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## Articles




## Foreign Women Transforming Elijah into the Prophet of the Lord (1 Kgs 17–19)

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper analyses the different versions of the Elijah cycle (1 Kgs 17–19) as witnessed, in particular, in the Masoretic text (MT), the Codex Vaticanus (G<sup>B</sup>), the Codex Alexandrinus (G<sup>A</sup>), and the Antiochian text (G<sup>Ant.</sup>). The comparison of the manuscripts shows that the MT adds and omits certain words and expressions. The author explored whether the additions and omissions are scribal mistakes or rather an intentional redactional intervention. Arguing for the latter, the author proposes that the MT presents not only the great deeds of the great prophet Elijah but also how Elijah became such a great prophet. Based on this analysis, the author proposes five stages of Elijah's formation process: 1. the transformation of a man into a listener (1 Kgs 17:2–6); 2. Elijah's transformation into a man of God's word (the Cherith episode and the Zarephath episode in 17:7–16); 3. the transformation from a man of God's word into a man of God (the resuscitation of the dead son in 17:17–24); 4. the transformation from a man of God into a prophet (the Carmel episode 18:1–40); 5. the transformation of a zealous prophet into a man standing before the Lord (19:1–18).

**KEYWORDS:** Elijah, formation, prophet, narrative analysis, textual-criticism, 1 Kings 17–19.

It is generally agreed that the Elijah-Elisha cycle went through multiple redactions and changes over centuries, even though scholars heatedly debate and disagree on the dating of particular passages. Despite inconclusive scholarly conclusions, a consensus among scholars can be noticed. Above all, it is agreed that the Elijah-Elisha cycle sprang out of oral tradition. Relying on Alexander Rofé's revised volume<sup>1</sup> we can assume that short stories about prophets' miracles, such as those included in 2 Kgs 4, circulated independently. These originally independent stories were later turned into biographies. The final stage of this editorial process represented the insertion of parts of biographies into the Books of Kings, in particular, into the Ahab-Joash narrative (1 Kgs 16 – 2 Kgs 13). The insertion of these stories

<sup>1</sup> A. Rofé, *Storie di profeti. La narrativa sui profeti nella Bibbia Ebraica, generi letterari e storia* (Biblioteca di storia e storiografia dei tempi biblici 8; Brescia: Paideia 1991). For other studies see R. Smend, "Das Wort Jahwes an Elia," *VT* 25/3 (1975) 525–543; S. Otto, "The Composition of the Elijah-Elisha Stories and the Deuteronomistic History," *JSOT* 27 (2003) 487–508; E. Bock, *Kings and Prophets. Saul, David, Solomon, Elijah, Jonah, Isaiah, Jeremiah*, 2 ed. (Edinburg: Floris Books 2006); S.L. McKenzie, "'My God Is Yhwh': The Composition of the Elijah Story in 1–2 Kings," *Congress Volume Munich 2013* (ed. C.M. Maier) (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2014) 92–110.

into the Books of Kings, however, varies according to textual editions and manuscripts. Thus, for example, the death of Elijah is inserted in chapter 10 (*Vetus Latina*)<sup>2</sup> or chapter 13 of 2 Kgs in Hebrew. Similarly, the story of Naboth's vineyard is included in chapter 21 in Hebrew or chapter 20<sup>3</sup> of 3 Kingdoms.

Although it has been reasonably concluded that some differences among the manuscripts represent scribal mistakes, the composition of the Elijah-Elisha cycles, the wording of single passages, and the additions and omissions of some words in Greek and Hebrew add nuance to the respective textual tradition. This paper focuses on presenting Elijah in the Books of Kings and comparing different textual traditions in the Masoretic text (MT), the Codex Vaticanus (G<sup>B</sup>), the Codex Alexandrinus (G<sup>A</sup>), and the Antiochian text (G<sup>Antc</sup>). I argue that the Greek versions present Elijah's deeds in 3 Kgs 17–19 as the deeds of a great prophet who unexpectedly appeared on the stage. In contrast, the MT underlines the formation of Elijah, his development as the man of God, and finally his transition into a prophet of the Lord who stands before the Lord. Two foreign women played a crucial role in this process – the poor widow of Zarephath and the Phoenician queen Jezebel.<sup>4</sup> As a result of these reflections, I suggest that the MT version of the Elijah cycle implies that an encounter with foreigners was an inseparable part of Elijah's formation process. This conclusion has, however, wider implications. Since Elijah was considered a prototype of prophets, we can rightly conclude that the MT reworking of the Elijah cycle intended to paradigmatic phases in the formation of any prophet. Consequently, the encounter with a foreigner represents an important part of the prophetic formation. This concept is excellently expressed by Stephanie Wyatt:

Through a reframed process of comparison and contrast, the text's presentation of foreign women becomes more complex, pro-YHWH and anti-YHWH stances are muddled, and Elijah's own status as an Israelite "insider" comes under scrutiny. What is normally holy becomes strange and what is strange becomes holy.<sup>5</sup>

If we translate this proposal into narratological terms, we can suggest that Elijah represents a "round" hero, contrary to other prophets who appear as "flat" heroes in the Books of Kings, such as Nathan, Ahijah, Jehu, and Isaiah.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the character of Elijah

2 J.C. Trebolle Barrera – P. Torijano Morales – A. Piquer Otero, "The Septuagint's Faculty of Putting Things in Their Right Place: Challenges of a Critical Edition of IV Kingdoms / II Kings 10. 30–31; 13. 14–21," *New Avenues in Biblical Exegesis in Light of the Septuagint* (eds. L. Pessoa Da Silva Pinto – D. Scialabba) (The Septuagint in Its Ancient Context 1; Turnhout: Brepols 2022) 71–91.

3 D.W. Gooding, "Ahab according to the Septuagint," *ZAW* 76/3 (1964) 270; S.L. McKenzie, *1 Kings 16 – 2 Kings 16* (IECOT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2019) 179.

4 This confrontation could have symbolic meaning: "the narrative presentation of Jezebel, Elijah, and the Widow of Zarephath exemplifies Israel's struggle to define its own identity and the identity of those who it might perceive as threats to its wellbeing." S. Wyatt, "Jezebel, Elijah, and the Widow of Zarephath: A Ménage à Trois That Estranges the Holy and Makes the Holy the Strange," *JSOT* 36/4 (2012) 436.

5 Wyatt, "Jezebel," 438.

6 J.L. Ska, "Our Fathers Have Told Us." *Introduction to the Analysis of Hebrew Narratives* (SubBi 13; Roma: Pontificio Instituto Biblico 1990) 84–85.

in the MT develops as the narrative unfolds: he passes through ups and downs, changes his relations with the king and God and his ways of speaking and acting; even his inner world changes.

## 1. Titles Given to Elijah

To achieve this goal, let us first examine the occurrences of the term “prophet” in the MT and in the Greek manuscripts. The G<sup>B,A</sup> employ the term “prophet” in v. 17:1.<sup>7</sup> Thus, Elijah, like other prophets in the Books of Kings,<sup>8</sup> enters the stage as a prophet who boldly proclaims the words of God. Therefore, I suggest that the G<sup>B,A</sup> present all the deeds of Elijah, including chapters 17–19, as those of the prophet Elijah. The goal of these chapters is to illustrate how a great prophet should speak and act.

On the contrary, the MT and the G<sup>Ant.</sup> omit the term “prophet” in 17:1, and the MT employs this term only in chapter 18. Thus, Elijah refers to himself using this term during the confrontation with the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18:22<sup>9</sup>) The narrator confirms Elijah’s claim to be a prophet of the Lord in his comment in 1 Kgs 18:36: “At the time of the offering of (the meal) sacrifice, Elijah, the prophet, came near and said [...]”<sup>10</sup> A comparison of the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts shows that the term “prophet” in 18:36 is present only in the MT but is missing in all other manuscripts. The omission of the term “prophet” in 17:1 and its insertion in 18:36 in the MT cannot be considered a scribal mistake but rather a deliberate choice of the scribes behind the MT. This scribal choice must have the specific goal of showing how Elijah became the prophet and what he had to go through in order to become the model prophet.<sup>11</sup>

The suggestion that the MT presents Elijah in a slightly different way is supported by another omission as well. Following the introductory title (17:1), the MT refers to Elijah exclusively using personal pronouns (17:2–7), whereas all other versions use his proper name (3 Kgs<sup>A</sup> 17:2, 5<sup>12</sup>). “Elijah” appears in the MT only in 17:8 (the widow of Zarephath episode). The importance of the proper name is emphasized by the MT addition in 17:15 (“according to the word of Elijah”) which is absent in all Greek manuscripts. The concentration of the proper name in the widow of Zarephath episode and its complete absence in the Cherith episode in the MT also suggest that this is not a simple scribal mistake but rather an intentional omission and addition.

<sup>7</sup> J.T. Dennison, “Elijah the Tishbite: A Note on I Kings 17:1,” *WTJ* 41/1 (1978) 124–126.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Nathan in 1 Kgs 1:8, Ahijah in 1 Kgs 14:2, Jehu in 1 Kgs 16:7, Micaiah in 1 Kgs 22:13–28, Jonah in 2 Kgs 14:25, Isaiah in 2 Kgs 19:2.

<sup>9</sup> This reference appears in all manuscripts.

<sup>10</sup> The parts in italics are omitted in the G<sup>B,Ant,A</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Elijah was considered not only the prototype of prophets but also as the prototype of religious life. F. Ribot – R. Copey, *The Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites* (Early Carmelite Spirituality 1; Faversham: Saint Albert’s Press 2005) 76–55.

<sup>12</sup> The G<sup>A</sup> omits the proper name in verse 17:5, thus confirming the wording of the MT.

Finally, an examination of chapters 17–19 shows that Elijah is also given other titles. First, in v 17:1, all the manuscripts denote him as “the Tishbite, (who was) from among the inhabitants of Gilead” (MT; cf. also G<sup>B, Ant., A</sup>). This title concerns his origin. The second title was given to Elijah by the foreign woman, who calls him “the man of God” (1 Kgs 17:18, 24). Finally, Elijah characterized himself as “the zealous (one)” who had received a special mission from the Lord (1 Kgs 19:9–18).

Considering the titles given to Elijah, as well as several studies regarding the structure of chapters 17–19,<sup>13</sup> we can point out the phases of Elijah’s formation in the MT. First, the MT narrator characterized him as “the Tishbite, (who was) from among the inhabitants of Gilead” (1 Kgs 17:1 in the MT). The woman in Zarephath characterized him as the man of God (1 Kgs 18:18, 24). Only in the confrontation with Ahab and Jezebel does Elijah become a zealous prophet whom God granted authority to transmit his prophetic power to Elisha through the ritual of anointing.

There are other indicators besides the titles that point to the process of gradual development of the hero Elijah. 1 Kgs 17–19 refers to specific geography since it describes a unique location (Zarephath in 1 Kgs 17:9–10). Some general references are also included in other parts of 1–2 Kgs (Sidon, Samaria, Jezreel, Carmel, Horeb, etc.).<sup>14</sup> The scribes allow Elijah to move from one place to the other, presenting him as an itinerant prophet. His movements are often charged with specific meaning, particularly when Elijah stops moving (1 Kgs 17:5, 10) or starts to move vertically (1 Kgs 17:19, 23; 18:20, 42; 19:9). The change in Elijah’s movements underlines the importance of the given passage. Indeed, I argue that the changes in Elijah’s movements correspond to the crucial moments in his formation.<sup>15</sup>

Putting all these elements together, I propose five transformative moments of the hero Elijah in the MT:

1. the transformation of a man into a listener (17:2–6);
2. Elijah’s transformation into a man of God’s word (the Cherith episode and the Zarephath episode in 17:7–16);
3. the transformation of a man of God’s word into a man of God (the resuscitation of the dead son in 17:17–24);
4. the transformation of a man of God into a prophet (the Carmel episode 18:1–40);
5. the transformation of a zealous prophet into a man who stands before the Lord (19:1–18).

13 See for example J.T. Walsh – D.W. Cotter, *1 Kings* (Berit Olam. Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1996) 225–289.

14 For more details, see E.A. Knauf, *1 Könige 15–22* (HtHKAT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2019) 181–182.

15 For a similar endeavor from the psychological viewpoint, see A. Wiener, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development of Judaism. A Depth-Psychological Study* (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization; London – Boston, MA: Routledge & Paul 1978). For a literary standpoint, see R.L. Heller, *The Characters of Elijah and Elisha and the Deuteronomic Evaluation of Prophecy. Miracles and Manipulation* (LHBOTS 671; London – New Delhi: Bloomsbury 2018).

An attentive reading of chapters 1 Kgs 17–19 shows that two foreign women, the poor widow of Zarephath and Queen Jezebel, played a crucial role in Elijah's transformative process. I will focus on the role of these two women in Elijah's transformation.

## 2. A Man Who Listens

Most scholars agree on the division of chapter 17 into three episodes: I. the Cherith episode (1 Kgs 17:2–6), transition (17:7), II. the widow of Zarephath episode (17:8–16), and III. the resuscitation of the dead son (17:17–24).<sup>16</sup> While the first two episodes are closely related, both linguistically and structurally (see below), the third one features several new elements.<sup>17</sup> The division of the chapter into three parts is also supported by the analysis of Elijah's movements, which are correlated with the main theme of the passages. Elijah first travels to the brook of Cherith, where he stops and dwells, which signals that the reader should pay particular attention to what Elijah learned in solitude.

As noted above, the MT avoids using the proper name "Elijah" in 17:2–6, while the Greek manuscripts do use it. The MT inserts the proper name "Elijah" three times in 17:7–16. The choice of the MT scribes to omit the proper name in the first episode and to multiply it in the second episode is not reflected in the Greek texts that use the proper name in both episodes. The omission of the proper name in the first episode can be considered a scribal mistake but it also may point to the scribes' intention not to use the proper name in the first episode. If this hypothesis is correct, then it can be suggested that the first phase of Elijah's formation transformed him into a man whose theophoric name assumes its full meaning  $\text{יְהוֹאֵלִיָּהוּ}$  during the second episode.<sup>18</sup>

While dwelling at the brook of Cherith, Elijah received commands directly from God (1 Kgs 17:2–6). The episode is presented in the literary form: command<sup>19</sup> – execution<sup>20</sup> – fulfilment.<sup>21</sup> The narrators report only the speeches made by God. Elijah neither responds

<sup>16</sup> S.J. DeVries, *1 Kings*, 2 ed. (WBC 12; Nashville, TN: Nelson 2003) 215; Knauf, *1 Könige 15–22*, 181.

<sup>17</sup> E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1. Kön. 17 – 2. Kön. 25* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1984) II, 398.

<sup>18</sup> The meaning of the theophoric names see J.D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew. A Comparative Study* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic 1988); T.R. Moore, "Any as an Element in Theophoric Names," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 33 (1996) 139–152; H. Haber, "Theophoric Names in the Bible," *JBQ* 29/1 (2001) 56–59; B.A. Mastin, "The Theophoric Elements Yw and Yhw in Proper Names in Eight-Century Hebrew Inscriptions and the Proper Names at Kuntillet 'Ajrud," *ZAH* 17 (2004) 109–135; K. van der Toorn, "Ancestors and Anthroponyms: Kinship Terms as Theophoric Elements in Hebrew Names," *ZAW* 108/1 (2009) 1–11.

<sup>19</sup> "The word came to him saying: <sup>3</sup>Go from here and you should turn eastward, hide yourself in the wadi Cherit, which is opposite the Jordan, <sup>4</sup>and you will be drinking from the wadi, and as for the ravens I have commanded (them) to feed you there." (1 Kgs 17:2–3).

<sup>20</sup> "He went and did according to the word of the Lord. He indeed went and dwelled in the wadi Cherit, which is opposite the Jordan." (1 Kgs 17:5).

<sup>21</sup> "And as for the ravens, (they) were bringing him food and meat in the morning and food and meat in the evening and he kept drinking from the wadi." (1 Kgs 17:6).

nor objects to God's commands but does as he is told. Thanks to his complete submission to God's word, Elijah experienced God's supreme power over nature. Multiple intertextual links add another interpretative layer to this episode. To be nourished by God echoes God's taking care of Jacob's family (the *pilpel* form of כָּלֵל occurs in Gen 45:11) and the miracles God performed for the Israelites while they were wandering in the desert (Exod 16); to go towards the east reminds us of the wisdom of Solomon (1 Kgs 4:29–34), while the ravens are a sign of beauty and hope (Gen 8:6–7; Song 5:11; Job 38:39–41).

In sum, the first episode represents a passive phase of Elijah's formation in which he is asked to listen to and obey the word of God. The importance of the passive phase is underlined by his horizontal movement to a place of repose at the brook of Cherith. The intertextual links interwoven into the description of the command-fulfilment model suggest that Elijah went through the same kinds of formative experiences as the early Israelites.

### 3. Elijah, a Man of God's Word

Moving from one place to another signals a shift in the narrative. The movements of the second episode copy those of the first episode. After receiving the command from the Lord, Elijah moves horizontally – from Cherith to Zarephath – and then stops there. The similarity implies that the first and the second episodes are analogous. This proposal can be further confirmed by the analysis of the content of these passages.

The second scene introduces the crisis that challenges both God and Elijah. Verse 17:7 challenges God's promise since there was no longer water in the brook of Cherith despite God's promise that water would be provided for Elijah. However, the lack of water was due to Elijah's oath: "By the life of the Lord, God of Israel, before whom I stand, [I swear that,] if there is any dew or rain these years except by my word[, may I be cursed]." (17:1).<sup>22</sup> If there had been any rain or dew to replenish the brook, then Elijah would have died as a consequence of his oath. Here, two words of God collide: the word of God uttered through Elijah in his oath (17:1) and God's promise given to Elijah (17:2–3).

God's solution to this crisis<sup>23</sup> causes a new crisis in Elijah's principles. He had to go the land of Sidonians, from which his archenemy Jezebel came (1 Kgs 16:31). As a man who had learned to listen to God at the brook of Cherith, Elijah obeys as he had in the first episode. Elijah's obedience is expressed narratively by repeating the vocabulary of the first episode (in italics).

22 The translation of the oath formula is based on B. Conklin, *Oath Formulas in Biblical Hebrew* (LSAWS 5; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2011) 39–40.

23 <sup>28</sup>"And the *word* of the Lord came to Elijah *saying*: <sup>29</sup>Arise and go to Zarephath *that belongs to Sidon and dwell there*. Behold I have commanded there a woman, a widow, to feed you." (1 Kgs 17:8–9).



	1 Kgs 17:2–6	1 Kgs 17:7–10
Transition		<sup>7</sup> Indeed at the end of (some) days the wadi dried up, because there was no rain in the land.
Introductory formula	<sup>2</sup> <i>The word came to him saying:</i>	<sup>8</sup> And <i>the word of the Lord came to Elijah saying:</i>
Command: - place - way of living there - sustenance	<sup>3</sup> <i>Go</i> from here and you should turn eastward, hide yourself in the wadi Cherit, which is opposite the Jordan, <sup>4</sup> and you will be drinking from the wadi, and as for the ravens <i>I have commanded</i> (them) <i>to feed you</i> there.”	<sup>9</sup> Arise and go to Zarephath that belongs to Sidon and dwell there.  Behold <i>I have commanded</i> there a woman, a widow, <i>to feed you.</i> ”
Execution	<sup>5</sup> He <i>went</i> and did according to the word of the Lord. He indeed <i>went</i> and dwelled in the wadi Cherit, which is opposite the Jordan.	<sup>10</sup> Then he arose and <i>went</i> to Zarephath and came to the gateway of the city
Fulfilment	<sup>6</sup> And as for the ravens, (they) were bringing him food and meat in the morning and food and meat in the evening and he kept drinking from the wadi.	and behold there was a woman, a widow, gathering wood.

The table demonstrates that the command-execution-fulfilment pattern in 1 Kgs 17:7–10 follows the Cherith model (1 Kgs 17:2–6). However, the subject uttering the direct speech and the subject receiving the command changed (God–Elijah; Elijah–widow). This shift indicates that Elijah transitions from the passive phase to the active one as he now gives orders to the widow. Hence, a substantial change in the formation of Elijah as a man of God’s word takes place in his encounter with the poor widow of Zarephath. The way Elijah addresses the woman echoes the way God addressed Elijah. Elijah puts into practice what he had learned from God at the brook of Cherith. He gives commands twice to the widow, just as God did to him,<sup>24</sup> and the foreign widow acts as Elijah acted. This seems to resolve the crisis presented in v. 7 since the water promised by God will be provided by the widow.

A new element of the crisis is introduced by the widow’s reply. While the first part of God’s promise is fulfilled, the second part poses another difficulty. The widow can provide

24 “First command: And he called to her and said: ‘Please bring me a little water in a vessel so I can drink.’” (1 Kgs 17:10b).

“Second command: and he called to her and said: ‘Please bring me a morsel of bread in your hand.’” (1 Kgs 17:11b).

water, but she cannot provide the food promised by God. To make it clear, she recurs to an oath similar to Elijah's in 17:1.

Elijah's oath (1 Kgs 17:1)	Widow's oath (1 Kgs 17:12a)
Elijah, the Tishbite, (who was) from among the inhabitants of Gilead, said to Ahab:	<sup>12</sup> Then she said:
"By the life of the Lord, God of Israel, before whom I stand,	"By the life of the Lord, your God,
[I swear that,]	[I swear that,]
if there is any dew or rain these years except by my word	if I have anything baked, except of a handful of flour in the jar and a little oil in the flask
[, may I be cursed]."	[, may I be cursed]."

Thus, the widow disputes Elijah's command, and consequently God's promise, not because of a lack of good will but because of the oath that Elijah made in 17:1. The drought has left her with practically nothing to eat. Now two oaths conflict, and consequently, God's promise is undermined.

The widow's oath forces Elijah to employ another type of prophetic speech that he had not used before. He pronounces an oracle, as other prophets had done in the Books of Kings.<sup>25</sup> This authoritative speech counters the widow's oath and becomes an inseparable part of Elijah's speeches later on (1 Kgs 21:19; 2 Kgs 1:4, 6, 16). Following the crisis introduced into the narrative by the widow's oath, the tension is resolved by a type of prophetic speech that is new for Elijah. Only then does the narrative return to the command-execution-fulfilment pattern.

In sum, Elijah's encounter with the foreign widow, the woman from the Sidon region that the narrator condemned in 1 Kgs 16:31, forces Elijah to transition from the passive to the active phase and thus to apply what he had learned in solitude with God at the brook Cherith. However, the widow's oath triggers a new dynamic that urges Elijah to employ a new type of speech: a speech pattern that was typical for prophets in the Books of Kings, i.e. the oracle "Thus said the Lord." This type of oracle speech becomes an inseparable part of Elijah's later prophecies. In other words, it was thanks to Elijah's encounter with the foreign woman that Elijah was able to become the man of God's word.

<sup>25</sup> Thus, Ahijah (1 Kgs 11:31; 12:24; 14:7), a man of God from Judah (1 Kgs 13:2, 21), a prophet (1 Kgs 20:13, 14, 42), Zedekiah (1 Kgs 22:11), Elisha (2 Kgs 2:21; 3:16–17; 4:43; 7:1; 9:3), Elisha's disciple (2 Kgs 9:6, 12), Isaiah (2 Kgs 19:6, 20, 32; 20:1, 5), prophets in general (2 Kgs 21:12), Hulda (2 Kgs 22:15–18).

#### 4. Elijah the Man of God

After arriving at Zarephath, Elijah stops moving horizontally. In the third episode, Elijah ascends and descends (1 Kgs 17:19, 23). The shift from horizontal to vertical movement symbolizes a new phase in Elijah's development.

The importance of this moment in Elijah's life is further evidenced by a new title that the widow gives to him – the man of God (1 Kgs 17:18 and 24). While this title is used as a synonym for the term prophet and seer in 1 Samuel 9, the MT version of the Books of Kings gives it a specific nuance. Before Elijah, this title was reserved for the southerners called by God for a specific mission.<sup>26</sup> After Elijah, "man of God" is attributed exclusively to Elisha and becomes his title par excellence.<sup>27</sup> The specific use of this title in the MT version of the Book of Kings suggests that this title is particularly linked with the miraculous activities of Elisha and with the southern tradition. The attribution of this title to Elijah confirms this pattern. Elijah becomes a miracle worker like Elisha.<sup>28</sup> In sum, the last episode (1 Kgs 17:17–24) describes how the foreign woman challenged Elijah – the man of God's word – and how Elijah assumes a new title – the man of God.

From the historical-critical viewpoint, this episode was originally separate from scenes I and II (1 Kgs 17:2–16);<sup>29</sup> however, the redactors who edited the Elijah cycle created several narrative links that connect the woman in 1 Kgs 17:17 with the widow of Zarephath.<sup>30</sup> The widow caused the transition of Elijah from "the man of God's word" to "the man of God." Although the woman called Elijah the man of God when addressing him, she accused him of causing the death of her son. At the end of the story, the woman reaffirmed that Elijah was indeed the man of God because he had raised her son from the dead. In order to perform this miracle, Elijah had to change radically his words and gestures. This shift is signalled by the change in the direction of Elijah's movements. Elijah stopped moving horizontally and started moving vertically, into the upper room (17:19). In other words, in order to reach this new phase of relationship with God, Elijah has to ascend. Moreover, Elijah stops speaking to people and starts to speak with God for the first time. Elijah no longer uses command-like speech or oracle-like prophecies – his speech becomes a prayer.

26 Thus, Shamaiah in 1 Kgs 12:22 and the man of God from Judah in 1 Kgs 13 and in 2 Kgs 23:16–17.

27 It appears nine times in 2 Kgs 4, four times in each chapter of 2 Kgs 5–8, and once in 2 Kgs 13.

28 Fire miracles attributed to Elijah the man of God are described in 2 Kgs 1:9–17. For further study on this topic, see P. Dubovský, "From Miracle-Makers Elijah and Elisha to Jesus and Apocrypha," *Studia Biblica Slovaca* 12/1 (2020) 24–42. For a summary of mutual dependence between 1 Kgs 17:17–24 and 2 Kgs 4:8–37, see W. Thiel, *Könige. I. Könige 17–22* (BKAT 9/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 2000) 67–71.

29 Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 397–403.

30 Both are called "woman" without a proper name (17:9 and 17) and both were widows (17:9 and 20). Moreover, both women had one son (17:14 and 17), both had a house (17:15 and 21), and both spoke frankly with Elijah. This proposal is echoed also in some commentaries that proposed to link the second and the third episode together; cf. J.A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1951) 295–296.

Finally, even though he has been exclusively a man of God's word, Elijah now adds gestures to his words.

The focus of this passage on Elijah's prayer and gestures is underlined by the concentric structure of the passage:

<sup>17</sup>And it happened after these things the son of the woman, the mistress of the house, became ill. Indeed, his illness became very severe to the point that no breath was left in him.

<sup>18</sup>Then she said to Elijah: "What to me and to you, O man of God? Have you come in to me to remind (me) my guilt and to put my son to death?"

<sup>19</sup>Then he said to her: "Give me your son!"

And he took him from her bosom

and brought him up into the upper room in which he was staying  
and laid him on his bed.

<sup>20</sup>Then he called to the Lord and said: "O Lord, my God, have you brought evil even upon the widow with whom I am lodging (by) putting her son to death?" <sup>21</sup>Then he stretched himself out upon the child three times and called to the Lord and said: "O Lord, my God, may the soul of this child return upon his inward part." <sup>22</sup>And the Lord listened to the voice of Elijah and the soul of the child returned upon his inward part and he revived.

<sup>23</sup>Then Elijah took the child

and he brought him down from the upper room into the house  
and gave him to his mother.

And Elijah said: "See, your son is alive."

<sup>24</sup>And the woman said to Elijah: "Now this I know, that you are a man of God and (that) the word of the Lord in your mouth is truth."

The central part of the passage (17:20–22) focuses on Elijah's double prayer that frames his gesture. The first prayer echoes the widow's accusation, and the second presents Elijah's supplication. The passage concludes with the execution formula that repeats verbatim the expressions of Elijah's prayer.<sup>31</sup> This repetition suggests that now it is God who listens and does word by word what Elijah has asked for.

In sum, Elijah's second transformation was caused by his encounter with a foreign woman who should be interpreted as the widow of Zarephath according to the MT. Elijah the man of God is no longer exclusively a man of God's word but also one of prayer and action. Elijah's transformation is depicted through the shift in his movements (from horizontal to vertical), in his way of speaking (from addressing people to beseeching God), and in his gestures (from no gestures to complex ritual and symbolic gestures). These three aspects define how a man of God's word could become a man of God according to the MT editors.

<sup>31</sup> The repeated parts are in italics: "<sup>21</sup>[...] 'O Lord, my God, may *the soul of this child return upon his inward part*.'"

<sup>22</sup>And the Lord listened to the voice of Elijah and *the soul of the child returned upon his inward part* and he revived."

## 5. Elijah the Prophet

Chapter 18 presents a further step in Elijah's formation. As mentioned above, only in this chapter of the MT does Elijah speak of himself as a "prophet"—a prophet belonging to the Lord (18:22).<sup>32</sup> The narrator confirms Elijah's status as a prophet (18:36). The narrator's comment in 18:36 occurs only in the MT and is absent from all other manuscripts. Seeing that the MT does not include the term "prophet" in 17:1, we can assume that the later editors of the MT wanted to convey the idea that Elijah only becomes a prophet in chapter 18.

The importance of this chapter is also signalled by a change in movement. The opening verses (18:1–17) are characterized by the horizontal movements of three heroes—Ahab, Obadiah, and Elijah. However, the horizontal movements stop starting from v. 18 and the prophets, people and Elijah move vertically.<sup>33</sup> Much like 17:17–24, so too does this episode underline that Elijah has to stop moving horizontally and must climb up to the top of Mount Carmel in order to reach a new stage in his life.

The appearance of new heroes on the scene furthermore underlines the shift in the focus and theme. Besides Obadiah, Jezebel and Ahab, chapter 18 features two groups of prophets: the prophets of the Lord who were executed by Jezebel or hidden by Obadiah and the prophets of Baal and Asherah. The narrator describes the latter as "the prophets of Baal (who were) four hundred and fifty and the prophets of Asherah (who were) four hundred, those (who are) eating at the table of Jezebel" (18:19). This verse seems to be the result of different redactions. It was reasonably argued that the original text did not contain the reference to the prophets of Asherah (in italics) "the prophets of Baal (who were) four hundred and fifty and the prophets of Asherah (who were) four hundred, those (who are) eating at the table of Jezebel." The addition of "and the prophets of Asherah (who were) four hundred" could be explained as harmonization with 1 Kgs 16:33 and 2 Kgs 13:6.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the apposition "those (who are) eating at the table of Jezebel" was originally linked only with the prophets of Baal and only later with the prophets of Asherah. Thus, the confrontation is presented not only as one between Elijah and Ahab, but also one between Jezebel's prophets and the Lord's prophets, and consequently, between Jezebel's prophets and Elijah as the only prophet of the Lord.

Putting all these elements together we can notice that the introduction of the title "prophet," the change in the hero's movements, the appearance of new heroes, and the conflict

32 The MT uses the preposition *lamed* (לְיְהוָה) that underlines Elijah's affiliation with God, contrary to the prophets of Asherah and Baal whose affiliation is expressed by means of the genitive (1 Kgs 18:19). This nuance is not present in the Greek manuscripts that use the genitive in both cases.

33 The discussion between Ahab and Elijah 18:17–19 encourages the heroes to climb Mount Carmel and thus move vertically. The ellipsis between vv. 19–20 and 21 presupposes that Elijah, the prophets of Baal and the people climbed to the top of Mount Carmel.

34 A. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher. Die Hebräische Vorlage der Ursprünglichen Septuaginta als Älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (OBO 199; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2004) 32–33. This argument was recently reviewed by P. Hugo, *Les deux visages d'Élie. Texte massorétique et Septante dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 17–18* (OBO 217; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2006) 270–276.

between Jezebel's prophets and Elijah point to a new moment in Elijah's life. According to the MT, Elijah becomes a prophet only in the context of a fierce confrontation with other prophets. While the previous phases of Elijah's life were restricted to a limited number of people, chapter 18 throws Elijah into the midst of the people and Jezebel's prophets. The potential increase in the number of heroes goes hand in hand with increasing suspense. The confrontation is no longer a private matter between a foreign woman and Elijah, but between the royal court and Elijah in the presence of the whole of Israel.<sup>35</sup>

The narrative tension is achieved once again by a collision of two promises. On the one hand, Elijah was asked by God to meet Ahab (18:1), and he even confirms his intention to meet Ahab in the oath he swears to Obadiah (18:15), which echoes the oath style in 17:1. On the other hand, Ahab's anger made him a mortal enemy of Elijah. If he did not meet Ahab, Elijah would die because of his own oath (18:15), but to meet Ahab would mean death at the hands of the king and his wife, who had already murdered prophets like Elijah. The confrontation between Ahab and Elijah begins in 16–19 and continues during the confrontation between Jezebel's prophets and Elijah.

This confrontation brings out a new aspect of Elijah's character. He confronts the king, his policy and religious activities, stands up for the Lord, challenges the people and the prophets of Baal and Asherah, repairs the altar, performs rituals, invokes God, performs a fire miracle, brings the people to conversion, and finally, executes<sup>36</sup> the false prophets. Elijah's way of speaking and acting is radically different not only from his conduct in chapter 17 but also from the words and deeds of other prophets in the Books of Kings. The confrontation at Mount Carmel transforms the man of God into a unique prophet of the Lord.

While the previous two transformations were triggered by the poor widow of Zarephath, the transformation from the man of God to the prophet was triggered by the queen's hostile attitude towards the prophets of the Lord.

## 6. Elijah the Man Standing Before the Lord

1 Kgs 19 describes the final step in Elijah's transformation. Jezebel is once again the woman whose oath feeds the narrative suspense. Here, the wording is different from that of Elijah in 17:1 and of the widow in 17:15. While Jezebel's threat leads Elijah to depression (Greek manuscripts read "he was afraid"), it also lets him experience the tender care of God on Mount Horeb, just as in the Cherith episode (19:1–8). The intertextual links in verses 3–8 recall similar experiences of major biblical figures: the presence of two angels at

35 The text alludes to the Sinai pericope in Exodus 19: 32–34. The people in both stories are to observe God's marvelous deeds. In both stories the people abandoned the Lord. In both stories the people return to the Lord after the intervention of the prophet J.T. Walsh, *Ahab. The Construction of a King* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2006) 29–31.

36 His executing of the false prophets can be also considered a cultic gesture (שָׁחַט; 8:40) contrary to cutting off/killing of Jezebel (כָּרַת in 18:4 or הָרַג in 18:14).

the sacrifice of Isaac in Genesis 22, the stories of Hagar's escape attempt in Genesis 16:7–8 and her expulsion from the family in 21:15–19, and the plea to die in Jonah 4:6–7. Thanks to Jezebel's assault, Elijah could experience important formative moments like those attributed to other major biblical figures.

The importance of the moment that follows Jezebel's intimidation of Elijah is once again signalled by a change in Elijah's movements. In 19:1–8, Elijah moves horizontally, but in v. 9 he is asked to climb Mount Horeb, which is the third time that Elijah moves vertically. A comparison of Elijah's three ascents – to the upper chamber, up Mount Carmel and to the summit of Mount Horeb – suggests that the scribes intentionally increased the height from the first climb to the third. In this chapter, Elijah is asked to reach a mountaintop that corresponds to the apex of his inner transformation.

Having climbed Mount Horeb, Elijah is confronted directly by God. In this encounter, Elijah defines himself as a zealous prophet<sup>37</sup> who has been attacked by Jezebel. However, Elijah again imitates the criticism of the woman in 17:17–24. Just as the woman had doubted that Elijah was truly a man of God, so too does Elijah challenge God to show that he is truly the God of Israel. God responds to Elijah's challenge directly and explains what it means to be the prophet of the Lord: "Go out and stand on the mountain before the Lord!" In 1–2 Kgs, the phrase "to stand before the Lord" appears only in 1 Kgs 22:21, describing a spirit who went out and stood before the Lord:

וַיֵּצֵא הָרוּחַ וַיַּעֲמֵד לְפָנַי יְהוָה (1 Kgs 22:21)

צָא וְעַמְדָּתָּ בְּהַר לְפָנַי יְהוָה (1 Kgs 19:11)

These similarities suggest that the Lord understands Elijah's claim to be a zealous prophet as equivalent to being a spirit that is uniquely privileged to stand before the Lord. Since the spirit in 1 Kgs 22 was one of God's servants sent out for a specific mission, Elijah, while at the mountaintop, experiences the presence of God in a specific way that makes him similar to God's servant at the divine court. Yet again, it was a foreign woman who triggered Elijah's inner transformation and who brought his formation to a conclusion. A zealous prophet was transformed into a prophet who not only obeyed the word of God but was also allowed to experience God's very nature by standing before him.

## 7. Dating of the MT Interpretation

The dating of the MT redaction of the Elijah cycle has been highly debated.<sup>38</sup> For the purposes of this paper, let me present a few elements that can contextualize our discussions. The term "prophet" is absent from the MT, the G<sup>Anr.</sup> and from the Vetus Latina in 1 Kgs 17:1/3 Kgdms 17:1. It is reasonable to suggest that the original text did not contain

37 Since Elijah speaks about the prophets who were executed, we can conclude that the "zealous one" means a "zealous prophet."

38 For the two most recent proposals, see McKenzie, *1 Kings*, 25–36, 47–53, 97–102 and W. Thiel, *Könige. II. 1. Könige 17,1–22,54* (BKAT 9/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2019) 15–315.



the term “prophet” in 1 Kgs 17:1. The presence of the term in the G<sup>B</sup> and in other versions, including Syriac and Ethiopic, may suggest that these versions added it to reveal Elijah’s character.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the rephrasing of 1 Kgs 18:36 in the MT also points to a later editorial intervention.<sup>40</sup> I suggest that the original text did not contain the term “prophet” either in 17:1 or in 18:36. The addition of this term reflects two different developments of the text: the MT that retained the omission of the term in 17:1 but added it in 18:36, as well as the G<sup>B,A</sup> followed by Syriac and Ethiopic traditions, which added the term in 17:1 but not in 18:36. This approach suggests that the MT contains a later intervention in the Elijah cycle.

We have already noted the absence of the proper name “Elijah” in 17:2–7, which originally occurred at least in 17:2, as reflected by different manuscripts. However, the proper name appears in 17:8–16, and the MT even makes an addition containing the proper name in 17:15. These two elements may also point to an MT editorial intervention to emphasize that Elijah becomes what his name  $\text{יְהוֹשֻׁעַ}$  means after the crisis introduced in 17:7 and during the confrontation with the poor widow of Zarephath.

All these additions and omissions in the MT should not be interpreted as scribal mistakes but rather as intentional editorial choices that, as I have argued, aimed at presenting how Elijah became the great prophet.

Comparing Ben Sirah’s interpretation of Elijah in Sir 48:1,<sup>41</sup> we see that Ben Sirah’s text relies on the G<sup>B,A</sup> interpretation that all of Elijah’s actions are the actions of the prophet. The concept of Elijah’s inner transformation is absent in Ben Sirah. I propose that the MT revision of Elijah is of a very late date. The MT revision of the Elijah cycle might have aimed at showing to the readers of the late Hellenistic/Roman period how a simple man from Tishbe was gradually transformed into the famous prophet Elijah. The man from Tishbe had to go through different challenges and crises to become a man of God, and finally, a prophet who stood before the Lord. The key role in this transformation was played by two foreign women and was signified by the shift in Elijah’s movements. This idea seems to have been an important message addressed to the biblical readers: first, that to become a prophet requires a long process of internal transformation; second, that to be transformed as Elijah was, human beings should stop moving horizontally on the same plane but seek to ascend in the spiritual life; third, that foreigners, whether like the friendly widow or the hostile queen, present not only difficulties but also opportunities that God can use to reform his people, just as such conflicts transformed a simple man into a prophet.

39 Cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, 294; McKenzie, *1 Kings*, 85–86.

40 McKenzie, *1 Kings*, 105.

41  $\text{καὶ ἀνέστη Ἡλίας προφήτης ὡς πῦρ}$  (Then Elijah arose, a prophet like fire; Sir 48:1);  $\text{Καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου ὁ προφήτης ὁ Θεσβείτης}$  (3 Kgs<sup>B</sup> 17:1).



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# Critical Edition and Philological Analysis of Isa 51–52 based on Coptic Manuscript sa 52 (M 568) and Other Coptic Manuscripts in the Sahidic Dialect and the Greek Text of the Septuagint

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**ABSTRACT:** This article constitutes a critical edition, translation and philological analysis of Isa 51–52 based on Coptic manuscript sa 52 and other available manuscripts in the Sahidic dialect. The first part outlines general information about the section of codex sa 52 (M 568) that contains the analysed text. This is followed by a list and brief overview of other manuscripts featuring at least some verses from Isa 51–52. The main part of the article focuses on the presentation of the Coptic text (in the Sahidic dialect) and its translation into English. The differences identified between the Sahidic text and the Greek Septuagint, on which the Coptic translation is based, are illustrated in a tabular form. It includes, for example, additions and omissions in the Coptic translation, lexical changes and semantic differences. The last part of the article aims to clarify more challenging philological issues observed either in the Coptic text itself or in its relation to the Greek text of the LXX.

**KEYWORDS:** Coptic language, Sahidic dialect, Book of Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, sa 52 (M 568), CLM 205, edition of Isa 51–52

After the third Servant Song (Isa 50:4–9), the Book of Isaiah contains an exhortation to put one’s hope in God (Isa 51:1–8). God wants to raise the spirits of a group of his faithful who have been overwhelmed by doubt at the thought that there are few of them and they are weak. God will increase the number of his followers just as he once increased the number of Abraham’s descendants (Isa 51:1–3). The faithful are encouraged to endure despite the insults and intrigues of evil men (51:7–8). God stands by those who are faithful to Him. The symbol of His power is His mighty “arm” (51:9–16).

In verses 51:17–23, the author addresses the people of Jerusalem. The inhabitants of the Holy City have been weakened in the past by the “cup of the Lord’s wrath” (v. 17). Now, however, there is consolation in store for them. Zion is to awaken and put on the splendid “garment of joy” (52:1–2). The people who had been exiled into Babylonian captivity would now be able to return to their homeland (52:3–12).

The last three verses of Chapter 52 already belong to the final, fourth, of the servant songs, covering the entire Chapter 53. For reasons of arrangement, they will be included in the present study, which is an edition of the Coptic text of Isa 51–52.

It is a continuation of chapters of the Book of Isaiah studied to this date.<sup>1</sup> It will be conducted mainly on the basis of the Sahidic manuscript, assigned number sa 52<sup>2</sup> in Karlheinz Schüssler's study (and M 568 in Leo Depuydt's study),<sup>3</sup> which is also listed as CLM 205 in the Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature database.<sup>4</sup> This work is based on both the photographic edition (referred to as a *facsimile*), provided by the Vatican Library, and the microfilm, provided by the Morgan Library in New York. For several years now, black-and-white photos of the Library's Coptic collection have been available at: <https://archive.org/details/PhantouLibrary>.<sup>5</sup> Coloured photos are also available as part of the Digital Edition of the Coptic Old Testament (DECOT) project at: <http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace>.<sup>6</sup>

However, some caution should be exercised when reading the transcription on the DECOT website, as some mistakes can be found there. An example is the spelling of the second line of the left-hand column on page 106 (f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ , Isa 51:6). The transcription of the text has been spelt as  $\overline{\text{NAP}} \overline{\text{PALOE}}$ , whereas in the manuscript there is  $\overline{\text{NAP}} \overline{\text{PELOE}}$ .<sup>7</sup> On the same page in the fifth and sixth lines of the right-hand column (Isa 51:10), the DECOT transcription reads  $\overline{\text{NNENTAYNAZMOY}}$ , whereas in the manuscript clearly reads  $\overline{\text{NNENTAYTAZMOY}}$ . In the same column, in lines 18–19 (Isa 51:12) on the DECOT page, the text reads  $\overline{\text{PETCOTCT}} \overline{\text{MMO}}$ , while the manuscript reads  $\overline{\text{PETCOTC}} \overline{\text{MMO}}$ .

A mistake can also be found on p. 108 (f. 53<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{Pi}}$ , Isa 52:7) in lines 19 and 20 of the right-hand column. In the manuscript it reads  $\overline{\text{EPOYOYXAI}}$ , and in the transcription on the DECOT page, there is a “shortened” version –  $\overline{\text{EPOYXAI}}$ . On the same page, in line 24 of the right-hand column (Isa 52:8), it reads  $\overline{\text{NNETZAPEZ}}$ . The DECOT transcription drops one letter, spelling this word as  $\overline{\text{NNETAPEZ}}$ .

1 The edition of the text of Proto-Isaiah (Isa 1–39) based on manuscript sa 52 is available in: T. Bąk, *Proto-Isaiah in the Sahidic Dialect of the Coptic Language. Critical Edition on the Coptic Manuscript sa 52 (M 568) and Other Witnesses* (PO 251; Turnhout: Brepols 2020) 343–660. A study of Isa 40 can be found in the article: T. Bąk, *Isa 40*. Text of Isa 41 is available in: T. Bąk, *Isa 41*. Text of Isa 42:1–44:4 was published in: T. Bąk, *Isa 42:1–44:4*. Text of Isa 44:6–45:25 was studied in: T. Bąk, *Isa 44:6–45:25*. Chapters of Isa 46–48 are included in: T. Bąk, *Isa 46–48*. Chapters Isa 49–50 are available in T. Bąk, *Isa 49–50*.

2 K. Schüssler, K., *Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament: sa 49–92* (Biblia Coptica 1/3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1998) 17–19.

3 History and description of the manuscript: Bąk, *Proto-Isaiah*, 13–28. See also: L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Corpus van verluchte handschriften 4. Oriental Series 1; Leuven: Peeters 1993) 20–22.

4 See <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/205> [accessed: 26.02.2022].

5 Isa 51:1 begins at: <https://archive.org/details/PhantouLibrary/m568%20Combined%20%28Bookmarked%29/page/n103/mode/2up?view=theater> [accessed: 26.02.2022].

6 The beginning of Isa 51:1 is available at: [https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622008&fbclid=IwAR3TDcECwvoRaXyDc0EgFJU6uZ9dFQ5ynkvee0FXCgEV2hK73AQvD-M\\_-XL8](https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622008&fbclid=IwAR3TDcECwvoRaXyDc0EgFJU6uZ9dFQ5ynkvee0FXCgEV2hK73AQvD-M_-XL8) [accessed: 26.02.2022].

7 All mistakes in the DECOT transcription indicated here can be verified at: [https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622008&fbclid=IwAR3TDcECwvoRaXyDc0EgFJU6uZ9dFQ5ynkvee0FXCgEV2hK73AQvD-M\\_-XL8](https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622008&fbclid=IwAR3TDcECwvoRaXyDc0EgFJU6uZ9dFQ5ynkvee0FXCgEV2hK73AQvD-M_-XL8) [accessed: 4.05.2022].

The numbering of folios in this study is in line with the *facsimile* numbering applied by the Vatican Library. As the numbering on the Digital Edition of the Coptic Old Testament (DECOT) website does not coincide with the *facsimile* edition, to avoid ambiguity, the original Coptic page numbers will also be indicated.

This study combines the task of diplomatic editing with that of critical editing. Apart from the preferred manuscript sa 52 from the Pierpont Morgan collection, editions of all other currently available Coptic manuscripts in the Sahidic dialect, which include at least some verses from Isa 51–52, will be taken into consideration. Symbols in the critical apparatus – exclamation mark in superscript: <sup>!</sup> – will suggest reading more similar to the Greek text of the Septuagint.

Critical edition and philological analysis of the selected fragment will be carried out according to the order adopted in the study of the earlier chapters of the Book of Isaiah. Therefore, it will include: 1) a general description of the folios of manuscript sa 52 containing the text of Isa 51–52; 2) a presentation of Sahidic manuscripts including at least some verses of Isa 51–52; 3) a presentation of the Coptic text based on manuscript sa 52, taking into account other available witnesses; 4) an English translation; 5) a list of differences found between the Greek text of the LXX and its Coptic translation, 6) an analysis of more challenging philological phenomena observed in the Coptic fragment of Isa 51–52.

## 1. General Information About Ms sa 52

The text of Isa 51 begins in line 24 of the left-hand column on page 105 (f. 52<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PZ}}$ ) and ends in line 3 of the left-hand column on page 108 (f. 53<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PI}}$ ). The text of Isa 52 ends in line 9 of the right-hand column on page 109 (f. 54<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PIA}}$ ). Two chapters, Isa 51–52, comprise almost nine columns of text.

As has already been noted in the study of earlier chapters, the writing material has not been chosen particularly carefully. Page 109 (f. 54<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PIA}}$ ) even shows a small perforation in the middle of line 10 of the right-hand column. Since no letters are missing from this text, the perforation must have existed from the very beginning.<sup>8</sup>

### Columns and method of writing

Columns contain varying numbers of lines of text. The smallest number is 33 in both columns on p. 107 (f. 53<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PO}}$ ) and in the left-hand column on p. 108 (f. 53<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PI}}$ ), and the largest is 36 in the right-hand column on p. 106 (f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ ) and in the left-hand column on p. 109 (f. 54<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PIA}}$ ). The remaining columns have 34 lines each.

<sup>8</sup> This is exactly where Chapter 53 begins. See <https://archive.org/details/PhantoouLibrary/m568%20Comabined%20%28Bookmarked%29/page/n107/mode/2up?view=theater> [accessed: 10.05.2022].

On a few pages, some of the words are added below the columns. Most likely, the scribe wanted to finish the word he had started in this way, without having to move part of the word to the next page. This solution was used on pages:

- 106 (f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ ), where, under the right-hand column, the letters  $\text{ϥ}\dot{\text{I}}\text{ϥ}$  were added, belonging to the word  $\text{ϥ}\dot{\text{I}}\text{ϥ}$ ;
- 107 (f. 53<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PΘ}}$ ), where, under the right-hand column, the letters  $\text{ϩHT}$  were added, belonging to the word  $\text{NTOYMECTϩHT}$ ;
- 108 (f. 53<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\dot{\text{I}}}$ ), where two letters  $\text{ϫH}$  were added under the left-hand column which are the last letters of the word  $\text{NϫINϫH}$ .

Throughout the manuscript sa 52, larger initial letters can be found extending beyond the columns of text. They are indicative of an attempt to logically divide the content. They appear in places near which some new thought begins. Larger letters are often accompanied by symbols that could be considered ornamental elements. These take a variety of forms. They sometimes take the form of a cross made of five dots as, for example, on p. 105 (f. 52<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\dot{\text{Z}}}$ ) on the left-hand side of the right-hand column. In other places, they take the form of four or six dots, arranged symmetrically and separated by a horizontal line (obelos between dots), as, for example, on p. 105 (f. 52<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\dot{\text{Z}}}$ ) at the left-hand column. Slightly less frequently, they may take the form of a *coronis*, resembling a heart or a leaf in shape, as can be seen, for example, on p. 108 (f. 53<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\dot{\text{I}}}$ ) on the left-hand side of the left-hand column. Even if the above symbols had an ornamental function, it has to be noted that their shape is fairly primitive and does not show much effort on the part of the scribe in the careful preparation of their manuscript.

The text of Isaiah is in black ink. The larger letters, written to the left of the columns, were later covered in red ink. It is difficult to say conclusively whether the red ink was used by the original scribe or applied later.

### Corrections in the Text

It is also possible to find places where the original letter has been obliterated and a new character has been inserted in its place. An example is line 13 of the left-hand column on page 106 (f. 52<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ , Isa 51:7) where one can read  $\text{ϩ}\overline{\text{M}} \text{PEYϩHT}$ . There was previously another character – perhaps an  $\text{ϥ}$  – where the letter  $\text{Y}$  now appears. Thus, the earlier possessive genitive  $\text{PE}\text{ϥ}$ - (“his”) would be replaced, according to the context, by the form  $\text{PEY}$ - (“their”). The letter  $\text{Y}$  has a slightly different shape, which may indicate that the correction was applied at a later time by another scribe.

In some places, missing letters are added above a line of text. An example can be found at the beginning of Isa 51:8 (p. 106, f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ , line 18 of the left-hand column), where the participle  $\text{Γ}\text{ϫP}$  is in superscript. In the edition presented in this paper, the spelling  $\text{Γ}\text{ϫP}/$  has been used at this point. Similarly, on the same page, in line 22 of the right-hand column (Isa 51:12), the initial letter of the word  $\text{ϥ}\text{ϩ}\text{ϫ}\text{ϫ}\text{M}\text{OY}$  has been added above the text. On page 108 (f. 53<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\dot{\text{I}}}$ , Isa 52:7) in line 15 of the right-hand column, the letter  $\text{C}$ , belonging to the word  $\text{NOY}\text{C}/\text{MH}$ , has also been added above the text.



In line 20 of the left-hand column on page 106 (f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ , Isa 51:8) the conjunction  $\text{AY}\overline{\text{W}}$  has been written on the left-hand side of the column. It was probably added later.

#### Final nasal –N

As in the earlier fragments of the manuscript, the letter –N, occurring at the end of a line, is sometimes written as a supralinear stroke in the pages with the text of Isa 51–52. An example can be seen in line 10 of the left-hand column on page 106 (f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ , Isa 51:7) in the word  $\text{NETCOOY}\overline{\text{N}}$ . In this edition, the word has been spelt as  $\text{NETCOOY(N)}$ . Similarly as in line 20 of the right column on p. 107 (f. 53<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\overline{\text{O}}}$ , Isa 51:17) the word  $\text{T}\overline{\text{W}}\text{OY}\overline{\text{N}}$  can be seen, spelt in this edition as  $\text{T}\overline{\text{W}}\text{OY(N)}$ . On p. 108 (f. 53<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\overline{\text{I}}}$ , Isa 52:2) in line 17 on the left-hand column,  $\overline{\text{N}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{W}}}$  is found which, obviously, should be read as  $\overline{\text{N}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{W}}\text{N}}$ .

However, the author of the manuscript does not apply this principle consistently. For example, in line 9 of the left-hand column on page 106 (f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ , Isa 51:6) the scribe spelt the word  $\overline{\text{W}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{N}}}$  at the end.

#### Nomina sacra

Occasionally, *nomina sacra* can be observed in the text. However, there is insufficient attention to the accuracy of their spelling. In line 28 of the left-hand column on p. 106 (f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{PH}}$ , Isa 51:9), the word  $\overline{\text{Θ}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Λ}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{M}}}$  is encountered with a very clearly marked horizontal line. The same *nomen sacrum* on p. 107 (f. 53<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\overline{\text{O}}}$ , Isa 51:17) in line 21 of the left-hand column has been spelt as  $\overline{\text{Θ}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{Λ}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{M}}}$ . A clear horizontal line has been drawn over the entire word.

On p. 107 (f. 53<sup>r</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\overline{\text{O}}}$ , Isa 51:20), in line 13 of the right-hand column, the unusual spelling  $\overline{\text{Π}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}}$  is found, which is probably an abbreviation for  $\overline{\text{Π}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}}$  (the LXX reads  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  here). It is difficult to explain the reason why the DECOT uses the spelling  $\overline{\text{Π}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}}$ .<sup>9</sup> The author of the transcription probably abbreviated the Greek  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  in this way. On p. 108 (f. 53<sup>v</sup>, Copt.  $\overline{\text{P}\overline{\text{I}}}$ , Isa 52:3) in line 18 of the left-hand column, the same word  $\overline{\text{Π}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}}$  can be found, spelt this time as  $\overline{\text{Π}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{C}}}$ .

Despite some imperfections, the reading of the Coptic text of Isa 51–52 does not present any major difficulties. The manuscript of sa 52 (M 568) is undoubtedly the best-preserved witness to the Sahidic version of the Book of Isaiah.

## 2. List of Manuscripts with the Text of Isa 51–52 in the Sahidic Dialect of the Coptic Language

Fragments of chapters 51–52 of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah can be found in several other manuscripts, not as complete as sa 52. With regard to the names of the manuscripts, precedence will be given to the designations used in Schüssler's study.<sup>10</sup> Database identifiers

<sup>9</sup> See [https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622008&fbclid=IwAR3TDeEC-wvoRaXyDc0EgFJU6uZ9dFQ5ynkvee0FXCgEV2hK73AQvDM\\_-XL8](https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622008&fbclid=IwAR3TDeEC-wvoRaXyDc0EgFJU6uZ9dFQ5ynkvee0FXCgEV2hK73AQvDM_-XL8) [accessed: 4.05.2022].

<sup>10</sup> K. Schüssler, *Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament* (Biblia Coptica 1/1–4/4; Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 1995–2015).

will also be provided where possible. Some verses of Isa 51–52 can be found in the following manuscripts:

**Sa 48 (CLM 40<sup>11</sup>, LDAB 108542<sup>12</sup>):** a papyrus codex, held in the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana in Geneva, identified as Papyrus Bodmer XXIII. It is preserved in fairly good condition.<sup>13</sup> It includes the text of Isa 47:1–51:17 and Isa 52:4–66:24. The missing pages, numbered  $\overline{\text{K}\alpha}$  and  $\overline{\text{K}\beta}$  (21 and 22), contain Isa 51:18–52:4. This study will therefore use the verses: **Isa 51:1–17** and **52:4–14**. The manuscript is included in Peter Nagel's list.<sup>14</sup>

The manuscript is dated 375–450.<sup>15</sup> Due to its early origins, it is an invaluable aid in the edition of parts of the Book of Deutero-Isaiah and the entire Book of Trito-Isaiah.<sup>16</sup> The manuscript was edited by Rodolph Kasser in 1965.<sup>17</sup> The manuscript has already been used in the study of earlier chapters of Deutero-Isaiah.<sup>18</sup>

**Sa 105<sup>L</sup>.4:** the folio forms part of a parchment lectionary with biblical texts from both the Old and New Testaments. The page numbered by Schüssler as sa 105<sup>L</sup>.4 is stored in Vienna in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek under the number **K 9880**.<sup>19</sup> It includes the text of Isa 63:7–11; 53:1–3, and **Isa 52:13–15**, which is of interest for this study. This latter passage covers the left-hand column on the page identified by the Coptic number  $\overline{\text{PK}\beta}$  (= 122). The column is preceded by the title:  $\text{HC}\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha\text{C}$ . It is estimated that the manuscript dates back to between the 10th<sup>20</sup> and 12th centuries.<sup>21</sup> The manuscript was included in the Arthur Vaschalde list as **SER 25**.<sup>22</sup> The text was edited by Carl Wessely.<sup>23</sup> An elec-

11 See <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/40> [accessed: 3.05.2022].

12 See <https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/index.php?searchterm=LDAB%20108542> [accessed: 3.05.2022].

13 The facsimile of the codex in an electronic form is available at: <https://bodmerlab.unige.ch/fr/constellations/papyri/barcode/1072205362> [accessed: 3.05.2022]. The fragment of Isa 51–52, which is relevant to this study, begins at <https://bodmerlab.unige.ch/fr/constellations/papyri/mirador/1072205362?page=034> [accessed: 3.05.2022].

