages, where the adversative meaning of *ב* headed by *עלה* Qal is argued, are debatable, and in my opinion, the spatial meaning of the preposition fits better the narrative logic of the respective contexts and should be retained. To sum up, there is no incontrovertible evidence for the statement that *עלה* governs the preposition *ב* in the technical-military meaning (as a synonym of *על* + *עלה*).<sup>69</sup> There are, however, solid grounds, both semantic and syntactic, for claiming the spatial meaning of *ב* in the clause under examination.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. GKC, §119h.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Brongers, “Das Zeitwort *ālā* und seine Derivate,” 33.

<sup>68</sup> On the usage of the preposition *ב* with nouns referring to places, see E. Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth. Die hebräischen Präpositionen* (Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln: Kohlhammer 1992) I, 178–195, particularly the general introduction to this question on pages 178–179.

<sup>69</sup> Confront the verb *עלה* with other verbs of the realm of warfare that govern objects modified by the preposition *ב*, such as, for example, *בוא* Qal “to come against, attack” (Josh 2:18; Judg 6:5; 2 Kgs 6:23; 13:20; Mich 5:4, 5), *לחם* Niphal “to wage war against” (Exod 17:9; Josh 10:31; 1 Sam 12:9; 19:8; 2 Kgs 3:21), *חנה* “to encamp against” (Judg 9:50).

In keeping with conclusions of the semantic study and of the present analysis, the phrase *וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ* in 2 Kgs 17:5a expresses three aspects: 1) the technical-military meaning of the verb *עלה*; 2) the nuance of its physical meaning, namely, an upward movement; 3) the spatial meaning of *בְּ* marking an area moved through. It is thus proposed to render the Hebrew text in a following way: “And then the king of Assyria marched up throughout the whole country.” The meaning of the English term “to march up” implies both military operations (it expresses the technical meaning of our verb) and a motion upwards at the same time (it expresses the physical movement as well). Moreover, the rendering “throughout the whole country” respects the spatial meaning of the preposition *בְּ*. In such a translation of 2 Kgs 17:5a all three postulated aspects of the Hebrew text are expressed.

## Conclusions

The expression *וַיַּעַל בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ* in 2 Kgs 17:5a presents an interpretative difficulty concerning the meaning of the verb *עלה* and of the preposition *בְּ*, and further, their semantic and syntactic relation in the clause under examination. It is remarkable that these Hebrew lexemes and their syntax are interpreted variously, generating a considerable plurality of different translations, in other words, interpretations of 2 Kgs 17:5a. Five various sets of renderings of 2 Kgs 17:5a may be identified from among translations consulted in this paper, oscillating from the most neutral statements of the Assyrian king’s coming up through the whole country to those that clearly express his invasion of the entire land. It appears that the semantic and syntactic difficulty of the clause, besides its apparent simplicity, underlies various interpretations and translations.

In order to solve this problem, it has been necessary to study the semantics and syntax of the clause in question, consisting of the self-contained meaning analysis of all the constituent words of the clause (the level of individual lexemes), and of the study of semantics and syntax at the sentence level. As a result of such a study, it has been established that verb *עלה* occurs in 2 Kgs 17:5a in the technical-military meaning “to invade, attack, march against,” belonging to the vocabulary of warfare. This sense of the verb is unequivocally recognisable in the co-text of the clause by the occurrence of other verbs pertaining to warfare. In fact, the motif of invasion is present in vv. 3–6 right from the beginning of the narrative (*עָלִיו עָלָה* “he attacked him” in v. 3a). There is no doubt that the actions of the Assyrian king are military operations, and thus, the technical-military meaning of *עלה* is unquestionable with respect to its both occurrences in v. 5.

The technical sense of *עלה* is stereotypical in biblical Hebrew, involving the sociological context of the Hebrew language. This verb acquires a notion of attacking by a semantic shift of specialisation of its general sense “to go up.” An invasion, in fact, entails usually an ascent up the hillside in order to attack inhabited areas located on elevations. From



historical point of view, the Assyrian troops must have invaded the Levant from the north, having to attack the hill country of Ephraim from the valleys. Both sociolinguistic setting of the military usage of *עלה* and the historical setting of the narrative under examination incline to retain in the rendering of 2 Kgs 17:5a the nuance of an upward movement of the verb, besides its technical meaning. The English term “to march up” combines both aspects very well, since it implies military operations and involves at the same time a movement from below upwards.

The difficulty with the meaning and function of the preposition *ב* concerns its semantic and syntactic relation to the verb *עלה* (in 2 Kgs 17:5a the verb phrase *בָּקַלְהֶֽאָרֶץ* heads the preposition phrase *בְּבָקַלְהֶֽאָרֶץ*). The problem to solve consists in a question of whether the verb governs the preposition *ב* in the technical-military meaning, or not. In this regard the following remarks should be considered altogether:

- (1) the verb *עלה* governs the preposition *על* (or its stylistic variation *אֶל*) in the technical sense,
- (2) this verb, used stereotypically, may denote such meaning when standing alone as well,
- (3) other prepositions, when governed by the verb *עלה* in such a sense, may express their “own” meaning, adding further semantic nuances to the phrase in which they occur,
- (4) the preposition *ב* occurs in the spatial meaning (“to, into, through”) when governed by verbs of locomotion (to which the verb *עלה* belongs),<sup>70</sup>
- (5) when denoting the physical meaning, the expression *עלה + ב* is synonymous to the verb *עבר* “to pass through, traverse,”
- (6) the preposition *ב* modifying the noun *אֶרֶץ* occurs predominantly in the spatial meaning,
- (7) the retaining of the spatial sense of *ב* in passages where *עלה* occurs in the technical meaning fits their narrative logic better,
- (8) in the co-text of 2 Kgs 17:5a the prime importance is given to the attack against Samaria (v. 5bc) and not against the surrounding territory, and thus, the spatial meaning of *ב* in v. 5a corresponds perfectly with the narrative dynamics of the passage.

In summary, it appears that the verb *עלה* does not govern the preposition *ב* in the technical-military meaning, and consequently, the preposition *ב* expresses in 2 Kgs 17:5a the spatial nuance of the Assyrian invasion moving through the whole country. Therefore, it is proposed to translate *בָּקַלְהֶֽאָרֶץ + ב* in 2 Kgs 17:5a, as follows: “he marched up through.” In my opinion, the renderings singled out while stating a problem in the first section of this paper, which appear to ignore either the technical meaning of the verb *עלה* (the renderings marked with [1] on the given diagram), or the spatial meaning of the preposition *ב* (the renderings marked with [3] through [5] on the diagram), impoverish the semantic richness of the sentence under examination and express the meaning of the Hebrew phrase in an insufficient manner. The renderings marked with [2] on the given diagram seem to be the best translational choice, since they reflect both the semantics of the constituent

<sup>70</sup> Cf. GKC, §119h.

words of the phrase וַיַּעַל בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ and their syntactic interrelations in 2 Kgs 17:5a. They also fit better the logic of the narrative, focused on the attack against Samaria (v. 5bc), but preceded by the mention of the military expedition going throughout the whole country (v. 5a).

Considering the meaning of בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ, it has been established that the noun אֶרֶץ occurs in this phrase in the political meaning “country,” referring in the co-text to the area governed by king Hosea. The noun כָּל functions there as a quantifier specifying the entirety of the country enduring the Assyrian military operations, in other words, that none of its parts was excluded from the invasion of the Assyrians. Therefore, the noun שָׁמְרוֹן in 2 Kgs 17:5b refers to the city of Samaria and not to the territory of Samaria. With respect to מֶלֶךְ-אַשּׁוּר, it can be stated that, apart from possible speculations about its referent in the physical world, this phrase does not present any semantic difficulty and means “the king of Assyria,” and that from the narrative point of view it refers to king Shalmaneser mentioned in v. 3a.

Taking into account all above mentioned remarks it is proposed to translate 2 Kgs 17:5a in the following way: “And then the king of Assyria marched up throughout the whole country.” Such a rendering puts together the technical-military meaning of עָלָה and the spatial sense of כָּל, and seems to be the rendering closest to the sense intended in the Hebrew text. Other interpretations (translations), either ignoring or highlighting one of these features only, may be considered incomplete, questionable or unacceptable from the semantic and syntactic point of view.

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## Was King David an Exorcist?

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**ABSTRACT:** This article analyses the image of David as an exorcist. The choice of the research topic has been inspired by the fact that in the literature, more specifically, in an article by Kenneth E. Pomykala, this issue is presented in a very general way, by indicating only texts where such an image of David can be found, without entering into their deeper interpretations. Also, no scientific article covering this topic in detail has been published to date. The paper is divided into three parts. The first part presents biblical texts in which – as Pomykala has proven – one can talk about this characteristic of David. In the second part, fragments of two Qumran manuscripts, 11Q5 and 11Q11, are analysed. Finally, an analysis of the literature of early Jewish writings, portraying David as an exorcist, is provided.

**KEYWORDS:** David, Exorcist, 11Q5, David's Compositions, 11Q11, Early Jewish writings

David is one of the most important biblical heroes extensively portrayed in the Old Testament. His formative years, rise to the throne and the establishment of a great dynasty are relayed by the Deuteronomist (1 and 2 Samuel, 1 Kings) and the Chronicler (1 Chronicles). Moreover, David's name has been associated with a number of Psalms, such as Ps 3–41; 51–70; 72; 138–145; and his figure is also found in prophetic literature (Isa 11:1; 16:5; Jer 23:5; Ezra 37:24–25; Amos 9:11), sapiential literature (Sir 47:10), Qumran manuscripts as well as the writings of Philo and Josephus.

A number of exegetes have emphasised the king's multifaceted personality; in their studies, based on source literature – both biblical and non-biblical materials – they show how David has been perceived.<sup>1</sup> Special attention should be drawn to the works of Kenneth

<sup>1</sup> Out of the rich literature on this topic, the following works should be mentioned: A.G. Auld – C.Y.S. Ho, "The Making of David and Goliath," *JSOT* (1992) 19–39; M. Biegas, "Postać Dawida w hebrajskiej wersji Psalmu 151 (11Q5)," *BibAn* 8/1 (2018) 5–28; W.H. Brownlee, "The Significance of David's Compositions," *RevQ* 20 (1966) 569–574; A. Campbell, "From Philistine to Throne (1 Sam 16:14–18:16)," *ABR* (1986) 35–41; C. Claude, "David à Qumrân," *Figures de David à travers la Bible* (eds. L. Desrousseaux – J. Vermeylen) (LD 177; Paris: Cerf 1999) 315–343; W.L. Coates, "A Study of David, the Thoroughly Human Man Who Genuinely Loved God," *RevExp* 99/2 (2002) 237–254; F.M. Cross, "David, Orpheus, and Psalm 151:3–4," *BASOR* 231 (1978) 69–71; M. Daly-Denton, "David the Psalmist, Inspired Prophet: Jewish Antecedents of a New Testament Datum," *ABR* 52 (2004) 32–47; C.A. Evans, "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (eds. S.E. Porter – C.A. Evans) (JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1997) 183–197; N. Fernandez-Marcos, "David the Adolescent: On Psalm 151," *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (eds. R.J.V. Hiebert – C.E. Cox – P.J. Gentry) (JSPSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 2001) 205–217; P. Finney, "Orpheus-David: A Connection

E. Pomykala, who in one of his papers<sup>2</sup> has synthetically shown a portrait of this hero in biblical literature and its later interpretations originating in the Judaism of the Second Temple.<sup>3</sup> As a result, he has presented eight levels at which authors of biblical, non-biblical and Qumran texts as well as theologians, philosophers and Jewish historians created the image of David. They are: “the progenitor of the Messiah,” “victorious warrior,” “ideal ruler and king,” “psalmist,” “prophet,” “founder of the Jerusalem cult,” “a man of piety and righteousness” and David as “an exorcist.”<sup>4</sup>

This article aims to analyse the image of David as an exorcist. The choice of this research topic results from the fact that Pomykala has presented this issue in a very general way,<sup>5</sup> indicating only texts where such an image of David can be found, without entering into their deeper interpretations. Also, no scientific article has been published to date covering this topic in detail. Therefore, the next logical step would be to undertake such a task.

The paper will be divided into three parts. The first part will present biblical texts where – as Pomykala has proven – one can talk about such a characteristic of David. In the second part, fragments of two Qumran manuscripts, 11Q5 and 11Q11, will be

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in Iconography between Greco-Roman Judaism and Early Christianity?,” *JJA* 5 (1978) 6–15; J.A. Fitzmyer, “David, ‘Being Therefore a Prophet...’ (Acts 2:30),” *CBQ* 34 (1972) 332–339; P.W. Flint, “The Prophet David at Qumran,” *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2005) 158–167; M. Kleer, *Der liebliche Sänger der Psalmen Israels. Untersuchungen zu David als Dichter und Beter der Psalmen* (BBB 108; Amsterdam: Philo 1996); J. Kugel, “David the Prophet,” *Poetry and Prophecy. The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition* (eds. R. Brooks – J.J. Collins) (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1990) 45–55; M. Marttila, “David in the Wisdom of Ben Sira,” *SJOT* 25 (2011) 29–48; J.L. Mays, “The David of the Psalms,” *Int* 40/2 (1986) 143–155; K.E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism. Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars 1995); K.E. Pomykala, “Images of David in Early Judaism,” *Of Scribes and Sages. Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture* (ed. C.A. Evans) (JSPSup 50; London: Clark 2004) I, 33–46; J.J. Pudelko, “Dawid jako organizator kultu w Pochwale Ojców (Syr 47,8–10),” *BPTH* 10 (2017) 263–283; E. Puech, “Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d’exorcisme (11Q11),” *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (eds. D. Falk – F. García Martínez – E. Schuller) (STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill 2000) 160–181; H. Ramantwana, “David of the Psalters: MT Psalter, LXX Psalter and 11QPsa Psalter,” *OTE* 24 (2011) 431–463; J. Randall Short, *The Surprising Election and Confirmation of King David* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2010); R. Rendtorff, “The Psalms of David: David in the Psalms,” *The Book of Psalms. Composition and Reception* (eds. P.W. Flint et al.) (VTSup 99; Leiden: Brill 2005) 53–65; B. Sargent, *David Being a Prophet. The Contingency of Scripture upon History in the New Testament* (BZNW 207; Berlin: De Gruyter 2014); W.M. Schniedewind, “The Davidic Dynasty and Biblical Interpretation in Qumran Literature,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (eds. L. Schiffman – E. Tov – J. Vanderkam) (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society 2000) 82–91; M. Szmajdziński, “Orfeusz – Dawid – Jezus (Psalm 151),” *Orfizem i jego recepcja w literaturze, sztuce i filozofii* (ed. K. Kołakowska) (Kraków: Homini 2011) 123–130; A.C. Witt, “David, the Ruler of the Sons of His Covenant (וְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּבִן בְּרִיתוֹ): The Expansion of Psalm 151 in 11qPsa,” *JESOT* 3 (2014) 77–97; G. Xeravits, “The Reception of the Figure of David in Late Antique Synagogue Art,” *Figures who Shape Scriptures, Scriptures that Shape Figures. Essays in Honour of Benjamin G. Wright III* (eds. G. Xeravits – G.S. Goering) (Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2018) 71–90.

2 Pomykala, “Images of David,” 33–46.

3 Early Judaism and Second Temple Judaism are usually defined as the era spanning from 400 BC to 100 AD.

4 Pomykala, “Images of David,” 33–46.

5 In his article, Pomykala (“Images of David,” 45) dedicated only several sentences to this topic.



analysed. Finally, the literature of early Jewish writings, portraying David as an exorcist will be examined.

## 1. Biblical Texts

One of the texts portraying David in this specific way is 1 Sam 16:14–23,<sup>6</sup> the key verse being 23. This fragment is part of a longer passage depicting the beginning of David's stay at Saul's court.<sup>7</sup> The narration of 1 Sam 16:14–23 focuses on Saul, from whom – after David's anointment – the “spirit of YHWH” (רוח יהוה) was withdrawn, and who was tormented by an “evil spirit” (רוח רעה). The activity of this evil spirit in Saul's life is described using the verb בעת, meaning “to be terrified by something” (1 Sam 16:14; Isa 21:4; 2 Sam 22:5; Ps 18:5), “to terrify somebody” (Job 7:14; 9:34; 13:11, 21, etc.) and “be seized with sudden terror” (Dan 8:17; 1 Chr 21:30; Esth 7:6).<sup>8</sup> Such a condition of the ruler results in the intervention of his servants, who urge him to bring a skilled man who plays well in order to ease his suffering when the evil spirit sent by God comes upon the king (1 Sam 16:16). In this conversation, 1 Sam 16:18, some servant mentions David, son of Jesse the Bethlehemite. He describes David using a few expressions: he is a skilled player (ידע נגן), a brave man and strong warrior (גבור חיל), a man of war (איש מלחמה), he speaks wisely (נבון דבר), is a good-looking man (איש תאר), enjoying the support of God (יהוה עמו).<sup>9</sup> The text of 1 Sam 16:18 ends with the servant's words addressed to Saul: יהוה עמו – “Yahweh is with him.” This short sentence not only serves as a summary but also explains what was previously said about David. Consequently, one may venture to say that his musical skills, strength, courage, wisdom and appearance resulted from God's presence and grace in him. In addition, this phrase becomes a kind of leitmotif in the story of Saul and David.<sup>10</sup>

In the next part of the narrative (mainly 1 Sam 16:23), this feature of David is centred on ידע נגן – “he can play.” The Hebrew verb נגן usually means “to play a stringed instrument” (1 Sam 16:18; 18:10; 19:9; 2 Kgs 3:15; Isa 23:16; 38:20; Ps 33:3, etc.); in the Bible,

<sup>6</sup> Pomykala (“Images of David,” 45) notes that: “The seed bed for the image of David as exorcist is the story in 1 Sam. 16.14–23, where David is recruited to play the lyre to relieve Saul from the evil spirit that tormented him”; B.J.M. Johnson, “David Then and Now: Double-Voiced Discourse in 1 Samuel 16.14–23,” *JSOT* 38/2 (2013) 201–215.

<sup>7</sup> Johnson, “David Then and Now,” 201; P.K. McCarter, “The Apology of David,” *JBL* 99/4 (1980) 489–504.

<sup>8</sup> *DCH* II, 244; O. Sergi, „Saul, David und die Entstehung der Monarchie in Israel. Neubewertung des historischen und literarischen Kontexts von 1Sam 9–2Sam 5,” *David in the Desert. Tradition and Redaction in the “History of David's Rise”* (eds. H. Bezzel – R.G. Kratz) (BZAW 514; Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2021) 35–63.

<sup>9</sup> K. Bodner (ed.), *1 Samuel. A Narrative Commentary* (Hebrew Bible Monographs 19; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2009) 172–173; A. Campbell (ed.), *1 Samuel* (FOTL 7; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2003) 176; R.W. Klein, *1 Samuel* (WBC 10; Waco, TX: Word Books 1983) 166; D.T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2007) 429–430.

<sup>10</sup> P.K. McCarter, *1 Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 8; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1980) 281; Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 430; Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 167–191.



the participle form of this verb (Qal – נָגַן־) defines a musician who can play a stringed instrument (Ps 68:26).<sup>11</sup> In this pericope found at the end of chapter 16, the Deuteronomist indicates the instrument David played. We can read in v. 23 that when the evil spirit came upon Saul, David took an instrument defined as כִּנּוֹר. The analysis of various lexicographic studies allows a conclusion that this root designates one of the stringed instruments (chordophones) – lyre or harp (Gen 4:21; 31:27; 1 Sam 10:5; 16:16, 23; 2 Sam 6:5; 1 Kgs 10:12; Ezra 26:13; Ps 33:2; 43:4; 49:5; 57:9; 71:22; 81:3; 92:4, etc.).<sup>12</sup> In the past, some exegetes thought that the Hebrew כִּנּוֹר should be rendered as “harp.” However, this is not entirely consistent with the archaeological discoveries as the harp was known in Ur and Egypt, but no traces of this instrument were found in Syria and Palestine.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the kinnor was used in various spheres of life of ancient Palestine, which is attested by biblical texts in which כִּנּוֹר occurred in a double context: as an instrument accompanying drinking bouts (Isa 5:12; Job 21:12) or an instrument used for cultic purposes, which is demonstrated by a considerably larger number of biblical verses in the OT (1 Chr 15:16; 25:1; 1 Macc 4:54; Ps 32:2; 43:4; 149:3).<sup>14</sup>

The text of 1 Sam 16:23 unambiguously shows that through his musical talent, manifested by his skill to play the kinnor, David helped to improve the health of Saul who was tormented by an evil spirit. It should be noted that in antiquity there was a belief that music had a calming, soothing or stimulating effect. This is why music was used to encourage warriors to fight against enemies, but also to relieve anxiety or even agitation. According to ancient common beliefs, music also had the power to ward off evil spirits. No wonder the servants advised the king to employ a musician at his court.<sup>15</sup> The question that arises is whether the author, speaking of the soothing effect of David’s music on the tormented Saul, meant an apotropaic action, a kind of exorcism, or maybe a therapy aimed at improving the mood of the sick ruler. Was Saul – after the spirit of God left him and the evil spirit came over him – possessed or does the verse describe the king’s undefined depressive states, or certain mental disorders? In order to answer these questions, one should look at the figure of Saul in the First Book of Samuel, where the ruler is the leading protagonist of two large collections of traditions that make up the body of the said book,<sup>16</sup> and at his behaviour, manifesting the temperament, emotions and psyche of the protagonist. This will allow us to form an opinion: either Saul was possessed – so David’s music would have

<sup>11</sup> DCHV, 607.

<sup>12</sup> DCHV, 435; HALOT, 484; FV. Reiterer, “Instrumenty muzyczne,” NLB, 272.

<sup>13</sup> J. Łach, *Księgi Samuela. Wstęp – Przekład z oryginału – Komentarz – Ekskursy* (PŚST 4/1; Poznań: Pallottinum 1973) 208.

<sup>14</sup> HALOT, 484; Reiterer, “Instrumenty muzyczne,” 273; G. Kubies, “Instrumenty muzyczne w Księdze Amosa,” BibAn 5/1 (2015) 81–94.

<sup>15</sup> Łach, *Księgi Samuela*, 207.

<sup>16</sup> The first tradition concerns the establishment of monarchy in Israel and is shown in 1 Sam 7:2–12:25; the other tradition speaks of the figure of Saul in the block of 1 Sam 16:1 – 2 Sam 5:5, describing David’s path to the throne.

an exorcistic effect, or he suffered from unspecified mental disorders – then playing an instrument would be a kind of psychological therapy.

The fundamental cause of Saul's torments should be sought in 1 Sam 10, containing the motif of seeking a king for Israel, confirmed by the prophet Samuel himself, by the local authorities and most importantly, by God; the sign of being chosen for the role was that the spirit of God came upon the anointed one (1 Sam 10:6, 10). The gift of the spirit was reserved for judges (Judg 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14), kings (1 Sam 10:6, 10; 16:13–14, etc.) and prophets. It meant God's support for the person who received it so that they would successfully fulfil the mission that was entrusted to them.<sup>17</sup> Saul's loss of his gift would lead – at the later stage of his life – to a process of Israel's internal destabilization.

The first text showing Saul's irrational behaviour is a pericope about Saul's conflict with the Philistines, or more precisely, the fragment of 1 Sam 14:24–46, in which the king's son Jonathan consciously disregards his father's order to refrain from eating any food; violation of this order would result in an immediate death penalty, which Saul demands upon learning of any violation of the oath (1 Sam 14:38–39). In the context of this dramatic situation, both Saul and his son demonstrate an uncompromising manly attitude that borders on madness. Jonathan neither justifies himself nor pleads for mercy; Saul consistently – like a madman – wants to take his son's life to raise the morale of the army. As some exegetes claim, in the light of the passages of 1 Sam that are unfavourable to Saul, this episode has been interpreted as a manifestation of irrational and emotional madness, testifying to the king's inability to exercise power.<sup>18</sup>

Another example of Saul's mental problems can be found in two texts that share a similar historical context. Let us invoke 1 Sam 13:7–17 and 15:1–35, containing the motif of the king's military actions against the Philistines and the Amalekites, ending with the rejection of Saul by God.<sup>19</sup> In both texts, Saul strives to fulfil his mission, bringing it to a successful end, which guaranteed God's favour and the applause of the nation. Meanwhile, unexpectedly, the king is condemned by Samuel for his disobedience and unfaithfulness to God. In both cases, Saul hears that the time of his reign will be shortened because God has chosen a better successor to the throne (1 Sam 13:13–14; 15:10, 22–23, 26, 28–29). The introduction of this motif to the narrative and its development, when Saul is confronted with David, is the last stage of Saul's tragic life, ending with his suicidal death after his defeat in the battle with the Philistines (1 Sam 31:1–13). It is in this part of the Books of Samuel, i.e. in the block of passages describing David's path to the throne (1 Sam 16:1 – 2 Sam 5:5), that Saul's unbalanced behaviour, resembling a mental disease or depression, turns into an aggressive form of paranoia.