14 P. Nagel, "Editionen koptischer Bibeltexte seit Till 1960," *APF* 35 (1990) 60.

15 K. Schüssler, *Das sabidische Alte und Neue Testament: sa 21–48* (Biblia Coptica 1/2; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1996) 106. See also <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/40> [accessed: 3.05.2022].

16 For more information see: Schüssler, *Sa 21–48*, 106; R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIII. Esaie XLVII, 1–LXVI, 24* (Cologny – Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 1965) 7–33.

17 Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIII*.

18 See description of the manuscript in: Bağ, *Isa 46–48*, 604–605.

19 K. Schüssler, *Das sabidische Alte und Neue Testament: sa 93–120* (Biblia Coptica 1/4; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2000) 44. More information on the entire manuscript sa 105<sup>L</sup> can be found on pages 41–46.

20 W.C. Till, "Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien. Katalog der koptischen Bibelbruchstücke. Die Pergamente," *ZNW* 39 (1940) 39.

21 G.W. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and Thebaic, with Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and Literal English Translation*. III. *The Gospel of S. John* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1911) 383.

22 A. Vaschalde, "Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible," *RB* 29 (1920) 249. The number 25 in Vaschalde's list refers to an edition of the manuscript (see Wessely 1909, 64).

23 Wessely 1909, 64, no. 25a. Editing was carried out by hand. On p. 66, there is a handwritten rendering of the first five lines of the column (title  $\text{HC}\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha\text{C}$  and the verse Isa 52:13).



tronic edition can also be found on the DECOT website, where the manuscript appears under the number **sa 298L (ID 620298)**.<sup>24</sup>

**Sa 108<sup>L</sup> (CLM 3288<sup>25</sup>)**: this manuscript is a bilingual (Coptic-Arabic) lectionary consisting of 189 pages and containing the readings for the Holy Week. Its full shelfmark is **Rom, BV, Borgia copto 109, cass. XXIII, fasc. 99**. It comes from the White Monastery in Sohag. Currently, it is kept in the Vatican Library.<sup>26</sup> The manuscript is dated at a fairly late period, between the 12th and 14th centuries.<sup>27</sup> The manuscript has already been used several times for editions of earlier chapters of Proto- and Deutero-Isaiah.<sup>28</sup>

The passage *Isa* 52:13–53:12 was edited by Augustinus Ciasca, in whose manuscript it was designated as IC.<sup>29</sup> This study will use the edition of **Isa 52:13–15**.<sup>30</sup> These three verses were also published by Émile Amélineau.<sup>31</sup> They are included in Vaschalde's list as part of *Collection Borgia*, where they appear under the number Z. 99 CA.<sup>32</sup> Photographs of the manuscript and its electronic edition are available on the DECOT website, where the lectionary appears as **sa 16L (ID 620016)**.<sup>33</sup>

**Sa 187 (CLM 991,<sup>34</sup> TM 107819,<sup>35</sup> LDAB 107819<sup>36</sup>)**: it is a fragment of a parchment page measuring 8.9 x 9.4 cm, from a small-sized codex belonging to the **Oxford, BL** (= Bodleian Library) collection. The shelfmark of the fragment in this study is **Copt. g. 9**. Both its *recto* and *verso* sides retain traces of page numbers **ḄZ** and **ḄH**, which

24 <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=620298> [accessed: 20.05.2022].

25 <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/3288> [accessed: 20.05.2022].

26 More detailed information on the manuscript is available in: Schüssler, *Sa 93–120*, 49–69.

27 Henri Hyvernat (“Étude sur les versions coptes de la Bible. II. – Ce qui nous est parvenu des versions égyptiennes,” *RB* 5 [1896] 548–549) argues in favour of the earliest date, falling around the 12th/13th century. Horner (*Coptic Version of the New Testament*, III, 383) estimates that the lectionary was created “not earlier than XIII [century]”; Balestri moves this date to the 13th or 14th century (P.J. Balestri, *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sabidica Musei Borgiani*, III. *Novum Testamentum* [Roma: Typographia Polyglotta S. C. de Propaganda Fide 1904] LXI); Ciasca (*Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta*, I, XXVII) opts for the late 14th century; Alfred Rahlfs (*Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche* [MSU 5; Berlin: Weidmann 1915] 163) speaks of ca. 1400.

28 See Bąk, *Proto-Isaiah in the Sahidic Dialect*, 364–365; Bąk, *Isa* 40, 77–78; Bąk, *Isa* 46–48, 605–606; Bąk, *Isa* 49–50, 9–10.

29 Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta*, II, 241–243.

30 Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta*, II, 241.

31 É. Amélineau, “Fragments de la version thébaine de l'Écriture (Ancien Testament),” *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 9 (1887) 125.

32 Vaschalde, “Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible,” 247. The designation Z. 99 refers to a study by Georg Zoega (*Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in museo Borgiano velitris adservantur* [Roma: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide 1810] 189–192). The added abbreviation CA stands for the aforementioned edition of A. Ciasca. It is worth noting that in Zoega's study, the number 99 was written as CXIX (probably should be XCIX) (see Zoega, *Catalogus*, 189), and in Ciasca's edition as IC (see Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta*, II, 241). The first volume by Ciasca also includes a description of the entire manuscript (*Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta*, I, XXVI–XXVIII).

33 <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=620016> [accessed: 20.05.2022].

34 <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/991> [accessed: 18.05.2022].

35 <https://www.trismegistos.org/text/107819> [accessed: 18.05.2022].

36 <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/991> [accessed: 18.05.2022].

can be identified as 47 and 48. Schüssler speculates that the entire manuscript of the Book of Isaiah consisted of two volumes. The second volume, where the page of interest would belong, retained its independent numbering, starting with 1. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain the fact that the fragments of Isa 52 and 53 are so close to the beginning of the book, on pages 47 and 48. There is also the possibility that numbers 47 and 48, due to the deterioration of the manuscript, have not been read correctly.<sup>37</sup> So far it has not been possible to identify the codex to which the page in question could possibly belong.

The manuscript was found in 1907 during work carried out by the British School of Archaeology at Deir Bala'izah, south of Assiut. Palaeography dates the manuscript to the 5th century.<sup>38</sup> The text is very difficult to read.<sup>39</sup> The manuscript was edited by Paul Kahle.<sup>40</sup> It was included in Walter Till's list.<sup>41</sup> On the Digital Edition of the Coptic Old Testament (DECOT) website, the manuscript is catalogued as sa 2139 (ID 622139). A transcription of the text can also be found there.<sup>42</sup>

Manuscript sa 187 on its *recto* side contains the text of **Isa 52:14b–15; 53:1–2a**, and, on the *verso* side, **Isa 53:2b–4**. This study will use a section of the *recto* side, specifically the two verses of **Isa 52:14b–15**.

**Sa 230.1 (CLM 1384,<sup>43</sup> TM 108187<sup>44</sup>):** the manuscript is a parchment palimpsest. The full catalogue name of the manuscript is **London, BL, Or. 4717 (5)**. It was found in Egypt, in the area of Fayyûm. It is difficult to date it. It is probably from the 4th century.<sup>45</sup> The Coptic text, written over an earlier Latin and Greek text, consists of passages from Isaiah and Hosea. It is estimated that the Coptic text dates back to the 7th century.<sup>46</sup> Small photographs of the manuscript are available on the DECOT website, showing very heavy damage to most of the surviving pages.<sup>47</sup> The manuscript has already been used in the study of Isa 50:11.<sup>48</sup>

The passage of interest to this study are verses **Isa 51:1–15**.<sup>49</sup> The manuscript is included in Vaschalde's list and registered as **BMC 48**.<sup>50</sup> On the website of the Digital Edition of

37 See K. Schüssler, *Das sabidische Alte und Neue Testament: sa 185–260* (Biblia Coptica 2/2; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2015) 20.

38 See <https://4care-skos.mf.no/4care-artefacts/1228/> [accessed: 26.10.2022].

39 See P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah, Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press 1954) I, 332.

40 Kahle, *Bala'izah*, 332–333.

41 W.C. Till, "Coptic Biblical Texts Published after Vaschalde's Lists," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1959) 228.

42 See <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622139> [accessed: 18.05.2022].

43 See <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/1384> [accessed: 7.05.2022].

44 See <https://www.trismegistos.org/text/108187> [accessed: 7.05.2022].

45 See W. Grossouw, *The Coptic Versions of the Minor Prophets. A Contribution to the Study of the Septuagint* (MBE 3; Roma: Pontifical Biblical Institute 1938) 6. Various proposals for dating can be found in: Schüssler, *Sa 185–260*, 111.

46 This is Schüssler's opinion (see *Sa 185–260*, 111), albeit with a question mark "?".

47 See <http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622154> [accessed: 7.05.2022].

48 See Bağ, *Isa 49-50*, 10.

49 Schüssler, *Sa 185–260*, 112.

50 Vaschalde, "Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible," 249.

the Coptic Old Testament (DECOT), it was assigned number **sa 2154**.<sup>51</sup> The edition of manuscript sa 230.1 was prepared by Joel Schleifer.<sup>52</sup>

**CLM 3469**<sup>53</sup> (**TM 111691**)<sup>54</sup>: it is a codex found by Polish archaeologists in 2005 in the area of western Thebes, more specifically on the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. It is often referred to as the *Qurna Isaiah*.<sup>55</sup> It is currently stored in the museum in Cairo under number 13446. The manuscript is a parchment codex and contains the last part of the Book of Isaiah, or more precisely, chapters **47:14–66:24**. The codex was partially burnt, so the individual folios appear today as loose, individual pages.<sup>56</sup> Alin Suciu attributes the origin of the codex to the late 7th or early 8th century.<sup>57</sup> An electronic edition of the manuscript is available on the website of the Digital Edition of the Coptic Old Testament (DECOT),<sup>58</sup> where the *Qurna Isaiah* appears as **sa 2028 (ID 622028)**. To avoid confusion with the manuscript nomenclature, based on Schüssler's *Biblia Coptica*, adopted in this article, this codex will be referred to as **CLM 3469**. The codex has already been used in the study of earlier chapters of Deutero-Isaiah.<sup>59</sup> The text of interest to this study, **Isa 51–52**, begins on page 26 of the manuscript in line 6 of the right-hand column and ends on page 35 in line 20 of the left-hand column. The text is in very poor condition. Only small fragments can be read.

In order to better illustrate the contents of particular manuscripts, the occurrence of the verses from Isa 51–52 is presented in the table where:

- an “x” means the occurrence of the whole verse,
- an “(x)” means the occurrence of only a fragment of a given verse,
- an empty space means the lack of a given verse in the manuscript.<sup>60</sup>

51 See <http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-catalog/?gaNum=sa%202154> [accessed: 07.05.2022].

52 Schleifer 1909, 15–16. For more information on manuscript sa 230, see: S. Ammirati, “Frammenti inediti di giurisprudenza latina da un palinsesto copto. Per un'edizione delle scripturae inferiores del ms. London, British Library, Oriental 4717 (5),” *Athenaeum* 105 (2017) 736–741; Crum, *Catalogue*, 14; W. Grossouw, “Un fragment sahidique d'Osée II, 9-V, 1 (B.M. Or. 4717 [5]),” *Mus* 47 (1934) 185–204; E.M. Husselman, “A Palimpsest Fragment from Egypt,” *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni. II. Studi di papirologia e antichità orientali* (eds. A. Calderini – R. Paribeni) (Milano: Ceschina 1957) 454; E.A., Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century. II. Great Britain and Ireland* (New York: Oxford University Press 1935) 205–206; Schleifer 1909, 14–15; Schüssler, *Sa 185–260*, 110–114.

53 See <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts/3469> [accessed: 27.05.2022].

54 See <https://www.trismegistos.org/text/111691> [accessed: 27.05.2022].

55 For more about the discovery itself, see: T. Górecki, “Sheikh Abd el-Gurna,” *Seventy Years of Polish Archaeology in Egypt* (ed. E. Laskowska-Kusztal) (Warszawa: PCMA 2007) 186–187; T. Górecki – E. Wipszycka, “Scoperta di tre codici in un eremo a Sheikh el-Gurna (TT 1151–1152): il contesto archeologico,” *Adamantius* 24 (2018) 118–132.

56 See A. Suciu, “The Sahidic Tripartite Isaiah: Origins and Transmission within the Coptic Manuscript Culture,” *APF* 66/2 (2020) 381–382.

57 Suciu, “The Sahidic Tripartite Isaiah,” 383.

58 See <http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622028> [accessed: 27.05.2022].

59 See Bąk, *Isa 46–48*, 606; Bąk, *Isa 49–50*, 13.

60 See Bąk, *Isa 46–48*, 608.

The contents of the manuscripts are as follows:

### Isa 51

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Sa 48	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sa 105 <sup>l.4</sup>													
Sa 108 <sup>l</sup>													
Sa 187													
Sa 230.1	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
CLM 3469	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Sa 48	x	x	x	x						
Sa 105 <sup>l.4</sup>										
Sa 108 <sup>l</sup>										
Sa 187										
Sa 230.1	(x)	(x)								
CLM 3469	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)

### Isa 52

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Sa 48				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sa 105 <sup>l.4</sup>											
Sa 108 <sup>l</sup>											
Sa 187											
Sa 230.1											
CLM 3469	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)	(x)

	12	13	14	15
Sa 48	x	x	x	x
Sa 105 <sup>l.4</sup>		x	x	x
Sa 108 <sup>l</sup>		x	x	x
Sa 187			(x)	x
Sa 230.1				
CLM 3469	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)

Although the verses of Isa 51–52 are found in several Sahidic manuscripts, none of them contains the complete text. Even in sa 48, which is a very good witness, nine verses are missing. The only complete manuscript containing the entire text of Isa 51–52 is the manuscript of interest to this study, sa 52! This fact is even more in favour of its need to be edited.

### 3. The Sahidic Text of Isa 51–52

As in the case of the previous chapters, the following punctuation marks have been introduced in the edition of the Coptic text:

- < >   pointed brackets to indicate that the text has been completed so that it can be properly understood,
- { }   braces to indicate the scribe's redundant letters (frequently being the effect of dit-tography),
- >   sign to indicate the lack of the given form in the manuscript whose number is given beside it,
- !   exclamation mark in superscript to suggest a more correct reading,
- (N)   to show the places in which the letter N, occurring at the end of the line, was sig-nalised by a stroke (N supralinear),
- \ /   sign to indicate the letter added subsequently by the scribe above the line,
- / \   sign to indicate the letter added subsequently by the scribe below the line.<sup>61</sup>

The text of Isa 51–52 in the Sahidic dialect of the Coptic language reads as follows:

#### Chapter 51

- v. 1   ϸΩΤḲ̄ ΕΡΟΪ ΝΕΤΠΗΤ Ḳ̄ϸΑ ΤΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΕΤΩΪΝΕ ΝϸΑ ΠΧΟΕΙϸ· ΘΩΩΤ ΕΤΠΕΤΡΑ  
ΕΤΧΟΟΡ· ΤΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΚΕΖΚΩΖϸ· ΑΥΩ ΕΠΕΖΙΕΙΤ ΕΝΤΑΤΕΤḲ̄ΩΑΚΖḲ̄·<sup>v.1</sup>
- v. 2   ΘΩΩΤ ΕΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΕΤḲ̄ΕΙΩΤ· ΑΥΩ ϸΑΡΡΑ ΤΕΝΤΑϸ† ΝΑ<ΑΚΕ> ΜΜΩΤḲ̄· ΧΕ  
ΝΕ\Ο/ΥΑ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΪΤΑΖΜΕϸ· ΑΥΩ ΑΪϸΜΟΥ ΕΡΟϸ· ΑΥΩ ΑΪΜΕΡΙΤḲ̄· ΑΥΩ  
ΑΪΤΑΩΟϸ·<sup>v.2</sup>
- v. 3   ΝΤΟ ΖΩΩΤΕ ϸΪΩΝ ΑΙϸΕΠϸΩΠΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΑΪϸΕΠϸ ΝΕϸΜΑ ΝΧΑΙΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ·  
ΝΘΕ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙϸΟϸ ΜΠΧΟΕΙϸ· ΑΥΩ ϸΕΝΑΖΕ ΕΟΥΟΥΝΟΥ ΜΝ ΟΥΤΕΛΗΛ Ḳ̄ΖΗΤϸ·  
ΟΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ḳ̄Ḳ̄ ΟΥΖΡΟΥ ΝϸΜΟΥ·<sup>v.3</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Bąk, *Isa 46–48*, 609.

#### LI

- v. 1   ΕΡΟΪ: ΕΡΟΕΙ sa 48 | ΕΠΕΖΙΕΙΤ: + Ḳ̄ΠΩΗΙ sa 48, sa 230.1, + Ḳ̄ΠΩḲ̄[Ι] CLM 3469 | ΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ-  
Ḳ̄ΩΑΚΖḲ̄: ΕΝΤΑΤΕΤḲ̄ΩΟΚΖḲ̄ sa 48, sa 230.1, [ΕΝ]ΤΑΤ[ΕΤΝ]Ω[ΟΚΖḲ̄] CLM 3469
- v. 2   ϸΑΡΡΑ: Ε[ϸΑ]ΡΡΑ sa 230.1 | ΑΪΤΑΖΜΕϸ: ΔΕΙΤΑΖΜΕϸ sa 48 | ΑΪϸΜΟΥ: ΔΕΙϸΜΟΥ sa 48 | ΑΪΜΕΡΙΤḲ̄:  
ΔΕΙΜΕΡΙΤḲ̄ sa 48 | ΑΪΤΑΩΟϸ: ΔΕΙΤΑΩΟϸ sa 48
- v. 3   ΝΤΟ ΖΩΩΤΕ: Ḳ̄ΤΩ[Ζ]ΩΤΕ CLM 3469 | ΑΙϸΕΠϸΩΠΕ: ΔΕΙϸΕΠϸΩΠΕ sa 48, [Α]ΪϸΕΠ[ϸΩ]Ḳ̄  
CLM 3469 | ΑΪϸΕΠϸ: ΔΕΙϸΕΠ'ϸΤ' sa 48 | ΝΧΑΙΕ: Ḳ̄ΧΑΕΙΕ sa 48 | ΝΧΑΙΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ: + 'ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΚΩ  
Ḳ̄ΝΕϸΜΑ Ḳ̄ΧΑΕΙΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ sa 48, [ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΚΩ Ḳ̄]ΝΕϸΜΑ Ḳ̄ΧΑΙΕ sa 230.1, ΑΥ[Ω †]ΝΑΚΩ [ΝΝΕ]  
ϸΜΑ Ḳ̄[ΧΑΙΕ] ΤΗΡΟΥ CLM 3469 | ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙϸΟϸ: Ḳ̄ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙϸΟϸ sa 48, [Ḳ̄ΠΠΑΡΑ]ΔΙϸΟϸ sa 230.1  
| ΕΟΥΟΥΝΟΥ: ΕΥΟΥΝΟΥ sa 48, sa 230.1 | ΟΥΤΕΛΗΛ: ΤΕΛΗΛ sa 230.1 | ΟΥΟΥΩΝΖ: ΟΥΩΝΖ sa 48

- v. 4  $\text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}} \text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}}$  ΠΑΛΛΑΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΝΡΡΩΟΥ ΧΙ CMH ΕΡΟΪ· ΧΕ ΟῩΝ ΟΥΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΪΤΟΟΤ· ΑΥΩ ΠΑΖΑΠ ΕΥΟΓΟΕΙΝ Ν̄ΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ· <sup>v.4</sup>
- v. 5 ΤΑΔΙΚΑΪΟΣΥΝΗ ΝΑΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΕΠΗ· ΑΥΩ ΠΑΟΥΧΑΪ ΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΑΥΩ ΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ ΝΑΝΑΖΤΕ ΕΠΑΒΒΟΪ· ΕΡΕΝΝΗCOC ΒΕΕΤ ΕΡΟΪ· ΑΥΩ CΕΝΑΝΑΖΤΕ ΕΠΑΒΒΟΪ· <sup>v.5</sup>
- v. 6  $\text{C}\bar{\text{i}}$  ΝΝΕΤ̄ΝΒΑΛ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ· ΝΤΕΤΝCΩΥΤ ΕΠ<ε>CΗΤ ΕΠΚΑΖ· ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΙΤΑΧΡΕ ΤΠΕ Ν (Page 106, f. 52<sup>v</sup>, Copt. P<sup>H</sup>) ΘΕ ΝΟΥΚΑΠΝΟΣ· ΠΚΑΖ ΔΕ ΝΑΡ ΠΕΛCΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΙΖΟΪΤΕ· ΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΔΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΑΜΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΑΪ· ΠΑΟΥΧΑΪ ΔΕ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ· ΑΥΩ ΝΝΕΤΑΔΙΚΑΪΟΣΥΝΗ ΩΧ̄Ν· <sup>v.6</sup>
- v. 7  $\text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}}$  ΕΡΟΪ ΝΕΤCΟΟΥ(Ν) Μ̄ΠΖΑΠ ΠΑΛΛΑΟΣ· ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΑΝΟΜΟΣ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ· ΜΠ̄ΡΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤ̄C Μ̄ΠΝΟΒΝΕC Ν̄ΝΡΩΜΕ· ΑΥΩ Μ̄Π̄CΩΤΠ̄ ΖΗΤ̄C Μ̄ΠΕΥCΩΩC· <sup>v.7</sup>
- v. 8 ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ/ ΝΟΥΩΤΗΝ ΕCΝΑΡ̄ ΠΕΛCΕ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΟΓΟΕΪΩ· ΑΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥCΟΡ̄Τ CΕΝΑΟΥΟΜΟΥ ΖΪΤΝ ΟΥΖΟΟΛΕ· ΤΑΔΙΚΑΪΟΣΥΝΗ ΔΕ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ· ΑΥΩ ΠΑΟΥΧΑΪ ΩΑ ΖΕΝΧΩΜ Ν̄ΧΩΜ· <sup>v.8</sup>
- v. 9 ΤΩΟΥΝΕ· ΤΩΟΥΝΕ· Θ̄ΛΗΜ̄ ΝΤΕ† ΖΪΩΩΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΥCΒΟΪ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΤΩΟΥΝΕ ΝΘΕ Ν̄ΝΩΟΡΠ ΝΖΟΟΥ· ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΧΩΜ ΝΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ· ΝΤΟ ΑΝ ΠΕ <sup>v.9</sup>
- v. 10 ΝΤΑΡ̄ ΘΑΛΑCCA Ν̄ΧΑΪΕ {ε}ΠΜΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΝ ΕΤΩΩ· ΠΕΝΤΑCΚΩ ΜΠΩΪΚ̄ ΝΘΑΛΑCCA Ν̄ΖΙΗ ΝΧΪΟΟΡ̄ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΖΜΟΥ· <sup>v.10</sup>

- v. 4  $\text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}} \text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}}$  ΠΑΛΛΑΟΣ: [ $\text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}}$  ΕΡΟΪ]  $\text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}}$  ΕΡΟΪ ΠΑΖΕΘΝΟΣ] sa 230.1 | ΑΥΩ<sup>1</sup>: > sa 230.1 | ΝΡΡΩΟΥ: [ΝΕ]ΡΡΩΟΥ sa 230.1, ΝΕΡΩΟΥ CLM 3469 | ΕΡΟΪ: ΕΡΟΕΙ sa 48 | ΝΗΥ: ΝΗΟΥ sa 48, [ΝΑΕΪ] sa 230.1
- v. 5 ΝΗΥ: ΝΗΟΥ sa 48 | ΕΠΑΒΒΟΪ<sup>1</sup>: ΕΠΑΒΒΟΕΙ sa 48 | ΒΕΕΤ: C[ΩΩΤ] sa 230.1 | ΕΡΟΪ: ΕΡΟΕΙ sa 48 | ΕΠΑΒΒΟΪ<sup>2</sup>: ΕΠΑΒΒΟΕΙ
- v. 6 ΕΖΡΑΪ: > sa 230.1 | ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΝΑΥ: Τ̄ΕΤ̄ΝΝΑΥ sa 230.1 | ΝΤΑΙΤΑΧΡΕ: Ν̄ΤΑΥΤΑΧΡΕ sa 48, CLM 3469, Ν̄ΤΑΥΤΑΧΡ[Ο] sa 230.1 | ΤΠΕ: [Ν]ΤΠΕ sa 230.1 | ΝΟΥΚΑΠΝΟΣ: ΟΥΚΑΠΝΟΣ sa 48 | ΠΕΛCΕ: Π̄ΛCΕ sa 48, sa 230.1, CLM 3469 | ΝΝΕΙΖΟΪΤΕ: Ν̄ΝΙΖΟΕΙΤΕ sa 48, Ν̄[Ν]ΖΟΕΙΤΕ sa 230.1, Ν̄ΝΙΖΟΪΤΕ CLM 3469 | ΝΝΑΪ: Ν̄Α[Ϊ] sa 230.1
- v. 7 ΕΡΟΪ: ΕΡΟΕΙ sa 48 | Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ: Ζ̄Ν ΠΕΥΖΗΤ sa 48 | Ν̄ΝΡΩΜΕ: ΝΕ[ΝΡΩΜΕ] sa 230.1 | Μ̄Π̄CΩΤΠ̄ ΖΗΤ̄C Μ̄ΠΕΥCΩΩC: Μ̄[Π̄]CΩΤΠ̄ [ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Μ] ΠΕΥCΩΩC sa 230.1
- v. 8 ΕCΝΑΡ̄: CΕΝΑΡ̄ sa 48, CΕ[ΝΑΡ̄] sa 230.1, CΕΝ[ΑΡ̄] CLM 3469 | ΠΕΛCΕ: Π̄ΛCΕ sa 48, [Π̄]ΛCΕ sa 230.1, [ΠΛC]Ε CLM 3469 | Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΟΓΟΕΪΩ: ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΟΥΟΕΪΩ sa 48 | ΝΟΥCΟΡ̄Τ: Ν̄ΖΕΝCΟΡ̄Τ sa 48 | CΕΝΑΟΥΟΜΟΥ: CΕΝΑΟΥΩΜΟΥ sa 230.1
- v. 9 Θ̄ΛΗΜ̄: Θ̄ΗΜ̄ sa 48 | ΝΤΕ†: Ν̄ΤΕ[ΜΟΪ] sa 230.1 | ΜΠΟΥCΒΟΪ: Μ̄ΠΟΥCΒΟΕΙ sa 48, sa 230.1 | ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ: > sa 230.1 | Ν̄ΝΩΟΡΠ: Ν̄ΩΟΡΠ sa 48, [Μ̄ΠΩΩ]ΡΠ sa 230.1 | ΝΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ: ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ sa 230.1 | ΠΕ: †ΤΕ sa 48, sa 230.1, [ΤΕ] CLM 3469
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v.13 ΝΪΧΪCΕ: ΝΕCΧΪCΕ sa 108<sup>L</sup> | ΝΪΧΪ: ΝΕCΧΪ sa 108<sup>L</sup>

v.14 ΕΖΡΑΪ: > sa 48, sa 105<sup>L</sup>.4 | ΝΑCΩΩ: ΝΑCΩΩΪ sa 48, sa 105<sup>L</sup>.4, sa 108<sup>L</sup> | ΝΤῼ ΝῼΡΩΜΕ: ΝΤῼ ΝῼΡΩΜΕ sa 48, ΝΤῼ ΝῼΡΩΜΕ sa 105<sup>L</sup>.4, sa 187, ΝΤΕΝ ΝῼΡΩΜΕ sa 108<sup>L</sup> | ΑΥΩ ΠΕΚΕΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῼ ΝΡΩΜΕ: > sa 108<sup>L</sup>

v.15 ΝΖΕΘΝΟC: ΝΖΘΝΟC sa 108<sup>L</sup> | ΝΤΕΙΖΕ: ΝΤΕΕΙΖΕ sa 48 | ΕΖΡΑΪ: > sa 48, sa 105<sup>L</sup>.4, sa 187, CLM 3469 | ΝΡΡΟΥ: ΝΕΡΩΟΥ sa 105<sup>L</sup>.4, ΝΕΡΡΩΟΥ sa 187, ΝΕΡΡΩ[Ο]Υ CLM 3469 | ΝΕΤῼΠΟΥΧΩ: ΝΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥ-ΧΩ sa 48, sa 108<sup>L</sup>, sa 187, ΝΕ[ΤΕ]ΜΠΟΥ[ΧΩ] CLM 3469 | ΝΕΤΜΠΟΥCΩΤῼ: ΝΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥCΩΤῼ sa 48, sa 108<sup>L</sup>, sa 187, ΝΕΤΕ[ΜΠΟ]ΥCΩ[Τῼ] CLM 3469

#### 4. The English Translation of Isa 51–52

The English translation of Isa 51–52 from the Sahidic dialect of the Coptic language is as follows:<sup>62</sup>

##### Chapter 51

- v. 1 Hear me, you that pursue what is righteous, and seek the Lord. Look to the solid rock that you hewed and to the pit<sup>63</sup> that you dug.
- v. 2 Look to Abraam your father and Sarra<sup>64</sup> who bore<sup>65</sup> you; because he was but one, then I called him and blessed him and loved him and multiplied him.
- v. 3 And I *have comforted*<sup>66</sup> you now, Sion;<sup>67</sup> I comforted all her desolate places, <and I will make her desolate places><sup>68</sup> like the garden of the Lord; *and*<sup>69</sup> in her they will find joy and gladness, confession and the voice of praise.
- v. 4 Hear;<sup>70</sup> hear, my people,<sup>71</sup> and you kings, give ear to me, because a law will go out from me, and my judgment for a light *of*<sup>72</sup> *the*<sup>73</sup> nations.
- v. 5 My righteousness *will draw*<sup>74</sup> near swiftly; *and*<sup>75</sup> my salvation will go out *like the light*,<sup>76</sup> and the nations will hope in my arm; the islands will wait for me and hope in my arm.
- v. 6 Lift up your eyes to heaven,<sup>77</sup> and look at the earth beneath, *and see that I have strengthened heaven*<sup>78</sup> like smoke, and the earth will become old like *these garments*,<sup>79</sup> and those who live on the earth<sup>80</sup> will die like these things, but my salvation will be forever, and<sup>81</sup> my righteousness will not fail.

62 In translating the text using NETS, the same principles were applied as in the translation of the previous chapters (cf. e.g. Bąk, *Isa 46–48*, 614).

63 NETS: *to the hole of the pit* → T 2.

64 NETS: *to Sarra* → T 4.

65 Lit. *who bears* (LXX: ὠδίνουσαν) → T 7.

66 NETS: *I will comfort* → T 7.

67 Tr. → T 6.

68 Om. in sa 52 → T 2.

69 Om. in NETS → T 1.

70 Om. *me* → T 2.

71 → T 5.

72 NETS: *to nations* (LXX: φῶς ἐθνῶν).

73 Om. in NETS → T 5.

74 NETS: *draws* → T 7.

75 Om. in NETS (LXX: καί).

76 Om. in NETS → T 1.

77 Tr. → T 6.

78 NETS: *because heaven was strengthened* → T 1, T 7.

79 NETS: *a garment* → T 7.

80 Lit. *in the earth* → T 4.

81 LXX lit. *but* (δέ) → T 3.

- v. 7 Hear me, you who know judgment, my people, you in whose<sup>82</sup> heart is my law; do not fear the reproach of men, and do not be dismayed by their contempt.
- v. 8 For just as a garment it will be devoured by time,<sup>83</sup> and like wool<sup>84</sup> *they*<sup>85</sup> will be devoured by a moth, but my righteousness will be forever and<sup>86</sup> my salvation for generations of generations.
- v. 9 Awake, awake, O Ierusalem; put on *the glory*<sup>87</sup> of your *holy*<sup>88</sup> arm! Awake, as at the beginning of a day, like a generation of long ago! Are you not<sup>89</sup>
- v. 10 she who made desolate the sea, the water<sup>90</sup> of *the great abyss*,<sup>91</sup> who made<sup>92</sup> the *depth*<sup>93</sup> of the sea a way of passage of<sup>94</sup> those being delivered
- v. 11 and of<sup>95</sup> those who have been ransomed? For by the Lord they shall be returned and come to Sion with joy and *everlasting gladness*;<sup>96</sup> for gladness and praise shall be upon their *head*<sup>97</sup> and joy shall take hold of them; pain and sorrow and sighing have fled away.
- v. 12 I am, I am<sup>98</sup> he who comforts you. Acknowledge of whom you were cautious;<sup>99</sup> you were afraid because of a mortal man and a son of man, who have dried up like grass.
- v. 13 And you have forgotten God who made you, who made heaven and laid the foundations of the earth. And always, all *your* days,<sup>100</sup> you feared the face of the fury of the one who was oppressing you, for just as he planned to do away with you, and where now is the fury of the one who was oppressing you?
- v. 14 For when you are saved, he will not stand nor linger,
- v. 15 because I am *the Lord*<sup>101</sup> God,<sup>102</sup> who stirs up the sea and *stirs up* its waves<sup>103</sup> – the Lord Sabaoth is *his*<sup>104</sup> name.

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82 LXX lit. *your* (ὑμῶν) → T 7.

83 See the commentary.

84 LXX in pl. (ἔρινα) → T 7.

85 NETS: *it* → T 7.

86 LXX lit. *but* → T 3.

87 NETS: *the strength* → T 3.

88 Om. in NETS → T 1.

89 See the commentary.

90 See the commentary.

91 NETS: the water, *the abundance of the deep* → T 7.

92 See the commentary.

93 NETS: the *depths* → T 7.

94 NETS: *for* → T 4.

95 Om. in NETS → T 4.

96 Om. in sa 52; text based on sa 48 → T 2. See the commentary.

97 NETS: their *heads* (LXX: τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν).

98 Lit. om. in sa 52 → T 2.

99 Lit. *you were cautious* om. in Copt. → T 2.

100 NETS: *the* days → T 5.

101 Om. in NETS → T 1.

102 NETS: *your* God → T 2.

103 NETS: and *makes* its waves *to sound* → T 3.

104 NETS: *my* → T 7.

- v. 16 I will put my words in your mouth and shelter you *in*<sup>105</sup> the shadow of my hand, by which I established heaven and laid the foundations of the earth. And *Sion will say*,<sup>106</sup> “*My people*.”<sup>107</sup>
- v. 17 Awake, awake! O Ierousalem,<sup>108</sup> you who have drunk from the hand of the Lord the cup of his wrath, for you have drained dry and emptied the cup of ruin, the goblet of *my*<sup>109</sup> wrath.
- v. 18 And there was none who comforted you from among your children whom you have born, and there was none who took hold of your hand, not even from among all your sons, whom you have raised.
- v. 19 These two things are set against you – who will grieve with you? – ruin and destruction, famine and dagger – who will comfort you?
- v. 20 Your sons,<sup>110</sup> who lie down at the head of every street like a half-cooked beet, who are full of the wrath of the Lord *and*<sup>111</sup> made feeble by the Lord God.
- v. 21 Therefore hear, you who are humbled, who are drunk, but not with wine.
- v. 22 Thus says the Lord,<sup>112</sup> who judges his people: See, I have taken from your hand the cup of ruin, the goblet of *my*<sup>113</sup> wrath, and you shall not continue to drink it any longer.
- v. 23 And I will put it into the hands of those who have wronged you and humbled you, who have said to your soul, “Bow down, that we may pass by,” and you put your back level to the ground, outside, for those who were going by.

## Chapter 52

- v. 1 Awake, awake, O Sion! Put on your strength,<sup>114</sup> and *you yourself*<sup>115</sup> put on your glory, O Ierousalem, the holy city;<sup>116</sup> the uncircumcised and unclean shall no longer continue to pass through you.
- v. 2 Shake off the dust, and rise up; sit down, O Ierousalem; *loosen*<sup>117</sup> the bond *of*<sup>118</sup> your neck, O captive daughter *of*<sup>119</sup> Sion!
- v. 3 Because this is what the Lord says: You were sold for nothing, and not with money you shall be redeemed.

105 NETS: *under* → T 4.

106 NETS: *he will say to Sion*. See the commentary.

107 NETS: “*You are my people*” → T 2.

108 NETS: *Stand up*, O Ierousalem → T 2. See the commentary.

109 Om. in NETS → T 1. See the commentary.

110 Sa 52 om. *are the ones perplexed* → T 2.

111 Om. in NETS → T 1.

112 NETS: the Lord *God* → T 2.

113 Om. in NETS → T 1.

114 Om. *O Sion* → T 2.

115 Om. in NETS → T 1.

116 Lit. *the city* → T 5.

117 NETS: *take off* → T 3.

118 NETS: *from* (LXX: τού τραχήλου σου = sa 52).

119 Om. in NETS → T 7.

- v. 4 Thus says the Lord: Formerly, my people went down into Egypt to sojourn there,<sup>120</sup> and they were led by force to the Assyrians.
- v. 5 And now, why are you here? This is what the Lord says, Because my people were taken for nothing, you marvel and howl. This is what the Lord says, Because of you, my name is continually blasphemed among the nations.<sup>121</sup>
- v. 6 Therefore my people shall know my name in that day, because I myself am the one who speaks: I am here,
- v. 7 like season upon the *mountain*,<sup>122</sup> like the feet of one bringing glad tidings of a report of peace, like one bringing glad tidings of good things, because I will make your salvation heard, *saying*: “*Sion*,<sup>123</sup> your God shall reign *upon you*,”<sup>124</sup>
- v. 8 the voice<sup>125</sup> of those who watch over you was lifted up, and<sup>126</sup> they shall rejoice together, because *faces* shall look at *faces*<sup>127</sup> when the Lord will have mercy on Sion.
- v. 9 Let the desolate places of Ierousalem *cry out*<sup>128</sup> together in joy, because *he*<sup>129</sup> has had mercy on her and has delivered *her*.<sup>130</sup>
- v. 10 And the Lord shall reveal his holy arm before all the nations, and all the *nations from the*<sup>131</sup> ends of the earth shall see the salvation that comes from *the Lord*.<sup>132</sup>
- v. 11 Depart, depart, go out from there, and touch no unclean thing; go out from the midst of it; *and*<sup>133</sup> *separate yourselves*<sup>134</sup> *from those* who carry<sup>135</sup> the vessels of the Lord,
- v. 12 because you shall not go out with confusion, nor shall you go in flight, for the Lord will go before you, and the Lord God of Israel is the one who gathers you together.
- v. 13 See, my servant shall understand, and he shall be exalted and glorified exceedingly.
- v. 14 Just as many shall be astonished at you – so shall your appearance be without glory from men, and your glory [be absent] from the men –
- v. 15 so shall many nations be astonished at him, and kings shall shut their mouth, because those who were not informed about him shall see and those who did not hear shall understand.

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120 Tr. → T 6.

121 Tr. → T 6.

122 NETS: upon the *mountains* → T 7.

123 NETS: *saying to Sion*. See the commentary.

124 Om. in NETS → T 1.

125 NETS: *because* the voice → T 2. See the commentary.

126 Om. *with their voice* → T 2.

127 NETS: *eyes* shall look at *eyes* → T 3.

128 NETS: *break forth* → T 3.

129 NETS: *the Lord* → T 2.

130 NETS: *Ierousalem* → T 2.

131 Om. in NETS: → T 1.

132 NETS: *God* → T 3.

133 Om. in NETS → T 1.

134 NETS: *be separated* → T 7.

135 NETS: *you* who carry → T 7.

## 5. Tables of Language Differences

The differences between the text of the Septuagint and its Coptic translation will be presented in the following order: additions (Table 1) and omissions (Table 2) found in the Coptic text, the use of different vocabulary (Table 3), changes of prepositions (Table 4) and articles (Table 5),<sup>136</sup> changes in word order (Table 6),<sup>137</sup> and semantic changes (Table 7).<sup>138</sup> The last table shows the Greek borrowings appearing in the Coptic text of Isa 51–52 (Table 8).<sup>139</sup>

Table 1. Additions in the Coptic text

Verse	Septuagint text	Coptic text
51:3	εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα εὐρήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ: in her they will find joy and gladness	pr. <b>ΛΥΩ</b> (Ziegler: pr. καὶ Sa)
51:5	ἐξελεύσεται: will go out	+ <b>ΝΘΕ ΜΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ</b> : like the light (Ziegler: + ὡς φως Sa)
51:6	ὅτι: because	<b>ΝΤΕΤῆΝΝΑΥ ΞΕ</b> : and see that (> Ziegler)
51:9	τοῦ βραχίονός σου: of your arm	<b>ΜΠΟΥΘΒΟΪ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ</b> : of your <i>holy</i> arm (Ziegler: του αγιου Sa); > sa 230.1
51:15	ἐγώ: I	<b>ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΞΟΕΪC</b> : I am <i>the Lord</i> (Ziegler: + κυριος Sa)
51:17	τοῦ θυμοῦ: of wrath	<b>ΜΠΑΣΩΝῆ</b> : of <i>my</i> wrath (Ziegler: + μου Sa); CLM 3469: <b>ΜΠΣΩΝῆ</b> (= LXX)
51:20	ἐκλελυμένοι: made feeble	pr. <b>ΛΥΩ</b> (Ziegler: pr. καὶ Sa)
51:22	τοῦ θυμοῦ: of wrath	<b>ΜΠΑΣΩΝῆ</b> : of <i>my</i> wrath (Ziegler: + μου Sa)
52:1	ἐνδύσαι: put on	pr. <b>ἸΤΟ ΖΩΩΤΕ</b> : you yourself (Ziegler: pr. συ Co)
52:7	βασιλεύσει σου ὁ θεός: Your God shall reign	+ <b>ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΞΩ</b> : upon you (Ziegler: ἐπι σοι Co)
52:10	ὄψονται πάντα τὰ ἅκρα τῆς γῆς: all the ends of the earth shall see	<b>ΝΖΕΘΝΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΑΝΑΥ ΞΙῆΝ ΑΡΗΞῆ</b> <b>ΜΠΚΑΖ</b> : all the <i>nations from the</i> ends of the earth shall see (Ziegler: εθνη απ ακρων Sa)
52:11	ἀφορίσθητε: be separated	pr. <b>ΛΥΩ</b> (Ziegler: pr. καὶ without any references to Coptic)

<sup>136</sup> Omitting or adding an article does not necessarily result from the translator's intention to interfere with the content. The semantic rules frequently (especially in Coptic) decide about the omission of an article. Therefore, it would make no "material" sense to list all the places where the Coptic translation is not faithful to all the articles occurring in the Greek LXX. Table 5 only shows selected examples.

<sup>137</sup> The differences in word order do not always have to reflect the real changes introduced by the Coptic translator. They can often depend on the syntactic rules according to which, e.g. the direct object usually appears immediately after the verb (see Isa 41:18, 19) (cf. B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar. With Chrestomathy and Glossary. Sabidic Dialect. Second Edition, Revised and Expanded. With an Index of Citations* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2004] § 182).

<sup>138</sup> Here we have included the grammatical and semantic changes (e.g. number, tense, person, gender, etc.).

<sup>139</sup> For remarks concerning the tables see Bak, *Isa* 41, 76.

Table 2. Omissions in the Coptic text

51:1	εις τὸν βόθυνον τοῦ λάκκου: to the hole of the pit	ΕΠΕΖΙΪΕΙΤ: to the pit (> Ziegler), CLCM 3469: ΜΠΩΗ[Ι] = LXX
51:3	καὶ θήσω τὰ ἔρημα αὐτῆς: and I will make her desolate places	<ΑΓΩ ΨΝΑΚΩ ΝΝΕCΜΑ ΝΧ.ΑΕΙΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ>: = sa 48, om. in sa 52 (Ziegler: αὐτῆς 1 <sup>ο</sup> 2 <sup>ο</sup> Sa)
51:4	ἀκούσατέ μου: hear <i>me</i>	CΩΤῄ: hear (> Ziegler)
51:11	καὶ ἀγαλλιάματος αἰωνίου: and everlasting gladness	om. in sa 52 (> Ziegler); sa 48: Μῆ ΟΥΤΕΛΗΛ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ
51:12	ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ παρακαλῶν σε: I <i>am</i> he who comforts you	ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤCΟΠC ΜΜΟ: I [am] he who comforts you (> Ziegler); sa 48, sa 230.1, CLM 3469: ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΕΤCΟΠC ΜΜΟ (= LXX)
51:12	τίνα εὐλαβηθεῖσα: of whom <i>you were cautious</i>	ἸΝΤΕ ΝΙΜ: of whom (> Ziegler)
51:15	ὁ θεός σου: <i>your</i> God	ΠΝΟΥΤΕ: God (> Ziegler)
51:16	λαός μου εἶ σύ: <i>you are</i> my people	ΠΑΛΛΑΟC: my people (> Ziegler)
51:17	ἀνάστηθι: stand up!	> sa 52 (Ziegler: > Sa); sa 48, CLM 3469: ΑΖΕΡΑΤΕ (= LXX)
51:20	οἱ ἀπορούμενοι: the ones perplexed	> sa 52 (Ziegler: > Sa); CLM 3469: ΕΤΖΚΑΕΙΤ (= LXX)
51:22	ὁ θεός: God	om. in sa 52 (> Ziegler)
52:1	Σιων <sup>2</sup> : O Sion	> sa 52 (Ziegler: om. Σιων <sup>2</sup> Sa)
52:8	ὅτι <sup>1</sup> : because	> sa 52 (Ziegler: om. ὅτι Sa); ΧΕ sa 48 (= LXX)
52:8	τῆ φωνῆ: with the voice	> Sa 52 (> Ziegler)
52:9	ἠλέησεν κύριος: <i>the Lord</i> has had mercy	ΑΧΝΑ: <i>he</i> has had mercy (Ziegler: om. κύριος Sa)
52:9	ἔρρυσάτο Ιερουσαλήμ: he has delivered <i>Ierousalem</i>	ΑΧΝΟΥΖΜ ΜΜΟC: he has delivered <i>her</i> (Ziegler: αὐτην Sa)

Table 3. Changes of words

51:6	ἢ δέ: but	ΑΓΩ: and (Ziegler: καὶ ἠ Co)
51:8	τὸ δέ: but	ΑΓΩ: and (> Ziegler)
51:9	τὴν ἰσχύν: the strength	ΜΠΕΟΟΥ: the glory (Ziegler: τὴν δοξαν Co)
51:15	ἠχῶν τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς: who <i>makes</i> its waves to sound	ΕΤΩΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΝΕCΖΟΕΙΜ: who <i>stirs up</i> its waves (> Ziegler)
52:2	ἔκδυσαι: take off	ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ: loosen (Ziegler: ἐκλυσσαι Sa)
52:8	ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς ὀφθαλμούς ὄψονται: <i>eyes</i> shall look at <i>eyes</i>	CΕΝΑΝΑΥ ΝΖΟ Μῆ ΖΟ: <i>faces</i> shall look at <i>faces</i> (> Ziegler)
52:9	ῥηξάτω: let it/they <i>break forth</i>	ΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ: let they <i>cry out</i> (> Ziegler)
52:10	παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ: from <i>God</i>	ΖΪΤΟΟΤϢ ΜΠΧΟΕΪC: from <i>the Lord</i> (Ziegler: κυρίου); sa 48: ΜΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ

Table 4. Changes of prepositions

51:2	εις Σαρραν: to Sarra	ϸΑΡΡΑ: Sarra (> Ziegler), sa 230.1: Ε[ϸΑ] ΡΡΑ = LXX
51:6	τὴν γῆν: the earth (in Acc.)	ϸᾹ ΠΚΑϸ: lit. <i>in</i> the earth (> Ziegler)
51:10	ῥυομένοις: <i>for</i> those being delivered	ᾹΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑϸΜΟΥ: <i>of</i> those being delivered (> Ziegler)
51:11	λελυτρωμένοις: <i>for</i> those who have been ransomed	ᾹΝΕΝΤΑΥϸΟΤΟΥ: <i>of</i> those who have been ransomed (> Ziegler)
51:16	ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν: <i>under</i> the shadow	ϸᾹ ΘΑΪΒΕϸ: <i>in</i> the shadow (> Ziegler)

Table 5. Changes of articles

51:4	λαός μου: my people	ΠΑΛΛΑΟϸ: lit. <i>the</i> my people (Ziegler: pr. ο Co)
51:4	ἔθνων: lit. of nations	ᾹᾹϸΕΘΝΟϸ: lit. <i>of the</i> nations (> Ziegler)
51:13	πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας: all <i>the</i> days	ᾹΝΟΥϸΟΥϸ ΤΗΡΟΥ: <i>of your</i> days (> Ziegler); sa 48: ᾹΝΕϸΟΥϸ ΤΗΡΟΥ (= LXX)
52:1	πόλις: city	ΤΠΟΛΙϸ: <i>the</i> city (Ziegler: pr. η without any references to Coptic)

Table 6. Changes in word order

51:3	σε <sup>1</sup> / νῦν <sup>2</sup> / παρακαλέσω <sup>3</sup> / Σιων <sup>4</sup> : I will comfort <sup>3</sup> / you <sup>1</sup> / now <sup>2</sup> , / Sion <sup>4</sup>	ΝΤΟ ϸΩΩΤΕ <sup>1</sup> / ΚΙΩΝ <sup>4</sup> / ΑΙϸΕΠϸΩΠΕ <sup>3</sup> / ΤΕΝΟΥ <sup>2</sup> : I have comforted <sup>3</sup> / you <sup>1</sup> / now <sup>2</sup> , / Sion <sup>4</sup> (> Ziegler)
51:6	ἄρατε <sup>1</sup> / εις τὸν οὐρανὸν <sup>2</sup> / τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν <sup>3</sup> : lift up <sup>1</sup> / your eyes <sup>3</sup> / to heaven <sup>2</sup>	ᾹΪ <sup>1</sup> / ᾹΝΕΤᾹΒΑΛ <sup>3</sup> / ΕϸΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ <sup>2</sup> : lift up <sup>1</sup> / your eyes <sup>3</sup> / to heaven <sup>2</sup> (Ziegler: tr. εις τ. οὐρ. / τ. ὀφθ. ὑμ. without any references to Coptic)
52:4	εις Αἴγυπτον <sup>1</sup> / κατέβη <sup>2</sup> / ὁ λαός μου <sup>3</sup> / τὸ πρότερον <sup>4</sup> / παροικῆσαι ἐκεῖ <sup>3</sup> : formerly, <sup>4</sup> / my people <sup>3</sup> / went down <sup>2</sup> / into Egypt <sup>1</sup> / to sojourn there <sup>5</sup>	ΑΠΑΛΛΑΟϸ <sup>3</sup> / ΒΩΚ ΕΠΕϸΗΤ <sup>2</sup> / ΕΚΗΜΕ <sup>1</sup> / ᾹΩΟΡΠ <sup>4</sup> / ΕΟΥΩϸ ᾹΜΑΥ <sup>5</sup> (> Ziegler)
52:5	διὰ παντός <sup>1</sup> / τὸ ὄνομά μου <sup>2</sup> / βλασφημεῖται <sup>3</sup> / ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν <sup>4</sup> : my name <sup>2</sup> [is] / continual- ly <sup>1</sup> / blasphemed <sup>3</sup> / among the nations <sup>4</sup>	ϸΕϸΪ ΟΥΑ <sup>3</sup> / ΕΠΑΡΑΝ <sup>2</sup> / ϸᾹ Ν{Ε}ϸΕΘΝΟϸ <sup>4</sup> / ΝΟΥΟΕΪΩ ΝΙΜ <sup>1</sup> (> Ziegler)



Table 7. Semantic changes

51:2	ὠδίνουσαν ὑμᾶς: who bears you	ΤΕΝΤΑϸ† ΝΑ<ΑΚΕ> ΜΜΩΤḢ: who bore you (Ziegler: ὠδινασαν without any refer- ences to Coptic)
51:3	παρακαλέσω: I will comfort	ΛΙϸΕΠϸΩΠΕ: I have comforted you (Ziegler: παρεκαλεσα Sa)
51:5	ἐγγίξει: [my righteousness] draws	ΝΑϸΩΝ: [my righteousness] will draw (> Ziegler)
51:6	ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς καπνὸς ἐστερεώθη: heaven was strengthened like smoke	ΝΤΑΙΤΑϸΡΕ ΤΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΚΑΠΝΟϸ: I have strengthened heaven like smoke (> Ziegler); sa 48, CLCM 3469: ΝΤΑΥΤΑϸΡΕ (= LXX)
51:6	ὡς ἱμάτιον: like a garment	ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΙϸΟἸΤΕ: like these garments
51:7	ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν: in your heart	ϸḢ ΠΕΥϸΗΤ: in their heart (Ziegler: αυτων Co)
51:8	ὡς ἔρια: like wool (in pl.)	ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥϸΟΡḢ: like wool (in sg.) (Ziegler: εριον Sa)
51:8	βρωθήσεται: it will be devoured	ϸΕΝΑΟΥΟΜΟΥ: they will be devoured (Ziegler: βρωθησονται Co)
51:10	ὑδωρ ἀβύσσου πλήθος: the great water of the abyss (NETS: the water, the abun- dance of the deep)	ΠΜΟΥ ΜḢΠΝΟΥΝ ΕΤΟΥϸ: the water of the great abyss (> Ziegler)
51:10	τὰ βάθη: the depths	ΜΠΩἶΚ: the depth (Ziegler: το βαθος Co)
51:15	ὄνομά μοι: my name	ΠΕϸΡΑΝ: his name (Ziegler: αυτου Co); sa 48: ΠΑΡΑΝ (= LXX)
52:2	Σιων: Sion	ḢϸἰΩ(Ν): of Sion (> Ziegler)
52:7	ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων: upon the mountains	ϸἰ ΟΥΤΟΥϸ: upon the mountain (> Ziegler); sa 48: ϸἰ ḢΤΟΥϸ (= LXX)
52:11	ἀφορίσθητε: be separated	ΝΤΕḢΠΕΡϸ ΤΗΥḢḢ: separate yourselves (> Ziegler)
52:11	οἱ φέροντες: you who carry	ΕΒΟΛ ΝΕΤΕΙΝΕ: from those who carry (> Ziegler)

Table 8. Greek words in the Coptic text

51:2	Αβρααμ	ΑΒΡΑϸΑΜ
52:7	ἀγαθός	ΑΓΑΘΟΝ
52:2	αἰχμάλωτος	ΑἶΧΜΑΛΩΤΟϸ
52:1, 11	ἀκάθαρτος	ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟϸ
52:4	Ἀσσύριοι	ΑϸϸΥΡἶΟϸ
51:8, 11(2x), 13, 14, 17; 52:12	γάρ	ΓΑΡ
51:6(3x), 8	δέ	ΔΕ
51:5, 6, 8	δικαιοσύνη	ΔΙΚΑἶΟϸΥΝΗ
51:4, 5; 52:5, 10(2x), 15	ἔθνος	ϸΕΘΝΟϸ
52:7	εἰρήνη	ΕΙΡΗΝΗ

52:7	εὐαγγελίζω	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΖΕ
52:8	εὐφραίνω	ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ
51:10, 15	θάλασσα	ΘΑΛΑССΑ
51:13(2x)	θλίβω	ΘΛΙΒΕ
51:9, 17; 52:1, 2, 9	Ἱερουσαλήμ	ΘΙΛΗΜ
52:12	Ἰσραήλ	ΠΙΗΛ
51:6	καπνός	ΚΑΠΝΟС
51:22	κρίνω	ΚΡΙΝΕ
51:4, 7, 16, 22; 52:4, 5, 6	λαός	ΛΑΟС
51:11, 19	λύπη	ΛΥΠΗ
51:5	νήσος	ΝΗСОС
51:4, 7	νόμος	ΝΟΜΟС
51:14, 18; 52:12	οὐδέ	ΟΥΔΕ
51:3	παράδεισος	ΠΑΡΑΔΙСОС
51:1	πέτρα	ΠΕΤΡΑ
52:1	πόλις	ΠΟΛΙС
51:15	Σαβαώθ	САΒΑΩΘ
51:2	Σαρρα	САΡРА
51:3, 11, 16; 52:1, 2, 7, 8	Σιων	СΙΩΝ
51:12	χόρτος	ΧΟΡТОС
51:23	ψυχή	ΨΥΧΗ

## 6. The Analysis of Selected Philological Questions Found in Isa 49–50

The last part of the paper analyses the more difficult philological questions found in Isa 51–52 concerning two areas. Firstly, these issues can result from differences between the Sahidic manuscripts, which has been indicated in the critical apparatus of the Coptic text. Secondly, they may relate to the way of reading and translating the Greek text of the Septuagint into the Coptic language. The philological issues requiring commentary can be found in the following verses:

### Isa 51:3

Manuscript sa 52 omits the text passage  $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \dagger\eta\alpha\kappa\omega\ \bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\ \tau\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma$ , which is a translation of the Greek  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \xi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  (“and I will make her desolate places”). This omission is the result of an error, referred to as *parablepsis* (or more accurately *homoioleuton*). The copyist “jumped” from the first to the second  $\tau\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma$ , omitting several Coptic words. The manuscripts available to the author: sa 48, sa 230.1 and CLM 3469 contain the longer, correct version.

The mistake was noticed in Joseph Ziegler’s critical apparatus and noted as a “jump” from the first to the second  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  ( $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ 1^0\cap 2^0$  Sa). Ziegler lists Greek manuscripts that contain such an error. He also provides the abbreviation “Sa,” suggesting that all

Sahidic manuscripts contain a shorter version of the text. This is not the case. Only in sa 52 does the omission of part of the verse occur. The manuscripts available to the author, sa 48, sa 230.1 and CLM 3469, contain text consistent with the longer version of the Greek Septuagint.

### Isa 51:8

In the opening part of the verse **ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ ΕCΝΑΡ̄ ΠΕΛΘΕ**, the manuscript sa 52 reads the verb form **Ρ̄ ΠΕΛΘΕ** (“become old”<sup>140</sup>) in the singular. In the form **ΕCΝΑΡ̄**, there is circumstantial conversion **Ε-**, followed by the subject in the form of the 3rd person singular feminine pronoun **С** and the base of the future tense **ΝΑ-**. The subject **С** refers to the noun **ΟΥΨΤΗΝ**, preceded by the letter **Ν-**, which always occurs after **ΝΘΕ** (**ΝΘΕ Ν** means as much as “in manner of,” “even as”<sup>141</sup>).

All other manuscripts available to the author (sa 48, sa 230.1, CLM 3469) read the verb form as **СΕΝΑΡ̄** with the plural subject **СΕ**. They probably read the form **ΝΟΥ-**, preceding the noun **ΨΤΗΝ**, as a possessive article (“their”), which is grammatically incorrect. The correct spelling should take the form **ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΝΟΥΨΤΗΝ СΕΝΑΡ̄ ΠΕΛΘΕ**.

Since in the LXX text there is only the noun *ἰμάτιον*, there is no need to add a possessive article in the Coptic translation. The more correct version is therefore the one found in the manuscript of interest to this study, sa 52. Therefore, Ziegler’s observation stating that Coptic texts read the verb *παλαιωθήσονται* in the plural does not apply to the manuscript analysed here, sa 52.

### Isa 51:9

Manuscript sa 52 reads the verse as **ΝΤΟ ΑΝ ΠΕ**. Since the pronoun **ΝΤΟ** is of the feminine gender, the nominal phrase should take the form **ΝΤΟ ΑΝ ΤΕ**. The correct spelling is found in manuscripts sa 48 and sa 230.1.

### Isa 51:10

Since the noun **ΘΑΛΛΑCСΑ**, which is the object of the action of Jerusalem, occurs without any prefix, **ΠΜΟΟΥ** should also have no initial **Ε**. A more correct version would therefore be found in witnesses such as sa 48 and sa 230.1. Perhaps the spelling **ΕΠΜΟΟΥ** found in the manuscript analysed in this study is the result of an error of *dittography*. This is because the earlier word **Ν̄ΧΑΙΕ** ends with the vowel **Ε**, which may have been doubled by mistake.

Another comment concerns the spelling of **ΠΕΝΤΑϸΚΩ**, meaning literally “he who made.” Since the verse talks about Jerusalem all the time, the correct reading is **ΤΕΝΤΑϸΚΩ** (“she who made”). It is found in such manuscripts as sa 48 and sa 230.1. It is also suggested by the surviving fragment of CLM 3469: **[ΤΕΝ]ΤΑϸΚΩ**.

140 Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 262b.

141 Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 639a.

**Isa 51:11**

Manuscript sa 52 omits several words: **ΜΝ̄ ΟΥΤΕΛΗΛ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ**. Since these words are immediately followed by the repeated noun **ΤΕΛΗΛ**, the omission can be treated as a *parablepsis* error. All other manuscripts available to the author – sa 48, sa 230.1 and CLM 3469 – contain the correct version.

**Isa 51:16**

The Greek text ἐρεῖ Σιων has been translated in NETS as “he will say to Sion.” In a footnote, the possibility of “you will say to Sion” is also suggested. It would also be grammatically correct to translate it as “Sion will say.” It is this third possibility that is found in the Coptic translation **ϸΙΩΝ ΝΑΧΟΟС**, which is less ambiguous than the text of the LXX and sees Zion as the subject of the sentence.

**Isa 51:17**

Ziegler’s remark as to the Sahidic manuscripts leaving out the translation of the Greek verb ἀνάστηθι (> 407 Sa’) is not precise. Admittedly, one does not find this form in the manuscript of interest to this study, sa 52. However, witnesses sa 48 and CLM 3469 contain the verb **ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΕ** which is a translation of the Greek ἀνάστηθι.

A similar imprecision applies to the Greek τοῦ θυμοῦ (“of wrath”). Ziegler’s critical apparatus indicates that the Sahidic manuscripts add the possessive pronoun μου (“my [wrath]”). However, there is a manuscript, CLM 3469, which reads **ΜΠϸΩΝΤ̄**, which is exactly the same as the Septuagint does, and therefore without the possessive pronoun.

**Isa 52:7**

The Greek verb εὐαγγελίζω appears twice in the Septuagint. The Coptic translator uses a little more philological diversity here. This is because he first renders this verb with the Coptic expression **ΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΩ**,<sup>142</sup> and only in the second occurrence he uses a loanword from the Greek **ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΖΕ**.

The Greek expression λέγων Σιων is not unambiguous and can be translated in two ways: 1) NETS translates it as “saying to Sion:”, perhaps influenced by some manuscripts adding the genus τη before the word “Sion.” 2) The second possibility is to insert a colon after the verb form “saying:”. The Coptic translator is much more unambiguous here, clearly choosing the latter option: **ΕΙΧΩ ΜΜΟС ΧΕ ϸΙΩΝ**. The particle **ΧΕ**, which introduces independent speech, is placed before the noun “Sion.”

**Isa 52:8**

In his critical apparatus, Ziegler states that the Sahidic manuscripts omit the translation of the Greek ὅτι, occurring at the very beginning of the verse. This observation is true of the manuscript analysed in this study, sa 52. However, it cannot be applied to all

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 257b.

Sahidic witnesses. This is because manuscript sa 48 contains a translation of ὄτι in the form of the Coptic **ⲬⲈ**.

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## Ben Sira's Idea on the Role and Tasks of the Physician in the Process of Healing the Sick (Sir 38:12–15)

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**ABSTRACT:** The last part of Ben Sira's reflections on the activities of his contemporary physicians and the medicine of the time contained in Sir 38:1–15 is devoted to the attitude of the medical practitioner when healing the sick person (38:12–15). The pericope has a concentric structure with the attitude of the physicians towards God at its centre (38:13–14). The frame verses are devoted to the attitude of the sick person (38:12) and the sinner (38:15) towards the physician. According to the sage, it is not enough for a suffering person to turn to God alone asking to restore their health (Sir 38:9–11), but they should call on a doctor to help them recover (38:12a). The sick person needs a doctor's help (38:12b). The Greek text emphasises that one should not be afraid of a doctor because God created them (the Hebrew version omits this argument; see 38:12a). Therefore, physicians are desired by the Lord and, like all creatures, God has also assigned them a specific task. However, physicians cannot rely solely on their knowledge and skills while healing a sick person. They should ask (pray to) God to allow them first to make the correct diagnosis (as explicitly stated in the Hebrew version), and then to heal their patient. The last verse of the pericope (38:15) poses many difficulties, which are reflected in numerous interpretations of its content. According to the analysis made in the article, it does not contain a negative image of a medical practitioner because its main message is the link between the cause of illness and sin (traditional perception of illness expressed in the Old Testament based on the principle of retribution). In Sir 38:12–15, as well as in the entire reflection on the contemporary medicine (38:1–15), Ben Sira made an excellent synthesis between this field of science and Israel's faith in the divine Physician.

**KEYWORDS:** the Book of Sirach, physician, prayer, healing the sick, Sir 38:12–15, Sir 38:1–15

The Old Testament unequivocally portrays God as the only healer who can cure a sick person of their ailments.<sup>1</sup> He is the only one that can restore a sick person's full health and physical strength (cf. Exod 15:26), having first forgiven their transgressions and the evil they have committed. This belief stems from the theological principle of retribution,

<sup>1</sup> See M. Adinolfi, "Il medico in Sir 38,1–15," *Anton* 62 (1987) 176; W. Chrostowski, "Lekarz i jego posługa w świetle Biblii," *CT* 71/3 (2001) 51–57; G. Ravasi, "Malattia, guarigione e medici nell'Antico Testamento," *PSV* 40 (1999) 17–19; M.P. Scanu, "«Io sono JHWH, colui che ti guarisce»: Es 15,26. Considerazioni sulla metafora terapeutica in prospettiva teologica," *PSV* 40 (1999) 23–39; E. Testa, "Le malattie e il medico secondo la Bibbia," *RivB* 43 (1995) 258–260.

according to which sickness and suffering are punishments for sin and wrongdoing.<sup>2</sup> Since illness and pain had a primarily religious rather than bodily dimension, physicians seemed unnecessary. The negative assessment of their activity in ancient Israel (see 2 Chr 16:12<sup>3</sup>) was also associated with the reliance of the contemporary medicine time on magic, which was prohibited for believers in the one God.<sup>4</sup> Only in the Hellenistic period was this very negative attitude towards physicians somewhat mitigated, as reflected in the Book of Tobit (see Tob 2:10).<sup>5</sup> In his sapiential reflection on human life, Ben Sira also recognised the problem associated with contemporary medicine and healing the sick of their ailments. He addressed this in Sir 38:1–15. This article is devoted to the final part of the Jerusalem sage's reflection on contemporary medicine (38:12–15). He focused primarily on the role and tasks that physicians should perform in the process of healing the sick.

First, the immediate context of Sir 38:12–15 and the delimitation of this section of Sir 38:1–15 will be presented. Then, the translation of its Greek text will be provided and the structure of the studied pericope will be outlined. In the final part of the article, an exegetical and theological analysis of the pericope will be carried out. Contrary to what could have been expected, the activity of physicians and its assessment in the Old Testament will not be presented at the beginning of the article, as this issue was discussed in an earlier article concerning Sir 38:1–3.<sup>6</sup>

2 See Adinolfi, "Il medico in Sir 38,1–15," 180; N. Allan, "The Physician in Ancient Israel: His Status and Function," *Medical History* 45 (2001) 377–379; H. Duesberg, "Le médecin, un sage (Ecclésiastique 38,1–15)," *BVC* 38 (1961) 47–48; J. Gibley – P. Grelot, "Choroba-uleczenie," *Słownik teologii biblijnej* (ed. X. Léon-Dufour) (Poznań: Pallottinum 1990) 121–123; V. Morla Asensio, *Eclesiastico* (El Mensaje del Antiguo Testamento 20; Salamanca: Sígueme 1992) 186; Ravasi, "Malattia, guarigione e medici nell'Antico Testamento," 13–14; L. Ryken – J.C. Wilhoit – T. Longman III (eds.), *Le immagini bibliche. Simboli, figure retoriche e temi letterari della Bibbia* (Dizionario San Paolo; Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2006) 831–833; W.M. Stabryła, "Najlepszego nawet lekarza czeka Gehenna! Lekarz w starożytnym Izraelu," *AK* 160/1 (2013) 7–8; W.M. Stabryła, "Zdrowie i choroba w starożytnym Izraelu," *Więcej szczęścia jest w dawaniu aniżeli w braniu. Księga pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Waldemara Chrostowskiego w 60. rocznicę urodzin* (ed. B. Strzałkowska) (Ad Multos Annos; Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Bibliistów Polskich 2011) III, 1317.

3 See I. Cranz, "Advice for a Successful Doctor's Visit: King Asa Meets Ben Sira," *CBQ* 80 (2018) 231–237.

4 See Allan, "The Physician in Ancient Israel," 381–382; F. Gaiser, "'The sensible will not despise him': Healing Medicine, Human Wisdom and God (Sirach 38:1–15)," *Healing in the Bible. Theological Insight for Christian Ministry* (ed. F.J. Gaiser) (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker 2010) 121–122; A. Piwowar, "Respect for the Doctor (Sir 38:1–3)," *BibAn* 10/1 (2020) 33–34; Stabryła, "Najlepszego nawet lekarza czeka Gehenna," 8–9; Stabryła, "Zdrowie i choroba w starożytnym Izraelu," 1317, 1323–1325, 1327, 1333.

5 See Allan, "The Physician in Ancient Israel," 382–385; Stabryła, "Najlepszego nawet lekarza czeka Gehenna," 9; Stabryła, "Zdrowie i choroba w starożytnym Izraelu," 1325; J. Turkiel, "Septuaginta o lekarzu," *Nauki humanistyczne i socjologia. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Księdzu Profesorowi zwyczajnemu doktorowi habilitowanemu Józefowi M. Dołędze* (ed. J.W. Czartoszewski) (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo UKSW 2010) 564–565.

6 See Piwowar, "Respect for the Doctor (Sir 38:1–3)," 41–57.

## 1. The Immediate Context and Delimitation of Sir 38:12–15

The immediate context preceding Sir 38:12–15 is Ben Sira's reflection on modern medicine and healing of the sick (38:1–11). The pericope that is the subject of this article constitutes its final part, which concludes the sage's reflections on this topic. Sir 38:1–15 is divided into two parts. In the first part, the author focuses directly on medicine (38:1–8). First, contrary to the beliefs of the ancient Israelites, he positively assesses the physician and his work, calling for respect to be shown to him. He also explains why there is no need to fear using his services, as he too was created by God, and therefore is not a "representative" of magical forces – hostile to the Lord and dangerous to every believer (38:1–3).<sup>7</sup> Then, the sage directs his attention to the medicines used by the medical practitioners of his time. Like the physician, they too are created by the Most High and do not possess magical powers, so there is no need to fear or reject them. To the contrary, their healing power comes from the Creator, who endowed them with healing properties (38:4–8).<sup>8</sup> In the second part of Sir 38:1–15, i.e. 38:9–15,<sup>9</sup> Ben Sira first presents an instruction directed to the sick person concerning the attitude he should adopt towards God at the time of illness (38:9–11).<sup>10</sup> Then, in the section that concludes his reflections on the healing of a person suffering from pain and ailments, which is the subject of this article (38:12–15),<sup>11</sup> Ben Sira presents the role that the physician should play in this process.

Sir 38:12–15 fits perfectly into the preceding context not only from a logical (the author's train of thought) but also the formal point of view. It should be emphasised that these verses, along with Sir 38:1–3, form the framework for Ben Sira's entire reflection on medicine and healing from diseases. In both sections, the noun *ιατρός* ('physician'; see 38:1a, 3a and 38:12a, 15b)<sup>12</sup> appears in the first and last verses. Moreover, they express the same idea, written in exactly the same way, namely, that God created the physician (*αὐτὸν ἔκτισεν κύριος*; see 38:1b and 38:12a). The initial and final part of Sir 38:1–15 also speaks of

<sup>7</sup> See Piwowar, "Respect for the Doctor (Sir 38:1–3)," 41–57.

<sup>8</sup> See A. Piwowar, "The Origin and Significance of Medicaments According to Ben Sira (Sir 38:4–8)," *BibAn* 1 (2021) 25–62.

<sup>9</sup> Many exegetes treat Sir 38:9–15 as a whole, without distinguishing two sections in this text: Sir 38:9–11 and Sir 38:12–15 (see J. Corley, *Sirach* [New Collegeville Bible Commentary. Old Testament 21; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2013] 104; D. Lührmann, "Aber auch Arzt gib Raum [Sir 38,1–15]," *WD* 15 [1979] 59; L. Schrader, "Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach," *Der Einzelne und seine Gemeinschaft bei Ben Sira* [eds. R. Egger-Wenzel – I. Krammer] [BZAW 270; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1998] 135; B. Zapff, "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," *Bib* 92 [2011] 358, 362–366).

<sup>10</sup> See A. Piwowar, "The Sick Person's Relationship with God in the Healing Process According to Ben Sira (Sir 38:9–11)," *BibAn* 4 (2022) 473–501.

<sup>11</sup> See S. Fasce, *La lode del medico nel libro biblico del Siracide* (Genova: ECIG 2009) 87; G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach / Ben Sira* (ATD 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2000) 263; B.M. Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51* (NEchtB 39; Würzburg: Echter 2010) 255.

<sup>12</sup> See P.W. Skehan – A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York – London – Toronto: Doubleday 1987) 442.

the need relating to the physician (πρὸς τὰς χρείας αὐτοῦ – ‘in consideration of his [the physician’s] services’ in 38:1a, and γὰρ αὐτοῦ χρεία – ‘for his [is] need’ in 38:12b). Based on this, it can be stated without a doubt that Sir 38:12–15 is an integral part of Sir 38:1–15 and forms the conclusion of Ben Sira’s considerations on medicine at that time – the physician’s activity and the process of healing from diseases.

The beginning of the analysed pericope presents certain problems. In Sir 38:12, there are two forms of the imperative aorist tense (δόξ – 38:12aα and ἀποστήτω – 38:12bα), which means that from a formal point of view, this verse can be attributed to the previous section of the pericope concerning the physician and his activities (Sir 38:9–11),<sup>13</sup> because imperatives of this tense dominate in it.<sup>14</sup> It should also be noted that although the first of them (δόξ) refers to the sick person, like the imperative forms in Sir 38:9–11, the μὴ ἀποστήτω prohibition applies not to the suffering person, but to the physician (ἀποστήτω is a third person singular *imperativus aoristi activi*). It is also important to observe that in addition to the aforementioned imperative forms, Sir 38:12 also includes *indicativus aoristi activi* (ἔκτισεν) and a nominal sentence in which ἔστιν was elided (γὰρ αὐτοῦ χρεία – literally: ‘for his need’ by implication ‘is’). The presence of other forms besides the imperative in Sir 38:12 weakens the possibility of attributing this verse to Sir 38:9–11, in which imperatives almost entirely dominated (seven verbs in the imperative out of nine verb forms in the entire pericope).<sup>15</sup> However, it should be noted that in Sir 38:12 (see above), a new character appears. In the previous section (Sir 38:9–11), it was the sick person. Although he was not mentioned *explicite*, the sage addressed him directly, giving him instructions and advice on what he should do and how he should behave at the time of illness. Starting from Sir 38:12, the dominant character is the physician. The Greek noun ἰατρός appears at the beginning and the end of Sir 38:12–15 – in the Greek version, it is the first and last word of this section of Sir 38:1–15. The figure of the medical practitioner thus unites verses 38:12–15 into a whole, creating the framework of this pericope section, which is devoted to the physician’s activities (Sir 38:1–15). Based on the above analysis, it can be concluded that Sir 38:12 is a bridge connecting Sir 38:9–11 and Sir 38:12–15 (which is emphasised by the conjunction καὶ at the beginning of the first stich of this verse).<sup>16</sup> On the one hand, this verse retains the form (imperative forms) of the previous pericope, and on the other hand,

13 Silvana Fasce (*La lode del medico*, 86–87) seems to include Sir 38:12 more in the section of Sir 38:9–11 than in Sir 38:12–15 although he does not express this thought explicitly. Alexander A. Di Lella explicitly states that Sir 38:9–15 constitutes a coherent literary unit (see Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 442). This is also what Sijbolt Noorda believes (“Illness and Sin, Forgiving and Healing: The Connection of Medical Treatment and Religious Beliefs in Ben Sira 38, 1–15,” *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* [ed. M. Vermaseren] [EPRO 78; Leiden: Brill 1979] 222).

14 See Piwowar, “The Sick Person’s Relationship with God,” 479.

15 See Piwowar, “The Sick Person’s Relationship with God,” 479.

16 Lindsey A. Askin (*Scribal Culture in Ben Sira* [Sir 38:1–15; 41:1–15; 43:11–19; 44–50] [Diss. Queen’s College, University of Cambridge; Cambridge 2016] 207–208) considers Sir 38:12 to belong to the penultimate section of Sir 38:1–15, forming Sir 38:9–12 as a separate literary unit. Cf. L. Alonso Schökel, *Proverbios y Eclesiástico* (Los Libros Sagrados 11; Madrid: Cristiandad 1968) 280–281.

it moves on to a new topic. The content of the previous section dealt with the attitude of the sick person towards God, while starting from Sir 38:12, the author focuses on the role and tasks of the physician in the process of healing and restoring the health of the sick person. Thus, the content also unites Sir 38:12–15, giving it thematic coherence.<sup>17</sup>

However, Pancratius C. Beentjes disagrees with the analysis presented above. Based on the notation found in Hebrew manuscript B, this scholar argues that Sir 38:12 belongs to the third section of Sir 38:1–15, i.e. to Sir 38:9–12. He notes that in this manuscript, after Sir 38:12, there is the letter <sup>18</sup>פ with three dots above it<sup>19</sup>. According to P.C. Beentjes, this symbol indicates that Sir 38:12 concludes the original teaching of Ben Sira on the subject of the physician and begins a later addition to the original text, which clearly does not fit the context preceding Sir 38:13–15.<sup>20</sup>

The conclusion of the section of Sir 38:1–15 in Sir 38:15 emphasises not only the noun *ιατρός* (see above), but also the vocative *τέκνον* ('child'), which appears at the beginning of the next verse (38:16). Very often in the work of the Jerusalem sage, this word serves a structural role, indicating the beginning of a new pericope or a new thread in teaching (see 38:9).<sup>21</sup> Starting from Sir 38:16, the author of the book introduces a new topic in his reflections. This topic is mourning the death of a loved one (38:16–23).<sup>22</sup>

All arguments and premises presented above clearly demonstrate that Sir 38:12–15 constitutes a separate and coherent literary-thematic section in Ben Sira's reflection on medicine and the process of healing the sick person,<sup>23</sup> fitting perfectly into the mainstream of the sage's thought on this subject and creating a cohesive whole with it.<sup>24</sup>

17 Affiliation of v. 12 to the last section of the pericope about the physician is also confirmed by Maria Chrysovergi (*Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature from the Third and Second Centuries BCE* [Diss. Durham University; Durham 2011]188, <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3568> [access: 2.04.2023]).

18 For the alleged meaning of this clause, see P.C. Beentjes, "A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38:13. Short Note," *EstBib* 76/3 (2018) 454–454 (especially 454, n. 4).

19 See P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew. A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1997) 66. Cf. *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Recto, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15> [access: 5.02.2023]. However, the issue of the Hebrew text of Sir published by the Academy of the Hebrew Language does not contain this sign (see Akademyah la-lashon ha-Ivrit (Jerusalem), *The Book of Ben Sira. Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* [The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language; Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and the Shrine of the Book 1973] 39).

20 See Beentjes, "A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38:13," 455–459.

21 See Piwowar, "The Sick Person's Relationship with God," 478.

22 See L. Mazzinghi, "«Poi fa' posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» (Sir 38,1–15)," *PSV* 40 (1999) 67.

23 See Chrostowski, "Lekarz i jego posługa w świetle Biblii," 66; Gaiser, "The sensible will not despise him: Healing Medicine, Human Wisdom and God (Sirach 38:1–15)," 124–125; M.C. Palmisano, *Siracide. Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Nuova Versione della Bibbia dai Testi Antichi 34; Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2016) 342, 344; J.G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1974) 184; A. Stöger, "Der Arzt nach Jesus Sirach (38,1–15)," *Arzt und Christ* 1/11 (1965) 9–10.

24 Pancratius C. Beentjes ("A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38:13," 456–459) argues against this view, considering Sir 38:13–15 to be a later addition to the original version of the work of the sage of Jerusalem.



## 2. The Translation of the Greek Text and Its Structure

The Greek version of Sir 38:12–15 will be adopted as the base text for further analysis. The reason for this choice is that the translation of the work of Ben Sira into Greek has been recognised as the canonical text. Here is the translation of the analysed literary unit based on the critical edition of the Book of Sirach published by Joseph Ziegler<sup>25</sup> (the verse numbering of this edition has been retained<sup>26</sup>):

- 38:12 Give a place to the physician too, as he was also created by the Lord  
and let him not be too far from you, for his work is needed too,  
38:13 There is a time when success is in their hands.  
38:14 for they too will ask the Lord,  
to provide them with strength  
and healing for the survival.  
38:15 Let those who sin against the Creator,  
fall into the hands of the physician.<sup>27</sup>

The Hebrew text of Sir 38:12–15<sup>28</sup> contains significant differences, especially in its final section (38:14bc, 15b), when compared to its translation into Greek.<sup>29</sup> These will be presented in the exegetical part of the article.

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- 25 See J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, 2 ed. (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 12/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1980) 300–301.
- 26 Cf. R. Egger-Wenzel, *A Polyglot Edition of the Book of Ben Sira with a Synopsis of the Hebrew Manuscripts* (CBET 101; Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT: Peeters 2022) 480–481; F.V. Reiterer, *Zählssynopse zum Buch Ben Sira* (Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam Pertinentes 1; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2003) 200–201.
- 27 Translation of the Greek text of Sir 38:12–15; cf. Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 171; Fasse, *La lode del medico*, 125; W. Kraus – M. Karrer (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2009) 1142; M. Wojciechowski (trans.), *Księgi greckie. Przekład interliniarny z kodami gramatycznymi i indeksem form podstawowych* (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2008) 648; Mazzinghi, “«Poi fa’ posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» (Sir 38,1–15),” 66; Palmisano, *Siracide*, 345; A. Pietersma – B.G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint. And the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007) 750; R. Popowski (trans.), *Septuaginta czyli Biblia Starożytnego Testamentu wraz z księgami deuterokanonicznymi i apokryfami*, 3 ed. (PSBib; Warszawa: Vocatio 2013) 1245–1246.
- 28 See Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 66; P. Boccaccio – G. Berardi, *Ben Sira. Textus hebraeus secundum fragmenta reperta* (Roma: PIB 1986) 25; Akademyah la-lashon ha-‘Ivrit, *The Book of Ben Sira*, 39–40; *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Recto, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15> [access 5.02.2023]. Cf. Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 187–188; Egger-Wenzel, *A Polyglot Edition of the Book of Ben Sira*; 480–481; I. Lévi, *The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (SSS; Leiden: Brill 1904) 45; N. Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus. Übersetzt und erklärt* (EHAT 25; Münster: Aschendorff 1913) 313–314; N. Peters, *Der jüngst wieder aufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder 1902) 158; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer 1906) 341–342; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51*, 256–257.
- 29 For a translation of the Hebrew text of Sir 38:12–15, see: Adinolfi, “Il medico in Sir 38,1–15,” 174; Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 189; Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 173; Lüthmann, “Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15),” 58; Mazzinghi, “«Poi fa’ posto al Medico, perché ti

As indicated in paragraph 1, Sir 38:12 serves as a bridge connecting Sir 38:9–11 with Sir 38:12–15. In addition, with Sir 38:15, it frames the final section of Sir 38:1–15. The basis of this inclusion is the Greek noun *ιατρός* ('physician').<sup>30</sup> It is worth noting that in Sir 38:13–14, that is, in the verses located in the centre of the analysed literary unit, the plural form of physicians is used (as personal pronouns refer to them: *αὐτῶν* in 38:13, *αὐτοί* in 38:14a and *αὐτοῖς* in 38:14b; therefore, it refers to all physicians), and not to one – a certain, indefinite – physician as in the fringe verses (38:12 and 38:15). Additionally, it should be noted that in the former verses, there is *explicite* talk about the relationship of the sick person (38:12) and sinner to the physician (38:15), as well as *implicite* to God, while the central verses focus solely on the role and tasks of physicians in healing the sick.

Based on the analysis presented in Sir 38:12–15 relating to the structure of this pericope, the following composition can be discerned in it:

- A – the relationship of the sick person to the physician (Sir 38:12)
- B – the role and tasks of physicians in the healing process (Sir 38:13–14)
- A' – the relationship of the sinner to the physician and God (Sir 38:15).

However, some scholars of Sir 38:1–15 believe that Sir 38:15 forms a separate part of the sage's reflections on medicine and the process of healing a sick person.<sup>31</sup>

### 3. An Exegetical and Theological Analysis of Sir 38:12–15

The exegetical analysis of the pericope will be divided into three parts corresponding to its structure. After examining the content and message of each stich in the Greek version, a comparison of their meaning with the original Hebrew text will be made.

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è necessario» (Sir 38,1–15), 66–67; C. Mopsik, *La Sagesse de ben Sira* (Les dix paroles; Paris: Verdier 2003) 220–221; V. Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira. Traducción y notas* (Asociación Bíblica Española 59; Estella: Verbo Divino 2012) 222–223; Noorda, "Illness and Sin, Forgiving and Healing," 218–219, n. 9; Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 438–439; *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Recto, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15> [access: 5.02.2023]. Cf. Palmisano, *Siracide*, 345; Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus*, 311; Peters, *Der jüngst wieder aufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus*, 385; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach hebräisch und deutsch* (Berlin: Reimer 1906) 65; J. Vella, "Eclesiastico," *La Sagrada Escritura. Texto y comentario. Antiguo Testamento. V. Eclesiástico, Isata, Jeremías, Ezequiel* (ed. A.T. Fernández) (Madrid: Editorial Católica 1970) 157.

30 See Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 209; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 96; Schrader, "Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach," 142; Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 443.

31 See Lührmann, "Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15)," 59; J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* (BZAW 272; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1999) 154–155; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51*, 255; Zapff, "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," 358. Waldemar Chrostowski ("Lekarz i jego posługa w świetle Biblii," 66–67) refers to Sir 38:15 as the point of Sir 38:1–15. Although John G. Snaith (*Ecclesiasticus*, 184) includes this verse in Sir 38:12–15, he assigns it a specific role, which he describes as a conclusion.

### 3.1. The Relationship of the Sick Person to the Physician (Sir 38:12)

In the previous section of his reflection on medicine and the healing process, Ben Sira called on the sick person to renew his relationship with God (38:9–11).<sup>32</sup> Thus, he returned to the traditional Old Testament view of illness as a punishment for sin.<sup>33</sup> The Greek text of the first stich of the analysed verse begins with the conjunction *καί*, which indicates a connection to the sage's earlier reflections regarding healing. It can also be interpreted in an emphatic sense ('also', 'in addition'), which would further underscore the connection to the earlier context. Therefore, Sir 38:12 should be read in conjunction with the preceding verses. The continuation of the instructions expressed in Sir 38:9–11 emphasises, as already indicated in the delimitation of the literary unit under study (see paragraph 1), the first-person singular form of the verb appearing in Sir 38:12a. This is the *imperativus aoristi activi* of the second person singular (*δός* – 'give'), which extends the series of imperative forms appearing in Sir 38:9–11. The Greek version of the analysed section, Sir 38:1–15, skilfully highlights the continuity of the sage's thought through these two words, closely linking 38:9–11 with 38:12–15. It can be said that Sir 38:12a represents a transition from advice given to the sick person to instructions given to the physicians on how they should behave when healing an illness.

At the beginning of the first stich of Sir 38:12, the author calls on the suffering person to, after following the instructions regarding their relationship with God (turning to the Lord, prayer, repentance, and offering sacrifices; see Sir 38:9–11), surrender themselves to the care of a physician (*ιατρῶ δός τόπον* – 'give a place to the physician'). Being a person faithful to religious tradition and covenant with God, Ben Sira gives priority to the divine Physician in the healing process. In the first place, the sick person should put oneself in His hands and only then, in the second place, turn to the medical practitioner. In this way, the author returns to the belief expressed in the first part of Sir 38:1–15 regarding the value and usefulness of the medicine of his time, confirming what he wrote earlier.<sup>34</sup> In Sir 38:1–3, the sage called for respecting the physician and not rejecting his work, because he is not a representative of magical powers opposed to God but is an instrument in God's hand, through which He acts and offers to heal the sick person from their ailments. It should be emphasised that Sir 38:12a is a very clear reference to the initial section of 38:1–15 and a continuation of the evaluation of the activities of physicians expressed there. The call to "give a place to the physician" is a consequence of the appeal to show respect to the physician contained in Sir 38:1a (*τίμα ιατρόν*). Ben Sira calls on the sick person to show complete trust in the medical practitioner and not to be afraid of his intervention.

32 See Piwowar, "The Sick Person's Relationship with God," 482–491.

33 See Schrader, "Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach," 140.

34 See Stöger, "Der Arzt nach Jesus Sirach (38,1–15)," 9.



The syntagma δὸς τόπον does not refer to a place in space<sup>35</sup> but rather expresses an appeal to submit to the treatment recommended by a medical practitioner. This is confirmed in Sir 4:5, where a similar phrase appears with a slightly different (prohibition) phrase, μὴ δῶς τόπον (literally 'do not give place'). From the context, it can be inferred that it means 'do not give opportunity/chance,' 'do not let' someone curse you (*καταράσασθαι σε*). A similar (analogous) meaning is also assumed in 13:22 (*οὐκ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ τόπος*) and 19:17 (*δὸς τόπον νόμῳ ὑψίστου*). 'Giving someone or something a place' therefore means to allow – to allow someone or something to act.<sup>36</sup> The above sense of the analysed phrase fits perfectly into the context of Sir 38:12a as well. Ben Sira urges the sick person to turn to the physician and let him act, i.e. to undergo healing. The Greek text used a strong and unambiguous imperative (*imperativus aoristi*) to express this thought, which leaves the suffering person no margin for refusal or non-compliance. One could even say that the sage demands that his command be fulfilled immediately.

The second part of Sir 38:12a provides the justification for the initial call. Let the physician work, do not fear his activity because the Lord created him (*καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔκτισεν κύριος*). Sir 38:12aβ is a literal quote from 38:1b.<sup>37</sup> In both texts, this sentence fulfils the same function – it gives the reason why one should first honour the physician (38:1b)<sup>38</sup> and then entrust oneself to him during illness (38:12aβ). In these words, Ben Sira justified the change he wanted to see in the approach of the believing Israelites towards medics. They should not be afraid of them or reject their activity. God created them, so they are not representatives of any evil forces opposed to the Most High. Moreover, they are His instruments – His collaborators in restoring health to the sick because, like any other creature, they are dependent on Him and subject to Him.<sup>39</sup> It can therefore be said that to recover, it is not enough to fulfil and implement all the instructions contained in Sir 38:9–11, but it is also necessary to seek the help of a physician.<sup>40</sup> Ben Sira thus clearly expressed his fidelity to tradition and faith in God – the only Physician, but at the same time, he expressed the acceptance of contemporary medicine. Although he combined both realities into one, it should be noted that medics are subordinate to the Lord and dependent on Him. He thus made, as in Sir 38:1–8, a perfect synthesis of the faith of the Israelites and an openness to the novelty brought by Hellenistic culture – medicine.<sup>41</sup> Silvana Fasce argues that the second part of Sir 38:12a (*καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔκτισεν κύριος*) emphasises the initial call of this stich: 'give a place to the physician.'<sup>42</sup>

35 Cf. Sir 12:12; 36:12; 41:19; 46:12 and 49:10. In these texts, the noun *τόπος* takes on the meaning of a specific concrete place in space.

36 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 86, n. 135.

37 See Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 188; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 86, n. 136.

38 See Piwowar, "Respect for the Doctor (Sir 38:1–3)," 43–44.

39 See Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51*, 256.

40 See Stöger, "Der Arzt nach Jesus Sirach (38,1–15)," 9–10.

41 See Piwowar, "Respect for the Doctor (Sir 38:1–3)," 58.

42 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 86.

The Hebrew text of Sir 38:12a has not been fully preserved in manuscript B. It is seriously damaged: מקום [...] ל [...]ג (‘and place also for [...]’). Víctor Morla Asensio, relying on the Greek version, proposes to fill in the existing gaps in the following way: וגם לרופא תן מקום (‘also give a place to the physician’).<sup>43</sup> The original version, therefore, does not contain a subordinate causal clause that appears in the Greek translation of this stich: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔκτισεν κύριος. It only calls for using the services of a medical practitioner but does not justify this appeal by referring to the work of creation. Similarly, the Syriac version of Sir 38:12a does not include this reference to God creating the physician,<sup>44</sup> which seems to suggest that the second part of Sir 38:12a is an addition introduced by the translator of the sage’s work into the Greek language – the grandson of Ben Sira. Lindsey A. Askin believes that the Hebrew word מקום can refer to the payment that is due to the physician for his help to the sick person.<sup>45</sup>

The first part of the second stich of Sir 38:12 (μὴ ἀποστήτω σου – ‘let him not withdraw/turn away from you’) presents some difficulties. This is because the subject of the imperative form δός (38:12aa), which refers to the sick person that the sage was directly addressing, is changed to the third person singular in the prohibition μὴ ἀποστήτω (‘let him not be too far from you’). The question arises as to who this new subject is: God (38:12aβ) or the physician (38:12aa)? The answer to this question depends on the form of the verb ἀφίστημι (ἀποστήτω), and, more specifically, on whether it is used in a transitive or a non-transitive sense in Sir 38:12ba. If it is transitive, it would refer to God (‘to remove,’ ‘to distance,’ ‘to prevent,’ ‘to separate’<sup>46</sup>), but if it is non-transitive, it would refer to the physician (‘to withdraw,’ ‘to step back,’ ‘to keep away,’ ‘to disconnect’<sup>47</sup>). It should also be noted that if the subject were God, it would be necessary to add a closer complement to the text, which would most likely be the physician (‘let Him not withdraw [the physician] from you’). However, it should be emphasised that the very morphological form of the aorist imperative ἀποστήτω, if the translator consistently followed the principles of the Greek language,<sup>48</sup> is a non-transitive form of the verb ἀφίστημι.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, the subject of the phrase μὴ ἀποστήτω σου is the physician. Sir 38:12b calls on the medical practitioner not to withdraw from a suffering person. This sentence is somewhat surprising, as the physician’s withdrawal from the sick person would deprive him of the earnings he would

43 See Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 222, n. 2. Cf. Mopsik, *La Sagesse de ben Sira*, 220; Schrader, “Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach,” 140, n. 99.

44 See N. Caldach-Benages – J. Ferrer – J. Liesen, *La sabiduría del Escriba. Wisdom of the Scribe* (Biblioteca Midrásica 26; Estella: Verbo Divino 2003) 218.

45 See Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 206.

46 See T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2009) 107–108.

47 See Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 108.

48 An analysis of the aorist forms of the verb ἀφίστημι in the Greek version of Sir confirms that the translator consistently distinguished between the sigmatic, transitive forms of this tense (see Sir 30:23; 38:10, 20 and 47:23, 24), and the asigmatic, non-transitive forms (see Sir 2:3; 7:2; 10:12; 13:10; 15:11; 35:3, 3 and 48:15).

49 See A. Piwowski, *Greka Nowego Testamentu. Gramatyka* (Biblioteka “Verbum Vitae” 1; Kielce: Instytut Teologii Biblijnej Verbum 2010) 451, 453–454.

receive for the work he had done. On the other hand, it seems to suggest that the physician could make the decision himself whom to treat and whom to leave without help – whom to withdraw from. Perhaps this implicitly conveys the idea that ancient medics did not undertake to treat all who were suffering – for example, when they saw that the condition was severe or critical and they were unable to help such a person, they did not decide to start treatment. If this inference is correct, Ben Sira would refer in Sir 38:12b $\alpha$  to a disease that ancient medics were able to cure.

The second part of Sir 38:12b, just like in the previous stich, contains the justification of the prohibition expressed at the beginning (*καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ χρεία* – literally ‘because of his need’).<sup>50</sup> It is a nominal sentence in which the personal form of the verb εἶμί (‘to be’) has been omitted. It is highly likely that this refers to the third person singular of the *indicativus praesentis* – ἐστί(ν). The phrase αὐτοῦ χρεία (‘his need’) may initially suggest that it refers to some need that the physician himself has (*genetivus possessoris*). However, this would be completely incomprehensible in the context of Sir 38:12b. The personal pronoun αὐτός (‘he’) in the genitive case plays a different syntactic role in this phrase. The noun χρεία (‘need,’ ‘necessity’) is a substantive noun,<sup>51</sup> so *genetivus αὐτοῦ* can be interpreted either as *genetivus obiectivus* (‘need related to the physician/concerning the physician – someone needs a medic’) or *genetivus subiectivus* (‘need that the physician has – he needs something’).<sup>52</sup> Of course, in Sir 38:12b $\beta$ , the genitive of the personal pronoun should be interpreted in the first sense, as only this makes sense and is logical in the context of the analysed verse. The Greek version therefore states that the sick person also has (the conjunction *καὶ* in an intensified sense) a need for a physician’s help. It is not enough to rely only on God (38:9–11), it is also necessary to submit to the treatments that the medical practitioner will recommend.<sup>53</sup> Although the sage first appeals to the divine Physician, he does not exclude human support – the medic. Moreover, he states that the medical practitioner is indispensable in restoring the sick person’s health.<sup>54</sup> His help is not merely optional, but according to Ben Sira, it is essential – it cannot be omitted or disregarded.<sup>55</sup> The sage expressed this thought at the beginning of his teaching on physicians and medicine in Sir 38:1a $\beta$ .<sup>56</sup> A phrase (*τὰς χρείας αὐτοῦ*) almost identical as in Sir 38:12b $\beta$  appears there. The only difference is that in Sir 38:1a $\beta$ , there is an article before the noun χρεία (which is missing in Sir 38:12b $\beta$ ), and the pronoun in the genitive case αὐτοῦ is placed after the noun, not before it, as in the analysed stich. Attention should be paid to this last detail. The placement of the genitive αὐτοῦ before the noun to which it refers in Sir 38:12b $\beta$  seems to emphasise

50 See Schrader, “Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach,” 140–141.

51 See R. Romizi, *Greco antico. Vocabolario greco italiano etimologico e ragionato*, 3 ed. (Bologna: Zanichelli 2007) 1487.

52 See A. Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego Nowego Testamentu*, 2 ed. (MPWB 13; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2017) paragraphs 44–45.

53 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 86.

54 Cf. Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 188.

55 See Chrostowski, “Lekarz i jego posługa w świetle Biblii,” 66.

56 See Piwowar, “Respect for the Doctor (Sir 38:1–3),” 43.

the role of the physician compared to τὰς χρείας αὐτοῦ in Sir 38:1aβ. If the above observation is correct, it confirms even more the necessity and indispensability of seeking a medic's help during illness. He is an integral part of the healing process that cannot be disregarded and omitted, as he occupies a place in it right after God.<sup>57</sup>

The Hebrew text of Sir 38:12b found in manuscript B reads as follows: וְלֹא יִמְוֶשׁ כִּי גַם בּו צוֹרֵךְ<sup>58</sup> ('and let him not depart,<sup>59</sup> for there is also a need for him'<sup>60</sup>). The note in the margin suggests reading this stich as follows: וְלֹא יִשְׁמַשׁ מֵאֵה כִּגְב צוֹרֵךְ. Morla Asensio considers this reading to be untranslatable<sup>61</sup> and containing errors (using יִשְׁמַשׁ instead of יִמְוֶשׁ, מֵאֵה instead of מֵאֵתֶךָ, and כִּגְב instead of כִּרְב),<sup>62</sup> Therefore, the B<sup>text</sup> of this stich does not differ from its translation into Greek – they express the same idea.<sup>63</sup>

Sir 38:12 is a clear reference to the verse that begins the sage's teaching on the activity of physicians and contemporary medicine (38:1).<sup>64</sup> This is particularly evident in the Greek version of these texts, as they contain identical formulations.<sup>65</sup> However, not only their literary form brings them closer to each other, but also their message – they complement each other. First, Ben Sira calls for maintaining close contact with the physician and not rejecting his medical activity, and then, if necessary, calling for his help in returning to full health.

57 "La novità di Ben Sira, visibile già nel v. 9 e, più ancora, nel v. 12, è piuttosto quella di affiancare alla preghiera al Dio di Israele l'opera del medico" (see Mazzinghi, "«Poi fa' posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» [Sir 38,1–15]" 71). Cf. Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 206–207; Lührmann, "Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15)," 66; Noorda, "Illness and Sin, Forgiving and Healing," 220; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach / Ben Sira*, 263; Schrader, "Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach," 140–141; Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 442; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach* 25–51, 256.

58 See Aḳademyah la-lashon ha-ʿIvrit, *The Book of Ben Sira*, 39; *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Recto, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15> [access: 5.02.2023]. Pancratius C. Beentjes (*The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 66) did not read the middle part of the stich: צוֹרֵךְ [.....] וְלֹא יִמְוֶשׁ [.....]; cf. Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 222, n. 3).

59 "The curious phrase 'let him not depart' in Sir 38,12b may be appropriate if the physician is also a priest or at least located in the Temple. Having made a flour-offering at the Temple, the priest or physician (or patient) may leave before the physician has prayed" (Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 207). Cf. Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 87.

60 See D.J.A. Clines (ed.), *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2011) VII, 162. Cf. Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 222, n. 3. Maria Carmela Palmisano (*Siracide*, 345) translates the original version of Sir 38:12b as follows: "non tenerlo lontano, poiché anche di lui tu hai bisogno." Whereas Luca Mazzinghi ("«Poi fa' posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» [Sir 38,1–15]" 66): "non ti abbandoni, perché ti è necessario."

61 Martin Abegg suggested the following translation of the text in the margin of manuscript B: "But do not let him minister to you more than your brother for you also have need of" (*The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Recto, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15> [access: 5.02.2023]).

62 See Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 222, n. 3.

63 Cf. Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 178.

64 Cf. Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 442; Stöger, "Der Arzt nach Jesus Sirach (38,1–15)," 9. Beentjes ("A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38:13," 456) believes, as cited in the delimitation of the pericope analysed in this article, that Sir 38:12 forms an inclusion of Sir 38:1 with Sir 38:1–12.

65 In the Hebrew version of the text, Burkard Zapff ("Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," 362) points out the occurrence of the term צוֹרֵךְ in Sir 38:1a and 38:12b, which he identifies as crucial to Sir 38:1–15. Cf. Lührmann, "Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15)," 66.

### 3.2. The Role and Tasks of Physicians in the Healing Process (Sir 38:13–14)

In the verse that opens the central part of Ben Sira's reflection on the attitude of physicians in the healing process (38:13), the sage claims that there is a time (ἔστιν καιρός) when success is in the hands of physicians (ὅτε καὶ ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν εὐοδία). The noun εὐοδία ('success,' 'good journey') appears twice more in the Greek version of the work of the sage from Jerusalem, besides Sir 38:13. Sir 10:5 states that the success of a man is in the hand of the Lord (ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου εὐοδία ἀνδρός). Ben Sira, speaking of the strange contradictions in human life, notes that even in the midst of misfortunes or because of misfortunes, success can come to man (20:9a: ἔστιν εὐοδία ἐν κακοῖς ἀνδρὶ). Based on only these three places in the Book of Sirach where εὐοδία appears, one can conclude that this noun does not specify what kind of success is meant (material, personal, spiritual or other), but expresses the idea of prosperity and success in a general way without specifying the area of human life that it refers to. What is important for the analysis of this word in Sir 38:13 is the fact that success depends on God – He decides about it (10:5), and even in the most difficult situation, like failure and a series of misfortunes, success can come to man (Sir 20:9a). These two aspects characterising the Greek version of the work of the sage from Jerusalem, the word εὐοδία, perfectly fit into the context of Sir 38:13 and shed new light on its interpretation. Firstly, the success mentioned in this stich depends on the Most High and – He decides whether something will succeed or not. Secondly, thanks to this dependence of human life's success on God's will, even in the most difficult and hopeless situation, a radical change can occur – misfortune can turn into joy and success. In Sir 38:13, Ben Sira states that there is a time when success (εὐοδία) is in the hands of physicians. By making this statement, he gives hope to the sick for a return to full health – a successful end to their suffering, even if it seems that death is imminent, and the end of life is inevitable. The success mentioned in this stich introduces further teaching of the sage regarding the attitude of physicians in the process of healing the sick person – the success of their treatment depends not only on themselves but on God and His will. The success mentioned in Sir 38:13 undoubtedly refers to the healing process because it is related to physicians (more precisely, their hands – ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν). Based on this, it can be clearly stated that it means success in healing the patient, which is their recovery from disease and restoration to full health.

Ben Sira notes, however, that there is a time (ἔστιν καιρός)<sup>66</sup> when success is in the hands of the physicians.<sup>67</sup> This means that not every moment or time is suitable for healing. The noun καιρός does not refer to time in a general sense, but rather to a specific, appropriate moment – the right time.<sup>68</sup> It thus expresses a unique time or moment. The sage

66 The theme of proper time is characteristic of the wisdom literature (cf. Ecc 3:1–11; Sir 32:11 and 39:16). See Cranz, "Advice for a Successful Doctor's Visit," 239; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 91–92; Zapff, "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," 363–364.

67 See Schrader, "Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach," 141.

68 See Adinolfi, "Il medico in Sir 38,1–15," 181–182; G. Dellling, "καιρός," *TDNT* III, 455–462; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 89; Mazzinghi, "«Poi fa' posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» (Sir 38,1–15)," 71; R.C. Trench, *Trench's Synonyms of the New Testament* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2000) 221–223.



therefore claims that success in the actions of physicians – expressed by the noun *χείρ* used in a metaphorical sense – has its proper time.<sup>69</sup> They are not always able to cure the sick and relieve them of their suffering, but they can do it only at a certain time.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps the idea expressed here is that the medical practitioner is not always able to help the suffering and cure them. Most likely, this means that the patient cannot always be healed at every stage of the disease. Even today, when medicine has developed significantly compared to the times of Ben Sira, physicians are not always able to help the sick. It is much easier to do in the early stages of the disease than in the advanced stage of its development. Perhaps this is how Sir 38:13 should be interpreted. The time (*καιρός*), when success in fighting against the disease is possible, may refer to the initial phase of its development, when it has not yet taken on too much strength and has not yet overwhelmed the whole organism or done serious damage to it. It is easier to cure the patient then.<sup>71</sup> It is possible that the initial statement of the analysed stich refers precisely to this situation. However, it can certainly be stated that, according to Ben Sira, the sick person cannot be cured at any time of their disease, but only at the appropriate time.

If the above interpretation is correct, it means that the first task of a medical practitioner is to diagnose whether the time at which they begin healing the sick person is appropriate or not. In other words, at what stage of development is the disease? Is it at a stage where the patient can be cured, or has it already progressed to the point where the physician cannot help? The syntagma *ἔστιν καιρός* therefore refers to the situation in which the medical practitioner must determine whether they can cure the sick person or not. Therefore, Sir 38:13 refers to the limitations of medicine at that time, which could not heal many existing diseases.<sup>72</sup> It thus implicitly expresses the truth that physicians of that time could only help the sick in certain situations and at a certain stage of the development of the disease.

The noun 'hand' (*χείρ*) in Sir 38:13b, as noted above, is used in a figurative sense. It expresses human action, especially that which is manual – production, which results in some product or achievement<sup>73</sup> (cf. Sir 38:10<sup>74</sup>). Of course, in Sir 38:13 it refers to the activities associated with the medic's work, that is, the healing of the sick. It is significant that in the analysed stich, there is a transition from one physician (see Sir 38:12α) to many medics (the personal pronoun in the plural *αὐτῶν* refers to them). However, this should not

69 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 90; D.P. Sulmasy, "The Covenant within the Covenant: Doctors and Patients in Sir 38:1–15," *Linacre Quarterly* 55/4 (1988) 21.

70 See Lüthmann, "Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15)," 66; Mazzinghi, "«Poi fa' posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» (Sir 38,1–15)," 71; Zapff, "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," 363.

71 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 88.

72 "For Ben Sira [...] the diagnosis does not necessarily entail treatment, since treatment is separately in Sir 38:14b" (Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 208).

73 See M. Lurker, *Dizionario delle immagini e dei simboli biblici* (Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 1990) 121; E. Lohse, "χείρ," *TDNT* IX, 425–427; A. Ridouard, "Ramię i ręka," *Słownik teologii biblijnej*, 3 ed. (ed. X. Léon-Dufour) (Poznań: Pallottinum 1990) 852; Ryken – Wilhoit – Longman III, *Le immagini bibliche*, 844–845.

74 See Piwowar, "The Sick Person's Relationship with God," 486–491.

be surprising, as in verse 38:12, the author addresses the sick person directly, urging them to call a physician (on the one hand, there was no need to call several medics immediately, and on the other hand, there were not so many of them at that time to convene a council immediately). Sir 38:13, on the other hand, refers to the work of all physicians and speaks of them as a group.

The Hebrew text of Sir 38:13a is almost identical to the Greek version of this stich: *כי יש עת אשר מידו מצלחת* ('because there is a time when success [is] from his hand'<sup>75</sup>). A note in the margin of manuscript B proposes leaving out the first two words<sup>76</sup> and changing the preposition from *מן* to *ב* before the noun *ידו מצלחת*: *עת אשר בידו מצלחת* ('the time when in his hand [is] success'<sup>77</sup>). The original text preserves the singular when referring to the physician (*בידו* / *מידו*), through which it is fully consistent with the preceding verse (Sir 38:12), contrary to the Greek version (plural).<sup>78</sup>

Sir 38:14a demonstrates the dependence of physicians' actions on God, also confirming the earlier conclusion about the relationship between the success of their treatment and God. The sage states that they will ask God (*καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ κυρίου δεηθήσονται*). Attention should be paid to the first words of the Greek version of Sir 38:14a. The first word is *καί*, followed by *γάρ*. The former is a conjunction that connects. It can have a reinforced meaning ('also,' 'even'). The latter is also a conjunction that generally appears in the second place in a sentence. It can introduce: a cause, conclusion, or extension of the previously expressed thought or explanation. It is difficult to determine unequivocally what function *γάρ* serves in the analysed stich. Nevertheless, it should be noted that it connects the prayer of the physicians with the success of their actions toward the sick person. The most logical interpretation would be to recognise it as a conjunction introducing a cause ('because,' 'since'). If the presented interpretation of the initial words in Sir 38:14a is correct, then the Greek text, on the one hand, would emphasise the role of prayer in the healing process (not only should the sick person pray and ask God for healing [cf. Sir 38:9], but the medical practitioner must do so too<sup>79</sup>) and on the other hand, it would link the success and effectiveness of the therapy prescribed by the physician with God's will, upon which, as has already been said, it depends.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> See Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, V, 451; Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 222, n. 4.

<sup>76</sup> According to P.C. Beentjes ("A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38:13," 456), the omission of *כי* suggested by the note in the margin is appropriate. Also in the Greek version, the preposition *γάρ* does not occur. Cf. Schrader, "Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach," 141, n. 103.

<sup>77</sup> See Palmisano, *Siracide*, 345; *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Recto, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15> [access: 5.02.2023].

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 178.

<sup>79</sup> See Adinolfi, "Il medico in Sir 38,1–15," 181; Beentjes, "A problematic symbol in Ben Sira 38,13," 458; Cranz, "Advice for a Successful Doctor's Visit," 245; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 88; Lührmann, "Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15)," 66; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51*, 256–257; Zapff, "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," 364.

<sup>80</sup> See Zapff, "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," 364.

The verb δέομαι ('to ask,' 'to pray') appears thirteen more times in the Greek version of the work of Ben Sira in addition to Sir 38:14a.<sup>81</sup> The subject of the action expressed by this word can be either God or a human (only three times: 4:5; 33:20, 22). Most often, as in Sir 38:14a, the request is addressed to the Lord, making it a prayer. Δέομαι is accompanied by the genitive indicating the person to whom the request is directed (in 38:14a it is κυρίου). It should also be noted that in the Greek text, the subject of the verb form (δεηθήσονται) is not implied, but rather explicitly given (αὐτοί – 'they'). Most likely, in the analysed stich, an emphatic personal pronoun should be noticed – thus emphasising the group of people (physicians) whom the sage advises to pray to God as they are healing the sick person. Perhaps also in relation to the object of the verb δεηθήσονται, which is *genetivus κυρίου*, the person of the Lord should be emphasised, because this noun is placed before the personal form of the verb to which it refers, while in other cases when the person to whom someone asks/prays is given after the verb δέομαι (see 33:22; 37:15 and 50:19). If the above syntactic analyses are correct, it should be stated that the translator of the original text into Greek emphasised the fact that the physicians themselves would pray to God for help in curing the sick person of his disease.<sup>82</sup> Sir 38:14a, recognising the need for medics to turn to God during disease, would emphasise in the Greek version that the success of their actions – healing – depends not only on them, but also on the One to whom they turn in prayer and whom they should ask for help in restoring the health of the suffering person.<sup>83</sup> Thus, it explicitly expresses the dependence of both medics themselves and the success of the healing process they undertake on the Lord. In this indirect (implicit) way, once again in his reflection on medics and their activities (medicine), the sage expresses the belief that the only true Physician on whom the health of the suffering person depends is God.<sup>84</sup>

Attention should be paid to one more detail indirectly contained in Sir 38:14a. Since the sage encourages physicians to pray to the Lord while healing the sick, it means that he is most likely referring to Jewish or proselyte medics who have adopted the faith in YHWH.<sup>85</sup> It would be rather absurd to think that he would do so with regard to physicians who do not believe in the one God. The conclusion that suggests itself is that in the times of the sage from Jerusalem, there were medics who were Jews or converted proselytes and, in any case, people who believed in the one and true God. Perhaps this is the first testimony of the development and practice of medicine understood in the proper sense of the word (as a science)

81 See Sir 4:5; 17:25; 21:1; 26:5; 28:2, 4; 33:20, 22; 37:15; 39:5, 5; 50:19 and 51:9 (see W. Urbanz, *Gebet im Sirachbuch. Zur Terminologie von Klage und Lob in der griechischen Texttradition* [Herders biblische Studien 60; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2009] 71–73).

82 See Adinolfi, "Il medico in Sir 38,1–15," 181; Chrostowski, "Lekarz i jego postuga w swietle Biblii," 66; Testa, "Le malattie e il medico secondo la Bibbia," 261.

83 See Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 442.

84 See Urbanz, *Gebet im Sirachbuch*, 95.

85 Isabel Cranz ("Advice for a Successful Doctor's Visit," 240) agrees with the above thesis. It does, however, provide other arguments that the physician described in Sir 38:1–15 is not a Hellenistic medic; among other things, the poem says nothing about Hippocrates' rationalism or references to surgical procedures. Cf. Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 191.



by the Jews. According to Isabel Cranz, the description of the physician in Sir 38:1–15 is more similar to Mesopotamian medics than Hellenistic ones,<sup>86</sup> which may mean that the former cultural environment had a greater influence on the development of Jewish medicine than the latter. The truth of this conjecture could be supported by the presence of many (especially influential) Jews in Babylon. However, Maria Chrysovergi argues that even Hippocrates emphasised the importance of a physician's prayer in the healing process,<sup>87</sup> which would rather speak more for Hellenistic influences than Mesopotamian ones.

The message of the Hebrew text of Sir 38:13b (it corresponds to v. 14a in the numbering of the Greek version<sup>88</sup>) is consistent with its translation into Greek. Manuscript B in the margin contains the following words: <sup>89</sup>כי גם הוא אל יעתיר (‘for he also to God will pray’<sup>90</sup>). The only difference between the Hebrew version and the Greek translation is the number: the former speaks of one physician (הוא), while the latter speaks of many medics (αὐτοί).<sup>91</sup> This is due to the previous stich where the same textual problem is present. The Hebrew version consistently refers to one physician.

Sir 38:14b begins with the conjunction ἵνα, followed by *coniunctivus aoristi* (εὐδοῶση), the indirect object (αὐτοῖς) and the direct object (ἀνάπαυσιν), which concludes the subordinate clause. The construction ἵνα + *coniunctivus* can introduce both purpose and result clause.<sup>92</sup> If the syntagma ἵνα εὐδοῶση is interpreted in the first sense in the analysed stich, it would express the purpose for which physicians pray to God when healing a patient (‘that He would provide’). However, if it is considered a result clause, it indicates the result of their prayer (‘such that he will grant’). It seems that of these two possible interpretations of the syntagma analysed syntactically, it is more appropriate to recognise it as expressing a subordinate purpose clause. Giving it the meaning of a result clause would imply that the prayers of a medical practitioner are always heard and bring the expected and desired result. The relationship between prayer and its effect would be somewhat automatic and would leave no doubt as to what its result will be. Furthermore, the idea of prayer expressed in the pages of the Old Testament corresponds more to understanding ἵνα εὐδοῶση as

86 Cranz, “Advice for a Successful Doctor’s Visit,” 240–242.

87 Cf. Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 191–196.

88 See Egger-Wenzel, *A Polyglot Edition of the Book of Ben Sira*, 480–481; Reiterer, *Zählsynopse zum Buch Ben Sira*, 200–201.

89 See Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 66. The issue of the Hebrew texts published by The Academy of Hebrew Language does not contain the conjunction וְגַם (see Akademyah la-lashon ha-‘Ivrit, *The Book of Ben Sira*, 39; cf. *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Verso, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=16> [access: 5.02.2023]).

90 Cranz (“Advice for a Successful Doctor’s Visit,” 243), on the basis of the form יעתיר occurring in Sir 38:14b, notices a reference to Moses in the description of the physician’s activity. Cf. Zapff, “Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach,” 364–365.

91 See Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 178; Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 222, n. 5.