Saul's unrestrained aggression is attested to in 1 Sam 16:2 developing the theme of Samuel's mission inspired by God and aimed at anointing a new king from among the sons of

<sup>17</sup> D. Dziadosz, "Szaleństwo Saula, obłąd, opętanie czy polityczna intryga?," *Ethos* 28/2 (2015) 36–37.

<sup>18</sup> Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 134–165; Dziadosz, "Szaleństwo Saula," 38–39.

<sup>19</sup> N. Lohfink, "הָרֶם," *TDOT* V, 180–199; G. Robinson, *Let Us Be Like the Nations. A Commentary on the Books of 1 and 2 Samuel* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1993) 73–93.

Jesse, the Bethlehemite.<sup>20</sup> Saul's anger at Samuel stemmed from the prophet's earlier announcements that son of Kish would be deprived of royal power, which is expressed in 1 Sam 16:2 by וְשָׁמַע שָׂאוּל וְהָרַגְנִי – "Saul will hear of it and will kill me." This statement emphasises the fear of dethronement which haunted Saul. This fear also becomes a recurring theme in the following parts of the narrative in the First Book of Samuel.

Another example of Saul's aggression associated with jealousy and suspicion is the episodes related to David. First, it is necessary to mention the king's envious reaction after David's victorious fight with Goliath, depicted in 1 Sam 18:6–16. Here there are three indications of Saul's inner turmoil. Firstly, he is aggressively jealous of David who is praised by the women of Israel (vv. 8–9), which the MT expresses as וַיַּחַר לְשָׂאוּל מְאֹד – "Saul was very angry" and וַיִּהְיֶה שָׂאוּל עֹון אֶת־דָּוִד – "Saul looked at David suspiciously." These sentences emphasise Saul's anger and aggression, which were aroused and disproportionately exaggerated, and resulted from his paranoid jealousy of the position of a national hero. Secondly, the king's psychological imbalance seems to be evidenced by the message of vv. 10–11, according to which, after an evil spirit rushed upon the king, he fell into a frenzy, as shown by the syntagm וַיִּתְּנָבָא. As a consequence, he lost control of his emotions and, intending to kill David who was playing the kinnor, threw twice a weapon at him (v. 10). The weapon is defined by the Hebrew term הַנִּיט – "a spear."<sup>21</sup> It can be said that this behaviour is psychologically understandable when, in a moment of depression, Saul wants to get rid of his rival.<sup>22</sup> Thirdly, certain emotional disorders are emphasised in v. 12 and v. 15, where the Deuteronomist informs the reader about Saul's panic attack evoked by David's military success and – as the author himself evaluates it – the presence of God in his life. In these verses, his fear is expressed by two synonymous Hebrew verbs: the first one (v. 12) is יָרָא, which usually has the general meaning "to live in fear of someone" or "be scared," referring to God (cf. Gen 22:12; Exod 18:21, etc.) and to people (cf. Gen 32:12; Dan 1:10),<sup>23</sup> and the other verb גִּיר whose semantic field includes the meaning "to fear."<sup>24</sup>

The later story of Saul is depicted in passages that provide evidence strengthening the hypothesis about the monarch's mental disorders. These are three dialogues between the king and his son Jonathan (1 Sam 19:1–7; 20:24–34) and David (1 Sam 24:1–23; 26:1–25). In all of these cases – according to the exegetes – the king exhibited a scale of extreme and uncontrolled reactions as well as changes of mood and attitude: from aggression, anger and attacks to humiliation, regret and reconciliation.<sup>25</sup>

20 Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 169–170; Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 161–165; M.J. Evans, *1 and 2 Samuel* (NIBCOT 6; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2000) 80; P.K. McCarter, *1 Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1980) 277; W. Dietrich, *Samuel. 1 Sam 13–26* (BKAT 8/2; Göttingen: Neukirchener Theologie 2015) 238–245.

21 DCH III, 271.

22 Łach, *Księgi Samuela*, 222.

23 DCH IV, 276–281.

24 DCH II, 336–337.

25 Dziadosz, "Szaleństwo Saula," 45–46.

Another example of Saul's mental and spiritual disorders that cause him to lose touch with the surrounding reality is the texts of 1 Sam 21:2–10 and 22:6–23. The first one recounts David's stay at Nob. Forced to flee, he had to leave the territories under Saul's reign. David went to the sanctuary at Nob, where the tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant were kept, and where the High Priest Ahimelech resided. The priest fed David and his companions with consecrated loaves of bread.<sup>26</sup> The consequences of these events are given in the other text – 1 Sam 22:6–23, describing Saul's mad decision to have all the priests murdered – by Doeg – in the sanctuary at Nob.<sup>27</sup> The paranoid and ruthless nature of this decision is also emphasised by the large number of murdered priests. According to the MT, Saul ordered to kill *שְׁמֹנִים וְחֲמִשָּׁה אִישׁ נֹשֵׂא אֶפֶוד בַּד* – “eighty-five men who wore the line ephod.” According to the LXX, the number of killed priests was even larger – as the Greek text says – *τριακκοσίους καὶ πέντε ἄνδρας* – “three hundred and five men.” Josephus mentions an even higher number, but in a slightly differing context: “he [Saul] ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. Accordingly, he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and his family: who were in all three hundred and eighty-five.”<sup>28</sup> In 1 Sam 22:19, the next acts of Saul's paranoid anger are described. He extends his rage to the whole town of Nob killing all people and animals. This bloody massacre is highlighted in the entire verse 19 – the Deuteronomist notes one by one the groups put to the sword by the king: *אִישׁ* “men,” *אִשָּׁה* “women,” *עוֹלָל* “children,” *יוֹנֵק* “infants,” *נֹשֵׂר* “oxen,” *חֲמֹר* “donkeys” and *שֶׂה* “sheep.” The only escapee was a priest – Abiathar – one of Ahimelech's sons.

Saul's paranoid fear and deep depression were undoubtedly related to the unstable political situation of the country resulting from its wars with the Philistines and conflicts with the prophet Samuel and with David. They caused the king to feel alone and hopeless, which is evidenced by the ending of the First Book of Samuel: the narrative about the king's visit to the necromancer at En-Dor (1 Sam 28:3–25). This pericope shows the tragic situation of the king of Israel with regard to the campaign of the Philistines who were mustered against Israel. This is why Saul decides to consult the necromancer at En-Dor (vv. 3–11), at the foot of Mount Tabor. The emotionally unstable king breaks the prohibition against contact with the dead he himself has established (cf. 1 Sam 28:3) and orders the witch to conjure up the spirit of the dead Samuel (vv. 8–14). He talks to Samuel about his tragic situation (vv. 15–19) influenced by the Philistines who were waging on him (v. 15a) and about having been abandoned by God who no longer answers him either by prophets or by dreams (v. 15b),<sup>29</sup> which evidently emphasises Saul's spiritual and religious emptiness, intensifying his psychological and personal dilemmas. This dialogue – according to v. 15b – is

26 Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 528–534; Robinson, *A Commentary on the Books of 1 and 2 Samuel*, 114–117.

27 Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 541–549; Robinson, *A Commentary on the Books of 1 and 2 Samuel*, 120–123.

28 Josephus, *Ant.* VI, 12, 6; Łach, *Księgi Samuela*, 247–248.

29 Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 615–631; Robinson, *A Commentary on the Books of 1 and 2 Samuel*, 141–144.

the king's attempt to obtain advice that will ensure his victory in the inevitable war against the Philistines. The situation presented by Saul does not change Samuel's attitude, which cannot differ from God's judgement. Saul's mistake with the Amalekites brings on a punishment that will affect not only the king himself but also the entire royal family (which also rules out the establishment of a permanent dynasty), the army and even the nation of Israel as a whole (1 Sam 28:18–19). This negative experience – affecting the king's psyche – causes him to break down and despair as described in 1 Sam 28:20, where the Deuteronomist indicates that the king fell full length on the ground.

Finally, Saul's mental disorder is evidenced in the narrative describing the battle of Gilboa (1 Sam 31:1–13). This pericope shows the fulfilment of the words that Samuel spoke to Saul at the necromancer's place at En-Dor. First, his army is scattered (v. 1), then three of his sons are killed by the Philistines (v. 2), and finally, the Philistines surround him (v. 3), which ultimately confirms the realization of God's judgement. In this context, Saul takes a dramatic decision. As a king anointed by Yahweh he would not like to fall into his enemy's hands; fearing and trembling at the approaching Philistines, he orders his armour-bearer to draw his sword and run him through with it. However, the armour-bearer refuses to do so as he does not want to kill his king. Therefore, Saul resorts to a desperate action; he takes his own sword and throws himself on it, thus committing suicide, which the Bible shows as an action unworthy of a man, being proof of his complete failure and a sign that God abandoned him.<sup>30</sup>

Reflecting on the image of Saul shown in these biblical passages, one can conclude that the king's behaviour does not bear any signs of demoniacal possession but rather of mental disorders. Although the Deuteronomist does not make any medical observations of the king's condition, he concentrates on the causes of his behaviour. In his opinion, the king's behaviour was caused by the will of God.<sup>31</sup> In this context, the assumption that God would use such means, i.e. demoniacal possession, to punish Saul cannot be justified theologically.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the key to understanding Saul's attitude, as well as, judging him is the Old Testament principle of retribution: God rewards or punishes people based on their deeds, in relation to their moral value. When God rejected Saul, which resulted from the king's disobedience in the conflict with the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:10–11, 22–29), and anointed David as the new king of Israel, the spirit of Yahweh left Saul and was given to the son of Jesse. According to the biblical text, Saul became the target of the evil spirit sent by Yahweh. This very moment causes problems related to Saul's personality, which – following the principle of retribution – lead to punishment for his infidelity and disobedience to God. In order to better understand the meaning of the principle of retribution as exemplified by Saul's life, it should be remembered that the historical books of the Old Testament do not yet know the dichotomous picture of the world functioning in the New Testament. In the oldest

30 Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 276–293; Łach, *Księgi Samuela*, 309–310; Dziadosz, “Szaleństwo Saula,” 47–48; Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 649–656.

31 Dziadosz, “Szaleństwo Saula,” 46.

32 Łach, *Księgi Samuela*, 207.

OT texts, God Himself is considered the cause of everything that exists and happens in the world, hence Saul's mental disorders and madness are directly attributed to God.<sup>33</sup>

This analysis of the figure of Saul leads to a conclusion that is the most important and relevant to this article. Since the first king of Israel suffered from mental disorders, the entire passage of 1 Sam 16:14–23, including the key verse, i.e. v. 23, cannot be regarded as a text confirming that the image of David as an exorcist is present in biblical literature. What is more, according to biblical scholars, the narrative of 1 Sam 16:14–23 does not exclude David's skill as an exorcist as shown by his triple image. The first image is that of the one who was gifted with musical talent; other biblical texts would depict him as a psalmist par excellence, and he would be credited with most of the psalms of Israel. Secondly, according to 1 Sam 16:14–23, he was a famous, brave warrior (גבור חיל; איש מלחמה), the founder of a future dynasty, enjoying the presence of Yahweh Himself. This picture seems to come to the fore since it explains the victory of the son of Jesse over Goliath (1 Sam 17) as well as his later military actions (e.g. 1 Sam 18). However, it should be noted that this image is not completely positive. His initial good reputation as a "man of war" (איש מלחמה) changes into a "man of blood" (איש הדמים), confirmed by 2 Sam 16:7, where Shimei curses the king using this phrase. In turn, the Chronicler mentions David's bloody deeds as the reason why the king cannot build a temple in Jerusalem (1 Chr 22:8).<sup>34</sup> The third element of David's image in 1 Sam 16:14–23 is his attractive appearance that – in the further part of the account – will be confirmed many times. One of the examples illustrating David's fair appearance is the attitude of Goliath, who – as evident in 1 Sam 17:42 – was filled with scorn since David was a red-haired lad and handsome in appearance (נער ואדמני עמ־יפה מראה). Another example can be Bathsheba, who is presented very similarly to David in 1 Sam 16:12; both are attractive (David – טוב ראי; Bathsheba – טובה מראה).<sup>35</sup>

## 2. Qumran Scrolls

The foregoing analysis has shown that none of the authors of the Old and New Testament books attributed the role of exorcist to David. The next group of texts in which the topic of this paper should be examined to discover their main protagonist, David, as an exorcist, is the Dead Sea Scrolls. The analysis of all the contexts of the references to the Davidic figure<sup>36</sup> in the entire Qumran corpus has already allowed the present author to formulate an opinion that David's characteristics have been presented in two manuscripts: 11Q5 and 11Q11.

<sup>33</sup> Dziadosz, "Szaleństwo Saula," 50.

<sup>34</sup> Johnson, "David Then and Now," 210–215; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 281; Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 430; S. Japhet, *I Chronik* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder 2002) 362–364.

<sup>35</sup> M. Avioz, "The Motif of Beauty in the Books of Samuel and Kings," *VT* 59/3 (2009) 356–357.

<sup>36</sup> Pomykala, "Images of David," 45.



11Q5 = 11QP<sup>a</sup><sub>s</sub>

The first text where the image of David as an exorcist can be found is the Psalms Scroll from cave 11 (11Q5 = 11QP<sup>a</sup><sub>s</sub>) comprising 49 compositions, seven of which have been preserved in fragments that were separated from the scroll (A, B, C, D, E, F),<sup>37</sup> while the rest survived in 11Q5, in columns I–XXVIII. This manuscript is the best preserved and longest scroll containing psalms. According to the official critical edition, it measures 4 m and 11.2 cm in length,<sup>38</sup> and considering its additional fragments, it could measure – as claimed by Ulrich Dahmen – between 5.30 and 5.60 m in length.<sup>39</sup>

The palaeographic analysis of the scroll shows that the individual compositions reflect the transitional script between the early and late Herodian era, which allows to date 11Q5, following James Sanders's analysis, to the first half of the first century AD. Dahmen shares these conclusions, narrowing the palaeographic dating to 30–50 AD.<sup>40</sup>

All the compositions, with the exception of Ps 119 written stichometrically, were written in prose. Of the 49 compositions that make up the sequence of the manuscript, 39 are biblical psalms, but arranged in a different order than in the Hebrew Bible. Of the remaining ten pieces, one appears in the Hebrew Bible (2 Sam 23:7)<sup>41</sup>; five are known from ancient translations: Ps 154 and 155 – from the Syriac translation, Ps 151 and Sir 51:13–30 – from the Greek and Latin translations, while four psalms were unknown until the discovery of 11Q5: “Plea for Deliverance,” “Apostrophe to Zion,” “Hymn to the Creator” and “David’s Compositions.”

In the penultimate column XXVII, a hitherto unknown work has survived, which the author of the critical edition entitled “David’s Compositions.”<sup>42</sup> It should also be noted that 11Q5 is the only manuscript in which the text of these compositions has been preserved. The text of David’s Compositions is found between 2 Sam 23:7 and Ps 140:1–5, occupying 10 of the 15 lines of the entire column. Viewing the place of this fragment in 11Q5 more broadly, one can see that 2 Sam 23:7 is preceded by the text of the “Hymn to the Creator” (col. XXVI), while Ps 140:1–5 is immediately followed by the texts

37 J. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11qPsa)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon 1965) 18–49; A slightly different order is presented in Dahmen’s reconstruction: U. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum. Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11qPsa aus Qumran* (STDJ 49; Leiden: Brill 2003) 62–98; U. Glessmer, “Reconstructions of the great Psalms Scroll 11Q5,” *QC* 28–29 (2020–2021) 65–122.

38 Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 4.

39 Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter*, 25.

40 Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 6–9; J. Sanders, “Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11qPsa),” *HTR* 59 (1966) 83–85; Y. Yadin, “Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs),” *Text* 5 (1966) 2–3; F. García-Martínez *et al.* (eds.), *Qumran Cave 11. II. 11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998) 29; P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill 1997) 39; Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter*, 26.

41 In col. XXVII, only one verse of the passage, defined as “David’s last words” has been preserved fragmentarily (see 2 Sam 23:1–7).

42 Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 48, 91.



of Ps 134:1–3 and Ps 151A and B (col. XXVIII).<sup>43</sup> The text of “David’s Compositions” and its translation are as follows<sup>44</sup>:

Table 1. The Hebrew text and its translation (11Q5 col. XXVII, 2–11)<sup>45</sup>

| Hebrew text                                         | Line | Translation                                                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ויהי דויד בן ישי חכם ואור כאור השמש וסופר           | 2    | There was David, son of Jesse, wise and enlightened like the light of the sun and (was) a scribe       |
| ונבון ותמים בכול דרכיו לפני אל ואנשים ויתן          | 3    | and a wise man and perfect in all his ways before God and men. The Lord gave                           |
| לו יהוה רוח נבונה ואורה ויכתוב תהלים                | 4    | him a discerning and enlightened spirit. He wrote psalms                                               |
| שלושת אלפים ושש מאות ושיר לשורר לפני המזבח על עולת  | 5    | three thousand six hundred, and songs to sing before the altar over the perpetual offering             |
| התמיד לכול יום ויום לכול ימי השנה ארבעה וששים ושלוש | 6    | on every day for all the days of the year – three hundred and sixty-four;                              |
| מאות ולקורבן השבתות שנים וחמשים שיר ולקורבן ראשי    | 7    | and for the sabbath offerings – fifty-two songs; and for the offerings of the new                      |
| החודשים ולכול ימי המועדות ולי ם הכפורים שלושים שיר  | 8    | moon and for all the days of the appointed festivals and the Day of the Atonement – thirty songs.      |
| ויהי כול השיר אשר דבר ששה ואבעים וארבע מאות ושיר    | 9    | All the songs which he spoke were four hundred and forty-six, and songs                                |
| לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה ויהי הכול ארבעת אלפים וחמשים  | 10   | to perform over the possessed – four. The total was four thousand and fifty.                           |
| כול אלה דבר בנבואה אשר נתן לו מלפני העליון          | 11   | And all of these he spoke thanks to the prophecy that had been given to him from before the Most High. |

Two fundamental parts can be distinguished in this text. The first one constitutes the content of the entire l. 2 and l. 3, except the last word: the syntagm ויתן indicates – syntactically – the beginning of a new sentence. In this part (l. 2–3), there appears a sequence of words describing the person of David, who is assigned positive features and supernatural gifts in his life.<sup>46</sup> David’s first attribute is defined by the adjective חכם – a “wise, skilled,

<sup>43</sup> Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, Pl. XVI and Pl. XVII.

<sup>44</sup> The previous paper by the author of this article is dedicated to the literary form and structure of “David’s Compositions”: M. Biegas, “The Division and Structure of ‘David’s Compositions’ (11Q5),” *BibAn* 13/2 (2023) 319–334.

<sup>45</sup> Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 48; Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter*, 97.

<sup>46</sup> E. Mroczek, “דויד,” *ThWQI*, 655–657.

smart, experienced<sup>47</sup> man. The next attribute is expressed by ואור כאור השמש, whose first element can be understood as the adjective of the noun – “enlightened,”<sup>48</sup> which has been indicated in the translation. According to another interpretation, this form can be understood as the noun “light,” and hence, it can be rendered as “light like the light of the sun,” which is possible as attested in biblical texts (cf. 2 Sam 23:4) and shown in the context of ancient Near East that referred to kings in this way.<sup>49</sup> At the end of l. 2, David is described by the classical Hebrew participle in Qal – סופר, meaning not only a scribe, a literate person but also an expert in the Law, a scholar who can interpret Scripture.<sup>50</sup> Here the appearance of this participle is – firstly – deliberate: thanks to it the second part of David’s Compositions becomes understandable; and secondly, the author – by idealizing the figure of David – by emphasising David’s reading and writing skills wants to distinguish him from other ancient rulers, who were often illiterate. Another feature of David is shown in the first word of l. 3: נבון, through which the author depicts him as a rational man, characterised by the virtue of prudence (cf. Gen 41:33, 39; 1 Kgs 3:12).<sup>51</sup> The last word portraying David in the first part of David’s Compositions is the adjective תמים, usually meaning “perfect,” “complete,” “ideal,” “without blemish” or “without fault.”<sup>52</sup> Moreover, this adjective is connected with the further content of l. 3, including the expression אל ואנשים בכל דרכיו – “in all his ways before God and men,” which can refer to the very adjective תמים and can be related to all the other expressions describing David in l. 2 and l. 3. The connection between this expression and the person of David clearly specifies his image as an idealised figure, which is typical of post-exilic literature. This interpretation is also confirmed by the general interpretative tendency after the Babylonian exile: the figure of David became the measure used for evaluating all rulers.<sup>53</sup>

The sequence of David’s positive features is immediately followed by the theme of his supernatural gifts from God: the gift of the spirit, which is confirmed by the expression ויתן לו יהוה רוח נבונה ואורה – “a discerning and enlightened spirit.” The author of David’s Compositions undoubtedly wants to show the main protagonist as someone gifted with the charism of prophecy; this interpretation is justified by the entire content of l. 11, in which the noun נבואה – “prophecy” is the most important word, coming, as indicated in l. 11, “from before the Most High” – מלפני העליון.

At the end of l. 4, the narrator shows the idealised portrayal of the protagonist – as an author of a number of compositions, which is confirmed by the syntagm of the inverted *imperfectum* ויכתוב – “he wrote.” The list of his works is as follows:

47 HALOT, 314.

48 DCH I, 160.

49 P.K. McCarter, *II Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1984) 484.

50 HALOT, 767.

51 Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 93; Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter*, 253.

52 DCH VIII, 643–644.

53 F.V. Reiterer – R. Unfried, “Dawid,” *NLB*, 140; B.A. Strawn, “David as One of the ‘Perfect of (the) Way’: On the Provenience of David’s Compositions (and 11 QPsa as a Whole?),” *RevQ* 24/4 (2010) 615–622.

1. 3,600 psalms (תהלים);
2. 364 songs (שיר) to be sung over the perpetual offering of every day, for all the days of the year;
3. 52 songs (שיר) to be sung for the sabbath offerings;
4. 30 songs (שיר) to be performed for the offerings of the new moon and for all the days of the festivals, and for the Day of Atonement;
5. 4 songs (שיר) to be performed over the possessed;
6. The total: 4,050.<sup>54</sup>

From the viewpoint of the author of this paper, the most important information is that David composed four songs to be performed over the possessed, which is explicitly shown by the last word of l. 9 and the first half of l. 10, directly after the first subtotal (446 songs): ושיר לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה. Mentioning these four songs, the author speaks of a group which he defines as פגועים. This nominalised passive participle derives from the root פגע, which has a wide semantic field. Its verbal form means “to meet, to come on” (Exod 23:4; 1 Sam 10:5), “to come to” (Gen 28:11), “to light upon anything or anyone” (Amos 5:19), “to cause to supplicate” (Jer 7:16), “to invade, to attack” (Judg 8:21; 1 Chr 2:32), “to kill, to execute, to slay” (1 Chr 2:25, 29, 31, 34; 1 Sam 22:18) and “to reach” in the sense of defining the area of some territory (Josh 17:10; 19:34).<sup>55</sup>

Clines interprets the passive participle (פגועים) in David’s Compositions as a noun. In his opinion, it means a person who has been touched, stricken and possessed by a demon.<sup>56</sup> This interpretation – accepted in this paper – has been confirmed by two factors. The first one is the content and construction of the entire sentence, ושיר לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה, in which first comes the verb נגן – “to play (a stringed instrument)” or “to accompany with a stringed instrument”<sup>57</sup> followed by the preposition על – “over” referring to a group defined by the noun פגועים – “possessed.” The other argument for interpreting the noun פגועים as referring to the possessed comes from some Qumran scrolls, which include this form,<sup>58</sup> namely, 4Q468k l. 4, 4Q511 11,8 and 11Q11 V,2.<sup>59</sup> Their contents allow one to argue that they are exorcistic and refer to relieving people from evil spirits. Consequently, this interpretation of the noun פגועים clearly testifies to the exorcistic character of

<sup>54</sup> J. VanderKam, “Studies on ‘David’s Compositions’ (11QPsa 27: 2–11),” *Erlsr* 26 (1999) 214–220; Brownlee, “David’s Compositions,” 569–574; N. Vered, “The Origin of the List of David’s Songs in ‘David’s Compositions,’” *DSD* 13 (2006) 134–149; Strawn, “David as One of the ‘Perfect of (the) Way,’” 607–626; B.Z. Wacholder, “David’s Eschatological Psalter (11QPsalms),” *HUCA* 59 (1988) 23–72.