92 See Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego Nowego Testamentu*, paragraph 478 and paragraph 490. Subordinate purpose clauses cf. Gen 3:3; 18:21; Exod 38:27; Isa 14:21. Subordinate result clauses cf. Gen 22:14; Jer 43:3 (cf. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 341).

a subordinate purpose clause than a result clause.<sup>93</sup> Physicians, and every praying person, ask God to listen to their pleas and grant them what they ask for.

According to the Greek version of Sir 38:14b, physicians pray “that he may provide (ἵνα εὐδοῶσῃ) for them in refreshment (αὐτοῖς ἀνάπαυσιν).” Of course, the subject of the aorist conjunction is the Lord because medics are praying to Him, and only He can hear their prayers and fulfil them. The verb εὐδοῶ (‘to lead successfully,’ ‘to grant as a favour/grace,’ ‘to bring about development,’ ‘to ensure success’<sup>94</sup>) appears four more times in the Greek text of the work of the sage of Jerusalem in addition to the analysed stich. Sir 11:17 states that the Lord’s favour brings success (εὐδοωθήσεται) to the righteous forever. In Sir 15:10, Ben Sira declares that the sage praises the Lord and He will grant them success. In Sir 41:1, *participium praesentis passivi* (εὐδοουμένω) describes the person who is successful in everything. And in Sir 43:26, it is said that, thanks to the Lord, the person He has sent is successful. Based on this, it can be concluded that the verb εὐδοῶ expresses the assurance – giving someone prosperity, happiness or success in their actions or assigned mission. In four out of five texts in which it appears, God is the one who ensures success.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, the physicians will be praying to God to grant them success, i.e. positive effects of the healing they have undertaken. Thus, the sage believes that the healing of the patient’s ailments is not only the result of the physicians’ treatment but primarily the action of God Himself. Once again, the Greek version of Sir expresses the belief that the only – in the full sense of the word – physician is God Himself. Success of the healing undertaken by medics depends on Him, and they should therefore ask Him to restore full health to the sick person whose healing they have undertaken.

The last word of Sir 38:14b and the entire Sir 38:14c define the key to the success of the medics’ activity toward for the sick person. The first is ἀνάπαυσις (‘refreshment,’ ‘rest,’ ‘relaxation’). This word appears 16 times in addition to Sir 38:14b in the Greek version of Sir.<sup>96</sup> “The noun *anapausis* means rest by abstaining from work or ceasing it (cf. 11:19; 20:21; 31:3–4; 33:26; 40:5–6), relief, peace (cf. 18:16; 28:16; 36:24; 38:14) and may also refer to death (cf. 30:17; 38:23).”<sup>97</sup> In the context of Sir 38:14, it can be interpreted in different ways, depending on whether it refers to the sick person or the physician himself. If it refers to the sick person, then ἀνάπαυσιν would signify the first fruit of the expected success of the treatment undertaken by physicians. The Greek version would not immediately speak of the healing of the suffering person, but of a certain gradation in the healing results. First, there would be refreshment – strengthening of the sick person or partial relief – giving

93 See Urbanz, *Gebet im Sirachbuch*, 95.

94 See F. Montanari, *Vocabolario della lingua greca*, 2 ed. (Torino: Loescher 2004) 884; Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 303.

95 See A. Piwowar, “Mędrzec – ideał człowieka poszukującego mądrości (Syr 14,20–15,10). Część II: Działanie mądrości i przestroga skierowana do grzesznika (Syr 15,1–10),” *BibAn* 6/3 (2016) 407–408.

96 See Sir 6:28; 11:19; 18:16; 20:21; 22:13; 24:7; 28:16; 30:17; 31:3, 4; 33:26; 36:24; 38:23; 40:5, 6; 51:27.

97 A. Piwowar, “Dwie drogi prowadzące do odnalezienia mądrości według Syracha. Analiza egzegetyczno-teologiczna Syr 51,13–30,” *BibAn* 4/1 (2014) 88.

him rest from the pain he had previously experienced. This would be an intermediate stage in the healing process, referring to the improvement of his health, announcing complete recovery, and indicating the first positive signs of the treatment – relief from suffering. ‘Refreshment’ could also refer to the physician, in which case it could signify the strengthening of his abilities or some additional – perhaps supernatural – gift, which would enable him to properly diagnose the disease afflicting his patient and thus make the correct diagnosis. The Hebrew text of Sir 38:14b (see below) unambiguously supports and confirms this interpretation of the Greek text of this stich.

In the Greek version of Sir 38:14b, there is a clear indication that ἀναπαυσιν should be attributed not to the patient but to the medic. The personal pronoun in the dative case (αὐτοῖς) refers to the physicians, not the sick because Sir 38:12–15 discusses medics, not people in pain and suffering. The latter are present in the analysed pericope only implicitly as objects towards which the medics’ activities are directed.

The Hebrew text of Sir 38:14a (it corresponds to stich 38:14b in the numbering of the Greek text<sup>98</sup>) differs from its Greek version: <sup>99</sup>אשר יצלה לו פשרה (‘that the diagnosis may bring him success’<sup>100</sup>). A note in the margin of manuscript B proposes that instead of יצלה, one should adopt the ימנה reading (in *Piel* ‘will appoint,’ ‘will send’). According to the Hebrew version of Sir 38:14b, the physician will not ask God to give the sick person relief from suffering, but to ensure the success of his diagnosis (B<sup>text</sup>) or to provide the correct diagnosis of the disease (B<sup>marg</sup>).<sup>101</sup> The Hebrew text speaks explicitly not of the first positive results of the medic’s treatment, but of the recognition of the disease from which his patient suffers, so that by properly assessing it he can offer him the appropriate healing that will lead to the sick person’s complete recovery.<sup>102</sup> The original version emphasises, like the Greek version, the dependence of the efficacy of healing on God, but refers to the knowledge of the medical practitioner – it is God who gives him the correct diagnosis of the disease so that he can undertake effective healing of the sick person. Silvana Fasce argues that the translator’s omission of the word ‘diagnosis’ from Sir 38:14b was intended

<sup>98</sup> See Egger-Wenzel, *A Polyglot Edition of the Book of Ben Sira*, 480–481; Reiterer, *Zählsynopse zum Buch Ben Sira*, 200–201.

<sup>99</sup> The Hebrew noun פשרה derives from the root פשר (‘to interpret,’ ‘to translate,’ ‘to understand’; Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, VI, 796). Cf. Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 208; Beentjes, “A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38,13,” 458; Lührmann, “Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15),” 66, n. 57; Mopsik, *La Sagesse de ben Sira*, 221, n. 1; Schrader, “Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach,” 142. Cranz (“Advice for a Successful Doctor’s Visit,” 241) believes that פשרה can mean ‘absolve’ rather than ‘diagnose.’ Lindsey A. Askin (*Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 208) and Lutz Schrader (“Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach,” 142) believe that the noun פשרה can express a diagnosis made by a medical practitioner or refer to the interpretation of medical texts.

<sup>100</sup> See Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 178–179; Palmisano, *Siracide*, 345.

<sup>101</sup> See Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 223, n. 1.

<sup>102</sup> “In both the Near East and Mediterranean, ancient medical literature is concerned with the initial diagnosis. In this framework, it is therefore very significant that Ben Sira mentions diagnosis” (Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 208).

to make the Greek version of this stich sound more religious. This is why, in her opinion, the sage's grandson omitted the technical expression פִּשְׁרָה.<sup>103</sup>

Sir 38:14c identifies the second effect of the positive treatment prescribed by the physicians, for which they will ask God. It is 'healing for survival' (ἰασιν χάριν ἐμβιώσεως). The noun ἰασις ('healing') in the Greek version of Sir occurs seven more times outside the analysed stich, including, among others, in Sir 38:2.<sup>104</sup> It was used three times in a metaphorical sense referring to: the restoration of greenery scorched by the wind (see 43:22) and pride (see 3:28) and sin (see 21:3) – there is no cure (healing) for the latter two human attitudes. The other four texts containing ἰασις explicitly link healing to God. Sir 1:18 states that the crown of wisdom is, next to the fear of the Lord, peace and 'health because of healing' (ὕγιεων ἰάσεως). Healing from disease must be sought from Him (see Sir 28:3), for it is He who gives, among other things, healing (see 34:7). And finally, Sir 38:2a confirms this truth by saying that 'from the Most High is healing' (παρὰ γὰρ ὑψίστου ἐστὶν ἰασις). In Sir 38:14c, the sage returns to the truth expressed in earlier texts, especially in 38:2a, that healing is a gift of God and only He can restore the sick person to full health and physical strength. Therefore, physicians should not only try to heal the suffering with their medical knowledge and skills but also ask God to heal their patients. Once again, Ben Sira implicitly expresses a thought relating to the Old Testament belief that the Lord is the only and true physician. Medics can only heal the sick if He grants them the grace of healing. In fact, therefore, they are only intermediaries for the return to full health coming from God, and not those who heal on their own, relying entirely on their own knowledge and skills.

The concluding Sir 38:14c syntagma (χάριν ἐμβιώσεως) poses some interpretative difficulties related to the syntax of the Greek language. The role of the word χάριν in it is problematic, as it can be read in two different ways. Firstly, it can be considered as a preposition derived from the noun χάρις, which combines with the genitive and expresses the purpose ('for,' 'on account of') or the reason – the cause ('for the sake of,' 'due to,' 'because of'). Secondly, χάριν can also be considered as the accusative from χάρις ('grace,' 'graciousness,' 'benevolence') and combined with ἰασιν (also in the accusative) by way of apposition, in which case the whole stich would have to be read: 'healing, that is, the grace of (or concerning) survival.' From a statistical point of view, in the Greek version of the work of the sage of Jerusalem, χάριν both as a preposition<sup>105</sup> and as the accusative form of χάρις<sup>106</sup> occur equally frequently. This contentious issue cannot therefore be resolved on the basis of a statistical argument, i.e. that the translator used the word more often in a particular sense.

103 "La traduzione greca preferisce un registro lessicale meno tecnico, essendo volta principalmente a spiegare che il ricorso al medico non esclude la prospettiva religiosa. Il nipote di Ben Sira, immerso nell'ambiente ellenizzato di Alessandria, non conosce riserve nei confronti della medicina né ritiene di dover insistere sull'importanza della diagnosi per terapia, poiché si rivolge ad un pubblico di buona levatura culturale" (Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 89–90).

104 See Piwowar, "Respect for the Doctor (Sir 38:1–3)," 48.

105 See Sir 20:23; 27:1; 29:7, 9; 31:6, 17; 32:2; 34:12; 35:4; 37:5 and 38:17.

106 See Sir 3:18; 7:33; 8:19; 17:22; 19:25; 24:17; 30:6; 35:2; 40:22; 41:27 and 45:1.

In Sir 38:14c *χάριν* combines with *ἐμβιώσεως*. This is the *genetivus singularis* of the noun *ἐμβίωσις* ('experience'). If *χάριν* is a preposition then the syntagma *χάριν ἐμβιώσεως* should be translated in the sense of 'for survival.' But if it were an *accusativus* form of *χάρις*, this expression would have to be rendered with 'grace concerning survival' (*ἐμβιώσεως* as *genetivus obiectivus*). It seems that considering *χάριν* as a preposition is a simpler interpretation from the point of view of Greek syntax, which does not change the fact that also the second reading of the word is correct and appropriate in biblical Greek. Either way, Sir 38:14c expresses the idea that the purpose of healing is to ensure the survival of the sick person. Except that *χάριν* as a preposition expresses this explicitly, while *χάριν* as the accusative form of *χάρις* emphasises that healing is a grace (implicitly from God) that relates to the patient's experience.

The second effect of the treatment applied by the physician in healing the patient, for which he should pray and ask God, is the complete recovery and healing of the patient from his ailment.

The Hebrew text of Sir 38:14b (which corresponds to verse 14c in the numbering of the Greek translation<sup>107</sup>) is consistent with the Greek version of this stich and confirms its message: ורפאות למען מחיה ('and healing to save life'<sup>108</sup>). The original version allows the doubts about *χάριν* to be resolved. Indeed, it confirms that this Greek word should be interpreted as a preposition and not as the accusative from *χάρις*.<sup>109</sup> Beentjes interprets Sir 38:14c, focusing primarily on the figure of the physician. In his view, the medical practitioner is asking for his patient to be healed so that he can earn a living and not suffer material losses if the treatment fails.<sup>110</sup>

To summarise the analysis and message of Sir 38:13–14, it must be said that Ben Sira, in recognising the necessity for the sick person to turn to a physician in his time of indisposition, does not absolutise the importance of medicine. He emphasises its usefulness, but attributes the healing to God, not to medics.<sup>111</sup> Since recovery is a gift that comes from Him, physicians are merely His helpers and intermediaries in passing it on.<sup>112</sup> Therefore, they do not have the power to restore the sick to health but can only be representatives of the divine power to heal. Consequently, recognising their limitations and dependence on the Lord,

107 See Egger-Wenzel, *A Polyglot Edition of the Book of Ben Sira*, 480–481; Reiterer, *Zählssynopse zum Buch Ben Sira*, 200–201.

108 Victor Morla Asensio (*Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 223, n. 2) translates the Hebrew text of Sir 38:14c as follows: "y las medicinas para la curación [o el alivio]" (cf. Palmisano, *Siracide*, 345). Cf. Beentjes, "A problematic symbol in Ben Sira 38:13," 458; Mopsik, *La Sagesse de ben Sira*, 221; *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Verso, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=16> [access: 5.02.2023]).

109 See T. Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Lovain – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2010) 242.

110 See Beentjes, "A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38,13," 458.

111 See Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 207–208; Lührmann, "Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15)," 66; Noorda, "Illness and Sin, Forgiving and Healing," 220; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach / Ben Sira*, 263; Stöger, "Der Arzt nach Jesus Sirach (38,1–15)," 10.

112 See Noorda, "Illness and Sin, Forgiving and Healing," 222; G. von Rad, *La sapienza in Israele* (Genova: Marietti 1998) 128; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51*, 256.



they should pray to Him that He may grant the sick person the grace of recovery. It can be said that medics are, in a way, visible signs of the action of the divine Physician insofar as they interact in communion with Him when healing the sick.

### 3.3. The Relationship of the Sinner to the Physician and God (Sir 38:15)

In the final verse of the literary unit under analysis, the figure of the sinner (ὁ ἁμαρτάνων) appears unexpectedly. It is defined by a substantivised *participium praesentis activi* derived from the verb ἁμαρτάνω ('to sin'). A person defined in this way is not someone who has sinned once or sins occasionally. It is about someone who sins again and again – continues to commit evil acts. Sir 19:4 states that ὁ ἁμαρτάνων acts against his own soul, that is to his own disadvantage and will not be justified (cf. 10:29). Therefore, the sage urges his student not to sin (cf. 7:7; 21:1; 32:12 and 42:1). He encourages him to remember the end of his life, which should prevent him from committing any iniquity (7:36). Those who act by/with wisdom will never commit any sin (24:22). For he is not from God, and he who sins opposes Him (cf. 15:20). An analysis of the use of the verb ἁμαρτάνω in the Greek version of the work of the sage of Jerusalem indicates that it refers in a general way to sins of various kinds – generally expressing the doing of evil to both men and God.

In Sir 38:15a, the persistent sinner is brought face to face with the Creator (ἐναντι τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτόν – literally 'in front of/before Him who made him'). The improper preposition ἐναντι usually determines the relationship of someone to other persons<sup>113</sup> – including God<sup>114</sup> – or things.<sup>115</sup> In most cases, it expresses a positive relationship towards the Most High.<sup>116</sup> Ben Sira, however, states that man's deeds are not hidden from the Lord and that all sins are before Him (Sir 17:20; cf. 18:26). Therefore, it will be easy for God to render to each according to his deeds on the day of death (cf. Sir 11:26). Thus, nothing is hidden from God. He knows every action of a person who will be judged by Him, and this is especially true for the sinner who cannot hide from the Lord or deceive him.

Defining God by means of the substantivised aorist participle of the active voice (ὁ ποιήσας – literally 'the one who did/does') occurs ten more times in the Greek version of the Book of Sirach in addition to Sir 38:15a. It is interesting to note that the Greek translation of the work of the sage of Jerusalem mentions the Creator only once (ὁ κτίσας; see Sir 24:8). Perhaps this is due to the addressees to whom it was directed. It can only be assumed that the grandson of Ben Sira, in translating his grandfather's work into Greek, considered it more understandable to designate God as the 'Maker' of the world (in the sense of a craftsman who made – did everything) than as the Creator (in the biblical sense) However, it should be noted that within Sir 38:1–15, the verb κτίζω appears three times: the Lord created the physician (38:1, 12) and medicine from the earth (Sir 38:4). 'The one who made' (ὁ ποιήσας) is synonymous with the Creator (ὁ κτίσας). It was He who

113 See Sir 7:33; 15:17; 23:3; 30:3; 34:20; 38:3; 39:4; 41:27; 42:8; 46:7; 50:13 and 51:2.

114 See Sir 3:18; 7:5; 10:7; 11:26; 17:20; 18:26; 24:2; 25:1; 35:5; 39:5; 46:19 and 50:16.

115 See Sir 26:12; 37:5 and 51:14.

116 See Sir 3:18; 7:5; 24:2; 25:1; 35:5; 39:5; 46:19 and 50:16.

created man (cf. 4:6). The sage urges everyone to love Him with all their soul (7:30) and to thank Him for everything (cf. 32:13). David is an example of such an attitude (cf. 47:8). A person seeking wisdom from early morning turns to the One who made him (cf. 39:5). When someone's heart turns away from Him, they fall into pride (cf. 10:12). People are in the Creator's hands like clay in the hands of a potter, and He will give them according to His judgment (cf. 33:13). God made the winds as instruments of vengeance (cf. 39:28); He also created the sun, which is obedient to Him (a reference to astral cults; cf. 43:5), and the rainbow – a sign of the covenant (cf. 43:11). Man should be grateful to the One who made them for the gift of life and for everything that was created, because it serves them in their life. Gratitude for the work of creation should also be manifested in obedience to the One who accomplished it. The man who desires to attain wisdom will seek it from Him. The sinner, however, is a contradiction of the attitudes that, according to Ben Sira's teachings, one should adopt towards their Creator. For he acts contrary to the covenant (breaks it) and does not give due glory to God. Pride distances him from the Lord and through this he breaks all ties with Him.

Sir 38:15a, speaking of the sinner being placed before the Creator, describes his confrontation with God. It expresses a very acute tension between the two figures (sin is always unrighteousness, i.e. a misappropriation of the covenant with God), and although it does not specify it or define it in more precise terms – it says nothing more than that the sinner is in the face of the Lord – one can sense the atmosphere of judgement and punishment of a man erring and rejecting the One who made him.

The Hebrew text of Sir 38:15a is consistent with its Greek translation: אֲשֶׁר חוּטֵא לִפְנֵי עוֹשֵׂהוּ ('[he] who<sup>117</sup> sins [is] before Him who made him').<sup>118</sup>

The second stich of Sir 38:15 develops the atmosphere of tension outlined in a very general way by the first part of the verse ('the sinner in the face of Him who made him'). The Greek version, by means of *optativus aoristi*, expresses a wish addressed to the sinner: 'may he fall into the hands of the physician' (ἐμπέσοι εἰς χεῖρας ἰατροῦ). The verb ἐπίπτω ('to fall into') in the translation of the work of the sage of Jerusalem by his grandson occurs nine more times in addition to Sir 38:15b.<sup>119</sup> Whenever it is combined with the preposition εἰς, it defines a very difficult situation for a person, in which he or she is threatened with grave danger or great difficulties.<sup>120</sup> These include the snare of a debauched woman (9:3), a trap set by one's own self for another (27:26), fire as a metaphor for punishment (28:23), surety and punishment – a judgment (29:19). In addition, the syntagma ἐπίπτω εἰς χεῖρας occurs twice, as in Sir 38:15b. In 2:18, it is mentioned that it is better to fall into the hands of the Lord than into the hands of men, while in 8:1, the sage warns not to deal with

117 Josue T. Nelis ("Sir 38,15," *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. FS J.P.M. van der Ploeg* [eds. W.C. Delsman – J.T. Nelis – H.R.T.M. Peters] [AOAT 211; Kevelaer – New York: Butzon & Becker Kevelaer 1982] 174, 176–178) believes that the conjunction אֲשֶׁר in Sir 38:15a should be interpreted in a causal sense.

118 Cf. Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 179.

119 See Sir 2:18; 8:1; 9:3; 13:10; 27:26; 28:23; 29:19[x2], 20.

120 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 97.

the mighty, as one can fall into their hands.<sup>121</sup> While the first of these texts expresses a rather positive message because of God's great mercy, which is a guarantee of lesser punishment, the second already speaks of danger and threat to the one who has fallen into the hands of the mighty (cf. Judg 15:18; 2 Sam 24:14; 1 Chr 21:13). The text of Sir 29:19 is important for understanding the expression ἐμπέσοι εἰς χεῖρας in Sir 38:15b. This is because it states that those who abandon the Lord (οἱ καταλείποντες κύριον) will fall into the flames, will be consumed by them, and they will certainly not cease to burn. Those who abandon God are sinners because they break the covenant with the Most High and will therefore be punished. Sir 38:15b, on the other hand, says that he who sins will fall into the hands of the physician. In a very illustrative way, the Greek text of this stich speaks of the punishment meted out to the sinner. It is a disease. If the above interpretation of Sir 38:15b is correct and appropriate, it would mean that in the last stich of his reflection on the physician and modern medicine, Ben Sira once again expresses the traditional view of disease as a punishment for sin and evil deeds committed.<sup>122</sup> However, Ben Sira's positive assessment of contemporary medicine did not overcome the conviction expressed in the pages of the Old Testament relating to the perception of the causes of disease – sin and iniquity. It should be noted that in Sir 38:1–15, the main theme of the sage from Jerusalem's reflections was not the causes of disease (although he indirectly alluded to this), but the attitude of the suffering man towards medics and the medicine of the time. The sage encouraged the Israelites not to be afraid to use their services, as they are not representatives of evil – magical powers opposing God, but are merely agents of YHWH's healing power. In addition, it is also important to remember the instructions Ben Sira gave to the sick person regarding his attitude toward God during his illness: return to Him, prayer, repentance and sacrifice (see 38:9–11). Clearly, although not explicitly expressed, the dependence of disease on God and healing on conversion to the Lord is evident in this text. Sir 38:15, therefore, does not overrule the earlier calls for the use of physicians during disease<sup>123</sup> but merely restates what the cause of the disease is. He warns his student that if he sins<sup>124</sup> and turns away from the Most High, he will face the punishment for the evil he has committed – disease.<sup>125</sup> Thus, it can be said that Sir 38:15 offers a kind of protection against the disease by warning against committing sins. The Greek text does not, therefore, portray the physician in a negative light,<sup>126</sup> as some

121 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 96–97.

122 See Adinolfi, "Il medico in Sir 38,1–15," 182; Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 209; Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 196–197; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 97; Lührmann, "Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15)," 66; Mazzinghi, "«Poi fa' posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» (Sir 38,1–15)," 71; Morla Asensio, *Eclesiástico*, 186; G. Pérez Rodríguez, "Eclesiástico," *Biblia Comentada. IV. Libros Sapientiales*, 2 ed. (BAC 218; Madrid: Editorial Católica 1967) 1243; Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 184; Zapff, "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," 358.

123 See Schrader, "Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach," 143.

124 According to Jan Turkiel ("Septuaginta o lekarzu," 568–569), the sin referred to in Sir 38:15 consists in regarding the physician as a deity, rather than as a being created by God and dependent on Him for healing.

125 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 98–99; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51*, 257.

126 See Adinolfi, "Il medico in Sir 38,1–15," 182.



exegetes<sup>127</sup> claim but focuses on expressing the cause and effect relationship between sin and disease, which results in the need to go to the physician.

The Hebrew text of Sir 38:15b has a different tone from the Greek version: יתגבר לפני<sup>128</sup> רופא (‘he will be strong<sup>129</sup> before the physician’<sup>130</sup>). A note in the margin of manuscript B proposes that the opening words of the stich (יתגבר לפני) should be replaced by the על ידי<sup>132</sup> reading יסתוגר<sup>131</sup> (‘he himself will close towards the hands [of the physician]’<sup>133</sup>). The Hebrew text speaks of the attitude of a man doing wrong towards the physician, and not, like the Greek version, of disease as a punishment for sin.<sup>134</sup> The sinner does not follow Ben Sira’s advice to place himself in the hands of a physician in time of illness, and on the contrary, rejects the possibility of seeking his help.<sup>135</sup> Some exegetes draw attention to the parallelism in Sir 38:15 that exists between the Creator and the physician. On this basis, they conclude that he who rejects the physician sins against God, because He created him and gave him the task of participating in His healing power.<sup>136</sup> If the above interpretation is correct, the Hebrew version of Sir 38:15 forms with Sir 38:1 the perfect conclusion to the entire reflection of the sage of Jerusalem on the activities of medics and the medicine

127 See Beentjes, “A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38:13,” 457; Noorda, “Illness and Sin, Forgiving and Healing,” 221, n. 18; Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 443.

128 See Chrysovergi, *Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 179–180; Zapff, “Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach,” 355.

129 According to Charles Mopsik (*La Sagesse de ben Sira*, 221, n. 2), the expression ‘to be/become strong/powerful’ means to reject the activity of the physician. Maria Chrysovergi (*Attitudes toward the Use of Medicine in Jewish Literature*, 196), on the other hand, interprets these words as an expression of rebellion and opposition.

130 On the various proposals for translating this stich see Nelis, “Sir 38,15,” 178–184. Cf. Adinolfi, “Il medico in Sir 38,1–15,” 174; Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 189; Beentjes, “A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38,13,” 457; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 94; Mazzinghi, “«Poi fa’ posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» (Sir 38,1–15),” 67; Mopsik, *La Sagesse de ben Sira*, 221; Morla Asensio, *Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 223; *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Recto, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15> [access: 5.02.2023].

131 This is the only known form of the stem סגַר in the conjugation *Hithpoel* (see Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, VI, 120). Morla Asensio (*Los manuscritos hebreos de Ben Sira*, 223, n. 4) translates the form יסתוגר as ‘será entregado’. Josue T. Nelis (“Sir 38,15,” 173–174, 175) believes that the above Hebrew word should be translated ‘est livré.’

132 Josue T. Nelis (“Sir 38,15,” 175) considers that the על ידי reading does not correspond to the Greek expression εἰς χεῖρας. According to this scholar, the Hebrew syntagma expresses the idea of instrumentality or collaboration.

133 See *The Book of Ben Sira*, T-S 16.312, B VIII Recto, <https://bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15> [access: 5.02.2023]. Cf. Schrader, “Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach,” 143.

134 See Lührmann, “Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15),” 67; Stöger, “Der Arzt nach Jesus Sirach (38,1–15),” 10; Zapff, “Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach,” 355–356, 358.

135 See Adinolfi, “Il medico in Sir 38,1–15,” 182–183; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 100–101; Lührmann, “Aber auch Arzt gib Raum (Sir 38,1–15),” 66; Mazzinghi, “«Poi fa’ posto al Medico, perché ti è necessario» (Sir 38,1–15),” 71–72; Noorda, “Illness and Sin, Forgiving and Healing,” 220–222; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach / Ben Sira*, 263; Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 443; Stöger, “Der Arzt nach Jesus Sirach (38,1–15),” 10; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach 25–51*, 257. Cf. Schrader, “Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach,” 143.

136 See Mopsik, *La Sagesse de ben Sira*, 221, n. 2; Palmisano, *Siracide*, 345; Zapff, “Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach,” 355–356.

of the time. Those scholars who believe that Sir 38:15 (and more broadly 38:13–15) does not fit the preceding context are therefore wrong<sup>137</sup> (S. Fasce suggests noticing in Sir 38:15 a rhetorical figure referred to as *aprosdoketon*<sup>138</sup>). Burkard Zapff thinks that the Hebrew version of Sir 38:15 contains the original thought of Ben Sira, while the Greek translation is a modification of it.<sup>139</sup> Lutz Schrader, on the other hand, supposes that the Hebrew version of Sir 38:15b is the sage's reworked form of a saying that was originally intended to be directed against physicians ('Whoever comes into contact with a physician, [he] puts himself in his hands' – רעה רופא יסתוגר על ידיו), but that Ben Sira reworked it in such a way that it encouraged the use of a medic.<sup>140</sup>

## Conclusions

Ben Sira, in the final section (38:12–15) of his reflection on the physician and modern medicine (38:1–15), returns to the activities and tasks of the medical practitioner with which he began it. In Sir 38:1–3 he called for respecting the physician and not rejecting his help. On the other hand, in Sir 38:12–15, continuing this exhortation, he urges the sick person not only to turn to God (38:9–11), but also to call the physician and undergo his treatment. The sage reminds us that medics are created by God, i.e. that they are accepted and intended by Him. They are therefore not, as was commonly believed at the time, representatives of magical powers that opposed the Lord. In Sir 38:12–15, Ben Sira focuses on the physician's attitude and actions when healing a sick person. He should ask the Most High for the success of the treatment he has administered to the patient (the Hebrew text speaks explicitly about the correct diagnosis of the disease), so that the sick person can recover and return to full physical strength. In this way, the sage from Jerusalem expressed the traditional Old Testament belief that the only Physician who can restore health to a suffering person is God. Medics are merely His co-workers who are fully dependent on His will in their activity to cure the sick person of his ailment – it is not they who heal, but the Lord. In this way, the author of Sir 38:12–15, as in the earlier parts of his teaching on medicine and physicians, made a perfect synthesis of the developing field of knowledge of his time with the traditional belief of the Israelites concerning the causes of disease (sin and evil committed) and healing (God is the only physician). The sage thus appears as a man who is open to novelty coming from a foreign environment (most likely Hellenistic), but at the same time is faithful to the beliefs flowing from faith in YHWH.

137 See Beentjes, "A Problematic Symbol in Ben Sira 38:13," 457, 459; Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 94.

138 See Fasce, *La lode del medico*, 94. Cf. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel*, 159; Noorda, "Illness and Sin, Forgiving and Healing," 221, n. 18.

139 See Zapff, "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach," 356.

140 See Schrader, "Beruf, Arbeit und Muße als Sinnerfüllung bei Jesus Sirach," 143.

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## Archanioł Gabriel w piśmiennictwie qumrańskim

The Archangel Gabriel in Qumran Texts

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**ABSTRACT:** The article presents the figure of the angel Gabriel in the context of the seven Qumran manuscripts in which it appears, namely in three Hebrew manuscripts (1QM, 4Q285, 1Q19) and four Aramaic texts (4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q529, 4Q557). The undertaken analyzes are an overview of the texts with elements of exegesis, i.e. a historical and literary characterization and a study of the source text and the Polish translation of the mentioned manuscripts. On the one hand, it is possible to note the different ways in which the archangel is depicted – he plays different roles, appears in relation to other supernatural figures or as an individual character. On the other hand, this study shows the similarities between the texts under discussion in terms of vocabulary and expressions concerning angels, as well as the guiding theme of the texts.

**KEYWORDS:** angel Gabriel, Qumran, 1QM, 4Q285, 1Q19, 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q529, 4Q557, biblical angelology, archangel, role of angels, *Book of Enoch*, *Rule of War*, *Book of Noah*, *Words of Michael*, *Aramaic Visions*

**SŁOWA KLUCZE:** anioł Gabriel, Qumran, 1QM, 4Q285, 1Q19, 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q529, 4Q557, angelo-logia biblijna, archanioł, rola aniołów, *Księga Henocha*, *Reguła Wojny*, *Księga Noego*, *Słowa Michała*, *Wizje Aramejskie*

Nauka o bytach anielskich była istotnym elementem teologii żydowskiej okresu Drugiej Świątyni. Temat został podjęty przez Maxwella J. Davidsona w 1992 roku w znanej badaczom publikacji poświęconej roli aniołów w pismach qumrańskich<sup>1</sup>. Mimo iż od wydania tej monografii minęło już trzydzieści lat, stanowi ona ważny przyczynek do współczesnych poszukiwań, o czym świadczą kolejne tego typu opracowania poświęcone postaciom niebiańskim. Przykładem może być niedawno wydana książka Matthew L. Walsh<sup>2</sup>, który dokonał ponownego przeglądu badań oraz zaproponował nowe rozwiązania w postrzeganiu znaczenia aniołów we wspólnocie esseńskiej.

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- <sup>1</sup> Zob. M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran. A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36; 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press 1992).
- <sup>2</sup> Wersja książkowa rozprawy doktorskiej autora. Zob. M.L. Walsh, *Angels Associated with Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Angelology and Sectarian Identity at Qumran* (WUNT 2/509; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2019). Na gruncie polskim ważnym opracowaniem w tym temacie jest studium Dariusza Iwańskiego dotyczące aniołów w *Księdze Henocha*. Zob. D. Iwański, *Wstawienictwo aniołów w Księdze Henocha (1 Hen)* (Scripta Theologica Thoruniensia 15; Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK 2011).

Niniejsze studium stanowi odpowiedź na zachętę przywołanych wyżej egzegetów do dalszych rozważań i jest kolejnym krokiem w kierunku przybliżenia tematu angelologii okresu Drugiej Świątyni na przykładzie Gabriela, jednego z naczelnych duchów niebieskich, tzw. archaniołów<sup>3</sup>.

Celem artykułu jest przede wszystkim prezentacja mało znanych tekstów, w których poświadczono obecność istoty nadprzyrodzonej o imieniu Gabriel. Jest on postacią niejednokrotnie łączoną z tradycją biblijną: w Księdze Daniela pełni rolę *angelus interpretis* (anioła interpretatora, zob. Dn 8,16; 9,21), a w Ewangelii Łukasza jest Bożym posłańcem (zob. Łk 1,19.26)<sup>4</sup>. Poniżej zostanie przedstawiona inna odsłona jego funkcji, jaką przekazują świadectwa pozabiblijne.

Punktem wyjścia dla niniejszych obserwacji jest opinia Martina Abegga, według którego termin *אֲרָאֵל* w ramach piśmiennictwa qumrańskiego występuje przynajmniej siedem razy<sup>5</sup>. Wymienione przez badacza teksty są przedmiotem poniższej analizy<sup>6</sup>. W pierwszym

3 Greckie słowo *ἀρχάγγελος* występuje dwukrotnie w Nowym Testamencie (zob. 1 Tes 4,16; Jud 1,9). Teksty pozabiblijne przypisują ten tytuł trzem, czterem, sześciu lub siedmiu aniołom zajmującym pierwsze miejsce w hierarchii duchów niebieskich, którym zostały powierzone szczególne zadania. W tytule niniejszego artykułu termin ten odnosi się do Gabriela, gdyż często nazywany jest on tak w literaturze przedmiotu. W ten sposób określa go także tradycja judeochrześcijańska. Zob. BDAG, 137; EDNT, 15–16; C. Berner, „The Four (or Seven) Archangels in the First Book of Enoch and Early Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period”, *Angels. The Concept of Celestial Beings – Origins, Development and Reception* (red. F.V. Reiterer – T. Nicklas – K. Schöpflin) (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2007) 395–409; E.W. Bullinger, *A Critical Lexicon and Concordance to the English and Greek New Testament* (London: Longmans 1908) 61; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 40–41, 49–53, 74–78, 94–95, 97–98, 103–105, 157, 194–196, 228, 249–250, 300–302, 325–326; A.-M. Denis, *Concordance Grecque des Pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament. Concordance. Corpus des textes. Indices* (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain 1987) 14, 184–185; W. Grundmann – G. von Rad, „Ἀρχάγγελος, Ἀρχάγγελος”, *TDNT I*, 74–87; M.S. Heiser, *Angels. What the Bible Really Says About God's Heavenly* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press 2018) 68–73, 93–94, 102–104, 107–108, 121–122, 138–139; A. Jankowski, *Aniołowie wobec Chrystusa. Chrystocentryczna angelologia Nowego Testamentu*, wyd. 2 (Kraków: Tyniec Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów 2018) 50–52; LSJ, 251; L&N, 144; B.M. Newman, *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft – United Bible Societies 2010) 26; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch. Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2001) 207; P.A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBL.EJL 4; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1993) 16, 91–92, 226, 244, 254, 326; Walsh, *Angels Associated*, 78–83, 84–87, 97–105, 110–118, 122–135, 180–201, 225–235, 262–274, 282–283.

4 Na temat Gabriela w literaturze biblijnej zob. H.M. Cocksworth, „Zechariah and Gabriel as Thematic Characters: A Narratological Reading of the Beginning of Luke's Gospel (Luke 1:8–20)”, *Characters and Characterization in Luke-Acts* (red. F.E. Dicken – J.A. Snyder) (London: Bloomsbury Clark 2016) 41–54; Heiser, *Angels*, 46–52, 68–73, 93–94, 101–104, 116–121; Jankowski, *Aniołowie*, 49–50; 57–61; H. Klein, „The Angel Gabriel According to Luke 1”, *Angels. The Concept of Celestial Beings – Origins, Development and Reception* (red. F.V. Reiterer – T. Nicklas – K. Schöpflin) (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2007) 313–323; B. Otzen, „Michael and Gabriel. Angelological Problems in the Book of Daniel”, *The Scriptures and the Scrolls. Studies in Honour of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65 Birthday* (red. F. García Martínez – A. Hilhorst) (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1992) 114–124; M. Parchem, „Nauka o istotach niebiańskich w Księdze Daniela: kontynuacja wcześniejszych tradycji biblijnych oraz nowy wkład do angelologii Starego Testamentu”, *Studia Koszalińsko-Kotobrzezkie* 21 (2014) 69–71, 74–75, 79–82; Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 84–85, 88, 90–91, 93, 244, 246, 251–252, 254, 326; Walsh, *Angels Associated*, 60, 73–84, 97–105, 126–128, 265.

5 W niniejszym studium pomijamy teksty biblijne z Qumran oraz świadectwa w języku greckim.

6 Teksty hebrajskie zob. M.G. Abegg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. I. The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2003) [part one] 171. Teksty aramejskie zob. *ibidem*, [part two] 806.



punkcie zostaną omówione teksty hebrajskie, natomiast w drugim – świadectwa aramejskie. Ze względu na ich specyfikę zastosowano elementy metody historyczno-krytycznej.

## 1. Teksty hebrajskie

Poniżej zostaną omówione trzy fragmenty rękopisów hebrajskich, w których odnajdujemy imię Gabriela. Dwa z nich dotyczą popularnej wśród esseńskiej społeczności *Reguły Wojny* (§1.1), natomiast trzeci jest świadectwem innej ważnej tradycji – *Księgi Noego* (§1.2).

### 1.1. *Reguła Wojny* (1QM; 4Q285)

*Regułę Wojny* zachowuje zbiór rękopisów z grotty czwartej (4Q285; 4Q471; 4Q491–4Q497), a także z pierwszej (1QM; 1Q33) i jedenastej (11Q14). Przywołane świadectwa datuje się na okres od połowy I wieku p.n.e. do końcowych dziesięcioleci I wieku n.e. Najstarszymi manuskryptami są 4Q493 i 4Q496 (powstały być może przed połową I wieku p.n.e.), z kolei najmłodsze to 4Q494 (początek I wieku n.e.) oraz 11Q14 (lata 20–50 n.e.). Pozostałe świadectwa datuje się na koniec I wieku p.n.e.<sup>7</sup>

Pomijając dyskusję na temat klasyfikacji tekstów qumrańskich, w niniejszym opracowaniu przyjęto, iż *Reguła Wojny* należy do zbioru dokumentów prawno-doktrynalnych wspólnoty z Qumran<sup>8</sup>, na co wskazuje treść oraz główna tematyka dzieła – przedstawia opis wojny między synami światłości (plemiona Izraela, wierni Bogu) i synami ciemności (dział Beliala, Kittim, zdrajcy, wrogie narody) na dwóch głównych płaszczyznach: militarnej i teologicznej. W wymiarze wojennym tekst zawiera plan walki, kwestie taktyczne, informacje o organizacji wojska i jego uzbrojeniu, a także wiadomości o roli grup społecznych związanych z konfliktem. Aspekt teologiczny natomiast wydaje się równie istotny dla autora rękopisu. Jego dzieło stanowi nie tylko relację o przebiegu bitwy, lecz wskazuje przede wszystkim na postawę religijną esseńczyków, którzy są wspierani przez Boga<sup>9</sup>. W tym kon-

7 Zob. J.L. Duhaime, *The War Texts. 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (London – New York: Clark 2004) 4–10, 64–102; F. Gryglewicz, „Pochodzenie «Reguły Wojny» z Qumran i data jej kompozycji”, *RBL* 15/1 (1962) 9–14; G. Ibba, *Qumran. Correnti del pensiero giudaico (III a.C.–I d.C.)* (Roma: Carocci 2007) 48–50, 102–103; S. Mędała, *Wprowadzenie do literatury międzytestamentalnej* (BZ.TNT 1; Kraków: Enigma Press 1994) 97; J.T. Milik, *Dziesięć lat odkryć na Pustyni Judzkiej* (tł. Z. Kubiak; Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax 1968) 38–40; P. Muchowski, *Komentarze do rękopisów znad Morza Martwego* (BZ.TNT 7; Kraków: Enigma Press 2000) 71; B. Schultz, *Conquering the World. The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2009) 10–41; A. Tronina, *Reguła Zrzeszenia i inne teksty prawne z Qumran. Adnotowany przekład z hebrajskiego 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSh, CD, 1QM* (Kraków: Enigma Press 2017) 139–140; W. Tyloch, *Rękopisy z Qumran nad Morzem Martwym* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza 2001) 225–226; D.O. Wenthe, „The Use of the Hebrew Scriptures in 1QM”, *DSD* 5/3 (1998) 291.

8 Zob. Mędała, *Wprowadzenie*, 16. Na temat problemu rozróżnienia kategorii rękopisów i różnych propozycji jego rozwiązania zob. P. Muchowski, „Formy literackie w piśmiennictwie qumrańskim: problem klasyfikacji”, *Qumran. Pomiędzy Starym a Nowym Testamentem* (red. H. Drawnel – A. Piwowar) (ABLu 2; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2009) 131–138.

9 Zob. Ibba, *Qumran*, 103–105; Mędała, *Wprowadzenie*, 97; Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 71–72; Tronina, *Reguła Zrzeszenia*, 140–142; Tyloch, *Rękopisy z Qumran*, 226–230; Wenthe, „The Use of the Hebrew Scriptures”, 295–314.

tekście pojawiają się motywy bezpośrednio związane z Bożą interwencją. Jednym z nich jest obecność naczelnych duchów niebieskich, do których należy interesująca nas postać archanioła Gabriela.

Dwa manuskrypty spośród wyżej wymienionych zachowują jego imię. Pierwszy z nich, 1QM, mówi o Gabrielu w kolumnie dziewiątej (1QM IX,16)<sup>10</sup>. Poniżej zaprezentowano tekst hebrajski oraz polski<sup>11</sup> linii 15–16 w kontekście tzw. opisu wież, czyli linii 12–17<sup>12</sup>.

Tabela 1. Tekst i tłumaczenie 1QM kol. IX,12–17

tekst hebrajski <sup>13</sup>	linia	tłumaczenie polskie <sup>14</sup>
אויב ומגני המגדלות יהיו ארוכים שלוש אמות ורמ- חיהם א[ור]ך שמונה אמות והמג[ד]לות	12	wroga. Tarcze wież będą długości trzech łokci, zaś ich włócznie będą miały d[łu]gość ośmiu łokci. Wieże
יוצאים מן המערכה מאה מגן ומאה פני המגדל כו[לם י] סבו המגדל לשלושת רוחות הפנים	13	wychodzące z linii będą miały po sto tarcz od frontu wieży, w sumie wieża będzie otoczona z trzech stron frontowych
מגנים שלוש מאות ושערים שנים למגדל אחד ל[ימין ו] אחד לשמאל ועל כול מגנה המגדלות	14	przez trzysta tarcz. Wieża będzie mieć dwie bramy, jedną po [prawej i je]dną po lewej. Na wszystkich tarczach wież
יכתובו על הראישון מיכ[א]ל[ל] על השני <b>גבריאל</b> על השלישי [שריאל עזה]הרביעי רפאל	15	napiszą: na pierwszej „Mi[cha]ł”, [na drugiej „ <b>Gabriel</b> ”, na trzeciej] „Sariel” na czwartej „Rafał”.
מיכאל ו <b>גבריאל</b> לי[מין ושריאל ורפאל לשמאל ...] <i>vacat</i>	16	„Michał” i „ <b>Gabriel</b> ” z [prawej, „Sariel” i „Rafał” z lewej.]
[...] לארבע [...] אורב ישימ[ו] ל[...]	17	[...] dla czterech [...] zastawią zasadzkę na [...]

10 Zob. Abegg, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, [part one] 171.

11 Przekład Piotra Muchowskiego (*Rękopisy znad Morza Martwego. Qumran – Wadi Murabba'at – Masada* [BZ.TNT 5; Kraków: Enigma Press 1996] 50).

12 Tekst *Reguly* zawierał przynajmniej 19 kolumn (finalnie było ich prawdopodobnie 21–22). Treść można podzielić na cztery główne części: 1) ogólne wprowadzenie w kolumnie I (wymienia uczestników walki, krótki przebieg konfliktu); 2) opis taktyki, zasad militarnych w kolumnach II–IX (opis wart kapłańskich, reguły trąbek i sztandarów, przedstawienie tarczy dowódcy, szyki chorągwi, opis wież); 3) sekcję liturgiczną w kolumnach X–XIV (modlitwy w obozie, na polu i po zwycięstwie); powtórzenie materiału w kolumnach XV–XIX, tzn. prezentacja wojny przeciw wojskom Beliala, modlitwy przed walką, wezwania, bitwa itd. Zob. Duhaime, *War Texts*, 13–20; Mędała, *Wprowadzenie*, 98; Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 75; Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 74–82; Wenthe, „The Use of the Hebrew Scriptures”, 294.

13 Wydania tekstu hebrajskiego zob. F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition* (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1999) 128; J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon 1955) 135–136; D.W. Parry – E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader. I. Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2004) 224; E.L. Sukenik (red.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University – Magnes Press 1955) 1–19.

14 Por. inne tłumaczenia tekstu: García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 129; F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill 1996) 102; F. García Martínez, *Testi di*

W linii 15 imię nie zachowało się. Powyższa tabela przedstawia rekonstrukcję tekstu między dwoma zachowanymi fragmentami z imionami innych archaniołów: Michała (z מיכאל niezachowane jedynie -א-) oraz Sariela (w całości zachowany termin שריאל). Z kolei w linii 16 mamy dobrze zachowane wyrażenie z imieniem Gabriela, poprzedzone obecnością Michała: מיכאל וגבריאל לי- (imiona połączone/rozdzielone spójnikiem *waw*, tłumaczone „Michał i Gabriel z/na”). Tak zredagowana informacja o aniołach przyjmuje charakter militarny, gdyż – jak wspomniano powyżej – występuje w opisie wież (1QM IX,12–17), który z kolei przynależy do sekcji mówiącej o przepisach wojskowych (1QM IX,10–17)<sup>15</sup>.

Na drugi manuskrypt *Reguły Wojny* poświęcający imię Gabriela, 4Q285, składa się dziesięć fragmentów. Treść zawiera błogosławieństwa Najwyższego Kapłana (frag. 1–2) oraz opis sądu nad Kittim i wyroku śmierci dla ich przywódcy (frag. 4–5)<sup>16</sup>. Egzegeci zauważają związek 4Q285 z innym zwojem z groty jedenastej – 11Q14<sup>17</sup>.

Tabela 2. Tekst i tłumaczenie 4Q285 frag. 1,1–4

tekst hebrajski <sup>18</sup>	linia	tłumaczenie polskie <sup>19</sup>
[...] ם ועל [...] ]	1	[...] i na [...]
[...] ם למען שמכה ומ [...] ]	2	[...] z powodu twojego imienia. I ... [...]
[...] את מיכאל גבריאל [שריאל ורפאל ...]	3	[...] Michał, <b>G[abrie]l</b> , [Sariel i Rafał...]
[...] עם בחירי [...] ]	4	[...] z wybranym [...]

W tekście 4Q285 zachowały się dwie litery imienia Gabriel (pierwsza ג i ostatnia ל). Występują one we fragmencie pierwszym, w linii 3<sup>20</sup>. Powyższa tabela pokazuje zrekonstruowane słowo גבריאל w kontekście linii 1–4. Gabriel występuje ponownie obok

*Qumran. Traduzione italiana dai testi originali con note* (tł. C. Martone) (Brescia: Paideia 1996) 205–206; Parry – Tov, *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, 225; Tronina, *Reguła Zrzeszenia*, 160–161; Tyloch, *Rękopisy z Qumran*, 247–248.

15 Zob. Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 75; Tyloch, *Rękopisy z Qumran*, 227.

16 Zob. M.G. Abegg, „Messianic Hope and 4Q285: A Reassessment”, *JBL* 113/1 (1994) 81–83; R.H. Eisenman – M. Wise, *Manoscritti segreti di Qumran* (Segrate: Piemme 2007) 24–26; Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 77.

17 Muchowski (*Komentarze*, 77) podaje następujące paralele: 4Q285 frag. 1–2 odpowiada 11Q14 frag. 1, kol. II,3–15, natomiast 4Q285 frag. 5,2–15 jest podobne do 11Q14 frag. 1, kol. I,10–15. Na temat relacji między 4Q285 i 11Q14 zob. W.J. Lyons, „Clarifications Concerning 4Q285 and 11Q14 Arising from Discoveries in the Judean Desert 23”, *DSD* 6/1 (1999) 37–43; E.J.C. Tigchelaar, „Working with Few Data: The Relation between 4Q285 and 11Q14”, *DSD* 7/1 (2000) 49–56.

18 Wydania tekstu hebrajskiego zob. P.S. Alexander – G. Vermes, „285. 4QSefer ha-Milhamah”, *Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea* (red. S.J. Pfann) (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon 2000) I, 228–246; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 642; Parry – Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 242.

19 Tekst polski w konsultacji z: García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 643; Parry – Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 243.

20 Zob. Abegg, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, [part one] 171; Parry – Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 242–243. Inną identyfikację (numerację) fragmentu (4Q285 frag. 10,1–4) spotykamy w: García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 642–643.

dobrze zachowanego imienia Michał (nazwy nie są połączone spójnikiem, por. 1QM IX,16). Po Gabrielu prawdopodobnie występowali inni aniołowie, znani z tekstów paralelnych (שריאל ורפאל – Sariel i Rafał).

### 1.2. Księga Noego (1Q19)

*Księga Noego* jest zaginioną kompozycją, której istnienie poświadcza manuskrypt z grotty pierwszej – 1Q19 (1Q*Księga Noego*). Składa się na niego dwadzieścia jeden małych fragmentów rękopisu<sup>21</sup>. Według niektórych badaczy, kompozycję prezentują też świadectwa z grotty czwartej, mówiące o narodzinach Noego (zob. 4Q534, 4Q535, 4Q536)<sup>22</sup>.

Interesujący nas tekst poświadcza przynajmniej dwa dzieła pozabiblijne: *Księga Jubileuszów* oraz *Księga Henocha*. Komentatorzy wskazują na podobieństwa 1Q19 z opowiadaniem o bohaterach biblijnych, a także związek z tradycją o Testamencie i Apokalipsie Noego zawartą w *Jub.* 7,20–39 i *1 Hen* 106,1–107,3<sup>23</sup>. Ponadto treść *Jub.* 10,13 mówi o istnieniu *Księgi Noego*: „Noe zaś zapisał wszystko w Księdze, dokładnie tak, jak go pouczyliśmy o każdym sposobie uzdrowienia. [...]”<sup>24</sup>.

*Księga Noego* mówi o Gabrielu we fragmencie drugim (1Q19bis 2,4)<sup>25</sup>, przedstawionym w poniższej tabeli.

Tabela 3. Tekst i tłumaczenie 1Q19 frag. 2,1–6

tekst hebrajski <sup>26</sup>	linia	tłumaczenie polskie <sup>27</sup>
[... קדוש]י הש[מים] [...]	1	[Święc]i ni[eba] [...]
[...] לאמר גלו מש[פטנו לפ]ני עליון [...]	2	[mówiąc: Przedstawcie] naszą [sp]rawę prz[ed Najwyższym] [...]
ולא תחתך [...]	3	[...] i nie pod tobą [...]
[...] אל וגבריאל [...]	4	[Michał, Uriel, Raf]ał i <b>Gabriel</b> [...]
אדונים וגב[ור גבורים] [... אדון] [...]	5	[Pan] panów i Po[tężny potężnych] [...]
[...] עלמי]ם [...]	6	[...] wiek[i] [...]

21 Tekst pierwotny z około pierwszej połowy II wieku p.n.e. zaginął. Zob. Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 278; R. Rubinkiewicz, *Wprowadzenie do Apokryfów Starego Testamentu* (Lublin: RW KUL 1987) 33.

22 Eisenman – Wise, *Manoscritti*. Zob. Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 279, 329.

23 Tekst polski w konsultacji z: García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 643; Parry – Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 243.

24 Zob. Rubinkiewicz, *Apokryfy*, 282.

25 Zob. Abegg, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, [part one] 171; Feldman, „1Q19 (Book of Noah)”, 287–289; García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 25–26.

26 Wydania tekstu hebrajskiego zob. García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 26; Milik, *Qumran Cave 1*, 84–86, 152. Inną rekonstrukcję linii 1–2 prezentuje Ariel Feldman („1Q19 [Book of Noah]”, 287).

27 Tłumaczenie Muchowskiego (*Rękopisy*, 11). Por. Feldman, „1Q19 (Book of Noah)”, 288; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 27.

Imię Gabriela zachowało się w całości (wraz z poprzedzającym je *waw*) jako jedyne spośród imion czterech postaci niebiańskich. Z pozostałych imion występuje cząstka -לח, jak proponują badacze, część imienia Rafała (linia 4). Jak zauważymy później, powyższy fragment jest podobny tematycznie do *1 Hen* 9,1–3, gdzie do czterech aniołów dochodzi skarga dusz ludzkich, prośba o anielskie wstawiennictwo do Boga<sup>28</sup>. Rekonstrukcja początkowej części fragmentu (linia 1) w relacji do całości jest istotna ze względu na terminologię dotyczącą bezpośrednio aniołów. Są nazywani קדושי השמים (świętymi niebios)<sup>29</sup>.

## 2. Teksty aramejskie

Niniejszy paragraf przedstawia cztery świadectwa aramejskie z imieniem Gabriela, które pochodzą z grotty czwartej: dwa fragmenty *Księgi Henocha* (§2.1), *Słowa Michała* (§2.2) oraz jeden z tekstów zaliczanych do zbioru *Wizji Aramejskich* (§2.3).

### 2.1. *Księga Henocha* (4Q201; 4Q202)

Aramejskie świadectwa *Księgi Henocha* pochodzą z grotty czwartej. Są nimi manuskrypty: 4Q201–4Q202 i 4Q204–4Q212. Powstały one między przełomem III/II wieku p.n.e. (najstarsze świadectwo 4Q208) a początkiem I wieku n.e. (najmłodszy rękopis 4Q209)<sup>30</sup>.

*Księga Henocha* jest pismem apokaliptycznym, przedstawiającym wizje proroka Henocha<sup>31</sup>. Istotną rolę zajmują w nim aniołowie. Poświęcono im sekcję wprowadzającą, tzw. mit o upadku aniołów (*1 Hen* 6–11), który z kolei jest częścią *Księgi Czuwających* (*1 Hen* 6–36). W tych właśnie rozdziałach pojawi się po raz pierwszy postać

28 Polskie tłumaczenie *1 Hen* 9,1–3 (*Księga Henocha* etiopska): „Wówczas Michał, Gabriel, Suriel i Uriel spojrzeli z nieba i ujrzeli wielką ilość rozlanej krwi na ziemi i wszelką niegodziwość, jakiej dokonano na ziemi. Powiedzieli jeden do drugiego: Niech zniszczona ziemia zawoła głosem ich krzyków aż do bramy niebios. A teraz, wam to, o Święci niebios, skarżą się dusze ludzi mówiąc: «Zanieście naszą skargę przed Najwyższego»”. Zob. Rubinkiewicz, *Apokryfy*, 146.

29 Por. teksty biblijne (tekst hebrajski), m.in. Ps 89,6–8; Hi 5,1; 15,15; Pwt 33,2–3; Za 14,5. Na temat hebrajskiego terminu קדושי oraz jego greckiego odpowiednika ἅγιοι zob. BDAG, 10–11; BDB, 872; W. Gesenius – S.P. Tregelles, *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldean Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software 2003) 722–723; W. Kornfeld – H. Ringgren, „קדושי”, *TDOT* XII, 521–545; LSJ, 9; L&N, 744; *GELS*, 5–6. Na temat nazewnictwa קדושי (ἅγιοι) w odniesieniu do aniołów zob. Heiser, *Angels*, 76–77; Janowski, *Aniołowie*, 35–40.

30 Zob. Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 293–296.

31 *Księga* dzieli się na siedem głównych części: *Księgę Czuwających* (*1 Hen* 1–36), *Księgę Przypowieści* (*1 Hen* 37–71), *Księgę Astronomiczną* (*1 Hen* 72–82), *Księgę Snów* (*1 Hen* 83–90), *List Henocha* (*1 Hen* 91–105), *Opowiadanie o narodzinach Noego* (*1 Hen* 106–107), inną księgę napisaną przez Henocha (*1 Hen* 108). Zob. Iwański, *Wstawiennictwo aniołów*, 59–60; Mędała, *Wprowadzenie*, 133–135; Rubinkiewicz, *Apokryfy*, 141; R. Rubinkiewicz, *Eschatologia Hen 9–11 a Nowy Testament* (Lublin: RW KUL 1984) 15; Rubinkiewicz, *Wprowadzenie*, 82.

archaniola Gabriela (1 Hen 9,1)<sup>32</sup>. Interesujący nas werset występuje w dwóch wersjach aramejskich<sup>33</sup>. Pierwszy fragment należy do manuskryptu 4Q201.

Tabela 4. Tekst i tłumaczenie 4Q201 kol. IV,6–7

tekst aramejski <sup>34</sup>	linia	tłumaczenie polskie <sup>35</sup>
סלק קדם שמה אדין] אדיק מיכאל] ושריאל ו]רפאל וגבריאל]	6	Wzniósł się d[o nieba. Wówczas] spojrzeli Michał, [Sariel,] Rafał i <b>Gabri[el]</b>
מן קד] שי שמה על ארעא וחז]ו דם סגי שפ]יד על ארעא וכל] ארעא]	7	z [niebieskiego] sanktu[arium na ziemię i zobaczy]li dużo krwi rozl[anej na ziem]i. Cała [ziemia]

Znaczna część imienia Gabriela razem z *waw* (וגברי-) występuje w linii 6, w której zachowały się imiona innych aniołów – Michała (מיכאל) oraz Rafała (רפאל). Imię czwartego anioła (Sariel, שריאל) zostało zrekonstruowane w relacji do tekstów paralelnych<sup>36</sup>, w tym do drugiego interesującego nas świadectwa – 4Q202.

- 32 Na temat mitu 1 Hen 6–11 i tekstu 1 Hen 9,1 zob. R.A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach. A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBL.EJL 8; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1995) 24; M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch. A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill 1985) 13–15; N. Domka, „Funkcja 1Hen 9,1–3 w strukturze literackiej mitu o upadłych aniołach 1Hen 6–11”, *Bib.An* 9/2 (2019) 285–314; H. Drawnel, „1 Enoch 6–11 Interpreted in the Light of Mesopotamian Incantation Literature”, *Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels. Reminiscences, Allusions, Intertextuality* (red. L.T. Stuckenbruck – G. Boccaccini) (SBL.EJL 44; Atlanta, GA: SBL Press 2016) 245–284; Iwański, *Wstawiennictwo*, 60–63, 140–143; H.S. Kvanvig, „The Watcher Story and Genesis. An Intertextual Reading”, *SJOT* 18/2 (2008) 163–183; C. Molenberg, „A Study of the Roles of Shemihazah and Asael in 1 Enoch 6–11”, *JJS* 35 (1984) 136–146; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 165–173, 202–210; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, „Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11”, *JBL* 96/3 (1977) 383–405.
- 33 Werszet zachowany również w tekście etiopskim i świadectwach greckich (kodeks *Panopolitanus*, kronika *Synkellosa*). Zob. M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill 1970) 23; R.H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Oxford, MS: Clarendon 1906; reprint Collingwood, Vic.: Trieste 2017) 18–21; A.A. Mosshammer, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica* (Leipzig: Teubner 1984) 13, 24.
- 34 Wydania tekstu aramejskiego: H. Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4. The Aramaic Books of Enoch. 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019) 124–125; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 402; J.T. Milik (red.), *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon 1976) 157–158.
- 35 Por. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch. 1 Enoch Translated From the Editor's Ethiopic Text (1912)* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock 2011) 20; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 403; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 247; Muchowski, *Rękopisy*, 135; Rubinkiewicz, *Apokryfy*, 146, 191.
- 36 Istotną rolę odgrywa tu kolejny rozdział *Księgi Henocha*, mianowicie 1 Hen 10,1–16, gdzie czterej aniołowie z 1 Hen 9,1 otrzymują misję od Boga, a także dobrze zachowane greckie świadectwa 1 Hen 9,1. Zob. Domka, „Funkcja 1Hen 9,1–3”, 291–298, 302–306, 309–310.



Tabela 5. Tekst i tłumaczenie 4Q202 kol. III,7–8

tekst aramejski <sup>37</sup>	linia	tłumaczenie polskie <sup>38</sup>
אדין אדיק [מיכאל ושריא] ל ורפאל [גב]ברי [אל] מן קודשי שמיא על ארעא	7	[Wówczas] spojrzeli Michał, Sariel, [Rafał i] <b>Gabriel</b> z [niebieskiego] sanktuarium na ziemię
[וחזו דם סגיא שפי]ך [ע]ל ארעא [וכול ארעא אתמלא רשעא וחמסא די אתחטא]	8	[i zobaczyli dużo krwi rozlanej] na ziemi. [Cała ziemia była wypełniona niegodziwością i przemocą, którymi zgrzeszono]

W tym fragmencie zachowała się środkowa część imienia w linii 7 (sylaba -ברי-). Pierwsza litera imienia (*gimel* ג wraz z poprzedzającym *waw* ו) oraz końcowa sylaba, teoforyczna część imienia (-אל-), zostały zrekonstruowane. Z pozostałych nazw postaci niebiańskich zachował się Michał (מיכאל) i w znacznej części Sariel (bez końcowego *lamed*, poprzedzony *waw* fragment imienia, tzn. -שריא). Imię Rafała się nie zachowało, zostało zrekonstruowane.

Powyższe teksty prezentują przekonanie o istnieniu aniołów, którzy pełnią funkcję wstawienniczą. W relacji do wcześniej omówionego tekstu 1Q19, który zdaje się przedstawieniem tego samego opowiadania, teksty 4Q201–4Q202 przyjmują charakter modlitewny i liturgiczny, co zauważają niektórzy egzegeci. Taką interpretację podkreśla występujące w początkowej części powyższych fragmentów wyrażenie „ze świętego nieba” (מן קודשי שמיא), które należy rozumieć jako świątynia Boga w niebie, sanktuarium niebieskie (4Q201 IV,7; 4Q202 III,7)<sup>39</sup>.

## 2.2. Słowa Michała (4Q529)

Manuskrypt 4Q529, czyli *Słowa Michała do Aniołów*, to pismo angelologiczne. Zachował się jeden fragment tego rękopisu. Treść dotyczy przesłania, jakie naczelný anioł (archanioł Michał) kieruje do grona innych posłańców. Według badaczy jest to świadectwo tożsame z 6Q23<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Wydanie tekstu aramejskiego zob. Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4*, 170–171; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 406; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 170–171.

<sup>38</sup> Zob. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 407; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 249; Muchowski, *Rękopisy*, 137; Rubinkiewicz, *Apokryfy*, 146, 191.

<sup>39</sup> Wyrażenie poświadczane również w języku greckim: ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Synkellos), ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Panopolitanus). Zob. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 129; Domka, „Funkcja 1Hen 9,1–3”, 293, 298–299, 308; D. Iwański, „Mieszkanie Boga w niebie według Księgi Czuwających (1 Henoch 14,8–23)”, *CT* 79/2 (2009) 101–112; Iwański, *Wstawiennictwo aniołów*, 112, 143–148.

<sup>40</sup> Zob. M. Baillet – J.T. Milik, *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon 1962) 138; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2004) II, 165; J.A. Fitzmyer, *A Guide to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2008) 108; Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 328.



Tabela 6. Tekst i tłumaczenie 4Q529 frag. 1,3–5

tekst aramejski <sup>41</sup>	linia	tłumaczenie polskie <sup>42</sup>
חא [חזית] תשעה טורין תרין למדנ [ותרין למערבא ותרין לצפונא ותרין]	3	[ujrzałem] dziewięć gór, dwie na wscho[dzie i dwie na północy, dwie na zachodzie.]
[לדר] ומא תמה חזית <u>לגבריאל</u> מלאכ [...א...]	4	[i dwie na] południu. Tam ujrzałem anioła <b>Gabriela</b> [... powiedziałem mu:]
[...] ב... והחזיתה חזוה ואמר לי [...]	5	i ukazałem mu wizję i powiedział mi: [...]

Imię Gabriela występuje w linii 4. Zachowało się w całości razem z literą *lamed* (ל), która wprowadza tu dopełnienie bliższe dla dobrze zachowanego wyrażenia poprzedzającego: תמה חזית (tam ujrzałem). W tej samej linii tekst określa Gabriela terminem מלאך, znany w teologii (angelologii) biblijnej<sup>43</sup>. Pojawia się w kontekście wizji, jaką Gabriel przedstawia Michałowi. Według egzegetów związana jest ona z miastem świętym – Jerozolimą<sup>44</sup>.

### 2.3. Wizje Aramejskie (4Q557)

Zachowały się dwa fragmenty mało znanego i rzadko omawianego rękopisu 4Q557. Charakter pisma pozwala ustalić czas jego powstania na drugą połowę II wieku p.n.e. Zebrane w całość fragmenty tworzą opis, którego główną postacią zdaje się być anioł Gabriel. Jak zauważają komentatorzy, tekst przypomina inne świadectwa wymieniające archanioła, mające charakter proroczy bądź apokaliptyczny. Ponadto tematycznie wiąże się z innymi tekstami qumrańskimi i tradycją henochicką<sup>45</sup>.

41 Tekst aramejski zob. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 165–166; Eisenman – Wise, *Manoscritti*, 38; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1060; É. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4. XXII. Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon 2001) 1–8.

42 Zob. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 166; Eisenman – Wise, *Manoscritti*, 38–39; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 125; Muchowski, *Rękopisy*, 359.

43 Na temat terminu מלאך zob. H.J. Bosman – R. Oosting – F. Potsma, „מלאך”, *Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Hebräisch/Aramäisch-Deutsch und Hebräisch/Aramäisch-Englisch* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2009); BDB 1098; E.M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2015) 139; Gesenius – Tregelles, *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, 475; Iwański, *Wstawiennictwo aniołów*, 33–34; Jankowski, *Aniołowie*, 40–42; X. Léon-Dufour, *Słownik teologii biblijnej* (Poznań: Pallottinum 1994) 48; H. Niehr, „מלאך”, *TDOT XVI*, 413–415; Parchem, „Nauka o istotach niebiańskich”, 66–69.

44 Zob. Eisenman – Wise, *Manoscritti*, 37–38; Muchowski, *Komentarze*, 328.

45 Zob. É. Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4. XXVII. Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–4Q575a, 4Q580–4Q587 et appendices* (DJD 37; Oxford: Clarendon 2009) 175, 177.

Tabela 7. Tekst i tłumaczenie 4Q557 frag. 1,1–4

tekst aramejski <sup>46</sup>	linia	tłumaczenie polskie <sup>47</sup>
[...][...]	1	[...] ... [...]
[...] <u>גבריאל</u> מל[אכא] [...]	2	[...] an[ioł] <b>Gabriel</b> [...]
[...] ה ושאר כול [...]	3	[...] ... i reszta wszystkich [...]
[...] למכלא מלי פמנא מ[...]	4	[...] powstrzymać słowa naszych ust ... [...]

Powyżej zaprezentowano część pierwszego z dwóch zachowanych fragmentów 4Q557. Imię Gabriela występuje tu w całości w linii 2 (גבריאל)<sup>48</sup>. Ważnym elementem tej części jest zachowane częściowo słowo מלאך, które pozwala łączyć tekst z wyżej omówionym rękopisem 4Q529 (linia 4) oraz tradycją biblijną. Na włączenie rękopisu do zbioru *Wizji Aramejskich* (4QWizje) pozwalają cechy wspólne z innymi rękopisami z groty czwartej o podobnych charakterze (np. 4Q552, 4Q553, 4Q554, 4Q555, 4Q556)<sup>49</sup>.

## Podsumowanie

Niniejszy artykuł miał na celu ukazanie mało znanych tekstów pozabiblijnych, w których występuje postać archanioła Gabriela. Na podstawie przesłanek przedstawionych przez M.G. Abegga, dotyczących pism qumrańskich, zostały omówione trzy teksty hebrajskie oraz cztery teksty aramejskie.

Zauważono, iż pierwsze dwa teksty (1QM, 4Q285) wskazują na militarną funkcję archanioła, a także jego ścisły związek z innymi postaciami nadprzyrodzonymi: Michałem, Rafałem oraz Sarielem. Kolejny tekst z grupy pierwszej (1Q19) także przedstawia Gabriela jako jednego z czterech aniołów, jest jednak bliższy tematycznie oraz ideologicznie tradycji henochickiej, tzn. aramejskim tekstom *Księgi Henocha* (4Q201, 4Q202).

Teksty 1Q19, 4Q201 i 4Q202 zdają się opowiadać tę samą historię. Ukazują nową, wstawienniczą rolę archaniołów. Gabriel jest orędownikiem, pojawia się w kontekście kultycznym i modlitewnym, przebywa w świątyni Boga, sanktuarium niebieskim.

Dwa ostatnie teksty z grupy świadectw aramejskich (4Q529, 4Q557), rzadko komentowane przez badaczy, nawiązują do tradycji prorockich. Charakterystycznym elementem

<sup>46</sup> Tekst aramejski zob. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1112; Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, XXVII, 176.

<sup>47</sup> Por. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1113: [...] the an[gel] Gabriel [...] [...] ... and the rest of all [...] [...] to hinder the words of our mouth ... [...]; Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, XXVII, 177: l'ang[e] Gabriel[...] et le reste de tout [...] pour retenir les paroles de notre bouche de[...].

<sup>48</sup> Zob. Abegg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, [part two] 806; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1112–1113.

<sup>49</sup> Manuskrypty 4Q552, 4Q553, 4Q554, 4Q555, 4Q556, podobnie jak 4Q557, zawierają elementy wspólne z Księgą Daniela lub innymi pismami o charakterze prorockim. Zob. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, XXVII, 19–20.

tych rękopisów jest wskazanie indywidualnego charakteru postaci Gabriela (nie występuje w grupie) i nazwanie go terminem מְלַאֲכִי, który jest bliski starotestamentowym tradycjom biblijnym.

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## Numbers 5:11–31 as the Old Testament Background for Revelation 8:11

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**ABSTRACT:** The article examines possible links between the ritual of bitter water, described in Numbers 5:11–31, and one of the aspects of the plague, described as the event following the third trumpet in the Book of Revelation (Rev 8:11). Such a connection has not been analysed by scholars so far. The ritual described in Numbers 5 not only has a legal meaning but it is also the starting point for a theological tradition of understanding adultery as a metaphor for Israel's unfaithfulness to YHWH. The prophetic texts of the OT use motifs taken from Num 5 to depict the lawsuit that YHWH brings against the unfaithful people. According to the author of this article, the use of the motif of drinking bitter water in Rev 8:11 falls into a similar pattern. This is a ritual performed to reveal the guilt of the sinners described in Rev as *hoi anthrōpoi*.

**KEYWORDS:** Revelation of John, Book of Numbers, Sotah ritual, bitter water, idolatry, adultery

In contemporary research on the Revelation of John, an important trend is the exploration of possible links between that book and the Old Testament. Indeed, there is no doubt that such connections exist. However, since John does not quote the Old Testament anywhere in his book in an explicit way, there remains a large space for exegetes to work. The purpose of the study is not only to demonstrate such connections but also to show what impact such links have on the message of Revelation. The present study follows the trend and is an attempt to demonstrate the connection between the ritual described in Num 5:11–31 and the motif of drinking bitter water in Rev 8:11. The objective is accomplished in several steps. First, the state of research on the topic in question is presented. This is necessary in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of our study. Next, the motif of bitter water in Num 5:11–31 is analysed and the elements that would justify the link between Num 5 and Rev 8:11 are emphasised. Finally, theological implications related to the interpretation of Rev 8:11 that result from considering Num 5:12–31 as a background for John's text are pointed out.

## 1. *Status quaestionis*

The starting point for presenting the state of research on the allusions in the Old Testament to the motif of drinking bitter water in Rev 8:11 is the reference to the monograph by Jon Paulien *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets. Literary Allusions and Interpretation of Revelation 8:7–12* (1987). While examining the OT references to the text of Rev 8:11, Paulien distinguishes twenty-four possible links<sup>1</sup> and divides these links into several categories: “probable allusion,” “possible allusion,” “uncertain allusion,” “non-allusion.” In addition, he introduces the category of “echo.” The author also recognises a certain difficulty in his research, which consists in the fact that the Apocalypse does not quote the OT at any place explicitly but uses paraphrases and allusions instead, so that searching for links to specific texts in the OT alone carries a considerable risk of error. This difficulty is also related to the search for a precise source for the OT references. Did John use the Hebrew text or the Greek version of the OT (LXX or another translation)? Did he have access to textual traditions that are presently unknown or did he simply recall certain texts from his own memory, often paraphrasing them? Furthermore, many allusions may simply be involuntary. In his study, Paulien refers to several selected commentators and editors of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> The following presentation of the state of the research will take into account some of the above-mentioned twenty-four proposals of connections between Rev 8:10–11 and the OT, specifically those relating to the motif of bitter water. In the study, the most important, in our opinion, commentators of Revelation from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries will be referred to. Already at the beginning, it is interesting to note that after 1987 scholars did not introduce (with the exception of one case, however poorly documented) new possible connections between the OT and Rev 8:10–11. Moreover, some of these connections did not appear again in the exegetical literature after the publication of Paulien’s monograph.<sup>3</sup>

1 Cf. J. Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets. Literary Allusions and Interpretation of Revelation 8:7–12* (Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 11; Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press 1987) 100–106.

2 In his research Jon Paulien mentions: Robert H. Charles, Willhelm Dittmar, Eugen Hühn, Heinrich Kraft, Josephine Massyngberde Ford, Eberhard Nestle, Pierre Prigent, and editons UBS and Westscott. We will also mention other scholars (including those publishing their works after 1987), although we will retain some Paulien’s suggestions. When citing the opinion of scholars, it is interesting to remember that it is an open question to what extent their postulates concerning particular allusions are the results of their own research and to what extent it is a matter of using other commentaries. Moreover, in very few commentaries one can find a more extensive presentation of the theological conclusions that emerge from the recognised links to the OT. Very rarely exegetes acknowledge the existence of such links without posing a question of the impact of these links on the theology of Revelation.

3 This is particularly the case of the proposals presented in the commentary by J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (AB 38; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 1974).

In connection with the motif of bitter water, scholars distinguish the following possible allusions to the OT:

- 1) Exod 15:22–25. This connection is noted by many scholars.<sup>4</sup> In Exod 15:22–25 there is a description of an event that took place immediately after the exodus from Egypt, at a place called Mara. The bitter waters that were a threat to the people are “healed.” Therefore the situation is opposite to the one described in Rev 8:11.<sup>5</sup>
- 2) Many commentators<sup>6</sup> point out that the third trumpet is an allusion to Deut 29:17, 18. Though no verbal parallels are apparent when a comparison between the Greek texts of Deut and Rev is made; it should be noted that the Masoretic text links the word

4 Cf. H.B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John. The Greek Text with Introduction Notes and Indices* (London: Macmillan 1911) 112; R.L. Thomas, *Revelation 8–22. An Exegetical Commentary* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press 1995) 22; E. Lohse, *Offenbarung des Johannes* (NTD 11; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1993) 58; R.W. Wall, *Revelation* (Understanding the Bible Commentary Series; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books 1991) 124; H. Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet 1997) 214; W.J. Harrington, *Revelation* (SP 16; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1993) 106; J. Ramsey Michaels, *Revelation* (The IVP New Testament Commentary Series 20; Downers Grove, IL – Leicester: InterVarsity 1997) 122; E. Lupieri, *L'Apocalisse di Giovanni* (Milano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla – Mondadori 1999) 162; S. Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation* (New Testament Commentary 20; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2007) 276; J.R. Yeatts, *Revelation* (Believers Church Bible Commentary; Scottsdale, PA – Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press 2003) 162; G.R. Osborne, *Revelation* (BECNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2002) 355 (“the parallel is obvious, though it is difficult to prove that John had this in mind”); C.S. Keener, *Revelation* (NIV Application Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI: Zonervan 2000) 257; I. Boxall, *The Revelation of Saint John* (Black's New Testament Commentary; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2006) 139; R.H. Gundry, *Commentary on Revelation* (Commentary on the New Testament 19; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2011) loc. 1502; J.C. Thomas – F.D. Macchia, *Revelation* (The Two Horizons New Testament Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2016) 181; P. Leihart, *Revelation 1–11* (ITC; London et al.: Bloomsbury Clark 2018) 370; I. Paul, *Revelation. An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2018) 173; F.J. Moloney, *The Apocalypse of John. A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2020) 137.

5 Cf. Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*, 264–265. Gerhard A. Krodel (*Revelation* [ACNT; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg 1989] 198) states: “the third plague has no parallel in Exodus,” although he later notes: “this third plague is the miracle of Marah in reverse.”

6 Cf. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, 112; R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John* (Edinburgh: Clark 1920) I, 235; E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT 16; Tübingen: Mohr 1953) 76; H. Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT 16a; Tübingen: Mohr 1974) 137; U.B. Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 19; Gütersloh: Mohn 1984) 190; J. Roloff, *The Revelation of John* (trans. J.E. Alsup) (A Continental Commentary; Minneapolis, MA: Fortress 1993) 111; H. Ritt, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (NEchtB 21; Würzburg: Echter 1986) 53; P. Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John* (trans. W. Pradels) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2001) 308; C.H. Giblin, *The Book of Revelation. The Open Book of Prophecy* (GNS 34; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1991) 98; B.J. Malina – J.J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2000) 127; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 275; Yeatts, *Revelation*, 162; Osborne, *Revelation*, 354; R. Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ. Commentary on the Book of Revelation* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press 2009) 292; Keener, *Revelation*, 257; J.L. Resseguie, *The Revelation of John. A Narrative Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2009) loc. 3139; C.R. Koester, *Revelation. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (The Anchor Yale Bible 38a; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 2014) 453; G. Maier, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Kapitel 1–11* (Historisch Theologische Auslegung Neues Testament; Witten – Giessen: SCM Brockhaus – Brunnen Verlag 2015) 395; Leihart, *Revelation 1–11*, 370; Paul, *Revelation*, 173.

used for “bitter herbs” or “poisonous fruit” (שֶׁרָר) with another Hebrew word meaning “wormwood” (לְעֵצֵי). Wormwood in Deut 29 is associated with idolatry, a theme raised in Rev 9:20, 21 in relation to those who are afflicted by the plagues of the trumpets. Although the events described in Deuteronomy are removed in time and space from the Egyptian plagues, the events of the Exodus still remain in the memory of the people, which provides some structural context for seeing Rev 8:10–11 as a reference to Deuteronomy.<sup>7</sup>

- 3) Prov 5:3–4. The link between Rev 8:10–11 and Prov 5:3–4 has been noticed by many scholars.<sup>8</sup> There are no verbal parallels with the LXX but they are evident in the translation of the Proverbs according to Aquila, where terms such as ἀψινθιον and πικρότερον appear. It can be juxtaposed with the noun ἀψινθος and the verb ἐπικράνθησαν in Revelation. Evaluating this view, Paulien describes it as an uncertain allusion, while Simon J. Kistemaker notes that in the OT the bitterness “points to illicit sexual acts.”<sup>9</sup>
- 4) Several scholars suggest the reference of Rev 8:10–11 to Jer 8:14, where it reads that God uses poisoned water as an instrument of punishment for sins.<sup>10</sup>
- 5) Numerous commentators propose to link Rev 8:10–11 with Jer 9:14–15 (according to the MT and the LXX, these are verses 13 and 14). Verbal parallels are perceptible in Aquila’s translation, which follows the Hebrew text more closely than the Septuagint does. Here, wormwood is seen as an instrument of punishment for idolatry. This punishment causes suffering.<sup>11</sup>

7 Cf. Paulien, *Decoding Revelation’s Trumpets*, 266–267.

8 Cf. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, 112; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; Krodel, *Revelation*, 198; D.E. Aune, *Revelation 6–16* (WBC 52b; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1998) 521; Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 213; G.K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 1999) 479; Keener, *Revelation*, 257; Malina – Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, 127; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 275; Yeatts, *Revelation*, 162; Osborne, *Revelation*, 354; Koester, *Revelation*, 450; Maier, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 395; Leithart, *Revelation 1–11*, 370; Paul, *Revelation*, 173.

9 Cf. Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 275.

10 Cf. Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 137; Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 522; Lupieri, *L’Apocalisse di Giovanni*, 162; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 292; A. Satake, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (KEK 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2008) 243; Keener, *Revelation*, 257.

11 Cf. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, 112; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; E.-B. Allo, *Saint Jean Apocalypse* (Paris: Gabalda 1921) 108; M. Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John* (Moffatt New Testament Commentary; New York – London: Harper 1940) 152; Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 76; A. Wikenhauser, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (RNT 9; Regensburg: Pustet 1959) 74; Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 308; G.E. Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1976) loc. 1523; Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 137; G.B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London: Black 1966) 115; G.R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (NCB; London: Oliphants 1974) 158; I.T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John. Studies in Introduction with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (New York: Macmillan 1919) 557–558; Krodel, *Revelation*, 198; Wall, *Revelation*, 124; Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 190; Thomas, *Revelation 8–22*, 21–22; Giblin, *The Book of Revelation*, 98; Lohse, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 58; Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, 111; Harrington, *Revelation*, 106; Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 522; Ritt, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 53; Ramsey Michaels, *Revelation*, 123; Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 213; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 479; Malina – Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, 127; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 275;

- 6) Also, many exegetes recognise a connection between Rev 8:10–11 and Jer 23:15.<sup>12</sup> Scholars agree that John referred to Jer 23:15 when he wrote Rev 8:11. In Aquila's translation, one can find ἀψιθιον (in the LXX it is ὕδωρ πικρὸν). Wormwood poisons the waters because the people committed idolatry, adultery and because they listened to false prophets. There is no doubt that wormwood was a symbol of the Babylonian invasion that was to bring bitterness to Judah. Here, Paulien speaks of a possible allusion. This is confirmed by Tremper Longman, pointing to a similar context – the context of judgment – of these two texts.<sup>13</sup>
- 7) An allusion to Lam 3:15 is also seen by a large group of scholars. However, according to Paulien, no significant parallels are evident between the texts of Lam and Rev. It is only evident between the Hebrew terms “bitterness” (מְרוּרִים) and “wormwood” (לְעֵנָה) in relation to the Babylonian exile treated as a punishment. Hence, as Paulien concludes, the allusion is uncertain.<sup>14</sup>

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Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 292; B. Witherington III, *Revelation* (New Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009) 149; Yeatts, *Revelation*, 162; Satake, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 243; T. Holtz, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (ed. K.-W. Niebuhr) (NTD 11; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2008) 75; Osborne, *Revelation*, 354; Lupieri, *L'Apocalisse di Giovanni*, 162; Keener, *Revelation*, 257; R.C.H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. John's Revelation* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg 1963) 280; B.K. Blount, *Revelation. A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2013) 169; L. Morris, *Revelation. An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC; Nottingham: InverVarsity 2009) 123; Gundry, *Commentary on Revelation*, loc. 1494; P. Patterson, *Revelation* (NAC 39; Nashville, TN: B&H 2012) 211; Koester, *Revelation*, 450; H. Lichtenberger, *Die Apokalypse* (Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 23; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2014) 155; Maier, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 395; Thomas – Macchia, *Revelation*, 181; U. Vanni, *Apocalisse di Giovanni. II. Introduzione generale, Commento* (ed. L. Pedroli) (Assisi: Cittadella 2018) 344; R.D. Phillips, *Revelation* (Reformed Expository Commentaries; Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R 2017) 280; Leithart, *Revelation 1–11*, 370; Moloney, *The Apocalypse of John*, 137.

- 12 Cf. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, 112; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 557–558; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, 152; Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 76; Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 137; Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, 158; Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John*, loc. 1523; Witherington, *Revelation*, 149; Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation*, 115; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 557; Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 190; Thomas, *Revelation 8–22*, 22; Lohse, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 58; Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, 111; Harrington, *Revelation*, 106; Krodell, *Revelation*, 198; Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 522; Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 213; Keener, *Revelation*, 257; Ramsey Michaels, *Revelation*, 123; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 479 (Beale refers to the Targum to Jer 9:15 and 23:15); Ritt, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 53; Malina – Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, 127; Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 308; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 275; Yeatts, *Revelation*, 162; Satake, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 243; Holtz, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 75; Osborne, *Revelation*, 354; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 292; Lupieri, *L'Apocalisse di Giovanni*, 162; Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. John's Revelation*, 280; Blount, *Revelation*, 169; Resseguie, *The Revelation of John*, loc. 3139; Gundry, *Commentary on Revelation*, loc. 1494; Patterson, *Revelation*, 211; Koester, *Revelation*, 450; Lichtenberger, *Die Apokalypse*, 155; Maier, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 395; Thomas – Macchia, *Revelation*, 181; Vanni, *Apocalisse di Giovanni*, 344; Leithart, *Revelation 1–11*, 370; T. Longman III, *Revelation through Old Testament Eyes* (Through Old Testament Eyes; Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic 2022) 136; Moloney, *The Apocalypse of John*, 137.

- 13 Cf. Longman, *Revelation through Old Testament Eyes*, 136.

- 14 Cf. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 557; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, 152; Lohse, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 58; Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, 111; Thomas, *Revelation 8–22*, 22; Harrington, *Revelation*, 106; Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 522; Giesen,



- 8) The situation is similar with Lam 3:19, which is seen by a number of scholars (often the same ones who see a link with Lam 3:15).<sup>15</sup>
- 9) The allusion to Amos 5:6–7 is recognised by many scholars. Here, wormwood is contrasted with righteousness. However, there are no parallels as far as the Greek text of Amos is concerned (the LXX does not mention wormwood at all).<sup>16</sup>
- 10) Amos 6:12. This allusion is also noticed by a considerable number of commentators. Most of them are the ones who see the connections with Amos 5:6–7.<sup>17</sup>

At this point, it should be noted that scholars, in addition to the allusions in the OT, find links to extra-biblical texts in Rev 8:11. First of all, it is necessary to mention those which we classify as the so-called intertestamental literature. In particular, we can mention *4 Ezra* 5:9 (motif of the transformation of fresh water into salty water in the time of the end); 6:24 (motif of springs of water); *4 Bar.* (*Paraleipomena Jeremiou*) 9:18 (the transformation of fresh water into salty water).<sup>18</sup> In addition, references to other Hellenistic literature are indicated: to Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 2,22,90; 2,25,96), Artemidorus

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*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 213; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 479; Keener, *Revelation*, 257; Ritt, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 53; Malina – Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, 127; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 275; Yeatts, *Revelation*, 162; Satake, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 243; Osborne, *Revelation*, 354; Patterson, *Revelation*, 211; Maier, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 395; Phillips, *Revelation*, 280; Leihart, *Revelation 1–11*, 370; Paul, *Revelation*, 173.

- 15 Cf. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 557; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, 152; Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 76; Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 190; Thomas, *Revelation 8–22*, 22; Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, 111; Harrington, *Revelation*, 106; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 479; Ritt, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 53; Malina – Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, 127; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 275; Yeatts, *Revelation*, 162; Satake, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 243; Osborne, *Revelation*, 354; Keener, *Revelation*, 257; Morris, *Revelation*, 123; Patterson, *Revelation*, 211; Maier, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 395; Phillips, *Revelation*, 280; Leihart, *Revelation 1–11*, 370; Paul, *Revelation*, 173.
- 16 Cf. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, 112; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 76; Harrington, *Revelation*, 106; Krodell, *Revelation*, 198; Giblin, *The Book of Revelation*, 98; Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 522; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 479; Keener, *Revelation*, 257; Malina – Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, 127; Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Book of Revelation*, 275; Koester, *Revelation*, 453; Maier, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 395; Longman, *Revelation through Old Testament Eyes*, 136.
- 17 Cf. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, 112; Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 76; Krodell, *Revelation*, 198; Giblin, *The Book of Revelation*, 98; Harrington, *Revelation*, 106; Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 522; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 479; Keener, *Revelation*, 257; Malina – Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, 127; Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ*, 292; Maier, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 395.
- 18 Cf. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 76; Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 190; Lohse, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, 58; Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 520–521; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 478–480; K. Berger, *Die Apokalypse des Johannes*. I. *Apk 1–10* (Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2017) 673. Here it should be noted that the most important problem while trying to find links between Revelation and intertestamental literature is that we do not always know even the approximate dates of the sources. Consequently, it is difficult to know whether John actually used them or whether he used motifs that were simply functioning in the circles when he wrote his text.

(*Oneirocritica* 2,36; 5,23), Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum* 1,12,1),<sup>19</sup> Lucan (*Pharsalia* 1,526) and also to literature from other cultural circles, e.g. Persian.<sup>20</sup>

On this background, a new insight related to the search for the allusions in the Old Testament to the text of Rev 8:10–11 appears in Buist M. Fanning, however, it is only a slight hint, without any deeper elaboration. He notes that in the OT, there is a relationship between the punishment for sins and drinking a bitter drink, or the bitterness that leads to death. Fanning gives several examples of reference to the Old Testament here: in addition to the previously mentioned texts as Deut 29:18; Jer 9:15; 23:15; Lam 3:19, a new reference also appears, namely Num 5:24, 27. Because this issue has not been developed, it is difficult to say whether Fanning believes that a direct connection between Num 5:24–27 and Rev 8:11c exists.<sup>21</sup>

The above analysis of the *status quaestionis* shows that it has yet been overlooked to treat the text of Num 5:11–31 as the Old Testament background for Rev 8:10–11. The proposal discussed below has already been mentioned in my book *Teologiczna rola „ludzi”* (οἱ ἄνθρωποι) w *Apokalipsie Janowej* (The Theological Role of the “People” [οἱ ἄνθρωποι] in the Apocalypse of John) as one of the possibilities; however it has not been further argued there.<sup>22</sup> In particular, the text of Num 5:11–31 and its relevance when it comes to understanding Rev 8:11 was not examined in detail there. For this reason, it seems reasonable to elaborate on this issue.

## 2. “Water of bitterness” in Num 5:11–31

When proceeding to justify our proposal regarding the connections between Num 5:11–31<sup>23</sup> and Rev 8:10–11, the question of whether the aforementioned text really refers to “bitter water”/“water of bitterness” needs to be answered first. This question arises

19 Cf. Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 520–522. Franz Boll (*Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* [Stoicheia 1; Leipzig – Berlin: Teubner 1914] 41–42) speaks here of the Stoic ἀπόρροια – the impact of the stars on the Earth.

20 Cf. W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1906) 286; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 557; E. Böckler, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1902) 87, 90; D. Völter, *Die Offenbarung Johannis. Keine ursprünglich jüdische Apokalypse* (Tübingen: Heckenhauer 1886) 30; Koester, *Revelation*, 450. Stephen S. Smalley (*The Revelation to John. A Commentary on the Greek Text of Apocalypse* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2005] 221) rejects this view when he notes: “parallels with Persian eschatology are difficult to establish.”

21 Cf. B.M. Fanning, *Revelation* (ZECNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2020) 287.

22 Cf. T. Siemieniec, *Teologiczna rola „ludzi”* (οἱ ἄνθρωποι) w *Apokalipsie Janowej* (Biblioteka Kieleckich Studiów Teologicznych 16; Kielce: Jedność 2018) 168–169.

23 The identification of the ritual described in Num 5:11–31 as an ordeal is a matter of debate. Since it is not directly relevant to our research problem, we refer to other studies on this subject here: R. Preß, “Das Ordeal im alten Israel,” *ZAW* 51 (1933) 121–140, 227–255; T.R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1993) 123–124; J. Morgenstern, “Trial by Ordeal among the Semites and in Ancient Israel,” *HUCA* 2a (1925) 113–143; W. McKane, “Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath,” *VT* 30/4 (1980) 474–492; R.P. Knierim – G.W. Coats, *Numbers* (FOTL 4; Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 2005) 81–83.



because in the Septuagint, the equivalent of the Hebrew expression מַי הַמְּרִים is the phrase τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐλεγκμοῦ (“water of proof or trial”). In contrast, there are no terms associated with the idea of bitterness in the immediate context (e.g. the noun πικρία, the adjective πικρός, or the verb πικραίνω).<sup>24</sup>

In the traditional exegesis, the aforementioned term מַי הַמְּרִים was derived from the root מָרַר (“to be bitter”). However, from the beginning, there were other proposals for its translation. This was the case for two reasons. Firstly, because of the aforementioned Septuagint translation. Secondly, because of the difficulty in associating the bitterness with the dust from the floor of the sanctuary (or, alternatively, with the ink with which the scripture mentioned in 5:23 was written).<sup>25</sup>

Thus, G.R. Driver suggests referring to the stem מָרַה (מָרִי), which expresses the idea of rebellion, questioning something or doubt. He notes that, although from a grammatical point of view it seems justified to use the translation “the water of bitterness”/“bitter water,” such a meaning is not satisfactory since the addition of dust to water does not make it bitter. Driver recognises the Vulgate translation *aquae amarissimae* but contrasts it with the Septuagint version τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐλεγκμοῦ (or in other variants: τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐμφανισμοῦ). The Samaritan version also mentions the water of trial suggesting a different meaning, which seems to suit the whole context.<sup>26</sup> In support of his proposal, Driver refers to the parallels in Syriac and Arabic and states that the Hebrew מְרָה means “a matter under discussion” and the *plurale abstractum* – מְרִים denotes “trial, examination, doubt.” For these reasons, he proposes that מַי הַמְּרִים should mean the water of trial.<sup>27</sup> Norman H. Snaith, on the other hand, refers to the Arabic terms *mārar* (“to pass by”) and *marmara* (“to cause to flow”), suggesting that in Num 5:11–31, the waters in question were the ones leading to the removal of a sinfully conceived foetus.<sup>28</sup> There is no evidence, however, that this ritual was used for pregnant women exclusively. Herbert C. Brichto derives מְרָה from the root יָרָה (“to throw”) and proposes the translation “waters of the oracle.”<sup>29</sup> This proposal is also supported by Tikva Frymer Kensky. This interpretation, however, raises grammatical difficulties.<sup>30</sup>

24 Here, it could be proposed that the absence of such terminological links rules out *a priori* the possibility of examining the influence of Num 5:11–31 on Rev 8:10–11. Such a claim does not seem valid, for the reason that it is not certain that the only text used by John was the Septuagint. The term ὁ ἄψυθος itself has no parallel in the LXX either, and it appears only in the translation of Aquila. The author of Revelation uses the OT in a manner different from that of other authors of the NT. He does not quote any text directly. Instead, he uses many allusions to motifs found in the texts of the OT, and he also refers to the symbolism in the OT. This has already been noted by J. Paulien when he introduces various terms for the links that he has found (see footnote 1).

25 So e.g. J.M. Sasson, “Numbers 5 and the ‘Waters of Judgement,’” *BZNF* 16 (1972) 250.

26 Cf. F. Field (ed.), *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive Veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (Hildesheim: Olms 1964) I, 231–232.

27 Cf. G.R. Driver, “Two Problems in the Old Testament Examined in the Light of Assyriology,” *Syria* 33 (1956) 73–74.

28 Cf. N.H. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers* (The Century Bible; London: Nelson 1967) 202.

29 Cf. H.C. Brichto, “The Case of the *sōtā* and a Reconsideration of Biblical ‘Law,’” *HUCA* 46 (1975) 59.

30 Cf. T. Frymer-Kensky, “The Strange Case of the Suspected Sotah (Numbers V 11–31),” *VT* 34/1 (1984) 26. Brichto (“The Case of the *sōtā*,” 59) believes that the phrase “bitter waters” should be “majim marim” in Hebrew,

Also Philip J. Budd goes in a similar direction as he believes that the expression מֵי הַמָּרִים means the water of testing, although the reference to the stem מָרַר in the sense of “to be bitter” may still remain in its background. Budd believes that bitter water could have been often used in rituals of this kind but it is not the mere fact of the appearance of a bitter taste that is most relevant here.<sup>31</sup> George B. Gray thinks that the expression מֵי הַמָּרִים should refer to the noxious character of this concoction, while the effect of the bitter taste itself, although not the most relevant here, was obtained by adding some ingredients (such as the שֶׁשׁ mentioned in Jer 8:14 and 23:15).<sup>32</sup> In a similar way, William McKane argues by drawing attention to the expression הַמַּיִם הַמְאָרְרִים לְמָרִים occurring in verses 24 and 27. He notes that מָרִים, in this context, must mean something more than “bitterness,” that is, it must have the meaning of “poisonous.” The whole phrase should therefore be translated as follows: “water that carries a curse as poison.” This water contains a curse and if the woman is guilty of adultery it will manifest its poisonous effects and cause a miscarriage. The water, as McKane notes, is inherently harmless and only becomes harmful if the woman is guilty, and this is due to the curse contained in it. McKane also notes that, theoretically, a different point of view could be taken: the drink is poisonous from the very outset but the woman is protected from the effects of the poison if she is innocent.<sup>33</sup> Jack M. Sasson, on the other hand, has found the Ugaritic root *mrr* (“to bless”), so he proposes the translation: “waters that bless and bring a curse.” The expression would then be a merism meaning “waters of judgment.” The problem with this interpretation is that this Ugaritic stem leaves no trace of a parallel in Hebrew, hence the solution must remain conjectural.<sup>34</sup>

In spite of the multiplicity of proposals that have been given, in recent years, the traditional interpretation of the expression מֵי הַמָּרִים is being revived. The starting point for this interpretation is to note that an important characteristic of bitter water is that it is not only bitter in taste but, above all, bitter in terms of the effect caused by drinking it (vv. 24 and 27). As Eve L. Feinstein notes, in Num 5:11–31, in the case of the term מָר, we encounter a shift from a literal to a metaphorical meaning. Thus, the adjective in question would indicate something negative, unpleasant and painful.<sup>35</sup>

Such a metaphorical meaning is also discernible in the prophetic literature. E.g. Jer 2:19 and 4:18 speak of Israel’s “bitter apostasy” (מָר עֲזֹבֶה אֶת־יְהוָה). In contrast, Amos 8:10

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while the use of the form מֵי (*status constructus*) would indicate that “marim” is a noun and not an adjective here. Eve L. Feinstein (“The ‘Bitter Waters’ of Numbers 5:11–31,” *VT* 62 [2012] 302) notes, however, that although adjectives normally specify nouns that occur in *status absolutus*, several examples can be given of adjectives accompanying nouns that are in *status constructus* – e.g. חַיִל כָּבֵד – “a mighty force” (2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 36:2), which is analogous to חַיִל כָּבֵד in 1 Kgs 10:2. Both expressions indicate “a magnificent entourage.” There does not seem to be any difference in meaning between the noun form in *status absolutus* and in *status constructus*.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. P.J. Budd, *Numbers* (WBC 5; Dallas, TX; Word Books 1984) 64.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. G.B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers* (Edinburgh: Clark 1903) 52.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. McKane, “Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath,” 476–478.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Sasson, “Numbers 5,” 250; a contrary opinion: Ashley, *The Book of Numbers*, 129–130.

<sup>35</sup> It has already been noticed by Martin Noth (*Numbers. A Commentary* [trans. J.D. Martin] [OTL; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster 1968] 50–51), when he speaks of the “bitterness of death,” although in Numbers 5, there is no explicit reference to the lethal effect of drinking.

and Zeph 1:14 speak of “the bitter day of the Lord” (יום יְהוָה מַר). Thus, the translation “the water of bitterness”/ “bitter water” is as legitimate as possible, especially given the immediate context. This can be seen, above all, where it has been highlighted that the water has a bitter effect only in the case of an adulterous woman, while an innocent woman does not feel it. If it were a question of the bitter taste of water in the physical sense, it would be difficult to explain why the innocent woman does not react to this taste. Thus, it is not so much a matter of describing the water as bitter but it seems that the text emphasises the punitive nature of the whole ritual in the case of a guilty person.

This emphasis is also highlighted in Num 5 by the description of the waters as הַמְאָרְרִים – “carrying a curse” – and by the description of the sacrifice being offered (v. 15). The effect of bitterness is only manifested in the case of the woman’s guilt and the existence of this guilt is somehow assumed throughout the rite. At the beginning of the chapter, the description of a potential act of adultery spans over three and a half verses (vv. 12–14a), while the possibility of innocence is only mentioned in the middle of verse 14(14b). The ritual itself seems to suggest the commitment of adultery (loose hair and humiliating appearance). The negative symptoms are described several times (v. 21, 22, 27), while the positive effect only once (v. 28). Also verse 31 assumes the woman’s guilt. For this reason, the water that the woman drinks is referred to מֵי הַמְרִים הַמְאָרְרִים, since the primary function of the rite is to produce a curse effect.<sup>36</sup> This effect is a selective one – the cursed woman is guilty and will therefore be filled with bitterness.<sup>37</sup>

In view of the analysis above, we therefore conclude that there are no grounds for questioning the translation of the expression מֵי הַמְרִים הַמְאָרְרִים as “water of bitterness”/“bitter water,” with the restriction; however, that what is at issue here is not the bitter taste of the water but its effect of filling the guilty person with bitterness.

The next stage of our analysis is to find an answer to the question of the meaning of the ritual described in Num 5:11–31. This question is justified because if this text were merely a legal regulation, it would be difficult to find links between a statement of a legal nature (which, by its nature, must be applied to a literal interpretation) and the text of Revelation, which is based primarily on the symbolism of certain terms.

In proceeding to this stage, it is necessary to emphasise what Michael Fishbane has already pointed out when he says that the Bible, in giving various kinds of legal provisions, subordinates them to theology. In other words, the law is always the starting point for the presentation of theological thought.<sup>38</sup> The fact that the regulation described in Num 5:11–31 is

36 Cf. Feinstein, “The ‘Bitter Waters’ of Numbers 5:11–31,” 303. Feinstein notes that the Hebrew Bible has only two adjectives to describe taste: מַר – “bitter” and מְתוֹק – “sweet.” In reality, however, there are two “types” of taste at issue: a pleasant one and an unpleasant one. The unpleasant one is the bitter taste, while the pleasant one is the sweet taste. The traditional translation is also supported by Ashley, *The Book of Numbers*, 130.

37 For the meaning of the term מַר in relation to emotions see: H.-J. Fabry – H. Ringgren, “מַר,” *TDOT IX*, 16–18.

38 Cf. M. Fishbane, “Accusations of Adultery: A Study of Law and Scribal Practice in Numbers 5:11–31,” *HUCA* 45 (1974) 40.

important from a theological and not just a legal point of view is also evidenced by the fact that it was the subject of reflection by the rabbis, despite the fact that, as the Mishnah notes (*Sotah* 9:9), its execution in Israel was suspended in practice. We can only speculate when it occurred but the fact that the “dead” rite was left in the collection of laws is significant.<sup>39</sup>

The first thing to note in this regard is that the description of the ritual contained in Num 5:11–31 appears in a particular place in this book.<sup>40</sup> The provision does not appear among the laws relating to marital life, where it would be expected. Instead, it appears in the context of the law relating to impurity and to the cultic area. As Rolf P. Knierim and George W. Coats note, this provision is most likely included in the present context of the Book of Numbers because the authors, coming from a priestly background, considered this type of transgression as something that brought uncleanness to the whole community. This fact was far more important than the issue of the individual relationship between a husband and a wife. Such transgressions were very dangerous to the functioning of the community and needed the involvement of divine authority to be exposed and removed. This was done through a ritual led by a priest. Therefore, the provision referred rather to the issue of chastity or impurity than to the issue of marital fidelity or adultery.<sup>41</sup> Whoever violated the law in the area of marital life brought uncleanness on the Israelite community and on the land which that community inhabited. This was a very serious situation, even endangering the possession of the promised land. This is confirmed by the statement in Lev 18:24–30, the people of Canaan had previously lost their land to Israel exactly because of the widespread sins of this kind.<sup>42</sup>

Therefore, one may ask what theological idea was contained in the ritual described in Num 5:11–31. This question is all the more justified because, from the very beginning, the aforementioned regulation became the object of many interpretations carried out by the rabbis. The theological significance of this ritual was already pointed out by Jacob Milgrom. He noted that the Hebrew text uses the noun (5:12) זָעַל to describe the offence committed by a woman against her husband. This is the only case where this term refers to an offence against a husband and is used in reference to the “secular” sphere. Usually זָעַל denotes a transgression against YHWH (Lev 5:6; Josh 22:16, 22, 31; 1 Kgs 5:25; 9:1;

39 M. Douglas, *In the Wilderness. The Doctrine of Defilement in the Book of Numbers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001) 171. The Mishnah includes the enigmatic expression: “When adulterers became many, the ordeal of the bitter water was cancelled.” For the possible reasons for the suspension of this ritual, see A. Destro, *The Law of Jealousy. Anthropology of Sotah* (BJS; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 2020) 2–24. It is very possible that this took place in the first century after Chr. Adriana Destro explains that the ritual was preserved in the Mishnah because of its symbolic value (*ibidem*, 12).

40 Mary Douglas (*In the Wilderness*, 170) emphasises the necessity of referring to the structure of the Book of Numbers, which is not a collection of randomly arranged rules but a precise composition subordinated to theology.

41 Cf. Knierim – Coats, *Numbers*, 83. Similarly: Douglas, *In the Wilderness*, 161.

42 B.A. Levine, *Numbers 1–20. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 4a; New York et al.: Doubleday 1993) 207; D.T. Olson, *Numbers* (IBC; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 1996) 39; D.R. Cole, *Numbers* (NAC 3b; Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman 2000) 113; Ashley, *The Book of Numbers*, 124.

10:13; 2 Kgs 29:6; 36:14; Ezek 14:13; 15:8; 17:20; 18:24; 20:27; 39:23, 26), i.e. simply breaking of the covenant with him (Hos 2:4–22; Jer 3:8f; Ezek 23:37). In prophetic literature, this breaking of the covenant was often portrayed metaphorically as a betrayal committed by a wife (the people of Israel) against her husband (YHWH).<sup>43</sup> In some texts from the priestly tradition, זָעַל denotes a particular type of transgression, which is idolatry (Lev 26:40; Num 31:16). Since the noun זָעַל appears in its theological meaning in the immediate context (Num 5:6), there is no doubt that it suggests a direction for the theological interpretation of the entire ritual.<sup>44</sup>

Apart from the term זָעַל, crucial to the understanding of the theological meaning of the entire scene, there is the term “jealousy” (root קנא), which appears at the beginning (5,14 – twice) and at the end of the legal regulation (5,30), while the entire prescription is described as “the law of jealousy” (v. 29: תוֹרַת הַקְּנָאָה) and the sacrifice that accompanies it as “the sacrifice of jealousy” (v. 25: מִנְחַת הַקְּנָאָה). The jealousy of the husband alludes to the jealousy of God, which is revealed in the context of Israel committing the sin of idolatry (Exod 20:5; 34:14; Deut 32:12).<sup>45</sup>

Accordingly, the accusations of unfaithfulness to the Covenant, which appear especially in the Prophets, employ motifs alluding to Num 5:11–31. Israel is caught, as it were, in the act (*in flagrante delicto*). God’s jealousy and suspicion are therefore not illegitimate. To demonstrate this theological idea, the biblical authors use motifs from the ritual in Num 5 in various forms, although sometimes the context seems to be changed. E.g., this is distinct where Israel’s adultery is evident and does not need to be proven in any way. On the other hand; however, the elements of the ritual described in Num 5 are detached from their judicial function, i.e., they are no longer used to discover alleged adultery but become symbolic elements of the description of God’s judgment. Despite this, the original context of the ritual has not been completely removed.<sup>46</sup>

Hos 1–2 shows Israel’s unfaithfulness to YHWH and his love to Baal (2:10, 15, 18–19) using the symbolism of a married harlot (1:2; cf. 3:1). With this imagery, YHWH puts the Woman – Israel on trial (רִיב – 2:4) for adultery (נֹאֵף – 2:4) and threatens to strip her of her garments (פִּשְׁט) and kill her (2:5), as well as divorce her (1:6, 9; 2:4). We find similar ideas in Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah and especially in Ezekiel (Ezek 16 and 23). A certain new feature; however, is that in all these prophetic texts, the punishment on the part of YHWH is not definitive, and ultimately God – motivated by his mercy – forgives the unfaithful spouse (Hos 2:18–25; Jer 3:11–25; 31:13; Isa 54:7–8; Ezek 16:59–63).<sup>47</sup> Thus, although

43 Cf. H. Ringgren, “זָעַל,” *TDOT* VIII, 461–463.

44 Cf. J. Milgrom, *Numbers* (The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia, PA – New York: Jewish Publication Society 1989) 37.

45 Cf. Olson, *Numbers*, 37–38; Fishbane, “Accusations of Adultery,” 36; R.S. Briggs, “Reading the *Sotah* Text (Numbers 5:11–31): Holiness and a Hermeneutic Fit for Suspicion,” *BibInt* 17 (2009) 294.

46 Cf. Fishbane, “Accusations of Adultery,” 40. William McKane in his study (“Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath”) links the ritual described in Num 5:11–31 to the “cup of wrath” or “poison to drink” motif in Jeremiah.

47 Cf. Fishbane, “Accusations of Adultery,” 41–43.



the ritual described in Num 5:11–31 appears to be very cruel, the theological tradition that originated from it takes on a much milder dimension in the prophetic texts. Although, there is an unfaithful Israel who likes the adulterous woman, the final word of God is a word of forgiveness and a portent of the restoration of a relationship of love.<sup>48</sup>

### 3. Reading Rev 8:11 in the light of Num 5:11–31

The results of the analyses carried out above make it possible to put forward a proposal for a fuller understanding of the final part of the verse Rev 8:11: *καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ὅτι ἐπικράνθησαν*. It is primarily about the interpretation of the verb *ἐπικράνθησαν*. The most popular translations assume that the verb refers to waters;<sup>49</sup> however, as Stephen S. Smalley notes, one can only infer this on the basis of context because, strictly speaking, the subject is implicit.<sup>50</sup> Considering the text of Num 5:11–31, it is possible to propose a link between the verb *ἐπικράνθησαν* and the noun *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* which would be its subject, and the whole phrase would mean people who “filled themselves with bitterness.”

The verb *πικραίνω* in the *passivum*, in addition to the meaning of “becoming bitter,” often has also a metaphorical meaning: “become angry, become bitter, become resentful.” This is most evident in the Book of Ruth (according to the LXX), where Noemi says that YHWH filled her with bitterness (1:13: *ἐπικράνθη μοι*; 1:20: *ἐπικράνθη ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ ἱκανὸς σφόδρα*). In the Greek text of Ruth, the verb *πικραίνω* is the equivalent of the Hebrew root *ררר* in *hiphil*, and there are many forms derived from the same root in Num 5:11–31. One can see a similar meaning in Lam 1:4, where reference is made to Zion being filled with bitterness (TM: *ררר*; LXX: *πικραينوμένη*). Here, of course, the question can be raised whether or not it is possible for the spiritual effect of bitterness to produce such a physical effect as the death of the people mentioned in Rev 8:11. It is most certainly possible. Already in Num 5:11–31, there is a similar situation. The water is called “water of bitterness” not because of its taste but because of the effect it produces. However, ultimately the effect it has on the adulterous woman is physical in nature (5:21–22, 27).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Olson, *Numbers*, 37–38.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. English translations: Revised Standard Version: “because it was made bitter”; English Standard Version: “because it had been made bitter”; The New American Bible: “because it was made bitter”; New International Version: “the waters that had become bitter”; New King James Version: “because it was made bitter”; The New Jerusalem Bible: “the water had become so bitter.” Cf. also German translations: Einheitsübersetzung: “weil es bitter geworden war”; Lutherbibel (revidiert 2017): “weil sie bitter geworden waren”; Zürcher Bibel: “weil das Wasser bitter geworden war”; and an Italian translation: La Sacra Bibbia della Conferenza Episcopale Italiana (2008): “acque, che erano divenute amare.” Cf. Vulgata: “de aquis quia amarae factae sunt.”

<sup>50</sup> Smalley, *The Revelation to John*, 223. Smalley notes that in the Apocalypse, the verb in the 3rd person plural quite frequently appears without an identified subject.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. W. Michaelis, “πικρός κτλ.,” *TDNT* VI, 122–127. The issue to be discussed here is what is meant by the terms referring to the physical description. For more on this subject see, e.g., McKane, “Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath,” 474–475; Ashley, *The Book of Numbers*, 131–133.

According to our proposal of reading Rev 8:10–11, the subject of the verb ἐπικράνησαν is the noun οἱ ἄνθρωποι. This noun, which occurs frequently in the main part of the Apocalypse (Rev 4–22) does not denote mankind in general but means, first of all, the unrighteous people, labelled with sin.<sup>52</sup> This is confirmed by the following texts: Rev 8:11; 9:4, 6; 9:10, 15, 18, 20; 13:13; 14:4; 16:2, 8, 9; 16:21, where either οἱ ἄνθρωποι are the object of plagues or the fact of the failure to repent is emphasised.

Thus, the category of οἱ ἄνθρωποι denotes those who do not repent but persist in a destructive relationship with the forces of evil. This relationship reveals itself in various ways. First of all, through idolatry, as indicated by Rev 9:20–21, this sin is often depicted metaphorically as a fornication. Such a way of reading Rev 8:11 is in accordance with the tradition, referring to Num 5:11–31, that the unfaithful people are considered harlots; treating the unfaithful people as a collective harlot. This theme is also present in Revelation, where the verb πορνεύω appears primarily in the context of idolatry. Moreover, the figure of the Great Harlot must be added, whose fundamental sin is the inciting to idolatry. The relationship of sinners (i.e. *de facto* οἱ ἄνθρωποι) and the Great Harlot is expressed in Rev 17:2, where the “inhabitants of the earth” (this category analogously to οἱ ἄνθρωποι means unfaithful idolaters) ἐμεθύσθησαν [...] ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. Thus, in connection with Rev 8:10–11, one can see a kind of “ritual” revealing unfaithfulness. At that point, it is important to note a certain similarity between the two metaphors: that of sin and that of a ritual revealing sin. The sin in Rev 17:2 is described by the metaphor of drinking the wine of fornication, while the ritual revealing this sin consists of drinking water that brings bitterness. The connection between these metaphors is very likely since both refer to Jeremiah (8:14; 9:14–15; 23:15).<sup>53</sup>

Another element that, in our view, confirms the existence of the above-mentioned connections is the interpretation of the motif of rivers and springs of waters in Rev 8:10. This is because it was the rivers and springs (one third) that were struck by the star called Wormwood. Since we are dealing with a metaphor here, it is necessary to refer to the metaphorical meaning of rivers and springs of waters.<sup>54</sup> In the OT, springs of water were a metaphor for God as the source of life. Such is their meaning in several places, for example in Deut 10:11; 13:14; 14:27; Ps 36:10; 87:7.<sup>55</sup> In this context, committing idolatry, the fundamental sin that destroys the relationship with YHWH means abandoning the spring of living water and turning it into a broken cistern (cf. Jer 2:13; 17:13). In Ezek 47, the river originating in the renewed temple signifies God’s blessing. The symbolic significance of

52 The issue here is not so much all the texts in which the noun ἄνθρωπος appears in the Book of Revelation in various forms but the category designated as οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Such a theological category οἱ ἄνθρωποι has also another designation: οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Rev 2:13; 3:10; 6:10; 8:13; 11:10; 13:8; 13:14; 17:2, 8).

53 Cf. Siemieniec, *Teologiczna rola “ludzi”*, 500–513. The existence of this relationship is indicated, for example, by McKane, “Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath,” *passim*.

54 Cf. Blount, *Revelation*, 169: “Obviously, John is working symbolically here; it would be impossible for a single star literally to land simultaneously on one-third of all the rivers and all the springs on earth.”

55 Cf. Osborne, *Revelation*, 354.



the motif of the fountain of waters and rivers was also known to the author of the Apocalypse, as indicated by Rev 21:6 and 22:1, 17, except that there is no mention of punishment but of a reward described as an access to the fountain of the living waters.<sup>56</sup>

The motif of Wormwood is also linked by the OT to the sin of idolatry. The Greek term ὁ ἄψινθος is most likely the equivalent of the Hebrew לְעֵנָה.<sup>57</sup> Since there is no star bearing such a name, it must be interpreted in terms of a metaphor. In Deut 29:17–18 wormwood appears in the context of idolatry. A person who has turned away from YHWH and serves the pagan gods is referred to as “a root yielding poison or wormwood” (Hebrew לְעֵנָה; Greek πικρία).<sup>58</sup> Jer 9:14–15 refers to the punishment that YHWH will send upon the people of Israel for the sin of idolatry. Wormwood and poisoned (bitter) water will be given to the people as food.<sup>59</sup> In Jer 23:15, in a similar way to 9:14–15, the punishment for prophets who proclaim false prophecy is shown: YHWH is to give them wormwood (Masoretic Text: לְעֵנָה; LXX – ὀδύνη) as food and poisoned water (Hebrew: מֵי־רִיָּה; LXX: ὕδωρ πικρόν) as a drink.<sup>60</sup> Jer 9:12–13 specifies what the guilt of the People consisted of, namely: forsaking the Law, not listening to the voice of YHWH, acting not according to the voice of YHWH but according to a hardened heart, following the Baals. The guilt of the prophets shown in Jer 23:10–15 includes: fornication, the prophesying in the name of Baal, the deceiving of the people. In this context, the drinking of bitter water and the eating of לְעֵנָה appear, as McKane notes, as actions designed to demonstrate the guilt of the people.<sup>61</sup>

As it was noted earlier, the use of motifs referring to Num 5:11–31 in the prophetic literature highlights the guilt of the people but also invokes the mercy of God. This includes the hope that the punishment sent by YHWH is not ultimate (this is particularly noticeable in Hosea). A similar idea is apparent in Revelation. The filling of bitterness does not become

56 Cf. J. Schreiner, “עֵנָה,” *TDOT* XI, 45; H. Ringgren, “מְקוֹר,” *TDOT* VIII, 546–547; W. Michaelis, “πιρρή,” *TDNT* VI, 113–114.