<sup>55</sup> *DCHVI*, 648–649.

<sup>56</sup> *DCHVI*, 649.

<sup>57</sup> *DCHV*, 607.

<sup>58</sup> *DCHVI*, 649.

<sup>59</sup> S. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea. 1. Miscellaneous Texts from Qumran* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon 2000) 420–421; M. Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4. III. (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon 1982) 227–228; García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 198–201; P.S. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint – J. VanderKam) (Leiden: Brill 1999) II, 331–353.

the composition of David's four songs. Adequately, their author, David, is – in the light of the text under discussion – an exorcist. Moreover, ascribing to David the skill to compose apotropaic songs, intended to be performed during exorcistic rites, indirectly suggests the possibility of his belonging to the group of sages called “maskilim.” These people, as promoters of the transmission of wisdom, possessing intellectual competences that significantly exceeded those of other people, were also able to recognise and interpret supernatural signs and realities, going beyond sensual cognition and touching the supernatural world.<sup>60</sup>

At this point, it seems reasonable to reflect on the number “four.” According to William H. Brownlee, it should be understood, like all other numbers in David's Compositions, in the context of the 364-day calendar. So “four” can correspond to the “four” days that were added to complete the 360-day year, after each trimester so that the total number of all days of the year was 364.<sup>61</sup> In turn, Ben Zion Wacholder proposes to relate these four songs composed for exorcistic purposes to the songs that David performed for Saul, playing the kinnor when the king was tormented by an evil spirit (1 Sam 16:16–23).<sup>62</sup> In support of his position, Wacholder referred to manuscript 11Q11, containing texts to be used in exorcisms.<sup>63</sup> Some time later, Émile Puech, in one of his articles, combined the information from 11Q5 about the four songs David sang over the possessed with 11Q11, which – in his opinion – could have contained these songs.<sup>64</sup>

Assessing these opinions, it should be concluded that Brownlee's claims are better justified since in the second section of David's Compositions, all the numbers, except for the first subtotal, refer to the 364-day calendar. In this case, the numeral four is related to 360, the multiplication of which gives the total number of all David's psalms to be 3,600<sup>65</sup> and should be understood as an analogy to the four additional days with which the number 360 was completed.

Although the four songs, composed to be performed during exorcistic rituals, should be related to the question of the calendar, it is important to pay attention to the genre of exorcistic songs. Defining their identity, members of the Qumran community saw themselves as a group that constantly waged battles with Belial and his servants. The battles were of a purely spiritual nature, expressed during prayers by external signs and gestures as well as properly selected incantations, the recitation of which created a spiritual defence around the community itself and around the possessed.<sup>66</sup> According to the beliefs of the Qumran community, the human heart is engaged in an unending struggle between darkness and light, the realities led by Belial and Michael respectively, and hence the imperative to invoke

60 N. Amzallag – S. Yona, “What Does ‘maskil’ in the Heading of a Psalm Mean?,” *ANES* 53 (2016) 41–57; B. Wold, *4Q Instruction. Divisions and Hierarchies* (STDJ 123; Leiden: Brill 2018) 64–94.

61 Brownlee, “David's Compositions,” 570; VanderKam, “Studies on ‘David's Compositions,’” 218.

62 Wacholder, “David's Eschatological Psalter,” 40.

63 Wacholder, “David's Eschatological Psalter,” 40.

64 Puech, “Les Psaumes davidiques,” 160.

65 VanderKam, “Studies on ‘David's Compositions,’” 218.

66 Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 344.

the name of God who is the Healer and Lord of life. Invoking the divine name means having the power of God over both the evil spirit and the spirit of truth, in accordance with the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS I–IV), which was the reason why the Essenes were often considered healers.<sup>67</sup>

The practice of performing exorcistic rituals is attested by texts which were composed specifically for this purpose and which have survived in several manuscripts. The first text is “Songs of the Maskil,” preserved fragmentally in 4Q510 and 4Q511.<sup>68</sup> The next text is the aforementioned manuscript 11Q11, which, in Puech’s opinion, could have included four psalms sung over the possessed<sup>69</sup>; interestingly, the canonical Psalm 91 in 11Q11 is a text that was exactly intended for these purposes. We should also add 4Q560, originating possibly from outside the community and containing the remnants of a book of amulets written by a professional exorcist for some individual recipient. Whatever the case, these fragments represent a group of compositions recited during an exorcistic liturgy by a man called “Maskil,” who was considered the spiritual mentor and guardian of the entire community. Through his actions – especially apotropaic prayers – he stopped all demoniacal attacks.<sup>70</sup> The curses directed against Belial and the sons of darkness were to fight evil and to avert it; apparently, they were recited communally, not individually, as reflected in such manuscripts as 1QS II 4–10, 4Q280, 4Q286 II 1–10 and 1QM XIII 4–5. Importantly, hearing the words of the Maskil’s apotropaic prayers, which primarily emphasise the majesty and greatness of God, the demons felt fear and were confused – references to this can be found in 4Q510 1,4–8.

Considering the tendency to idealise the person of David in the very text of David’s Compositions and the existence of exorcistic practices in the Qumran community, it should come as no surprise that David – composer of four songs to be sung over the possessed – is presented as a protagonist and teacher of actions aimed at freeing the possessed from influences of evil spirits.

### *11Q11 = 11Q PsAp<sup>a</sup>*

As analysed by Pomykala,<sup>71</sup> another Qumran scroll that allows David to be seen as an exorcist is 11Q11.<sup>72</sup> Its formal, Late Herodian script makes it possible to date this manuscript to

67 E. Puech, “Manuskrypty znad Morza Martwego a Nowy Testament. Nowy Mojżesz, czyli o kilku praktykach Prawa,” *Qumran. Pomiędzy Starym a Nowym Testamentem* (eds. H. Drawnel – A. Piwowar) (ABLu 2; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2009) 213.

68 Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 344.

69 Puech, “Les Psaumes davidiques,” 161–181.

70 Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 344; P.S. Alexander, “‘Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places’: Magic in the World View of the Qumran Community,” *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (eds. S.E. Porter – C.A. Evans) (JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1997) 321; J.L. Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511),” *DSD* 19 (2012) 2.

71 Pomykala, “Images of David,” 45.

72 García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 181–205.

50–70 AD.<sup>73</sup> 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup> contains six columns with four compositions: fragments of three songs against demons; the last, fourth one, written at the end of the scroll, is a version of Ps 91, which in some rabbinic texts is defined as שִׁיר שֶׁל פְּגָעִים – “song for the stricken.”<sup>74</sup>

It should be noted that a number of motifs and topics included in 11Q11 are parallel to the message of 4Q510 and 4Q511<sup>75</sup> known – as indicated above – from “Songs of the Maskil.”<sup>76</sup> These mostly fragmentary manuscripts, dated paleographically to the late first century BC or the early first century AD, contain various songs directed against demons.<sup>77</sup> Interestingly, Maurice Baillet, author of the critical edition of 4Q510 and 4Q511, has identified – like Puech – those four pieces are the songs which are spoken of in David’s Compositions. However, these compositions are understood better as texts composed by the Maskil than by David.<sup>78</sup>

For the purposes of this paper, the most important text is in col. V 11Q11, especially the beginning of l. 4.

Table 2. Hebrew text and its translation (11Q11 col. V, 1–14)<sup>79</sup>

| Hebrew text                                       | Line | Translation                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ][ ]ד[ ] [ ]                                      | 1    | [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]                                                                             |
| אשר[ ] הפגוע[ים]                                  | 2    | which [ ] possessed one[s]                                                                  |
| נדבי א[ ] רפאל שלמ[ם] אמן אמן סלה[ ] <i>vacat</i> | 3    | the volunteers of [ ]aphael has healed [them. Amen, amen. Selah.] <i>vacat</i>              |
| לדויד ע[ ] ל[ ] חש בשם יהו[ה] קרא בכו[ל] עת       | 4    | Of David. A[gainst] an incanta]tion in the name of Yhw[h. Invoke at a]ny time               |
| אל השמ[ים] כי יבוא אליך בלי[לה] וא[ם] מרתה אליו   | 5    | God of heav[ns. When] he comes upon you in the nig[ht, you will sa]y to him:                |
| מי אתה [הילוד מ] אדם ומזרע הקד[ושי]ם פניך פני     | 6    | Who are you, [offspring of m]an and the seed of the ho[ly]ones? Your face is like a face of |
| [שן] וקרניך קרני חל[ו]ם חושך אתה ולוא אור         | 7    | [delus]ion and your horns are horns of d[rea]m, you are darkness and not light              |
| [עו]ל ולוא צדקה[ ] שר הצבא יהוה [יוריד]           | 8    | [injus]tice and not justice [ ] the chief of the army, Yhwh [will strike] you               |

73 García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 181–205.  
74 García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 182–183; U. Dahmen, “Authoritative Scriptures: Writings and Related Texts,” *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. G.J. Brooke – C. Hempel) (London: Clark 2019) 275–276; J. Dvořáček, *The Son of David in Matthew’s Gospel in the Light of the Solomon as Exorcist Tradition* (WUNT 2/415; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2016) 36–38.  
75 Alexander, “Wrestling against Wickedness,” 325.  
76 Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4*, 215–262.  
77 Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 344; García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 183.  
78 García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 183.  
79 García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 198.



| Hebrew text                                      | Line | Translation                                                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| [לשאור] ל תחתית [ויסגור דל] תי נחושת ב[אלה לו] א | 9    | [to] the lower [Sheo]l, [and will shut two gates of bronze, through [which n]o |
| אור ולוא] יאיר לך ה[שמש אש]ר יזרח] [יעבור]       | 10   | light [penetrates] and the sun, whi[ch rises, will not shine on you],          |
| [על ה] צדיק לה] ו[אמרתה ה]                       | 11   | [upon the ju]st lb[ and] you will say b[:                                      |
| [הצ] דיק לבוא] [הרע לו ש]ד                       | 12   | [ the ju]st man to come [ ] so that de[mon] does evil                          |
| [א]מת מח] [אשר הצ]דקה לו]                        | 13   | [ t]ruth from [ because] he has [jus]tice [                                    |
| [ול] [ל] [ה]                                     | 14   | [ ] and l[ ]/l[ ]                                                              |

There is no doubt that this fragment belongs to the group of works of an exorcistic nature, which is supported by its content and such expressions as *אמן סלה* or *הפגועים*. In the exegetes' opinions, this understanding of the text is especially confirmed by *אמן סלה*. This formula does not occur in the canon of biblical books but was commonly used in various Jewish amulets.<sup>80</sup> It was usually written in the longer form (as in the text above) or was abbreviated to *ס א א*.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, this understanding of the text is supported by l. 6, in particular the question about the identity, i.e. name, of the evil spirit: *מי אתה* – “Who are you?,” which was often used in exorcisms. The question thus constructed, in the light of the Semitic culture, resulted from the belief that by knowing a demon's name one could have power over that demonic figure and as a consequence, he could cause the release of the possessed.<sup>82</sup>

Assuming the Davidic origin of this text, which is confirmed by the *genetivus periphrasticus* *לדוריד* in l. 4, its author appears to be someone who has the knowledge and skill to fight demonic supernatural beings. He gives instructions on how to deal with a person who is tormented or possessed by an evil spirit. This is suggested by the particle *על* in l. 4, which besides its standard meaning “over” can convey – as in this text – the meaning “against.” Directly after this particle, there is a gap in the manuscript.<sup>83</sup> The authors of the critical edition – hypothetically – suggest that the particle *על* could have been followed by the noun *רוח* – “spirit” or another noun with a three- or four-consonant root referring to evil spirits, e.g. *שטן* or *שדים*. Supposing that the particle *על* means “over,” the reconstructed next word

<sup>80</sup> Alexander, “Wrestling against Wickedness,” 326; I. Fröhlich, “Magical Healing at Qumran (11Q11) and the Question of the Calendar,” *Studies on Magic and Divination in the Biblical World* (eds. H.R. Jacobus – A.K. de Hemmer Gudme – P. Guillaume) (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias 2013) 45–46.

<sup>81</sup> García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 204.

<sup>82</sup> Dvořáček, *The Son of David*, 38.

<sup>83</sup> García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, PL. XXIV.



can allow the insertion of the nominalised participle פגועים, which would lead to the same verbal construction as in David's Compositions על פגועים (11Q5 XXVII, 10).<sup>84</sup>

Beginning with l. 5, the author (David) instructs the recipient or the reader about steps that should be taken during demoniacal attacks and says to whom to turn for strong support. For the sage (David), God is the one whose power is to be summoned by the tormented or by the exorcist himself. Thanks to God, it is possible to expel and defeat the evil spirit who will be cast down to the depths of Sheol. The encouragements to call the name of Yahweh, בשם יהוה (l. 4), result from biblical tradition. The name of God was considered an effective remedy for all kinds of pain and danger, which is also confirmed by fragments of sapiential literature, e.g. Ps 20:2; 118:10 and Prov 18:10.<sup>85</sup>

Significantly, this sage has knowledge of the appearance and identity of particular demons, which is evidenced by l. 6–8, depicting in detail the figure of the demon – its face – horns as well as its identity as an unjust being, filled with darkness, and what is most important, a being with a divine-human element.<sup>86</sup> The last part of the description, – הילוד מאדם ומזרע הקדושים – “offspring of man and the seed of the holy ones,” seems to correspond to the tradition of *1 En.* 6–7: the myth of the fallen angels.<sup>87</sup> The myth itself is a reinterpretation of Gen 6:1–4. This short pericope of the Book of Genesis contains themes that cannot be identified in other passages of the entire Old Testament. The sons of God (בני אלהים) saw that the daughters of humans (בנות האדם) were good (טבת), i.e. fair, and took them as wives for themselves. The daughters bore brave warriors (הגברים). The text of Gen 6:4 also contains the information that in those days there were the *Nephilim* (הנפילים) on the earth. These verses from the Book of Genesis represent a mythical story that exegetes place both in the context of the Ancient Near East and in the context of the entire Old Testament. Similar mythical stories were sometimes shown in ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece, where the gods – supernatural beings – came into relationships with humans (women), and offspring were born to them. However, one cannot unambiguously prove that these myths had some impact on the narrative of Gen 6:1–4.<sup>88</sup> Despite the similarities between the Book of Genesis and the Book of Enoch, as some exegetes claim, the entire description of the demon's appearance in 11Q11 most probably reflects a later tradition. For example, the Mishnaic treatise *Pesaḥim* (mPes 111b) provides the following description of demons: some of them have no eyes, some look like spoons revolving around in a jug and others have horns like a goat.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup> García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 200.

<sup>85</sup> García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 200.

<sup>86</sup> Fröhlich, “Magical healing at Qumran (11Q11),” 41–44.

<sup>87</sup> H. Drawnel, “1 Enoch 6–11 Interpreted in Light of Mesopotamian Incantation Literature,” *Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels. Reminiscences, Allusions, Intertextuality* (eds. L.T. Stuckenbruck – G. Boccaccini) (EJL 44; Atlanta, GA: SBL Press 2016) 245–284.

<sup>88</sup> Drawnel, “1 Enoch 6–11,” 245–284; J. Lemański, *Księga Rodzaju. Rozdziały 1–11. Wstęp, Przekład z oryginału, Komentarz* (NKB.ST 1/1; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2013) 333–345; G. Fischer, *Genesis 1–11* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder 2018) 366–392.

<sup>89</sup> García-Martínez, *11Q2–18 & 11Q20–31*, 201.

### 3. Early Jewish Writings

Traces of the portrayal of David as an exorcist can be found – as claimed by Pomykala<sup>90</sup> – in texts classified as early Jewish writings. He means a work titled *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, commonly known as Pseudo-Philo, and *Antiquitates Judaicae* by Flavius Josephus.

#### *Pseudo-Philo*

*Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is the first example affirming the tradition about David and his son, Solomon, as exorcists. Pseudo-Philo is a pseudo-epigraphic work, originally written in Hebrew in the Palestinian environment, more or less in the time of Jesus. Later the book was translated into Greek and from Greek into Latin. It is a kind of paraphrase of the biblical history from the creation of the world to the death of Saul in the battle of Aphek with the Philistines. The author combines biblical and halakhic materials by mixing speeches and prayers with genealogies and short stories.<sup>91</sup>

In chapter 60 of *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, a psalm can be found, which – as the text says – David played on his lyre for Saul in order to cast away the evil spirit that tormented the king. This exorcistic psalm contains David's words directed to the evil spirit: "Arguet autem te metra nova unde natus sum, de qua nascetur post tempus de lateribus meis qui vos domabit," which can be translated as "but that new womb, whereof I was born, shall rebuke you, of whom shall subdue you after a time, he that shall be born of my loins." In this verse, David prophesises that his offspring will defeat the demon and will dominate over demons. The exegetes' opinions about the figure ruling over evil spirits are narrowed down to three possible options: Jesus, the Jewish Messiah (the figure who, according to the Testament of Levi, "will bind Belial and give to his children authority to trample the evil spirits") and Solomon. In each of these cases, the figure of David is an ancestor, a progenitor who in the light of this text is seen as an exorcist. The text itself says clearly that David's offspring will be endowed with even greater power over evil spirits than David himself. Moreover, such an interpretation is supported by the message found at the very beginning of chapter 60 of *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, where the author evidently indicates – referring to the narrative of 1 Sam 16:14–23 – that David played the lyre in the night so that the evil spirit might depart from Saul. David also had knowledge of the origin of the evil spirit and thus, in accordance with the practices of those days, he could exorcise the king (*Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 60,2–3).<sup>92</sup>

In conclusion, it can be said that the author of Pseudo-Philo used a tradition that attributed to David's descendant extraordinary power over demonic forces, authority much more powerful than that of David himself. Essentially, according to *Liber Antiquitatum*

<sup>90</sup> Pomykala, "Images of David," 45.

<sup>91</sup> D.J. Harrington (ed.), "Pseudo-Philo," *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth) (New York: Doubleday 1985) II, 297–377; Dvořáček, *The Son of David*, 39.

<sup>92</sup> Dvořáček, *The Son of David*, 40; E. Koskeniemi, *The Old Testament Miracle-Workers in Early Judaism* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2005) 219–223.

*Biblicarum* 60,3, the authority over the world of demons is the main attribute of the figure that will be born of “David’s loins.”

### *Flavius Josephus*

A significant text presenting David as an exorcist can be found in Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae*. In this quite large work completed in 79–94 AD, the Jewish historian Josephus (37–100 AD) described in detail the historical events of the Jewish nation from its beginnings to the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans, addressing his work both to pagans and to Hellenized Jews. Using the sources that were on hand, Josephus analysed them thoroughly in order to depict the main Jewish protagonists and religious groups in the light of Greek ideals.

Book VI, which begins with the episode of the ark that the Philistines took to the temple of Dagon, for which misfortunes fell on Ashdod and other Philistine cities, and ends with Saul’s death, has 14 chapters corresponding to the narrative from 1 Sam 5:1 to 1 Sam 31. In chapter 8, the historian mentions events that were parallel to the narrative of 1 Sam 15–16. He recounts the story of Samuel going to Bethlehem to anoint Jesse’s son as king, then he mentions the anointing itself and reports on Saul’s illness, which causes David to be brought to the royal court. Describing Saul, Josephus writes that “the divine power departed from Saul, and moved to David, who upon this passing of the divine spirit to him began to prophecize. But as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him: and brought upon him such suffocations, as were ready to choke him. For which the physicians could find no other remedy but this; that if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised them to enquire for such a one: and to observe when these demons came upon him, and disturbed him; and to take care that such a person might stand over him, and play on the harp, and recite hymns to him” (*Ant.* 8.166). Then Josephus depicts the process of finding David in Jesse’s house stating that David had skills of an exorcistic nature: “when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer: and had him in very great esteem: for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demons, whensoever it was that it came upon him; and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again” (*Ant.* 8.168).

The quoted excerpts from chapter 8 of Book VI show that Josephus makes an obvious connection between the figure of King David and the function of an exorcist. While Pseudo-Philo emphasised the power over evil spirits in the descendant who would be of David’s loins and assigned this function to David indirectly, Josephus leaves no doubt and gives a strong argument for concluding that such an image of David functioned in early Jewish writings.<sup>93</sup>

93 Pomykala, “Images of David,” 45.

## Conclusion

This article aimed – by building on the ideas of Pomykala who presented David on eight general levels – to expand the understanding of David with an additional level that includes the image of him as an exorcist. Both biblical and historical texts of varying ages and authorship have depicted David's intent at exorcistic activities.

The above article, which has been divided into three parts, is an attempt to answer the research problem posed in the title. In the first part, devoted to the biblical texts, the passage of 1 Sam 16:14–23 was analysed. According to various interpreters, the figure of David is presented in the context of Saul being tormented by an “evil spirit.” Particular attention was paid to the content of v. 23. The analysis of this fragment prompted an analysis of texts in which there was a description of Saul's actions, temperament, emotions and psyche. This made it possible to say unequivocally that Saul was not so much possessed as suffering from an unspecified mental illness. On the other hand, if he had been possessed, David's music would bear the hallmarks of an exorcism. Therefore, playing the instrument was – according to 1 Samuel 16 – a kind of mental therapy.

Then, in the second part, fragments of two Qumran manuscripts, i.e. 11Q5 and 11Q11, were analysed, which, for the first time, clearly indicate the figure of the second king of Israel as an exorcist. In the third part, the analysis of the texts included in the canon of literature of early Jewish writings revealed that their authors reveal an image of David identical to that portrayed in Essene literature.

These ideas originate from 1 Sam 16:14–23, including its key verse – v. 23 – where it is recounted that the first king of Israel, Saul, who suffers from mental disorders, is calmed by David playing the kinnor and this more literal interpretation cannot be recognised as a textual witness of the image of David as an exorcist. Even with this passage in mind – in biblical literature – there is no fragment whose author would attribute the role of an exorcist to David, but rather credits David with musical talent, which was believed to have wider health and societal effects than in our modern era.

A stronger picture of David performing the function of an exorcist is drawn in two Qumran manuscripts. The first textual witness depicting David in this role is in the Psalms Scroll from Cave 11, 11Q5 = 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, strictly speaking, in col. XXVII, 2–11, entitled “David's Compositions” by the author of its critical edition. It is clearly indicated by the last word in l. 9 and the first half of l. 10 of David's Compositions, directly after the first summation (446 songs), that David composed four songs: *ושיר לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה*, to be performed over a group defined as *פגועים*. The form of the passive participle *פגועים*, which Clines interprets as a noun, defines a person who is afflicted, tormented and possessed by a demon.

The other Qumran scroll presenting David in the role of an exorcist is 11Q11 = 11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>. In col. V 11Q11 (l. 1–14), a text can be found – fragmentally preserved – whose beginning, namely l. 4, is the most meaningful. Assuming the Davidic origin of this text, which is confirmed by the *genetivus periphrasticus* *לדוד* in l. 4, its author appears as

the one who has the knowledge and skills to fight supernatural demonic creatures. He gives instructions on how to deal with a tormented or possessed person. He teaches the recipient, the reader, what steps he should take seeing demoniacal attacks and from whom he should seek strong support.

Beyond fragments in the Qumran scrolls and murky indications in the Old Testament, traces of David's image as an exorcist are supported in early Jewish writings: *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, known as Pseudo-Philo, and *Antiquitates Judaicae* by Flavius Josephus. Chapter 60 of *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* contains a psalm which – as the text says – David played on his kinnor before Saul to set him free from the evil spirit that tormented the king. Moreover, the psalm contains words David used to announce to the evil spirit the coming of a descendant that would overcome the powers of evil by his authority. Finally, in Book VI of *Antiquitates Judaicae*, Josephus unambiguously portrays David as the one who had skills of an exorcistic character: “when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer: and had him in very great esteem: for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demons, whensoever it was that it came upon him; and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again” (*Ant.* 8.168).

Therefore, based on the analysed texts, it can be said that, among many different roles attributed to David by the tradition, he was not presented as an exorcist in the period of editing the books of the Old Testament. The discussed texts that are part of the story of Saul, are clearly more about the mental illness of the first king of Israel than about possession and exorcism. A different approach is adopted in the later literature (Qumran etc.). It is there that one can find interpretive traditions attributing the role of an exorcist to David. So it can be said that this is the actual time and literature in which this in fact new (and extra-biblical) “role” of David was assigned to him. This visibly shows that such an image of David emerges quite late, i.e. in the period when the biblical books had already been edited. This, actually, results from the tendency to idealise the person of David, the beginning of which can be seen in the chronicle, and the growth of which was observed at the end of Second Temple Judaism. It was then that the figure of this ruler of Israel began to be perceived also as a prophet, sage, and exorcist, of which the text of “David's Compositions” cited above, containing a clear reference to these functions, is the best example. This suggests a certain cohesion between the texts from the Qumran community, cited in the article, and early Jewish texts, such as *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* or *Antiquitates Judaicae*.