57 Cf. McKane, “Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath,” 478–488. As McKane notes, the reference of the term לְעֵנָה to “wormwood” is not at all certain. More than the specific plant (and the wormwood – *Artemisia absinthium* – is a plant sometimes used in medicine), the idea here is to emphasise the effect on humans, hence in the Septuagint לְעֵנָה is translated not by ἄψινθος, but by other terms: πικρία (Deut 29:17; Lam 3:19; Amos 6:12) or πικρός (Jer 23:15), χολή (Prov 5:4; Jer 9:14; Lam 3:15). It may therefore be a matter of showing “wormwood” as a synonym for bitterness. And indeed, in Jeremiah, it is not so much about pointing to a particular plant but rather about emphasising that it is a metaphor for the tribulation and bitter experience that will come upon the unfaithful people and the false prophets.

58 Cf. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 137; Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, 133; Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 308.

59 In the Masoretic text לְעֵנָה is used for “wormwood,” while the bitter water is translated as the phrase מֵי־רִיָּה and it is difficult to say which specific poison it is supposed to be. In the LXX, instead of wormwood, there is a reference made to suffering, affliction (ἀνάγκη). Poisoned water is expressed by the phrase ὕδωρ χολής.

60 Cf. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation*, 235; Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 137; Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, 133; R.H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 1997) 180; Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 308.

61 *Targum Jonathan* to Jer 8:14 (as well as to 9:14 and 23:15) indicates that there is a connection between the bitter water (מֵי־רִיָּה) and the expression הַמַּיִם הַמְאָרְרִים which can be found in Num 5:22. Cf. R. Hayward, *The Targum Jeremiahs. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus and Notes* (ArBib 12; Collegetville, MN: Liturgical Press 1990) 74.

the experience of all sinners, as indicated by the expression πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον. Although πολλοὶ denotes a large number, it does not mean “all.” The analogy can be found in the prophetic literature, where the punishment has also a limited extent (the “rest” will be saved). It is, obviously, an open question whether the rest of οἱ ἄνθρωποι would repent.

At the end of our analyses, it is interesting to try to define our proposal using the terminology proposed by J. Paulien. In the Apocalypse, we are dealing primarily with allusions and echoes, not with quotations. Echoes do not depend on the conscious intention of the author but they are used as working in his cultural *milieu*.<sup>62</sup> In our case, we are undoubtedly dealing with an allusion and not an echo, since the author had access to the Book of Numbers and one of the primary criteria for separating an allusion from an echo is exactly the possibility of contact with the source of the allusion. In the case of an echo, the author could take up ideas whose origin was unknown to him. The Book of Numbers, which is part of the Pentateuch, functioned in the environment of the author of Revelation. There is no doubt about this. This is not changed by the fact that John uses different terms from the relevant text of Numbers (according to the LXX). As Paulien notes, by their very nature, allusions do not have to repeat the exact wording of the original. It is sufficient that the allusions to the Old Testament are characterised by similarity of ideas, themes and contexts.<sup>63</sup> This is, as Paulien argues, especially true when it comes to references to the Hebrew or Aramaic text of the OT. This is the case with Rev 8:11, since the idea of bitter water remains present in the Hebrew version of the Numbers, while it disappears from the LXX. In our opinion, in the case of Numbers 5:11–31, we are dealing with an allusion. It is a matter of debate whether it is a probable allusion or a possible one. One should rather tend towards the latter option. In this way, the text of Num 5:11–31 fits into a series of texts such as Jer 9:14, 15; 23:15, and these texts, as our analysis has shown, fit into the theological line (sin of idolatry) referring to Num 5:11–31. A similar theological context is evident in Rev 8:11.

## Conclusion

The analyses carried out in this study allow us to make the following conclusions:

- 1) The analysis of the state of research has shown that the previous studies that have dealt with the issue of the OT being the background for Rev 8:11 have not considered the question of a possible link between the motif of drinking bitter water and Num 5:11–31. Instead, references have been made to other texts in the OT, which contain motifs related to the ritual described in Num 5:11–31.
- 2) It is possible to notice potential links between Rev 8:11 and Num 5:11–31 because it is still reasonable to translate the Hebrew phrase מַיִם מְרִיָּם as “bitter water”/ “water of

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*, 169–173.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Paulien, *Decoding Revelation's Trumpets*, 182.

bitterness,” which is supported by recent research suggesting a return to the traditional translation.

- 3) The ritual described in Num 5:11–31 is not merely a legal regulation but a starting point for a theology, in accordance with the rule that legal texts in the Bible are always the basis for theological ideas. The aforementioned ritual is also commented on by the rabbis, although *de facto* its implementation was suspended in the first century after Christ. The fact that this “dead” legal provision was left in the midst of existing legislation can be justified only on the grounds that it was relevant to the exposition of theological ideas.
- 4) Already in the OT literature, there was a theological tradition, based on the ritual described in Numbers 5, of portraying Israel/Judah as an unfaithful wife who was caught committing the sin of fornication (idolatry). The prophets (especially Jeremiah) portray YHWH’s actions using motifs that refer to the ritual of bitter water.
- 5) The conclusions made above entitle us to postulate that the act of drinking bitter water by οἱ ἄνθρωποι in Rev 8:11 can be better understood by referring it to the ritual described in Num 5:11–31. Here, we may be dealing with a specific ritual revealing the sin of these οἱ ἄνθρωποι, which is the fornication (idolatry). This is confirmed by references to other texts of Revelation, where many terms referring to the semantic field of fornication appear.
- 6) Drinking bitter water in Rev 8:11 produces a fatal effect, which, however, does not affect all οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Therefore, it is possible to see a sign of God’s mercy here, who still offers a chance for conversion. This idea is in line with the theological tradition of prophetic literature which refers to Num 5:11–31.
- 7) The recognised link between Num 5:11–31 and Rev 8:11 does not, of course, exclude other connections already noticed by other scholars. The exceptional nature of the Book of Revelation consists also in the fact that its author refers to many texts in the OT at the same time, which makes the ideas it presents astonishing, considering the variety of meanings.

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## “You Were Strangers in the Land of Egypt” (Exod 22:20): Notes on the Attitude(s) towards Foreigners in Ancient Egypt

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**ABSTRACT:** The article discusses various attitudes towards foreigners that can be perceived in ancient Egyptian material. It is argued that there was no single and unchangeable attitude towards foreigners throughout ancient Egyptian history, but instead that Egyptian attitudes to foreigners changed over time due to various historical and social factors. It is also argued that these attitudes reflected a constant negotiation between the traditional and stereotypical perception of foreigners as enemies of the Egyptian state and more nuanced approaches in which foreigners could have a number of roles to play in Egyptian society, which often led to significant transformations of Egyptians' self-identity. Therefore, the traditional image of ancient Egypt as a highly xenophobic culture is called into question.

**KEYWORDS:** ancient Egyptian identity, foreigners in ancient Egypt, social changes, ancient xenophobia

In scholarly literature ancient Egypt is often described as a very conservative and xenophobic civilisation.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly, this image was strengthened by the Exodus narrative in which the land of the pharaohs features as the ‘house of slavery’ (Exod 20:2<sup>2</sup>) from which the people of Israel can be delivered only by the direct intervention of YHWH. Yet, the image of Egypt in the Bible itself is far more ambiguous as it can also be portrayed as a place of salvation for the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob in Genesis (12:9–20 and 46–50), for the Jewish refugees after the Babylonian conquest in Jeremiah (42:1–43:7) as well as for Jesus’

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- 1 Cf. e.g. J.-P. Graeff, “Kemet, Kemet über alles! Zu Patriotismus, Nationalismus und Rassismus im Alten Ägypten,” *Diener des Horus. Festschrift für Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. W. Waitkus) (Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia 1; Hamburg: PeWe 2008) 123–133.
- 2 All references to the Bible follow the New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition. It is, however, noteworthy that ‘house of slavery’ is the modern rendering of the Hebrew phrase *bēt ‘āḇādīm*, the literal meaning of which is ‘house of slaves’. I am grateful to one of the Anonymous Reviewers for bringing this detail to my attention.

family in Matthew (1:13–15). Moreover, prior to becoming the house of slavery in Exodus, Egypt is described in Genesis as a place which not only welcomes foreigners in the time of a famine, but also allows them to settle among her people and grow, with one of them being appointed to a high administrative position by the pharaoh himself (Gen 37–50). Other books of the Old Testament also inform us that on the political level Egypt can be perceived either as an important ally (e.g. 1 Kgs 3:1; 2 Kgs 17:4) or as a dangerous enemy (e.g. 1 Kgs 14:25–26; 2 Kgs 23:29–30). It seems that this variety of portrayals of the land of the pharaohs in the Bible to some extent reflects the complexity of the Egyptian attitudes towards foreigners which we can perceive in the pharaonic sources.

However, before proceeding to further analysis, some caveats are necessary. We should always bear in mind the limited and fragmentary nature of our sources which, for the most part, reflect the perspective of elites which is not necessarily the same as that of ordinary people. Moreover, it is important to emphasise that attitudes to foreigners might have not only changed in time, but might have simply varied with respect to a particular foreign people and may differ due to the context and provenance of our sources. In fact, as scholars have recently pointed out, the problem of identity and ethnicity in ancient world is far more complex than usually realised, as being ‘Egyptian’ and/or ‘foreigner’ might have meant a whole variety of things, depending on who, where, and when was concerned.<sup>3</sup> What follows should thus necessarily be regarded as a preliminary sketch of the most important phenomena concerning the ancient Egyptian perception of foreign peoples, as can be inferred from the available material.

## 1. Some Terminological Issues

When we look at ancient Egyptian sources, we are immediately struck by one fundamental yet quite astonishing fact: for a great part of the Egyptian history there is simply no specific term with which the Egyptians referred to themselves. Originally, they used the term *rmṯ*, which might be understood either as a collective word for ‘people’ or as a reference to an individual man (sc. male), depending on the determinatives following the word.<sup>4</sup> Yet, the term might equally well be applied also to foreigners. Late Demotic texts while speaking about the Egyptian people can indeed add a specification calling them *rmṯ n kmy* (‘people of

3 See, for this, G. Moers, “‘Egyptian Identity’? Unlikely, and Never National,” *Fuzzy Boundaries. Festschrift für Antonio Loprieno* (eds. H. Amstutz *et al.*) (Hamburg: Widmaier 2015) 693–704; S.T. Smith, “Ethnicity: Constructions of Self and Other in Ancient Egypt,” *Journal of Egyptian History* 11 (2018) 113–146; U. Matic, *Ethnic Identities in the Land of the Pharaohs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020); D. Candelora, “The Egyptianization of Egypt and Egyptology: Exploring Identity in Ancient Egypt,” *Ancient Egyptian Society. Challenging Assumptions, Exploring Approaches* (eds. K.M. Cooney – D. Candelora – N. Ben-Marzouk) (London – New York: Routledge 2023) 103–110.

4 *Wb.* II, 421,9–424,18.

the Blackland, i.e. Egypt)<sup>5</sup> to avoid confusion with other peoples living in Egypt in the Late Greek, and Roman Periods (this later passed on into Coptic **ⲡⲏⲚⲕⲏⲙⲉ**–‘Egyptian’<sup>6</sup>). However, such a specification, even if sometimes attested in earlier sources, does not seem to have been widely used in earlier periods.

On the other hand, foreigners could have been variously termed in the Egyptian language. Since Egypt, or the Blackland (*km.t*) as the Egyptians themselves called her, was surrounded by mountainous and desert lands (*h3s.wt*), foreigners were commonly referred to as *h3st.j.w* or ‘the Desert-people’<sup>7</sup>—this is certainly one of the most ancient and the commonest of the terms designating foreigners in the Egyptian, one that seems to have been used throughout the whole Egyptian history. Another one is *pd.t.j.w*, literally meaning ‘Bowmen’ or rather ‘Bow-people’,<sup>8</sup> which is connected to the traditional designation of Egypt’s enemies as the Nine Bows (*pd.wt psd.t*),<sup>9</sup> an idea which is attested as early as the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty.<sup>10</sup> Middle Egyptian knows also two other terms for strangers and foreigners: *drdr*<sup>11</sup> and *hpp.w*;<sup>12</sup> both of them appear relatively late and become more widespread in Late Egyptian. The latter uses two more terms to refer to foreigners and strangers: *k3.wj*, which seems to refer more specifically to people speaking foreign languages,<sup>13</sup> and *qrrj*, which, quite interestingly, seems to be a Semitic loanword.<sup>14</sup>

5 J.H. Johnson, *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago 2021) R, 40, <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-dei-demotic-dictionary> [access: 10.01.2023].

6 W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon 1939) 295.

7 *Wb.* III, 235,14. A similar phenomenon can be observed in China, whose most common name 中國 (*Zhōngguó*–‘the Middle State’) was associated with the idea of cultural primacy of the ‘central states’ of the Yellow River valley against the less civilised peoples of the periphery; J.W. Esherick, “How the Qing Became China,” *Empire to Nation. Historical Perspectives on the Making of the Modern World* (eds. J.W. Esherick – H. Kayali – E. Van Young) (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield 2006) 232–233.

8 *Wb.* I, 570,1–4.

9 D. Valbelle, *Les Neufs Arcs. L’Égyptien et les étrangers de la préhistoire à la conquête d’Alexandre* (Paris: Colin 1990) 46–47.

10 Cf. the base of the statue of king Netjerikhet (Djeser) decorated with nine bows on which the king originally stood (Cairo JE 49889); D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep. Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 36; München – Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 1977) 5. Later on, images of the Nine Bows are known from the sandals of Pepy I of the 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty and of Tutankhamun of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Also the processional routes in the palaces of Malqata and Amarna (temp. Amenhotep III–Akhenaten of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty) were decorated with images of bound captives, so that the king could trample the enemies of Egypt as he walked; Smith, “Ethnicity,” 123.

11 *Wb.* V, 604,8–13.

12 *Wb.* III, 259,13.

13 L.H. Lesko – B. Switalski Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 2 ed. (Providence, RI: Scribe 2004) II, 166. On language as an important factor of shaping Egyptian identity, see G. Moers, “‘Bei mir wird es Dir gut ergehen, denn Du wirst die Sprache Ägyptens hören!’: Verschieden und doch gleich: Sprache als identitätsrelevanter Faktor im pharaonischen Ägypten,” *Muster und Funktionen kultureller Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung. Beiträge zur internationalen Geschichte der sprachlichen und literarischen Emanzipation* (eds. U.-C. Sander – F. Paul) (Göttingen: Wallstein 2000) 45–99.

14 J.E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1994) 295–296, no. 429.

It seems that these linguistic phenomena can be explained by the historical development of the Egyptian culture: due to the relative (although certainly not complete) geographic isolation of their land, at first the Egyptians simply did not need to invent a specific designation for themselves in order to differentiate themselves from other peoples, who might have been either referred to by a specific name (such as *'Aamu* for the Asiatics, *Nehe-siu* for the Nubians and *Tjehenu* or *Tjemehu* for the Libyans),<sup>15</sup> or designated generally as *h3st.j.w* or *pd.t.j.w*, terms which implied their less civilised status as compared to the Egyptians. In the late Middle Kingdom, when contacts with foreign peoples became much more frequent – as a consequence of the active foreign policy of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty kings as well as the continuous infiltration of Egypt by the foreign peoples from both the North and the South – the Egyptians faced a necessity to invent new terms for strangers and foreigners, which became even more pressing in the New Kingdom period, when Egypt became an active player in the international politics on an unprecedented scale.<sup>16</sup> From then on, foreigners became an essential part of the Egyptian society and were to remain as such up to the end of Antiquity. At the same time, the Egyptians kept calling themselves *rmt*, or simply ‘people’, following, just as in many other cases, the traditional customs of their forefathers. It seems that this constant negotiation between old tradition and changing reality is the essence of the Egyptian attitude(s) to foreigners throughout the history of the pharaonic culture.

## 2. Foreigners as Enemies

One of the most obvious points in Egyptian perception of the foreigners is the fact that they might have been considered enemies of the Egyptian state and culture. Egyptian ideology of kingship demanded from the king to be the guardian of *Ma'at* (*m3<sup>c</sup>.t*), understood as the cosmic, socio-political, and ethical order established by the sun-god at the creation of the universe.<sup>17</sup> As an oft-quoted text dating to the New Kingdom period informs us: “Ra has placed the king (X) upon the land of the living forever and ever so that he may judge the people and satisfy the gods, so that he may bring *Ma'at* into being and annihilate

15 See, for this, G. Chantraine, “About ‘Egyptianity’ and ‘Foreignness’ in Egyptian Texts. A Context-Sensitive Lexical Study,” *A Stranger in the House – the Crossroads III. Proceedings of an International Conference on Foreigners in Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Societies of the Bronze Age Held in Prague, September 10–13, 2018* (eds. J. Mynářová – M. Kilani – S. Alivernini) (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts 2019) 49–72.

16 This problem has been thoroughly discussed by M. Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600–1100 BC* (Houndmills – New York: Palgrave 2001).

17 For various aspects of *Ma'at*, see J. Assmann, *Ma'at, l'Égypte pharaonique et l'idée de justice sociale* (Paris: Juillard 1989); J. Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, 2 ed. (München: Beck 1995). For the responsibility of the king as the guardian of *Ma'at*, see also E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat. Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt* (SAOC 57; Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1997).

*Izefet*.<sup>18</sup> It should be stressed that although *Ma'at* and *Izefet* (*izft*) can be roughly identified as Good and Evil, respectively, the understanding of both terms is not the same as in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. *Ma'at* does not refer to the absolute Good understood as the lack of any kind of evil, but rather to the balance of creative and destructive forces which at the end of the day are used for the benefit of the universe as well as of the state and of an individual man. For example, social inequalities are perceived as the natural order of things, which means that they are not evil *per se*, just as long as the rich do not abuse their power by taking advantage of the poor – instead the former are encouraged by a number of didactic texts to show solidarity to those who form part of the lower social strata.<sup>19</sup> The balance of *Ma'at* is, however, under constant threat from the evil forces of Chaos which keep trying to destroy the order. These evil forces can manifest themselves, among other things, in the form of foreign peoples which the king is supposed to submit to Egyptian control.<sup>20</sup> This is why Egyptian temples are covered with numerous representations of the king fighting foreign peoples, either in smiting or trampling scenes as well as (especially from the New Kingdom onwards) military scenes.

Smiting scenes are definitely the most ancient type of the aforementioned triad, being attested in the Egyptian record as early as the Predynastic Period.<sup>21</sup> In the traditional layout developed later on, the king smites the representatives of three peoples: namely the Nubians, the Asiatics, and the Libyans, i.e. the three neighbours of Egypt. The same cast of foreign peoples occurs also in the trampling scenes, attested from the Old Kingdom onwards, in which the king can be represented either as a sphinx or as a griffin.<sup>22</sup> Of course, in both instances other foreign peoples may be represented as well.<sup>23</sup>

Military scenes are usually more specific, presenting royal exploits during particular campaigns against specific people. Due to the fact that such scenes are usually placed on the outermost walls of the temples, it is often believed that they functioned as a kind of royal propaganda, especially as they always portray the victory of the Egyptian king. This view, however, seems to be inaccurate. The Egyptians believed that representing a state of affairs in either written or iconographic form was equal with creating this particular state of affairs. On the other hand, destroying a text or image meant inflicting the very thing it described or represented. This means that representing royal defeat would be identical with creating a state of affairs in which the king has failed to fulfil his most important

18 Translation after the hieroglyphic text in J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester. Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern* (ADAIK 7; Glückstadt: Augustin, 1970) 19. All translations of Egyptian texts contained in this paper were made by the author.

19 Assmann, *Ma'at*, 35–55; Assmann, *Ma'at*, 58–121.

20 M.-A. Bonhême – A. Forgeau, *Pharaon. Les secrets du Pouvoir* (Paris: Colin 1988) 188–235.

21 For this type of scenes, see E. Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites His Enemies. A Comparative Study* (MÄS 44; München – Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag 1986).

22 For griffins in Egyptian iconography, see S. Gerke, *Der altägyptische Greif. Von der Vielfalt eines 'Fabeltiers'* (SAK Beiheften 15; Hamburg: Buske 2014).

23 Cf. e.g. the image of a Puntite in the trampling scene of king Niuserra of the 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty; L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re'* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1907) 46–48 with pl. 12, nos. 3 and 5.

responsibility as the guardian of *Ma'at*, which in consequence would have meant the victory of Chaos and the virtual destruction of the universe (and Egyptian state with it). Putting scenes of the royal victory on the external walls of the temple was rather meant to create a state of affairs in which the king constantly triumphs over the evil forces, driving them away from the temple understood as the seat of *Ma'at*. This means that it was not important whether the scenes portrayed the events faithfully; in fact, they were not supposed to do that, because what mattered was the victory of the king. It was also not important whether anyone could actually see and properly understand the reliefs, as they were supposed to magically fulfil their function by themselves.<sup>24</sup> This explains why we occasionally find military scenes which either simply cannot represent historical events<sup>25</sup> or do not represent them exactly as they happened.<sup>26</sup> An interesting case is the so-called Libyan family scene attested in several Old Kingdom funerary complexes.<sup>27</sup> There, the king is represented in the form of a sphinx trampling Libyans in the presence of the family of the Libyan chief: his wife Khutites and two sons: Wesa and Weni. What is peculiar about this scene is the fact that in all instances the relatives of the Libyan chief bear exactly the same names, which demonstrates that we are not dealing here with historical figures, but rather with a stereotyped image of a foreign enemy who needs to be defeated and subdued by the Egyptian king. Interestingly, the scene reoccurs in the funerary complex of king Taharqa of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty,<sup>28</sup> which once again suggests its traditional rather than historical character – even if in this particular case the return to this specific motif might have been dictated by the strong animosity between the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty, originating from Nubia, and Libyans who used to rule Egypt as the 22<sup>nd</sup>–24<sup>th</sup> dynasties,<sup>29</sup> only to regain power as the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty some time later (see below).

Some texts credit foreigners with characteristics that were considered highly negative in ancient Egyptian society. The Asiatics are thus repeatedly accused of savagery and uncivilised behaviour as in the famous passage of the *Instructions for (Merikara)*:

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- 24 For further arguments on the inadequacy of the notion of propaganda with respect to ancient Egypt, see F. Tarterka, “‘I Have to Put It on My Wall!': The Function of 'Historical' Reliefs in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari,” *Of Gods and Men. Research on the Egyptian Temple from the New Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman Period* (ed. A.I. Fernández Pichel) (MOA 2; Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá 2022) 35–79.
- 25 E.g. the battle reliefs of Ramesses II in the temple of Beit el-Wali; H. Ricke – G.R. Hughes – E.F. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (OINE 1; Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press 1967) pls. 9–14; C. Obsomer, *Ramsès II* (Paris: Pygmalion 2012) 117–118.
- 26 E.g. the battle reliefs of Sethy I of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty at Karnak; A. Degève, “La campagne asiatique de l’an 1 de Séthi I<sup>er</sup> représentée sur le mur extérieur nord de la salle hypostyle du temple d’Amon à Karnak,” *RdE* 57 (2006) 47–76.
- 27 A.J. Spalinger, “Some Notes on the Libyans of the Old Kingdom and Later Historical Reflexes,” *JSSEA* 9 (1979) 125–160; D. Stockfisch, “Bemerkungen zur sog. Libyschen Familie,” *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. M. Schade-Busch) (ÄAT 35; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1996) 315–325.
- 28 M.F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa. II. History and Archaeology of the Site* (London: Oxford University Press 1955) 63–66 with pls. IX and XLIX.
- 29 R. K. Ritner, “Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian,” *Egypt and Beyond. Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon His Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005* (eds. S.E. Thompson – P. Der Manuelian) (Providence, RI: Brown University 2008) 305–314.



But now such things are said about the Bow-people: the wretched *ʿAamu* – he is miserable because of the place in which he dwells,<sup>30</sup> drained of water, devoid of wood, whose paths are numerous and difficult because of the mountains. He does not sit in one place as the food makes his feet wander about. He is fighting since the time of Horus, yet he does not conquer nor can be conquered.<sup>31</sup>

Also the *Prophecy of Neferti* stresses the uncivilised character of the Asiatic peoples, describing them as nomads in contrast to the Egyptians, who settle in towns: “The *ʿAamu* travel in their strength, frightening the hearts of those who are harvesting and taking away the yoked oxen at the plough.”<sup>32</sup> Other texts compare Asiatics to dogs,<sup>33</sup> which even today is one of the worst invectives in Near Eastern societies.

On the other hand, the Nubian kingdom of Kush is quite consistently referred to as the ‘wretched Kush’ (*kš ḥz.t*),<sup>34</sup> while this pejorative epithet as a general rule is not so consistently attached to other peoples. Egyptian royal inscriptions usually speak of the Nubians in highly negative terms, as illustrated by the following passage from the boundary stela of Senwosret III of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty erected in Semna in Nubia: “They are not the people that one would respect, but they are despicable ones whose hearts are broken.”<sup>35</sup>

Such invectives could have been used also with respect to the rulers of foreign states: e.g. in the Qadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II, where the Hittite king Muwatallis II is referred to either as ‘the wretched ruler of Kheta’ (*p3 wr ḥzj n ḥt3*) or ‘the fallen one of Kheta’ (*p3 ḥr n ḥt3*).<sup>36</sup>

It should be emphasised, however, that although Egyptian ideology of kingship perceives all foreign peoples as enemies of the Egyptian state, irrespectively of their social and political organisation and their actual relations with Egypt, this does not necessarily result in xenophobic attitudes of the State or individual Egyptians towards foreign minorities in general or individual foreigners in particular. Interestingly, there are some foreign

30 This idea has been also graphically expressed in the form of the Bedouins suffering from hunger, depicted in the royal funerary complexes of the Old Kingdom; A. Ćwiek, *Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom. Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography* (Diss. Warsaw University; Warsaw 2003) 256–257, [https://gizamedia.rc.fas.harvard.edu/images/MFA-images/Giza/GizalImage/full/library/cwiek\\_royal\\_relief\\_dec.pdf](https://gizamedia.rc.fas.harvard.edu/images/MFA-images/Giza/GizalImage/full/library/cwiek_royal_relief_dec.pdf) [access: 10.01.2023].

31 Merikara, E 91–93; translation after the Egyptian text in J.F. Quack, *Studien zum Lebre für Merikara* (Göttinger Orientforschungen 4. Reihe Ägypten 23; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1992) 183–184.

32 pHermitage 1116B, ll. 18–19; translation after the Egyptian text in W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj*, 2 ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1992) 18.

33 E.g. in the *Tale of Sinuhe* B 222–223 (all references follow the edition by R. Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe* [Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17; Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Reine Élisabeth 1990] 66–67). In this particular case, the comparison of the Asiatic rulers to dogs is used to express the idea that they are loyal as dogs, but given the negative connotations of the dog in the Near East, the choice of this metaphor with respect to the Asiatic rulers seems very significant.

34 S.T. Smith, *Wretched Kush. Ethnic identities and boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London – New York: Routledge 2003) 1.

35 Stela Berlin 1157, l. 11; translation after the Egyptian text in C. Obsomer, *Les campagnes de Sésostris dans Hérodote. Essai d'interprétation du texte grec à la lumière des réalités égyptiennes* (CEA I; Bruxelles: Connaissance de l'Égypte ancienne 1989) pl. II.

36 Cf. K.A. Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: Blackwell 1979) II, 105,3–9.

peoples whose status within the ideology of kingship is markedly different: one of them are undoubtedly the Puntites, i.e. the inhabitants of the mysterious land of Punt, located in an unspecified part of East Africa, known as the source of various exotic and aromatic substances.<sup>37</sup> As the land of Punt came to be understood as the earthly seat of various Egyptian deities, especially the sun-god,<sup>38</sup> the inhabitants of Punt are often portrayed as friends rather than foes.<sup>39</sup> However, there are images in which the land of Punt appears as one of Egypt's enemies subjected to the power of the pharaoh,<sup>40</sup> which seems to express the idea of the pharaoh's dominion over the entire universe.

### 3. Foreigners as Allies

An important change in Egyptian attitude towards foreigners can be perceived in the sources with the advent of the New Kingdom and the pharaohs' involvement in international politics. Prior to that, the rulers of the foreign countries were almost universally portrayed as enemies<sup>41</sup> as evidenced by the so-called execration texts. These are lists of mostly foreign<sup>42</sup> peoples and individuals inscribed on figurines of bound captives, which were ritually buried in order to harm the persons and entities enumerated in them. Such texts are attested mostly in the Old and Middle Kingdom periods.<sup>43</sup> In the New Kingdom period, relations with foreign rulers became far more complex, as they could be treated as either political enemies or allies. Interestingly, the Egyptians were eager to make peace treaties with states that were once regarded as fierce enemies, which can be demonstrated by an (unfortunately un preserved) peace treaty between Egypt and Mitanni concluded in the reign of Thutmose IV

37 For the land of Punt in general, see R. Herzog, *Punt* (ADAIK 6; Glückstadt: Augustin 1968); A. Diego Espinel, *Abriendo los caminos de Punt. Contactos entre Egipto y el ámbito afroárabe durante la Edad del Bronce* (ca. 3000 a.C.–1065 a.C.) (Arqueología 45; Barcelona: Bellaterra 2011); F. Breyer, *Punt. Die Suche nach dem »Gottesland«* (CHANE 80; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2016).

38 See, for this, F. Taterka, "Hatshepsut's Expedition to the Land of Punt – Novelty or Tradition?," *Current Research in Egyptology 2015. Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Symposium. University of Oxford, United Kingdom, 15–18 April 2015* (eds. C. Alvarez et al.) (Oxford – Philadelphia, PA: Oxbow Books 2016) 114–123; F. Taterka, "The Flight of King Ptolemy X Alexander I to the Land of Punt," *SAK* 50 (2021) 229–349.

39 This is especially true for the reliefs from the so-called Punt Portico in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari; W.S. Smith, "The Land of Punt," *JARCE* 1 (1962) pl. [I]. See also F. Taterka, "Hatshepsut's Punt Reliefs: Their Structure and Function," *JARCE* 55 (2019) 189–203.

40 Besides the already mentioned occurrence of the Puntite in the Old Kingdom trampling scenes, the land of Punt is also occasionally mentioned in the New Kingdom topographical lists showing lands and peoples defeated by the king of Egypt; J. Cooper, "Punt in the 'Northern' Topographical Lists," *JEA* 104 (2018) 93–98.

41 A notable exception is the portrayal of nomad chief Amunenshi in *The Tale of Sinuhe*, as well as the mention therein of three Syrian kinglets who are said to be loyal to king Senwosret I; T. Schneider, "Sinuhes Notiz über die Könige: Syrisch-anatolische Herrschertitel in ägyptischer Überlieferung," *AeL* 12 (2002) 257–272.

42 Occasionally, however, the execration texts mention names of Egyptian officials who, for unknown reason, fell from royal grace; cf. G. Posener, *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement* (Bibliothèque d'études 101; Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale 1987) 35–38, 55–56.

43 G. Posener, "Ächtungstexte," *LÄI*, 67–69.

of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty and Artatama I of Mitanni,<sup>44</sup> and another one between Egypt and Hatti in the reign of Ramesses II of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty and Ḫattušilis III of Hatti.<sup>45</sup> In both cases the pharaohs have even married foreign princesses in order to seal the deal<sup>46</sup> and the old resentments were apparently forgotten. This is especially visible in the case of Ramesses II who first fought with the Hittites at Qadesh under Muwatallis II,<sup>47</sup> but later made a peace treaty with Ḫattušilis III. In later years, royal couples of Egypt and Hatti exchanged cordial letters<sup>48</sup> which led to the above-mentioned marriages of Ramesses II with two daughters of Ḫattušilis III. Even later, Ramesses II's successor Merenptah would send corn in order to support the Hittites who were apparently no longer considered to be Egypt's enemy by this time.<sup>49</sup>

Yet, despite seemingly friendly relations with some of the foreign states, the Egyptians have not stopped considering the pharaoh as the most powerful ruler in the world – and this understanding is clearly visible in the Amarna letters exchanged by Amenhotep III and Akhenaten of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty with various foreign states, both the powerful and less important ones. Thus, when the Kassite kings of Babylonia Kadašman-Enlil I and Burnaburiaš II corresponded with Amenhotep III, they consistently referred to him as ‘the king of Egypt, my brother’ (*šar māti Mišri aḫia*), treating the pharaoh as a peer to the ruler of Babylonia.<sup>50</sup> But when Amenhotep III sent his letters to Babylonia, he referred to the local kings, with equal consistency, as ‘the king of Karduniaš (i.e. Babylonia), my brother’ (*šar māti Karanduniše aḫia*) but to himself as ‘the great king, the king of Egypt, your brother’ (*šarru rabû šar māti Mišri aḫuka*),<sup>51</sup> subtly underlining his pre-eminent status by denying the equality presupposed among the monarchs of powerful states. The superiority of the pharaoh could have also been expressed in a more explicit manner, as in the case of the letter EA 4, in which an unknown king (perhaps Kadašman-Enlil I) expresses his wish to marry an Egyptian princess. When the pharaoh refuses under the pretext that no

44 For this treaty, see B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, MD – London: Johns Hopkins University Press 1991) 336–339; B.M. Bryan, “The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty before the Amarna Period (c.1550–1352 BC),” *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 2 ed. (ed. I. Shaw) (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2002) 250–251.

45 For this treaty, see E. Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Ḫattušili III. von Ḫatti* (WVDOG 95; Berlin: Gebr. Mann 1997); Obsomer, *Ramsès II*, 194–203.

46 For the Mitannian marriage of Thutmose IV, see Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 118–119. The alliance with Mittani was also strengthened by the later marriages of Thutmose IV's direct successors, Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, with Mitannian princesses; A.H. Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings. How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010) 217–242. For the Hittite marriages of Ramesses II, see Obsomer, *Ramsès II*, 205–214.

47 For the most recent overview of the battle of Qadesh, see Obsomer, *Ramsès II*, 127–171.

48 For this correspondence, see E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-bethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und bethitischer Sprache* (ARWAW 77; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1994) I–II.

49 K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* (Oxford: Blackwell 1980) III, 5.3.

50 E.g. EA 2:1; EA 6:1–2. All references to the Amarna letters follow the edition by A.F. Rainey – W.M. Schniedewind – Z. Cochavi-Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence. A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna on Collations of all Extant Tablets* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2015) I–II.

51 E.g. EA 1:2–3.

Egyptian princess has ever married a foreigner, the Babylonian ruler insists that Amenhotep III should send him just any woman, so that he might pretend to have married an Egyptian princess. When the pharaoh refuses again, the Babylonian ruler tries his luck one more time, asking for gold, which was believed to be as abundant as dust in Egypt.<sup>52</sup> In another letter king Kadašman-Enlil I complains that Amenhotep III refused to grant an audience to his messengers who were supposed to see if his sister, whom the king of Egypt had married, was doing well. In his response Amenhotep III claims that the messengers of the Babylonian king were not worthy enough to be granted an audience, as one of them was a donkey herdsman.<sup>53</sup> In all of these examples, Amenhotep III overtly demonstrates his superiority over Mesopotamian rulers.

But the increasing involvement of Egypt in the games of international politics has also resulted in a change in the perception of Egypt's place in the world. This can be best illustrated in the reign of Akhenaten, Amenhotep III's successor, when the Great Hymn to the Aten described the sun-god as the universal ruler and creator of all peoples:

You create the earth according to your heart's desire – you being alone – as well as the people, all big and small cattle, and everything which is upon the earth, which walks on legs and which rises up flying with their wings, and the foreign lands of Kharu (i.e. Syria) and Kush and the Blackland (i.e. Egypt). You put every man in his place and make their belongings, each one having a portion in his barley and the reckoning of his lifetime. Their tongues differ in speech and their nature likewise. Their skins are distinct, for you have distinguished the foreigners.<sup>54</sup>

In the same way, the living image of the sun-god on earth, the king, is now portrayed not only as a ruler of Egypt who is expected to hold back the attacks of the evil forces of Chaos, as in the previous periods, but also as a universal ruler of all lands and peoples who bring tribute to him in recognition of his power.<sup>55</sup>

Of course, this image of the pharaoh as a universal ruler was not necessarily shared by the peoples who were represented as the king's subordinates in Egypt. The most drastic example of the contrast between ideologically inspired representations and brutal reality can be found in the *Report of Wenamun* from late New Kingdom / early Third Intermediate Period. This text is composed as if it was a report of an Egyptian official sent by the high priest of Amun-Ra Herihor to Byblos in order to bring back with him the precious cedar

52 This idea recurs in EA 16:14; EA 19:61; EA 20:52; EA 27:106; EA 29:164.

53 This matter is described in detail in EA 1. In EA 3:13–17 Kadašman-Enlil I complains that Amenhotep III detained his messenger for six years before granting the request of the Babylonian king.

54 Translation after the Egyptian text in M. Sandman, *Texts from the Amarna Period* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 8; Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth 1938) 94–95.

55 For the tribute scenes depicted in Egyptian tombs, see S. Hallmann, *Die Tributzszenen des Neuen Reiches* (ÄAT 66; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2006); F.B. Anthony, *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt. Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1372 BC)* (London: Bloomsbury 2017). It should be noted, however, that tribute scenes are attested already in the Old Kingdom funerary complexes: Čwiek, *Relief Decoration*, 341–342, – yet they become far more widespread in Egyptian iconography with the advent of the New Kingdom.

wood for the sacred barque of the god (the historicity of this text is, however, a matter of controversy).<sup>56</sup> When Wenamun arrives to Byblos, he expects the local ruler to furnish him with any amount of cedar wood required by the Egyptian official. But to his surprise, the ruler of Byblos refuses to do that unless he gets paid for the material. As the text puts it:

If the ruler of the Blackland had been the lord of my property and if I had been also his servant, would he have sent me over silver and gold, saying: ‘Carry out the commission for Amun!’? Was that, which had been given to my father, a gift? As for me and myself, am I your servant or am I also the servant of the one who had sent you?<sup>57</sup>

Even if on an ideological level the Egyptians still regarded their king as the universal ruler of all lands and peoples, in the new historical circumstances of the late New Kingdom / early Third Intermediate Period the local rulers in Syria and Palestine were able to question Egypt’s sovereignty, which must have been quite a shock for the Egyptians and this shock was reflected in Wenamun’s report.

#### 4. Foreigners as Subjects

Our sources suggest that it was in the First Intermediate Period that Egypt began to be infiltrated by foreign populations, especially from the East.<sup>58</sup> Foreigners would come to Egypt in order to trade with the Egyptians,<sup>59</sup> but some nomadic populations would also pose a threat to various Egyptian enterprises. The latter can be observed already in the Old Kingdom period, when king Pepy I of the 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty organised five punitive expeditions against the *Shasu*-Bedouin, all of which were led by an official named Weni, as we are informed by his self-presentation.<sup>60</sup> How serious this threat was can be deduced from the self-presentation of Pepynakht called Heqaib who mentions that under Pepy II of the 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty, the nomads managed to kill an Egyptian official called Ankhety, who was ordered to supervise the dispatch of a maritime expedition to the land of Punt.<sup>61</sup> In order to stop the growing infiltration of the foreign peoples from the East, which continued throughout the First

<sup>56</sup> A detailed analysis of this text can be found in B.U. Schipper, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun. Ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion* (OBO 209; Fribourg – Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005).

<sup>57</sup> pMoscow 120, 2.10–13; translation after the Egyptian text in A.H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1; Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Reine Élisabeth 1932) 68.

<sup>58</sup> J.K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press 1996) 52–76. For a detailed analysis of foreign presence in Egypt prior to the New Kingdom, see T. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit. II. Die ausländische Bevölkerung* (ÄAT 42/2; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2003).

<sup>59</sup> As in the famous (although slightly later) representation from the tomb of Khnumhotep III at Beni Hasan (tomb no. 3), which depicts a group of Semites led by a certain Ibsha (= Abi-Sha?); P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* (ASE 1; London: Egypt Exploration Fund 1893) I, pls. XXX–XXXI.

<sup>60</sup> *Urk.* I, 104,6–9.

<sup>61</sup> *Urk.* I, 134,13–17.



Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom, king Amenemhat I, the founder of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty, decided to build a line of fortresses at the Eastern border, known as the Wall of the Ruler.<sup>62</sup> His successors of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty, especially Senwosret III, would later construct a similar system of fortresses in the South in order to strengthen the Egyptian dominion over the newly conquered Lower Nubia.<sup>63</sup>

None of these actions were able to stop the infiltration of Egypt by foreign populations, which continued through the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, which resulted in a dynasty of foreign rulers taking over the power in the northern part of the country (see below). After the reunification of Egypt and the advent of the New Kingdom, the Egyptian rulers started a series of military campaigns, to both Syria and Nubia, as a result of which even more foreigners arrived in Egypt: either of their own will or as prisoners of war, captured during the military campaigns of the Egyptian kings.<sup>64</sup> These captives were placed in institutions attached to the temples, known as the *šnʿ*, where they were forced to do various works for the king and Egyptian gods;<sup>65</sup> alternatively, they could have been offered as servants to particularly brave soldiers as a reward for their military exploits, as attested e.g. by the following passage from the self-presentation of Ahmose, son of Ibana, who served as a soldier under Ahmose II, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty: “Then Hut-waret (i.e. Avaris) was plundered. Then I carried away the plunder from therein: 1 man and 3 women; in total: 4 (persons). Then His Majesty gave them to me as servants.”<sup>66</sup> It is important to note, however, that some of these private servants might have been eventually freed and even marry into the family of their previous owners, as suggested by the following passage from the stela of Sabastet, dated to the 27<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Thutmose III of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty: “The servant that was attributed to me personally, whose name is Ameniwy – I have brought him because of my strong arm, when I was following the (Ruler)]. (...) I have given him the daughter of my sister Nebetta to be his wife.”<sup>67</sup>

62 The exact location of these fortresses remains unknown; J.K. Hoffmeier, “‘The Walls of the Ruler’ in Egyptian Literature and the Archaeological Record: Investigating Egypt’s Eastern Frontier in the Bronze Age,” *BASOR* 343 (2006) 1–20.

63 For the Nubian fortresses of Senwosret III, see P. Tallet, *Sésostris III et la fin de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Paris: Pygmalion 2005) 53–71.

64 It should be noted, however, that prisoners of war could have been brought to Egypt already in the Old and Middle Kingdoms; T.A.H. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments* (London – New York: Kegan 2000) 141–142; H. Altenmüller, *Zwei Annalenfragmente aus dem frühen Mittleren Reiches* (SAK Beihefte 16; Hamburg: Buske 2015) 71–72.

65 Cf. the inscription of Thutmose III of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty at Karnak, in which he states that he has brought numerous prisoners of war for Amun from his first victorious campaign to Syria “in order to fill his *šnʿ*-workshop, so that they become weavers in order to make for him royal linen, fine linen, white linen, *šhrw*-linen, and the thick linen; to be cultivators in order to work the farmlands to produce grain to fill the granary of the divine offerings”; translation after the Egyptian text in *Urk.* IV, 742, 13–743, 1.

66 *Urk.* IV, 4, 10–13.

67 Stela Louvre E 11673, ll. 6–9 and 14; translation after the Egyptian text in J. de Linage, “L’acte d’établissement et le contrat de mariage d’un esclave sous Thoutmès III,” *BIFAO* 38 (1939) 219. For more information on the fate of foreigners in ancient Egypt, see A. el-M. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (CASAE 18; Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale 1952); E. Morris, “Mitanni Enslaved: Prisoners of War,

Foreigners arriving in Egypt often simply searched for a better life (this is illustrated by the biblical tales of the Israelites coming to Egypt during the famine). A special case are the mercenaries, who could have formed part of the Egyptian military corps as early as the Old Kingdom, where we see entire troops recruited from Nubian nomads known as the Medjay.<sup>68</sup> The Medjay warriors were so popular in Egypt that later on the word Medjay (*mdꜣjꜣj*), originally referring to the pastoral nomads of south Eastern Desert, came to be understood as a member of police force, regardless of whether the holder of the title was an Egyptian or a Nubian.<sup>69</sup> In the New Kingdom period we also see other mercenaries, e.g. the Shardana, belonging to the so-called Sea Peoples, serving as Ramesses II's personal guard during the battle of Qadesh (ca. 1274 BC).<sup>70</sup> The use of mercenary force has become especially popular in the Late Period, when the kings of the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty used the service of Carian and Greek mercenaries.<sup>71</sup>

It is important to note that being a foreigner in Egypt did not necessarily mean being a member of the lower social strata, as some of them might have been elevated to the highest administrative offices, including that of the *tjati* (*tꜣtj*), i.e. the chief of royal administration. This is the case of ‘Aper-El, who flourished in the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten – his clearly Semitic name might indicate that he belonged to a family of Syrian origin.<sup>72</sup> ‘Aper-El is often compared to the biblical figure of Joseph who, according to Genesis, was appointed to be the governor of Egypt. Whatever one might think of the historicity

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Pride, and Productivity in a New Imperial Regime,” *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut. Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010* (eds. J.M. Galán – B.M. Bryan – P.F. Dorman) (SAOC 69; Chicago, IL: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2014) 361–379.

68 As demonstrated e.g. by the above-mentioned self-presentation of Weni (temp. 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty) (*Urk. I*, 101,9–16), which, besides the Medjay, mentions also mercenaries from various Nubian localities. Cf. also the example of the Nubian mercenaries from Gebelien in Upper Egypt; W. Ejsmond, “Some Thoughts on Nubians in Gebelien Region during First Intermediate Period,” *Current Research in Egyptology 2018. Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Symposium, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 25–28 June 2018* (eds. M. Peterková Hlouchová *et al.*) (Oxford: Archaeopress 2019) 23–41.

69 For an in-depth study of the Medjay, see K. Liszka, “*We Have Come to Serve the Pharaoh.*” *A Study of the Medjay and Pangrave as an Ethnic Group and as Mercenaries from c. 2300 BCE until c. 1050 BCE* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, Proquest 2012).

70 For this, see H.L. Ringheim, “The Pharaoh's Fighters: Early Mercenaries in Egypt,” *A Stranger in the House – the Crossroads III. Proceedings of an International Conference on Foreigners in Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Societies of the Bronze Age Held in Prague, September 10–13, 2018* (eds. J. Mynářová – M. Kilani – S. Alivernini) (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts 2019) 341–354.

71 For this, see Ph. Kaplan, “Cross-Cultural Contacts among Mercenary Communities in Saite and Persian Egypt,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18 (2003), 1–31; A. Villing, “Mediterranean Encounters: Greeks, Carians, and Egyptians in the first millennium BC,” *Egypt and the Classical World. Cross-Cultural Encounters in Antiquity* (eds. J. Spier – S.E. Cole) (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum 2022) 15–41.

72 For ‘Aper-El, see A. Zivie, “The ‘Saga’ of Aper-El's Funerary Treasure,” *Offerings to Discerning Eye. An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson* (ed. S.H. D'Auria) (CHANE 38; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2009) 349–355; A. Zivie, “Le vizir et père du dieu ‘Aper-El (‘Abdiel),” *Egyptian Curses. I. Proceedings of the Egyptological Day Held at the National Research Council of Italy (CNR), Rome, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2012, in the International Conference ‘Reading Catastrophes. Methodological Approaches and Historical Interpretation. Earthquakes, Floods, Famines, Epidemics between Egypt and Palestine, 3<sup>rd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC. Rome, 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> December 2012, CNR – Sapienza University of Rome’* (Roma: ISMA 2014) 83–99.



of the story of Joseph,<sup>73</sup> it is important to note that, at least in theory, it was not impossible for a foreigner to be elevated to such a high rank in the land of the pharaohs.

Another interesting case is Maiherperi, a Nubian adolescent who has been buried in the Valley of the Kings in the mid-18th dynasty, which was one of the highest privileges and honours a person of non-royal origin could have hoped for.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know what was so special about Maiherperi that he was rewarded with a tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 36), but his Egyptian name *m3j-hr-prj*, which means ‘Lion-upon-the-battlefield’, might suggest that it had something to do with his military exploits, even if the details remain unclear.<sup>75</sup>

It should be stressed, however, that the examples of both ‘Aper-El and Maiherperi are somewhat tricky. The first one is usually treated as a foreigner just because he bears a Semitic name, while the other one is treated as a foreigner because of his black African physiognomy. But neither of these factors must necessarily mean that either ‘Aper-El or Maiherperi were perceived as foreigners by themselves or by their social environment. Perhaps the foreignness of both figures is but a creation of modern scholarship, whereas in reality neither the Semitic name of ‘Aper-El nor the Nubian physiognomy of Maiherperi did matter to the Egyptians of their time.<sup>76</sup> Until further research is carried out on this issue, the question must remain unresolved.

## 5. Foreign Rulers of Egypt

Throughout her history Egypt was repeatedly ruled by kings of foreign origin. It should be emphasised that this did not necessarily have to happen as a result of a foreign invasion. Quite the contrary, the growing populace of foreigners in Egypt from the First Intermediate Period up to the Middle Kingdom resulted in their representatives assuming kingship in the politically unstable time of the late Middle Kingdom / Second Intermediate Period.

73 For various positions on the historicity of the story of Joseph, see D.B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50)* (VTSup 20; Leiden: Brill 1970); J. Van Seters, *Prologue to History. The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 1992) 311–327; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 77–106; K.A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 2003) 343–352.

74 For a detailed analysis and various suggestions regarding the exact dating of the tomb of Maiherperi (KV 36), see Ch. Orsenigo, *La tombe de Maiherperi (KV 36)* (EDAL Supplements 1; Milano: Pontremoli 2016); K.C. Lakomy, ‘*Der Löwe auf dem Schlachtfeld. Das Grab 36 und die Bestattung des Maiherperi im Tal der Könige*’ (Wiesbaden: Reichert 2016). Cf. also A. Dorn, ‘Maiherperi: ein Grab – drei Bücher,’ *OLZ* 115 (2020) 1–10.

75 Which sometimes leads scholars to truly fantastic interpretations, as when Christiane Desroches Noblecourt (*La reine mystérieuse Hatshepsout* [Paris: Pygmalion 2002] 265–271) suggested that Maiherperi was a natural son of Hatshepsut of the 18th dynasty and her most trusted official Senenmut.

76 It is interesting to note that some time later king Ramesses II of the 19th dynasty would give his eldest daughter the Syrian name of Bent-Anath (“daughter of ‘Anath”), even despite the fact that she was a daughter of Ramesses II’s Egyptian wife Isisnofret and not some minor Syrian concubine. This example clearly demonstrates that bearing a foreign name does not necessarily imply foreign origin.

One of them was most likely a ruler of the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty whose name was Khendjer, a word of clear Semitic origin, meaning ‘pig’, or perhaps ‘boar’.<sup>77</sup> Another interesting example was Nehesi, the founder of the 14<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>78</sup> His name means ‘Nubian’, which at the time might have indicated a foreign, or at least southern, origin. However, it is the case of the 15<sup>th</sup> dynasty, known as the Hyksos, which seems to be most instructive.

Although the account of the early Ptolemaic historian Manetho as transmitted by Flavius Josephus describes taking over the power by the Hyksos in Egypt as a result of an invasion by a foreign people of Semitic origin,<sup>79</sup> recent research has casted serious doubt on this version of events. It seems more probable that the rulers of the 15<sup>th</sup> dynasty originated from the foreign population of the Delta, which has been infiltrating this region since the First Intermediate Period. Although at the crucial moment, the power takeover by the Hyksos might have involved the use of force, Manetho’s account of the invasion is certainly exaggerated, being partly based on the black legend of the Hyksos from later, mostly New Kingdom, sources and partly on the negative experience of the still well-remembered cruelty of the second Persian conquest under Artaxerxes III in 343 BC.<sup>80</sup> It is important to note that the term Hyksos, being a Greek misrepresentation of the Egyptian term *ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt* (‘rulers of foreign desert countries’), should not be understood as a designation of the entire foreign people, but as a designation of the rulers of the 15<sup>th</sup> dynasty exclusively.<sup>81</sup> It has been pointed out that, contrary to an opinion which became quite widespread in Egyptology, it is not the Egyptian sources that use this term to refer to the rulers of the 15<sup>th</sup> dynasty, but it is the Hyksos themselves who refer to themselves as *ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt*.<sup>82</sup> We know that Hyksos rulers did their best to follow traditional patterns of Egyptian kingship, yet the employment of the reference to the foreign countries in their official titulary might indicate that they did perceive themselves to be at least to some extent linked with other traditions as well.

Apparently, the more traditionally oriented Egyptians were not satisfied with being ruled by a foreign dynasty, which resulted in the actions undertaken by the Theban rulers

77 K.S.B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800–1550 B.C.* (CNI Publications 20; Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, University of Copenhagen – Museum Tusulanum Press 1997) 220–221.

78 For Nehesi, see M. Bietak, “Zum Königreich des ʿ3-zḥ-rꜥ Nehesi”, *SAK* 11 (1984) 59–75; M. Bietak, “König Nehesi in Avaris/Tell el-Dab’a als levantinischer König und die Plünderung der memphitischen Elite-Nekropolen in der Zeit der 14. Dynastie”, *Spuren der altägyptischen Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Stephan J. Seidlmayer* (eds. R. Bussmann et al.) (ZÄS Beihefte 14; Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2022) 233–277. For other rulers of the 14<sup>th</sup> dynasty – which, however, bore Semitic rather than Nubian names – see Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 251–256. Cf. also T. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit. I. Die ausländischen Könige* (ÄAT 42/1; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1998) 99–122.

79 Josephus, *Ag. Ap.*, 1.14, §§ 73–92 = Manetho, fr. 42 (LCL 350, 76–91).

80 R.E. Gmirkin, *Berosus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus. Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch* (New York – London: Clark 2006) 192–214.

81 D. Candelora, “Entangled in Orientalism: How the Hyksos Became a Race,” *Journal of Egyptian History* 11 (2018) 45–72. For the Hyksos kings, see Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten*, I, 31–98.

82 D. Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos: A Reevaluation of the Title *Hkꜣ Hꜣswt* and Its Implications for Hyksos Identity,” *JARCE* 53 (2017) 203–221. A notable exception is the mention of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title in the Turin Canon; A.H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford: Griffith Institute 1959) pl. III. col. X.

Seqenenra Taa and Kamose of the 17<sup>th</sup> dynasty to expel the Hyksos rulers from Egypt.<sup>83</sup> These efforts were successfully concluded with the reunification of Egypt by Ahmose II, considered to be the founder of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty. By this time, the Hyksos rule in Egypt was perceived as a negative thing as demonstrated by the following passage from the historical inscription of Hatshepsut from the so-called Speos Artemidos in Middle Egypt: “I have raised what had been ruined since the time when the Asiatics were in the midst of Hut-waret, and the nomads, who were among them, were destroying what had been done before for they have ruled without Ra.”<sup>84</sup>

Even if the portrayal of the Hyksos in Hatshepsut’s inscription is certainly far from being accurate,<sup>85</sup> it seems that by the New Kingdom the Hyksos came to be perceived as illegitimate kings,<sup>86</sup> which later influenced the account of Manetho concerning their elevation to kingship.

Yet, foreign rule in Egypt was not necessarily inconceivable. After the death of Akhenaten, his female successor Neferneferuaten sent a message to the Hittite king Šuppiluliumas I asking him to send his son to Egypt so that he might become her husband and, consequently, the king of Egypt. The Hittite sources inform us that Šuppiluliumas I decided to send his son Zannanza to Egypt, but the unlucky prince never got there because he was assassinated on the way. Apparently not all influential officials were keen on having a foreigner on the throne, but the very idea of negotiating with the Hittites proves the rule that desperate times call for desperate measures, even if the latter eventually failed.<sup>87</sup>

The situation changed significantly by the end of the New Kingdom. The growing weakness of the central power under the last Ramesside rulers of the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty resulted in removing Ramesses XI from effective power,<sup>88</sup> which was seized by the high priest of

83 The Egyptian dissatisfaction with the Hyksos rule in the North is most clearly expressed in the following passage from the first stela of Kamose preserved in the so-called Carnarvon Tablet 1: ‘I should like to know what is the use of my power, if one ruler is in Hut-waret (i.e. Avaris) and another one in Kush, and I am sitting (here), being united with a *Nebsi* and a *Aamu* (i.e. with a Nubian and an Asiatic)’; Carnarvon Tablet 1, l. 3; translation after the Egyptian text in W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 2 ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1983) 83.

84 Speos Artemidos inscription, cols. 36–39; translation after the Egyptian text in J.P. Allen, “The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut,” *BES* 16 (2002) pl. 2.

85 For this, see D.B. Redford, “The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty,” *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (eds. D. O’Connor – D.P. Silverman) (PAe 9; Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1995) 170–171; F. Taterka, “Were Ancient Egyptian Kings Literate?,” *SAK* 46 (2017) 282–283.

86 It should be noted that although Hyksos kings were listed in the Turin Canon (cf. above), the extant fragments suggest that their names have been written without the royal cartouche, which might indicate that their legitimacy was called into question by later Egyptians.

87 For the so-called Zannanza affair, see M. Gabolde, *Toutankhamon* (Paris: Pygmalion 2015) 60–81. According to him, Zannanza should be identified with the phantom king Smenkhkara, while Neferneferuaten is to be identified with Meritaten, Akhenaten’s eldest daughter. For other interpretations, see the references cited in *ibid.*

88 The weakening position of Ramesses XI is best reflected in the following passage from the contemporary letter of general Payankh: “As for the Pharaoh – may he live, may he prosper, may he be healthy! – whose superior is he after all?”; pBerlin 10487, rt. 9 – vrs. 1 (= Late Ramesside Letter 21). Translation after the Egyptian text in

Amun Herihor in the South and Nesbanebdjedet (Smendes) in the North, both possibly of Libyan origin.<sup>89</sup> The continued migration of Libyan peoples to Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period resulted in the seizure of power by another Libyan: Sheshonq I, who thus inaugurated the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty.<sup>90</sup> However, the Libyans were unable to rule over the whole of Egypt, which resulted in the advent of concurrent centres of power ruled by what is known as the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> dynasties, also of Libyan origin. This internal chaos came to an end with the advent of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty, this time of Nubian origin. King Piankhy of Napata organised a successful military campaign to Egypt, in which he defeated a number of Libyan rulers and chieftains led by king Tefnakht I of the 24<sup>th</sup> dynasty and managed to reunite Egypt.<sup>91</sup> It is of crucial importance that both Piankhy and his successors from the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty perceived themselves as Egyptians of Nubian origin, which means that they ruled Egypt as Egyptians being entrusted with power by Amun,<sup>92</sup> and not as Nubians who would take revenge for centuries of Egyptian occupation of Nubia. This means that they tried to present themselves as rightful kings of Egypt (even if they kept some of their local Nubian traditions), and especially more rightful than their Libyan counterparts.<sup>93</sup> When the Nubian rule was abruptly interrupted by the Assyrian conquest of Egypt, a new dynasty emerged in Sais. These new rulers of the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty not only decided to erase the names and images of the Nubian rulers from official representations, but one of them, Psammetichus II, even organised a military expedition to Nubia to annihilate Nubian claims to Egyptian throne once and for all.<sup>94</sup> In doing so, the rulers of the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty portrayed themselves as rightful kings of Egypt who modelled themselves on traditional patterns from even the most ancient times. It is, indeed, an irony, given that they had not only collaborated with the Assyrians in

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J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 9; Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth 1939) 36,11–12.

89 For the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, see S.R.W. Gregory, *Herihor in Art and Iconography. Kingship and the Gods in the Ritual Landscape of Late New Kingdom Thebes* (London: Golden House Publications 2014); F. Payraudeau, *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil. III. Les époques tardives (1069–332 av. J.-C.)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France 2020) 45–73.

90 K. Jansen-Winkel, “Der thebanische ‘Gottesstaat,’” *Or* 70 (2001) 153–182.

91 This has been described in detail in his victory stela; N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086–47089* (Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne I; Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale 1981); A. Spalinger, *The Books behind the Masks. Sources of Warfare Leadership in Ancient Egypt* (CHANE 124; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2021) 350–395.

92 Cf. the following passage from Piankhy's victory stela: “Know that Amun is the god who sent us!”; stela JE 48862+47086–47089, l. 12; translation after the Egyptian text in K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit. II. Die 22.–24. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2007) 339.

93 Ritner, “Libyan vs. Nubian,” 305–314.

94 For the Nubian expedition of Psammetichus II, see R.B. Gozzoli, *Psammetichus II. Reign, Documents and Officials* (GHP Egyptology 25; London: Golden House Publishing 2017) 45–71.

the first place,<sup>95</sup> but also, as recent research has shown, were of Libyan rather than Egyptian origin.<sup>96</sup>

With the conquest of Egypt by the Persians in 526 BC<sup>97</sup> the land of the pharaohs for the first time in her history became part of a larger empire. The Egyptians managed to liberate themselves for a brief period of 404–343 BC, encompassing the reigns of the last indigenous dynasties: 28<sup>th</sup>–30<sup>th</sup>, only to be subsequently conquered again by the Persians, Greeks (and Macedonians), and Romans. Despite Egypt's new situation of a dependent state the Egyptians apparently did not cease to perceive their homeland as a place of special status. This can be illustrated by the inscriptions carved on the base of the Egyptian statue of the Persian king Darius I discovered at Susa.<sup>98</sup> It features a topographical list of various states forming Darius I's empire. These are personified by kneeling figures with their hands raised in adoration. Underneath the figures, the names of the states are inscribed in hieroglyphic script inside crenelated ovals. In almost every instance, the name of the state is inscribed with a determinative representing three desert hills, which is a common Egyptian practice of writing down the names of foreign localities. The only exception is the name of Egypt herself, which is followed by a *njw*-determinative, characteristic of writing down the names of Egyptian localities. The ideology behind this usage seems to be connected with the idea that foreign localities belong to the desert and uninhabitable space, while Egyptian localities belong to the inhabitable space. This means that in the particular case of Darius I's topographical lists, Egypt, despite being just one of the Persian satrapies, is subtly singled out as the only place that is good enough to live in. Later on, the same phenomenon can be observed in the early Roman Period, when the name of Rome inscribed in hieroglyphic texts is also followed by the *h3st*-determinative, indicating that, from the Egyptian perspective, Rome belonged to the uninhabitable and hostile part of the world in contrast to Egypt herself, understood as the seat of harmony, order, and civilisation. It should be noted, however, that the perception of foreign localities could have changed over time. This is best illustrated by the spelling of the name of Napata, the capital of the kingdom of Kush. In the hieroglyphic texts dated to the New Kingdom period, the name is inscribed with the *h3st*-determinative, as at that time Napata was considered to be an enemy territory. But when the Kushite kings of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty eventually ascended the Egyptian throne,

95 Necho I and his son Psammetichus I (under the Akkadian name of Nabû-šezibanni) are mentioned in Aššurbanipal's texts describing his conquest of Egypt in 667 BC as governors appointed by the Assyrian king over Sais and Athribis respectively. According to Aššurbanipal, Necho I was appointed as the governor of Sais already by his father Esarhaddon during his earlier campaign in 671 BC; D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. II. *Historical Records of Assyria from Sargon to the End* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press 1927) 293–295; §§ 771 and 774.

96 For the Libyan origins of the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty, see O. Perdu, "De Stéphinatès à Nécho ou les débuts de la XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie," *CRAI* 146/4 (2002) 1215–1244.

97 For the correction of the date of the Persian conquest of Egypt from 525 to 526 BC, see J.F. Quack, "Zum Datum der persischen Eroberung Ägyptens unter Kambyzes," *Journal of Egyptian History* 4/2 (2011) 228–246.

98 M. Roaf, "The Subject Peoples on the Base of the Statue of Darius," *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 4 (1974) 73–160.



Napata, their place of origin, could no longer be viewed as foreign and hostile, but rather as an essential part of the Egyptian state. This is why the determinative following this toponym was changed to the *njw*-sign, as we can see in the inscriptions dated to the reign of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Eventually, the same thing happened with the hieroglyphic spelling of the name of Rome, where the *h3st*-determinative in the inscriptions dated to the early Roman Period was replaced with the *njw*-sign once the imperial power over the ancient land of the pharaohs became firmly established.<sup>99</sup>

## 6. Foreigners as Neighbours

As we have seen, foreigners could participate in the life of ancient Egyptian society at all its levels. They could be either slaves and house servants, or simple craftsmen, but also members of the highest elite, holding most important offices in the realm, including that of the king. Some of them have certainly kept their traditional ways by living in enclaves, but others tried (or were forced to) assimilate with the Egyptians. One of the best examples of what is known as Egyptianization can be seen in Nubia, where local elites could adopt Egyptian customs (be it only in funerary art or in real life) in order to be recognised as full members of the society.<sup>100</sup> In fact, the Egyptianization of Nubia was so strong that, as we have seen, Kushite rulers would eventually reunite the Two Lands as legitimate Egyptian pharaohs, adopting pharaonic ideological image to such extent that some rulers of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty would use equipment decorated with representations of defeated Nubian (!) enemies.<sup>101</sup> Later on, the pharaonic artistic conventions would be adopted also by the Napatan and Meroitic rulers long after the kings of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty lost control over Egypt. Both Napatan and Meroitic rulers would also use hieroglyphic script and Egyptian language in their official inscriptions<sup>102</sup> and there is a number of scenes in which they are depicted in traditional Egyptian smiting scenes, but whereas the Egyptian models usually portrayed pharaohs defeating foreign enemies, in the Napatan and Meroitic examples we usually see

99 F. Taterka, “The Meaning of the *njw*-Hieroglyph: Towards a Definition of a City in Ancient Egypt,” *The Land of Fertility II. The Southeast Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Muslim Conquest* (eds. Ł. Miszk – M. Waclawik) (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars 2017) 25–29.

100 It should be noted, however, that adopting Egyptian customs did not mean the total abandonment of the traditional native ways; see, for this, Smith, *Wretched Kush*, 97–166; Smith, “Ethnicity,” 131–140. For the Egyptianization of other parts of the Egyptian empire, see C.R. Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine. Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery* (CHANE 2; Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln: Brill 2000).

101 D. Dunham, *El Kurru* (The Royal Cemeteries of Kush I; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1950) 69, no. 19–3-1581a with pl. XXXIV.E (tomb of Shabataka).

102 Cf. e.g. J. Kuckertz, “Meroitic Temples and their Decoration,” *Handbook of Ancient Nubia* (ed. D. Raue) (Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2019) II, 822, fig. 6; S. Wenig, “Art of the Meroitic Kingdom,” *Handbook of Ancient Nubia* (ed. D. Raue) (Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2019) II, 863, fig. 17.

Nubian kings smiting Nubian enemies.<sup>103</sup> However, it is important to note that Nubian elites kept a number of their original customs, as can be seen for example in the Nubian enthronement ritual which, although partly modelled on the Egyptian rite, was enhanced with many local traditions of Nubia.<sup>104</sup>

As time went by, Egyptian society came to be far more heterogenous than before the New Kingdom period.<sup>105</sup> But living in a mixed society could occasionally lead to some tensions: one of the best examples comes from the Aramaic documents produced by the Jewish community formed at the Elephantine island after the Babylonian conquest of the Kingdom of Judah.<sup>106</sup> From these documents we learn that the Jewish custom of offering a sacrificial lamb to YHW<sup>107</sup> was unpleasant to the priests of Khnum, particularly worshipped at Elephantine and represented as a man with a ram's head, as it was apparently considered blasphemy against the Egyptian god. Moreover, the fact that the Jews presented a rather positive attitude towards the Persians in the wake of Egyptian rebellion did not win them sympathy among the Egyptians. As a result, the Egyptians decided to sack and destroy the Jewish shrine dedicated to YHW, which became the subject of an official request for the letter of recommendation addressed by the priest Jedaniah and his colleagues to Bagavahya, the governor of Juda under Darius II.<sup>108</sup>

Sometimes, however, it is the Egyptians who lived abroad in the Egyptian outposts in foreign lands, e.g. in the Middle Kingdom fortresses in Nubia or New Kingdom garrisons in Syria-Palestine.<sup>109</sup> An interesting example is found in the Middle Kingdom *Tale of Sinuhe*,

103 See, e.g., N.-C. Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes au Musée du Caire JE 48863–48866* (Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne 2; Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale 1981).

104 E. Kormysheva, "Das Inthronisationsritual des Königs von Meroe," *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm (Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und im Mainz 1992)* (eds. R. Gundlach – M. Rochholz) (HÄB 37; Hildesheim: Gerstenberg 1994) 187–210; E. Kormysheva, "Festkalender im Kawa-Tempel," *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung Köln, 10.–12. Oktober 1996. Feste im Tempel* (eds. R. Gundlach – M. Rochholz) (ÄAT 33/2; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1998) 77–89.

105 An interesting example of this heterogeneity of the Egyptian society in the New Kingdom is the stela Berlin 14122 representing a Syrian mercenary drinking beer from a jar using a straw in the company of his Egyptian wife and child; Smith, "Ethnicity," 130.

106 These documents have been published by B. Porten, "Aramaic Texts," *The Elephantine Papyri in English. Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (eds. B. Porten et al.) (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1996) 74–276.

107 In contrast to their compatriots in Israel and Juda, the Jews from Elephantine worshipped their deity under the name of YHW in the company of his wife 'Anath-Ber'el (also known under the name of 'Anath-Yaho) and their son 'Ashim-Ber'el; J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt. From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (trans. R. Cornman; Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society 1995) 37.

108 Porten, "Aramaic Texts," 139–144, text no. B19. For more on the conflict between the Elephantine Jews and the Egyptians, see Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 21–44.

109 See, for this, B. Kraemer – K. Liszka, "Evidence for Administration of the Nubian Fortresses in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Semna Dispatches," *Journal of Egyptian History* 9/1 (2016) 1–65; K. Liszka – B. Kraemer, "Evidence for Administration of the Nubian Fortresses in the Late Middle Kingdom: P. Ramesseum 18," *Journal of Egyptian History* 9/2 (2016) 151–208.



describing the fate of an Egyptian official who, for unknown reasons,<sup>110</sup> decided to flee from Egypt and was forced to live among foreigners for great part of his life. Eventually, king Senwosret I of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty summoned him back to Egypt with the following words: “Your death will not happen in a foreign land and you will not be buried by the *Aamu*. You will not be put in the skin of a ram, but your tomb will be made, for it is too long to roam the earth. Think of your corpse and return!”<sup>111</sup> This demonstrates how important observing the traditional customs of their religion was for the Egyptians. The lack of a tomb in Egypt meant the non-existence of funerary cult, which would result in an inability to continue one’s existence in the afterlife.<sup>112</sup> Texts from other periods inform us that when an Egyptian died abroad while executing a mission imposed on him by the king, the Egyptians would organise another expedition only to bring his body back to Egypt so that he could be properly buried.<sup>113</sup>

## 7. Foreigners as Source of Inspiration

It has been rightly observed that identity is a process rather than an unchangeable essence. This means that one’s identity is constantly shaped and reshaped due to, among other things, contact with others – this rule applies to both individual as well as group identity.<sup>114</sup> This means that when we are dealing with two or more social groups we have to bear in mind that changing identity is never a one-directional process. In this particular case this means that contacts between Egyptians and foreigners resulted not only in the adaptation to the Egyptian customs by the foreigners living in Egypt, but also in the adoption of various foreign customs by the Egyptians. One of the spheres in which the foreign influence is best visible is undoubtedly technology. Among the most important technological innovations that have been adopted from abroad we can enumerate bronze and iron (adopted in the early and late

110 For a survey of the hypotheses trying to explain the reasons of Sinuhe’s flight, see C. Obsomer, “Sinouhé l’Égyptien et les raisons de son exil,” *Mus* 112 (1999) 207–271.

111 *Sin.* B 197–199. It is also important to note that when Sinuhe finally arrives back in Egypt, he needs to be re-transformed from an Asiatic he has become to an Egyptian in order to properly prepare himself for the afterlife; cf. *Sin.* B 290–295.

112 The importance of the tomb for the survival in the afterlife can be perceived through the following passage from the *Instructions of Djedefhor* (§ 2.1–4): “You should build your house for your son, for I have made the place which you are in. Prepare your house of the necropolis and perfect your place of the West! Receive (these words) as death is bitter to us, receive (them) as life is exalted to us, for the house of death is for life!”; translation after the Egyptian text in W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Djedefhor und die Lehre eines Vaters an seinen Sohn* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1984) 6–7.

113 Cf. the above-mentioned expedition to retrieve the body of Ankhty led by Pepynakht, called Heqaib (*Urk.* I, 134,13–17), as well as another one led by Sabni to retrieve the body of his father Mekhu, who died on a mission in Nubia under Pepy II (*Urk.* I, 135,1–140,11).

114 Candelora, “Egyptianization of Egypt,” 103–110.

2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, respectively)<sup>115</sup> as well as chariots and horses, introduced to Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period under the Hyksos influence.<sup>116</sup> It is also important to note that the introduction of new technology did not exclusively affect the strategy of individual battles but also, in broader perspective, the ethos of fighting. Recent research and findings suggests that the well-known Egyptian practice of cutting off the hands of slain enemies might have been inspired by the Hyksos practice, just like another well-known custom of rewarding the bravery of soldiers with the so-called gold of valour – both being otherwise unattested prior to the early New Kingdom period.<sup>117</sup>

Another important innovation introduced under foreign influence was money, which appeared in Egypt in the reigns of Teos and Nectanebo II of the 30<sup>th</sup> dynasty, so that the kings could pay their Greek mercenaries for their service.<sup>118</sup> Coins became more widespread in Egypt with the advent of the Ptolemaic Period.

The reception of foreign motifs is also attested in art. One of the most striking examples is the decoration of the Egyptian palace at Tell ed-Dab'a, the former capital of the Hyksos, where depictions of the dance with the bulls as known from the so-called 'Minoan' palaces on Crete were discovered. It is important to emphasise that the decoration of the palace

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- 115 W. Helck, "Bronze," *L'AI*, 870–871; W. Helck, "Eisen," *L'AI*, 1209–1210; J. Ogden, "Metals," *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (eds. P.T. Nicholson – I. Shaw) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000) 149–161 and 166–168. It should be noted, however, that iron was known in Egypt long before the late 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium in the form of meteoritic iron.
- 116 P. Vernus, "Réception linguistique et idéologique d'une nouvelle technologie: le cheval dans la civilisation pharaonique," *The Knowledge Economy and Technological Capabilities. Egypt, the Near East and the Mediterranean 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium B.C. – 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium A.D. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the Maison de la Chimie, Paris, France, 9–10 December 2005* (ed. M. Wissa) (AuOr Supplementa 26; Sabadell [Barcelona]: Ausa 2009) 1–46; D. Candelora, "Hybrid Military Communities of Practice: The Integration of Immigrants as the Catalyst for Egyptian Social Transformation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC," *A Stranger in the House – the Crossroads III. Proceedings of an International Conference on Foreigners in Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Societies of the Bronze Age Held in Prague, September 10–13, 2018* (eds. J. Mynářová – M. Kilani – S. Alivernini) (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts 2019) 30–36.
- 117 Foreign inspiration for the practice of severing hands of slain enemies is suggested by the discovery of a cache with hands in the Hyksos Palace in Area F/II at Tell ed-Dab'a; M. Bietak, "The Archaeology of the 'Gold of Valour,'" *EA* 40 (2012) 32–33; Candelora, "Hybrid Military Communities," 38–39; cf., however, D. Candelora, "Trophy or Punishment: Reinterpreting the Tell el-Dab'a Hand Cache within Middle Bronze Age Legal Traditions," *The Enigma of the Hyksos. I. ASOR Conference Boston 2017 – ICAANE Conference Munich 2018 – Collected Papers* (eds. M. Bietak – S. Prell) (CAENL 9; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2019) 95–106; D. Candelora, "Grisly Trophies: Severed Hands and the Egyptian Military Reward System," *NEA* 84 (2021) 192–199. However, it is important to note that although the practice of rewarding soldiers with gold for their military exploits is not attested before the New Kingdom, the very practice of rewarding royal officials with gold is attested as early as the Old Kingdom period; Ćwiek, *Relief Decoration*, 260–262.
- 118 For these early coins, see T. Faucher – W. Fischer-Bossert – S. Dhennin, "Les monnaies en or aux types hiéroglyphiques *nwb* (sic! – FT.) *nfr*," *BIFAO* 112 (2012) 147–170. For recent suggestions that some objects might be identified as equivalent to coins as early as the reign of Tutankhamun of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty and even of Djedefra of the 4<sup>th</sup> dynasty, see M. Valloggia, "Note sur deux lingots d'argent de Toutânkhamon," *RdE* 68 (2017–2018) 141–152; M. Valloggia, "Une monnaie de compte de l'époque de Rêdjedef provenant d'Abou Rawash," *Dans les pas d'Imhotep. Mélanges offerts à Audran Labrousse* (ed. R. Legros) (Orient & Méditerranée 36; Leuven: Peeters 2021) 113–116.

was done using Cretan rather than Egyptian technique, which suggests that Cretan artists might have been involved in its production.<sup>119</sup>

Foreign deities could also have been included in the Egyptian pantheon. This is especially true of Syrian deities, such as Ba‘al, Hauron, Astate, ‘Anath, Qadesh, or Reshep, but also Nubian deities, such as Dedwen or Mandulis.<sup>120</sup> It is important to note that these gods were worshipped not only by the foreign minorities in Egypt, but also by the Egyptians themselves. Moreover, some of them feature in official royal iconography and texts describing the king.<sup>121</sup> Interestingly, some of the foreign localities also came to be understood as the sacred seats of Egyptian gods. One of the best known examples is the mountain called Gebel Barkal in Nubia, a natural rock formation that to the Egyptians resembled a gigantic uraeus-snake – an emblem of Egyptian kings and gods. As a result, the temple of Amun at Karnak came to be understood as the Egyptian equivalent of the true seat of Amun in Gebel Barkal, which found its reflection in both sites sharing its Egyptian name of *Ipet sut* (*jp.t s.wt*), i.e. ‘the most distinguished of places’.<sup>122</sup> Another example is the aforementioned land of Punt which seems to have been understood as the earthly seat of the sun-god, which eventually resulted in its complete dissociation from any geographic reality and final transformation into a mythical locality.<sup>123</sup>

We should also note the growing presence of foreign words in the Egyptian language. In Middle Egyptian, only a relatively small number of words of foreign origin could have been identified. This changed in the late New Kingdom with the introduction of Late Egyptian to official inscriptions: this stage of the Egyptian language was filled with various foreign loanwords, usually of Semitic origin.<sup>124</sup> In later times we can observe also some Nubian loanwords in the inscriptions of the kings of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. In the Ptolemaic

119 For this, see M. Bietak, “Egypt and the Aegean: Cultural Convergence in a Thutmoside Palace at Avaris,” *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh* (eds. C.H. Roehrig – R. Dreyfus – C.A. Keller) (New York – New Haven, CT – London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art – Yale University Press 2005) 75–81. For other examples, see L. Morgan, “An Aegean Griffin in Egypt”: The Hunt Frieze at Tell el-Dab‘a,” *AeL* 20 (2010) 303–323. For further evidence of Aegean presence in Egypt, see Sh. Wachsmann, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* (OLA 20; Leuven: Peeters 1987) along with the important critical remarks in U. Matić, “‘Minoans’, *kftjw* and the ‘Islands in the Middle of *w3d wr*’ beyond Ethnicity,” *AeL* 24 (2014) 275–292.

120 For these foreign deities, see R.H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson 2003) 101–102 (Ba‘al), 105 (Dedwen), 108–109 (Hauron), 114–115 (Mandulis), 126–127 (Reshep), 137 (‘Anath), 138–139 (Astarte), 164 (Qadesh).

121 See, for this, N.-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre* (Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne 4; Paris: Imprimerie nationale – Diffusion de Boccard 1986) 393–395. Cf. also the famous statue of Ramesses II under the protection of Hauron (JE 64735+63159); H. Sourouzian, *Catalogue de la statuaire royale de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Bibliothèque d’études 177; Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire 2019) 412–413, no. 263.

122 As rightly pointed out by Smith, “Ethnicity,” 130.

123 Taterka, “The Flight of King Ptolemy X Alexander I,” 229–349.

124 For these, see Hoch, *Semitic Words*; J. Winand, “Identifying Semitic Loanwords in Late Egyptian,” *Greek Influence on Egyptian-Coptic. Contact-Induced Change in an Ancient African Language* (eds. E. Grossmann et al.) (Hamburg: Widmaier 2017) 481–511. It is noteworthy that ca. 18% of the Semitic loanwords in Late Egyptian relates to military technology; Candelora, “Hybrid Military Communities,” 36–38.

and Roman Periods, due to the introduction of Greek as one of the official languages of the kingdom, we may see a number of Greek loanwords in both classical Egyptian and Demotic languages. This would result in many Greek loanwords in Coptic, the last known stage of the Egyptian language.<sup>125</sup>

## Conclusions

As stated above, this short study can only briefly discuss the variety of attitudes of the ancient Egyptians towards foreigners, with no pretension to being exhaustive. But what results from the preceding lines is the conclusion that ancient Egypt should not be readily and somewhat anachronistically accused of xenophobia, as the available evidence demonstrates that Egyptian attitudes towards foreigners were far more complex, often depending on the specific context, such as time, place, origin of the foreigner and social status of the Egyptian concerned. When dealing with the portrayal of the foreigners in ancient Egyptian literature, Antonio Loprieno pointed out that we can discern in it a constant struggle between the *topos* and the *mimesis*, i.e. the stereotyped and more realistic image of the foreigner.<sup>126</sup> It seems that this perspective might be extended to other spheres as well, since in the Egyptian material of all periods, it is possible to discern precisely this interplay between the stereotyped portrayal of the foreigners (perceptible mainly in official representations) and the more nuanced and perhaps historically more faithful image of foreign peoples and individuals which can be deduced from other sources.<sup>127</sup> It is also important to note that although foreigners were almost exclusively depicted as enemies in the Old and Middle Kingdoms – when the percentage of foreign population in Egypt was either extremely small or virtually non-existent – the social roles assigned to foreigners became far more diverse from the New Kingdom onwards, when they became an essential part of the pharaonic society, transforming it on an unprecedented scale. This only seems to prove the rule that people fear what they do not know, but once they get to know it, it gradually ceases to frighten them – a lesson which may still be important for our modern societies.

125 For these, see the papers collected in E. Grossmann *et al.* (eds.), *Greek Influence on Egyptian-Coptic. Contact-Induced Change in an Ancient African Language* (Hamburg: Widmaier 2017).

126 A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis. Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (ÄgAbh 48; Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 1988).

127 Such a perspective has been applied e.g. by Smith, "Ethnicity," 113–146.

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## The Translation of the Septuagint by Rev. Prof. Remigiusz Popowski. History, Editions, Significance and an Analysis of Translation Strategy and Techniques

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**ABSTRACT:** Newer and newer Bible translations from original languages tend to appear regularly. Their authors pursue a plethora of strategies, from interlinear to philological to dynamic ones, taking as the source text not only the Hebrew, but also the Greek canon. Since the 1980s, the books of the Greek Bible have been translated into German, English, Italian, Spanish and French; ten years ago, this group was complemented by the Polish rendering made by Rev. Prof. Remigiusz Popowski. Though enthusiastically received, the text was not much researched. This article is intended to make up for this paucity and present the Polish text of the Septuagint from the perspective of its bibliological process and that of descriptive translation studies: a brief account of its historical background, the author of the translation, a record of editions and the significance for the Polish biblical milieu is followed by a closer analysis and exemplification of strategies and techniques adopted by the author.

**KEYWORDS:** Bible translations, Septuagint, translation studies, translation strategies, translation techniques

The Second Vatican Council is understood to have encouraged new translations (or revisions of older renderings) of the Bible into various languages.<sup>1</sup> And new translations did emerge, not only from the Hebrew canon, but also from the Greek one, the Septuagint<sup>2</sup>. This article appears in the wake of the publication of the first Polish translation of the Greek Bible and pursues two objectives: (i) to recount the background and significance of the Polish text of the Septuagint for the Polish culture, Bible and translation studies; and

1 Second Vatican Council, *Dei Verbum*, no. 22: “But since the word of God should be accessible at all times, the Church by her authority and with maternal concern sees to it that suitable and correct translations are made into different languages, especially from the original texts of the sacred books. And should the opportunity arise and the Church authorities approve, if these translations are produced in cooperation with the separated brethren as well, all Christians will be able to use them.”

2 Cf. M. Rosik, “New Translations of the Bible and Biblical Commentaries in Poland,” *BibAn* 9/4 (2019) 783–788; M.S. Wróbel, “Conference Report: Biblical Studies in Poland in the Context of Current Tendencies. SBL Meeting, Berlin, 7–11 of August, 2017,” *BibAn* 9/4 (2019) 781–830; M. Majewski, *Jak przekłady zmieniają Biblię. O przekładach i przekładaniu Pisma Świętego raz jeszcze*, 2 ed. (Kraków [s.n.]: 2019) 170–200.

(ii) to pose and consider a research question: what strategy was adopted by its author and whether it was followed consistently. To this end, the paper will briefly present the Polish translation, its author, editions and reception and, successively, an excerpt from translation theory with a small-scale analysis of the Polish LXX text from the perspective of translation studies. The first objective seems important to justify addressing the research question for this particular publication; it will be met by means of the method developed for the bibliographical process.<sup>3</sup> For the second part, the descriptive translation approach will be applied: a qualitative analysis of parallel Greek and Polish texts will be offered with one illustrative example of the quantitative analysis of grammar marker distribution.

## 1. The Historical Background of the Septuagint Translations

The Septuagint has been highly valued and, as mentioned, became the source text<sup>4</sup> for numerous renderings in other languages. Starting from the “earliest daughter-version of the Septuagint,”<sup>5</sup> an Old Latin translation, scholars indicate that between the second and ninth centuries, the text was converted to Egyptian (Coptic), Ethiopian, Arabic, Gothic,<sup>6</sup> Armenian, Georgian and Slavonic.<sup>7</sup> LXX also became the input text for translations into “Bohairic, Sahidic, Akhmimic, Fayyumic and Bashmuric; translations into [...] Amharic [...], Syriac (Philoxenian) and Old Slavonic.”<sup>8</sup> It is important to note that it is the Septuagint that was used by St Jerome for turning into Latin one of the two versions of the Psalter, the so-called *Psalterium Gallicanum*, later to become the basis for Wujek’s translation into Polish.<sup>9</sup>

After a period of lesser interest in the Septuagint during the medieval times and a relatively short surge of research sparked during the Renaissance, it was the 19th century that marked a new wave of translations of the Greek Bible into modern languages. To date, we have LXX rendered in a few major languages: English (most numerous),<sup>10</sup> German

3 R. Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum. Historia Biblii w języku polskim. V. Biblia Tysiąclecia (1965–2015)* (Poznań: Pallottinum 2015) 34.

4 Second Vatican Council, *Dei Verbum*, no. 22: “Easy access to Sacred Scripture should be provided for all the Christian faithful. That is why the Church from the very beginning accepted as her own that very ancient Greek translation of the Old Testament which is called the septuagint; and she has always given a place of honor to other Eastern translations and Latin ones especially the Latin translation known as the vulgate.”

5 H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1914) 80–81, <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/s/swete/greekot/cache/greekot.pdf> [access: 27.11.2021]; E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN – Assen: Fortress – Royal Van Gorcum 2007) 139.

6 The so-called *Wulfila Bible* from the 4th century; see <http://www.wulfila.be/> [access: 19.03.2022].

7 Swete, *Introduction*, 80–81.

8 S. Jędrzejewski, “Septuaginta – Biblia helleńskiego judaizmu,” *RBL* 58/4 (2005) 262.

9 R. Pietkiewicz, *In Search of “the Genuine Word of God.” Reception of the West-European Christian Hebraism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Renaissance* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2020) 186, 200.

10 Into English the Septuagint was first translated by Charles Thomson in 1808 (cf. K.H. Jobes – M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2000] 75), then by Lancelot C.L. Brenton (*The*

(*Septuaginta Deutsch*, 2009),<sup>11</sup> French (*La Bible D'Alexandrie*),<sup>12</sup> Spanish (*La Biblia griega – Septuaginta* published since 2008),<sup>13</sup> Italian,<sup>14</sup> and recently Polish.

The translations of the Greek Bible into Polish – apart from the deuterocanonical books – were first limited to the Greek Psalter: indirectly the Polish believers became familiar with this version<sup>15</sup> through Jerome's *Psalterium Gallicanum* in Jakub Wujek's interpretation. Lately (1996), the Greek text of the Psalter was translated and footnoted by Antoni Tronina.<sup>16</sup> In 2008, an interlinear translation of seven Greek books (Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach and Baruch) was published by Michał Wojciechowski.<sup>17</sup> The rendering of the entire Septuagint into Polish was accomplished by Remigiusz Popowski. This translation – the subject of this paper – was first published in 2013 by the Publishing Office Vocatio as the 37th volume in the series Prymasowska Seria Biblijna (under the patronage of the Polish Primate) as *Septuaginta czyli Biblia Starego Testamentu wraz z księgami deuterokanonicznymi oraz apokryfami* (The Septuagint or the Bible of the Old Testament with the Deuterocanonical Books and Apocrypha). This volume with 53

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*Early Church Bible. A Reader's Edition of the Septuagint and New Testament* [2018] [Kindle Edition]) (based on Codex Vaticanus with apocrypha) in 1854. Contemporary English translations include the 2003 interlinear Greek-English version of the *Apostolic Bible Polyglot* (<https://apostolicbible.com/> [access: 19.01.2022]), *Orthodox Study Bible* (Nashville, TN: Nelson 2008) (based on the Alfred Rahlfs' edition and verified against the King James Version) and *The Holy Orthodox Bible* (trans. P.A. Papoutsis) (Chicago, IL: Papoutsis 2004–2014) I–IX. Of great importance are *The New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS), supported by the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies and Oxford Publishers in progress from 2007 (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/> [access: 19.01.2022]), and the 2020 *Lexham English Septuagint. A New Translation* (ed. K.M. Penner) (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press 2019).

- 11 M. Karrer – W. Kraus, *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2009).
- 12 See *La Bible d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Cerf 1986–[2023]) I–IX.1, XI.2, XII, XVII, XVIII, XX.1, XXIII.1.3–12, XXV.2.
- 13 N. Fernández Marcos – M.V. Spottorno Díaz-Caro (eds.), *La Biblia griega – Septuaginta* (Biblioteca de estudios bíblicos 125–128; Salamanca: Sígueme 2008–[2021]) I–IV; N. Fernández Marcos – M.V. Spottorno Díaz-Caro – J.M. Cañas Reillo (eds.), *La Biblia griega – Septuaginta. Nuevo Testamento* (Biblioteca de estudios bíblicos 129; Salamanca: Sígueme 2020).
- 14 *La Bibbia dei Settanta*. I. *Pentateuco* (ed. P. Lucca). II. *Libri storici* (ed. P.G. Borbone); III. *Libri poetici* (ed. C. Martone). IV. *Profeti* (ed. L.R. Ubigli) (Brescia: Morcelliana 2012–2019); A.G. Salvesen, "Introduction," *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint* (eds. A.G. Salvesen – T.M. Law) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2021) 9; G. Toloni, "An Almost Unknown Translation of the Greek Bible into Italian," *BIOSCS* 36 (2003) 93–101.
- 15 A. Tronina explains that "The Greek text of the psalms differs so much from the Hebrew that, in order to preserve unity in the prayer of the whole Church, the Book of Psalms was in the Western Church the only book of the Bible translated only from Greek, never from Hebrew. As a result, churches in East and West prayed the same words, which were considered inspired. In addition to the liturgical aspect, the role of the psalms in the creation of patristic theology was also important. Numerous psalms in the version of the Septuagint had a messianic meaning for the fathers, completely invisible in the Hebrew text" (my own translation after M. Przyszychowska, "Wstęp," Grzegorz z Nyssy, *O tytułach Psalmów* [On the Titles of the Psalms] (trans., ed. M. Przyszychowska) (ŻMT 72; Kraków: WAM 2014) 6.
- 16 A. Tronina (trans.), *Psalter Biblii Greckiej* [Psalter of the Greek Bible] (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL 1996).
- 17 M. Wojciechowski (trans., ed.), *Grecko-polski Stary Testament – Księgi Greckie. Przekład interlinearny z kodami gramatycznymi i indeksem form podstawowych* (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2008).

books on 1664 pages attracted the attention of biblical scholars, philologists, the media and numerous believers, and was acclaimed as an event of a major significance for Polish Bible readers. The enthusiastic reception of the translation resulted in subsequent editions of the work, including illustrated ones, as will be presented in this paper.

## 2. The Polish Translation of LXX – Its Author, History and Editions

Remigiusz Popowski<sup>18</sup> – his early life being marked with the anxieties and inconveniences of war and post-war times – pursued his academic career at the Catholic University of Lublin. He was a professor in classical philology, Greek linguistics and Greek literature of the Roman imperial period, the head of the Department of Greek Language and Literature of Late Antiquity. He was a member of numerous scientific associations and a winner of several awards and distinctions for his academic work, translations, services performed for the Catholic University and his *opus vitae*, the translation of the entire Septuagint into Polish. His major works include the translation of *The Imagines* of Philostratus the Elder, *Grecko-polski Nowy Testament. Wydanie interlinearne z kodami gramatycznymi* (The Greek-Polish New Testament. Interlinear Edition with Grammatical Codes) (1994) (together with M. Wojciechowski), *Wielki słownik grecko-polski Nowego Testamentu. Wydanie z pełną lokalizacją greckich haseł, kluczem polsko-greckim oraz indeksem form czasownikowych* (The Great Greek-Polish Dictionary of the New Testament. Edition with Full Localisation of Greek Entries, Polish-Greek Key and Index of Verb Forms) (1994), *Słownik grecko-polski Nowego Testamentu* (Dictionary of the Greek-Polish New Testament) (1997), *Nowy Testament. Przekład na Wielki Jubileusz Roku 2000* (The New Testament. Translation for the Great Jubilee of the Year 2000) (2000), *Testament dla moderatorów* (New Testament for Moderators) (2008, 2010) (with Lyman Coleman as editor of the marginalia and commentaries), *Grecko-polski słownik syntagmatyczny Nowego Testamentu* (Greek-Polish Syntagmatic Dictionary of the New Testament) (2008), *Septuaginta czyli Biblia Starego Testamentu wraz z księgami deuterokanonicznymi i apokryfami* (The Septuagint or Bible of the Old Testament with Deuterocanonical Books and Apocrypha) (from 2013), *Onomastykon Septuaginty* (Onomasticon of the Septuagint) (2013), *Grecko-polski Nowy Testament. Wydanie interlinearne z kluczem gramatycznym, z kodami Stronga i Popowskiego oraz pełną transliteracją greckiego tekstu* (Greek-Polish New Testament. Interlinear Edition with Grammatical Key, With Strong's and Popowski's Codes and Full Transliteration of

<sup>18</sup> The biography of Remigiusz Popowski can be found in: A. Budzisz, "Curriculum Vitae ks. prof. dra hab. Remigiusza Popowskiego SDB," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 54–55/3 (2006–2007) 5–12, [http://www.kul.edu.pl/files/409/public/RH54-55z3/RH\\_54-55z3\\_01-Popowski\\_Biog.pdf](http://www.kul.edu.pl/files/409/public/RH54-55z3/RH_54-55z3_01-Popowski_Biog.pdf) [access: 20.05.2021]; A. Budzisz, "Ks. prof. R. Popowski," *Przegląd Uniwersytecki* 104/6 (2006) 13, [http://www.kul.lublin.pl/files/66/przegląd/PU\\_06\\_comp\\_www.pdf](http://www.kul.lublin.pl/files/66/przegląd/PU_06_comp_www.pdf) [access: 20.05.2021]. For more information about the awards, distinctions and medals see: M. Szela, *Przekład Septuaginty Remigiusza Popowskiego na język polski i jego znaczenie dla kultury biblijnej w Polsce* (MA Thesis; Pontifical Faculty of Theology in Wrocław; Wrocław 2022).

the Greek Text) (2014) (with M. Wojciechowski). The favourable reception of the first translation of the Septuagint into Polish soon led to further versions which appeared as part of the Prymasowska Seria Biblijna, with the second edition corresponding exactly to the layout and number of pages of the first one, while the subsequent editions featured various changes and additions. The year 2014, apart from the reedition, saw an expanded volume of *Septuaginta, czyli Grecka Biblia Starego Testamentu wraz z księgami deuterokanonicznymi i apokryfami żydowskimi oraz onomastykonem* (Septuagint or Greek Bible of the Old Testament with Deuterocanonical Books and Jewish Apocrypha and Onomasticon) (2014). Regrettably, that very year Remigiusz Popowski died. In 2016, there appeared a *post mortem* translation by Remigiusz Popowski of the Greek Bible books, with the author's footnotes, without the apocrypha or the translator's introductions, but with the New Testament (the translation was also authored by him), under the title *Biblia pierwszego Kościoła* (The Bible of the First Church), noticeably edited, with the deuterocanonical passages in blue and the words of the Lord Jesus in red (also *agrapha*, e.g. from the Acts and the First Letter to the Corinthians).<sup>19</sup> It was soon followed by *Ilustrowana Biblia pierwszego Kościoła* (The Illustrated Bible of the First Church), also without the apocryphal books, Popowski's introductions or footnotes, with deuterocanonical passages marked in dark blue and no special distinction for the words of the Lord Jesus in the NT. This edition is complete with one-page explanations addressed mainly to younger readers, 492 drawings by José Pérez Monter, 16 colour maps and a six-page schematic history of civilisation.

### 3. The Significance of the LXX Translation Into Polish

The publication of the first Polish translation of a text that is more than two thousand years old, which became "the first Bible of the Church and the Bible of the first Church"<sup>20</sup> and "the basis of the New Testament writings, providing quotations from the Old Testament in Greek and enabling the expansion of Christianity in the Roman Empire"<sup>21</sup> must have aroused genuine enthusiasm. Since the conciliar documents opened up new possibilities for the re-use of the Septuagint in the development of new translations, the Greek Bible kindled genuine interest. Scholars emphasise that LXX "while containing texts absent from the Hebrew Bible and being at the same time a dignified ancient translation of it, is not just a translation. Nor is it just a book for the ancients, but should also be an extremely

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that the order of the books in this edition no longer follows the order from the first edition (which represented the order in Rahlfs' edition of *Septuaginta*); rather, it restores the traditional order, known from, for example, *Biblia Tysiąclecia* (Millennium Bible). The publisher also resigned from the double titles of the books and the transcription of Greek proper names used by Popowski.

<sup>20</sup> W. Chrostowski, "«Gdy Bóg przemówił po grecku». Septuaginta jako świadectwo gruntownej transpozycji językowej," *Poradnik Językowy* 734 (2016) 65, [http://www.poradnikjezykowy.uw.edu.pl/wydania/poradnik\\_jezykowy.734.2016.05.pdf](http://www.poradnikjezykowy.uw.edu.pl/wydania/poradnik_jezykowy.734.2016.05.pdf) [access: 11.01.2024].

<sup>21</sup> W. Chrostowski, "Przedmowa redaktora naukowego 'Prymasowskiej Serii Biblijnej,'" *Biblia pierwszego Kościoła* (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2016) XIV.



valuable text for us. For its appearance can be put down to a genuine desire to know the Bible.”<sup>22</sup> Moreover, it awakened “tremendous interest also in the context of ecumenical dialogue between different Christian denominations.”<sup>23</sup> The discussion on the Septuagint has been markedly enriched by the Qumran discoveries. The uncovered manuscript fragments “shed new light on the formation process of the biblical texts. It then became apparent that the differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts were not merely the fruit of the translators’ inventiveness.”<sup>24</sup> New translations into other languages<sup>25</sup> were accompanied by interlinear studies and text reconstruction. Biblical scholars acknowledge “an increasing return to the study of this venerable translation, and the question of determining its character, also in terms of inspiration.”<sup>26</sup> A society for the promotion of international Septuagint studies, The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/>), was founded and since 1968 has published a journal devoted to the LXX, *The Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. New bibliographies on the Septuagint are compiled,<sup>27</sup> academic conferences are organised on a regular basis,<sup>28</sup> and 8 February is now considered to be the International Septuagint Day.

Some scholars sadly observe that the Pontifical Biblical Commission, in its 2014 document entitled *The Inspiration and Truth of Sacred Scripture*,<sup>29</sup> although it recognises that the Septuagint is the Christian Old Testament quoted by the evangelists, yet “in its reflection it does not assign a significant and adequate place to the Septuagint.” In paragraph 23, the term “original language” only refers to the Hebrew and Aramaic texts,<sup>30</sup> which reduces the LXX only to an ancient translation.

The publication of the first edition of the Septuagint in Polish met with many positive reviews and opinions in journals, the internet portals and even private blogs of not only biblical scholars, translation scholars but also ordinary believers.<sup>31</sup> Both academics and other

22 P. Łabuda, “Septuaginta – pragnienie poznania Biblii,” *Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne* 35/1 (2016) 174–175, <https://czasopisma.upjp2.edu.pl/tarnowskiestudiateologiczne/article/view/1721> [access: 11.01.2020].

23 R. La Déaut, “Septuaginta – Biblia zapoznana,” *RBL* 37/6 (1984) 454.

24 A. Rambiert-Kwaśniewska, review of Michael Timothy Law, *When God Spoke Greek. The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press 2013), *BibAn* 8/3 (2018) 461.

25 Salvesen, “Introduction,” 1.

26 K. Mielcarek, “Ku nowej koncepcji natchnienia LXX,” *Roczniki Teologiczne* 48/1 (2001) 2.

27 See “LXX Bibliography (2012–),” <https://williamaross.com/septuagint-bibliography-2012-onward/> [access: 12.12.2022].

28 18th Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies took place on 5–7 August 2022, <https://www.iosot2022.uzh.ch/en/ioscs2022.html> [access: 25.04.2022].

29 Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Inspiration and Truth of Sacred Scripture. The Word That Comes from God and Speaks of God for the Salvation of the World* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2014) 23: “All four gospels [...] frequently refer to the writings of the Old Testament, known especially in the Greek translation of the Septuagint but also in original Hebrew and Aramaic texts.”

30 S. Jędrzejewski, “The Septuagint in the Documents of the Pontifical Biblical Commission after the Promulgation of the Motu Proprio «Sedula cura»,” *Seminare* 38/4 (2017) 11.

31 Cf. M. Przeszychowska, “Polska Septuaginta – prawdziwa Biblia Tysiąclecia (a nawet dwóch tysiącleci),” <http://teologia.deon.pl/polska-septuaginta-prawdziwa-biblia-tysiaclecia-a-nawet-dwoch-tysiacleci/> [access: 15.03.2022]; M. Przeszychowska, “Czy ojcowie Kościoła znali Biblię Tysiąclecia?,” <http://teologia.deon.pl/czy-ojcowie-kościola-znali-biblie-tysiaclecia/> [access: 15.03.2022]; D. Szumotalska – M. Wilk, “Najlepsze



readers emphasise the novelty of the publication and its value for anyone interested in early Christian topics and deeper study of Scripture. An enthusiastic foreword and description of the newly published translation was prepared by the editor of the Prymasowska Seria Biblijna, Waldemar Chrostowski: “The translation of the Septuagint, the Greek Bible, into Polish is a truly historic event. The Septuagint is the first undertaking of its kind in the religious and theological culture of our country and the Septuagint is an absolutely unique work of art.” Popowski’s translation was acknowledged a work of great cultural significance also in another review, by Antoni Tronina, who emphasised that the Greek Bible “become[s] available to the Polish reader thanks to the magnificent task that Rev. Prof. Remigiusz Popowski undertook and masterfully executed.”<sup>32</sup> In a similar vein, Jacek Salij hailed the Polish translation a truly royal gift left by Popowski before his departure to the House of the Father, “an event whose significance can hardly be overestimated; he predicted that “the appearance of the Septuagint in the Polish theological library will certainly stimulate theologians and biblical scholars to recall various old questions and raise new ones” and hoped that Polish philologists and biblical scholars would follow their French and Belgian colleagues and provide the translation of the Septuagint with a critical apparatus.”<sup>33</sup> Henryk Witczyk, a reviewer of the translation, claims that the publication of the Polish Greek Bible is an event comparable to the publication of the so-called Millennium Bible, which was produced on the occasion of the millennium of the Baptism of Poland, or the Poznań Bible published in the 1970s, while the author of the Polish translation of the Septuagint has permanently entered the history of the Polish school of translating biblical texts alongside Jakub Wujek or the authors of the aforementioned Poznań Bible.<sup>34</sup>

Popowski’s translation has made it easier for readers who are not fluent in Greek to familiarise themselves with a work that has had an extremely important status for faithful communities of various denominations and creeds for more than two thousand years: a work oscillating from the status of the Greek Bible for the Jews of the time of Ptolemy, the early Christians and the Orthodox churches, the main source of quotations of the New Testament writings, to merely a translation, a witness to the original Hebrew text or an aid to biblical exegesis.<sup>35</sup>

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przekłady Pisma Świętego. Biblista radzi, jak czytać Słowo Boże,” <https://pl.aleteia.org/2018/11/15/biblista-poleca-najlepsze-przeklady-pisma-swietego-i-radzi-jak-samemu-zglebiac-slowo/> [access: 15.03.2022].

32 A. Tronina, “Septuaginta – wydanie drugie, poprawione i uzupełnione Biblii,” <http://teologia.deon.pl/septuaginta-wydanie-drugie-poprawione-i-uzupelnione-biblii/> [access: 19.03.2021].

33 J. Salij, review of *Septuaginta, czyli grecka Biblia Starego Testamentu z księgami deuterokanonicznymi, apokryfami żydowskimi oraz onomastykonem*. Przetłóżył, przypisami i wstępami opatrzył oraz opracował onomastykon ks. Remigiusz Popowski SDB, wydanie 3 zmodyfikowane, Prymasowska Seria Biblijna, Oficyna Wydawnicza VOCATIO, Warszawa 2014, ss. 1804, *Collectanea Theologica* 84/4 (2014) 233–237.

34 Henryk Witczyk speech “Review of the First Polish translation of the Septuagint” during the Presentation of the First Polish Translation of the Septuaginta by Fr Prof. Remigiusz Popowski SDB (December 4, 2013, KUL, Lublin).

35 Cf. Jędrzejewski, “Septuagint,” 13–15.

#### 4. Translation Strategies and Techniques – A Clarification

Prior to the analysis of Popowski's major work, a theoretical clarification of selected translation-related terms may be required. The theory offers the whole gamut of approaches to the translation process and product: the problem of non-translatability of the source text owing to linguistic and cultural differences, the hybrid language or the third code of the target texts, translation universals and translation evaluation, along with the practical side of the translator's work.<sup>36</sup> A plethora of terms such as 'strategy,' 'technique,' 'procedure,' 'convention,' 'method,' 'equivalence,' 'correspondence' can be found with regard to the solutions adopted by translators. For the purposes of this paper, this abundance will be reduced to the most relevant to Bible translation.

Researchers mostly agree that some decisions apply to the text as a whole, while other decisions to particular problems. In this paper, I have assumed (following Krzysztof Hejwowski<sup>37</sup>) that a strategy/convention<sup>38</sup> is a preferred way of proceeding throughout a text, depending on its purpose, type and audience, all of which generally boils down to the problem of whether to bring the reader closer to the text or the text closer to the reader. Translators first opt for one dominant strategy for the whole text from among a range of the following dichotomies offered in relevant literature: word-for-word or sense-for-sense translation; direct translation (which bases on borrowings, calques and literal translation) or oblique procedures (with transpositions, modulations and adaptation) (Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet); domestication (adapting the source text to the target culture) or foreignisation (retaining the source culture elements) (Lawrence Venuti); syntagmatic translation (mimicking the sentence structures with first equivalents) or functional translation (with equivalents sought to fit the function of a given phrase); semantic translation (faithful but flexible, taking into account the aesthetics of the text) or communicative translation (conveying contextual meaning so that the target text is as comprehensible to the reader as possible) (Peter Newmark); formal or dynamic translation (following the input text or creating the best natural equivalent for the output message not only in terms of meaning, but also style) (Eugene A. Nida); explicit or implicit translation (when the translators work is noticeable

36 For more on the translation theory, see selected materials (considered classic): P. Newmark, *A Textbook of Translation* (New York: Prentice Hall 1988); M. Baker, *In Other Words. A Coursebook on Translation* (London: Routledge 1992); J.-P. Vinay – J. Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English/ A Methodology for Translation* (Amsterdam: Benjamins 1995); M. Baker (ed.), *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London: Routledge 1998); J. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies. Theories and Applications* (London: Routledge 2001); P. Fawcett, *Translation and Language. Linguistic Theories Explained* (Manchester: Saint Jerome 2003); K. Hejwowski, *Kognitywno-komunikacyjna teoria przekladu* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2004); G. Palumbo, *Key Terms in Translation Studies* (New York: Continuum 2009); B. Hatim – J. Munday, *Translation. An Advanced Resource Book for Students* (London – New York: Routledge 2019).

37 Hejwowski, *Kognitywno-komunikacyjna*, 74–104.

38 'Convention' (Polish: konwencja) is the term used by Popowski ("Wstęp," *Septuaginta, czyli Biblia Starego Testamentu wraz z księgami deuterokanonicznymi i apokryfami*, 3 ed. [trans. R. Popowski] [Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2017] XXII).

or hidden). It should be added that the interlinear translation is not considered by some to be a translation, but a mapping of the structure of the original to show its specificity.

A technique/procedure/method, on the other hand, is a specific solution to a given translation problem. Here we can mention reproduction (the use of an unassimilated word with possible naturalisation or transliteration, sometimes with additional clarification); syntagmatic translation (with or without complementary explanations); recognised equivalence (names of organisations, institutions, geographical names, anthroponyms, titles of works, quotations); functional or cultural equivalent (replacement of a phenomenon by another phenomenon known in the target culture); adaptations to the target culture; hyperonym (particularly when the *translandum* does not play a significant role in the input text); descriptive equivalent (a description or definition instead of a term); paraphrases, transpositions and modulations; reduction or expansion (removing or adding words); borrowing/transference; calque, simplification and neutralisation (of jargon, jokes, dialects); naturalisation (adaptation to the pronunciation and spelling rules of the target language); and explicitation techniques (including in-text clarifications, footnotes, appendices and other explanatory notes).

Additional techniques are mentioned when translating proper names: reproduction (copying the original name, transcribed if need be, with or without an explanation); modification (adaptation to the orthographic or grammatical requirements of the target language); substitution with a recognised equivalent; substitution with a devised equivalent; hyperonyms; translation; association; omission.<sup>39</sup>

## 5. The Translation Strategy and Techniques Adopted by Popowski

More of a philologist than a Biblical scholar, Popowski provided the reader with an explanation of the strategies he had intended to employ. In the introduction to *Grecko-polski Nowy Testament*,<sup>40</sup> the interlinear translation of the New Testament, he distinguished four types of translation: (i) literal translation, which adheres to the morphological and syntactic structure of the original text; (ii) philological translation, which faithfully conveys the semantics of the original text, but takes into account its cultural context; (iii) artistic translation, which focuses on the artistic qualities of the text even if the original thought is to be abandoned; (iv) literary paraphrase, which preserves the main idea and sense without mimicking the content of individual sentences. In papers and introductions devoted to the Septuagint translation, Popowski claimed that his intention was:

<sup>39</sup> See also A. Rambiert-Kwaśniewska, "Problem of the Translation of Toponyms in the Septuagint Based on the Example of 'Wool of Miletus' (Ez 27:18)," *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* 28/2 (2020) 31–48.

<sup>40</sup> R. Popowski – M. Wojciechowski, *Grecko-polski Nowy Testament. Wydanie interlinearne z kodami gramatycznymi, z kodami Stronga i Popowskiego oraz pełną transliteracją greckiego tekstu* (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2014) XV.

(1) to produce a translation that would give the reader the feel of the Septuagint, even if the text would have to differ significantly from what is known as the Hebrew Bible, and

(2) to offer a literary translation, preserving the sense of the substrate, yet with the necessary transpositions to strike the right balance between a close rendering of the original Greek thought and the necessity to adapt it to Polish syntax and appropriate style.<sup>41</sup>

To achieve this end, the translator signals the need to overcome some lexical and grammatical problems: the inconsistency of textual quality from literal translation to paraphrase, clumsy sentences, lexical errors (missing words in dictionaries, neosemantisms), incorrect use of grammatical tenses or modes, numerals, participles, conjunctions, transliteration of Hebrew words unknown to the translator and even ellipsis.<sup>42</sup>

As the translation theories emphasise the role of the target reader in the perception of a translation, so did Popowski, specifying that his translation is intended not only for specialists in biblical studies, but everyone fascinated by the Bible, ancient literature and culture, with at least a secondary education.<sup>43</sup>

It needs to be added here that the Greek Bible is a special case because of the source text, the underlying language,<sup>44</sup> and the text type. Since the source text is already a translation, referred to as a “translation without the original” (Aleksander Gomola),<sup>45</sup> it contains numerous passages which are difficult to interpret and for which the existing Hebrew texts do not always offer an explanation – they only showcase the textual diversity.

In order to reach the two primary objectives formulated for this work: to bring the target reader closer to the Septuagint and ensure the literary quality of the target text, Popowski mainly employs a strategy we can recognise as foreignisation with a range of techniques that enable the recipient to have an insight into the ancient text – the translator preserves (i) the textual differences, (ii) the order of the books, (iii) the number and order of verses (which is particularly noticeable in the Book of Jeremiah and the Book of Proverbs); (iv) the books are doubly named; (v) syntactical errors (e.g. misleading sentence subjects, pronouns), logical mistakes and awkwardness of some sentences are left without being corrected, though footnoted; (vi) proper names are transcribed, (vii) those translated by the Septuagint interpreters are rendered in Polish; (viii) Hebrew words transliterated by the Septuagint authors remain unchanged; (ix) numerous sentences are translated literally with the use of first equivalents (though inconsistently). The translation is explicit; explanatory notes are provided to all the instances of mistakes, inconsistencies, unclear syntax; ellipses are completed while the insertions are marked with square brackets. As for the second

41 Popowski, “Wstęp,” XXII–XXIII.

42 R. Popowski, “Perypetie z Leksyką Septuaginty,” *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium Graecae et Latinae* 18 (2008) 183–195.

43 Popowski, “Wstęp,” XXIII.

44 The source language is usually described as Greek koine, but the translator defines it as “translational Greek,” a kind of a hybrid language; see Popowski, “Perypetie,” 193.

45 A. Gomola, “Przekład biblijny jako kolebka przekładoznawstwa. Septuaginta w perspektywie zwrotu kulturowego w przekładzie,” *Perspektywy na przekład* (ed. M. Piotrowska) (Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ 2021) 49.

objective, the intention to maintain the literary quality, the translator clearly avoids the syntagmatic translation, the structure of sentences varies, the distribution of grammar markers is different. One can also detect traces of the domestication strategy and functional changes that make the text closer to the target culture when it is important for the naturalness of the target text.

### Textual Differences

The source text for this translation is the critical edition: *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*.<sup>46</sup> Obviously, since the source text for the Greek Bible differs from that of the Masoretic Text, the readers can make themselves familiar with the textual differences. By way of an example, only two will be quoted. In Gen 4:7 LXXPop “O nie! Czy jeśli właściwie złożyłeś ofiarę, ale niewłaściwie ją rozdzieliłeś, nie popełniłeś grzechu? Zachowaj jednak spokój. Przecież od ciebie zależy odwrócenie się od niego. Ty masz nad nim panować [Oh no! If you have offered the sacrifice properly, but distributed it improperly, have you not committed a sin? Remain calm, however. After all, it is up to you to turn away from it. You are to rule over it]” (my own translation) (LXXRahlps: οὐκ, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἡμαρτες; ἡσύχασον· πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστροφή αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ).<sup>47</sup> In Deut 6:4 the Greek text reads: Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δικαιώματα καὶ τὰ κριματά ὅσα ἐνετείλατο Κύριος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἄκουε, Ἰσραὴλ. Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἷς ἐστίν, which is rendered in LXXPop: “A oto nakazy i wyroki, które Pan skierował do synów Izraela na pustyni po ich wyjściu z Egiptu: Słuchaj, Izraelu, Pan, nasz Bóg, jest Panem jedynym [And here are the injunctions and judgments which the Lord addressed to the sons of Israel in the wilderness after their exodus from Egypt: Hear, O Israel, the Lord, our God, is the only Lord].”<sup>48</sup>

### Order of Books, Chapters and Verses

As mentioned, this translation follows Alfred Rahlfs’ order of books, chapters and verses.<sup>49</sup> To provide just a few examples, the Book of Tobit is followed by Four Books of Maccabees, the Book of Job is located between the Song of Songs and the Book of Wisdom, while Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel appear at the very end of the canon, Second

46 A. Rahlfs – R. Hanhart (eds.), *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes edidit Alfred Rahlfs. Editio altera, quam recognovit et emendavit Robert Hanhart. Duo volumina in uno* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2006).