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## Summary Statements in the Gospel of Matthew

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**ABSTRACT:** This article examines the summary statements in the first gospel. The investigation aims to establish a precise set of Matthean texts belonging to this literary genre. Following a presentation of a variety of solutions (R. Schnackenburg, J. Gnilka, E. Schweizer, D.A. Hagner, R.H. Gundry, J. Nolland, A. Paciorek, U. Luz, R.T. France, W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, C.S. Keener, G.R. Osborne, C.A. Evans, S. Grasso, W. Egger, B. Gerhardsson, L. Novakovic), literary considerations are examined against the background of various scholarly propositions, giving precise criteria to denote a given gospel text as a summary. On this basis, eight Matthean texts are proposed as summaries – (1) 4:23–25, (2) 8:16–17, (3) 9:35–36, (4) 12:15–21, (5) 14:13–14, (6) 14:34–36, (7) 15:29–31, and (8) 19:1–2 – while showing their thematic interpenetration and mutual dependence.

**KEYWORDS:** summary statements, literary genre, Matt 4:23–25, Jesus' healing activity

This article aims to answer the question of which texts in the first gospel can be considered summaries?<sup>1</sup> This literary form is widespread in the Bible, both in the Old Testament (OT) and in the New Testament (NT). The *Bibel-Lexikon* distinguishes between their character in the OT, where they function as a retrospection on the action of YHWH (e.g. Deut 6:21–23; 26:5–10; Josh 24:2b–13) and in the NT, where their role is to generalise what has been told in single episodes (e.g. Mark 6:54–56; Acts 4:32–35; John 2:23–25).<sup>2</sup>

Scholars do not pay much attention to summary statements in the NT. If they deal with them, it is usually only from the perspective of the gospel of Mark.<sup>3</sup> No single article or book has been devoted to summaries of the gospel of Matthew. One can find only some remarks

<sup>1</sup> The terms “summary” and “summary statement” will be used interchangeably.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Mölle, “Summarien,” *Bibel-Lexikon*, 2 ed. (ed. H. Haag) (Einsiedeln – Zürich – Köln: Benziger 1968) 751. The author also points to the summarising character of the professions of faith (e.g. 1 Cor 15:3f; 2 Cor 5:15; Rom 4:25; 1 Thess 4:14); *ibidem*. For more on this issue with respect to the OT, see G. von Rad, *Weisheit in Israel* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 1970) 347–349.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Egger, *Frohbotschaft und Lehre. Die Sammelberichte des Wirkens Jesu im Markus-evangelium* (Frankfurter Theologische Studien 19; Frankfurt am Main: Knecht 1976); E.-M. Becker, “Die markinischen Summarien – ein literarischer und theologischer Schlüssel zu Markus 1–2,” *NTS* 56 (2010) 452–474; J. Delorme, “Les sommaires en Marc. Problèmes de méthode et de sens,” *Mysterium regni ministerium verbi* (Mc 4,11; At 6,4). *Scritti in onore di mons. Vittorio Fusco* (ed. E. Franco) (Bologna: Dehoniane 2001) 119–136; C.W. Hedrick, “The Role of ‘Summary Statements’ in the Composition of the Gospel of Mark. A Dialog with Karl Schmidt and Norman Perrin,” *NovT* 26 (1984) 289–311.

in the commentaries or occasionally commenting on Markan summaries, but without further explanation why a given text should be regarded as a summary. Ultimately almost every scholar proposes another set of texts. Thus, the nature of our study is exploratory.

In order to answer the initial question of which texts are summaries, first, what has already been published on this subject will be presented. After examining the commentaries, monographs and articles, it will be determined which texts are classified by scholars as “summary statements” and how they understand this term in itself. Then, on the basis of the proposed criteria, specific texts from the gospel of Matthew will be selected. In the end, conclusions will be drawn. The text of the first gospel will be investigated in its final form (synchronic analysis) with reference to the sources used by the author when needed (diachronic analysis).

## 1. *Status Quaestionis*

The works presented below show the variety of solutions in the classification of Matthean texts as summaries. Commentaries on the gospel will be presented first, followed by other works. Their order is determined by the date of publication.<sup>4</sup>

### 1.1. Commentaries

Dealing with the summary statements, Rudolf Schnackenburg begins with 4:23–25, calling it “Sammelbericht” (summary).<sup>5</sup> He points to the three main activities of Jesus and their repetition in 9:35.<sup>6</sup> Then, analysing 12:15–21, the author does not directly call it a “summary” but points to its Markan basis, which is called “Sammelbericht”. Consequently, according to Schnackenburg, it is legitimate to assign the term “summary” to Matthew’s reworked version of Mark 3:7–12 as well.<sup>7</sup> The last passage classified as a summary is 15:29–31.<sup>8</sup>

Joachim Gnilka begins his discussion of summaries with 4:12–16, stating, however, that this text cannot be classified as such. For him, the first summary is 4:17, which he calls “Kurzsummarium.”<sup>9</sup> The next summary, according to Gnilka, is 4:23–5:1. The author emphasises its essential role in the narrative by linking the passage with 9:35.<sup>10</sup> Then, with some

<sup>4</sup> In the case of multi-volume works, the date of issue of the first volume is decisive.

<sup>5</sup> R. Schnackenburg, *Matthäusevangelium*. I. 1,1–16,20 (NEchtB I; Würzburg: Echter 1985) 43.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Schnackenburg, *Matthäusevangelium*, I, 43. Later, Schnackenburg (*ibidem*, 90) determines Matt 9:35 as “die Zusammenfassung des Wirken Jesu.”

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Schnackenburg, *Matthäusevangelium*, I, 108.

<sup>8</sup> Schnackenburg, *Matthäusevangelium*, I, 145. However, in the second volume of his commentary, Schnackenburg points to the links between 19:1–2 and 4:24–25, as well as between 21:14 and 4:23; 9:35; 14:14, 35; and 15:30, without labelling it a “summary”; cf. R. Schnackenburg, *Matthäusevangelium*. II. 16,21–28,20 (NEchtB 2; Würzburg: Echter 1987) 178, 198.

<sup>9</sup> J. Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*. I. Kommentar zu Kap. 1,1–13,58 (HThKNT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 1986) 99.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, I, 106.

reserve, he points to the two texts connected with the OT quotations – 8:16, “Sammelbericht,”<sup>11</sup> “summative Bedeutung”<sup>12</sup> and 12:15–21. Like Schnackenburg, Gnllka considers it from the perspective of the Markan *Vorlage* and calls it “etwas Vergleichbares.”<sup>13</sup> Three more texts discussed in vol. II classified as summaries are 14:34–36; 15:29–31 and 19:1–2.<sup>14</sup> All three passages are directly called a “Sammelbericht.”

In his commentary, Eduard Schweizer begins with 4:23–25 while indicating a close relationship between 4:23 and 9:35.<sup>15</sup> Then, he points to the dependence of each verse on Mark, explaining at the same time the purpose of Matthean redactional changes. Focusing on 9:35, he links it with the beginning of 9:36, at the same time observing its close connection with 4:23 and 5:1.<sup>16</sup> Schweizer also identifies 14:29–31<sup>17</sup> and 15:29–31<sup>18</sup> as summaries while emphasising the healing activity of Jesus.

Like Gnllka, Donald A. Hagner considers 4:17 the first summary, calling it precisely “the summarizing rubric.”<sup>19</sup> Then, he points to 4:23–25 and 9:35.<sup>20</sup> Three texts are categorised as “transitional summaries”: 11:1, 13:53–54 and 19:1–2.<sup>21</sup> Dealing with 14:14, the author introduces another category – “miracle summaries”<sup>22</sup> – which also includes 4:23–24; 8:16; 12:15; 15:30; 19:2 and 21:14. The basis of this selection is the presence of the verb *θεραπεύω*. In effect, it creates inconsequence and confusion; since writing about 15:29–31, Hagner uses the term “miracle summaries” once again, this time, however, giving a different set of verses: 4:23–25; 8:16–17; 9:35–36; 14:13–14; 14:34–36 and so-called “brief note” in 19:2.<sup>23</sup> Dealing with 19:1–2, he calls v. 2 a “transitional passage” (as 12:15 and 15:29–30).<sup>24</sup>

According to Robert H. Gundry, summaries are 4:23–25; 8:16–17 (described as summary + quotation); 9:35 and 14:34–36.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, dealing with 12:15(–16), the author terms it a “summarizing clause.”<sup>26</sup> In the case of 15:29–31, he notices the change from indi-

<sup>11</sup> Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, I, 306.

<sup>12</sup> Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, I, 307.

<sup>13</sup> Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, I, 450.

<sup>14</sup> J. Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium. II. Kommentar zu Kap. 14, 1–28, 20* (HThKNT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 1992) 16–17, 33–34, 150.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. E. Schweizer, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 3 ed. (NTD 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1981) 43.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Schweizer, *Das Evangelium*, 150–151.

<sup>17</sup> He describes it as “die summarische Notiz über die Wirksamkeit Jesu in Gennesaret”; Schweizer, *Das Evangelium*, 209.

<sup>18</sup> The author describes 15:29–31 as “[...] ein zusammenfassender Bericht von Heilungen Jesu [...]”; Schweizer, *Das Evangelium*, 215.

<sup>19</sup> D.A. Hagner, *Matthew 1–13* (WBC 33a; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1993) 79.

<sup>20</sup> Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 79, 259.

<sup>21</sup> Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 297.

<sup>22</sup> Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 417.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. D.A. Hagner, *Matthew 14–28* (WBC 33b; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1995) 444.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 543.

<sup>25</sup> R.H. Gundry, *Matthew. A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution*, 2 ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1994) 63–65, 149, 180, 301.

<sup>26</sup> Gundry, *Matthew*, 228.

vidual healing to mass healing,<sup>27</sup> and, finally, investigating 19:1–2, Gundry describes it as if it were a “summary,” avoiding, however, this precise term.<sup>28</sup>

In his commentary, John Nolland enumerates 4:17, 4:23–25 and 9:35<sup>29</sup> as summaries. But, then, he deals also with another set of texts, without naming them “summaries,” taking into account: 12:15 with reference to 4:25;<sup>30</sup> 14:34–36 from the perspective of general healing,<sup>31</sup> 15:29–31 by indicating connections with 4:24; 9:36; 12:15; 14:14 and 14:35;<sup>32</sup> and, ultimately, 19:1–2, describing it as “a statement that reminds the reader of Jesus’ goal in Jerusalem.”<sup>33</sup>

Dealing with summary statements, Antoni Paciorek begins with 4:23–25.<sup>34</sup> Afterwards, he points to 8:16 and links it with 4:23; 9:35 and 10:1.<sup>35</sup> According to the author, the following two summaries are found in 9:35 and 12:15–21.<sup>36</sup> In the second volume of his commentary, first, Paciorek lists six texts that he considers “summaries”: 4:23–25; 8:16–17; 9:35; 12:15–21; 14:34–36 and 15:29–31.<sup>37</sup> Then, dealing with 21:14, he terms it a “summary” and includes it with 4:23f; 9:35; 12:15; 14:14; 15:30 and 19:2.<sup>38</sup> In consequence, this creates ambiguity and confusion.

In his proposition of Matthean summaries, Ulrich Luz<sup>39</sup> is very clear. He enumerates six texts: 4:23–25; 8:1, 16; 9:35; 12:15–16; 14:35; 19:2, while consistently sticking to this division.

The next author – Richard T. France – is also very precise in his division. His summaries include 4:23–25; 8:16–17; 9:35–38; 12:15–21; 14:34–36; 15:29–31 and 19:1–2.<sup>40</sup>

27 Gundry, *Matthew*, 317.

28 Gundry, *Matthew*, 375–376. This is also the case when dealing with 15:29–31.

29 J. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2005) 175, 182, 406–407.

30 Nolland, *The Gospel*, 491.

31 Nolland, *The Gospel*, 604–605. As he explains, “The role of the present unit is to refresh the large-scale healing motif: there is continuity with 14:14, but the concern is also to make a stronger link back to the foundational description in 4:23–25 and its echo in 8:16” (*ibidem*, 604).

32 Nolland, *The Gospel*, 638–639.

33 Nolland, *The Gospel*, 763. At the same time, on the basis of the presence of ὅχλοι πολλοί, the author points to the links with 4:25; 8:1 and 12:15; *ibidem*, 764.

34 A. Paciorek, *Ewangelia według świętego Mateusza*. I. Rozdziały 1–13 (NKB.NT 1/1; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2005) 181.

35 Paciorek, *Ewangelia według świętego Mateusza*, I, 350.

36 Paciorek, *Ewangelia według świętego Mateusza*, I, 395, 497.

37 A. Paciorek, *Ewangelia według świętego Mateusza*. II. Rozdziały 14–28 (NKB.NT 1/2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2008) 64.

38 Paciorek, *Ewangelia według świętego Mateusza*, II, 321.

39 U. Luz, *Matthew 1–7. A Commentary* (Hermeneia, Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2007) 166.

40 R.T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans 2007) 148, 321, 371, 467, 572, 597, 788; cf. R.T. France, *The Gospel According to Matthew. An Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1985) 166. In this previous work, the author proposes a slightly different set of verses: 4:23–25; 8:16; 9:35; 12:15; 14:35–36; 15:30–31 and 19:1–2.



Dealing with 21:14, France observes some connections with the already mentioned summaries, but the identified differences do not let him consider this verse a “summary.”<sup>41</sup>

In the first volume of their commentary, W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison<sup>42</sup> list the following summary statements: 4:23–25; 8:16(–17); 9:35(–38); 12:15–16(–21); 14:13–14; 14:(34–)36; 15:29–31; 19:1–2 and 21:14(–16). Additionally, they identify the two so-called “quasi-summaries” – 10:1(5–)7–8 and 11:(2–)4–6 – adopting them from Birger Gerhardsson.<sup>43</sup>

Writing a commentary from a socio-rhetorical perspective, Craig S. Keener is not primarily interested in literary issues, only rarely assigning individual texts to specific literary genres. This procedure also applies to summaries, which are recorded only twice – 4:23–25 and 9:35.<sup>44</sup>

According to Grant R. Osborne, 4:23–25; 8:16–17; 9:35–36; 11:1b; 15:29–31<sup>45</sup> and 19:2<sup>46</sup> should be considered summaries – these texts are labelled directly as such. Then, dealing with 12:15–21, Osborne analyses it in the following pattern: a “summary + fulfillment quotation.”<sup>47</sup> In turn, 14:34–36 is called a “summary transition” together with 4:23–25; 8:16–17 and 9:35.<sup>48</sup>

As regards summary statements, Craig A. Evans initially proposes the following: 4:23–25; 9:35–38; 14:13–14; 14:34–36 and 15:29–31.<sup>49</sup> However, dealing with 15:29–31 in the context of Jesus’ healing activity, as well as also taking into account the previously mentioned summaries, he expands the summary statements to include 4:23–24; 8:16; 9:35; 12:15; 14:14; 19:2 and 21:14.<sup>50</sup>

41 France (*The Gospel of Matthew*, 788) concludes, “Its brevity recalls the summaries of healing activity in Galilee and around [...], but whereas such summaries have typically been in quite general terms (‘all who were ill’, ‘the sick’, etc.), the specific identification of the patients here as only the blind and the lame draws attention.”

42 W.D. Davies – D.C. Allison, *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (ICC; London – New York: Clark 2004) I, 412.

43 B. Gerhardsson, *The Mighty Acts of Jesus according to Matthew* (SMRSHLL; Lund: CWK Gleerup 1979) 20–21. The position of Gerhardsson will be discussed in the next paragraph.

44 C.S. Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew. A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans 2009) 308.

45 G.R. Osborne, *Matthew* (Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament 1; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2010) 153, 298–299, 364, 401, 594.

46 Osborne, *Matthew*, 703. In this case, Osborne underlines the relationship with 4:23–25; 9:35–36; 12:15 and 15:29–30.

47 Osborne, *Matthew*, 463.

48 Osborne, *Matthew*, 579.

49 C.A. Evans, *Matthew* (New Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge, UK – New York: Cambridge University Press 2012) 93, 211, 293, 297, 305.

50 Evans, *Matthew*, 305.



In turn, Santi Grasso only indicates 4:23–25;<sup>51</sup> 8:16;<sup>52</sup> 9:35–38<sup>53</sup> and 12:15–21 while noticing the intrinsic relationship between this last summary and the OT quotation.<sup>54</sup>

## 1.2. Other Works

Wilhelm Egger dedicated his doctoral thesis to summary statements in the gospel of Mark. So far, this is the only such comprehensive discussion of the issue. Dealing with this subject, the author devoted three pages to investigate the specificity of Matthean summaries. He enumerates thirteen texts: 4:12–17; 4:23–25; 7:28f; 8:16f; 9:35; 11:1; 12:15–21; 13:1f; 14:13f; 14:34–36; 15:29–31; 19:1f and 21:14.<sup>55</sup> Egger proposes and also analyses Matthean summary characteristics, usually in relation to Mark.<sup>56</sup>

In his book published in 1979, Gerhardsson proposed a set of Matthean summaries, and he is the scholar who has commented on them most extensively so far. However, this is not the main subject of his work. He lists the following texts: 4:23; 4:24–25; 8:16(–17); 9:35(–38); 12:15–16(–21); 14:13–14; 14:(34–)35–36; 15:29–31; 19:1–2 and 21:14(–16).<sup>57</sup> Then, he introduces an original category of so-called “quasi-summaries,” which are 10:1, (5–)7–8 and 11:(2–)4–6.<sup>58</sup> For Gerhardsson, the decisive criterion for whether a given text represents the category of summaries is its testimony to the healing activity of Jesus. He also proposes a more detailed division of summaries; he distinguishes between (1) “individual summaries,” which are “programmatic summaries” (4:23–25 and 9:35); (2) “summaries with formula quotations” (8:16[–17] and 12:15–16[–21]); (3) “preludes to the feeding stories” (14:13–14 and 15:29–31); (4) “remaining summaries” (14:[34–]35–36, 19:1–2

51 S. Grasso, *Il Vangelo di Matteo. Commento esegetico e teologico* (Roma: Città Nuova 2014) 131.

52 Grasso (*Il Vangelo*, 268) justifies it as follows: “Una nuova cornice contestuale data da un genitivo assoluto segna l’inizio di un breve quadro che assume la funzione di un sommario.”

53 Commenting on this unit, Grasso (*Il Vangelo*, 318) shows how he identifies the summary genre. He writes, “La presentazione dell’attività di Gesù sotto forma di sommario fa eco al primo testo che descrive l’avvio vero e proprio del suo ministero (4,23–25) e nel quale egli viene presentato nei suoi compiti d’insegnare e di guarire. L’indizio che il testo sia un sommario sta nei verbi durativi, quali l’imperfetto (*periegon*), il participio presente (*didaskōn*, *kēryssōn*, *therapeuōn*, *idōn*), l’indicativo presente (*legei*).”

54 Grasso, *Il Vangelo*, 385.

55 Egger, *Frohbotschaft*, 34–36. Egger is not primarily interested in the specific texts; as such, he presents his proposition of the set of summaries only in footnote no. 42; cf. *ibidem*, 34.

56 Egger states, “Im Wesentlichen enthalten diese Sammelberichte zwar auch die drei Elemente, die in den Sammelberichten des Mk zu finden sind: geographische Notiz (in allen Sammelberichten des Mt), Erwähnung der Menge, Tätigkeit Jesu. Doch ist die Struktur bei Mt differenzierter: Eine Reihe von Sammelberichten ist nach dem Schema von Heilungsgeschichten gestaltet: Bringen der Kranken – Heilen – Chorschluß (manchmal mit Prophetenzitat). Die Schilderung des Volksandrangs ist nicht so breit wie bei Mk. Überhaupt tritt das Motiv, daß das Volk sich bei Jesus sammelt, bei Mt in seiner Bedeutung zurück, da Mt das Volk wohl einige Male erwähnt, doch nur, weil es von Jesus geheilt wird”; Egger, *Frohbotschaft*, 34–35.

57 Cf. Gerhardsson, *The Mighty Acts*, 20–21.

58 Gerhardsson (*The Mighty Acts*, 21) justifies this division as follows: “[...] I shall also devote a certain limited amount of attention to two passages which do not have the character of summaries in the same sense as those above but which still in a general and comprehensive manner treat of Jesus’ acts of healing.”

and 21:14[–17]); and, finally, “quasi summaries” (10:1[5–]7–8 and 11:[2–]4–6).<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately, Gerhardsson does not give precise criteria on how he selected these texts.

Like Gerhardsson, Lidija Novakovic sees Matthean summaries of Jesus’ healing activity as a key. In the book dedicated to this aspect of Jesus’ mission, she briefly discusses the following texts as summaries: 4:23–24; 8:16–17; 9:35–36; 11:2–6; 12:15–21; 14:13–14; 15:29–31 and 19:1–2.<sup>60</sup> Subsequently, Novakovic draws some general conclusions.<sup>61</sup>

### 1.3. Conclusions

Based on the above commentaries and other works, the following conclusions may be formulated:

- Scholars are not interested in summaries as such; they do not dedicate separate works to them; they only discuss them in a wider context of other content.
- Authors do not investigate summaries from the perspective of a separate literary genre and do not specify criteria leading to the classification of a given text as a summary. This procedure sometimes even leads to inconsistency within the same work.
- Clear criteria should be set for classifying specific gospel texts as summaries. There is also a need to examine whether one can speak of a separate literary genre in the case of Matthean summaries.

## 2. Summary as a Literary Genre

As shown above, exegetes differ in their understanding of the category of summary, which, in turn, results in their choice of different sets of texts. Similarly, literary theorists of the Bible do not fully agree on the specific features of this form. Therefore, it seems appropriate to present and evaluate selected scholars’ opinions and then propose criteria for summaries in the first gospel using their research results.

### 2.1. The Variety of Scholars’ Propositions

In “Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums,” a fundamental work for the form criticism of the gospels, Martin Dibelius dedicates a part of chapter eight to the form of summary (*Sammelbericht*). He investigates Markan summaries while pointing to certain features that

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Gerhardsson, *The Mighty Acts*, 22–32.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. L. Novakovic, *Messiah, the Healer of the Sick. A Study of Jesus as the Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew* (WUNT 2/170; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2003) 118–120. Dealing with 11:2–6, Novakovic notes that this unit “differs from other summaries because it is not the narrator but Jesus himself who makes it” (*ibidem*, 119).

<sup>61</sup> Novakovic (*Messiah*, 120) states, “The most striking feature of these summaries, however, is that they do not merely describe what Jesus does and how he feels, but in two cases (Matt 8:16–17 and Matt 12:15–21), they contain distinct comments of the narrator which explain to the reader the necessity and meaning of Jesus’ cures. In both instances, Jesus’ healings are presented as a direct fulfillment of Scripture. In two other cases (Matt 11:2–6 and Matt 15:29–31), the summaries are formulated in such a way that the reader is reminded, though in an allusive way, of certain prophecies about future blessings from the Book of Isaiah.”

go beyond the concept of the second evangelist and may be considered appropriate for summaries as such. According to Dibelius, a summary is a generalisation which creates a transition from a detailed story (narrating something as a single event) to an unspecific narrative about the same, involving a number of similar instances without any details. The role of this generalisation is to show that Jesus continues his mission in the manner already described. It lacks vividness and pointedness (characteristic of Paradigms and Tales).<sup>62</sup>

Charles H. Dodd<sup>63</sup> was the first scholar who tried to determine in detail the characteristics of a summary (being, however, limited only to the gospel of Mark). According to him, summaries are texts which (1) have a tendency to generalisation; (2) punctuate the narrative; (3) help the transition from one pericope to another; (4) remind the reader that detailed stories are episodes of an extensive activity; (5) contrast with the traditional narrative units (because of the contrast of the content); (6) lack the concreteness and particularity; (7) do not narrate anything which indicates one point of space and time; (8) more often have verbs in the imperfect, the tense of continuous or habitual action, than in the aorist; and (9) function as a framework, not contributing to the knowledge of the course of Jesus' ministry.<sup>64</sup>

Klaus Berger describes a summary as *Basis-Bericht*. According to him, its role is to present successful missionary activity. For this reason, summaries have an unspecified scene and audience. They are characterised by a high degree of generality, emphasised by such expressions as "a lot," "all," "nobody," "from everywhere." However, some specific information is also presented, such as the place or area of activity, the proclamation of the word, signs and final success.<sup>65</sup> Unlike M. Dibelius and C.H. Dodd, K. Berger's considerations are not limited to the second gospel but encompass the entire New Testament.