47 Cf. NETS: “If you offer correctly but do not divide correctly, have you not sinned? Be still; his recourse is to you, and you will rule over him” (<https://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/01-gen-nets.pdf> [access: 12.12.2022]).

48 Cf. NETS: “And these are the statutes and the judgments, which the Lord commanded to the sons of Israel in the wilderness as they were coming out from the land of Egypt. Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord” (<https://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/05-deut-nets.pdf> [access: 12.12.2022]).

49 It should be emphasised that in *Biblia pierwszego Kościoła* and *Ilustrowana Biblia pierwszego Kościoła* the traditional order is restored; see P. Waclawik, “Od Wydawcy,” *Biblia pierwszego Kościoła* (trans. R. Popowski) (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2017) XII; P. Waclawik, “Od Wydawcy,” *Ilustrowana Biblia pierwszego Kościoła* (trans. R. Popowski) (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2021) 10.

Esdras comprises the Book of Nehemias. The numbering of chapters can be exemplified by the Book of Jeremiah – chapter 26 in the LXX corresponds to 46 in TM, 27–28 in the LXX to 50–51 in TM, while 31 in the LXX is found as chapter 48 in TM (for more see LXXPop, 1443). Another example can be noticed in the Book of Proverbs: we see there chapters 24, 30 and 31 twice.

### Double Naming of Books

The books bear two titles: one in the table of contents and in the header (e.g. the title *Księga Rodzaju* [the Book of Genesis]), whereas the second one is above the main body of the text (*Narodzenie* [Generations/Nativity]). Similarly, since the Books of Chronicles are rendered in LXXRahlfs with the use of the word *Paraleipomenon*,<sup>50</sup> the titles *Pomijanych Pierwsza* and *Pomijanych Druga* appears as the second book name apart from *Pierwsza Księga Kronik* (1 Chronicles) and *Druga Księga Kronik* (2 Chronicles)(cf. LXXPop, 527).

### Syntactical and Logical Mistakes

The reader is also offered an insight into the syntactical mistakes and inaccuracies in the Greek text. The translator reveals in footnotes that he retained in the translation the unexpected changes of sentence subjects (Josh 24:5–6 “Egipcjanie dręczyli ich, Pan zatem uderzył Egipt za to, co on im uczynił i potem ich wyprowadził z Egiptu [The Egyptians tormented them, so the Lord struck Egypt for what it had done to them and then led them out of Egypt]” – και ἐκάκωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ἐπάταξεν κύριος τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν οἷς ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου); ellipses of subjects (Ps 74:7 “[Sąd] bowiem nie przychodzi ze wschodu ani z zachodu [For (judgment) comes not from the east nor from the west]” ὅτι οὐτε ἀπὸ ἐξόδων οὐτε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν); problems with cases and pronouns (2 Esd 13:10–12 – incoherent use of pronouns “za nimi” [after them] and “za nim” [after him] και ἐπὶ χεῖρα αὐτῶν ἐκράτησεν Ἰεδαία υἱὸς Ερωμαφ καὶ κατέναντι οἰκίας αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησεν Ἀτους υἱὸς Ἀσβανία. καὶ δεύτερος ἐκράτησεν Μελχίας υἱὸς Ἡραμ καὶ Ἀσουβ υἱὸς Φααθμωαβ καὶ ἔως πύργου τῶν θαννουριμ. καὶ ἐπὶ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησεν Σαλουμ υἱὸς Ἀλλωῆς ἄρχων ἡμίσεος περιχώρου Ἰερουσαλήμ, αὐτὸς καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ; Ps 3:1 “Psalm dla Dawida” Ὑάλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ); incorrect syntax or unclear fragments (Ps 138:16 “Twoje oczy widziały już mój zarodek, a w Twojej księdze wszystkie [me dni] będą zapisane; ale już wtedy są one ukształtowane, gdy żaden z nich jeszcze nie zaistniał [Your eyes have already seen my embryo, and in your book all (my days) will be written; but they are already formed when none has yet come into existence]” τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν μου εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον σου πάντες γραφήσονται· ἡμέρας πλασθήσονται, καὶ οὐθεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς; 2 Esd 22:12 “dla Sarai Maraja” τῷ Σαραία Μαραία); logical problems (Deut 11:24 “od pustkowi i Antylibanu

50 NETS renders the title as *1 Supplements* and *2 Supplements*; <https://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/13-1suppl-nets.pdf> [access: 20.12.2022]; in Old Slavonic *паралитоменионъ* is left. Popowski explains it is *act. part. gen. pl.* that could be translated as ‘pomijanych/opuszczanych’ (of things omitted, left); this title is said to have been difficult to understand even by St Jerome himself, cf. LXXPop, 527.



[from the deserts and Antyliban]” ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ Ἀντιλιβάνου with an explanation that it should rather be “from the deserts to Antyliban”).

In order to preserve the correct sense of a passage, the translator is sometimes compelled to add auxiliary modal verbs to ensure the flow of the sentences, e.g. the verb form “może” [maybe/perhaps/may have] was inserted in Job 22:6–8 LXXPop (see n. 1): “Może brałeś zastaw od swoich braci bezzasadnie [...] Może nie podałeś wody spragnionemu [...] Może okazywałeś szacunek tylko temu, kto błyszczący przepychem [Maybe you took pledges from your brothers unjustifiably (...) Maybe you gave no water to a thirsty man (...) Maybe you showed respect only to the one who shines with splendour/opulence]” (ἠνεχούραζες δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου διὰ κενῆς [...] οὐδὲ ὕδωρ διψῶντας ἐπότισας [...]· ἐθαύμασας δὲ τινῶν πρόσωπον).

### Transcription of Proper Names

Particular attention should also be paid to proper names. The author decided to use the technique of transcribing anthroponyms and toponyms to show the reader how they were pronounced by the Septuagint translators. In the Pentateuch, out of approximately seven hundred proper names, only few have the traditional form to which the Polish reader is accustomed: “Jakub” and “Ezaw” (Ἰακώβ and Ησαῦ), “Mojżesz” (Μωυσῆς), “Józef” (Ἰωσηφ), “Jozue, syn Nauego” (Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυη), the river “Jordan” (Ἰορδάνης), “Morze Czerwone” (ἐρυθρὰς). Even the name of Moses’ sister is “Mariam,” not “Miriam.” The traditional form is also used in the Book of Habbakuk, though in Hab 1:1 the LXX uses Ἀμβακουμ. Therefore, in Genesis we have “ogród Edem” (Εδεμ), “dęby Mambrego” (Μαμβρη), “Bajthel” (Βαιθήλ). In 3 Kings we identify “Eliu Thesbita z Thesbonu” Ἠλιου ὁ Θεσβίτης ἐκ Θεσβων (Ἠλίας in Mal 3:22), “góra Karmelowa” ὄρος τὸ Καρμηλίον, “Galaad” Γαλααδ; in the Book of Tobit we recognise three forms “Tobit/Tobith/Tobis” for Tobit’s father. It must be stressed that sometimes the transcription is consistent, and we can see two different name forms of the same protagonist if the Septuagint uses them this way, e.g. “Manasses/Manasse” Μανασσης/Μανασση (LXXPop, 302, n. 2, 888, n. 1), “Onan/Onas” Ωναν· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ωνας (Gen 36:24 LXXPop and footnote). In transcription, the Greek χ is consistently written as ‘ch’, hence we have names such as “Choreb” Χωρηβ and “Chebron” Χεβρων (although the more established forms are “Horeb” and “Hebron”), “Chanaan” Χανααν instead of “Kanaan.”

Sometimes a minor inconsistency can be identified, when the name Καϊν has the form “Kain,” while Καιναν is transcribed as “Kajnan,” or one form of the genitive case for υἱὸς Ἀμισαδαί is used in Num 1:12 “syn [son of] Amisadaja” and another in Num 2:25 “syn [son of] Amisadajego.”

### Translation of Denotative Proper Names

When the Septuagint gives proper names in a meaningful form, the Author of the translation under study also translates them. Hence we have “Życie” [Life] as the name of Eve (Gen 3:20 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ζωή, ὅτι αὕτη μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων); “Studnia Przysięgi” [The Well of the Oath] as Beer-Sheba (Gen 21:14 φρέαρ τοῦ

ὄρκου); “Gorycz” [Bitterness] (Exod 15:23 πικρία); “Objawienie i Prawda” [Revelation and Truth] as “urim and tummim” (Exod 28:30); “Władca” [Ruler] instead of Moloch (Lev 18:21 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐ δώσεις λατρεύειν ἄρχοντι); “Klątwa” [Curse] Ἀνάθεμα instead of “Chorma” (Lev 21:3); “Ociosany” [Hewn] as Pisgah (Deut 3:27 ἀνάβηθι ἐπὶ κορυφὴν **Λελαξευμένου** [λαξευτός ‘hewn’]). Sometimes a whole phrase is used as a translation of a proper name (Amos 6:13 οἱ εὐφραϊνόμενοι ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, οἱ λέγοντες Οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἡμῶν ἔσχομεν **κέρατα** “Cieszycie się **Tym, Co bez Wartości** i mówicie: Czy nie dzięki swojej sile zdobyliśmy **Rogi**? [You enjoy **What (is) Without Value** and say: Was it not through our strength that we gained/seized **Horns**]). Interestingly, when the LXX translators repeat the word “Lord” in lieu of the theonym with the Tetragram, Popowski repeats the word “Pan” as well (Ezek 13:20 διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος κύριος – “dlatego tak mówi Pan Pan [therefore thus says the Lord Lord]”; Ezek 20:39; 34:20).

### Transliteration of Hebrew Words Left in LXX

Contrarily, if the translators of the Septuagint transliterated Hebrew words instead of interpreting them, Popowski also left them in the text with appropriate explanations in the footnote, e.g. in 1 Chr 15:20–21 LXXPop we read “z cytrami o właściwościach *alajmothu* [...] z harfami *amasenith* dla wzmocnienia [with zithers with the properties of *alajmoth* (...) with *amasenith* harps for strengthening]” as the translation of ἐν νάβλαις ἐπὶ αλαιμῶθ [...] ἐν κινύραις αμασειθ τοῦ ἐνισχύσαι (cf. NETS “with nablasa on alaimoth [...] to support them with cinyras amasenith”).

### Literal Translation

Another foreignisation technique that enables the readers to familiarise themselves with the structure of the source text is the literal translation of selected phrases. The author of the Polish text claimed that the translator should cling to the source text to avoid correcting the Septuagint.<sup>51</sup> However, text analyses demonstrate that this technique was used inconsistently. Some fragments map the phrases and structures of the source text; in other instances, one can identify the functional translation.

The translator sometimes chooses the first equivalent, even if this may be surprising to the reader familiar with other translations: e.g. the word ἐρπετά in Gen 1:20–30, which is usually rendered as “living creatures” (e.g. in Bible translation approved by US Conference of Catholic Bishops), means ‘amphibians’ in Polish (LXXPop “płazy mające życie” ψυχῶν ζωῶν, “każdą istotę ożywioną należącą do płazów” πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ζῶων ἐρπετῶν); Lev 25:8 ἐπτὰ ἑβδομάδες ἐτῶν was translated as “siedem tygodni rocznych” [seven annual weeks]; in 3 Kgs (1 Kgs) 21:10 εἰ ἐκποιήσει ὁ χουὺς Σαμαρείας ταῖς ἀλώπεξιν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τοῖς πεζοῖς μου is rendered literally “jeśli wystarczy pyłu z Samarii dla lisów całej mojej piechoty [if there is enough dust from Samaria for the foxes of all my infantry].” Lam 4:3 starts with Καὶ γε δράκοντες ἐξέδυσαν μαστούς – Popowski decided not to invent any other equivalent

51 LXXPop, 1425, n. 1.

in lieu of the literal translation of δράκοντες as “snakes” (“nawet węże podają swe piersi, by ssać mogły ich młode [even snakes give their breasts for their young to suckle]”) – since the snakes cannot breastfeed, the translator offers lengthy explanations about a possible mistake made by the Greek editor. Hab 1:14 LXXPop reads καὶ ὡς τὰ ἔρπετὰ τὰ οὐκ ἔχοντα ἡγούμενον “jak z płazami, które nie mają rozumu [like with amphibians that have no reasoning/mind],” but note 4 informs that ἡγούμενος should rather be translated as “leader, guide, superior” (cf. NETS “like crawling things that have no leader!”).

This technique, the literal translation to make the reader aware of the exact wording in the Septuagint, is not applied consistently, though. In numerous footnotes, Popowski revealed the source phrase and explained the reasons for the non-literal *translantum* he had decided on – mainly to adapt the text to the target culture and improve the literary style.

Note 3 to Judg 17:5 LXXPop (καὶ ἐνέπλησεν τὴν χεῖρα ἐνὸς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ – “wyświęcił jednego z synów [ordained one of his sons]”) shows that the literal translation should be “napelnił rękę [filled the hand]” (NETS “filled the hand from one of his sons”). A few more examples: in 2 Kgs (2 Sam) 17:4 the phrase ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Αβεσσαλωμ was translated as “ta myśl w ocenie Abessaloma [this thought in the opinion/assessment of Abessalom],” though literally – as the translator explains – it means “in Abessalom’s eyes”; Isa 43:4 ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς σου is translated as “w obronie Twej osoby [protecting you/your person]” (literally “head”); Sir 50:15 ἐξ αἵματος σταφυλῆς – here the word “blood” was translated as “z soku winnego grona [from the juice of the grape].” In Jer 19:8 καὶ συριεῖ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς πληγῆς αὐτῆς the verb συρίζω was not translated literally as “hiss” but “sigh” (“wzdychać będzie nad jego nieszczęściem [will sigh over his calamity]”) to prevent incorrect overtones. Interesting explanations for the translation choices can also be found in note 4 to Ps 146:3 LXXPop ὁ ἰώμενος τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν – Popowski changed the Greek “heart” into “soul” (“uzdrowia poranionych na duszy [heals those whose souls are wounded]”) because in the Polish culture, contrary to the Hebrew, the heart is a seat of feelings, not thoughts and reasoning.

Literary quality requires, furthermore, that sentences should not slavishly retain the structure of the source text as is the case with the syntagmatic philological translation. To this end, translators use then modulations and transpositions, paraphrases; they reduce or expand the number of words in the phrase to be rendered into another language. The very first chapter of the target text demonstrates that Popowski never mimics the input sentence structure. He departs from traditional solutions, e.g. ἐν ἀρχῇ is not rendered with the typical prepositional phrase “in/at the beginning,” but with an adverb “najpierw Bóg stworzył niebo i ziemię [first, God created the heaven and the earth].” The adjective καλός is expanded in translation to “dobre i piękne” [good and beautiful],” because the translator acknowledged that its semantic scope is too broad to be rendered with one attribute. In another example, due to the cultural background, the Polish translator decided to use the technique of expansion with additional adjectives in Songs 2:2 (προσδοκάσθω ὡς ἕτερος τὸ ἀπόφθεγμά μου, καὶ καταβήτω ὡς δρόσος τὰ ῥήματά μου – “Niech jak deszcz zyciodajny przyjdzie zostaną me słowa; niech me prorokowanie osiądzie jak rosa ożywcza [May my

words be received like a life-giving rain; may my prophecy fall like a reviving dew]”): “ży-ciodajny” (life-giving) and “ożywcza” (reviving) in order to avoid negative connotations, contrary to the sense of the source text, with rain and dew, which could invoke gloomy days in the Polish climate.<sup>52</sup>

Descriptive translation studies apply the methodology of corpus linguistics, studying texts not only qualitatively, but also quantitatively. An insight into the translation strategies may be offered through the distribution of various grammatical markers (e.g. conjunctions, sentence length, punctuation, typical collocations, word clusters, key words).<sup>53</sup> By way of an example, the analysis of the distribution of conjunction *καί* in the Pentateuch shows that the Greek text contains about 11,700 occurrences, while the Polish text about 4,600 occurrences of conjunctions ‘i’, ‘a’, and ‘oraz’ (all of them mean ‘and’) (in Gen 1:1–5, we can see *καί* twelve times, while in the Polish text ‘i’ occurs five times, and ‘a’ two times). One may justifiably infer that a purposeful strategy lies behind these numbers to depart from the source word order.

1:1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν **καί** τὴν γῆν.

“Najpierw Bóg stworzył niebo **i** ziemię [First, God created the heaven **and** the earth].”

1:2 ἢ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος **καί** ἀκατασκεύαστος, **καί** σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, **καί** πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.

“Ziemia jednak była niewidoczna **i** niewyposazona. Ciemność zalegała nad otchłanią, **a** tchnienie Boga niosło się nad wodami [The earth was, however, invisible **and** unequipped. Darkness was/hanged over the abyss, **and** the breath/spirit of God hovered over the waters].”

1:3 **καί** εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω φῶς. **καί** ἐγένετο φῶς.”

“Bóg zatem rzekł: «Niech się stanie światło», **i** światło nastąpiło [God then said: «Let there be light», **and** light came into being].”

1:4 **καί** εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν. **καί** διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς **καί** ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους.

“**I** widział Bóg, że ono jest dobre **i** piękne. Wtedy oddzielił Bóg światło od ciemności [**And** God saw that it is good **and** beautiful. Then God separated light from darkness].”

1:5 **καί** ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν **καί** τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα. **καί** ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα **καί** ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.

“Światło nazwał Bóg dniem, **a** ciemność nazwał nocą. Minął wieczór **i** minął poranek – dzień pierwszy [The light God called day, **and** darkness (God) called night. The evening **and** the morning passed, day one].”

Even a cursory overview of the initial fragment demonstrates that the author of the Polish translation, although complies with the intention to offer the Polish readers a text that would enable them to familiarise themselves with the Greek text, never imitates the input sentences, introducing paraphrases, dissimilar punctuation, expansion, different distribution of sentences and grammatical markers.

52 LXXPop, 986, n. 4.

53 For more information, see T. McEnery – A. Wilson, *Corpus Linguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 1996); T. Piotrowski, “Językoznawstwo korpusowe – wstęp do problematyki,” *Językoznawstwo w Polsce. Stan i perspektywy* (ed. S. Gajda) (Opole: PAN – Uniwersytet Opolski 2003).

## Conclusions

Undoubtedly, the contemporary translation of the Greek Bible into Polish by Remigiusz Popowski is of great importance for Bible readers in Poland and deserves further research due to a number of reasons: the historical and ecumenical significance of the Septuagint, the demand for new translations from original languages, a growing interest in the Greek Bible not only among Bible scholars and engaged believers, the encouragement from the Church authorities, and for comparative purposes. The two primary goals Popowski set himself for this important task were to provide the Polish reader with a text that presents the content of the ancient Septuagint and to ensure the quality and style of a literary piece of work. To this end, the translator adopted the explicit strategy of foreignisation with its range of techniques: transcription with naturalisation and translation of proper names, descriptive equivalents, invented equivalents, functional equivalents, in-text explicitation and footnotes, appendices and explanatory notes. The extent of foreignisation is not unlimited, selected domestication techniques can also be detected (e.g. invented equivalents that match the target culture, rather than the source *translandum*). It should be concluded that the author of the Polish text successfully implemented the strategies he had outlined. The target text captures the textual basis while syntagmatic translation is avoided, even tough particular solutions may be challenged.

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## **Review Articles**



## The Question about the Hypertextual Relations in the Book of Genesis Still Open

Bartosz Adamczewski, *Genesis. A Hypertextual Commentary* (European Studies in Theology, Philosophy and History of Religions 25; Berlin *et al.*: Lang 2020). Pp. 288. ISBN (Hardcover) 9783631837566

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**ABSTRACT:** The article is a critical review of the commentary by Bartosz Adamczewski – *Genesis. A Hypertextual Commentary*. After presenting the theses put forward by Adamczewski in his commentary on Genesis, the criteria of sequential hypertextuality implemented by Adamczewski and his method of delimiting literary units that remain in hypertextual relations are critically reviewed. The methodological weakness of the hypertextual commentary on Genesis cannot be covered up by the creativity of the commentator.

**KEYWORDS:** Sequential hypertextuality, the Book of Genesis, the Book of Deuteronomy, Samaria, Pentateuch

The monograph by Bartosz Adamczewski *Genesis. A Hypertextual Commentary* opens his Old Testament tetralogy, which includes the following monographs: *Exodus–Numbers*,<sup>1</sup> *Deuteronomy–Judges*,<sup>2</sup> and *Samuel–Kings*.<sup>3</sup> The research on the phenomenon of hypertextuality in the Enneateuch, presented in four volumes, dates back to the monograph *Retelling the Law* published by Adamczewski in 2012.<sup>4</sup> The titles of all monographs contain the adjective “hypertextual,” which, on the one hand, characterises the relationship between the Book of Deuteronomy and the other books included in the biblical Enneateuch and, on the other hand, defines the method used by the author to study intertextual relations.

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1 B. Adamczewski, *Exodus–Numbers. A Hypertextual Commentary* (European Studies in Theology, Philosophy and History of Religions 26; Berlin *et al.*: Lang 2020).

2 B. Adamczewski, *Deuteronomy–Judges. A Hypertextual Commentary* (European Studies in Theology, Philosophy and History of Religions 27; Berlin *et al.*: Lang 2020).

3 B. Adamczewski, *Samuel–Kings. A Hypertextual Commentary* (European Studies in Theology, Philosophy and History of Religions 28; Berlin *et al.*: Lang 2021).

4 B. Adamczewski, *Retelling the Law. Genesis, Exodus–Numbers, and Samuel–Kings as Sequential Hypertextual Reworkings of Deuteronomy* (European Studies in Theology, Philosophy and History of Religions 1) (Frankfurt am Main: Lang 2012).

A reference is made to the classic work by Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes*,<sup>5</sup> who distinguishes five types of transtextual relations: intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality and architextuality.<sup>6</sup> Hypertextuality is understood by Genette as “any relationship unifying a text B (hypertext) to an earlier text A (hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary.”<sup>7</sup> That thought of Genette becomes the basis for the concept by Adamczewski of “sequential hypertextuality,” which he proposed in his habilitation thesis *Q or not Q?*<sup>8</sup> and used in his hypertextual commentaries on the canonical Gospels and New Testament letters afterwards (a total of eight monographs published in the period from 2010 to 2018). For more than a decade, Adamczewski has been investigating the phenomenon of hypertextual relations in the Bible, which are based on sequential repetitions, not only linguistic but also conceptual. Hence his model of “sequential hypertextuality”: “If two given works reveal conceptual and/or linguistic correspondences which follow a sequential pattern, it is reasonable to argue that the author of one of these works in a hypertextual way reworked the other work, preserving the basic sequence of its ideas, concepts, literary motifs, etc.” (p. 13).

## 1. Hypertextual Relations between the Book of Genesis and the Book of Deuteronomy

In the reviewed monograph, *Genesis. A Hypertextual Commentary*, Adamczewski tries to show that the Book of Genesis is the result of hypertextual reworking of the Book of Deuteronomy, which precedes it. The author expresses such an opinion based on nearly a thousand conceptual and partly linguistic relations established by him, which are arranged in the same order in the Book of Deuteronomy and the Book of Genesis. The enormous number of those relations (one relation per verse and a half in the Book of Genesis, on average) means that they not only concern large literary units but also often appear in single sentences or even individual words in a sentence. As a consequence, Adamczewski proposes a completely different perspective on the issue of creation in the Book of Genesis. The inconsistencies noted therein would be the result not so much of a compilation of various sources, layers or traditions, but rather of a homogeneous reworking of the Book of Deuteronomy. He considers incorrect the distinction in Genesis between the so-called priestly and non-priestly material, which, in contemporary research on the Pentateuch, is one of the few elements shared by specialists in that field. In his opinion, the changes in style and literary conventions noticeable in the Book of Genesis are the result of the auxiliary use of

5 For the review, I use the English edition of the work: *Palimpsestes. Literature in the Second Degree* (trans. C. Newman – C. Doubinsky) (Lincoln, NE – London: University of Nebraska Press 1997).

6 Genette, *Palimpsestes*, 1–5.

7 Genette, *Palimpsestes*, 5.

8 B. Adamczewski, *Q or not Q? The So-Called Triple, Double, and Single Traditions in the Synoptic Gospels* (Frankfurt am Main *et al.*: Lang 2010).



the motifs borrowed from other sources, such as the Book of Ezekiel (mainly in the material considered to be priestly) or the Book of Judges (mainly in the material considered to be non-priestly). The purpose of the hypertextual reworking of Deuteronomy in Genesis is to move away from the nationalist ideology and, consequently, to transform the Deuteronomistic idea of “holy war” into the ideology of peaceful coexistence of the Hebrews and the gentile inhabitants of Canaan.

In the Book of Genesis, Adamczewski also notices a hidden “Israelite (“northern”) rhetoric taken from and developed based on the hypertextually transformed Deuteronomy. That Israelite geographical-theological rhetoric is manifested in many positive statements and allusions to Shechem, Mount Gerazim, Joseph and Ephraim. In that context, Adamczewski draws particular attention to Mount Moriah (Gen 22:2) as the only place in the Book of Genesis where a burnt offering was made in accordance with the will of YHWH. The name Moriah “linguistically represents the ‘place’ of the name of Yah(weh) at Moreh, so on Mount Gerizim (Deut 11:29–12:27; Gen 12:6–7)” (p. 31). In this allusive way, the cult on Mount Gerazim would have been initiated by Abraham. Meanwhile, “Jerusalem, together with Samaria and Shiloh, is virtually non-existent in Genesis. Genesis contains only a few, mainly negative, allusions to Jerusalem (Gen 14:18; 35:21–22; 36:2)” (p. 34). Another important manifestation of allusive “Israelite rhetoric in the Book of Genesis is the figure of Abraham, whose presentation in several elements refers to Sanballat, the Israelite leader of the Persian province of Samaria, a contemporary of Nehemiah (second half of the fifth century BC) (pp. 32–33). One should mention, for example, the origin of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees and his connection with Haran – places that were the centres of worship of the moon god Sin in the Neo-Babylonian empire. The name of the god can be found in the name of Sanballat, which means: “May Sin give him life.” Haran would also be the place of origin of Sanballat, assuming that the term *haḥōrōnî* found in Neh 2:19 describing him as a Horonite (from the town of Beth-Horon) needs to be re-localised to *haḥāranî*, i.e. Haranite (from the town of Haran). Abraham’s sacrifice on Mount Moriah (Gen 22:1–14) would be an allusion to the temple built by Sanballat on Mount Gerazim (c. 427–407 BC), which, later on, Josephus Flavius incorrectly dated to the end of the 4th century BC. Archaeological research by Yitzhak Magen on Mount Gerazim would confirm the presence of a temple dedicated to YHWH at that place as early as in the fifth century BC. All of this would mean “that Genesis was written in (northern) Israel, presumably in the territory of Ephraim” (p. 32). “The almost complete, evidently conscious absence of Jerusalem in Genesis points to the territory of the historical state of Israel, and more particularly the territory of Ephraim (centred on Shechem and Mount Gerizim), and not Judah, as the place of the composition of Genesis” (p. 34).

In the introduction to his hypertextual analysis of the Book of Genesis, Adamczewski also undertakes the dating of the composition of the Book (pp. 25–30). Given the relations between Mount Moriah and Mount Gerazim, he considers the end of the 5th century BC to be the *terminus a quo*, when a temple would have been built on Mount Gerazim during the reign of Sanballat. As for the *terminus ad quem*, Adamczewski excludes the Hellenistic

period and suggests the years 350–340 BC, i.e. the end of the Persian period, as the time when the Book of Genesis was written. Again, the argument follows the line of allusive relations between Sanballat and Abraham, this time through three subsequent descendants of Abraham: Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, of whom the latter would play a key role in the narrative of Genesis (Gen 37–50). A similar position should be occupied by the third governor after Sanballat, who was his descendant, which was the end of the Persian period in Samaria (pp. 26, 29).

## 2. Samaritans and the Creation of the Pentateuch

With his monograph *Genesis. A Hypertextual Commentary*, as well as his other hypertextual commentaries on the Enneateuch, Adamczewski argues for a change of the paradigm of Samaria. The negative image of Samaria and Samaritans was created by Josephus Flavius to a large extent, who, in *Antiquitates Iudaicae* (Book XI), presented the construction of a temple on Mount Gerazim by Sanballat III, ca. 332 BC, once he obtained the approval of Alexander the Great. This was to give rise to the Samaritan schism, which escalated into open hostility between Samaritans and Jews after the destruction of the temple on Mount Gerazim by John Hyrcanus at the end of the second century BC. The negative opinion about the Samaritans would also have its roots in the text of 2 Kgs 17:24–41, which presents the situation of Samaria after it was conquered by Assyria in 722 BC. One of the elements of Assyria's imperial policy was mass deportations, which resulted in the indigenous population being mixed with foreigners and the religion being subjected to syncretic influences. As a result, the conflict between the Samaritans and the Judeans returning from the Babylonian exile, described in the Book of Nehemiah, would not be only political but also religious in origin. Nehemiah's strict approach to mixed marriages resulted in some of the priests of Jerusalem, including one of the sons of the high priest Jehoiada married to the daughter of Sanballat I, finding refuge in Samaria (cf. Neh 13:28), thus laying the foundations for the cult of YHWH in the Persian province of Samaria.

A departure from that stereotypical perception of Samaritans in biblical studies was initiated by Hans G. Kippenberg in his doctoral thesis *Gerizim und Synagoge*,<sup>9</sup> who saw the worship on Mount Gerazim in continuity with the religious traditions of northern Israel. In 1985, the Société d'Études Samaritaines was established in Paris, bringing together scholars who studied Samaritan literature, history, language and religion. Subsequent congresses of that association (there have been ten so far) brought the publication of further studies revising the traditional approach to the origin of the Samaritans, their works, history and religion. The first decade of the 21st century closed with a classic monograph

<sup>9</sup> H.G. Kippenberg, *Gerizim und Synagoge. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramaischen Periode* (RVV 30; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1971).

by Magnar Kartveit *The Origins of the Samaritans*,<sup>10</sup> who proved the continuity of Israel's religious traditions in Samaria after 722. The construction of the temple on Mount Gerazim was crucial for the formation of the Samaritans' identity, but the basis of their conflict with the Judeans was not religious but ethnic. A new impetus in the study of Samaria was the archaeological research on Mount Gerazim under the supervision of Yitzhak Magen in the years 1982–2006. The research results, along with their interpretation (which often changed in subsequent articles), were made available by him in two volumes of *Mount Gerizim Excavations* in 2004 and 2008, as well as in many papers. One of the key theses put forward by Magen was the presence of a temple on Mount Gerazim as early as in the fifth century BC. The shape of the temple erected at the initiative of Sanballat I could have been designed based on Ezekiel's vision of the temple (Ezek 40–42), the plans of which were brought to Samaria by the priests removed from Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh 13:28).<sup>11</sup> The scientists following Magen postulate the presence of the Yahwist cult on Mount Gerazim as early in as the 5th century BC, whose temple could have been in no way inferior to that in Jerusalem. Considering the works taking into account the results of research conducted by Magen, special attention should be given to the monograph by Gary Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*,<sup>12</sup> who proves that the Yahwistic religion was maintained and developed in northern Israel after the fall of Samaria in 722. Instead of discussing the rivalry between Jews and Samaritans in the Persian period, two currents of the same Yahwistic religion should be distinguished – northern and southern. The element connecting both religious communities would be the Pentateuch, from which they adopted the Deuteronomistic assumption of centralisation of the cult, differing however in terms of its location (*Gerazim versus Zion*).

The above-mentioned works give an idea of the changes in the approach to Samaria in biblical studies over the last twenty years. The change of the paradigm of Samaria is also supported by Adamczewski, what he proposed in his monograph *Retelling the Law* as early as in 2012. His first hypothesis of the Israelite (northern) – rather than Judean – origin of the Heptateuch (Genesis to Judges) can be found in that work. However, this was not a new hypothesis as such a thesis was put forward and justified by Etienne Nodet in his work *Essai sur les origines du judaïsme*<sup>13</sup> in 1992. A summary presentation of his hypothesis can be found on pages 191–192 of the English edition of the monograph. Ingrid Hjelm proposes a similar thesis in her publications, starting with her PhD dissertation released in 2004. Let us just mention her article: “Samaria, Samaritans and the Composition of

10 M. Kartveit, *The Origins of the Samaritans* (VTSup 128; Leiden: Brill 2009).

11 Cf. Y. Magen, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*. II. *A Temple City* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority 2008) 149.

12 G. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans. The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013).

13 E. Nodet, *Essai sur les origines du judaïsme. De Josué aux Pharisiens* (Paris: Cerf 1992). I use the English edition for the review: *A Search for the Origins of Judaism. From Joshua to the Mishnah* (JSOTSup 248; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1997).

the Hebrew Bible.”<sup>14</sup> In that context, the originality of Adamczewski’s research should be seen in his attempt to prove the “Israelite origin of the Heptateuch based on sequential hypertextuality. The question remains how successful that attempt is.

### 3. Question about the Criteria of Sequential Hypertextuality

After reading the monograph *Genesis. A Hypertextual Commentary* and the earlier work *Retelling the Law*, it is impossible to ignore certain methodological weaknesses of the hypothesis of sequential hypertextuality in the Book of Genesis. Although in the introduction to *Genesis* (pp. 13–16) the author presents the assumptions of his proposed model of sequential hypertextuality and points to certain methodological principles that could constitute a criterion for assessing what and to what extent is a transformation of the hypotext (Deuteronomium) in the hypertext (Genesis), this does not translate into any strictly defined research procedure. This turns out to be not necessarily relevant if “the crucial hermeneutical disposition for analysing hypertextual correspondences in the Bible consists in the use of the faculty of imagination in order to detect imaginative, creative, at times purely conceptual correspondences between various ideas, images, statements, and words in the biblical texts. In imagination, as is well known, the sky is the limit” (p. 16). “Faculty of imagination” may even be unlimited; however, as an exegetical tool, it requires a critical and verifiable procedure. Adamczewski sees the validity of his approach – arguing using a quote from *Apuntes de hermenéutica* by Luis Alonso Schökel: “A method confirms itself by its results” – in the results of his research (p. 16, n. 1). However, the Spanish biblical scholar starts with the statement – two sentences earlier – that “the methods we use have their own arch of life. They emerge or crystallise when the author gives them a form and convinces others of their validity.”<sup>15</sup> The problem is that Adamczewski does not convince the reader of the validity of his concept of “creative hypertextuality,” precisely because of methodological shortcomings that make the results of his research subjective.

Their unverifiability is primarily due to the lack of clear criteria based on which the author states nearly a thousand times (p. 227) that a given “idea (statement/section [from the Book of Genesis]) conceptually and linguistically illustrates (sequentially illustrates/conceptually and linguistically, in a sequential way illustrates/illustrates) the subsequent Deuteronomic idea.” It is rather a game of associations and allusions available to Adamczewski’s imagination, not necessarily confirmed by actual transtextual relations between the sequentially juxtaposed fragments of Genesis and Deuteronomy. This is the case, for example, with the “hypertextual procedure of transsexuation (feminisation/masculinisation)

14 I. Hjelm, “Samaria, Samaritans and the Composition of the Hebrew Bible,” *Samaritans. Past and Present. Current Studies* (eds. M. Mor – F.V. Reiterer – W. Winckler) (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2010) 91–103 (especially 98–99).

15 A quote from the Italian edition: L. Alonso Schökel, *Appunti di ermeneutica* (Studi biblici 24; Bologna: EDB 1994) 162.

identified by Adamczewski seven times, which conceptually and linguistically illustrates” a specific Deuteronomic idea in the relevant text of the Book of Genesis (pp. 48, 49, 67, 95, 174, 178, 184). The term “procedure” assumes some established and thus verifiable mode of operation of creative hypertextuality, which should be detected at the linguistic and conceptual levels of hypertextually related texts. Let me mention the juxtaposition within that “procedure of transsexuation” of “the idea of a woman saying that humans are allowed to eat from the paradisiacal garden (Gen 3:2)” with “the Deuteronomic idea of Moses saying that the Israelites should go up and possess the promised land which was given to them (Deut 1:20–21e)” (p. 49). Based on a play of imagination, one might ask why a similar “transsexuation procedure” is not noticed by Adamczewski a bit further on in the juxtaposition of the tree tempting the eyes of a woman considered by her to be “good” (Gen 3:6a–c) with the tempting statement about sending scouts to the promised land considered “good” by Moses (Deut 1:23a) (p. 50). Such speculations can be multiplied indefinitely if the sky is to be the limit, but they will remain subjective, even arbitrary, in the absence of clear criteria for recognising hypertextual relations.

The above position may be considered too conservative by Adamczewski. In the introduction, he compiles (pp. 17–25) a list of scholars (Hans Ausloos, Joel S. Baden, Walter Bühner, Michael Carasik, David M. Carr, Stephen Germany, Gershon Hepner, Pekka Pitkänen, Konrad Schmidt, John Van Seters) who note literary relations between different texts in Genesis and Deuteronomy, yet none of them sees a sequential correspondence between them. Perhaps it is because “they understand literary dependence too conservatively,” as Adamczewski assesses the works of Walter Bühner (p. 21). It would therefore be conservatism to “limit ourselves methodologically [...] to the texts [Genesis and Deuteronomy] that exhibit a relatively high level of agreement in a form (vocabulary, style, and/or compositional features) and/or content (theological themes and concepts)” (p. 18), as is the case of Hans Ausloos. The Belgian exegete not only sets clear criteria for examining intertextual relations between Genesis and Deuteronomy,<sup>16</sup> which he uses in his analysis of the Deuteronomic character of Exod 23:20–33, but also points to the importance of context in verifying such relations: “Where a word or expression are always used within a particular context, we are obliged to study this context and its structure.”<sup>17</sup> Without taking the context of the texts under study into account, it is difficult to avoid subjectivity in the juxtaposed hypo- and hypertext sequences. This applies especially to parallel texts directly adjacent to each other. For example, in chapter 2 of Deuteronomy, prohibitions appear side by side to fight against the Moabites (2:9–18) and the Ammonites (2:19–23) when seizing the promised land. In both cases, the original inhabitants of those countries are recalled: the Rephaim and the Anakim (2:10b–11, 20–21a). Hypertextually, however, that parallelism is ignored by Adamczewski, who associates the first mention of the Rephaim and Anakim

16 Cf. H. Ausloos, *The Deuteronomist’s History. The Role of the Deuteronomist in Historical-Critical Research into Genesis–Numbers* (OTS 67; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2015) 289–297.

17 Ausloos, *The Deuteronomist’s History*, 309.

with the names of Metusheol and Lamech in Gen 4:18b (p. 62), and the second one – with the “prehistoric giants” from Gen 6:4, but identifies them only with the Anakim ignoring the Rephaim” (p. 68). How to explain such a different hypertextual lesson of the Rephaim and the Anakim in the Book of Genesis? Even more surprising is the hypertextual reworking of similar prohibitions against fighting the Moabites and the Ammonites. In the first case (Deut 2:9a–d), that prohibition is understood by Adamczewski as an expression of the “Deuteronomic idea of the land of Moab protected by Yahweh,” which, in the hypertextual reading of the Book of Genesis, corresponds to the name of Enoch (“consecrated, dedicated”; Gen 4:17d–18a) (p. 61). In the second case (Deut 2:19a–c), the ban on fighting the Ammonites would refer, according to Adamczewski, to the prohibition on marriages between Israelites and Ammonites, which, in the Book of Genesis, thanks to the use of “hypertextual procedure of transsexuation (in this case feminisation) is conceptually and linguistically illustrated” by the idea of the sons of God taking the daughters of men as wives (Gen 6:1–2) (p. 67). If one were to assume that the author of the Book of Genesis was consistent in the use of the “hypertextual procedure of transsexuation,” the question would arise why he failed to relate it to the earlier prohibition on fighting the Moabites since Deuteronomy forbids the Israelites to marry not only the Ammonites but also the Moabites (Deut 23:4).

#### **4. Question about the Delimitation of Literary Units in Hypertextual Research**

Methodological reservations concern not only the method and basis for identifying hypertextual relations but also the verification of their sequential correspondence. At the end of his monograph, Adamczewski emphasises that “much more important than these numerous but rarely specific linguistic signs of literary borrowing from *Deuteronomy* is the fulfilment of the criterion of order” the subject of which is “the conceptual and/or linguistic correspondences between Genesis and Deuteronomy” (p. 228). Already in the introduction, Adamczewski states that “the author of Genesis [...] used Deuteronomy as the main structure-giving hypotext” (pp. 29–30) and, at the end of his work, he claims that “the book of Genesis in its entirety is a result of one literary-theological project, a systematic reworking of the contents of the Book of Deuteronomy” (p. 229). It should therefore be assumed that the hypothetical author of the Genesis knew the whole structure of Deuteronomy and transposed it into Genesis. It is no longer about single words, phrases or verses in this case, but about literary units the boundaries of which are delimited based on formal and content criteria. In both books, Adamczewski distinguishes five corresponding “major sections”: Gen 1–3 // Deut 1:1–2:1; Gen 4–11 // Deut 2:2–5:33; Gen 12:1–22:19 // Deut 6–13; Gen 22:20–36:43 // Deut 14:1–23:9; Gen 37–50 // Deut 23:10–34:12. In the case of some of the identified “major sections” questions arise about the criteria used



by the author to delimit them. Those who are familiar with the structure of Deuteronomy may ask, for example, about the reasons for Adamczewski to decompose the Deuteronomic Code (Deut 12–26) and divide it into three “major sections” in his monograph (Deut 6–13; 14:1–23:9; 23:10–34:12), while ignoring, for instance, the delimiting introductions to the speeches in 12:1 and 27:1. The consequence of such a breakdown of the Deuteronomic Code is the creation of a completely new rhetorical unit, Deut 11:29–12:28, the hypertextual transposition of which is the narrative about the sacrifice on Mount Moriah (Gen 22:1–10). In this way, Adamczewski is able to conclude that “the enigmatic, previously unknown name Moriah (הַמְרִיָּה: Gen 22:2d) linguistically alludes to the Deuteronomic place called Moreh (מֶרֶה: Deut 11:30; cf. הַמִּוֶּרֶה: Judg 7:1; מִוֶּרֶה: Gen 12:6), which was located close to Mount Gerizim (Deut 11:29–30; cf. Gen 12:6; Shechem), contextually presented in Deuteronomy as the place where Yahweh chooses to put his name (cf. Deut 12:5.21 etc.)” (p. 124; similarly p. 36). However, if the principles governing the delimitation of rhetorical units are respected, the above “contextual” relation is unjustified.

Even more reservations arise regarding the delimitation of the smaller rhetorical units that make up the “sections” that constitute the “major sections” mentioned above. Let me limit myself to only one example indicated by Adamczewski at the end of his work, in which he notes that sometimes hypertextually related elements from Genesis and Deuteronomy differ in size: “Gen 23 illustrating Deut 14:1bc; Gen 24 illustrating Deut 14:2a; Gen 25 illustrating Deut 14:2b; Gen 32:2b illustrating Deut 16:18–19:21; etc.” (p. 227). The latter relation is part of the hypertextual relation of Gen 32:2b–33:17 and Deut 16:18–20:9. The section Deut 16:18–20:9, proposed by Adamczewski, does not correspond to the actual boundaries of rhetorical units in that part of the Deuteronomic Code. One can notice two separate rhetorical units there: the first one contains instructions concerning civil and religious institutions: judges, kings, priests and prophets (16:18–18:22), while the second one, which should be delimited within 19:1–21:9, mentions juridical and military instructions. Ignoring the boundaries between those units, Adamczewski concludes that the provisions concerning judges, kings, priests and prophets in Deut 16:18–19:21 are “conceptually and linguistically illustrated” with the idea of “messengers who, sent by God, encounter Jacob” (Gen 32:2b: “and when the angels of God encountered him”) (p. 154). On what “conceptual and linguistic” basis does Adamczewski assume the transposition of various offices: judges, kings, priests and prophets, into the figures found in the Book of Genesis called *malʾāḳê ʾēlōhîm*? Is it really possible in the case of the Deuteronomy passage under discussion to place an equal sign between the various entities of power in Israel in terms of the function they perform towards the people? How to explain the fact that the hypothetical author of the Book of Genesis did not notice that the element connecting all the provisions related to civil and religious leaders was their subordination to the Law? What do the *malʾāḳê ʾēlōhîm* in Gen 32:2b have in common with the law concerning cities of refuge (Deut 19:1–13), if a “systematic reworking of the content of the Book of Deuteronomy” in the Book of Genesis is assumed?

Adamczewski does not notice such issues in the sequentially ordered hypertextual relations in Genesis and Deuteronomy identified by him and assumes that the sequential hypertextuality in both works has nothing to do with their actual composition. This was already shown by the previously mentioned example of two parallel Deuteronomic prohibitions against fighting the Moabites (2:9–18) and the Ammonites (2:19–23), which Adamczewski hypertextually links to two texts in the Book of Genesis that are different in form and content (4:18 and 6:1–4, respectively). Similar examples of ignoring the structure of the book also apply to Genesis. Let me give just one of them that raises the question of the logic of hypertextual transposition that the hypothetical author of Genesis would have followed while reworking Deuteronomy. Biblical scholars agree that there are three type-scenes in the Genesis narrative using the “wife-sister” pattern, according to which the patriarch at the court of a foreign ruler presents his wife as a sister to save his life. That is the case of Gen 12:10–20; 20:1–18 and 26:8–11, where the first two stories concern Abraham and Sarah and the third one – Isaac and Rebekah. In the sequential hypertextual system identified by Adamczewski, only the first text is considered an independent rhetorical unit called a “section,” while the other two are assigned to larger “sections” linking Abraham and Sarah’s stay with the king of Gerar to the transgression of Lot’s daughters (Gen 19:30–20:18), and Isaac and Rebecca’s stay at the same court to the death of Sarah and Abraham (Gen 22:20–26:35). Each of those three stories using the “wife-sister” pattern is recognised by Adamczewski as a hypertextual illustration of various Deuteronomic “ideas” found in Deut 6:20–22, 11:9d–18 and 14:2c, respectively (pp. 94–96, 119–121, 137–138). I would add that it is not a question of some single leading or primary “idea” in those three Deuteronomic texts but about a number of different “ideas” that are supposed to be hypertextually reworked three times in the Book of Genesis based on the same type-scene. If, indeed, we are dealing here with a conscious and deliberate literary action resulting in a work addressed to specific readers with the relevant literary competence to discover that sequential imitation of Deuteronomy in the text of Genesis, this raises the question of the competence that the reader of Genesis would have to demonstrate to be able to notice the references to the Book of Deuteronomy identified by Adamczewski in those three type-scenes. Let us consider the hypertextual interpretation of the figure of the pharaoh in Gen 12:10–20, who, on the one hand, by taking Sarah to his court is supposed to be a “conceptual and linguistic illustration” of another, later pharaoh making the Israelites his slaves (Gen 12:14–16 // Deut 6:20–21b), while on the other hand, the pharaoh sending Abraham and Sarah out of Egypt is supposed to “conceptually and linguistically illustrate” YHWH leading the Israelites out of Egypt (Gen 12:17–20 // Deut 6:21c–22). Since the idea of leading the Israelites out of Egypt appears in that interpretation, let us also note the second story using the “wife-sister” pattern, which starts with the mention of Abraham and Sarah’s migration from Canaan to the Negev and their stay in Gerar that, in such a topographical arrangement, would be located on the border with Egypt.<sup>18</sup>

18 Cf. J. Lemański, *Księga Rodzaju. Rozdziały 11, 27–36, 43. Wstęp – przekład z oryginału – komentarz* (NKB.ST 1/2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2013) 422–423.

This information about the patriarch's arrival from Canaan to the "semi-desert Negev" (Gen 20:1a) is, according to Adamczewski, a hypertextual illustration of the Deuteronomistic idea of the Israelites coming from Egypt to Canaan – the promised land abundant in water (Deut 11:9d–12) (p. 119). Remaining within the scope of the three stories using the same "wife-sister" pattern, one can only express amazement at Adamczewski's hypertextual creativity, which has little to do with the content and function of those narratives in the Book of Genesis. Obviously, it can be assumed that the purpose of his monograph was to demonstrate the sequential hypertextuality between Genesis and Deuteronomy, but this raises the question of why the author of Genesis, who systematically reworks Deuteronomy, uses the same typical scene in such a different way. The differences between the three stories based on the "wife-sister" pattern make the reader think not so much of their hypertextual dependence on Deuteronomy, but rather about their mutual formal and content interaction subordinated in Genesis to specific narrative (theological) purposes.<sup>19</sup>

## 5. Sequential or Rather "Creative" Hypertextuality?

Adamczewski's thesis about the Book of Genesis as a sequential hypertext based on the Book of Deuteronomy, different from previous studies on the creation of the Pentateuch, seems to be ignored in the world of science precisely because of the methodological shortcomings of the assumed "creative hypertextuality." One can admire Adamczewski's consistency in his research, but it is difficult to understand his ignoring the critical opinions concerning the methodology of sequential hypertextuality expressed in scientific reviews of his subsequent monographs, starting from those dealing with the sequential hypertextuality of the canonical Gospels,<sup>20</sup> to *Retelling the Law*, an extension of which is the reviewed hypertextual commentary on the Book of Genesis.<sup>21</sup> Adamczewski had the opportunity to refer to those comments in his subsequent monographs, but he chose to ignore them, which is why his research remains self-referential. Moreover, Adamczewski published all his monographs on sequential hypertextuality (fourteen so far) with the same Peter Lang publishing house, ten of which – starting from *Retelling the Law* to the currently reviewed *Genesis* – were published in the series of monographs European Studies in Theology, Philosophy and History of Religions, of which he is the scientific editor. The self-referential nature of the reviewed monograph is also manifested in Adamczewski's resignation from

19 Cf. W. Pikor, "Jaki paradygmat życia rodzinnego w narracji o Abrahamie?," *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 13 (2020) 105–126; also the list of literature on the subject there.

20 Cf. M. McLoughlin (*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 89 [2013] 463–464), S. Szymik (*Bib.An* 4 [2014] 195–202), B.A. Paschke (*Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 15 [2017] 347–349), J.W. Barker (*The CBQ* 81 [2019] 327–328), K. Mielcarek (*Bib.An* 9/4 [2019] 749–753).

21 Cf. L. Niesiołowski-Spanó (*Scripta Biblica et Orientalia* 4 [2012] 239–243), J. Lemański (*Bib.An* 3/1 [2013] 203–205), S. Jacobs (*JSOT* 27/5 [2013] 72), W. Linke (*Studia Theologica Varsoviensia* 52/1 [2014] 199–208), P.S. Evans (*JHebS* 15 [2015] <https://jhsonline.org/index.php/jhs/article/view/29441/21580> [access: 16.01.2024]).

the discussion on the presence of the priestly material in the Book of Genesis. The author resolves that issue with one sentence in the conclusion: “According to the analyses presented in this monograph, the division of the material of Genesis into Priestly and non-Priestly is misleading.” (p. 229). Nowhere in his work, however, he undertakes a critique of the editing of the texts examined by him. Moreover, he never refers to the arguments in favour of the presence of a priestly material in the Book of Genesis, which, on Polish ground, are presented by Janusz Lemański and Marcin Majewski, *inter alia*.<sup>22</sup> In this context, let us add that Adamczewski is equally uncritical of the interpretation proposed by Yitzhak Magen of the excavations carried out by him on Mount Gerazim, especially when it comes to the assumption of the existence in that place of a temple already in the Persian period. That thesis is met with substantive criticism in many publications, of which let me mention a few. Menahem Mor demonstrates Magen’s mistakes in the dating of inscriptions and pottery, as well as the use of the C-14 carbon decomposition method.<sup>23</sup> Anne K.d.H. Gudme points out the flaws in Magen’s argument for interpreting the ruins dating to the 5th century BC as an implementation of Ezekiel’s temple design (Ezek 40–42).<sup>24</sup> Although Benedikt Hensel supports the existence of a temple on Mount Gerazim in the 5th century, he admits that it is currently impossible to determine the time of its construction based on the excavation documentation presented by Magen.<sup>25</sup> It remains regrettable that Adamczewski ignores those critical (or at least cautious – in the case of Hensel) voices, especially since he refers to Mor’s and Hensel’s articles in his monograph.

It is not the reviewer’s task to predict the future of the sequential hypertextuality hypothesis put forward by Adamczewski. However, Adamczewski’s mere belief in the validity of his theses and conclusions is a weak argument in the world of science. Leaving aside the issue of “creative hypertextuality,” it should be recognised that his commentary on the Book of Genesis is yet another voice in contemporary biblical studies that encourages reflection on the current paradigm of Samaria, which especially concerns the role of the Samaritans – with their cultural centre on Mount Gerazim – in the creation of the Pentateuch or, more broadly, Enneateuch.

22 Lemański, *Księga Rodzaju. Rozdziały 11,27–36,43, 69–85*; M. Majewski, *Pięcioksiąg odczytany na nowo. Przesłanie autora kapłańskiego (P) i jego wpływ na powstanie Pięcioksięgu* (Kraków: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie 2018).

23 M. Mor, “The Building of the Samaritan Temple and the Samaritan Governors – Again,” *Samaria, Samaritans, Samaritans. Studies on Bible, History and Linguistics* (ed. J. Zsengellér) (SJ 66; Studia Samaritana 6; Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2011) 91–95.

24 A.K.d.H. Gudme, “Was the Temple on Mount Gerizim Modelled after the Jerusalem Temple?,” *Religions* 11/2 (2020) 73.

25 B. Hensel, “Das JHWH-Heiligtum am Garizim. Ein archäologischer Befund und seine literar- und theologisch-geschichtliche Einordnung,” *V/T* 68 (2018) 78.

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## Reviews




Józef T. Milik (†), *Livres des Patriarches. Edition des textes, traduction et commentaire. I. Testament de Lévi* (ed. H. Drawnel) (Études bibliques NS 95; Leuven: Peeters 2022). Pp. XXIII+485. ISBN 978-90-429-4932-4

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An important book by a pioneering researcher of the Qumran scrolls, Józef T. Milik (1922–2006) is appearing in print as late as the centenary of his birth. This “redemptive” delay was caused by a variety of complications which were not uncommon in the life of this remarkable researcher of Qumran literature. Fr Henryk Drawnel, after Milik the next Polish scholar who devoted his life to studying Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea caves with equal passion to his Predecessor, writes about this in the introduction (pp. XV–XVIII). Owing to the endeavours of Zdzisław J. Kapera, PhD, the typescript of Milik’s work found its way into the hands of Drawnel who undertook to publish it.

This book is the very fulfilment of that commitment. Since Milik did not write an introduction to this monograph, Drawnel has preceded it with an extensive introduction (pp. 1–88), which constitutes the first chapter of the book presented here. He divided it into four sections, in which Drawnel presents Milik’s monograph against the background of later studies of the Aramaic *Testament of Levi*. He, therefore, first presents the history of the publication of this document, which today is customarily called the Aramaic Levi Document (abbreviated ALD). This is the longest part of the introduction (pp. 1–50). It is followed by a detailed presentation of all the manuscripts of that document known to Milik (pp. 50–75). The third part of the introduction discusses the literary structure of the “Visions of Levi,” as Milik called them (pp. 75–83). In the fourth part of his introduction, Drawnel makes a general plan for a more extensive edition of the “Books of the Patriarchs” planned by Milik. It was to include critical editions of the texts also of other Aramaic “testaments” from Qumran (of Judah, Naphtali, Joseph) and the “Vision of Jacob.”

Only after this general introduction does Drawnel present the content of Milik’s typescript with the Author’s handwritten notes. The second chapter of the work presented here is entitled “Text Editing, Translation and Commentary” (pp. 89–384). This comprehensive chapter covers the philological commentary on the original text of the *Testament of Levi* together with its French translation. In addition to the prologue (vv. 1–8) and epilogue (vv. 505–510), the “Testament” includes a narrative section (vv. 9–365) and

the poetic “exhortations of Levi” (vv. 366–504). Milik distinguished eight smaller thematic units in the narrative part of the apocryphal text, and a further four units in the poetic part. It should be explained at this point that Milik’s “textus receptus” contains more than 500 verses of the work, while other critical editions (e.g. by Drawnel) contain only a hundred. The reason for this discrepancy is that Milik supplements the missing Aramaic text with its later versions (especially the Greek text of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*).

For the reader’s convenience, the Rev. Professor Drawnel has included two appendices to this basic chapter of J.T. Milik’s book. The first (pp. 340–367) is a French translation of the entire *Testament of Levi*. Published by Z.J. Kaperka shortly after Milik’s death, “Preliminary Information about Józef T. Milik’s Unpublished Manuscript of the Testament of Levi” (*The Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 6/1 [2007] 109–112) explains this method of reproducing the original text. The second appendix (pp. 368–384) addresses the question of the age of the patriarchs in comparison with the tradition of the *Book of Jubilees*.

The final chapter of Milik’s posthumous book (pp. 385–425) is entitled: “A Diplomatic Edition of the Fragments and Extracts from the Testament of Levi, and a Codicological Description of the Manuscripts Containing Them.” In palaeography, the name “diplomatic” is used to describe such an edition of the original manuscript that attempts to render all its essential features as accurately as possible. In the following sections of this chapter, Milik discusses all the known Aramaic manuscripts of the Testament of Levi from Qumran: four from Cave 4 (according to today’s designations, these are 4Q213, 4Q214, 4Q540 and 4Q548) and one from Cave 1 (1Q21). He carries out a detailed critique of their text and attempts to determine the size of each scroll. He also intended to include photographs of individual manuscripts (the present edition omits them, as newer ones are widely available, in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series and in monographs, e.g. by Drawnel). He also includes later manuscripts: the Aramaic manuscript from the Cairo Genizah from the old synagogue, two extracts from the Greek version kept on Mount Athos, and one extract in a Syriac manuscript (British Mus., Add. 17193). Overall, this combines into a solid source base for the reconstruction of the original text.

It is to Professor Drawnel’s great credit that the difficult text of Milik’s work completed 40 years ago has been published. The concluding bibliography (pp. 427–452) unsurprisingly also takes into account more recent studies of this ancient apocryphal text. Milik did not manage to prepare a theological commentary on the Testament of Levi (which today is more accurately referred to as the Aramaic Levi Document). However, a commentary on this subject can easily be found in monographic studies, especially the third chapter of Fr Henryk Drawnel’s doctoral thesis (*An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran. A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, [Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 86; Leiden: Brill 2004] 205–351). The posthumous edition of Milik’s book is also accompanied by two extensive indexes: of cited ancient literature (pp. 453–481) and of contemporary authors (pp. 483–485).

A separate acknowledgement should be made to Peeters Publishers (Leuven, Belgium). The book has been published with such care that the reader can enjoy studying both

the French text and the originals preserved in Aramaic and Greek (other ancient translations are provided in transcription so as not to overload the reader). All that remains, then, is to turn to the book and savour the experience of an ancient textbook serving for centuries to prepare for the Levitical and priestly service in the Jerusalem temple. I believe that contemporary seminarians and priests of the Church could also learn much from it.