So far, as a literary genre, summary statements have been most widely analysed by Eve-Marie Becker<sup>66</sup> in an article about summaries in Mark's gospel. The author postulates to introduce a distinction between summaries (Mark 1:32–34; 3:7–12; 6:54–56), *epitome* (e.g. Mark 1:14f; 8:1) and so-called *Geschichtsabris* (cf. Acts).<sup>67</sup> Then, in the course of analysis, one can specify features that Becker gives to the summaries: (1) anaphoric function;<sup>68</sup> (2) a multitude of healings and exorcisms; (3) universalism and generalisation often stressed through the presence of πάντα, πολλοί, etc.<sup>69</sup> (4) independent literary form,<sup>70</sup> a place

62 Cf. M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 6 ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1971) 226.

63 C.H. Dodd, "The Framework of the Gospel Narrative," *ExpTim* 43 (1931–1932) 396–400.

64 Cf. Dodd, "The Framework," 396.

65 Cf. K. Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer 1984) 331.

66 Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 452–474.

67 Cf. Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 452. This division, however, creates some confusion since *Geschichtsabris* is, in principle, a longer form of expression dealing with events occurring throughout history (e.g. confession of Israel's faith in Deut 26:5–9 or Stephen's speech addressed to the council in Acts 7:2–53). In turn, the *epitome* was a literary form not widespread in antiquity, and the biblical author may not have been aware of it.

68 Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 453.

69 Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 455.

70 Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 458.

of theological reflection;<sup>71</sup> and (5) redactional function thanks to combining larger parts of material.<sup>72</sup> Then, the author introduces further distinctions arguing for the division into summary, summary note (e.g. Mark 1:39; 2:13; 6:6b), *epitomai* (e.g. Mark 1:14f), *periochai* and *Geschichtsabriss*.<sup>73</sup> Becker also notes that Matthew's summaries follow the Markan *Vorlage* introducing, however, a number of editorial changes.<sup>74</sup> Becker concludes the investigation by stating that the *Sitz im Leben* of the Markan summaries is the reading of the gospel in itself.<sup>75</sup>

From the narrative method's perspective, according to Daniel Marguerat and Yvan Bourquin, a summary is an acceleration of the narrative in which a few terms tell a relatively long story.<sup>76</sup> They also emphasise the function of summaries as synthesis and re-epilogue.<sup>77</sup> In turn, another representative of biblical narrative analysis, Luciano Zappella, highlights, in addition, that very long periods of time are told in a few words while underlining "fenomeno di durata per effetto del quale il tempo della storia avanza più velocemente rispetto al tempo del racconto."<sup>78</sup>

## 2.2. Conclusions

Although scholars report different research results (pointing to diverse characteristics of summaries), there are many common features for selecting specific texts. Therefore, summaries can be regarded as texts characterised by (1) lack of individual scenes; (2) extension in time; (3) undefined audience; (4) generalising and exaggerating terms, such as "many," "all," "from everywhere," "great," etc. (5) texts containing information about Jesus' activity in deeds and/or words; (6) texts lacking concreteness and particularity of the pericope; (7) geographical indications; and (8) independent literary units. These criteria, taken together with the results of the investigation of the scholars presented above, allow us to point to the following texts from the first gospel as summaries: (1) 4:23–25; (2) 8:16–17; (3) 9:35–36; (4) 12:15–21; (5) 14:13–14; (6) 14:34–36; (7) 15:29–31; and (8) 19:1–2.

At the same time, one should exclude texts that also appear in the propositions of various authors but do not meet the above-mentioned criteria:

- 4:12–17 – lack of audience and generalising and exaggerating terms, no information about Jesus' activity in words or deeds (the verb ἡρξάτο in v. 17 points to a specific moment in time without its extension, while opening the perspective to the future).
- 7:28f – the presence of the imperfect tense (ἐξεπλήσσοντο, ἦν) indicates extension in time, but there are no geographical indications, no generalising and exaggerating terms.

<sup>71</sup> Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 460.

<sup>72</sup> Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 464.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 465–466.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 472.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Becker, "Die markinischen Summarien," 474.

<sup>76</sup> D. Marguerat – Y. Bourquin, *Per leggere i racconti biblici. La Bibbia si racconta. Iniziazione all'analisi narrativa* (trans. M. Zappella) (Roma: Borla 2001) 178.

<sup>77</sup> Marguerat – Bourquin, *Per leggere*, 93.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. L. Zappella, *Manuale di analisi narrativa biblica* (Strumenti 65; Torino: Claudiana 2014) 205.

- 10:1(5–)7–8 – the audience is specified (the Twelve), the tenses used by Matthew do not indicate the extension in time, there are no generalising or exaggerating terms, and the text contains specific indications.
- 11:1, 2–6 – in v. 1, there are the same excluding features as in the previous text. The same applies to vv. 2–6. Additionally, this passage can be considered an individual scene. There is also a lack of geographical indications.
- 13:1f – it is not an independent literary unit but an introduction to the teaching in parables. The tenses do not indicate the extension in time. The text is very concrete. Matthew briefly describes the actions of Jesus as a background for a long specific teaching.
- 13:53–54 – it is not an independent literary unit, but it should be read together with vv. 55–58, which comprise specific words of the defined audience – inhabitants of Nazareth who know relatives of Jesus.
- 21:14 – it is not an independent literary unit, but it prepares the reason for Jesus' discussion with the Pharisees (vv. 15–17). There is no extension in time, no generalising terms and no geographical indications.

### 3. Characteristics of Matthean Summary Statements

The following presentation of Matthean summaries focuses on their convergence with the criteria listed above while at the same time avoiding detailed analysis of each text as ultimately unnecessary for our goals. The discussion of the summaries aims to show their thematic coherence and similarities.

After the call of the first four disciples (4:18–22) and before the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount (5:1–2), Matthew provides the first summary of Jesus' activity in Galilee in 4:23–25. This procedure has a dual function; on the one hand, it looks back at Jesus' mission (*analepsis*), and on the other, it opens the perspective to further events (proleptic function). Thus, this pericope has a connecting character and can be described as transitional. The summary itself has its background in the Markan source – v. 23 is based on Mark 1:39 and 6:6b; v. 24 depends on Mark 1:28, 32, 34; and v. 25 reveals a strong influence of Mark 3:7–8. The summary opens with the imperfect tense (*περιῆγεν*), which presents Jesus' activity as being in progress, pointing to the repeated aspect.<sup>79</sup> The area of his activity is concretised by the geographical specification *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ*. The adjective *ὅλος* (vv. 23, 24) designates the totality, especially for temporal and geographical spaces (cf. 20:6). Note also the generalising *πᾶς* (vv. 23[2x]). Both these adjectives indicate a Matthean tendency to exaggerate and generalise, which creates an image of great missionary success. Three following participles *διδάσκων*, *κηρύσσων* and *θεραπεύων* are

<sup>79</sup> Some manuscripts add the subject of the main verb, adding *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* after *περιῆγεν* (Σ\* Σ<sup>c</sup> D C\*) or after *ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν* (C<sup>c</sup> 28 K M U W Δ Π).

related to the main verb, specifying Jesus' actions as being simultaneous and extended in time. The verb ἡκολούθησαν (complexive aorist) at the beginning of v. 25 corresponds to the opening of v. 23 while emphasising once again the extension over time of actions performed (cf. Matt 14:36; 15:29–30). This summarising style of reporting the past is additionally strengthened by the accumulation of the καί conjunction (up to 15 times), which gives the narrative a light form and transparent construction. The first Matthean summary is marked by typical Matthew-style features, such as (1) combining θεραπεύω,<sup>80</sup> νόσος and μαλακία with πᾶς; (2) usage of the construction ἡκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί (cf. 8:1; 19:1. See also 12:15; 14:13; 20:29; 21:9) and ἐν τῷ λαῷ; and (3) application of the generalising adjectives ὅλος, πᾶς and πολὺς. Through the repetitions of Γαλιλαία, θεραπεύω and νόσος, the author calls attention to the region of Jesus' activity and its significant component – healings – along with the oratorical activity stressed by the use of nearly synonymous expressions διδάσκω and κηρύσσω.<sup>81</sup> This juxtaposition of Jesus' words and deeds corresponds to the material contained in chs. 5–7 (teaching) and 8–9 (healings). This is further enhanced by the inclusion created by the almost verbatim repetition of Matt 4:23 in 9:35.

The second summary is found in Matt 8:16–17, and it performs a dual function. First, after three individual healings (vv. 1–15), Jesus performs many healings. Through this, the author of the first gospel shows that the ministry of healing is an integral part of Jesus' activity and not just an addition to his teaching. Second, Matthew points out that Isaiah's prophecy (Isa 53:4) concerning the Messiah who would take on human infirmities and bears their diseases is fulfilled in Jesus. In v. 16, the author uses material from Mark 1:32, 34 (see above on Matt 4:24); in the following v. 17, the introduction to the quotation is redactional. Sometimes commentators put vv. 16–17 together with vv. 14–15, emphasising their coherence.<sup>82</sup> However, vv. 16–17 may be separated as an independent unit due to the change in time and recipients. At the same time, it should be noted that the tenses of the verbs found in this summary do not indicate the extension in time of Jesus' actions. There is also no geographical indication. On the other hand, however, all other features listed above are present. Moreover, Matt 8:16–17 has strong connections to 4:23–25, i.e. the presence of generalising πᾶς and πολὺς, νόσος, πάντες οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες, θεραπεύω, δαιμονιζόμενοι and προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ. The second summary constitutes a redactional comment on Jesus' mission so far and opens the perspective for further activity of Jesus (8:17–9:34).<sup>83</sup> Matthew likes to present various events in the life of Jesus, placing them in

<sup>80</sup> The verb plays a very important role in Matthean theology (Matthew uses it 16 times, while Mark only 5). It denotes the effect of a saving act, not a therapeutic process in the modern sense. Jesus uses it only once (Matt 8:7); all other occurrences are the reflection of the editor on the actions of Jesus (cf. 4:24; 8:16; 12:22; 14:14; 15:30; 19:2). See J.C. Comber, "The Verb *Therapeuō* in Matthew's Gospel," *JBL* 97/3 (1978) 431–434.

<sup>81</sup> Matthew focuses on Jesus' proclaiming, teaching and healing, while Mark on his teaching and exorcisms.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Gundry, *Matthew*, 147; Schnackenburg, *Matthäusevangelium*, I, 80; Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, I, 306.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. D.C. Duling, "The Therapeutic Son of David: An Element in Matthew's Christological Apologetic," *NTS* 24 (1978) 396.



a specific time and/or space. In this case, the expression ὁψίαις δὲ γενομένης (v. 16) separates the individual healing of Peter's mother-in-law from the summary narrating many healings. As in 4:24, referring to the bringing of the demoniacs to Jesus, the author uses προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ. This time, however, he focuses on the demon-possessed without any juxtaposition (note the generalising πολλύς). The expression πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ἐθεράπευσεν is taken (in an abbreviated version) from 4:24. This is to re-emphasise the healing activity of Jesus, its size (πᾶς) and universalism (οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες – because of its generality can refer to any disease or discomfort).

The third Matthean summary is Matt 9:35–36. Together with 4:23–25, it creates a frame for chapters 5–9 (9:35 is almost a verbatim repetition of 4:23). By means of the first summary, Matthew firstly states in a general way that Jesus was teaching and healing, and then, in detail and with specific examples, he develops these themes, pointing to Jesus' teaching – chs. 5–7 – and healing – chs. 8–9. While 9:35 indicates the end of this section. Then Matthew introduces a new theme concerning discipleship; Jesus' disciples, like their master, are to teach, preach and heal (ch. 10).<sup>84</sup> Therefore, this brief summary functions as a recapitulation of Jesus' activities already presented, as well as leads the narrative forward (transitional function). For the redactional and linguistic-syntactic features together with the summary characteristics of v. 35, see the comment on 4:23. As to v. 36, it is based on Mark 6:34 and explains Jesus' motivation for his healing activity which is compassion for the crowds.

Matt 12:15–21 is the fourth summary found in the first gospel. It consists of two main parts; vv. 15–16 summarise the healing activity of Jesus. At the same time, it is an introduction to the citation from the OT, which forms the second part (vv. 17–21). The basis for vv. 15–16 is a Markan summary found in Mark 3:7–12.<sup>85</sup> Matthew, however, in fact, only partly employs vv. 7, 10 and 12. Matt 12:15–21, which narrates many healings by Jesus and interprets them as the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, is located between two scenes of individual healings: 12:9–14 and 12:22–23. Therefore, it can be considered an independent literary unit. At the same time, it should be noted that the text has no geographical indication except that all the features listed in paragraph 2.2 are present here. The extension in time may be debatable, but the meaning of the verb of movement ἀκολουθέω itself implies that. As in 4:24–25, many crowds follow Jesus. The text suggests that everyone that constitutes this large group of Jesus' followers has been healed. With his custom, Matthew uses here the generalising and exaggerating πολλύς and πᾶς. As in 8:17, Matthew introduces the OT quotation from Isa 42:1–4 with his favourite ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος formula (this time replacing ὅπως with the synonymous ἵνα) emphasising

84 Therefore, 9:35 opens at the same time a new section (9:35–11:1), where the mission of the disciples will be emphasised; cf. S. Brown, "The Mission to Israel in Matthew's Central Section (Mt 9,35–11,1)," *ZNW* 69 (1978) 73–90.

85 This is Mark's longest summary, which has already partially appeared in Matt 4:23–25; see T.A. Burkill, "Mark 3:7–12 and the Alleged Dualism in the Evangelist's Miracle Material," *JBL* 87/4 (1968) 409–417; L.E. Keck, "Mark 3:7–12 and Mark's Christology," *JBL* 84/4 (1965) 341–358.



the connection between Jesus' activity and the prophecies of Isaiah (already established in Matt 8:17).<sup>86</sup> The citation has links with both MT and LXX versions of Isaiah. Matthew's text, however, is closer to the Hebrew version, which was probably the basis for translation. The author, nevertheless, made several changes, reinterpreting Isaiah's prophecy and adapting it to his editorial assumptions and the present narrative context, among others, by underlining the universal perspective of Jesus' mission and opening the perspective towards the future – Jesus as the future foundation of the hope of nations.

In the case of Matt 14:13–14 as the next summary, it is difficult to speak of an independent literary unit because the text is strongly related to 14:15–21. Matt 14:13–14 would be more of a transitional passage (also with respect to 14:12).<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, almost all the features are listed in paragraph 2.2 – no individual scene, an extension in time (implied by the meaning of v. 13b), undefined audience and generalising terms. There is information about mass healing which creates at the same time the lack of concreteness and particularity. Additionally, it introduces the feeding of the five thousand (14:15–21), presenting the miracle recipients and explaining the circumstances of Jesus' miraculous activity.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, the redactional changes applied by Matthew to Mark 6:32–34, especially the omission of the disciples' presence and an emphasis on Jesus' healings (instead of his teaching), are another argument in favour of Matt 14:13–14 as a summary. In vv. 13–14, the author follows the pattern already used in 12:15 – Jesus' knowledge about events + ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν + the crowds follow him + ἐθεράπευσεν. There is also a connection to 9:36 through the verb ἐσπλαγχνίσθη,<sup>89</sup> as a motive of Jesus' action towards the crowds. In consequence, for the second time, Matthew combines the healings done by Jesus with compassion for the crowds (which are specified, as usual, by the generalising πολλόν). In contrast, however, to 9:36, where the verb σπλαγχνίζομαι follows the information about healing people, here it functions as a direct purpose. Moreover, the Matthean report about mass healings found in 14:13–14 is complementary with Jesus' discourse from ch. 13, balancing Jesus' words and deeds.

The sixth summary in Matt 14:34–36 is an independent literary unit, clearly separated from its previous and following context. After the confession of the disciples in the boat (14:33), it confirms the divine prerogatives of Jesus (expressed by many healings) while pointing to his authority over tradition (15:1–20).<sup>90</sup> Matthew reworks Mark 6:53–56 here, creatively adapting it to his editorial goals. As in Mark, Matthew begins the summary

<sup>86</sup> Both summaries – Matt 8:16–17 and 12:15–21 – are structurally connected as follows: summary of Jesus' healings + fulfilment quotation from Isaiah + reference to the suffering of God's servant.

<sup>87</sup> The same transitional function, however, has already been ascribed to 4:23–25.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Gerhardsson, *The Mighty Acts*, 27.

<sup>89</sup> This verb occurs only in these two verses. Therefore, it is intrinsically linked to summary accounts of Jesus' healings.

<sup>90</sup> The text is considered a summary because of the presence of all features listed in paragraph 2.2. Initially, the extension in time results not from the tenses of the verbs but from their meaning – to send and bring (v. 35) – those actions require a time span, which is additionally reinforced by the actions from v. 34. At the end, in v. 36, the imperfect tense itself implies the extension in time.

with a geographical indication (Gennesaret). Jesus was well-known in the area (Gennesaret was close to Capernaum), so the local men recognised him. The unusual use of ἀποστέλλω along with ὅλος and περίχωρος in the context of Jesus' healing activity additionally reinforces the wide range and effect of his actions. The verb προσφέρω is used in a complexive aorist form to designate repeated actions in the past. It goes well with the imperfect of the next verse (παρεκάλουν), extending the narrative in time. Once again, the author describes the sick as πάντες οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες linking this summary to 4:24. The motif of healing by touching Jesus' garment has already appeared in 9:20–21. This time, however, Jesus shows neither indignation nor emphasis on faith. One gets the impression that the healings occurred automatically, supported by the generalising ὅσοι (cf. Acts 5:15 and 19:12).<sup>91</sup> This is the only summary without the verb θεραπεύω. Instead, Matthew uses an unusual term for healing – διασώζω. This compound verb derives from σώζω, “to save, deliver,” and is strengthened by the prefix δι-. Through this procedure, the author emphasises the totality of the healings and their lasting effects.

The seventh summary is found in Matt 15:29–31.<sup>92</sup> It serves as an introduction to the feeding of the four thousand (15:32–39). It can, however, be considered an independent literary unit, separated from the preceding context by the change of place (v. 29) and from the following action by the direct speech of Jesus to the apostles (v. 32). The basis for v. 29 is Mark 7:31 while vv. 30–31 are loosely based on Mark 7:32–37. Matthew, however, transforms the Markan story about the individual healing of a deaf man into a mass healing. Only in this summary a subordinating sentence, introduced by ὥστε, can be found (which explains the verb θαυμάζω caused by θεραπεύω). The last verse accumulates the most verbal forms juxtaposed in one verse throughout the whole first gospel – infinitive + four participles + finite verb, making the narrative vivid and moving it forward. Only in this summary (and the whole NT in general) an expression ἐτέρους πολλούς as a distinctive category of the sick can be found (note the repetition of the generalising πολλούς in v. 30). In the long list of the sick, Matthew presents various types of diseases, being so detailed in his summaries for the first time.<sup>93</sup> One can identify here a direct link with 11:5, where Jesus responds to the messengers of John the Baptist who came with a question about his messianic identity. The detailed healings are presented here as a confirmation of Jesus' divine prerogatives.

91 This behaviour of Jesus is thought-provoking not only in the context of 9:20 but also in the light of the entire text of the first gospel; Matthew is opposed to anything that might resemble any magical practices (here resulting from automatism); cf. Paciorek, *Evangelia*, II, 65. The author links this inconsistent attitude of Jesus with his compassion towards people in need, but such an explanation seems not to be exhaustive, especially since Matthew, even when using the verb σπλαγχνίζομαι with Jesus as a subject (9:36; 14:14; 15:32; 20:34), consistently avoids any magical suggestions and connections.

92 Matt 15:29–31 comprises all the features listed in paragraph 2.2. The extension in time results from the number of activities expressed by the verbs.

93 This detailed list can be interpreted as a specification of the expression πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας from 14:35 and 4:24 (where Matthew adds ποικίλαις νόσοις καὶ βασάνοις συνεχομένους).

The last summary is Matt 19:1–2. The text may be considered an independent literary unit. It is placed after ch. 18, which comprises Jesus' teaching. The Matthean report at the beginning of ch. 19 on healings functions therefore as a balance; from 19:3, another teaching begins.<sup>94</sup> In contrast to 7:28–29; 11:1; 13:53 and 26:1 – where a similar concluding formula occurs as in 19:1 – only 19:1–2 may be considered a summary due to the intrinsic connection of v. 2 with v. 1 by a conjunction *καί*. Note also the presence of the crowds<sup>95</sup> who are recipients of the healing activity of Jesus. Matt 19:1–2 contains the geographical indications and all the rest of the features listed in paragraph 2.2.<sup>96</sup> As to the Matthean source, the concluding formula from v. 1a is redactional. In turn, in v. 1b, Matthew reworks Mark 10:1. The second verse is made exclusively of Mattheanisms typical of his summaries: *ἀκολουθέω* with an indirect object *αὐτός* (Jesus) + *ἄλλος* with generalising adjective *πολύς* + *θεραπεύω* with a direct object *αὐτός* + geographical indication *ἐκεῖ*. The vocabulary of this last summary is strongly related to the first one in 4:23–25. In consequence, it creates an *inclusio*.

## Final Conclusions

In the case of the gospel of Matthew, it is legitimate to specify summary statements as a separate literary genre. Summaries are represented in the first gospel eight times: (1) 4:23–25; (2) 8:16–17; (3) 9:35–36; (4) 12:15–21; (5) 14:13–14; (6) 14:34–36; (7) 15:29–31; and (8) 19:1–2. These texts are closely interrelated. They have similar structure, vocabulary and features while functioning as independent literary units. In each, one can find generalisation and exaggeration in relation to the recipients of Jesus' ministry (which creates an image of the massive success of his activity) and the presence of the verb *θεραπεύω* (with only one exception in 14:36 – *διασώζω*). Therefore, Matthean summaries are a testimony to the healing activity of Jesus, which is a kind of balance to the rest of the gospel, in which the author focuses primarily on Jesus' teaching, presenting him against the background of his five great discourses.

Every Matthean summary has its background in Markan material. In the case of certain texts, this relationship is even stronger, for they depend in some way on Markan summaries: (1) Mark 1:32–34 is a basis for Matt 8:16(–17); (2) Mark 3:7–12 remains in the background of Matt 4:23–25 and 12:15–16(–21); (3) Mark 6:53–56 was an inspiration for Matt 14:34–36.

All the summaries concern Jesus' activity in Galilee; the last one – 19:1–2 – informs the reader about Jesus leaving this region. The internal relationship of summaries is

<sup>94</sup> The author of the first gospel presents Jesus, first of all, as the one who teaches. This motif is widely investigated in J.Y.-H. Yieh, *One Teacher. Jesus' Teaching Role in Matthew's Gospel Report* (BZNW 124; Berlin: De Gruyter 2004). Matthean summaries are to show that Jesus is more than just an itinerant instructor.

<sup>95</sup> In 7:28–29, the crowds are also present, but without the healing context.

<sup>96</sup> The extension in time is expressed by Jesus' journey from Galilee into Transjordan.

especially noticeable between 4:23–25 and 9:35(–36), as well as between 12:15–16(–21) and 14:13–14. Furthermore, the first summary statement found in 4:23–25 influences all remaining summaries by setting the programme of the entire missionary activity of Jesus. The subsequent summary statements only repeat the threads already mentioned at the beginning (4:23–25).

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## The Creation of an Ottoman Turkish Psalter. Ali Ufkî's (Bobovius) *Mezmûriyye* (ca. 1665) and Maciej Rybiński's *Psalmi Dawidowe* (1608)

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**ABSTRACT:** Wojciech Bobowski is better known in international academia under the Latinised version of his name: *Albertus Bobovius* and by his Turkish name: *Ali Ufkî*. Most probably, he was born in Lviv, ca. 1610 and died in Constantinople, ca. 1675. He left for posterity numerous works that today we would classify as belonging to several fields of the humanities: musicology, linguistics, religious studies, cultural studies, political history and even ethnography. His best-known works include one of the earliest translations of the Bible into Turkish (1662–1664), an influential treatise on Islam (1690), a description of the Topkapı Palace (1665) – the main seat of the Ottoman sultan, where he lived and worked as a court musician – and collection of more than 500 Ottoman Turkish musical pieces written in European stave notation (ca. 1640–1650). In this paper, the author first presents outcomes of her current archival research on Bobowski's early life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Then, she demonstrates the possibility that when working on *Mezmûriyye* – the Ottoman Turkish psalter, Ali Ufkî took inspiration from the Polish translation of the *Genevan Psalter* from French by Maciej Rybiński, an influential bishop of the Reformed Church in the 17th-century Poland. This theory is based on the analysis of linguistic content of French, Polish and Ottoman Turkish lyrics, as well as the striking visual resemblance of Bobowski's *Mezmûriyye* and one specific old-print of Rybiński's *Psalmi Dawidowe na melodie francuskie uczynione* published in 1608.

**KEYWORDS:** Bobovius, Ali Ufkî, Bobowski, *Genevan Psalter*, *Mezmurlar*, *Mezmûriyye*

Wojciech Bobowski, born in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ca. 1610, is known in international academia by many different names. In Turkey, he is known as Ali Ufkî, a court musician in the *seraglio* of Sultan Mehmet IV and the author of manuscripts containing musical scores, which today may be regarded as the first “anthology” of Ottoman Turkish music.<sup>1</sup> In Western Europe, he is remembered as Albertus Bobovius or Ali Beg – the author

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<sup>1</sup> *Mecmû'a-yı Sâz ü Söz* (ca. 1640–1650), see: Ali Ufkî, *Hayatı, eserleri ve Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz. Tıpkıbasım* (ed. Ş. Elçin) (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1976); Ali Ufkî, *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz. Bildirler* (ed. M. Uludemir) (İzmir [s.n.]: 1989); Ali Ufkî, *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz. Murabbaların Nota Çevirileri* (ed. M. Uludemir) (İzmir [s.n.]: 1991); Ali Ufkî, *Hâzâ Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz. Çeviriyazım – İnceleme* (ed. M.H. Cevher) (İzmir: Meta Basım 2003). For studies on the musical content of MS Turc 292 kept in Bibliothèque nationale in Paris,



of influential works concerning Islam<sup>2</sup> and some aspects of the Ottoman state and its culture,<sup>3</sup> teacher and interpreter of the Ottoman Turkish language for European diplomats, missionaries and orientalisks,<sup>4</sup> and translator of the Bible and other religious texts into

- see: C. Behar, *Saklı Mecmua. Ali Ufkî'nin Bibliothèque Nationale de France'taki (Türç 292) Yazması* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2008); J.I. Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in 'Ali Ufkî's Compendium, MS Türç 292. Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context. Monograph* (Münster: Westfälische Schriften der WWU Münster 2019); J.I. Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in 'Ali Ufkî's Compendium, MS Türç 292. Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context. I. Edition* (Münster: Westfälische Schriften der WWU Münster 2020); J.I. Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in 'Ali Ufkî's Compendium, MS Türç 292. Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context. II. Critical Report* (Münster: Westfälische Schriften der WWU Münster 2020); for studies on the medicine-related content of MS Türç 292, see: J.I. Haug, "Medical Knowledge in 'Ali Ufkî's Musical Notebook (Mid-17th Century)," *Intellectual History of the Islamic World* 6/1–2 (2018) 117–143.
- 2 "Tractatus Alberti Bobovii Turcarum Imp. Mohammed IV olim Interpretis primarii, De Turcarum Liturgia, Peregrinatione Meccana, Circumcisione, Ægrotorum Visitatione, &c.," A. Farissol, *Itinera Mundi* (trans. T. Hyde) (Oxford [s.n.]: 1691) <http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=235419> [access: 6.10.2023].
  - 3 1) *Serai Enderum* – a description of the Topkapı Palace in Constantinople preserved in multiple versions which significantly differ from one another: A. Bobovio, *Serai Enderum, cioè Penetrabile dell'Seraglio* [...] (MS Harley 3409, 1665, Western Manuscripts Collection, British Library); P. de Girardin, *Description du Sérail du Grand Seigneur, par M. de Girardin, ambassadeur de France à la Porte* (Nouvelle Acquisition 4997, 1686, MS Français, Bibliothèque nationale) <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10073802s> [access: 6.10.2023]; N. Brenner, *Serai Enderum. Das ist: Inwendige Beschaffenheit der Türckischen Kayserl* [...] (Wien: Kürner 1667) [http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ205030804](http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ205030804) [access: 6.10.2023]; C. Magni, *Quanto di più curioso, e vago hà potuto raccorre Cornelio Magni nel primo biennio da esso consumato in viaggi, e dimore per la Turchia* [...] (Parma: Rosati 1679) 502–604, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=G9lw3NEXRjgC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl#v=onepage&q&f=false> [access: 6.10.2023]; see also recent editions: A. Fisher – C.G. Fisher, "Topkapı Sarayı in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Bobovius's Description," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10 (1985) 5–81; A. Bobovius – P. de Girardin, *Topkapı. Relation du sérail du Grand Seigneur* (eds. A. Berthier – S. Yerasimos) (Arles: Sindbad, Actes Sud 1999); A. Bobovius – P. de Girardin, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam. Albertus Bobovius ya da Santuri Ali Ufkî Bey'in Anıları* (eds. A. Berthier – S. Yerasimos, trans. A. Berktaş) (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi 2002); A. Bobovio – N. Brenner, *Saray-ı Enderun. Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam* (trans. T. Noyan) (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi 2013); A. Bobovio – N. Brenner, *Das Leben am Hof des islamischen Staates. Islam devletinin sarayında hayat* (ed. M.G. Schachiner) (Wien: mc publishing 2017); A. Pawlina, *Bobovius – Ali Ufkî. Życie Wojciecha Bobowskiego między faktami a legendą* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 2023) 67–180; 2) the fourth chapter in: P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* [...] (London: Starkey & Brome 1668) <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A58003.0001.001?view=toc> [access: 6.10.2023], see also a commentary on Bobowski's input to Paul Rycaut's work: H. Neudecker, "An Ottoman Palace Revolution as Witnessed by a Court Musician," *Dutch Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures* 3/1–2 (1997) 163–192.
  - 4 1) *Dialogues en Français et en Turc* (undated); 2) *Grammatica Turcico-Latina* (1666); 3) a heptaglot lexicon kept in Bodleian Library in Oxford as MS Marsh 187 (undated); 4) Ottoman Turkish translation of Comenius' *Janua linguarum reserata* (1658). For studies on Bobowski's linguistics-related work see: Ali Ufkî Bey (Alberti Bobovius [sic!]), *Grammatica Turcico-Latina* (1666) (eds. F. Telatar – Y. Tokay – N. Besli) (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları 2000); J. Clackson – B. Vaux, "Bodleian Library, Ms. Marsh 187, Wojciech Bobowski and the Translation of the Bible into Turkish," *Bodleian Library Record* 31/1–2 (2018) 76–96; G. Nandriş, "The Arumanian or Macedo-Rumanian Element in the Oxford Heptaglot Lexicon (MS. Marsh 187)," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (1957) 345–359; H. Neudecker, "Wojciech Bobowski and His Turkish Grammar (1666): A Dragoman and Musician at the Court of Sultan Mehmed IV," *Dutch Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures* 2/2 (1996) 169–192; H. Neudecker, "Two Hitherto Little-Studied Turkish Translations by Wojciech Bobowski alias Albertus Bobovius," *Oriens* 45 (2017) 330–363; V. Swoboda, *The „Slavonice” Part of the Oxford Heptaglot Lexicon. A Ukrainian-Latin Vocabulary of the First Half of the 17th Century* (Slavistica 25; Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences 1956).

Turkish.<sup>5</sup> He can be perceived as an extremely colourful and multifaceted figure in the history of Polish-Turkish cultural and international relations, but unfortunately Polish academia has hitherto underappreciated Bobowski and his intellectual output.<sup>6</sup>

The multicultural personality of Wojciech Bobowski is reflected in the Ottoman Turkish *mablas* (pen-name) he chose for himself as a poet: *Ufukî*.<sup>7</sup> It is derived from the word *ufuk*, “horizon,” which in both Turkish and Polish languages has metaphorical connotations with intellect, comprehension, insight and understanding. In Polish, a person characterised as *o szerokich horyzontach* (“of broad, wide horizons”) is not only intelligent and knowledgeable, but also tolerant towards others. Judging from the works he left to posterity, Ali Ufki was a truly “broad-minded” man.

His attempt to create an Ottoman Turkish psalter, which is the subject of the present paper, is one of the most interesting literary and musical expressions of Bobowski’s outstanding intellect and personality. The psalter (Ott. Tur. *Mezmûriyye*) is known in Turkish musicology simply as *Mezmurlar* or *Mezamir* (“Psalms”). Judith I. Haug in her extended monograph on the Dutch, German, English and Ottoman Turkish versions of the *Genevan Psalter* fairly described this work as a “unique document for transcultural process between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> H. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible Translation by Yahya bin 'Ishak, Also Called Haki (1659)* (Leiden: Oosters Instituut 1994); H. Neudecker, “Ordinal Numbers in Bobowski’s Turkish Bible Translation (1662–1664),” *Folia Orientalia* 36 (2000) 219–225; Neudecker, “Two Hitherto Little-Studied Turkish Translations”; A. Pawlina, “The Pole Who Translated the Bible for the Turks. Wojciech Bobowski’s Bible Translation into Ottoman-Turkish,” *The Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 15/2 (2016) 31–37; B.G. Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations* (author’s pre-edition; 2014) <https://historyofturkishbible.wordpress.com> [access: 5.10.2023].

<sup>6</sup> However, this situation has recently been changing. Tadeusz Majda established that Ali Ufki was not a painter as some scholars insisted, see: T. Majda, “The Râlab Album of Turkish Costumes,” *The Sultan’s Procession. The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–1658 and the Râlab Paintings* (ed. K. Ådahl) (İstanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul 2006) 197–265. Later, with the 600th anniversary of Turkish-Polish relations celebrated in 2014, interest in Wojciech Bobowski’s life and work increased in Poland, see: Ī. Aynuksa, “Ali Ufki Bey (Wojciech Bobowski) – Well-Known Musician, Forgotten Political Figure. A Luminary in the 600 Years of Turkish–Polish Diplomatic Relations,” *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations* 52 (2016) 271–284. A preliminary outline of the archival research conducted by the present author has been available for Polish readers for some time, see: A. Pawlina, “Wojciech Bobowski (Ali Ufki) – Polak na osmańskim dworze,” *Wschód muzulmański w ujęciu interdyscyplinarnym. Ludzie – teksty – historia* (eds. G. Czerwiński – A. Konopacki) (Białystok: Katedra Badań Filologicznych “Wschód-Zachód” Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku 2017) 147–165, and now, a monograph presenting the outcomes of her research on Bobovius is also available, see: Pawlina, *Bobovius – Ali Ufki*.

<sup>7</sup> In his manuscripts it appears in both vocalised and unvocalised spelling. Even though both Latinised versions, *Ufki* and *Ufuki*, are valid, the shorter version had become established in contemporary academia and will also be used here. See also: Ali Ufki, *Mecmûa-i Sâz ü Söz. Bildirler*, 2–7; Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in 'Ali Ufukî's Compendium. Monograph*, 4–6.

<sup>8</sup> J.I. Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter in den Niederlanden, Deutschland, England und dem Osmanischen Reich (16.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Tutzing: Schneider 2010) 80.

## 1. Wojciech Bobowski becomes Ali Ufki

A detailed investigation of Wojciech Bobowski's biography lies beyond the scope of this paper. However, it will be worthwhile to give a brief review and emphasise the possible impact of Polish source material on future research concerning Ali Ufki. At present, the story of his life may be reconstructed mostly on the basis of indirect sources. He left scarce personal information in his writings, and archival research has not yet brought any significant discoveries regarding basic biographical facts, such as where and when exactly he was born and where and when he died. Filling in the remaining "blank spots" in Ali Ufki's biography, especially those concerning his roots, might help understand his place as mediator between two cultures: the one into which he was born (the multicultural Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Rzeczpospolita) and the one that he learnt and absorbed over the course of his life (the multicultural Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire).

Most of the information on Bobowski has been derived by scholars from the dating he left in manuscripts, correspondence and the memoirs of diplomats, travellers and orientalis who had contact with him or for whom he worked as a teacher, interpreter, translator or informant. Unfortunately, the information available in sources contemporary to Bobowski, as well as in the recent scholarly publications, seems incomplete and sometimes even contradictory. There are still many doubts and gaps in Bobovius' biography.

The most common (and most plausible) version states that Bobowski was born in Lviv, ca. 1610.<sup>9</sup> His extant work leave no room for doubt that he received part of his education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including knowledge of several foreign languages and musical education. His life changed completely when (probably) in his teens he was taken prisoner by the Crimean Tatars during one of their raids on Podolia.<sup>10</sup> The present author believes that this could have taken place in 1633–1634 during the unofficial Polish-Ottoman war (the so-called "Abaza Pasha war") or in the minor Tatar raids that preceded it.<sup>11</sup> As a prisoner-of-war, on his way eastward, Bobowski must have revealed some of his skills, for he was brought as a slave to the court of the Ottoman sultan. When he converted to Islam and adopted the Turkish name "Ali," he became an *içoğlan* – a member of the inner service of the palace – and his education in the *Enderûn Mektebi*<sup>12</sup> began. After settling into

9 All versions of Bobowski's biography found in international literature and in Polish archival and literary sources are discussed in detail in the present author's monograph, see: Pawlina, *Bobovius – Ali Ufki*, 19–53.

10 Or as a 10-year-old boy, according to Hannah Neudecker, who also assumes that this occurred "around 1632," thus moving Bobowski's date of birth to 1624, see: 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: Brill 2005) 175. The present author considers that version false due to the fact that Bobowski displayed considerable knowledge of foreign languages and music when he arrived at the Ottoman court. The knowledge that he manifested in his works could have been acquired neither in just a few years of education in Lviv, nor through self-tuition in the Ottoman Empire.

11 J. Pajewski, *Buńczuk i koncerz. Z dziejów wojen polsko-tureckich* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 1997) 70–74.

12 *Enderûn Mektebi* – the so-called "school for pages." It provided wide-ranging instruction which prepared boys for service in the palace, the state administration or the Ottoman army, depending on the aptitude of

the palace service, Ali Ufkî spent there about twenty years, serving as a court musician and eventually – a music teacher. Probably in early 1650s, he moved out of the Topkapı Palace and started to work independently as a translator for various European and Ottoman parties, occasionally returning to the sultan's service as an official state interpreter (*dragoman*). He died probably in Constantinople,<sup>13</sup> ca. 1675.

Until new documentary evidence surfaces, any information about Wojciech Bobowski's early years in Poland should be considered as a lore that emerged in connection with his life, rather than a proven historical fact. The most important outstanding questions concern: the exact date and place of his birth, his noble descent, the confession in which he was raised (see more below), and the circumstances which led to his arrival at the Topkapı Palace. None of these questions can be addressed without placing the period of Bobowski's life (ca. 1600–1675) into the context of the intense contacts, in both peace- and wartime, between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century,<sup>14</sup> as well as the Reformation and Counter-Reformation processes in Rzeczpospolita.<sup>15</sup>

The present author's archival research shows that in the 17th century there existed at least two separate branches of the Bobowski family. In the 19th-century armorials, one of them is referred to as “Bobowszczy h. Gryf z Bobow” (bearing the arms Gryphon [Jaxa] of Bobowa [a village in the Lesser Poland]) and the other as “Bobowszczy z Bobów” (of Boby [a village in the Lublin region]).<sup>16</sup> Count Seweryn Uruski informs us that both branches had common ancestors in the 14th century, coming from Lesser Poland.<sup>17</sup> Documentary evidence confirms that over time the *Bobowszczy* family's land holdings covered more and

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each student, see: M. İpşirli, “Enderun,” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı 1995) XI, 185–187; B. Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1941); S.J. Shaw, *Historia Imperium Osmańskiego i Republiki Tureckiej* (trans. B. Świetlik) (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog 2012) I, 191–192.

<sup>13</sup> Other possibilities mentioned in the sources are: Egypt, England, and even Kraków, Poland.

<sup>14</sup> D. Kołodziejczyk, “Native Nobilities and Foreign Absolutism: A Polish-Ottoman Case,” *Studia Carolinensia* 3–4 (2004) 303–308; D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2011); D. Kołodziejczyk, “Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Turcją i Tatarami: Czy naprawdę byliśmy przedmurzem Europy?,” *Praktyka Teoretyczna* 26/4 (2017) 16–36; D. Kołodziejczyk, “Permeable Frontiers: Contacts between Polish and Turkish-Tatar Elites in the Early Modern Era,” *Foreign Drums Beating. Transnational Experiences in Early Modern Europe* (eds. B. Forsén – M. Hakkarainen) (Helsinki: Finnish Society for Byzantine Studies 2017) 153–168; D. Kołodziejczyk – A. Balcer – N. Królikowska (eds.), *Orzeł i Półksiężyc. 600 lat polskiej publicystyki poświęconej Turcji* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych 2014); Shaw, *Historia Imperium Osmańskiego*, 297–298, 308–320.

<sup>15</sup> J. Bahlcke, *Kalwinizm i Jednota braci czeskich w Europie Środkowej i Środkowo-Wschodniej* (ed. R. Mnich) (Berlin – Siedlce: Deutsche Comenius-Gesellschaft – Wydawnictwo IKR[i]BL 2017); J. Tazbir, *A State without Stakes. Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (trans. A.T. Jordan) (New York: Kościuszko Foundation 1973).

<sup>16</sup> A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*. I/1. *Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich* (Warszawa: Gebethner & Wolff 1899) 303–306.

<sup>17</sup> S. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej* (Warszawa: Gebethner & Wolff 1904) I, 247.

more territory, stretching from Lesser Poland in the west, through villages around Lublin, Kraśnik, Sanok and Przemyśl, to some tracts of land in the province of Podolia in the east, including villages near Lviv.<sup>18</sup>

It was a family of noble descent and a glorious past, but not (yet) very influential at the time of Wojciech's birth. We cannot ascertain into which branch of the family Ali Ufkî was born. Most likely it was the "Lviv branch," but the "Lublin branch" is also possible, especially if we wish to assert that he was raised in the Reformed faith.<sup>19</sup> The insufficient influence may be the simplest (but not necessarily the correct) answer to the question of why Wojciech Bobowski was never ransomed from Turkish slavery, even though Polish legations to the "Grand Turk" brought many captives of war back home.<sup>20</sup> Other possible answers may be much more complex and lie beyond the scope of this paper.

The only certain fact about Wojciech Bobowski's youth in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is that he acquired a high level of education. Ali Ufkî's indubitable training in European music is probably the most important clue, which may lead to the discovery of new historical evidence. In early 17th-century Poland, one could become a musician through private tutoring (most commonly by Italian masters) or by attending schools that operated at churches (as part of Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox institutions), especially the Jesuit schools which began to emerge in Rzeczpospolita in 1565. In Lviv, such a school (*kolegium jezuickie*) was established in 1608.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps Wojciech Bobowski (if he was indeed born ca. 1610) attended the recently established *kolegium*?

Answers to the question of his education might also help solve another controversial problem associated with the initial period of Bobowski's life: Was he raised in the Catholic or Reformed faith? The religious adherence of Ali Ufkî is often discussed in the context of his writings on religion.<sup>22</sup> Although no final conclusion can be reached at the present

18 This information has been derived by the present author from archival records kept in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, the National Archives in Kraków (including its branch in Nowy Sącz), the State Archives in Lublin, the Diocesan Archives in Tarnów, and the Ossolineum in Wrocław.

19 Pawlina, "Wojciech Bobowski (Ali Ufkî)," 151–153.

20 For the subject at hand, the most interesting is the legation of Wojciech Miaskowski, who was sent to Constantinople in 1640 – when Wojciech Bobowski had already been living in the sultan's palace (or had just arrived there). Miaskowski brought back "two ships [that came] from Kezlev and Kaffa full of liberated captives of war, who had been taken during the Crimean Tatars' raid of 1640" – W. Miaskowski, "Lepsza wojna niż dyshonor. Polski poseł w Stambule w roku 1640," *Orzeł i Półksiężyc. 600 lat polskiej publicystyki poświęconej Turcji* (eds. D. Kołodziejczyk – A. Balcer – N. Królikowska) (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych 2014) 119.

21 L. Mazepa, "Szkolnictwo muzyczne we Lwowie (XV–XX w.)," *Lwów. Miasto, społeczeństwo, kultura* (eds. H.W. Żaliński – K. Karolczak) (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP 1995) I, 19–26; G. Łuszczak, *Nauczyciele i wychowawcy szkół jezuickich we Lwowie 1608–1773* (Kraków: WAM 2010).

22 Ali Ufkî, *Hayatı, Eserleri ve Mecmûa-i Sâz ü Söz*, III–X; Aynuksa, "Ali Ufkî Bey (Wojciech Bobowski)," 276; C. Behar, *Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık 1990) 22–24; C. Behar, *Musikiden Müziğe. Osmanlı/Türk Müziği. Gelenek ve Modernik* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2008) 33–34; Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*, 571–573; J.I. Haug, "Surmounting Religious, Musical and Linguistic Frontiers: 'Ali Ufkî's Translation



stage of research, the author will address this subject further below, in the context of the Ottoman Turkish version of the “Protestant” *Genevan Psalter*.

## 2. *Genevan Psalter* becomes *Mezmûriyye*

The manuscript of Ali Ufkî's *Mezmûriyye* (Ott.-Tur. “Psalms”) is kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Département des manuscrits as MS Suppl. Turc 472.<sup>23</sup> Its title and description in the catalogue are as follows: “مزموريه. Les quatorze premiers Psaumes, avec la traduction en vers turcs, et la notation musicale en plain-chant, par ‘Ali Beg Bobowski.”<sup>24</sup> The manuscript contains six 21 × 16 cm folios, covered with 18th-century binding. The musical notation and lyrics in the Ottoman Turkish language are written in black ink on paper, in three or four columns per page (fig. 1). On folio 5v only the columns, the title and the five-line stave appear (fig. 2). On folio 6r only the columns are sketched, and 6v is left blank.

The attribution of Suppl. Turc 472 to Ali Ufkî based on the handwriting was made by Cem Behar.<sup>25</sup> A few years later, Feza Tansuğ discovered that Bobowski did not compose these melodies, as Behar had thought, but they are in fact almost identical with the first fourteen psalms of the so-called *Genevan Psalter*.<sup>26</sup> The latter is also called the Huguenot Psalter. It was created for the purposes of the Calvinist Church between 1539 and 1562, as a result of John Calvin's personal interest and efforts. Its final version was published in 1562. The French lyrics were written by Théodore de Bèze and Clément Marot, and the music is of mixed provenance.<sup>27</sup> Subsequently, the psalter was translated into other European languages (e.g., English, German, Dutch, Czech, Hungarian, Polish) and published in multiple versions throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.<sup>28</sup>

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of the Genevan Psalter (c. 1665) as a Transcultural Achievement,” *La frontière méditerranéenne du XVIe au XVIIe siècle* (Études Renaissance 12; Turnhout: Brepolis 2014) 377–378.

<sup>23</sup> Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye* (MS Suppl. Turc 472, ca. 1665, Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France) <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415002q> [access: 5.10.2023].

<sup>24</sup> E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs. I. Ancien fonds, nos 1–396. Supplément: nos 1–572* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale 1932) 364, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2094652> [access: 9.10.2023].

<sup>25</sup> Behar, *Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar*, 47.

<sup>26</sup> F. Tansuğ, “*Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar* by Cem Behar (Book Review),” *International Journal of Music in Turkey* 1/1 (1997) 17–21.

<sup>27</sup> C. Marot – T. de Bèze, *Les pseauxmes mis en rime françoise* (Genève: Bonnefoy 1563) <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1086792?rk=21459;2> [access: 6.10.2023].

<sup>28</sup> Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*; P. Pidoux, *Le Psautier huguenot du XVIe siècle. Mélodies et documents* (Bâle: Bärenreiter 1962); R. Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum. Historia Biblii w języku polskim* (Poznań: Pallottinum 2016) I, 98–100, 296–309.

Fig. 1. Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, BnF, MS Suppl. Turc 472, f. 1,  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415002q/f7.item> [access: 9.10.2023]

In *Mezmûriyye* Ali Ufkî arranged the melodies of the psalms in such a way that, almost without changes, they adhere to the principles and aesthetics of Ottoman Turkish court music, so that they might be comprehensible to a supposed Ottoman Turkish “audience.”<sup>29</sup> The way Ali Ufkî accomplished this has been described in detail by Judith I. Haug in her extensive comparative musicological analysis of both the French and Ottoman Turkish versions of the *Genevan Psalter*.<sup>30</sup>

29 In 2005, on the album *Sacred Bridges* (Signum Classics), psalms 2, 5, 6 and 9 were recorded by the Sarband ensemble in collaboration with the King’s Singers ensemble. In this beautiful arrangement, the listener can hear French and Ottoman Turkish versions of the *Genevan Psalter*, with European polyphony and Ottoman Turkish heterophony artistically combined.

30 Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*, 481–578; Haug, “Surmounting Religious, Musical and Linguistic Frontiers,” 375–392.



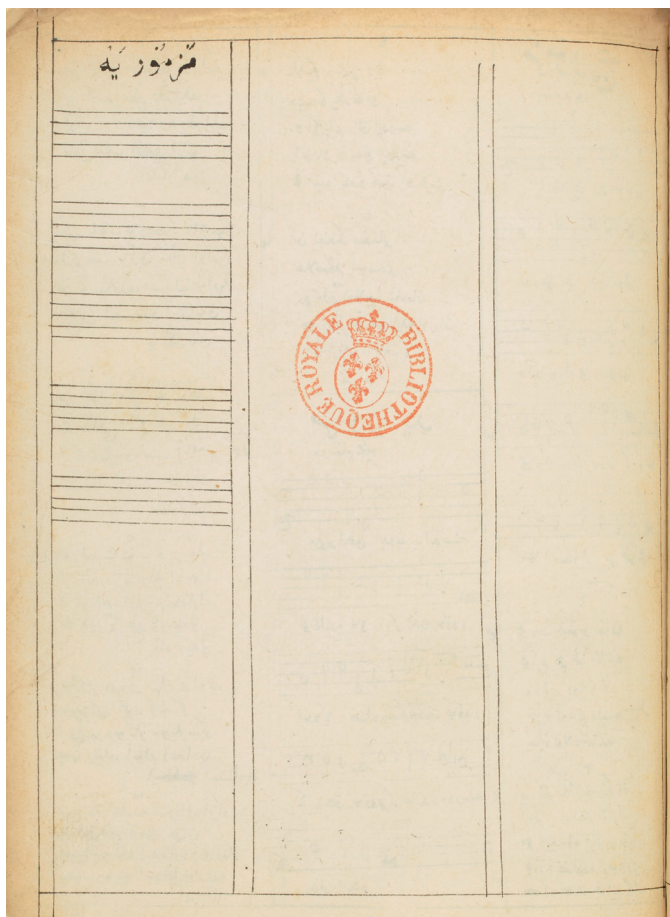


Fig. 2. Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, BnF, MS Suppl. Turc 472, f. 5v,  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415002q/f16.item> [access: 9.10.2023]

In the same work, she proposed a speculative but very plausible dating for the manuscript, as no indication of the date was left by Ali Ufkî. In her view, it was Levinus Warner – scholar, orientalist, and diplomat in the service of the Dutch Republic – who commissioned a musically notated “Ottoman Psalter” based on the melodies and linguistic content of the Huguenot Psalter. Indeed, he may have wished to publish it along with the Turkish translation of the Bible, which Bobowski worked on in the years 1662–1664.<sup>31</sup> The placing of *Mezmûriyye* in the context of Calvinoturcism and the history of the translation of the Bible into Turkish for Protestant intellectuals is justified for at least two reasons:

<sup>31</sup> N. Malcolm, “Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg, and the Translation of the Bible into Turkish,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 87/3 (2007) 327–362; Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible Translation*; Neudecker, “Ordinal Numbers in Bobowski’s Turkish Bible Translation,” 219–225; Pawlina, “The Pole Who Translated the Bible for the Turks,” 31–37; Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations*.

[The Ottoman Turkish] version of the *Genevan Psalter* would have made sense as an instrument to convert the ‘Turk’ directly to the Reformed confession of Christianity. Warner’s sudden and mysterious death [...] in June 1665 would at once provide a dating (first half of the year 1665) and an explanation for the abrupt abandonment of the work.<sup>32</sup>

### 3. Ali Ufkî’s *Mezmûriyye* and Maciej Rybiński’s *Psalmes Dawidowe na melodie francuskie urobione* (1608)

The aim of the present study is to establish on which version of the *Genevan Psalter* Ali Ufkî based his Ottoman Turkish translations. From the content of his other works we know that Bobowski was fluent in several languages, including French. It is likely that Levinus Warner provided him with an original French edition of the psalter. However, one should not rule out the possibility that Ali Ufkî worked with more than one version, as well as with other sources that were available to him during his work on the Ottoman Turkish Bible.<sup>33</sup>

He faced a challenge of considerable difficulty – translating poetry containing a significant amount of religious terminology and sophisticated metaphors, which were alien to its intended readers and listeners: the Ottomans. Ali Ufkî proved to be a talented poet, skilful in adhering to the rules of Ottoman Turkish prosody and poetic forms. Judging by the result of his work on the Bible, we can also ascertain that choosing proper Ottoman Turkish equivalents for terms describing the concepts and dogmas of Christian religion was an important matter for him. Considering these premises and adding to them the unquestionable eloquence and multifaceted knowledge of Ali Ufkî, the present author assumes that to prepare a transcultural translation of the psalms, he might have wanted to take inspiration from the images and ideas embodied in each of them in his own native tongue.

The first Polish version of the *Genevan Psalter* was written ca. 1605 by Maciej Rybiński (1566–1612), bishop of the Unity of the Brethren (Jednota Braci Czeskich) in Greater Poland. In the face of the emerging Catholic reaction, he was involved in the political and intellectual process of unifying the Reformed confessions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Rybiński wished to enable his Polish brothers in faith to worship God in the same manner as was done in Reformed churches abroad, and thus build an even stronger international, spiritual connection with Protestants living in Western Europe. He translated the French psalms written by Théodore de Bèze and Clément Marot into Polish, occasionally taking inspiration from the then most popular Polish version of the Book of Psalms: Jan Kochanowski’s *Psalterz Dawidów*, published in Kraków in 1579.<sup>34</sup>

32 Haug, “Surmounting Religious, Musical and Linguistic Frontiers,” 385.

33 Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*, 561–562.

34 A.B. Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce* (Vilnius: Zawadzki & Zawadzki 1857) III, 264–265; M. Jarczykova, “Zalecenia staropolskich edycji przekładów Księgi Psalmów,” *Wypowiedzi zalecające w książce dawnej i współczesnej* (eds. M. Jarczykova – B. Mazurkova – M. Marcinkowska-Malara) (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2015) 62; Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum*, 298.

In 1605, Rybiński's translation of the *Genevan Psalter* was printed, along with mensural notation for a single voice, as *Psalmy Dawidowe przekładania ks. Macieja Rybińskiego. Na melodie psalmów francuskich urobione*, in the famous Racovian Academy (run by the Polish Brethren in Raków, Lesser Poland), by Sebastian Sternacki. That first edition has been lost, but some subsequent versions, published with small amendments in Raków by Sternacki (1624), in Gdańsk by Andreas Hünefeldt (1608, 1616, 1619, 1628, 1632, 1633) and in Toruń by August Ferber (1617, 1618), have been preserved.<sup>35</sup> In 1636, Rybiński's psalter was incorporated into the first hymnbook compiled for use during liturgy in both the Calvinist's and the Czech Brethren's churches.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it became the most popular version of the Book of Psalms among followers of the Reformed faith in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. By the end of the 18th century, Rybiński's psalter had been published at least twenty times.<sup>37</sup>

Comparative evaluation of the linguistic content of Ali Ufkî's *Mezmûriyye* and the *Genevan Psalter* in French<sup>38</sup> shows the greatest divergence in the lyrics of psalms 2, 6 and 8.<sup>39</sup> A further comparison of the Ottoman Turkish and Polish versions of these psalms leads to the conclusion that it is very likely that Ali Ufkî worked not only with the French texts, but also with one of the 17th-century editions of Maciej Rybiński's psalter. Investigations led to the discovery of an old print of his *Psalmy Dawidowe*, published in Gdańsk with the title *Psalmy Dawidowe Przekładania X. Macieja Rybińskiego* in 1608.<sup>40</sup> This edition aroused the present author's particular interest, because even at first glance, a comparison with Ali Ufkî's *Mezmûriyye* shows a resemblance (figs. 3, 4).

The 1608 edition of Rybiński's *Psalmy Dawidowe* (fig. 3) is the only 17th-century version of the *Genevan Psalter* known to the present author, in which the editor used columns to present both musical notation and lyrics, instead of the simpler layout seen in other editions (figs. 5, 6, 7).

35 K. Estreicher, "Dawid. Psalmy Dawidowe przekładania x. Macieja Rybińskiego," *Bibliografia polska* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1897) XV, 74–75; Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce*, 159; D. Jung, "Psalmy Dawidowe, z hymnami... z gdańskiej drukarni Andrzeja Hünefeldta (1581–1666)," *Gdańskie hymny Jakuba Gembickiego* (Gdańsk – Gniezno: Wydawnictwo Zeszyty Poetyckie 2014) 8–12; Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum*, 308–309; M. Przywecka-Samecka, *Dzieje drukarstwa muzycznego w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1993) 111, 139, 147–148.

36 The full title of this hymnbook is: *Kancjonał, to iest księgi psalmów y pieśni duchownych na chwałę Boga w Trojcy S. iedynego... za zgodą wszystkich Zborów ewangelickich koronnych, W. X. Lit. y państwa do nich należących, z dawniejszych kancjonałów, psalterzów y catechizmów zebrane y kuwoli jednostajnemu używaniu wydane* (Gdańsk: Hünefeldt 1636) <https://academica.edu.pl/reading/readSingle?uid=97738559> [access: 6.10.2023].

37 K. Estreicher, "Rybiński Maciej," *Bibliografia polska* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1915) XXVI, 506–507; H. Gmiterek, "Rybiński (Rybinus) Maciej," *Polski słownik biograficzny* (ed. H. Markiewicz) (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1991) XXXIII, 338–340.

38 Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise*.

39 The same conclusion was reached by Judith I. Haug, who compared Ali Ufkî's translation not only with French but also with Dutch and German versions of the *Genevan Psalter*, see: Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*, 561–564.

40 M. Rybiński, *Psalmy Dawidowe Przekładania X. Macieja Rybińskiego. We Gdańsku Drukował Andrzej Hünefeldt* (Gdańsk: Hünefeldt 1608) [http://nanki-ml.dmc.keio.ac.jp/M-05\\_32\\_R040/index.html](http://nanki-ml.dmc.keio.ac.jp/M-05_32_R040/index.html) [access: 6.10.2023].

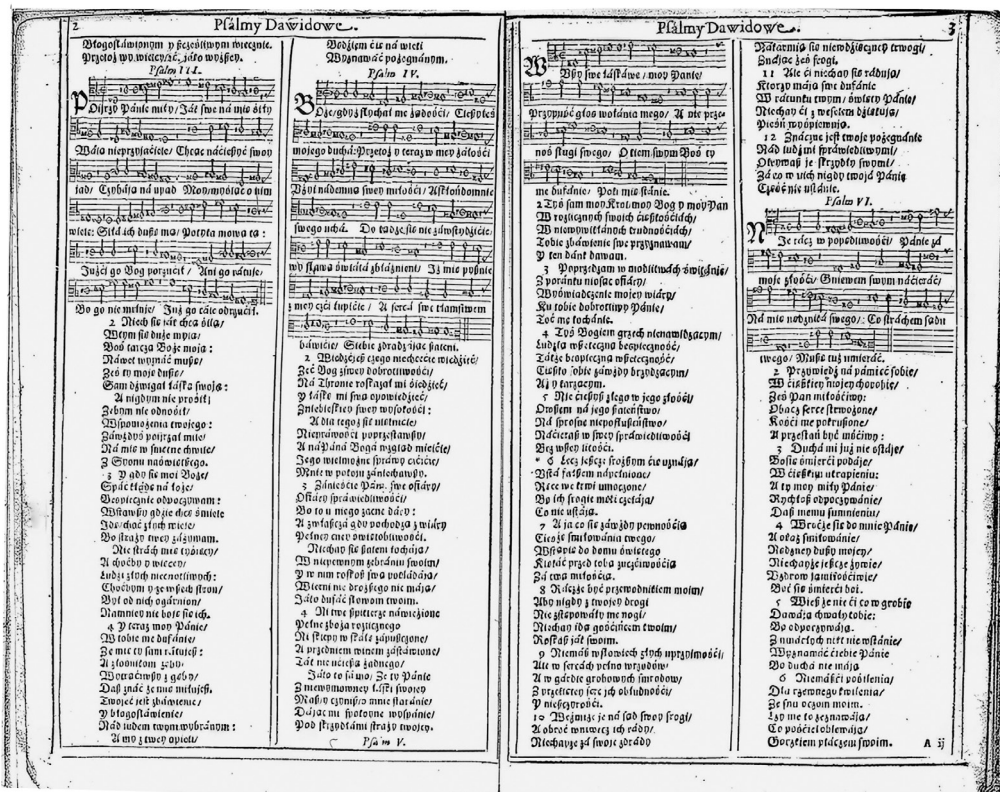


Fig. 3. Rybiński, *Psalmy Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608], 2–3,

[http://nanki-ml.dmc.keio.ac.jp/M-05\\_32\\_R040/content/0006\\_large.html](http://nanki-ml.dmc.keio.ac.jp/M-05_32_R040/content/0006_large.html) [access: 6.10.2023]





Fig. 4. Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, BnF, MS Suppl. Turc 472, f. 2r,  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415002q/f9.item> [access: 9.10.2023]

P S E A V. III.

O Seigneur, que de gens A nuire di' li gens,  
 Qui me troublent & greuent! Mon Dieu, que d'enac-  
 mis, Qui aux champs se sont mis, Et contre moy s'e-  
 leuent! Certes plusieurs i'en voy, Qui vont disant de  
 moy, Sa force est a bo' li e, Plus ne' trouue en son  
 Dieu Secours en aucun lieu, Mais c'est a eux fo' li e.

Car tu es mon tresseur  
 Bouclier & defenseur  
 Et ma gloire esprouuee:  
 C'est toy, à brief parler,  
 Qui fais que puis aller  
 Haut la teste leuee.  
 L'ay crié de ma voix  
 Au Seigneur maintes-fois,  
 Luy faisant ma complainte:  
 Et ne m'a repoullé,  
 Mais tousiours exaucé  
 De sa montagne sainte.

Dont coucher m'en iray,  
 En seurté dormiray,  
 Sans crainte de mes garde:  
 Puis me refueilleray,  
 Et sans peur veilleray,  
 Ayant Dieu pour ma garde.  
 Cent mill' hommes de front,  
 Craindre ne me feront,

Encor

Fig. 5. Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseaulmes mis en rime françoise* [Genève 1563] 4,  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1086792/f19.item> [access: 6.10.2023]

**Cześć Pierwsza.** 2

**Dając mi spokojne wypanie/  
Pod strzydłami straży twojej.**

PSALM V. 64

Verba mea auribus percipe.

Dawid gdy wygnancem będąc wiele cierpiat,  
y bojąc się aby go co wiecy od Saulowych pochteb-  
cow nie potkało. prozby swe do Boga obraca, y  
ym się cieszy iż Bog złych nienawidzi, a dobre  
miłuje.

**W**ysłysz iwe łaskawe moy Panie/ Przypusć  
głos wołania mego/ A nie przechoś fugi.  
swego Oficem swym: Boś ty me duszenie

Wiep to sam na mi.

1 Tys sam moy Zrocl/ moy Boga/ y moy Pán/  
W rozlicznych swoich cięstłościach/  
W niewymysłanych trudnościach/  
Tobie zbawienie swe przyznawam/  
A ten dān dawam.

3 Popprzedzam w modlitwach świantel/  
Z poranku miśac ofiary/  
Wyświadczenie moicy w śary/

**Da** **Al v** **Ku**

Fig. 6. M. Rybiński, *Psalmi Dawidowe: Przekładania X. Macieia Rybińskiego na melodye psalmow francuskich urobione. We Gdansku Drukował Jendrzrej Hünefeldt* (Gdańsk: Hünefeldt 1616) 9, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/426050/edition/336947/content> [access: 6.10.2023]



Discantus.      Psalmus I.



Er nütze mit den Gottlosen gehe zu rath/ Vñ nie tritt in sündlicher laut fußpfad/  
 Der auch nie mit sitzt auf der spötte bäncke/ Sonder außs geset mit fleiß thut dencken/  
 Vñ sich des Tag vñ Nacht nimpet herhlich an/ Fürwar das ist für Gott ein selig Man.

\* Tenor.

Er nie mit den Gottlosen gehe zu rath/ Vñ nie tritt in sündlicher laut fußpfad/  
 Der auch nie mit sitzt auf der spötte bäncken/ Sonder außs geset mit fleiß thut dencken/  
 Vñ sich des Tag vñ Nach nimpet herhlich an/ Fürwar das ist für Gott ein selig Man.

2.  
 Dann er wird gleich sein einem Baum der fein/  
 Gepflancket steht an einem Wässerlein/  
 Der seine Frucht zu seinen zeiten tregget/  
 Des Laub auch nimmer abzufallen pfleget/  
 So auch was solcher Mensch thut vñ begint/  
 Dasselb allzat ein glücklich end gewint.

3.  
 Dagegen die Gottlosen/mir das glaub/  
 Seynd nicht also/ sondern wie sprew vñ staub/  
 Welchen der Wind auff vñ von der Erden wehet/  
 Darumb ihr keiner für Gericht bestehet.  
 Die sündler auch in der gerechten rath/  
 Oder versammlung finden keine statt.

4. Dann

Fig. 7. A. Lobwasser, *Psalmen Davids. Nach Französöischer Meloden und Reymen Art in Deutsche Reymen artig gebracht Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser [...]* (Hofgeismar: Schadowitz 1649) 6, [http://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/5/50/IMSLP558846-PMLP572700-goudimel\\_mencke\\_Psalmen\\_Davids\\_1649\\_halle\\_3.1-569401.pdf](http://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/5/50/IMSLP558846-PMLP572700-goudimel_mencke_Psalmen_Davids_1649_halle_3.1-569401.pdf) [access: 6.10.2023]

#### 4. The *Genevan Psalter* in French, Polish and Ottoman Turkish – A Comparison

The table below shows similarities and differences between the original French version of the *Genevan Psalter* (Marot and de Bèze, 1563)<sup>41</sup> and its subsequent translations into Polish (Rybiński, 1608)<sup>42</sup> and Ottoman Turkish (Ali Ufkî, ca. 1665).<sup>43</sup> The psalms' lyrics are analysed here in terms of structure – the number of stanzas (s), the number of lines in each stanza (L) and the rhyme scheme (e.g., aabbcc).

Table 1. Comparison of the French, Polish and Ottoman Turkish lyrics of the *Genevan Psalter*

|                 | French                        | Polish                                | Ottoman Turkish                       |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Psalm 1         | 4s (6L)<br>aabbcc             | 4s (6L)<br>aabbcc                     | 4s (6L)<br>aabbcc                     |
| <b>Psalm 2</b>  | 6s (8L) + 1s (4L)<br>ababccdd | 6s (8L) + 1s (5L)<br>ababccdd         | 6s (8L)<br>aabbccdd                   |
| <b>Psalm 3</b>  | 4s (12L)<br>aabccbddeffe      | 4s (12L)<br>aabccbddeffe              | 4s (12L) + 1s (2L)<br>aabccbddeffe    |
| Psalm 4         | 4s (10L)<br>abaabccdd         | 4s (10L)<br>abaabccdd                 | 4s (10L)<br>abaabccdd                 |
| Psalm 5         | 12s (5L)<br>abbba             | 12s (5L)<br>abbba                     | 12s (5L)<br>abbba                     |
| Psalm 6         | 10s (6L)<br>aabccb            | 10s (6L)<br>aabccb                    | 10s (6L)<br>aabccb                    |
| <b>Psalm 7</b>  | 8s (8L) + 1s (4L)<br>aabbccdd | 8s (8L)<br>aabbccdd                   | 8s (8L)<br>aabbccdd                   |
| <b>Psalm 8</b>  | 9s (4L)<br>aabb               | 6s (4L) + 1st stanza repeated<br>aabb | 8s (4L) + 1st stanza repeated<br>aabb |
| Psalm 9         | 20s (4L)<br>aabb              | 20s (4L)<br>aabb                      | 20s (4L)<br>aabb                      |
| Psalm 10        | 9s (7L)<br>ababbcc            | 9s (7L)<br>ababbcc                    | 9s (7L)<br>ababbcc                    |
| <b>Psalm 11</b> | 3s (7L) + 1s (3L)<br>ababc bc | 3s (7L)<br>ababc bc                   | 3s (7L)<br>ababc bc                   |
| Psalm 12        | 8s (4L)<br>abab               | 7s (4L)<br>abab                       | 7s (4L)<br>abab                       |
| Psalm 13        | 5s (5L)<br>aabba              | 5s (5L)<br>aabba                      | 5s (5L)<br>aabba                      |
| Psalm 14        | 7s (5L)<br>abbba              | 7s (5L)<br>abbba                      | 7s (5L)<br>abbba                      |

Source: author's own analysis.

<sup>41</sup> Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise*.

<sup>42</sup> Rybiński, *Psalmi Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608].

<sup>43</sup> Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye* (MS Suppl. Turc 472, ca. 1665).

As we can see, the form of the lyrics is mostly consistent in all three versions of the *Genevan Psalter*. The exceptions, indicated in the table above in bold, are as follows:

- Psalm 2: a different rhyme scheme in the Ottoman Turkish version (*aabbccdd* instead of *ababcbcd*);
- Psalm 3: two additional lines written by Ali Ufki after the 4th stanza;
- Psalms 7 and 11: both Polish and Ottoman Turkish translations lack the last half-stanza of the French version;
- Psalm 8: the Polish version is three stanzas shorter than the other versions.

An analysis of semantics brought even more interesting results. The present author believes that all the significant differences between the French and the Ottoman Turkish version, in terms of the vocabulary used, can be explained by the choices made by Maciej Rybiński in the Polish translation. The most important differences are found in Psalm 2 (in the 6th stanza) and Psalm 8 (in the 3rd stanza).

Those fragments are presented below, with differences indicated in bold. The orthography of the French lyrics is kept unchanged, with one exception: the symbol ‘f’ is replaced by the contemporary ‘s’. The orthography of the Polish lyrics is modernised according to the rules proposed by the Polish Academy of Sciences.<sup>44</sup> The Ottoman Turkish lyrics have been transcribed from Arabic into Latin script by the present author, according to the rules proposed by İsmail Parlâtır in the 9th edition of his Ottoman Turkish Dictionary,<sup>45</sup> with the addition of two symbols: ‘ğ’ for ‘غ’ and ‘ğ’ for ‘ك’ in Gen., Dat. and Imperative suffixes.

- Psalm 2, stanza 6, the 5th line: the French version reads “pay tribute to the Son,” where in both Polish and Ottoman Turkish translations it is “kiss the Son”:

Du Seigneur Dieu seruiteurs rendez-vous,  
 Craignez son ire, & luy vueillez complaire,  
 Et d'estre: luy vous resiouissez tous,  
 Ayans tousiours crainte de luy desplaire.  
**Faites hommage au Fils** qu'il vous enuoye,  
 Que courroucé ne soit amerement.  
 Afin aussi que de vie & de voye  
 Ne perissiez trop mal-heureusement.<sup>46</sup>

Służcie już Panu z tą uprzejmością,  
 Statecznie zawždy w świętych cnotach stojąc.  
 Pochutniwajcież sobie z radością,  
 Zawždy się Pana Boga swego bojąc.  
**I pocalujcie Syna** na[j]milszego,

44 J. Woronczak – K. Górski, *Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich. Projekt* (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo PAN 1955).

45 İ. Parlâtır, *Osmanlı Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 9 ed. (Ankara: Yargı Yayınevi 2017).

46 Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise*, 3.

Nie drażniąc jego zapalczywości,  
Aby nie natarł zasię na którego,  
W swej niewytrwanej ludziom srogości.<sup>47</sup>

Hak te'ālāya ibādet edün  
Takvādan serhat-ı ifāde-i edün  
**Oğlunı öpün** aña edün bey'at  
Ki incinmeye ve olmayasız zay'at  
Hem ki size pek hışım edüb ol müllāk  
Yol u izlerde olmayasız helāk  
Ne mutlu aña mütevekillere  
Ugramayalar hiç tenkillere.<sup>48</sup>

- Psalm 8, stanza 3: there is no mention of “the sun” in the French version:

Mais quand ie voy & contemple en courage  
Tes cieux qui sont de tes doigts haut ourage,  
Estoilles, lune & signes differens  
Que tu as faits & assis en leurs rengs.<sup>49</sup>

Wysokie nieba palców twych robota,  
Gwiazdy jaśniejsze niż świetny blask złota,  
**Słońce** i Miesiąc z odmienną twarzą,  
Same nie mówiąc, mnie mówić każą.<sup>50</sup>

Masnū'atın nazar edüğüm zamān  
Ki engüştlerün işleridür hemān  
Nücūm u kamer **şems** ü mu'azzam  
Mahlūkun olub durur muntazam.<sup>51</sup>

Additionally, in Psalm 8, the first stanza is repeated as the last without any changes in the lyrics in both the Polish and Ottoman Turkish versions, but not in the French version:

O Nostre Dieu & Seigneur amiable,  
Combien ton Nom est grand & admirable.  
Par tout ce val terrestre spacieux,  
Qui ta puissance ele ues fur les cieux!

O Nostre Dieu & Seigneur amiable,  
Comme à bon droit est grand & admirable.  
L'excellent bruit de ton Nom precieux  
Par tout ce val terrestre spacieux!<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Rybiński, *Psalmy Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608], 1.

<sup>48</sup> Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, 1v.

<sup>49</sup> Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise*, 13.

<sup>50</sup> Rybiński, *Psalmy Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608], 5.

<sup>51</sup> Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, 3r.

<sup>52</sup> Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise*, 12–13.

Panie, którego imię na[j]sławniejsze,  
A nade wszystko zawżdy na[j]dziwniejsze,  
Ziemia jest pełna twej wielmożności,  
Niebo nie milczy twej wszechmocności.

Ey Perverd-gârimız Hak te'âlâ  
Ne kadar mu'cib ü azîm ü a'lâ  
İsim izzetüñ bahr ü berde  
Semâ üstünde hem cem' yerde.

Panie, którego / *etc.*<sup>53</sup>

Ey Perverd-gârimız Hak te'âlâ  
Ne kadar mu'cib ü azîm ü a'lâ  
İsim izzetüñ bahr ü berde  
Semâ üstünde hem cem' yerde.<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusion

Wojciech Bobowski's output, which includes both original and translated works, can be classified into a number of branches of the Humanities: music and musicology, linguistics, translation studies, anthropology, religious studies. In the context of the period, Bobowski's writings related to religion are characterised by remarkable objectivity. He does not evaluate religions: he does not deprecate Islam and Turkish customs, and he does not elevate Christianity, as subsequent 17th- and 18th-century authors who engaged this subject would do.

From a present-day perspective, Ali Ufkî appears to be an unbiased observer of both religions, and *Mezmûriyye* should be considered one of the most remarkable expressions of his bicultural personality. Since he was born Christian, he probably understood the importance of the Book of Psalms in the daily worship practices of his contemporaries in Europe.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, as a well-educated Ottoman, he was able to adapt the meanings contained in the lyrics and in the music of the original psalms to the aesthetics of Ottoman Turkish poetry and *makam*-based art music.

In this paper, the author attempted to demonstrate the possibility that when working on *Mezmûriyye*, Ali Ufkî took inspiration from the Polish translation of the *Genevan Psalter* by Maciej Rybiński, an influential bishop of the Reformed Church in the 17th-century Rzeczpospolita. However, it is important to emphasise that this does not necessarily mean that Wojciech Bobowski was born and raised as a Protestant, as some sources indicate.<sup>56</sup>

53 Rybiński, *Psalmi Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608], 4–5.

54 Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, 3r.

55 E.R. Brink, "A Reformed Approach to Psalmody: The Legacy of the Genevan Psalter" (Calvin Institute of Christian Worship website, 10 June 2005) <https://worship.calvin.edu/resources/resource-library/a-reformed-approach-to-psalmody-the-legacy-of-the-genevan-psalter-emily-brink/> [access: 6.10.2023]; Jarczykowa, "Zalaczenia staropolskich edycji przekładów Księgi Psalmów," 47–69; Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum*, 127–128.

56 C. Rålamb, "A Relation of a Journey to Constantinople: Giving an Account of Divers Occurrences, how Far the King of Sweden's Commission was Executed There, as Also of the State of the Turkish Monarchy at that Time, Being a Report Made to the Most Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals," *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now first Printed from Original Manuscripts, Others Now First Published in English. In Six Volumes* (ed. A. Churchill) (London: Linot & Osborn 1732) V, 669–716; Aynuksa, "Ali Ufkî Bey (Wojciech Bobowski)."

If we consider the international character of the Reformation and the importance of the exchange of knowledge between Protestants regardless of their nationality,<sup>57</sup> we may assume that Levinus Warner could have contacted an intellectual of Polish origin to ask him to send Rybiński's *Psalmi Dawidowe* to him or directly to Constantinople. Bobowski may have been a Protestant before his conversion to Islam, and he may have known these psalms from his childhood in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Equally he may have been unaware of the existence of the Polish version of the Genevan Psalter before he sat down to work on its Turkish translation.

In fact, Bobowski's religious stance cannot be judged either by the fact that he arranged the Huguenot Psalter (since it was probably a commission, not a case of an "inner need" for the artist to express his suppressed religious feelings), or on the basis of his personal preferences regarding his choice of associates in Constantinople. It is true that most of his works on religion, as well as Turkish language and customs, were commissioned by intellectuals of the Reformed faith (e.g., Levinus Warner, Isaac Basire, Henry Denton), but Bobowski also worked for Muslims (including the Ottoman sultan and his officials) and for Catholics (e.g., Teofil Rutka, Robert de Dreux).

If we take into account the multicultural and multid denominational nature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, it seems that for the formation of Wojciech Bobowski's broad-minded personality, it was not really important whether he had been raised a Catholic or a Protestant. He left his homeland probably in the 1630s, before the times when the Counter-Reformation flourished in Rzeczpospolita, which finally led to the imposition of the death penalty for all Protestants by king Jan Kazimierz in 1668.<sup>58</sup> At the beginning of the 17th century, Calvinism was the third largest confession in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, after Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity. Interestingly, Lubelszczyzna (the Lublin region), where one of the branches of the *Bobowscy* family lived, was at that time an important centre of Calvinism and Arianism.<sup>59</sup> We also know that Protestant intellectuals from Lublin maintained contact with their brothers in faith living in the Netherlands.<sup>60</sup> Also, Lviv – a place where Bobovius was most probably born – often called "the Gate to the Orient" had a truly multid denominational and multiethnic character, with Christians, Jews, Karaites and Muslim Tatars working alongside each other.<sup>61</sup> A youth spent in such an environment, regardless of the faith he professed, could have led to the formation of Wojciech Bobowski's broad-minded personality, which would later also be brought to life in the work of "Ali Ufkî."

57 Bahlcke, *Kalwinizm i Jednota braci czeskich*, 9; K. Chodynicki, *Reformacja w Polsce* (Warszawa: Polska Składnica Pomocy Szkolnych 1921) 7.

58 M. Bogucka, *Dawna Polska. Narodziny, rozkwit, upadek* (Warszawa: Trio 1998) 262.

59 Chodynicki, *Reformacja w Polsce*.

60 Bahlcke, *Kalwinizm i Jednota braci czeskich*, 22.

61 A. Balcer, *Turcja, Wielki Step i Europa Środkowa* (Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury 2018); I. Chodynicki, *Historia stołecznego królestwa Galicji i Lodomerji miasta Lwowa od założenia jego aż do czasów teraźniejszych* (Lwów: Pfaff 1829).



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## Reviews





Daniela De Panfilis, *Il racconto doppio nel Libro di Samuele* (Analecta Biblica 235; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2022). Pp. 552. € 45. ISBN: 979-12-5986-007-1

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The book under review is a doctoral dissertation in biblical studies, defended at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome on 5 November 2021 and slightly revised for publication in the main text and bibliography. The research, the results of which it presents, was carried out first under the direction of Fr Prof. Stephen Pisano S.J. and, after his death, under the scientific supervision of Fr Prof. Peter Dubovský S.J. as first supervisor and Fr Prof. Dariusz Dziadosz of the Catholic University of Lublin as co-supervisor.

Appearing in the title of the dissertation, the Italian expression “il racconto doppio” literally means “a double narrative.” The subject of the research, precisely defined in chapter one, falls into a broader and more diverse category than the colloquial understanding of the modifier “double” suggests. Indeed, the phenomenon of repetition falls under a much broader concept: one of the most common ways of organising speech. The double or multiple occurrence of the same or similar elements characterises primarily poetic texts, and this stylistic device is the most typical feature of poetry alongside two of its other marks: the ambiguity of content and the imagery of language. Repetition, although less common in ordinary speech, is no stranger to literary and even utilitarian prose.

What is striking, however, is the asymmetry in the researchers’ approach to the two categories of repetition. The multiple occurrence of small elements within short stretches of speech is readily recognised and well studied. The frequency of this type of repetition and its variety attest to its use in mutual communication not only spontaneously, but intentionally. This ubiquity encourages research to discover their rhetorical and aesthetic functions. Although intensive study of these figures continues both in the wider field of literary studies and within biblical studies itself, considerable consensus has already been reached in both spheres, as evidenced by the use of research findings by both biblical and literary scholars.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Descriptions and systematisation of these speech devices are given in numerous dictionaries of literary terms and in propaedeutic studies. An example of their concise presentation can be found in the fourth chapter of Stanisław Bazyliński’s textbook (*A Guide to Biblical Research*, 2 ed. [Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2009] 157–185), which has been translated into many languages. Discussing basic literary figures, he distinguishes

The situation is different with the repetition of longer stretches of statements carrying some complete meaning within the books of the Bible or collections of its writings. In this case, there is no similarly agreed nomenclature or established typology for the double or multiple presentation of content. Where such interpretations do appear, they are not always substantiated by research leading to results backed by a similar consensus as in the case of repetitions of the first type. This paucity in studies contrasts with the need for explanations of the function and meaning of these repetitions. Indeed, even novice readers of the Bible are struck by repeated stories concerning the same or very similar events or persons. When reading the Septuagint or the Old Testament in the arrangement of books familiar to most modern editions, after reading the Second Book of Kings, which concludes with the story of the fall of the kingdom of Judah and the Babylonian exile, one will find in the First Book of Chronicles, at the beginning, the names of Adam and Seth, and texts reiterating figures and events already known. The same is true for the continuous reading of the first four books of the New Testament. It is only the prologue of the third that gives the rationale behind the re-telling of events already known from previously passed on and recorded stories. Even in the case of texts from the same author, the reason for recounting the ascension of Jesus twice at the end of the first book and at the beginning of the second may not be obvious.<sup>2</sup>

There are many more examples of repetition in the Old Testament. The books of Joshua and Judges portray the beginnings of the Israelites' time in Canaan and their entry into possession of the promised land differently. The Book of Joshua shows a military streak of success, culminating in the complete conquest of the land and the removal of the earlier inhabitants (Josh 10:40). The Book of Judges reveals from the outset the less favourable position of the Israelites, who failed against the inhabitants of Canaan (Judg 1:19–21, 27–36). Some events are repeated in the story, which seems to unfold linearly: Moses draws water out of the rock twice during the Israelites' rebellion (Exod 17:1–7; Num 20:1–13). Other stories are repeated more than twice: Abraham presents Sarah twice to the rulers of the land as his sister (Gen 12:9–20; 20:1–17); Isaac does the same with Rebekah (Gen 26:1–11). Essentially the commandments of the Decalogue are repeated as the same, albeit non-literally (Exod 20:2–17; Deut 5:6–21). The most well-known repetition is found in the first three chapters of the Bible, which speak twice of the creation of man and the subjection of part of creation to him.

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between repetitions based on sound (alliteration, assonance, paronomasia, rhyme or rhythm) and the much more numerous lexical ones (anadiplosis, anaphora, anastrophe, antimetabole, epanadiplosis, inclusion, epanorthosis, epiphora, epimone, climax, anticlimax, symploche, chiasmus and other parallelisms). Each case is illustrated with examples from the texts of Scripture, many of which are further cross-referenced with bibliographic items, and the chapter as a whole starts with an extensive bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> If one assumes that the rationale for the repetition is the importance of the event, then the question arises why the event closer to the resurrection is not recounted twice; cf. W. Wasiak, "Two Accounts – One Ascension: Luke 24:50–53 and Acts 1:9–11," *The Biblical Annals* 12/3 (2022) 370.

Where do the repetitions come from? What is their function and purpose? The answers to these questions depend on the dominant paradigms in exegesis. Repetitions are most often seen as evidence of a conflict between sources that has not been mitigated by an inattentive editor, or simply as an expression of the belief that something is worthy of re-presentation. While the former explanation proves insufficient to understand the genesis of the repeated elements, the latter is too general to convince one of the value of re-presenting events in the same macro-story.<sup>3</sup>

Daniela De Panfilis identifies the two books appearing in editions of the Bible under the name of Samuel as one. Indeed, the stories of Saul and David form a whole that is clearly distinct from what precedes and follows it. Compared to other biblical narratives, they are a fairly complete macro-story focused on these two protagonists. Probably because of this, the reader is quicker to notice the numerous repetitions in these stories: Saul's attempt on David's life (1 Sam 18:10–11; 19:9–10); the appearance at Achish of David fleeing from Saul (1 Sam 21:11–16; 27:1–28:2; 29:1–11); the sparing of the king's life by the pursuer (1 Sam 24; 26); David's appearance as a stranger before Saul (1 Sam 16:14–23; 17:55–18:5). An attentive reader will also recognise the inconsistencies in the linear development of the story of Saul, who, despite his double rejection by God as king (1 Sam 13:3–15; 15:1–35) is still victorious (1 Sam 14:47–48) and in power until his death (1 Sam 31:1–6). The introduction to the monograph gives a convincing rationale, although it also recognises it as subjective, for the delimitation of the macro-story framed at the beginning by Saul's election as king (1 Sam 9) and at the end by the news of Absalom's death (2 Sam 19).

The essential body of the dissertation consists of two parts. The first presents theoretical reflections on the phenomenon of double narratives (pp. 29–84). It is supported by the much more extensive second part, which consists of analyses of texts belonging to this category (pp. 85–478).

The first chapter of the theoretical part, which builds on the earlier analyses contained in the second part, describes – also by giving examples – six characteristics of a double narrative. A double narrative consists of exactly two elements, which are short stories. Such linked narratives feature the same protagonist and deuteragonist (or antagonist). They share the same theme or motif. They do not presuppose each other in the sense that one would be necessary as an anticipation or continuation of the other. Linked to this two-sided independence is a fifth feature, which is the sheer superfluity of repetition for the development of the plot in the macro-story. The final feature necessary for narratives to be considered

3 In the case of the repeated stories about the wives of the patriarchs, the stories in chapters 12 and 26 were considered to come from the J source, while a variant of the story in chapter 20 from the E source. As this hypothesis further fails to explain the genesis of the repetitions in J, further divisions were introduced within this source; cf. R.S. Briggs, "The Theological Function of Repetition in the Old Testament Canon," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 28 (2006) 95–96. The fact that the sheer importance of a story as a reason for its repetition is an unpersuasive argument is evidenced by the once very popular edition of the abridged Bible, which omits such repetition of stories: B.M. Metzger (ed.), *Reader's Digest Bible. Condensed from the Revised Standard Version Old and New Testaments* (Pleasantville, NY: Readers' Digest Association 1982); cf. G.J.R. Kent, *Say It Again, Sam. A Literary and Filmic Study of Narrative Repetition in 1 Samuel* 28 (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press 2012) 2.

double is their occurrence in the same macro-story. Chapter two provides the distinctions between the components of double narratives in relation to the macro-story. The primary story presents elements essential to the development of the plot in the macro-story, whereas the secondary story does not have such necessary elements. However, the omission of this second story would impoverish the whole in terms of not only aesthetics, but also communication and interpretation. The third chapter presents the typology of a double narrative, which is derived from analyses of the Book of Samuel, distinguishing between doubled, combined, extended and reduced narratives.

Part two of the book, entitled “Analysis,” consists of 21 chapters. The sheer number of texts, their varying length and the inclusion in the titles of the relationships between them show the complexity of the problem. For this reason, it is worth listing them all here: 1. Saul, God’s chosen one (1 Sam 9:3–10:16 and 10:17–27); 2. The lost donkeys and the anointing of Saul (1 Sam 9:3–10:16); 3. Saul and the Spirit (1 Sam 10:10–12 and 19:18–24); 4. The congregation at Mizpah (1 Sam 10:17–27); 5. The rejection of Saul (1 Sam 13:3–15 and 15:1–35); 6. David in the court of Saul (1 Sam 16:14–23 and 17:55–18:5); 7. The covenant between Jonathan and David (1 Sam 18:1b–34 and 23:16–18); 8. Assassination with a spear (1 Sam 18:10–11 and 19:9–10); 9. David son-in-law of Saul (1 Sam 18:17–19 and 18:22–27); 10. Jonathan between David and Saul (1 Sam 19:1–7 and 20:30–33); 11. Michal between David and Saul (1 Sam 19:11–17); 12. Saul deceived by his children (1 Sam 19:11–17 and 20:1–21:1); 13. David and Achish of Gath (1 Sam 21:11–16 and 27:1–28:2; 29:1–11); 14. David escapes Saul’s pursuit (1 Sam 23:7–13 and 23:25–28); 15. The denunciation of the Ziphites (1 Sam 23:19<sup>aa</sup> and 26:1); 16. Life spared (1 Sam 24 and 26); 17. Samuel’s death (1 Sam 25:1a and 28:3a); 18. Saul’s death (1 Sam 31:1–6 and 2 Sam 1:5–10); 19. David king of Israel (2 Sam 5:1–5); 20. The beginning of Absalom’s rebellion (2 Sam 15:1–6 and 15:7–12); 21. The two messengers (2 Sam 18:19–19:1).

Finally, two important points about the key strengths of the study as a whole. One is related to its structure, the main parts of which are arranged exactly inversely to the research stages (p. 25). This gives the reader the opportunity to verify the theory concerning the existence of double narratives on the basis of meticulous and consistent analyses of biblical texts according to the principles of the diachronic and synchronic approach.

The second point is also a strong recommendation. The book is an excellent example of a way of interpreting a text that is defined by the principle of the hermeneutic circle. The order adopted in the book helps to make fuller use of the analyses in the second part. Although the analyses of the biblical texts contained in the second part have served the author to justify the theoretical considerations and allow readers to verify the proposed theory, by placing these considerations in the first part, the correct approach to the phenomenon of the double narrative is delineated from the outset. This opens up possibilities both for a more in-depth reading of the texts analysed in the book, and for extending it to texts outside the macro-story under study. This first part can serve as a textbook for those who are interested in repeated stories in the Bible, which demonstrates the enduring value of the monograph under review.

Jean-Sébastien Rey – Martin Staszak (eds.), *Hokhmat Sopher. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Émile Puech en l'honneur de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire* (Etudes bibliques NS 88; Leuven: Peeters 2021). Pp. 408. ISBN 978-90-429-4575-3

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Etudes bibliques is an impactful series of publications; it was initiated in the early 20th century by the founder of the Biblical School of Jerusalem, Marie-Joseph Lagrange OP, for publishing Catholic biblical commentaries. For the past forty years, the formula of this series has been extended to include all biblical monographs. Among the most recent contributions, let us draw attention to two titles related to Polish biblical studies.

*Hokhmat Sopher* (Wisdom of the Scribe) is the title of a memorial book published in honour of Professor Émile Puech on the occasion of his 80th birthday. It contains 21 works by fellow scholars and disciples of the Professor, an outstanding expert in Semitic philology and epigraphy, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls. It would be impossible to comment here on the content of the extensive volume; therefore, I will only mention the names of its co-authors and the titles of their studies to eventually introduce readers to two studies by Polish biblical scholars.

The book has been arranged in alphabetical order by contributor name; next to each name I provide the title of the article and the pages on which their publications can be found. Here are the contents of the entire volume: Johathan Ben-Dov, “Lexical Notes on *Musar Lamevin*” (3–16); Devorah Dimant, “The ‘Peshar on the Periods’ (4Q180): New Readings and Perspectives” (17–49); Henryk Drawnel, “An Inquiry into the Work of the Heaven and Earth. A Literary Study of the Aramaic Text of 1 En. 2:1–5:2” (51–75); Jan Dušek, “Où doit-on capturer les fugitifs? Une nouvelle lecture de Sfiré III,6” (77–82); Anthony Giambrone, “The Meaning of חסד קה in 4Q521: A Neglected Element of Apocalyptic Messianism” (83–101); Maurice Gilbert, “Quel est le sens de Πᾶσα σοφία en *Siracide* 1,1a? Notes philologiques et exégétiques” (103–114); Charlotte Hempel, “A Tale of Two Scribes: Encounters with an Avant-Garde Manuscript of the Community Rules (4Q259)” (115–128); Corrad Martone, “Luce e sacerdozio in un Frammento di Qumran non identificato” (129–139); Noam Mizrahi, “Saturation, that is, Drunkenness: The Interpretation of 1QpHab 11:8–16 and its Linguistic Background” (141–154); Carol A. Newsom, “Of Pots and Impurity in the Hodayot” (155–167); Étienne Nodet, “Josèphe



e l'histoire de David. Quelles sources?" (169–188); Dennis Pardee, "Comment dit-on « Ba'lu 'Ugārit » en Hourrite? Histoire d'un joint malvenu de deux fragments de tablettes découverts à Ras Shamra en 1929" (189–221); Massimo Pazzini, "Nuvola di Fango' oppure 'pegno'? Una pseudo-variante di Ab 2,6" (223–225); Łukasz Popko, "I Have Engraved You on the Palms of Hands. Isa 49:16" (227–248); Bezalel Porten, "Six Lists in Aramaic Ostraca from Elephantine" (249–252); Matthieu Richelle, "Message on a Bottle: The Tell Siran Inscription Revisited" (253–268); Bernd U. Schipper, "Late Egyptian Wisdom and the Composition of Proverbs 10:1–15:33" (269–283); Annette Steudel, "A Sons of Light Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran" (285–291); Paul Tavadon, "Un complexe scientifique à Qumran. Le disque de pierre, les clepsydres et les *mišmarot*" (293–334); Eibert Tigchelaar, "Notes on Two Masada Manuscripts: Mas1 (MasGen) and Mas1f (MasPs<sup>b</sup>)" (335–346); James C. VanderKam, "The Chronology of Jacob's Life in Jubilees and Related Sources" (347–359).

A comprehensive list of É. Puech's scholarly works is provided at the end of the book (pp. 361–405); it includes 700 titles published up to 2022 and several dozen more awaiting print. It is evident from this list that the distinguished Jubilarian, despite his impaired eyesight, continues his intense work on ancient texts. Concluding the description of this voluminous publication, it is worth noting the contribution of Polish biblical scholars of world renown. They are, besides the co-editor of the book (Martin Staszczak OP), two disciples of Fr E. Puech: Henryk Drawnel SDB and Łukasz Popko OP.

The Salesian scholar from the Catholic University of Lublin, H. Drawnel, shares an insight into the particulars of his research work since the beginning of his scholarly career. He refers to the Aramaic texts of the books of Enoch found in Qumran Cave 4. One should mention here that he has prepared a critical edition of these manuscripts (Oxford 2011 and 2019) and analysed them in numerous publications. In the presented study, he has addressed the literary structure and genre of the initial pericope of the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 2:1–5:2). After careful analysis, he concludes that it is a speech inviting the hearers to gain deeper insight into the creative work of God. The regular cycle of atmospheric phenomena in the heavens and on the earth leads to the recognition of the eternally living God as their Creator. The rational acceptance of this theological truth comes from observing the signs that are manifested in nature. The inclusio that encloses the entire Book of the Watchers are the invitations to contemplate the work of creation. The final chapters of this book (1 En. 34–36) return to this central thought. There, Enoch conveys the principles of astronomy based on the observation of the horizon line at which the sky and earth meet. Thus, this patriarch becomes the ideal model of an astronomer who acquires knowledge that surpasses human comprehension.

The contribution prepared by the Dominican Ł. Popko of the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem is centred around a remarkable biblical phrase attributed to God. Announcing Israel's return from exile, the prophet addresses Zion with the assurance: "Behold, I have engraved you on the palms of my hands" (Isa 49:16). In the light of the Middle Eastern inscriptions available today, this metaphor takes on

a profound meaning. The verb *chaqaq*, “to engrave,” evokes the idea of God as the “lawgiver (*mechoqeq*) of Israel.” The tablets of the covenant on which God had engraved the words of the Decalogue with His own hands have, however, been destroyed as a result of Israel’s sin. Now it is God Himself who announces that He will write the name of Zion on His palms. Since the Jerusalem temple was destroyed, God Himself will inscribe a votive inscription on His own body, taking over the function of the temple. Confirmation of this profound prophetic intuition can be found in the scene of the encounter between the risen Jesus and Thomas (John 20:25–27).

Finally, emphasis should be placed on the careful editing of this volume, which is a form of commemoration of a great scholar who has been associated for many years with the Dominican École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem. It is employees of this school to whom we owe the presented publication. Its substantive value fully deserves the reader’s appreciation. Valuable contributions from a variety of fields of ancient epigraphy can be found in it, ranging from Ugaritic tablets to mathematical works from Qumran. The wide range of topics covered in the memorial book fully corresponds to the diversity of issues addressed in the course of the Rev. Professor Émile Puech’s scholarly studies.

